

The Problem of Giles of Viterbo

A historiographical survey

Giles of Viterbo (1469-1532) has remained an elusive figure for historians *). This is at first sight puzzling, as there is a considerable amount of information available concerning his activities, although much of it is in manuscript. Furthermore, the external facts of his life suggest that he was a man of some importance. He was general of the Augustinian order for twelve years, 1506-1518, during a momentous period of its history, and a cardinal enjoying the confidence of the popes during the tumultuous events of the early Reformation.

He has come under the spotlight of history in published works because of certain facts which do not necessarily indicate his real significance. His '*Historia XX Saeculorum*' has supplied historians with valuable facts and comments on late Renaissance popes; his reputation as a humanist was secure even since Giovanni Pontano (1462-1503) composed the dialogue, *Aegidius*, in his honour; he is known as the prior general with whom Luther treated during his visit to Rome in 1511; his incisive oration at the opening of the Fifth Lateran Council in May 1512, with its pithy epigram, 'Men should be changed by religion, not religion by men', is often quoted

*) Due to the advice of several critics I have adopted the form 'Giles of Viterbo' rather than the Italian 'Egidio da Viterbo'; however, 'Egidian' is retained as the adjective for Giles. His family name was Antonini, but he was always known to his contemporaries simply as 'Aegidius Viterbiensis' or 'Egidio da Viterbo'. It is a common error to assume that his family name was 'Canisio'; for the origin and prevalence of this mistake cf. G. SIGNORELLI, *Il Cardinale Egidio da Viterbo* (Florence 1929), I, 119-121.

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as one of the last public appeals for reform in the Church before the storm was loosed in Germany; he made a brief appearance in martial character when he gathered a force of 2,000 soldiers at Isola near Rome in May 1527, to free Clement VII then besieged by Imperial troops in the Castel Sant'Angelo **).

Historians have on the whole dealt kindly but not accurately with Giles. He suffered his share from critics during his lifetime but they did his reputation no serious damage. He could not protect himself from his friends the humanists, and it was their presentation of him as the beau ideal of Renaissance clerics which has persisted to the present day. Historians have concluded from their comments that he was no more than a typical part of the gay hollow world of Leo X¹). It is paradoxical that Giles, with the example of Pope Paul II (1464-1471) in mind, made the salutary observation that one should not risk offending men of letters²).

**) Abbreviations:

- A. A. — *Analecta Augustiniana* (Rome 1905-)
 A. R. G. — *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* (Berlin 1906-)
 A. S. P. N. — *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane* (Naples 1876-)
 Aug. — *Augustiniana* (Louvain 1951-)
 B. N. B. — *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*
 D. A. C. L. — *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* (Paris 1907-53)
 D. T. C. — *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* (Paris 1923-50)
 Encic. Catt. — *Enciclopedia Cattolica* (Rome 1948-1954)
 HERRERA, *Alphab. Aug.*, — T. DE HERRERA, *Alphabetum Augustinianum* (2 vols, Madrid 1644)
 L. T. K. — *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (Freiburg i. B. 1930-38; new ed., 1957-)
 PERINI, *Bibl. Aug.* — D. PERINI, *Bibliographia Augustiniana, cum notis biographicis: scriptores Itali* (4 vols, Florence 1929-37)
 Rev. Biblioth. — *Revue des bibliothèques* (Paris 1891-)
 Z. K. G. — *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* (Gotha 1877-).

¹) E. g., H. BOEHMER, *Luthers Romfahrt* (Leipzig 1914), 41-47.

²) 'Didicit eo exemplo [i. e. Papae Paulo II] humanum genus, tum universum tum praesertim principes, id quod supra ex Platone citavimus, nunquam inpune laedi litteratos, quod quidem hominum genus, ut vetus adagium est, fenum habet in cornu, proinde eruditos magis formidandos esse quam armatos, stilum quam gladios, eloquia quam exercitus. Resisti his aliquando posse illis numquam. Vulnere hos inferre honesta, temporalia, sanabilia: illos ignominiosa, aeterna, insanabilia. Eripere hos opes, agros, urbes: illos dignitatem, splendorem, aeternitatem', in 'Hist. XX Saec.', *Bibl. Ang. MS 502, f. 243r*. I am indebted to Rev. M. B. Hackett, O. S. A., St Patrick's College, Rome, for this reference.

I

GILES OF THE HUMANISTS

Pontano (1462-1503), the genial Umbrian, crowned Giles with immortality acknowledging him as the inspiration and central character of the *Aegidius* ³⁾. Therein we are shown a delicate figure, the gilded cleric of the Renaissance, a favourite member of the Pontanian Academy of Naples. Pontano, not content to see in Giles the qualities desired of churchmen by enthusiastic admirers of Rome and Greece, put into the Augustinian's mouth a sermon which has too readily been accepted as authentic ⁴⁾. In the course of the sermon Giles is made to draw a comparison between the death of Christ and the sacrificial death of Decius; in discussing the supernatural birth of the Saviour there is reference to the birth of Minerva from the head of Jupiter and to the belief of the Egyptians that women can conceive from the wind. Though in fact these classical references are fitted adroitly into a christian context there is no convincing evidence that Giles was author of the sermon ⁵⁾. When we compare it with any of his authentic sermons we are left with the suspicion that it is Pontano speaking through the mouth of Giles.

The impression of Giles as a polished priest of Renaissance circles was strengthened by the publication of his *Caccia bellissima di amore*. This was first printed anonymously in a collection with other poetry in 1523 ⁶⁾, was published separately in 1537 ⁷⁾, and

³⁾ Cf. Summonte's edition of *Aegidius* in *Opera omnia Johannis Joviani Pontani*, II (Venice 1518) 154v-173v. For Pontano cf. V. Rosso, *Il Quattrocento* (Milan 1953), 473-95.

⁴⁾ 'Sermo Aegidii ad populum' *ibid.*, 156v-158r.

⁵⁾ G. TIRABOSCHI, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, VII, pt 4 (2nd ed., Modena 1792) 1592, suggested that Pontano had strung his own words on Giles's ideas. The sermon is built around the saying of Christ, 'I am the way, the truth and the life' (John XIV. 6), and although Pontano probably touched up the sermon in the style of the humanists it has a christological character which has no parallel in any of Pontano's authentic works, and which very likely derives from a sermon preached by Giles.

⁶⁾ *Amore di Hieronimo Beniveni Fiorentino allo Illustrissimo S. Nicolo da Correggio. Et una caccia de amore bellissima e cinq: capituli, sopra el timore, zelosia, speranza, amore, et uno trionpho del mondo composita per il Conte Matteo Maria Bojardo et altre cose diverse* (Venice 1523). Reprinted at Venice in 1526 and 1535.

⁷⁾ *Caccia bellissima del Reverendissimo Egidio, con i dilettevoli amori di*

was reprinted during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries⁸). While the theme was undoubtedly religious, and no sacrifice of christian principles was made to pagan mythology, it gave no sense of that unvarnished christianity which came back into vogue with the Reformation and by whose standards Giles is even still being judged.

Sannazzaro (c. 1456-1530) thought to repay a debt to Giles when he wrote the well-known *De Partu Virginis*. A quotation in a sermon preached by Giles was the seed from which this epic poem flowered⁹). The *De Partu Virginis* relates with a wealth of illustration from pagan mythology about the coming of Christ on earth. The angels and the muses alike are summoned to hail the birth of the Redeemer; Heaven is styled Olympus, God the Father is called the Thunderer, the ruler of Olympus and the King of the Gods. When the poem was first published in 1526 it was prefaced with a letter of exultant commendation from Giles¹⁰). Though the letter drew a favourable comment even from the sharp-tongued Erasmus¹¹) the association with Sannazzaro meant that Giles was regarded as belonging to those « Ciceronians » whose medley of paganism and christianity the same Erasmus assailed so bitingly in the *Dialogus Ciceronianus*¹²).

Messer Girolamo Beniveni et cinque capitoli del S. Conte, Matteomaria Boiardo sopra el timore, zelosia, bellezza, speranza, amore, et un trionfo del mondo (Venice 1537). The 1537 edition, of which there is a copy in the Angelica Library, Rome, has generally escaped notice: it was reprinted in 1538 at Venice. For a literary appreciation of the poem cf. TIRABOSCHI, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, cit., VII, pt 4, 1596; for the 1537 edition cf. M. SANDER, *Le livre à figures italien depuis 1467 jusqu'à 1530* (Milan 1942) 445 (2523).

⁸) E. g., D. A. GANDOLFO, *Fiori poetici dell'eremo agostiniano* (Genoa 1682), 94-107; G. CRESCIMBENI, *De' comentari intorno all'istoria della poesia italiana*, IV (Venice 1730) 14-23.

⁹) Cf. J. A. VULPIUS in *Opera Sannazari*, ed. Jan Broukhus (Amsterdam 1728) 514. Before publishing the poem Sannazzaro gave the manuscript to Giles for his comments, cf. E. PÈRCOPO, 'Vita di Jacobo Sannazaro', in *A. S. P. N., N. S.*, 17 (1931) 169n. For Sannazzaro cf. ROSSO, *Il Quattrocento*, cit., 504-16.

¹⁰) In the *editio princeps* (Naples 1526), 40r-41v.

¹¹) Erasmus to Budé, Basle 22 June 1527, in *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, ed. P. S. Allen, VII (Oxford 1928) 94-95.

¹²) In ERASMUS, *Opera Omnia*, I (Leyden 1703) 973-1026.

Though Erasmus criticised *De Partu Virginis* for its amalgam of pagan and christian sentiments he paid compliment to the prefatory letter by Giles, cf. *ibid.*, 1020 A.

Pietro Bembo (1470-1535) and Jacopo Sadoletto (1477-1522), considered with some justice to have been the high priests of Cicero-nianism in the early sixteenth century, made public their affection and respect for Giles ¹³). Sadoletto may have been conscientious and pious but the witty and immoral Bembo was in popular estimation a more typical representative of the prelates in Renaissance literary circles. The publication of Bembo's letters in 1548 and of Sadoletto's letters in 1554 showed that the friar was accepted by them as a literary equal and was lauded as a model to be followed ¹⁴).

So it came about that by the middle of the sixteenth century an image of Giles was being created for posterity. It was primarily as a man of letters that he was commemorated by Lelio Gregorio Giraldi in *De poetis nostrorum temporum*, published in 1551 ¹⁵), but even during his lifetime this was the aspect of his life which earned the readiest plaudits of his literary friends. In 1515 when

¹³) Giles's oration at the opening of the Fifth Lateran Council on 3 May 1512 was printed at Rome, prefaced with a letter from Sadoletto to Bembo. There were two printings at Rome in 1512 (?), of which there are copies in the Cambridge University Library; there was another printing by Stuchs at Nurnberg, cf. SIGNORELLI, *Egidio*, 169 n. 83; it was reprinted in P. LABBÉ and G. COSSART, *Acta Conciliorum*, ed. J. Harduin, IX (Paris 1714) 1576-1581.

The official oration by Giles on the occasion of the treaty between Julius II and the Emperor Maximilian in November 1512 was printed at Rome in 1512 (?), with a prefatory letter from Sadoletto to Sannazzaro; the letter was reprinted in SADOLETO, *Epistolae Familiares*, I (Rome 1760) 16-17. For Bembo and Sadoletto cf. R. A. HALL, *Short history of Italian literature* (Ithaca 1951), 161, 183-7.

¹⁴) Cf. the six letters from Bembo to Giles during the years 1523-1531, in BEMBO, *Lettere*, I (Rome 1548) 115-124. Cf. also Bembo to Della Volta, Padua 23 Nov. 1532, on the death of Giles, 'nostro Signor Cardinal Egidio, il quale era e dotto e amico dei dotti e letterati, e grato e gentile, e sopra tutto pieno di soavissima facundia che addolciva gli animi di chiunque usava con lui', *ibid.*, 382-383.

Cf. Sadoletto to Giles, Carpentras [undated but after 1517], in SADOLETO, *Epistolarum libri sexdecim* (Lyons 1554), 115-117. In particular cf. Sadoletto to Bembo, [May 1512 ?], 'Sumus enim experti pluries illam huius viri mulcentem omnium auris atque animos eximiam eloquentiam vernacula quidem lingua hetruscorum quae illi patria est abundantem sed ex uberrimis et graecae et latinae eruditionis fontibus deductam: magno enim hic studio theologiae ac philosophiae altissimis artibus comites litterae politiores adiunxit', in SADOLETO, *Epistolae familiares*, I (Rome 1760) 18-20.

¹⁵) 'Valuit et Cardinalis Aegidius carmine latino, sed et vernaculo Hetruscorum. Extant nonnulla ipsius apud quosdam carmina, quae illius ingenii subtilitatem ostendunt, sed conversus ad linguarum notitiam in sacrae theologiae studiis conquievit', in *op. cit.* (Basle 1551) 415.

the erudite Jewish printer, Girolamo Soncino, and a group of citizens at Fano decided to publish Cleofilo Ottavio's *Anthropotheomachia* they dedicated it to Giles in recognition of the impression which his humanism, piety and versatile learning had made during his visits to the city ¹⁶). There were two other talents which were taken to be characteristic of Giles — his eloquence and his mastery of oriental languages. Paolo Giovio (1483-1552), whose sketches of Renaissance personalities have influenced all subsequent literature on the subject, presented Giles as a man with the triple gifts of literary style, a golden tongue, and an unequalled knowledge of biblical lore ¹⁷).

The attention drawn by Giovio and others ¹⁸) to Giles's oratorical ability and scriptural knowledge accurately reflected two of the qualities which gained him contemporary fame. In 1510, even before he had come to the height of his oratorical powers, he was described by Paolo Cortese in *De Cardinalatu* as worthy to rank with the most renowned Italian preachers, St Bernardine of Siena, St John Capistran, Roberto da Lecce, Mariano da Genazzano, and Girolamo Savonarola ¹⁹). Nor was this the mere fulsome exaggeration of a Renaissance writer. It was later stated that so fierce was the rivalry between various cities demanding the services of

¹⁶) CLEOPHILUS OCTAVIUS, *Anthropotheomachia: Historia de bello Fanensi et quaedam alia* (Fano 1516): there is a copy of this extremely rare work in the Biblioteca Federiciana, Fano. The dedicatory letter is dated from Fano, 18 November 1515. For Soncino (c. 1460 - c. 1534) cf. A. SERVOLINI, 'Le edizioni fanesi di Girolamo Soncino', in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1957, 110-115. For Cleofilo Ottavio (1447-1490) cf. G. Z. ANTONUCCI, *Serie di opere ebraiche impresse dai celebri tipografi Soncini* (3rd ed., Fermo 1870) 88-9.

¹⁷) In *Elogia virorum doctorum* (Basle 1546) 53v-54r.

¹⁸) E. g., Jo. M. TOSCANUS, *Peplus Italiae* (Paris 1578), 50, 'Aegidius Viterbiensis ... hic Mariani [Genestanus] discipulus longo intervallo magistrum eloquentia et doctrina superavit, cum praeter illa, quae ab eo acceperat, ex Hebraeis et Chaldaeis purissimis fontibus sacras litteras hausisset. Patria Aegidio fuit Viterbium ... [etc.]'.

¹⁹) Cortese, having mentioned these famous preachers, continues 'Quid item modo de Egidio Viterbense dicam? qui unus inter multos videri potest ad Italorum ingenia flectenda et mitiganda natus, cuius sermo ita literatioris elegantiae sale condita ut in summa verborum concinnitate omnis adsit sententiarum succus, ac ita suaviter et numerose fluit, ut in vocis varietate et flexu plectri similes exaudiantur soni.', in *op. cit.*, ciii^b. Cf. also lxxxv^a, clxxiii^b.

Giles as preacher that Pope Julius II reserved to himself the right to decide in which cities the friar might preach ²⁰).

The highest compliment was paid to Giles as a preacher when he was selected to deliver the discourse at the opening of the Fifth Lateran Council on 3 April 1512. His moving oration was immediately printed, and was acclaimed by both humanists and reformers. It has caused his name to be remembered when more important incidents of his life are forgotten. Catholics and anti-Catholics have quoted it to suit their different purposes. Luther referred to it in the year 1531 as a proof of the corruption of Rome ²¹). Pastor has chosen one phrase of it to express the reform movement at Rome in the early sixteenth century ²²). A notable feature of Giles's oration was its *catena* of biblical texts. This indicated an intellectual interest which assumed increasing proportions throughout the last twenty years of his life.

By the time that the bitter dispute about Reuchlin's *Augenspiegel* was brought to Rome in 1513 Giles was already deep in his study of holy scripture and of rabbinical literature. Unhesitatingly he threw his influence on the side of Reuchlin ²³). Giles, like Reuchlin, was then devoted to a study of Jewish mysticism, particularly of the cabbala. He believed that the philistines of religion, in attacking Reuchlin, were endangering something of immeasurable

²⁰) L. TORELLI, *Secoli Agostiniani*, VII (Bologna 1682) 557, VIII (Bologna 1686) 175. Though there does not seem to be a papal document to prove this statement there is ample evidence that he was sent hither and thither at the disposition of Julius and of the cardinal protector of the Augustinian order, Raffaele Riario — e. g., Julius II to Giles, Rome 4 November 1505, 'Iterum tibi Romam est redeundum, tantum enim tui desiderium reliquisti ut ab omnibus in lege Domini salutem animarum quaerentibus expecteris', Vat. Archiv., Liber Brevium 22, Julius II, 452 (PASTOR, *Hist. popes*, VI. 635).

²¹) 'Egidium Romanum [recte Egidium Viterbiensem] virum valde doctum, humanius tractavit Iulius, licet acerrime adversus ipsum locutus sit, quemadmodum semel fecit in contione ad Romanos cives, quam incipiebat: « Ite in castellum, quod contra vos est! ». Vocant enim castrum S. Angeli papae fidem et fiduciam, castellum. Hunc quoque Augustinianum monachum Iulius cardinalem faciebat. Huic praedicationi interfuit Cordatus', in *D. Martini Luthers Werke: Tischreden*, II (Weimar 1913) 348; cf. *ibid.* the editorial notes and corrections. Luther during 1536 again referred to Giles's outspoken sermon, cf. *ibid.*, III (Weimar 1914) 345.

²²) 'Homines per sacra immutari fas est, non sacra per homines', in *Hist. popes*, VII, facing title page, and p. 10; cf. *ibid.*, X. 389.

²³) Cf. L. GEIGER, *Johann Reuchlin, sein Leben, und seine Werke* (Leipzig 1871), 306, 398-9, 450.

value to theology and the spiritual life of christians. The vitriolic *Epistolae obscurorum virorum* were published in Germany during the years 1515-1517, lampooning the alleged ignorance of Reuchlin's adversaries, and a more positive presentation of Reuchlin's case was made in 1519 with the second edition of *Illustrium virorum epistolae, hebraicae, graecae et latinae* ²⁴). Among these letters, addressed to Reuchlin from leading humanists in Europe, were three written by Giles ²⁵). His reputation at this period is made evident in the polemical work of a Franciscan, Pietro Galatino, *De arcanis Catholicae veritatis, contra obstinatissimam Judaeorum nostrae tempestatis perfidiam*, published in 1518. Though Galatino did not spare the Jews he took care to pay warm tribute to Giles's biblical and cabbalistic knowledge ²⁶).

The outbreak of the Lutheran revolt, and the support given to it by the younger German humanists who had applauded Reuchlin's stand, brought cabbalism and its supporters into disfavour with Rome. On 23 June 1520 Leo X forbade the circulation of the *Augenspiegel* as a book offensive, scandalous, and unlawfully favourable to the Jews. Fortunately it was recognized that Giles's scriptural interests were not confined to the cabbala, and he was known as the principal patron of Elijah Levita, the founder of modern Hebrew grammar ²⁷). Elijah's *Bachur* which was printed at Rome in 1518 was dedicated to Giles ²⁸), as was Elijah's Chaldee lexicon com-

²⁴) Published at Hagenoe, by Thomas Anshelm, in one volume but two parts. Part I had already been published at Tübingen in 1514.

²⁵) Giles to Reuchlin, Rome 1516, [49v-50r]; Giles to Reuchlin, Denis Reuchlin his brother, and Elizabeth his sister, 20 October 1516, [50r-51r]; Giles to Reuchlin, 24 May (1517 ?), [51r].

²⁶) 'Qui ex nostris iunioribus de Cabala scripserunt ... Egidius est ille Viterbiensis, vir utique eloquentissimus, ac disertissimus, omnique literari genere apprime eruditus, quem Leo hodiernus Pontifex Maximus, ob eius multiplices virtutes ac merita, ad cardinalatus dignitatem nuper sublimitavit: ab initio rem orsus, in libello de literis sanctis, elegantissimo quodam stylo, mirifice huiusce divinae sapientiae fundamenta iecit: ut palam ostenderet, a se longe plura, longeque altiora, quae ceteri omnes hactenus hac de re scripserint, cito esse proditura: quae rei tam obscure clarissimam afferant lucem.', *op. cit.*, xxi^r. The fact that Egidio was a cardinal and a friend of the reigning pope made Galatino choose his words carefully.

²⁷) Cf. P. RIEGER, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, 2 (Berlin 1895) 86-92.

²⁸) A translation of the dedication is given by C. D. Ginsburg in his edition of Levita's *Massoreth Ha-Massoreth* (London 1867), 16.

pleted in 1529²⁹). There is a more striking indication of Giles's part in scriptural studies, but it has been overlooked by his biographers. The first complete Greek edition of the Bible to be published was issued at Venice in 1518 from the house of Andrea Torresano and Aldo Manuzio. The volume was dedicated to Giles³⁰). Manuzio had died three years previously, but in the dedicatory letter Andrea told of the literary interests which brought Giles and the prince of publishers together in close friendship³¹).

Further evidence of the friar's biblical interests was brought to public notice almost forty years later when Widmanstetter published his Syriac version of the New Testament³²). This renowned orientalist ranked Giles among the memorable figures in the history of biblical studies³³). He acknowledged the debt which he owed to the Augustinian since the days when Giles encouraged him to persevere in the study of Arabic, and he recalled with pleasure

²⁹) Ginsburg in *op. cit.*, 70-72, treated of the *Methurgeman* or Chaldee lexicon, but did not seem to know that it was written for Giles. The dedication is included in the copy in the Biblioteca Angelica, MS Orientale 84, cf. A. DI CAPUA, *Catalogo dei codici ebraici della biblioteca Angelica* (Florence 1878), 101-102.

³⁰) 'Reverendissimo in Christo Patri et Domino D. Aegidio Viterbiensi Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae praesbytero cardinali, tituli Sancti Mattaei, ac Sanctae Apostolicae Sedis legato de latere apud Catholicam Maiestatem, Andreas Asculanus salutem...'. For this edition cf. T. H. DARLOW and H. F. MOULE, *Historical catalogue of the printed editions of Holy Scripture in the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, II (London 1911), 576-7, no. 4594. For Torresano (1451-1529) cf. F. J. NORTON, *Italian printers, 1501-1520* (London 1958), 155; for Manuzio (c. 1449-1515) cf. *ibid.*, 141-143.

³¹) 'Quoties mihi in mentem venit, quanta tibi cum genero meo Aldo fuerit consuetudo, nulla alia de causa magis quam ob admirabilem illam animi tui cupiditatem iuvandae rei litterariae, quam nescio an ille potius aequaverit quam superare potuerit, nullum arbitror esse amicitiae genus, quod tu sanctius colas, quam quod mecum olim auspice (ut ita dicam) Aldo contraxeris'. For Manuzio's dedication of his edition of Origen's *Homiliae* to Giles cf. *infra*, n. 36.

³²) *Liber Sacrosancti Evangelii de Jesu Christo Domino & Deo nostro ... characteribus et lingua Syra* (Vienna 1555). This is the *editio princeps* of the New Testament in Syriac, and the first book printed in that language, cf. DARLOW and MOULE *cit.*, II. 1528-1530; *Church Quarterly Review*, XXVI (1888) 263-275. For Widmanstetter (1506-1557) cf. L. T. K., X (1938) 865.

³³) 'ac praeter hos etiam, (ut de Graecarum literarum studiis, propter cognitionem, qua cum latino sermone coniuncta sunt, tam prope maturis, nunc dicere omittam) Aegidius Viterbiensis, et sacrae eruditione et purpura Senatoria Leonis X beneficio clarissimus theologus, huiusque nobis discipulus Hieronymus Seripandus Napolitanus patritius, Augustinianae togae, sacrarumque conciorum duo lumina et ornamenta', in Widmanstetter's edition *cit.*, [f. 5].

the permission to have access to Giles's valuable library of oriental manuscripts ³⁴). Widmanstetter made the extraordinary claim that at one period the friar was in effect the only European scholar with a knowledge of Arabic ³⁵).

It had doubtless redounded to Giles's cultural reputation in 1503 when Aldo Manuzio dedicated to him the first printed edition of Origen's homilies on the Old Testament, but the association of Giles's name with the heterodox Origen was unlikely to escape notice during post-Reformation days when the watchdogs of orthodoxy at Rome were quick to pounce on anybody who showed sympathy with those who deviated from the traditional teachings of the Church ³⁶).

So, by the time that the generation which had known Giles passed away, an attractive but distorted image of the Augustinian had been created for posterity. Giles was presented as a cultured though virtuous Renaissance prelate, the polished orator, the ciceronian stylist, an accomplished poet, a pioneer biblical scholar astray in cabbalistic literature. On such evidence alone, and for many generations it was the only printed evidence available, it was pardonable to ask — was Giles any more than an intellectual jackdaw, more interested in the glitter of new discoveries than in their real value? Had he any central purpose in all his intellectual ramifications? Furthermore, while the liberal-minded might pardon his association with worldly prelates such as Bembo and Cortese, there were undoubted misgivings about his friendship with men of

³⁴) *Ibid.*, [f. 10].

³⁵) 'Factum est, ut Aegidius, postquam et Justinianus [Nebiensis Antistes] ex hac vita, et Leo Eliberitanus, Catholica fide cum Punica commutata Tannetem migrasset, Arabicarum literarum dignitatem inter Christianos prope solus tueretur', *ibid.*, [f. 10]. Widmanstetter's statement has been repeated by K. H. DANNENFELDT, 'The Renaissance humanists and the knowledge of Arabic', in *Studies in the Renaissance*, II (1955) 103. For Giles's Arabic tutor, the well-known « Leo Africanus » cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, III (1936) 22.

³⁶) ORIGENES, *Homiliae*, ed. Aldus Manutius (Venice 1503). There is a copy in the Bodleian Library. For an interesting discussion on the edition of Origen and the dedication to Giles cf. E. WIND, 'The revival of Origen', in *Studies in art and literature for Belle da Costa Greene*, ed. D. Miner (Princeton 1954) 412-424. Another dedication to Giles which may have caused orthodox eyebrows to be raised was *Expositio magni prophete Abbatis Joachim in Apocalipsim*, ed. Silvester Meucci da Castilione Arretino (Venice 1527). Copies of this rare work are in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and the Bibliotheca Marciana, Venice.

suspect orthodoxy such as Pontano and Reuchlin. The damning aspect of this picture was not that it was untrue, but that it was half true. Giles's image was presented totally out of focus. Subsequent writers have done little to adjust the historical lenses so that the image might correspond with reality.

Giles's spiritual personality and religious convictions received practically no attention. Among his friends and intimates there was unanimous agreement that he was a priest of exemplary virtue. Yet, Giovio could not restrain his malignant pen from mentioning some spicy titbits of gossip. Having dealt out praise with a generous hand to Giles he remarked that certain malicious critics believed that the friar's ascetical pallor was artificially produced by inhaling the smoke of wet straw, and that his denunciation of vice was to divert attention from his own loose living. Giovio hastened to add, with his tongue in his cheek, that these stories were due to venomous rumour rather than to any 'certain evidence' of illegitimate children ³⁷).

Giovio's gossip, though wide of the mark, does draw attention to the neglected aspect of Giles's life. In assessing the man and his work there is an obvious need to consider primarily his membership of the Augustinian order. This was the body to which, while still in his teens, he made religious profession. His spiritual and intellectual development were made under Augustinian guidance. The Augustinians believed him so worthy a representative of their ideals that he was elected prior general at three successive general chapters 1507, 1511, 1515. His main energies during twelve years of constant activity were directed to a reform of the order. Indeed, his preaching and literary interests can be properly understood only in the light of his unwavering desire for reform. Yet he has been judged almost exclusively on his oratorical and intellectual abilities. In fact, these were subsidiary aspects of his life, at least until he was created cardinal in 1518 at the age of forty nine. It would be equally just to judge Disraeli, with whom Giles had many resemblances, on his novels, with little reference to his parliamentary and political career.

³⁷) 'Sed non deerant, qui praeclari nominis famam verbis elearent, quod pallorem oris sumpto cumino et suffitu udae paleae mentiretur, variasque libidines censoria severitate contegeret, quas demum malignus potius rumor quam ulla certi vestigii relictas proles detexit.', in *Elogia virorum doctorum*, cit. 54r.

II

GILES OF THE AUGUSTINIANS

During his lifetime Giles received his meed of praise in works written by Augustinians. When Paolo da Genazzano published his edition of Gregory of Rimini at Venice in 1503 he dedicated it to Giles, whom he described in extravagant Renaissance terms as a Platonist, a notable preacher, and an ornament of the Augustinian order ³⁸). Five years later — Giles being then prior general of the Augustinians — the Venetian provincial, Gabriele Della Volta, edited the first printed version of the constitutions of the order ³⁹), and in the dedication to Giles exhorted him to effect a thorough reform of discipline and learning among the friars. A thousand copies of the work were printed, and although it also contained copies of several precious privileges obtained for the order by Giles from Julius II, it failed to leave posterity with the impression of Giles in the role of ecclesiastical reformer. Yet, it was his success as a reformer, no less than his impressive range of learning, which formed the principal theme of the letter with which Ambrogio Calepino dedicated the second edition of his famous dictionary to Giles in October 1509 ⁴⁰). Ambrogio Flandino, a bishop and a leading

³⁸) *Commentaria Gregorii Ariminensis in Primum et Secundum Sententiarum*, ed. Paulus de Genazano, O. S. A. (Venice 1503). The dedicatory letter is dated from Padua, 1 April 1502. This edition was reprinted at Venice in 1518 and again in 1532, cf. D. TRAPP, O. S. A., 'Gregory of Rimini manuscripts, edition and additions', in *Aug.*, VIII (1958) 430-6. For Paolo († c. 1526) cf. PERINI, *Bibl. Aug.*, II, 103.

³⁹) Printed at Venice in November 1508. Eustasio Esteban gave a detailed description of the volume in *A. A.*, II (1907-8) 30-1, 35-41, and reprinted the dedicatory letter by Della Volta, as well as a letter of approbation from Giles, dated Rome 1 November 1508. For Della Volta, who succeeded Giles as general in 1518, cf. PERINI, *Bibl. Aug.*, II, 22-3.

⁴⁰) AMBROSIUS CALEPINUS, O. S. A., *Dictionary* (Trino 1521). Calepino died in 1511, but he had prepared a second edition with a dedicatory letter to Giles, dated from Bergamo 1 October 1509. This edition did not see print until 1521, when it was published by the Augustinians of Bergamo. They dedicated the publication anew to Giles, from Bergamo 13 January 1519, but at the rear of the volume included the original dedicatory letter from Calepino to Giles. The 1521 edition is extremely rare. I located copies in the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice, and the Biblioteca Civica, Bergamo, but the edition is not in the British Museum, the Bodleian, Cambridge University Library, the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris,

light among the Augustinians, in a work published in the year 1523, treated Giles as an exemplar of the learning and virtues desired in a Son of St Augustine ⁴¹).

One would have expected, therefore, that as prior general and reformer he would receive adequate attention from the historians of the order. Unfortunately, historical studies found no great figure among the Augustinians in the sixteenth century. The Spaniard, Alonso de Orozco, published a chronicle of St Augustine and the Augustinian order at Seville in 1551 ⁴²). Its purpose was to edify, and Giles's term of office, which had seen the advent of Luther, was diplomatically skirted. Another Spanish Augustinian, Jeronimo Roman, published a further chronicle of the order at Salamanca in 1569 ⁴³). Roman showed historical ability, but his interest was mainly in the Augustinians of the Iberian peninsula, and Giles received scant attention. A comprehensive history of the order was attempted by the Italian Augustinian, Giuseppe Panfilo, bishop of Segni. His work was published at Rome in 1581 ⁴⁴). It was largely based on secondary sources, and for that reason his treatment of Giles ⁴⁵) added little to what was already available in the writings of the humanists. So the sixteenth century passed without any substantial change in the accepted picture of Giles.

The seventeenth century was the golden era of Augustinian

the Biblioteca Nazionale at Rome. For Calepino cf. S. C. GIORGI, *P. Ambrogio da Calepio: un insigne lessicografo agostiniano del secolo XV* (Florence 1927); PERINI, *Bibl. Aug.*, I. 166-9.

⁴¹) AMBROSIUS [FLANDINUS], *Quadragesimalium concionum liber* (Venice 1523), ff. 481v-482r. This is a rare work of which copies are in the Biblioteca Angelica, Rome, and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Flandino deals with Giles in the course of a sermon on St Augustine, and having as its topic the fusion of the active with the contemplative life. For Flandino (1462-1531) cf. PERINI, *Bibl. Aug.*, II. 72-3, IV. 75-6.

⁴²) [ALONSO DE OROZCO], *Cronica del glorioso Padre y Doctor dela Yglesia Sant Augustin: y de los sanctos y beatos: y de los doctores de su orden* (Seville 1551). For Alonso (1500-91), cf. HERRERA, *Alphab. Aug.*, I. 24-5; F. ROTH in *Tagastan*, 16 (1953-4) 56.

⁴³) J. ROMAN, *Chronica de la Orden de los Eremitanos del glorioso Padre Sancto Augustin* (Salamanca 1569). For Roman († 1597) cf. HERRERA, *Alphab. Aug.*, I. 356-7.

⁴⁴) JOSEPH PAMPHILIUS, *Chronicon Ordinis Fratrum Eremitarum Sancti Augustini* (Romae 1581). For Panfilo († 1581) cf. PERINI, *Bibl. Aug.*, III. 50-1.

⁴⁵) *Op. cit.*, 102v-107r, 110r-v. Panfilo's impression of Giles's personality was mainly a reproduction from Giovio, cf. *ibid.*, 100r-v.

historiography ⁴⁶). There one would expect an accurate assessment of Giles's life and work, or at least of his years as prior general of the order. Two major causes combined to defeat any original investigation or new interpretation.

The main source of information about the programme and activities of the priors general are the Dd registers in the Augustinian General Archives, Rome ⁴⁷). One of the two registers covering Giles's years as prior general had disappeared from the archives by the seventeenth century ⁴⁸). There were, however, copies of Giles's registers then in existence. One historian, Torelli, used them but only to a very limited degree ⁴⁹). Subsequently these copies also disappeared. Supplementary to Giles's registers were the letter-books containing copies of the letters he sent out and received ⁵⁰). The letter-books are also missing, and were not at the disposal of the historians in the seventeenth century. Nowadays, due to copies which have come to light in other archives and libraries, we can make good to an appreciable degree the lack of the original registers and letter-books ⁵¹).

Apart from the fundamental difficulty of lack of primary source material the Augustinians laboured under a serious psychological difficulty when wishing to treat of Giles as a member of their order. They were conscious, over-conscious, that Luther, the man who rent in twain the unity of the Western Church, had been an Augustinian, and that Giles was prior general of the order when Luther first raised the standard of revolt. Giles himself was taunted by Cardinal Cornaro with the fact that Luther was an Augustinian ⁵²).

In 1520, two years after Giles resigned from the prior generalship, his successor, Della Volta, wrote to Staupitz, vicar general

⁴⁶) Cf. F. ROTH, 'Augustinian historians of the XVIIIth century', in *Aug.*, VI (1956) 635-658.

⁴⁷) Cf. B. A. L. VAN LUIJK, 'Sources italiennes pour l'histoire générale de l'ordre des Augustins: Rome — Les archives générales de l'ordre', in *Aug.*, VIII (1958) 397-424; F. X. MARTIN and A. DE MEIJER in *Archivium Hibernicum*, XIX (1956) 61-63; A. DE MEIJER and N. TEEUWEN in *Aug.*, IX (1959) 203-205.

⁴⁸) I intend to discuss the tangled question of Giles's registers and their copies in a further article.

⁴⁹) For Torelli (1609-1683) cf. ROTH cit. in *Aug.*, VI. 635-638.

⁵⁰) These letter-books are referred to *passim* in Giles's registers.

⁵¹) Cf. *infra*, Parts IV-VI.

⁵²) For the cardinal's taunt and Giles's pithy reply cf. TORELLI, *Secoli Agostiniani*, cit., VII, 503, VIII, 29.

of the Saxon Congregation to which Luther belonged, telling in earnest sorrow of the disrepute which had come on the order due to Luther's defiance of Rome ⁵³). The same chagrin is evident in the history of the Augustinians by Nikolaus Kreusen, published at Munich in 1623 ⁵⁴). Kreusen, having lauded St Augustine as founder and glory of the order, turns to deal with Luther whom he treats as the supreme disgrace on the good name of the Augustinians. Side by side with a traditional hymn in honour of St Augustine he printed another version execrating Luther ⁵⁵). Torelli, writing during the last quarter of the seventeenth century, could hardly find words expressive enough with which to denounce Luther ⁵⁶).

In view of such an attitude common among the Augustinians, and in the absence of satisfactory documentation on Giles's years as prior general, it is understandable that the historians of the order should have accepted the picture of Giles drawn by the humanists of the sixteenth century. But while this interpretation was still

⁵³) 'Quod ad malum ordinis attinet, scias religionem nostram in oculis omnium factam esse odibilem, habitumque et nomen Augustiniensium adeo exosum haberi, ut digito tamquam de Apostolica Sede male meriti ostendamus ... Haec autem omnis ad te scripsisse volumus, ut videas in quem malorum cumulum res nostrae deductae sint, et quatenam nostro ordini accedat infamia.', Della Volta to Staupitz, 15 March 1520, ed. T. Kolde in *Z. K. G.*, II (1877) 480.

⁵⁴) NICHOLAUS CRUSENIUS, *Monasticon Augustinianum* (Munich 1623). For remarks on Kreusen as a historian cf. ROTH cit. in *Aug.*, VI. 646-647.

⁵⁵) The two versions begin and end thus, in *op. cit.*, 190-191

De S. Augustino

De profundis tenebrarum
Lumen mundo exit clarum
Et scintillat hodie
Olim quidem vas erroris
Augustinus vas honoris
Datus est Ecclesiae

... ..

Salve gemma confessorum
Lumen Christi, vox coelorum
Tuba vitae, lux Doctorum
Praesul beatissime.
Qui te Patrem venerantur,
Te ductore consequantur
Vitam in qua glorianur,
Beatorum animae.

De Luthero

De profundis tenebrarum
Praedo surgit animarum
Et punitur hodie
Olim quidem vas honoris
Luther erat, mox erroris
Hostis inde Ecclesiae

... ..

Procul, caece, dux caecorum
Umbra, foetor inferorum
Tuba mortis, vox bellorum
Exul perfidissime.
Qui te Patrem venerantur
Te ductore condemnantur
Igni, in quo cruciantur
Damnatorum animae.

⁵⁶) 'quel diabolico Dragone', 'quell'Infernal Dragone di Sassonia', 'Mostro d'Islebio', 'il perfido Apostata di Sassonia', 'Diabolico Dragone di Sassonia',

accepted as authentic in the post-Tridentine era it was then no longer regarded with favour. Giovio had etched an engaging picture of Giles while a student at Padua, strumming the lyre as he sang to accompany his own verse ⁵⁷). The Augustinian historians, who knew in retrospect that Luther even as a student had grappled with the crucial problems of grace, free will and man's redemption, cannot but have felt that Giovio's picture suggested Nero fiddling while Rome burned. Felice Milensio wrote a history of the German Augustinians which was published at Prague in 1613 ⁵⁸). He gave special attention to the Saxon Congregation and implied that a pusillanimous policy pursued by Giles allowed the dissident elements, including Luther, in the congregation to initiate successfully a policy of opposition to Roman authorities ⁵⁹). The same year as Milensio's work appeared Thomas Gratien, provincial of the Low Countries, published a general very brief survey of Augustinian writers ⁶⁰). Gratien's work by its set limits treated only the literary aspect of Giles's life, and even then attempted no new assessment of his writings.

Another friar from the Low Countries, Corneille De Corte, published at Antwerp in 1636 a series of biographical sketches of outstanding members of the order ⁶¹). The very title of the work, *Virorum illustrium elogia*, made evident the laudatory spirit in which De Corte approached his subject. He was interested almost exclusively in Giles's public activities, as a preacher, diplomat and

'il Mostro infame d'Islebio', 'Infernale Dragone di Sassonia', 'Empio Seduttore della Sassonia', in *Secoli Agostiniani*, VII (Bologna 1682) 333, VIII (Bologna 1686) 28, 30, 39, 42, 66, 69, 180.

⁵⁷) 'nonnumquam accidit, ut Patavii optimis litteris operam navans, factitata ab se lepida carmina ad lyram elegantissime decantaret', in *Elogia virorum doctorum*, cit., 54r.

⁵⁸) FELIX MILENSIUS, *Alphabetum de monachis et monasteriis Germaniae ac Sarmatiae citerioris Ordinis Eremitarum Sancti Augustini* (Prague 1613). For Milensio († c. 1633) cf. PERINI, *Bibl. Aug.*, II, 216-218.

⁵⁹) *Op. cit.*, 220-222.

⁶⁰) THOMAS GRATIANUS, *Anastasis Augustiniana in qua scriptores Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini qui abhinc saeculis aliquot vixerunt, una cum neotericis, in seriem digesti sunt* (Antwerp 1613). Giles is treated pp. 9-10. For Gratien († 1627) cf. *B. N. B.*, VIII (1884-5) 244-5.

⁶¹) CORNELIUS CURTIUS, *Virorum illustrium ex Ordine Eremitarum S. Augustini elogia cum singulorum expressis ad vivum iconibus* (Antwerp 1636). Giles is treated on pp. 92-107. The particular value of De Corte's work is its fine series of engravings. For De Corte (c. 1590-1638) cf. *B. N. B.*, IV (1873) 908-9.

cardinal, and did not attempt to probe his character and motives. Nothing new was added to our knowledge of Giles by Kreusen's annals of the order published in 1623 ⁶²), or by Simplicien de Saint-Martin's folio volume of biographical sketches printed at Toulouse in 1641 ⁶³), or in Elsen's ambitious dictionary of Augustinian notables which appeared at Brussels in 1654 ⁶⁴).

A welcome step forward was taken by Lorenzo da Empoli in 1628, when he edited the *Bullarium* of the Augustinian order ⁶⁵). Empoli's purpose was practical, to supply a compendium of the rights and privileges of the order. For that reason he omitted far more papal documents than he included ⁶⁶). Nevertheless, the collection includes several important papal briefs and bulls addressed to Giles by Popes Julius II (1503-1513) and Leo X (1513-1521) ⁶⁷). Their publication indicated, though to a very limited degree, a view of Egidio as prior general and ecclesiastical reformer. The documents were capable of another interpretation. Since they showed Giles to have been a trusted agent of two popes who typified the Renaissance spirit they could be, and in fact were, made to fit in with the existing interpretation which had been created by the humanists in the sixteenth century. This is what happened in 1677 when the Jesuit, Agostino Oldoini, issued his edition of Chacón's history of the popes and cardinals ⁶⁸). The Giles who emerged from

⁶²) *Monasticon Augustinianum* (Munich 1623). Pp. 189-193 concern Giles.

⁶³) SIMPLICIEN DE SAINT-MARTIN, *Histoire de la vie du glorieux Père S. Augustin, religieux, docteur de l'Eglise, evesque d'Hippone, et de plusieurs SS. BB. Saints, bienheureux et autres hommes illustres de son ordre des hermites* (Toulouse 1641). Giles is treated on pp. 743-744. For comments on Simplicien as a historian cf. ROTH cit. in *Aug.* VI, 641-643.

⁶⁴) PHILIPPUS ELSSIUS, *Encomiasticon Augustinianum* (Brussels 1654). Giles is discussed on p. 14. For Elsen († 1654) cf. *B. N. B.*, VI (1878) 562-3.

⁶⁵) LAURENTIUS EMPOLI, *Bullarium Ordinis Fratrum Eremitarum Sancti Augustini ... ab Innocentio III usque ad Urbanum VIII* (Rome 1628). The editor is generally referred to as «Empoli», though his surname was Orsacchi; Empoli was his place of origin. For his life and work cf. PERINI, *Bibl. Aug.*, III, 39-40.

⁶⁶) Cf. ROTH cit. in *Aug.*, VI, 635-636.

⁶⁷) *Op. cit.*, 204-214, 228-242.

⁶⁸) ALFONSUS CIACCONIUS, O. P., *Vitae et res gestae Pontificum Romanorum et Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae cardinalium*, ed. Augustinus Oldoinus, III (Rome 1677) 395-397. The first edition by Chacón at Rome in 1601 had no more than bare mention of Giles. For Chacón (1540 - c. 1600) cf. *Encic. Catt.*, III (1949) 1368; Chacón's work was a posthumous publication. For Oldoini (1612-83) cf. C. SOMMERVOGEL, S. J., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, V (Brussels-Paris 1894) 1880-1.

his pages was the court preacher, diplomat and man of letters. There was no re-assessment of the standard opinion.

One would have expected otherwise from Tomás de Herrera (1585-1654), a Spanish Augustinian, whose *Alphabetum Augustinianum*, published at Madrid in 1644, is still the most satisfactory reference work on Augustinian history ⁶⁹). The absence of most of the original sources about Giles from the Augustinian General Archives during Herrera's years of research in Rome may explain his superficial treatment of this subject. Still, little use was made of Giles's second register, then available in Rome ⁷⁰). Herrera's estimation of Giles was summed up in the opening sentence 'Giles of Viterbo... a celebrated writer, and the most famous preacher of his day' ⁷¹). Special attention was given to the diplomatic missions on which Giles was sent by Popes Julius II and Leo X to Venice, Naples and Germany. All this was no real advance on previous biographers.

However, three Italian Augustinians writing in the second half of the seventeenth century helped towards a greater knowledge of Giles's life and work. In 1653 Ambrogio Landucci published a history of the Augustinian Congregation of Lecceto ⁷²). The congregation, centred on Lecceto, « the seminary of saints » near Siena, was the oldest and the most famous of the reforms in the Augustinian order. Landucci related that Giles was an exemplary member of the congregation and how he used the Lecceto friars to spread the reform throughout the order ⁷³). Landucci's work, like so many of its kind, suffers from being pitched on a eulogistic note.

Luigi Torelli of Bologna (1609-1683) attempted, with a fair measure of success, a discursive history of the Augustinians ⁷⁴).

⁶⁹) For an appreciation of Herrera's historical work cf. ROTH cit. in *Aug.*, VI, 639-641. Cf. Herrera's autobiographical account in *Alphabetum Augustinianum*, II, 462-463, and the bibliographical study by GREGORIO DE SANTIAGO VELA in *Ensayo de una biblioteca Ibero-Americana de la Orden de San Agustín*, III (Madrid 1917) 590-631.

⁷⁰) For Herrera's use of Egidian sources in the Augustinian General Archives cf. *ibid.*, 612, 616.

⁷¹) In *Alphab. Aug.*, I, 42. Giles is treated on pp. 42-45.

⁷²) AMBROSIUS LANDUCCI, *Sacra Ilicetana Sylva, sive origo et chronicon breve coenobii, et congregationis de Iliceto in Hetruria Ord. Erem. S. P. Augustini in Tuscia* (Siena 1653). For Landucci (1599-1669) cf. PERINI, *Bibl. Aug.*, II, 143-145.

⁷³) In *op. cit.*, 30-32, 43-44, 59-62, 135.

⁷⁴) LUIGI TORELLI, *Secoli Agostiniani ovvero historia generale del sagro ordine*

When treating of Giles he enjoyed the advantage, denied to preceding historians, of consulting copies of the registers covering Giles's period as prior general. He was thus in a position to present Giles the Augustinian, the reformer of his order. Nevertheless, two factors weakened Torelli's treatment of the subject. He tried to deal with all aspects and personalities of the order. In consequence, Giles received little systematic study, but appears disappears and reappears on innumerable occasions throughout the seventh and eight volumes of the work. In addition, Torelli lacked the detachment of the critical historian⁷⁵). The pity is that somebody with the calibre of Herrera did not have the opportunity to examine the copies of Giles's registers.

Domenico Antonio Gandolfo (1653-1707), an Augustinian of the Genoese congregation, was interested principally in literature⁷⁶). In his *Fiori poetici dell'eremo agostiniano* (Genoa 1682) he presented a brief life of Giles, and reprinted four of his published poems⁷⁷). He again treated of Giles as a writer in *Dissertatio historica de ducentis celeberrimis Augustinianis scriptoribus* (Rome 1704)⁷⁸). His *Le porpore agostiniane* (Genoa 1696), designed to treat of various Augustinians as cardinals, contains the best of the three accounts which he wrote of Giles⁷⁹). Gandolfo deserves credit for collecting and arranging in these works much of the information already in print about Giles but his only original research on the subject was a laboured attempt to prove that Giles was of noble parentage⁸⁰). A few new facts about Giles were added by Agostino Arpe, also of the Genoese congregation, in a volume of biographical sketches published in 1709⁸¹).

eremitano del gran dottore S. Aurelio Agostino vescovo, divisa in tredici secoli, 8 vols (Bologna 1659-1686). The last volume was posthumous. Torelli's earlier work, *Ristretto delle vite de gli huomini e delle donne illustri ... dell'ordine Agostiniano* (Bologna 1647), was written before he consulted the general archives in Rome, and has nothing original about Giles.

⁷⁵) Cf. ROTH cit., VI, 637-638. For a bio-bibliographical account of Torelli cf. PERINI, *Bibl. Aug.*, IV, 17-18.

⁷⁶) For Gandolfo cf. *ibid.*, II, 94-95.

⁷⁷) In *op. cit.*, 71-107.

⁷⁸) In *op. cit.*, 16-20.

⁷⁹) In *op. cit.*, 36-43. This is a separate work though issued as an appendix to Gandolfo's *Dispaccio istorico, curioso ed erudito* (Mantua 1695).

⁸⁰) In *Dissertatio historica de ducentis*, cit., 16.

⁸¹) A. ARPE, *Pantheon Augustinianum, sive elogia virorum illustrium Ordinis*

III

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: THE PICTURE REMAINS UNCHANGED

The eighteenth century saw the publication of a section of Giles's letters. As far back as October 1685 two famous figures of the St Maur Benedictine Congregation, Jean Mabillon and Michel Germain, located a number of his manuscripts at Naples ⁸²). The letters which they then transcribed were published in 1724 by two other monks of the St Maur Congregation, Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand ⁸³). These twenty five letters contain precious autobiographical facts about Giles, and reveal neglected aspects of his character as well as his concern for ecclesiastical reform. Subsequent writers overlooked one important fact about these letters. They came from a collection which had been compiled to demonstrate the felicity of Giles's Latin style ⁸⁴).

Bernard Montfaucon, another Benedictine of the St Maur Congregation, in publishing a catalogue of manuscript collections in various European libraries listed sixty four manuscripts which had passed from Giles's library to the royal library at Paris ⁸⁵). Although

Eremitarum S. P. Augustini (Genoa 1709). It includes, pp. 263-6, a brief life and poem in honour of Giles; p. 269 supplies a list of Giles's works which Arpe saw in Rome. For Arpe cf. PERINI, *Bibl. Aug.*, I. 59-60.

⁸²) J. MABILLON and M. GERMAIN, *Iter italicum litterarium Dom Johannis Mabillon et Dom Michaelis Germain* (Paris 1687), 110-111, tell of examining the Egidian letters in the library of San Giovanni in Carbonara. Their research there was cut short by the unaccountable change in attitude of the librarian, cf. *ibid.*, 111. For Mabillon (1632-1707) cf. *D. A. C. L.*, X (1931), pt 1, 427-724; *D. T. C.*, IX (1926) 1425-1440. For Germain cf. E. MARTÈNE, *Histoire de la Congrégation de St-Maur*, ed. G. Charvin, VII (Paris 1937) 113-115.

⁸³) E. MARTÈNE and U. DURAND, *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium, amplissima collectio*, III (Paris 1724) 1233-1268. For Martène (1654-1739) cf. *D. A. C. L.*, X, pt 2, 2297-2322; *D. T. C.*, X (1928) 179-181; for Durand (1682-1771) cf. *ibid.*, IV (1924) 1963-1964. For the work of the Maurists as a whole cf. M. D. KNOWLES, 'Great historical enterprises, II: The Maurists' in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Ser., IX (1959) 169-187. I am indebted to Dom Hubert Dauphin, O. S. B., Quarr Abbey, Isle of Wight, for information on the Maurists.

⁸⁴) Cf. the letter of Fra Serafino, the compiler of the collection, to Fra Deodato, Lecceto 25 October 1507, in MARTÈNE and DURAND, *cit.*, 1238-1239, and Fra Deodato to Fr. Serafino, Siena 15 January 1508, *ibid.*, 1242-1243.

⁸⁵) B. DE MONTFAUCON, *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum manuscriptorum nova*, II

the manuscripts are a valuable indication of Giles's intellectual equipment they could be mistakenly interpreted as mirroring the whole man. It is needful to bear in mind that they were part of the library he possessed in his later years.

Three German publications attempted a more balanced presentation of his intellectual interests. The *Fortgesetzte Sammlung von alten und neuen theologischen Sachen* of 1748 included a brief anonymous study of Giles⁸⁶). This summary, based solely on published material, was necessarily incomplete. However, it had the merit of being a critical appraisal of the printed sources. Johann Albert Fabricius of Leipzig was perhaps too ambitious in attempting to compile in his day a comprehensive list of late medieval and Renaissance authors and their works⁸⁷). He added nothing new about Giles, but recognized his place in Renaissance literature and mentioned several of his works which were known from published sources. Johann Felix Ossinger (1694-1767), a German Augustinian, undertook and completed the herculean task of producing a bibliography of Augustinian authors since the thirteenth century, and added useful biographical notes on each writer⁸⁸). He depended mainly on published sources, but gave a more complete list of Giles's works than did Fabricius⁸⁹). For almost a hundred and fifty years it remained the most satisfactory bibliography of Giles.

The last quarter of the eighteenth century witnessed the tardy publication of the funeral oration preached on Giles in 1532 by Lorenzo Grana, bishop of Segni⁹⁰). A later critic stated tartly,

(Paris 1739) 778-779. A number of the manuscripts were identified in the *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae* (4 vols, Paris 1739-1744), cf. numbers 527 (1-2), 596, 597, 598, 3363, 3367, 6589. For Montfaucon cf. *D. A. C. L.*, XI, pt 2, 2608-2672.

⁸⁶) *Op. cit.*, 58-64. The *Fortgesetzte Sammlung* was a quarterly production published from Leipzig.

⁸⁷) J. A. FABRICIUS, *Bibliotheca latina mediae et infimae aetatis*, I (Hamburg 1734) 62-63. The edition of Fabricius by J. D. Mansi (Padua 1754), I, 24, had nothing additional about Giles, nor had the further edition at Florence in 1858. For Fabricius (1668-1736) cf. *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, VI (1877) 518-21.

⁸⁸) JOHANNES FELIX OSSINGER, *Bibliotheca Augustiniana, historica, critica, et chronologica in qua mille quadringenti Augustiniani ordinis scriptores eorumque opera tam scripta, quam typis edita inveniuntur* (Ingolstadt-Augsburg 1768). For Ossinger cf. *L. T. K.*, VII (1935) 806.

⁸⁹) In OSSINGER *cit.*, 190-196.

⁹⁰) L. GRANA, *Oratio in funere Aegidii Canisii Cardinalis Viterbiensis ex MS cod. membranaceo Bibliothecae Marii Compagnonii Marefuscii S. R. E. Card.*

although with some exaggeration, that the panegyric dealt with everything except the dead man ⁹¹). Giovanni Amadutio, who edited Grana's oration, included useful footnotes, particularly one in which he mentioned Giles's works then preserved in the Angelica Library, Rome ⁹²).

A solid contribution towards an understanding of Giles was made by Girolamo Tiraboschi in his monumental history of Italian literature ⁹³). He was the first to attempt a survey of the friar's life as a whole. Much of his information was drawn from Gandolfo and Ossinger, but he also availed himself of notes put at his disposal by his friend, the Augustinian Giacinto Della Torre ⁹⁴). His own then unrivalled knowledge of Italian literature allowed him to assemble information from printed sources hitherto overlooked. The comprehensive nature of his general history gave authority to his estimate of Giles's place in Italian literature. He considered Giles to have been the most famous orator of his day. It was principally under this aspect, and as a Renaissance scholar and poet that he viewed him. Tiraboschi's biographical notice remained for one hundred and thirty years the most satisfactory account of Giles.

These then were four of the major contributions to Egidian studies in the eighteenth century — the letters published by Martène and Durand, the list of manuscripts printed by Montfaucon, the bibliography compiled by Ossinger, and the biographical notice written by Tiraboschi. None of these essayed or provoked a reassessment of the picture of Giles drawn by the humanists in the sixteenth century. Indeed, they seemed to corroborate the established opinion. Ossinger's bibliography systematised what already existed

amplissimi eruta, et a Johanne Christophoro Amadutio nunc primum in lucem edita (Rome 1781). Pp. 38. Professor P. O. Kristeller has informed me that the MS of this work is now in the library of Columbia University, N. Y.

⁹¹) 'il romano Lorenzo della Grana vescovo di Segni gli tesse l'elogio funebre, dove di ogni cosa discorre, salvo che del povero defunto', F. Fiorentino in *A. S. P. N.*, IX (1884) 452.

⁹²) *Op. cit.*, 5-6. Among the Egidian MSS he mentioned was a copy, now lost, of the invaluable 'Acta Ordinis', also lost. This volume of the 'Acta Ordinis' covered Giles's years as prior general, May 1507-1511.

⁹³) G. TIRABOSCHI, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, VII, pt 4 (2nd ed., Modena 1792) 1592-1597. For Tiraboschi (1731-94) cf. *Encic. Catt.*, XII (1954), 130-1.

⁹⁴) Della Torre (1747-1841) was deeply-versed in Italian literature; this explains his friendship with Tiraboschi. He became archbishop of Turin in 1805. For Della Torre cf. PERINI, *Bibl. Aug.*, II, 21-22.

in print; Tiraboschi's study concentrated on Giles's literary and humanistic achievements; the catalogue of Giles's library represented the intellectual interests of his later years, as cardinal; the letters published by Martène and Durand were from a collection designed to produce an appreciation of Giles's Latin prose.

One work published in the eighteenth century threw light on the neglected side of Giles's life. Anton Hoehn, a German Augustinian, wrote a compact history of the Rheno-Swabian Augustinian province⁹⁵). His study was based to a great degree on the archives of the province. Though this limited the range of the book it gave it a satisfying documentary foundation. The test of objectivity for any German Augustinian historian is the period concerning Luther. Here Hoehn showed himself critical, and as fair-minded as the circumstances of his surroundings allowed. His attitude was a welcome contrast with that of Milensio who had written on the same subject a hundred and thirty years earlier⁹⁶). Hoehn traced the history of the Observant movement among the German Augustinians, the development of the Saxon Congregation to which Luther belonged, and the attitude adopted to it by Giles⁹⁷). Hoehn's study, like Landucci's history of the Lecceto Congregation, allows us to see Giles encouraging the reform movement among the friars.

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(To be continued).

⁹⁵) ANTONIUS HOEHN, *Chronologia provinciae Rheno-Suevicæ ordinis FF. Eremitarum S. P. Augustini* (Wuerzburg 1744). The work is imprinted 1744 on the title page, but p. 178 deals with events of the year 1745.

⁹⁶) For Milensio cf. *supra*, note 58.

⁹⁷) In *op. cit.*, 88-160.