

The Writings of Giles of Viterbo*

There is no reliable comprehensive list of the writings of Giles of Viterbo. The last attempt at such a survey was David Perini's *Bibliographia Augustiniana: scriptores itali*, vol. 1, Florence 1929, pp.

*) *List of abbreviations:*

- A.G.A. = Augustinian General Archives, Rome
Anal. Aug. = *Analecta Augustiniana*, Rome 1905-
 Astruc and Monfrin, 'Livres latins et hébreux' = Charles Astruc and Jaques Monfrin, 'Livres latins et hébreux du Cardinal Gilles de Viterbe', in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 23 (1961) 551-4
Aug. = *Augustiniana*, Louvain 1951-
 BA = Biblioteca Angelica, Rome
Bibl. Nat.: cat. gen. mss latins = *Bibliothèque Nationale: catalogue générale des manuscrits latins*, ed. P. Lauer and others, Paris, 6 vols, 1939-
 BL = British Library (formerly British Museum), London
 BN, Naples = Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples
 BN, Paris = Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
 BN, Rome = Biblioteca Nazionale, Rome
Cat. cod. lat. Bibl. Reg. Monac. = *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, 2nd ed., I, pt 1, Munich 1892
Cat. cod. mss Bibl. Regiae = *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae*, 4 vols, Paris 1739-44
D.T.C. = *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, Paris, 15 vols, 1903-50
 Elssius, *Encom. Aug.* = Phillipus Elssius, *Encomiasticon Augustinianum*, Brussels 1654
 Gandolfo, *Dissertatio* = Domenicus A. Gandolfus, *Dissertatio historica de ducentis celeberrimis Augustinianis scriptoribus*, Rome 1704
 Kristeller, *Iter* = P.O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, 2 vols, Leiden 1963, 1967
 Martène and Durand, *Veterum scriptorum* = E. Martène and U. Durand, *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium, amplissima collectio*, 3 (Paris 1724)
 Montfaucon, *Bibl. bibl. mss nova* = Bernardus Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum manuscriptorum nova*, 2 vols, Paris 1739
 Narducci, *Cat. cod. mss Bibl. Angel.* = Henricus Narducci, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum praeter graecae et orientales in Bibliotheca Angelica de Urbe*, 1, Rome 1893
 O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo* = J.W. O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo on church and reform*, Leiden 1968
 ÖNB = Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna
 Ossinger, *Bibl. Aug.* = Johannes Felix Ossinger, *Bibliotheca Augustiniana*, Ingolstadt-Augsburg 1768
 Pastor, *Hist. popes* = L. Pastor, *The history of the popes*, 5th ed., vols I-VII, ed. and trans F.I. Antrobus and F.R. Kerr, London and St Louis, Mo., 1938-1950.
 Pélissier, 'Manuscrits' = Léon-Gabriel Pélissier, 'Manuscrits de Gilles de Viterbe à la Bibliothèque Angélique', in *Revue des bibliothèques*, 2 (1892), 228-40
 Perini, *Bibl. Aug.* = David Perini, *Bibliographia Augustiniana, cum notis biographicis:*

182-5. It was a brave effort, as so much of Perini's work, but his list is incomplete and repeats a substantial number of errors from previous publications.

Giles of Viterbo himself is largely responsible for our unsatisfactory knowledge of what he wrote. His talents, as much as his defects, explain why he has defeated the efforts of a succession of bibliographers and biographers to produce an even near-satisfactory list of his writings. Disregarding the example of his beloved patron, St. Augustine with his *Retractationes*, Giles never drew up a list of what he had written. Though he was neat in appearance and in his script, he was not systematic. In a revealing phrase he once referred to 'scripta tumultuaria mea'¹), yet that description could give the mistaken impression of a confused mind or sloppy methods. In reality he had a piercing mind, a sharp turn of phrase, and an unusual gift for expounding a problem; but intellectually speaking he did not give himself time to draw breath. He was a Renaissance man to his fingertips, many-sided, restless, eager to be abreast of the latest advance in scholarship, and equally anxious to know the most recent news of explorations in the Far East and the New World.

He belonged to the Age of Discovery, but he never gave himself time (as it were) to colonize and develop what he had just discovered: he pushed on towards new horizons. At one time he was looking for the rare works of classical authors such as Pindar, Lucian, Plutarch and Galen²), then he was seeking high and low for works in Hebrew literature, writing to Germany about them in 1513³), and six months later arranging that a friar travelling to Damascus would procure him

scriptores Itali, 4 vols, Florence 1929-37

Rev. biblioth. = *Revue des bibliothèques*, Paris 1891-

Signorelli, Egidio = Giuseppe Signorelli, *Il Cardinale Egidio da Viterbo, agostiniano, umanista e riformatore, 1469-1532*, Florence 1929

Vat. Lat. = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Codices latini

Zumkeller, *Manuskripte* = Adolar Zumkeller, *Manuskripte von Werken der Autoren des Augustiner Eremiten-ordens in mitteleuropäischen Bibliotheken*, Würzburg 1966

¹) Giles, 'Ad fratres suos Ilicetanos', mentions, 'Extant scripta tumultuaria mea, quae, ubi me nemus habet, mirum in volumen excrevere, ubi philosophorum tela scuto veritatis excepta, retrudenda, rejiciendaque in impios hostes, Spiritu Sancto inspirante, curavi', in Martène and Durand, *Veterum scriptorum*, III. 1236; see O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo*, p. 13.

²) See, e.g., the letters of Giles cited by D. Gutiérrez, 'De antiquis Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini bibliothecis', in *Anal. Aug.*, 23 (1954) 163-374, at p. 172.

³) Giles to Kaspar Amman, Rome 15 Dec. 1513, in H. P. C. Henke and P. J. Bruns, *Annales literarii*, I (Helmstadt 1782) 195-6.

a complete copy of the Zohar⁴). The news of a Portuguese naval victory at Ceylon was an occasion for him to preach before Pope Julius II in St Peter's⁵); the insight into holy scripture from the Cabbala and the Talmud spurred his pen to expound the hidden truths of God's message for mankind as gradually revealed first to the Chosen People and then to the christians⁶).

Apart from the restless nature of his intellectual outlook he was a very busy man in practical affairs. He was one of the most popular preachers in Italy, in an Age of Preachers, so much sought after that Julius II reserved to himself the right to decide the times and places where Giles would preach⁷). Yet, the time devoted to preaching was slight compared to the demands on his energies as prior general of the Augustinian order⁸). For twelve years, during a period of crises, he had the hardly enviable task of directing the activities of an international body which included men such as Martin Luther in Germany, Girolamo Seripando in Italy (later cardinal legate at the Council of Trent), Louis Chantereau (confessor to Queen Claude, wife of Francis I) in France, Dionisio Vásquez (court preacher to Charles V) in Spain, George Browne in England (later first Anglican archbishop of Dublin in Ireland). These men were merely the more prominent members of the reform movement within the Augustinian order, a movement which was widespread but which still owed much to the example and leadership of Giles himself. Even during those frantically busy years as general of the order he continued to study, to make notes, to draft out the latest work on which he was engaged. For example, at the end of his time as prior general he was sent by Pope Leo X to visit Spain as cardinal legate in 1518-19, and he used the opportunity to have a copy made of the Koran, as well as of the lexical

⁴) Giles to Gabriele Della Volta, Rome 8 May 1514, quoted by Gutiérrez, cit. p. 172.

⁵) See J. W. O'Malley, 'Fulfillment of the christian Golden Age under Pope Julius II: text of a discourse of Giles of Viterbo, 1507', in *Traditio* 25 (1969) 265-338, at pp. 265-6.

⁶) H. G. Enelow in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, 1 (1901) 219, declared of Giles that 'there is scarcely a classic of Jewish medieval mysticism that he has not translated, annotated or commented upon'.

⁷) L. Torelli, *Secoli Agostiniani*, 7 (Bologna 1682) 557, 8 (Bologna 1684) 175; and note the brief of Julius II to Giles, Rome 4 Nov. 1505, cited in L. Pastor, *Hist. popes*, VI. 635.

⁸) F. X. Martin, 'The Augustinian order on the eve of the Reformation', in *Miscellanea historiae ecclesiasticae*, 2 (Louvain 1967) 71-104.

treatise by the Jewish scholar, David Kimhi 'the Spaniard', on which he himself was to write a commentary⁹).

It will be seen from the list of Giles's writings that he was very much the Renaissance *uomo universale*. His first publications were his editions of three philosophical works of Giles of Rome, and these he produced in 1493 when he was still a student, only twenty-four years old. He went on to manifest a considerable interest in Latin and Greek literature, as we know from the manuscript in his library, and from the Latin poems he wrote, most of which are unpublished. He also turned his pen to Italian poetry, composing the *Caccia d'amore* and a series of madrigals addressed to Vittoria Colonna. He wrote a novel, *Cyminia*, in Italian — again a manifestation of the literary fashion of the time. He undertook two major works, a theological commentary on Peter Lombard but in the spirit of Plato, and a spiritual commentary on the history of the church (or, more precisely, on the papacy) expressed as his 'Historia XX Saeculorum'.

But the greatest and dominant interest in his life became, and continued to be, biblical studies. It was for this reason that he became an expert Hebraist, learned Arabic and Turkish, and turned much of his attention to Jewish literature, particularly the Talmud and the Cabbala. In 1513 he felt obliged to defend himself against the charge of spending extravagantly on Hebrew works¹⁰), but his Hebrew teacher and scribe, Elijah Levita, enthusiastically, even if not wisely, disclosed in 1516 that Giles had spent an 'enormous amount' of money on these works and was prepared to spend more¹¹). Yet, these were not

⁹) Milan, MS Ambrosiana 100 Inf, is a copy of the Koran, Arabic text and Latin translation, copied in 1621 by the Scot, David Colville, from two tomes compiled for Giles, when he was cardinal legate in Spain in 1518. I am much indebted to Dr Enrico Galbiati of the Ambrosian Library for information about the MS, and a transcript of ff 1 r-2 v, he supplied in 1958.

For the lexical treatise by David Kimhi, copied for Giles, and his commentary, see BA, MS Lat. 3, and the copy in St Andrews University Library, Scotland, MS BS 1158 H4 D2 C2. I am indebted to Professor P.O. Kristeller, New York, for drawing my attention to this latter MS, and to Dr R.N. Smart, St Andrews University Library, for details about it. For the commentary, see below, List of the writings of Giles, No. 26.

¹⁰) 'De libri hebrei non ho mai speso doi nè tre migliaia de ducati; nè posso, nè faccio pensiero: benchè a Rechanati ho comprato molti volumi: tamen no ho dato nè centinaia, nè migliaia de ducati', Giles to Gabriele Della Volta, Rome 14 Dec. 1513, in BA, MS 688, ff. 48r-49r.

¹¹) Levita, in a colophon to a copy of writings of Eleazar of Worms, which he transcribed for Giles and finished in 1516, stated of Giles, 'The Lord grant him the grace to study this book and to understand what is written in it, as well as in the other precious

extravagances. He needed them for his research, as preparation for his writings on biblical themes.

The tragedy of Giles, from a literary point of view, was that he finished so little and published so little. His contemporaries were aware of these facts, and Pope Clement VII, who greatly admired him, sent an admonitory papal brief on 22 July 1530, exhorting him to publish some of the fruits of his considerable theological and biblical learning¹²). The *Scechina* was one result of the effort which Giles then made. But it was too late for him to change his mentality and become used the discipline of committing his literary work to print. He was engaged in study and note-taking at the time of his death in November 1532.

The first to attempt a complete list of Giles's writings was an Italian Augustinian, Domenico Antonio Gandolfo (1653-1707). He included Giles's poetry in a work published in 1682 and, in two further works published in 1696 and 1704, he attempted an overall survey of Giles's life and included a list of his writings¹³). However, Gandolfo was too eager to give Giles credit for works which were of dubious authorship.

books which he bought or ordered to be copied, for he spent an enormous amount of money on it, and his hand is still stretched out to spend it until he is possessed of all the books which we have'; in BL, Add. MS 27199, f. 601r. A facsimile of this, page, with colophon, is reproduced in *The Palaeographical Society facsimiles of manuscripts and inscriptions: Oriental series*, ed. W. Wright, London 1875-83, plate LXXIX. I am indebted to Prosper S. Grech, o.s.a., and Dr J.L. Teicher, who jointly (while with me at the University of Cambridge in 1958) translated this difficult passage.

¹²) Printed from the original in A.G.A., by Thomas de Herrera, *Alphabetum Augustinianum*, Madrid 1644, I. 42-4 (and reprinted by Ossinger, *Bibl. Aug.*, pp. 191-3). Giles's reply to the pope appears as the dedicatory letter of *Scechina*, edited by F. Secret, 1 (Rome 1959) 65-67; see below, List of the writings of Giles, No. 11.

¹³) D.A. Gandolfo, *Fiori poetici dell'eremo agostiniano*, Genoa 1682, pp. 71-107; idem, *Le porpore agostiniane*, Genoa 1696, pp. 36-43; Idem, *Dissertatio*, pp. 16-20. A Arpe, *Pantheon Augustinianum*, Genoa 1709, p. 269, listed eight MS works of Giles (including a volume of correspondence) which he claimed to have seen, 'haec ego vidi', in the Biblioteca Angelica. Within three decades two of these works, 'De Ecclesiae Incremento' and 'Notas in Genes[im]', had disappeared; they do not appear in the list of Giles's works which Basile Rassegnier, o.s.a., librarian at the Angelica, included in his 'Index manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Angelicae', now BA, MS Lat. 1078. Rassegnier, librarian at the Angelica for thirty years, died on 14 March 1734. They were still missing when J.C. Amadutio, in publishing L. Grana, *Oratio in funere Aegidii Card. Viterbiensis*, Rome 1781, p. 5 n., listed Giles's works then in the Angelica. The missing 'De Ecclesiae Incremento' was published in 1969 by J. O'Malley, s.j., from another copy at Évora, Portugal; see below, List of the Writings of Giles, No. 4.

The systematic cataloguing of manuscript collections in eighteenth century Europe meant that Giles's unpublished works at Paris received some attention in two catalogues which dealt with the Royal Library at Paris. They were both published within the same period — one in four volumes during 1739-1744 and the other in 1739 in two volumes¹⁴). With the advantage of this information and of Gandolfo's publications, it was possible for a German Augustinian, J. F. Ossinger (1694-1767) to present in his *Bibliotheca Augustiniana* (Ingolstadt-Augsburg 1768) the most comprehensive account up to that time of Giles's writings¹⁵). He drew to a lesser extent on a number of other sources for information.

There was a long lapse before any further progress was made in listing Giles's writings. Again, it was the cataloguing of manuscripts in European collections which made real progress possible. Due to the erudite Jewish scholar, Moritz Steinschneider (1816-1907), Giles's Hebrew manuscripts, or the copies of them, at Munich were first recorded in systematic fashion¹⁶). This also indicated how many of Giles's writings were, in fact, biblical, or connected with rabbinical and cabbalistic literature. Nevertheless, the fact remained that the main collections of Giles's manuscripts were in Rome and Naples. Until those were properly catalogued a satisfactory assessment of Giles could not be arrived at.

The interest of a French academic, Léon-Gabriel Pélissier, drew attention to the collection at the Angelica Library at Rome. In the process of research for his doctoral thesis, on Giles's 'Historia XX Saeculorum', Pélissier examined the Giles manuscripts at the Angelica and also, to a lesser extent, those at Naples¹⁷). He published a valuable

¹⁴) *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliotheca Regiae*, Paris 1739-44, with Giles's MSS noted as nos 527 (1-2), 596, 597, 598, 3363, 3367, 6589; *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum manuscriptorum nova*, ed. B. de Montfaucon, Paris 1739, with the Ridolfi catalogue of Giles's MSS printed in vol. II, pp. 778-9.

¹⁵) Op. cit., pp. 190-6. Mention should be made of the impressive list of writings attributed to Giles by J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca latina mediae et infimae aetatis*, Hamburg 1734, I. 62-3, slightly expanded (mainly with items from Montfaucon's catalogue, see above note 14) in the edition by J. D. Mansi, Padua 1754, I. 24, and repeated in a further edition at Florence in 1858, vol. I. 22. Ossinger superseded Fabricius; nor did the later editions of Fabricius diminish Ossinger's superiority.

¹⁶) *Die hebräischen Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München* ed. M. Steinschneider, 1, pt. 1 (2nd ed., Munich 1895). Giles's MSS are listed on pp. 48-9, 50-53, 56-9, 60-61, 63-4, 96-7, 98-99, 141-7, 243-6.

¹⁷) L.-G. Pélissier, *De opere historico Aegidii Cardinalis Viterbiensis*, Montpellier 1896.

article in 1892, commenting on the Latin manuscripts of Giles in the Angelica¹⁸). By coincidence, an Italian librarian, Enrico Narducci, was at the same time compiling an impressive catalogue of the Latin manuscripts in the Anglica, and this supplemented Pélissier's conclusions¹⁹).

An attempt to reap the advantage of all this information was made by an Italian Augustinian, Aurelio Palmieri, when he published a survey of Giles's life in 1915 and included what was meant to be a complete list of his writings²⁰). It is a useful piece of work, but it also incorporated mistakes which Palmieri inherited from Gandolfo, Ossinger and from the useful but imperfect catalogues of manuscripts in the Royal Library at Paris in the mid-eighteenth century.

An equally ambitious attempt to present Giles's life in brief, with a list of his writings, was made by David Perini in the first volume of his bibliography of Italian Augustinian writers, published at Florence in 1929. His list of Giles's writings is extremely useful, but not fully reliable. Nor was it as complete as it might have been. The first full biography of Giles was published by a Viterbese librarian, Giuseppi Signorelli, in 1929²¹). While he touched on many of Giles's writings, he did not include a full list of them in his book.

During the past twenty years, there has been a remarkable development of specialist studies on Giles and this has brought greater clarification about his writings, though some question marks and puzzles still remain.

A main disadvantage with so much of his compositions is that he left most of them unfinished. He was continually discovering new avenues of knowledge in biblical languages, in the Talmud, in the Cabbala, as well as in neo-Platonism. He suffered from being a perfectionist, and was never satisfied to leave well enough alone. All his life he remained, in one sense, a student — continually taking notes, adding marginalia and clarifications to what he had already written down. Other factors did not help towards completed work. The

¹⁸) L.-G. Pélissier, 'Manuscripts de Gilles de Viterbe à la Bibliothèque Angélique', in *Revue des Bibliothèques*, 2 (1892) 228-40).

¹⁹) H. Narducci, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Angelica, olim coenobii Sancti Augustini de Urbe*, 1 (Rome 1893). Giles's MSS are described on pp. 1, 177, 202, 223, 281, 292, 316, 416-8, 487, 489-90, 526-7, 529.

²⁰) A. Palmieri, 'Gilles de Viterbe', in *D.T.C.*, 6 (1915) 1365-71.

²¹) G. Signorelli, *Il Cardinale Egidio da Viterbo, agostiniano, umanista e riformatore, 1469-1532*, Florence 1929.

very nature of cabbalistic thought meant that he moved in a cloud of unknowing. He was also very conscious of the limitations of human knowledge, and his love for neo-Platonism accentuated this outlook. The presentation of his work for the modern reader is not helped by the fact that he wrote in a polished Renaissance style which does not always make for clarity, however elegant it may be. How unfinished many of his works remained is indicated by the fact that, in several cases, he did not even decide on a title for them. These were added later by disciples or editors.

An invaluable source guide is P.O. Kristeller's two-volume work on Renaissance manuscripts in Italy²²). Nearly all of Giles's writings in Italian libraries and archives are mentioned there. A great service to our knowledge of Giles's writings at Paris was performed by two French librarians, C. Astruc and J. Monfrin, when they edited a seventeenth-century catalogue of Giles's library at Paris and identified several of those works which are still in the Bibliothèque Nationale²³).

The fact remains that, despite all Giles wrote and dictated, no major work of his had been published up to the present century, apart from his editions, in 1493, of three philosophical works of Giles of Rome. Two of Giles's famous orations were published in pamphlet form during his lifetime, one the much-quoted *Oratio* at the opening of the Fifth Lateran Council in 1512; the other the *Oratio* on the occasion of the peace treaty between the Emperor Maximilian and Pope Julius II²⁴). Yet, even these two were in unsatisfactory form. The Lateran speech appeared in several versions and copies of the speech on the occasion of the treaty between Maximilian and Julius II had become so rare that Pastor, in his *History of the popes*, noted that the only copy he located had disappeared since he had seen it in 1892²⁵).

Unlike an Augustinian contemporary of his, Martin Luther, Giles did not place any great store on the new innovation — printing — or at least he was in no hurry to commit himself to print. The only

²²) *Iter Italicum*, ed. P.O. Kristeller, 2 vols, Leiden 1963, 1967.

²³) Charles Astruc and Jacques Monfrin, 'Livres latins et hébreux du Cardinal Gilles de Viterbe', in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 23 (1961) 551-4.

²⁴) Both have been edited by Clare O'Reilly, with commentaries; the *oratio* on the alliance between Maximilian and Julius as 'Maximus Caesar et Pontifex Maximus', in *Aug.*, 22 (1972) 80-117; the Fifth Lateran Council *oratio* as 'Without Councils we cannot be saved', *ibid.*, 27 (1977) 166-204.

²⁵) *Op. cit.*, VI. 426. Pastor had seen one copy in the Mazoni Library, Rome, in 1892, but it subsequently disappeared.

composition of his which was widely diffused in print was a lengthy Italian poem, *Caccia d'amore*, first published anonymously, and which had a growing success, even before his death in 1532²⁶). A grave complication was added to this one item when *Là've l'aurora*, another Italian poem dealing with the same subject of love, appeared shortly after his death and was confused with *Caccia d'amore*, apart from also being wrongly attributed to him²⁷).

A landmark in the literature about Giles is Professor John O'Malley's book on Giles as a church reformer²⁸). Professor O'Malley discusses some of Giles's writings in detail and touches on most of them, though it was not his purpose to present a comprehensive list of what Giles had written.

All students of Giles are heavily indebted to Professor François Secret of Paris for the series of articles he has published over the past twenty years on Giles²⁹) and in particular for his edition of two cabbalist works by Giles, the *Libellus de litteris hebraicis* and the *Scechina*³⁰). In fact, the *Scechina* is the only major work by Giles which, to date, has appeared in print. The whole area of cabbalist literature is so baffling except for the specialist that it is an exceptional stroke of good fortune to find Professor Secret showing this continued and fruitful interest in Giles as a Renaissance cabbalist.

Two of Giles's other major works, the much-referred-to 'Historia XX Saeculorum' and the 'Sententiarum Liber I usque ad Distinctionem XVII ad mentem Platonis' were announced over twenty years ago as due to appear in critical editions by the versatile Professor Eugenio Massa, but they have not yet been published³¹). Professor

²⁶) First published at Venice in 1523. For this and subsequent editions, see below, List of the writings of Giles, No. 13.

²⁷) First published by two different editors, Arrivabene and Dolce, coincidentally in the same year, 1553, and the same city, Venice. For further information, see below, List of the writings of Giles, No. 13.

²⁸) J. W. O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo on church and reform: a study in Renaissance thought*, Leiden 1968.

²⁹) See the list in *Aug.*, 26 (1976) 207-8 (nos 1817-1825).

³⁰) *Scechina e Libellus de litteris hebraicis*, ed. F. Secret, 2 vols, Rome 1959.

³¹) E. Massa printed a section of 'Sententiarum Liber I' in *Archivio di Filosofia*, 20 (1951) 87-138, then edited it critically in *I fondamenti metafisici della "dignitas hominis" e testi inediti di Egidio da Viterbo*, Turin 1954, pp. 54-112. Massa in *Archivio di Filosofia*, 20 (1951) 37, stated that he was preparing all of the "Sententiarum Liber I" for publication. I recorded in *Aug.*, 10 (1960) 58 n. 83, that he informed me he had also completed an edition of "Historia XX Saeculorum" for publication at Zurich.

Massa has staked a claim to edit both these important works; after twenty years he should now either abandon the claim (which deters other scholars from editing the works) or publish them. Anybody who knows his published work would welcome his edition of the two works.

An increasing number of scholars in very diverse fields have been turning their attention to Giles; of necessity they draw upon his own compositions as well as upon notes and marginalia in books and manuscripts from his library — Professor John O'Malley on reform and a golden age in the Church³²); Professor Heinrich Pfeiffer on Giles's influence over Raphael, as seen in the Stanza della Segnatura³³); Professor John Whittaker on Giles's Greek manuscripts in Rome³⁴; Alejandro Díez-Macho, M. Fitzmaurice Martin, R. Le Déaut, Gérard E. Weil, Shirley Lund, É. Levine, and Michael Klein on his copy of the Palestinian Targum, now Codex Neofiti 1 in the Vatican Library³⁵); G.E. Weil and Raimundo Griño on Giles's patronage and association with the Hebrew scholar, Elijah Levita³⁶. Besides, Clare O'Reilly has published critical editions of the two

³²) See above n. 28 and the further articles by Professor O'Malley, listed in *Aug.*, 26 (1976) 206-7 (nos 1809-1813).

³³) H. Pfeiffer, *Zur Ikonographie von Raffaels "Disputa"*. *Egidio da Viterbo und die christlich-platonische Konzeption der Stanza della Segnatura*, Rome 1975; and the two articles on the same subject, listed in his bibliography, p. 267.

³⁴) This impressive book-length contribution is due to appear in the next issue of *Scriptorium*.

³⁵) The Spanish biblical scholar, Alejandro Díez-Macho first announced the important discovery in *Estudios Bíblicos*, 16 (1956) 446-7, then with an article in *Sefarad* 'Una copia completa del Targum Palestinense al Pentateuco en la Biblioteca Vaticana', in *Sefarad*, 17 (1957) 119-21, and crowned his study with a polyglot edition *Neophyti I*, 4 vols, Barcelona 1968-74, with one final volume yet to appear. His discovery has led to further articles which concern Giles, by M. Fitzmaurice Martin, 'The palaeographical character of Codex Neofiti 1', in *Textus*, 3 (1963) 1-35; G.E. Weil, 'Le Codex Neophyti I — à propos de l'article de M. Fitzmaurice Martin', *ibid.*, 4 (1964) 225-9; R. Le Déaut, 'Jalons pour une histoire d'un manuscrit du Targum Palestinien (Neofiti 1)', in *Biblica* 48 (1967) 509-33; Shirley Lund, 'An argument for further study of the palaeography of Codex Neofiti 1', in *Vetus Testamentum*, 20 (1970) 56-64; É. Levine, 'A palaeographic note on the colophon of MS Neofiti 1', in *Vetus Testamentum* 21 (1971) 494-7; M. Klein, 'Elias Levita and MS Neofiti 1' in *Biblica*, 56 (1975) 242-6; R. Griño, 'El Meturgeman y Neofiti 1', *ibid.*, 58 (1977) 153-88.

³⁶) G.E. Weil, 'L'archétype du Massoret ha-Massoret d'Élie Lévitá', in *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie*, 41 (1961) 147-58; *Idem*, *Élie Lévitá, humaniste et massorète (1469-1549)*, Leiden 1963, especially pp. 71-110; R. Griño, 'Importancia del Meturgeman de Elias Levita y del MS Angelica 6-6 para el estudio del mismo', in *Sefarad*, 31 (1971) 353-61; *Idem*, 'Un nuevo manuscrito del Meturgeman de Elias Levita', in *Homenaje a Juan Prado*, Madrid 1975, 571-83.

important *orationes* of Giles, already mentioned³⁷), and Professor Edmund Miller has prepared an edition of the three Latin eclogues by Giles³⁸). There have been a number of minor but significant studies based on the comments, views and interest of Giles in classics, history, oriental and biblical studies³⁹). A. de Meijer and F.X. Martin are well advanced with an edition of the volume of Giles's register as prior general for the years 1514-18, and are preparing an edition of his registers for the years 1506-14⁴⁰). The registers, while not strictly speaking part of Giles's corpus of writings in the literary sense, do nevertheless contain his views as well as literary references. As such they should be noted by those interested in his writings.

Mention must be made of the letters, which undoubtedly represented part of his literary life. For him, as for so many Renaissance men and women, letters were not just a mode of communication, they were a branch of literature. However, Renaissance letters form a literary *genre* of their own, and in Giles's case their number is so extensive that they require a study separate from his other writings. A limited number of the letters were published by two Maurists, Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand, in 1724⁴¹), and an edition of an extensive collection of his letters in a manuscript at Siena is being prepared for publication by Clare O'Reilly⁴²). Also to be borne in mind are the letters written to Giles and in particular the letters dedicating works of scholarship to him⁴³).

³⁷) See above, notes 24-5.

³⁸) See below, List of the writings of Giles, No. 23.

³⁹) Roberto Weiss, 'Traccia per una biografia di Annio da Viterbo', in *Italia medioevale ed umanistica*, 5 (1962) 425-441; Vincenzo Cilento, 'Glosse di Egidio da Viterbo alla traduzione Ficciniana; delle Enneadi in un incunabulo del 1492', in *Studi di bibliografia e storia in onore di Tommaso De Marinis*, Verona 1964, vol. I, pp. 281-96; Severin Grill, 'Eine unbekannte syrische Handschrift in Innsbruck: Cod. 401, Bibl. Univ.', in *Oriens Christianus*, 52 (1968) 151-5; Jean Gribomont, 'Gilles de Viterbe, le moine Elie, et l'influence de la littérature maronite sur la Rome érudite de 1515', *ibid.*, 54 (1970) 125-29.

⁴⁰) To be published by the Institutum Historicum Augustinianum, Rome, in 'Fontes Historiae Ordinis Sancti Augustini — Prima Series: Registra Priorum Generalium'. The first volume, the register of Gregory of Rimini, 1357-8, edited by Alberic de Meijer, was published in 1976.

⁴¹) E. Martène and U. Durand, *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium, amplissima collectio*, 3 (Paris 1724) 1233-68.

⁴²) The MS, G.X.26, Biblioteca Comunale, Siena, has exceptional importance as the only surviving collection of Giles's letters specifically concerning the Augustinian order and reform.

⁴³) Among the dozen works and more dedicated to Giles, should be noted the edition of Origines, *Homiliae*, by Aldo Manuzio, Venice 1503; Paolo da Genazzano's

Compiling a list of the writings of Giles is not without its difficulties — there are still doubts and ambiguities about several writings attributed to Giles: whether or not he wrote them, whether or not they still exist⁴⁴). Nevertheless, there are notable advantages for those studying Giles — the bulk of his writings are located in five accessible repositories, the Biblioteca Angelica at Rome, the Biblioteca Nazionale at Naples, the Biblioteca Vaticana, the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, and the Staatsbibliothek at Munich. Not all the manuscripts in these libraries have been fully catalogued, but most of the Giles manuscripts in them have been located⁴⁵). We are at a point of a great thrust forward in our assessment of Giles. Hence the need for a reliable list of his writings⁴⁶).

edition of Gregory of Rimini, *Commentaria Gregorii Ariminensis in Primum et Secundum Sententiarum*, Venice 1503; the first complete Greek edition of the Bible to be published in western Europe, by Andrea Torresano, Venice 1518; Elijah Levita's *Sépher ha-Bahur*, Rome 1518; the second edition of Ambrogio Calepino's renowned *Dictionarium*, Trino 1521; Silvester Meucci da Castilione Arretino's *Expositio magni prophete Abbatis Joachim in Apocalipsim*, Venice 1527.

⁴⁴) See below, List of the writings of Giles, Nos 37-48.

⁴⁵) Giles's MSS in the Angelica have, for our purposes, been adequately catalogued — the Latin works by E. Narducci, *Catalogus codicum manusccriptorum, praeter graecas et orientales*, in *Biblioteca Angelica*, Rome 1893; the Greek works by G. Muccio and P. F. de' Cavalieri, *Index codicum graecorum bibliothecae Angelicae*, in *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, vol. 4, Florence-Rome 1896; the Hebrew works by Angelo di Capua, *Catalogo dei codici ebraici della Biblioteca Angelica*, in *Cataloghi dei codici orientali di alcune biblioteche d'Italia*, fasc. I, Florence 1978. The main section of Giles's manuscripts at Munich are Hebrew, and have been competently catalogued by M. Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München*, 2nd ed. Munich 1895. The Biblioteca Nazionale at Naples has no printed catalogue of any worth; the cataloguing of the manuscripts in the Vatican Library is proceeding with impeccable scholarship and a tortoise-like speed, but for both these institutions the manuscripts of the Renaissance period have been satisfactorily listed by the indefatigable P. O. Kristeller in his *Iter Italicum*, 2 vols, Leiden 1963, 1967. There is a considerable collection of Giles's manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and while the admirable *Catalogue générale des manuscrits latins: Bibliothèque Nationale* — competing for a measured pace with the cataloguing of the MSS in the Vatican Library — has dealt with a limited number of the Giles manuscripts, a great service has been rendered by Charles Astruc and Jacques Monfrin with the list of Latin and Hebrew works from Giles's library which they have been able to identify, in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 23 (1961) 551-4.

⁴⁶) Three centuries ago, an Italian savant, Antonio Magliabecchi (1633-1714) remarked that Giles's fame had diminished after his death because his writings lay unpublished; cited by A. Arpe, *Pantheon Augustinianum*, Genoa 1709, pp. 267, 269.

WRITINGS OF GILES OF VITERBO

PUBLISHED

- 1 Editor of *Egidii Romani de materia celi questio*.
- 2 Editor of *Egidii Romani de intellectu possibili: contra Averroim questio aurea*.
- 3 Co-editor of *Egidii Romani Comentariorum in VIII libros physicorum Aristotelis*.
- 4 *Oratio de aurea aetate*.
- 5 *Oratio prima Synodi Lateranensis*.
- 6 *Oratio post Tertiam Sacri Lateranensis Concilii*.
- 7 *Dialogus in honorem Sanctissimi Cesaris Charoli Regis*.
- 8 *De Ilicetana familia*.
- 9 *Aegidius Antònio Zocholo et Romanis*.
- 10 *Libellus de litteris sanctis*.
- 11 *Scechina*.
- 12 Occasional Latin poems:
 - a) *Aeterne studium laudis et inseri*.
 - b) *Ecce opus antistes quod iam celeberrimus egit*.
 - c) *Domino Petro memoriae Magistro*.
 - d) *Quid vitam studio insanam exercemus inani?*
- 13 *Caccia de amore bellissima*.
- 14 Six madrigals to Vittoria Colonna.

UNPUBLISHED

- 15 *Tabula propositionum in via Aristotelis ac Temestii*.
- 16 *Monumenta et index de Aristotelis erroribus*.
- 17 *Sententiarum liber primus usque ad XVII distinctionem ad mentem Platonis*.
- 18 *Historia XX Saeculorum*.
- 19 *Historiae Heremitarum synopsis*.
- 20 *Panegyricus Ilicetanus*.
- 21 *De mirabilibus Bononiae (poem)*.
- 22 *Epigrammata tria*.
- 23 *Eclogues*.
 - a) *Paramellus et Aegon*.
 - b) *De ortu Domini*.
 - c) *In Resurrectione Domini*.

- 24 Latin translation of Petrarch's poem, *Canzone alla Vergine*.
- 25 Cyminia (an Italian novel).
- 26 Dictionarium sive liber radicum (Hebrew).
- 27 Tagin (Hebrew lexical work).
- 28 Traductio et expositio librorum Cabalae et Talmudis (I).
- 29 Traductio et expositio librorum Cabalae et Talmudis (II).
- 30 Glossarium Chaldaicae linguae et Cabalae vocabula.
- 31 Vocabula diversorum librorum hebraicorum exposita.
- 32 Interpretatio et annotationes in librum decem Sephirot et in libros Cabalae.
- 33 Ben Hacane liber qui Pelia dicitur.
- 34 Nonnulla opera cabalistica.
- 35 Liber de revolutione 27 litterarum hebraicarum secundum viam theologicam, in lingua hebrea.
- 36 De moribus Turcarum.

UNPUBLISHED WORKS ATTRIBUTED TO GILES: DOUBTFUL

- 37 Philosophia ad mentem Platonis.
- 38 Liber dialogorum.
- 39 Scholia Platonica conformia Evangelio.
- 40 Porphyrii mysteria et Procli.
- 41 Annotationes in tria priora capita Geneseos.
- 42 Psalterium translatum.
- 43 De locis quae sapientes Hebraeorum gratia commutaverunt.
- 44 De adventu Messiae.
- 45 De immortalitate animae.
- 46 De materia et forma.
- 47 De disciplinis Ethruscis.
- 48 Informatio contra Lutheranam sectam pro Apostolicae Sedis autoritate.

UNPUBLISHED WORKS ATTRIBUTED TO GILES: DUPLICATED TITLES

- 49 De arcana Judeorum doctrina.
- 50 Commentaria in quosdam Psalmos, ad Leonem X.
- 51 Liber de decem seculis.
- 52 De Romanis pontificibus.

WRONGLY ATTRIBUTED TO GILES

- 53 De opere sex dierum.
- 54 *Promemoria ad Hadrianum Papam VI de depravato statu Romanae Ecclesiae.*
- 55 *Resolutio lutheriana super propositionem suam XIII de potestate papae.*
- 56 Informatio pro concilio contra lutheranos.
- 57 Racha.
- 58 Opus contra Hebreos de adventu Messiae et de nominibus divinis contra eosdem.
- 59 *Là've l'aurora.*

PUBLISHED WRITINGS

1-2) *Egidii Romani Eremita de materia celi questio*, f. Egidius Eremita Viterbiensis castigavit et dedit. *Egidii Romani de intellectu possibili contra Averroim questio aurea.*

The *explicit* states that the tracts were printed by Hyeronimus Durantis at Padua, and finished on 25 September 1493.

It should be noted that there were two distinct tracts, *De materia celi* and *De intellectu possibili*. This was the first printed edition of both works, as also of *Commentaria in VIII libros physicorum Aristotelis*, see below, No. 3. Giles was then a student, twenty-four years old, at Padua. *De intellectu possibili* by Giles of Rome had been one of the most important anti-Averroistic tracts to appear in the thirteenth century, see G. Bruni, 'Egidio Romano, antiaverroista', in *Sophia*, 1 (1933) 208-19, at p. 208; M. Chosset, 'Saint Thomas d'Aquin et Siger de Brabant', in *Revue de Philosophie*, 25 (1914), 43-52, at p. 44. Bruni prefers to entitle the tract *De plurificatione*, as this was the title used by Giles of Rome.

For the manuscript and printed versions of both tracts, see G. Bruni, *Catalogo critico delle opere di Egidio Romano*, Florence 1936, 73 (22). For the 1493 edition by Giles of Viterbo, see *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 6 (Leipzig 1934) 784-5 (7213). The edition was reprinted, with due acknowledgment to Giles of Viterbo, by Bonetus Locatellus at Venice in 1502.

3) *Egidii Romani Commentaria in VIII libros physicorum Aristotelis*, ediderunt Magister Bernardus Granellus Januensis et f.

Egidius Viterbiensis Eremitanus Sancti Augustini. The *explicit* states that the work was printed by Hyeronimus Durantis on the university presses at Padua, and finished on 15 Oct. 1493.

There is a dedicatory letter by Giles to Graziano Ventura, then procurator general of the Augustinian order and later prior general, 1498-1504, and an introductory 28-line poem by Giles in praise of Giles of Rome, author of the commentary, see below, No. 12 (a). The volume ends with a 12-line poem by Giles of Viterbo, again in praise of Giles of Rome, see below, No. 12 (b).

This was the first printed edition of the tract. For the manuscript and printed versions, see Bruni, *Catalogo critico*, cit., 60-62 (9). For the 1493 edition by Giles of Viterbo, see *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 6 (1934) 772-3 (7197).

4) *De Aurea Aetate*, ed John W. O'Malley, s.j., with commentary, 'Fulfilment of the christian Golden Age under Pope Julius II: text of a discourse of Giles of Viterbo, 1507', in *Traditio*, 25 (1969) 265-338.

The text (pp. 278-338) is taken from Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo e Distrital, Évora, (Portugal), MS CXVI/1-30. It was listed by Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara, *Catalogo dos manuscriptos da Bibliotheca Pública Eborensis*, 1 (Lisbon 1850) 256-8, but was overlooked by all modern writers on Giles, until François Secret noted it in *Archivio di Filosofia*, 1958, p. 140 n. 44. At least two other copies of the work are known to have existed in Giles's day : one, a presentation copy given to Pope Julius II; another, a presentation copy sent to King Manuel of Portugal (1495-1521), see O'Malley cit., pp. 276-7. These disappeared and, until 1976 the Évora text was the only copy known to scholars.

In July 1976, a de luxe copy of the tract was auctioned by Sotheby's at London, see Sotheby's *Catalogue of western manuscripts and miniatures* (London: sale, 5 July 1976), pp. 28-9. It was sold to a private owner in Italy, who has kindly sent me photocopies of the beautifully decorated preliminary folios. Further study needs to be made of this MS, but, on the evidence available, it would seem to be the presentation copy to Julius II in June 1508 and which the pope passed on shortly afterwards to the Cardinal of Portugal, Jorge da Costa († 18 Sept. 1508). This recent discovery has the added advantage that it apparently contains the first folio of the text, which is missing in the Évora copy.

The tract took its origin from a discourse which Giles delivered in St Peter's basilica on 21 December 1507 at the request of Julius II and in his presence. It was part of the celebrations in honour of a triple Portuguese victory in the Far East — the landing of the Portuguese at Ceylon and the acceptance by its ruler of Portugal as overlord; the naval victory by de Almeida over the Zamorin of Calicut on 18 March 1506; and, in that same year, the discovery of the island of Madagascar by another Portuguese fleet. The pope asked that the discourse be committed to paper, and so the text was born, though the final written version was probably somewhat different to what had been preached in St Peter's. Certainly in the written version Giles combined two different topics — the Golden Age dawning for the Church; the successes of Pope Julius II and of King Manuel I. The title of the work, as given by Giles in his register for June 1508, is 'de invento orbe terrarum et Taprobane insula, de Lusitani regis victoria, de aurea aetate', see O'Malley cit. in *Traditio*, 25 (1969) pp 270-1.

The tract is now seen as having had an importance in the history of art. Professor H. Pfeiffer, s.j., believes it greatly influenced Raphael in what he painted in the Stanza della Segnatura of the Vatican, see H. Pfeiffer, 'La Stanza della Segnatura sullo sfondo delle idee di Egidio da Viterbo', in *Colloqui del Sodalizio*, Ser. II, 3 (1970-2) 31-43; Idem, 'Die Predigt des Egidio da Viterbo über das goldene Zeitalter und die Stanza della Segnatura', in *Festschrift Luitpold Dussler*, Munich-Rome 1972, pp. 237-54; Idem, *Zur Ikonographie von Raffaels Disputa: Egidio da Viterbo und die christlich-platonische Konzeption der Stanza della Segnatura*, Rome 1975, passim, and especially pp. 171-208, 241-52.

5) *Oratio prima synodi Lateranensis habita per Egidium Viterbiensem Augustiniani ordinis Generalem.*

Ff. 6. There were three printings of the oration by the German printer, Johann Beplin, at Rome in 1512, and another printing about the same time at Nürenberg by Johann Stuchs. An enlarged version was published by Arnoul le Ferron, in *De rebus gestis Gallorum*, Paris 1550, ff. 92r-98r. An official version was included by Cardinal Antonio del Monte in *Sa. Lateranen. Concilium novissimum, sub Julio et Leone celebratum*, printed at Rome by Iacobus Mazochius in 1521. This was substantially the version which appeared in P. Labbé and G. Cossart, *Acta Conciliorum*, ed. J. Harduin, 9 (Paris 1714) 1576-1581, and J.D.

Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. L. Petit and J.B. Martin, 32 (Paris 1759) cols 667-676, and which, until this year, was accepted as the standard version to be cited and reprinted. An English translation appeared in J.C. Olin, *The Catholic reformation: Savonarola to Ignatius Loyola: reform in the church, 1495-1540*, New York and London 1969, pp 40-53. A much needed critical edition, with commentary, was published by Clare O'Reilly, 'Without councils we cannot be saved... Giles of Viterbo addresses the Fifth Lateran Council', in *Aug.*, 27 (1977) 166-204. This edition supersedes all those previously published.

The address, delivered at the opening of the Fifth Lateran Council at Rome on 3 May 1512, is one of the most famous orations at a general church council. It has been cited with approval not only by Catholic historians such as L. Pastor but by Martin Luther. Its main message has, however, usually been misrepresented; see O'Reilly cit., pp. 169-179.

6) *Oratio habita post tertiam sacri Lateranensis Concilii sessionem in ecclesia Divae Mariae Virginis de Populo, per Fratrem Aegidium Viterbiensis Ordinis Sancti Augustini Eremitarum generalem, de foedere inito inter Iulium Secundum pontificem maximum et illustrem Maximilianum imperatorum.*

Ff. 6. Printed apparently at Rome in 1512. Copies of this pamphlet are extremely rare. Pastor, *Hist. popes*, VI. 426, mentioned that he had seen a copy in the Manzoni Library at Rome in 1892 but that it had since 'been scattered to the winds'. Signorelli, *Egidio*, p. 170, was unable to trace a copy. I mentioned in my doctoral thesis, Cambridge (England) in 1958, vol. 2, p. 88, that I had located a copy at Paris, BN, Réserve B 1930 (37) 517-30. Subsequently, I found two more copies of the pamphlet at Rome. BN, 69 4B 96 and 69 9C 20/8. Later, two further copies were located by Clare O'Reilly, one at Rome, in the Biblioteca Vaticana, R.I.IV 2107 (11), the other at Vienna, ÖNB, + 35E 288. The text, with a commentary, has been edited by Clare O'Reilly, "'Maximus Caesar et Pontifex Maximus': Giles of Viterbo proclaims the alliance between Emperor Maximilian I and Pope Julius II', in *Aug.*, 22 (1972) 80-117.

Giles preached the sermon at the church of Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome, on 25 November 1512, on the occasion of the long-

awaited treaty between Pope Julius II and Emperor Maximilian. Henry VIII of England and Ferdinand of Aragon were also parties to the Holy League, and De Grassis, the papal master of ceremonies, describes the League, in his diary, as 'inter Pontificem et Imperatorem ac Regem Catholicum et Angelicum', see O'Reilly cit., p. 87.

7) *Dialogus Reverendissimi in Christo Patris Domini Aegidii S.R.E. presbyterii cardinalis in honorem sanctissimi Cesaris Charoli regis catholici Hispaniarum utriusque Sicilie domini nostri* (Barcelona [1518-19]).

Listed by G. W. Panzer, *Annales typographici*, 9 (Nuerenberg 1801) 300 (10), as being then in the Scheurl Library, Nuerenberg. Much of the Scheurl collection has been sold or dispersed since 1801, some of it going to the Stadtbibliothek, Nuerenberg, but the publication is not to be found there, as I was kindly informed in a letter of 24 Sept. 1958, by Dr Kh. Goldmann, Director of the Stadtbibliothek. Siegfried Freiherr von Scheurl of Altenfurt informed me, by letter of 2 Nov. 1958, that it was not in the Scheurl Library and that it does not appear in the catalogue of the library compiled between 1919 and 1939.

F. J. Norton, under-librarian, Cambridge University Library, England, visited the principal libraries of the Iberian peninsula during 1959-60. He looked for this work by Giles but found no copy, not even in the Pau Font de Rubinat Library, Reus, Catalonia, remarkable for its wealth of books from the early Catalan presses. However, among the alphabetical indexes of the renowned Biblioteca Colombina at Seville it is referred to in the abecadarium index as: 'Egidii Cardinalis. Dialogus in honorem Caroli Quinti. 14856. *ba*'. The abbreviation *ba* was used by Fernando Colón to signify Barcelona. Colón, a natural son of Christopher Columbus, founded the Biblioteca Colombina. For the Font de Rubinat and Colombina libraries see F. J. Norton, *Printing in Spain, 1501-1520*, Cambridge 1966, especially pp. 2, 78 n. 3. I am greatly indebted to Mr F. J. Norton for his assistance.

It may be taken for granted that the oration was preached by Giles during his visit to Spain in 1518-19 as papal legate. He wrote enthusiastically from Barcelona to Rome in February 1519 in support of Charles's candidature for the imperial crown, see Pastor, *Hist. popes*, VII. 276-7.

8) *De Ilicetana familia*, ed. F. X. Martin, o.s.a., in *Anal. Aug.* 25 (1962) 247-53, from Rome, BA, MS Lat. 1156.

J. O'Malley, s.j., in *Viator*, 3 (1972) 397 n. 32, corrected my statement in *Anal. Aug.*, 25 (1962) 247, that BA, MS Lat. 1156 is a unique copy. He points out that there are three copies of the work — BA, MS Lat. 1156; BA, MS Lat. 1001, ff. 105v-111v; Naples, BN, MS V.F.20, ff. 127v-131r, 123r-125v. The definitive version is obviously BA, MS Lat. 1156; it is a de luxe copy, on vellum, in a beautiful hand, prefaced with an introductory letter by Fra Basilio, accompanied by a detailed coloured sketch which records graphically many of the pious legends of Lecceto. For a description of the MS, see Narducci, *Cat. cod. mss. Bibl. Angel.*, p. 487; cf. Péliissier in *Rev. biblioth.*, 2 (1892) 228-31. For further information on the MS and Lecceto, see F. X. Martin, 'Giles of Viterbo and the monastery of Lecceto: the making of a reformer', in *Anal. Aug.*, 25 (1962) 225-53.

The date of the work is uncertain, but the fact that Giles styles himself simply 'Frater Aegidius Viterbiensis Eremita' suggests that it was before June 1506, when he was appointed vicar general of the Augustinian order by Julius II. He became a member of the Observant Congregation of Lecceto during 1502 or 1503, most probably in April 1503, and is likely to have written the work then in the flush of enthusiasm as a candidate or new member of the congregation. It is cast in the form of a letter to the friars there, written in a spirit of mystical exaltation, in praise of Lecceto and its traditions. It has usually been confused with another work by Giles, now lost, 'Panegyricus Ilicetanus', of which excerpts are given by A. Landucci, *Sacra Ilicetana Sylva, sive origo et chronicon breve coenobii et congregationis de Iliceto, Ord. Erem. S. P. Augustini in Tuscia*, 1653, pp. 43, 44, 78; see below, No. 20. The present title of the tract, *De Ilicetana familia*, was bestowed, not by Giles, but by Angelo Rocca, o.s.a. (1545-1620), founder of the Biblioteca Angelica, later papal sacristan and titular bishop of Tagaste. His marginal notes are found throughout the MS.

9) *Aegidius Antonio Zocholo et Romanis*, ed. John W. O'Malley, s.j., with commentary, 'Man's dignity, God's love, and the destiny of Rome: a text of Giles of Viterbo', in *Viator* [University of California], 3 (1972) 389-416.

The text (pp. 398-416) is taken from two MSS — Naples, BN, MS

V. F. 20, ff. 256r-281r (no. 216), and Rome, BA, MS Lat. 1001, ff. 11r-23v. It appears in the form of a letter to Zoccoli and the Romans, but, in fact, as in the case of BA, MS Lat. 1156 (cf. above No. 8), it is a tract or formal discourse. A distinctive feature of this work is that it explicitly relates the theme of man's dignity — a not uncommon subject for writers of the High Renaissance — to the dignity and destiny of the city of Rome. O'Malley (p. 391) believes this gives the tract a unique feature among writings of the Renaissance.

The text is without date, but certainly is after 1503 and most probably before 1508, and probably before late June 1506 when Giles was appointed vicar general of the Augustinian order and came to Rome, where Zoccoli was residing as a high-ranking official in the city administration (cf. O'Malley cit., pp. 395-6).

10) *Libellus de litteris sanctis*, edited by F. Secret, Rome 1959, Centro Internazionale di Studi Umanistici in "Edizione Nazionale dei Classici del Pensiero Italiano", vol. 10, pp. 21-62.

Ff. 50. The MS, now Vat. Lat. 5808, deals with the cabbala, that subject beloved by Giles. It was completed in 1517 and was dedicated to Cardinal Giulio dei Medici, later Pope Clement VII. Giles records in his register, '1 Junii [1517] Rmo Dno Cardinali de Medicis mittimus libellum quem de litteris hebraicis edidimus, quem brevi quadam etiam epistula salutavimus', A.G.A., Register Dd 12, f. 111r. The preface to the work is the dedicatory letter from Giles to Giulio dei Medici. Another rough copy of the work is in Vat. Lat. 3146, ff. 1r-26v, see Secret, cit., p. 23, n. 1; Idem in *Archivio di Filosofia*, 38 (1958) 132, n. 9.

It is a graceful little work, an introduction to the study of the cabbala, based on *Séfèr ha-Temûnâh*. The introduction pays tribute to the dei Medici family and to the reigning Pope Leo in particular for the encouragement given to the study of the scriptures and oriental languages. The text begins with a discussion on the Hebrew letter Aleph and continues with measured comment on each letter to Tau. The text succeeds in incorporating references to Plato and Virgil. Apart from the introductory remarks by Professor Secret in his edition of the text, see also the comments in his *Les kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance*, Paris 1964, pp. 110-13.

11) *Scechina*, edited by F. Secret, Rome 1959, Centro Internazionale di Studi Umanistici, in *Edizione Nazionale dei Classici*

del Pensiero Italiano, vol. 10, pp. 9-20 (introduction), and the text, vol. 10, pp. 63-239, vol. 11, pp. 7-340.

Autograph. Ff. 192. Written between years 1528-31. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Lat. 3363, ff. 154r-349v. Listed in *Cat. cod. mss. Bibl. Regiae*, III. 409, and described in *Bibl. Nat.: cat. gen. mss. latins*, III. 291-2. It is essential to consult F. Secret, 'Les symbolismes de la kabbale chrétienne dans la "Scechina" de Egidio da Viterbo', in *Archivio di Filosofia*, 1958, n° 2-3 ("Umanesimo e simbolismo", ed. E. Castelli), Padua 1958, pp. 131-54, which has information additional to what Professor Secret later published in his edition of *Scechina*; see also his *Les kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance*, Paris 1964, pp. 113-4. The original work, incomplete in this MS, but not always so, is divided into three main divisions — Names, Letters, Names of God.

The title *Scechina* is an Italian transcription of the Hebrew term for the inhabitation of God among men. In the cabbalist of theosophy God made his existence and will known through the medium of ten *Sephiroth* or intelligences, of which *Scechina* was the tenth and represented the union of all the *Sephiroth*. Giles uses the imagery of the cabbala to explain that christianity was then passing through the tenth cycle, that of the *Scechina*, and uses the symbolism of the *Scechina* to reveal the secrets of the cabbala to the Emperor Charles V, whom he greets as the new David, Solomon and Cyrus combined, who will turn his power and energies to the reform of the Church and the defeat of the Turks. The *Scechina* is dedicated to Pope Clement VII, to whom, as Cardinal Giulio dei Medici, Giles had dedicated his *Libellus de litteris sanctis* twelve years previously.

The *Scechina* is not a disguised political tract nor a means of gaining further papal favour. It is primarily exegetical, a discourse on symbolic theology, on the inner sense of revelation and sacred scripture. Here, in the final major literary work of his life, Giles runs through the whole gamut of cabbalist literature and tries to interpret it in a christian manner. While a predominant feature of the work is the mosaic of scriptural quotations and allusions, there is also a strong current of neo-platonic ideas, illustrations from Homer and Virgil, and even references to Cuba and the New World. In the judgement of Professor Secret, the *Scechina* is, without doubt, the most remarkable effort to present to the christians a faithful image of the world as viewed by the cabbalists' (in *Archivio di Filosofia*, 1958, cit., p. 135).

12) *Occasional Latin poems*

a) *Aeterne studium laudis et inseri*

Giles's earliest published work is his edition of three philosophical works of Aegidius Romanus (c. 1247-1316), the leading light among the scholastics of the Augustinian order. Giles's edition was published at Padua in September and October 1493, see above, Nos 1-3. The third work, *Comentaria in VIII Libros Physicorum Aristotelis*, was prefaced with a poem, introduced by 'Frater Aegidii Viterbiensis Eremita versus ad lectorem' and beginning 'Aeterne studium laudis et inseri'. It is a lyric of seven verses cast in the third Asclepiad form, a warning to those about to venture on the dangerous Aristotelian seas that they would do well to take Aegidius Romanus as their guide between Scylla and Charybdis. The image of tempestuous seas and the need for an experienced hand at the helm is well sustained throughout the seven stanzas.

b) *Ecce opus antistes quod iam celeberrimus egit*

The edition ends, as it began, with a message, 'Frater Aegidii Viterbiensis ad lectorem', but this time the poem is a succession of six elegiac distichs, beginning 'Ecce opus antistes quod iam celeberrimus egit'. There is not the same graphic expression as in the introductory poem, but restrained and effective use is made of the image of light and darkness.

The above two poems in praise of Aegidius Romanus have mistakenly been described as 'Odae in Aegidii Joviani laudes' by C. Curtius, *Virorum illustrium ex Ordine Eremitarum S. Augustini elogia*, Antwerp 1636, p. 106, Elssius, *Encom. Aug.*, p. 14, and Ossinger, *Bibl. Aug.*, p. 195.

c) *Domino Petro memoriae Magistro*

This third poem also dates from his student years at Padua, 1490-1494, though it has no precise date attached to it. It is addressed from Padua and composed in praise of Master Peter of the good memory. In paying tribute to his teacher, Peter, presumably one of the professors at the Augustinian *studium generale* of SS Phillip and James at Padua, Giles fastens in particular on his indelible memory as one which few men can equal. It is a serious piece of 13 lines yet written in a light-hearted fashion, using exclusively images and illustrations from classical antiquity. It catches the atmosphere of student life in a university city, and reflects that image which Paolo Giovio gives in his *Elogia virorum doctorum*, Venice 1546, f. 54r, of Giles at Padua, singing his own

compositions as he strummed on the lyre. The poem was published by D.A. Gandolfo, *Fiori poetici dell'eremo agostiniano*, Genoa 1682, p. 80. It is relevant to note that Giles was criticized strongly by Pietro Pomponazzi in his *Apologia*, Bologna 1518, car. xxxiii, for using the pulpit to display his learning and demonstrate his 'infinitam memoriam'.

d) *Quid vitam studio insanam exercemus inani?*

Paris, BN, MS Lat. 527(1), f. 5r. For this MS see *Bibl. Nat.: cat. gen. mss latins*, I. 184. The poem is published by F. Secret, *Le Zôchar chez les kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance*, Paris 1958, pp. 35-6 n. 3.

The twelve-line poem, in Giles's hand, introduces his translation of and notes on the Zohar. The poem reflects on how useless is most of the studies we pursue during life and points out that in biblical learning are the 'secrets of heaven'. By contrast he explicitly assesses the learning of the Greeks and Romans as something derisory in value. This attitude to classical learning was one he had already revealed in his second and third eclogues, see below, No. 23. The poem is therefore important as revealing the true man. It contradicts the picture of Giles as a slavish devotee of Renaissance forms and thought, see F.X. Martin, 'The problem of Giles of Viterbo', in *Aug.*, 9 (1959) 357-79, 10 (1960) 43-60.

13) *Caccia de amore bellissima*

A lengthy poem of 52 eight-line stanzas, exhorting youth to the pursuit of chastity and supernatural love. It first appeared anonymously and in a secondary role in *Amore de Hieronimo Beniveni Fiorentino allo Illustris. S. Conte Messer Nicolo Vicecomite de Corregio. Et una caccia de amore bellissima, et cinque capituli sopra el timore, zelosia, speranza, amore, et uno trionpho del mondo composti per il Conte Matteo Maria Bojardo et altre cose diverse*, Venice: Zoppino, 1523. Copies in BA, RR. 1.35; BL, 11427. a. 11; BN, Roma, 69.6.J.34. The pages are unnumbered. Giles's poem entitled 'La Caccia de Amore', is the third item in the volume, on ff. [19v-26v]. There was a new printing of the collection in 1526, again by Zoppino at Venice; copies at London, BL, 239.c.21(2) and Paris, BN, Yd.7411. A new edition, published by Vittore Ravano at Venice, appeared in 1532 and was reprinted in 1533; copies at Washington in the Library of Congress, listed in *The National Union Catalogue*, 94 (London 1970) 499-500.

Giles's name appears for the first time in the expanded sub-title, *Et una cassia de amore bellissima de Egidio*. The volume was reprinted by Ravano in 1535; copies at London, BL, C.40.c.53, Vienna, ÖNB, 79.Cc.173, and Paris, BN, Yd 5923 and Réserve Yd 1159.

A further edition, giving Giles's poem precedence, was published by Zoppino at Venice in 1537, *Caccia bellissima del Reverendissimo Egidio con i dilettevoli amori di Messer Girolamo Beniveni, et cinque capitoli del S. Conte Matteomaria Boiardo sopra el timore, zelosia, bellezza, speranza, amore, et un trionfo del mondo*; copies at Rome, BA, RR.2.5, and Vienna, ÖNB, *38.G.85. It was reprinted at Venice in 1538; copy at London, BL, 240.d.35. For the 1537 edition, see Max Sander, *Le livre à figures italien depuis 1467 jusqu'à 1530*, 1 (Milan 1942) 445 (2523).

The poem, with Giles named as author, was included by Lodovico Dolce in his highly regarded collection, *Stanze di diversi illustri poeti ... della lingua Thoscana*, Venice: Giolito, 1553, pp. 85-100. The poem was reprinted, and attributed to Giles, by D.A. Gandolfo, *Fiori poetici dell'eremo agostiniano*, Genoa 1682, pp. 94-107, and by G.M. Crescimbeni, *De' comentari intorno all'istoria della volgar poesi*, 3 [Lib. IV] (Rome 1711) 225-35. Despite this impressive range of evidence published between the years 1523 and 1711, the information raises some doubts about the authorship and reveals how complicated, and even confusing, is the history of the poem.

Is Giles the author? Initially, this might be doubted from the printed editions alone, since the poem first appeared anonymously in a modest little volume of verse, extolling the superiority of chaste and supernatural love. The collection comprised a lengthy poem, *Amore*, by the noted Florentine writer, Girolamo Benivieni; next a poem and letter by Hieronymus Cartularius; then the anonymous *Cassia de amore bellissima*, and finally there were several pieces by the much respected Count Matteo Maria Boiardo.

The first edition of the collection appeared at Venice in 1523, and a second edition (really a reprint) also at Venice in 1526. When a new edition was published at Venice in 1532, reprinted in 1533 and 1535, Giles's name was given for the first time as author of *Caccia de amore*, though his poem was still in a secondary place. This new edition was published during the last year of his life, but the suppression of his name in the previous editions is no surprise. He had showed no inclination to make use of the revolutionary new means of com-

munication, printing. Besides, he may have felt that singing of love, even for a supernatural purpose, might well be misunderstood (as it later was in his case, we shall see). Giles's reluctance to reveal himself as the author was overcome in his last year. By that time, the poem had won considerable popularity over a stretch of nine years, and he was aware, from an admonitory letter addressed to him by Pope Clement VII in 1530, how few of his many writings he had committed to print. In that context, the public admission of his name as author was a parting gift from a man aware that he was near to the end. The 1532 edition was published in June of that year; Giles died in November.

When a new edition of the collection was published in 1537, Giles's poem was made the principal item in the volume, followed by Benivieni's *Amore*, and then the pieces by Boiardo. There was a reprint of this edition in 1538. The printed evidence, when taken together, all leads to Giles as author of *Caccia de amore*. The publisher of the 1523, 1526, 1537 and 1538 editions was the reputable Nicolò di Aristotile da Ferrara, self-styled Zoppino, who must have known when publishing the first two editions who was the author of *Caccia de amore*. Furthermore, Giles was a prominent figure in literary circles, and any false attribution of a popular work of this kind to this name would almost certainly have been denied by himself and, after his death, at least queried by his many friends, as well as by his critics. We have seen that the poem was also attributed to Giles by Dolce in his *Stanze di diversi illustri poeti* in 1553.

For a literary appreciation of the poem, see Giovambattista Giraldi, *Discorsi intorno al comporre de i romanzi, delle comedie, e delle tragedie, e di altre maniere di poesie*, Venice 1554, p. 60, who believed it to be not merely as good as the similar poem by Benivieni but better. G. M. Crescimbeni, *Comentari intorno all'istoria della poesia italiana*, 4 (Venice 1730) 14-15, rated the *Caccia de amore* very highly. G. Tiraboschi, in his monumental *Storia della letteratura italiana*, 10 [tom. vii, part. iii] (Rome 1785) 418, remarks that for elegance of style and vivacity of expression the poem deserves to rank among the best in the Italian language.

The danger of confusion about *Caccia de amore* began in 1553 when two editors, Andrea Arrivabene and Lodovico Dolce, both published at Venice, but apparently independently of one another, a further poem, *Là've l'aurora*, allegedly by Giles, and treating of the

same question of chaste love as *Caccia de amore*. Arrivabene published it in *Il sesto libro delle rime di diversi eccellenti autori*, Venice: al Segno del Pozzo, 1553, ff. 265r-273v. Dolce included it in his *Rime di diversi eccellenti autori*, Venice: Giolito, 1553, but added a further complication by also including it, in that same year, in his *Stanze di diversi illustri poeti*, also published at Venice and also by Giolito. The complications were increased by the fact that the *Stanze* contained both *Là've l'aurora* on pp. 70-84, and *Caccia de amore* on pp. 85-100.

A cloud of obscurity was allowed to envelope the already complicated question in 1558 when Dolce issued a new printing of his *Stanze* (copy at Rome, BA, QQ.3.85), including the poems *Là've l'aurora*, pp. 70-84, and *Caccia de amore*, pp. 85-100, but now attributed them to 'D'Incerto Auttore'. The surprising change about authorship was due to the puritanism which had penetrated to Rome with the Counter-Reformation and which saw dangers to morality when a cardinal of the Church could be cited in praise of love (see S. Bongi, *Annali di Gabriel Giolito De' Ferrari*, 2 vols, Rome 1890-5, I.224, II.182). This phase of puritanism was a passing phenomenon; within thirty years the poem was again being attributed to Giles.

Confusion descended on the question when Apostolo Zeno, in his notes to Giusto Fontanini, *Biblioteca dell'eloquenza italiana*, vol. 1, Venice 1753, p. 291, mistook *Là've l'aurora* for *Cacca de amore*. The confusion was compounded when some editors published *Là've l'aurora* but with the title *La Caccia d'amore del Cardinale Egidio*, as for example by Vincenzo Marengo in *Poemeti Italiani*, vol. 9, Florence 1797, pp. 1-17, and in *Parnasso Italiano*, vol. 12, Venice 1851, coll. 332-340. The confusion has been reproduced by subsequent writers, for example, A. Palmieri in *D.T.C.*, 6 (Paris 1915) 1368, and Perini, *Bibl. Aug.*, 1 (Florence 1929) 184-5.

Là've l'aurora was almost certainly not written by Giles. The question will be discussed below, No. 59.

14) Madrigals to Vittoria Colonna

In a manuscript at Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS Magliabecchi VII.720, there are five madrigals attributed to 'Rev. C. Egidio', and a sixth madrigal with the author's name given by initials, 'D.E.C.L.E.' They are addressed to Vittoria Colonna, marquise of Pescara, a leading figure in the literary (but principally in the religious) circles of late Renaissance Italy. The attribution to Giles went unknown until the nineteenth century when Francesco Trucchi, *Poesie*

italiane inedite di dugento autori, 3 (Prato 1847) 126-9, published them with a short introduction, including the sixth, attributed also to Giles.

Trucchi consistently but inaccurately describes (pp. 126-9) the MS as 'codice 720 magliabecchiano' but it is classified as VII.720. He also (p. 125) speaks of the seven madrigals he is publishing, but there are only six. He prints them in his own order, different from that in the manuscript. They are as follows: 1) 'Io correi, madonna, a morte mia' (MS ff. 122r-v, 278r; Trucchi p. 126). — 2) 'Madonna, per oltraggio o per martire' (MS ff. 122v, 278v; Trucchi pp. 128-9). — 3) 'In me i miracol tuoi' (MS f. 122v; Trucchi p. 128). — 4) 'S'vi sono a'colpi' (MS f. 123v; Trucchi p. 127). — 5) 'Gentil madonna il dissi, e dirò sempre' (MS f. 116r; Trucchi pp. 126-7). — 6) 'E però in tutto morta' (MS f. 99v; Trucchi p. 129).

They are written on that supernatural note which is of the essence of Giles's *Caccia de amore*. It was a style also expressed by poets such as Benivieni, Boiardo and other contemporaries of Giles, writing in a spirit which owed as much to neoplatonism as to the powerful religious reform visible in so many parts of Italy during this period of the Renaissance. It may be the very similarity of style with that of *Caccia de amore* was what decided the scribe of the manuscript to attribute the poems to Giles. This is the only copy of the madrigals at present available. The manuscript appears to be early sixteenth century, which would suit the time of composition by Giles. Vittoria Colonna was closely in touch with Bembo, Contarini and other kindly figures of the Catholic reform who were associated with Giles, but to what extent she was a friend of his will need further investigation. It will need more evidence to establish beyond doubt that the madrigals are by Giles, but for the present they may be attributed to him with a question mark.

UNPUBLISHED WRITINGS

15) *Tabula propositionum in via Aristotelis ac Temestii per ordinem a.b.c. Collectanea in libris Aristotelis*.

Paris, BN, MS Lat. 6589, ff.[4+] 580. Described in *Cat. cod. mss Bibl. Regiae*, cit. 4 (Paris 1744) 260, as 'Index operum Aristotelis ordine alphabetico digestus, autore Aegidio Viterbiensi'.

Autograph. A large volume with pages of varying sizes. Usually there are two columns to a page, but also a large number of blank pages: these and the wide unfilled margins suggest that Giles intended it as a reference book to which he would continue to add. It is a

compilation of detailed notes, with an inset alphabetical thumb-index, a to z, ff. 24r-580r.

It is listed as No. 11 in the Ridolfi catalogue, ed. Astruc and Monfrin, 'Livres latins et hébreux', p. 552. The title above is found on f.[4r] of the MS.

16) *Monumenta et index de Aristotelis erroribus*

Paris, BN, MS Lat. 6589, ff. 581r-631r[+ 3]. Described in *Cat. cod. mss Bibl. Reg.*, cit., 4 (Paris 1744) 260.

Autograph. The work is headed, on f. 581r, 'Fratri Egidii Paleologi — Monumenta et index de Aristotelis erroribus', with a note stating that he compiled this collection of Aristotle's errors when he was on the Cimino mountain (in his hermitage), and it ends 'Fratri Egidii Viterbiensis labor'. Giles had a long-standing opposition to Aristotle and linked him with Averroes whom he regarded as anti-christian, see O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo*, pp. 40-49.

17) *Sententiarum liber primus usque ad XVII distinctionem ad mentem Platonis*

There are five MSS of this work — Naples, BN, MS VIII.F.8; Naples, BN, XIV. H. 71; Rome, BA, MS Lat. 636; Rome, Vat. Lat. 6325; Hamburg, Staatsbibliothek, Phil. 308.

None of these is an autograph copy, but Naples, BN, VII.F.8, may be taken as the one to be followed. It is a large handsome volume, of model script, and 277 folios, apparently transcribed by Nicolo Scutelli, an Augustinian scholar, who was scribe and literary coadjutor with Giles during the 1520s. This MS has the further advantage of notes and corrections by Girolamo Seripando, a favourite disciple of Giles. It was, apparently, prepared for printing. Not only have chapter headings and sub-titles for chapters been inserted, by Seripando, but there are a series of printers' numbers for the quires, beginning with 'A.ii' on f.1r, and running on to 'I.I.ii' at the end.

Naples, BN, MS XIV.H.71 is a copy made by Pasquale Baffi in 1786 from the Scutelli copy but claiming (according to the colophon on p. 411) to be an accurate revision of an imperfect text. Certainly Baffi's copy is a neat and well-presented version, of 411 pages, with an index. The copy in the Biblioteca Angelica, MS Lat. 636, described by Narducci, *Cat. cod. mss Bibl. Angel.*, p. 281; Pélissier, 'Manuscripts', pp. 232-233. For the Hamburg MS, see Daniel G. Morhof, *Polyhistor ... opus posthumum*, Lübeck 1708, p. 73; I am indebted to Professor F.

Secret, Paris, for this reference. Ossinger, *Bibl. Aug.*, p. 194 mentions a copy in the Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence, but this (if it ever existed) has not yet been located.

For a study (undertaken mainly in relation to Luther) of the doctrinal content of the work, see J. Paquier, 'Un essai de théologie platonicienne à la Renaissance: le Commentaire de Gilles de Viterbe sur le premier livre des Sentences', in *Recherches des sciences religieuses*, 13 (1923) 293-312, 419-437. C. Curtius, *Virorum illustrium ex Ordine Eremitarum S. Augustini*, Antwerp, 1636, p. 107, rightly commented that this work by Giles was written 'more scholastico, sed ad mentem Platonis'. See also the comments and the parts of the text edited by E. Massa, *I fondamenti metafisici*, cit.; Idem, 'Egidio da Viterbo e la metodologia del sapere nel Cinquecento; in *Pensée humaniste et tradition chrétienne aux XV et XVI siècles*, ed. H. Bédarida, Paris 1950, pp. 185-239; Idem, 'L'anima e l'uomo in Egidio da Viterbo e nelle fonti classiche e medioevali', in *Testi umanistici inediti sul "De Anima"*, ed. E. Castelli, Padua 1951, pp. 37-138. Twenty years ago, it was announced that Professor Massa had prepared a critical edition of the whole work for publication at Zurich, see F.X. Martin in *Aug.*, 10 (1960) 58 n. 83.

18) *Historia XX Saeculorum*

The archetype is at Naples BN, MS Lat. IX.B14. It bears the title, 'Aegidii Viterbiensis Hystoria XX saeculorum per totidem psalmos digesta', and is dedicated to Pope Leo X. Ff.[iii+] 261r [-263v].

There are marginalia in Giles's hand. The title-page has an extended note by Girolamo Seripando, a disciple of Giles, recounting that the MS was lost at one stage but was later bought at a stall in the Campo di Fiori in Rome by Cardinal Marcello Cervini, later Pope Marcellus II (†1555). There is an autograph letter of Giles, Rome 18 Nov. 1525, bound in (at f.263r). For a brief description of the MS see Péliissier, 'Manuscripts', in *Rev. Biblioth.*, 2 (1892) 239 n. 1. Péliissier believed that the *Historia* was completed in 1516, but Signorelli, *Egidio*, p. 215 n. 25, argues convincingly that it was composed between 1513 and 1518. The title is not by Giles; it was added later, probably by Seripando.

There are four others copies: Naples, BN, MS Lat. LX.B.12, an eighteenth century copy, with the title, 'Liber de decem saeculis', described by Péliissier, 'Manuscripts', cit., p. 240 n. 1; two copies at Rome, BA, MS Lat. 351 and MS Lat. 502, described by Narducci, *Cat.*

cod. mss Bibl. Ang., pp. 177, 223; and a copy at Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, F. 48, listed by F. Schnorr von Carolsfeld, *Katalog der Handschriften der königl. Öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Dresden*, 1 (Dresden 1882) 364, and Zumkeller, *Manuskripte*, p. 48. Péliissier, 'Manuscripts', cit., p. 358, mentions another copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, but this has not been located. This was probably 'Liber de decem seculis', listed as No. 55 in the Ridolfi catalogue, see Astruc and Monfrin, 'Livres latins et hébreux', p. 553.

One small section of the work has been edited by K. Hoefler in *Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichts-Quellen*, 12 (1854) 378-387. Twenty years ago it was announced that a critical edition was being prepared by Professor Eugenio Massa to be published by "Thesaurus Mundi" of Zurich, but this has not yet appeared. A brief analysis of the work formed the doctoral dissertation of L.-G. Péliissier, *De opere historico Aegidii Viterbiensis*, Montpellier 1896.

Many historians have drawn on the *Historia* for individual comments and items of information. According to Hergenröther and P. Laemmer it is cast in the same mould as Bossuet's *Discours sur l'histoire universelle*; it is inspired by religious faith not by the spirit of scientific history. As the sub-title indicates, Giles looked for guidance to the Psalms and also drew inspiration from Talmudic and cabbalist literature. It is an attempt to draw from the history of the papacy some practical lessons for the turbulent age in which Giles was living.

The *Historia* was the main topic of discussion in a series of lectures, on 'Histoire de l'esoterisme chrétien', which Professor François Secret delivered at Paris during 1974-5, see *Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, V^e section — Sciences Religieuses: Annuaire*, tom. 83 (1974-5) 287-90.

19) *Historiae Heremitarum Synopsis*

Rome, A.G.A., MS Cc 37, ff. 112r-116r.

Historical notes on the Augustinian Hermits from the time of St Augustine to 1515. Partly in Giles's hand but sometimes erroneously attributed to Aegidius Romanus (Giles of Rome), see G. Bruni, *Catalogo critico delle opere di Egidio Romano*, Florence 1936, pp. 178-9.

20) *Panegyricus Ilicetanus*

Excerpts from this work are quoted by Ambrogio Landucci, *Sacra Ilicetana Sylva*, Siena, 1653, pp. 43, 44, 78. Gandolfo, *Dissertatio*, p.

18, lamented that already by that time (i.e. 1704) the work had disappeared, though at one time the original had been preserved in the Lecceto archives and a copy at San Marco, Siena. The work had disappeared even earlier since it was not mentioned by Gandolfo in his *Le porpore agostiniane*, published at Mantua in 1695, when he listed Giles's writings on p. 40. The work is not to be confused with another little mystical composition by Giles on Lecceto, *De Ilicetana Familia*, edited by F.X. Martin, see above No. 8.

21) *De mirabilibus Bononiae*.

At Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 388, f. 62v. Listed in Cat. cod. lat. bibl. reg. Monac., 2nd ed., 1, pt. 1 (Munich 1892) 102; Zumkeller, *Manuskripte*, p. 48.

A poem of 16 lines in 8 elegiac couplets, in which lines 5, 15 and 16 are hypermetrical. There are numerous false quantities. The poem, intended as a guide for a visitor to Bologna shows a real knowledge of the city — the Bentivoglio palace, the church of San Domenico and its famous tomb of St Dominic, the church of San Petronio, the painting of Francesco Francia in the church of San Giacomo Maggiore, the silk industry in the city.

This is the only known copy of the poem, as of the three epigrams which follow. It is written in a hurried inelegant sixteenth century Italian hand. Giles often visited Bologna and there is no obvious reason to deny that he was the author, though it is not in the style of his other Latin pieces.

I am indebted to Fr M.B. Hackett, o.s.a., for checking my transcript of the poem and to Professor J.J. Tierney, University College, Dublin, for his painstaking notes on it.

22) *Epigrammata tria*

These follow immediately after the poem on Bologna, on the same folio, and are in the same hand. They are listed in the catalogue of the latin manuscripts in the library, mentioned above, and by Zumkeller cit. The first two epigrams are elegiac couplets with separate headings; the third is an unheaded couplet of two hexametres.

The epigrams are addressed 'To a boastful noble', 'On a woman murdered by her husband', and on a favourite house. They show an unusual aspect of Giles's character, a dry humour which is not readily evident in his other writings.

23) Eclogues

Giles's longest excursion into Latin poetry took the form of three eclogues. They are to be found in two manuscripts, Naples, BN, MS V.F. 20, and Rome, BA, MS Lat. 1001, both of Augustinian origin. The eclogues never enjoyed any popularity. The fact of their existence was noted in several of the standard works which listed the writings of Giles, for example D. A. Gandolfo, *Le porpore agostiniane*, Genoa 1695, p. 40; Ossinger, *Bibl. Aug.*, p. 195; Perini, *Bibl. Aug.*, I. 185, but the poems remained unedited. The only printed excerpts are fragments — two lines cited by M. Ardito, *La epifania degli Dei appo gli antichi*, Naples 1789, p. 28, from second eclogue, and four lines quoted by F. Fiorentino in *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane*, 9 (1884) 437, from the first eclogue. The poems undoubtedly have quality and deserve attention. The lack of enthusiasm about them may well be explained by that puritanical element of the Counter-Reformation which turned a cold eye on Giles's *Caccia de amore* and caused his name as its author to be dropped for several decades (see above No. 13). The eclogues are distinguished by that easy mixture of christian thoughts and pagan images which was popular in Italy during the first two decades of the sixteenth century but very much out of favour when a rigid spirit of reform transformed the Catholic Church at the time of the Council of Trent, 1545-63.

Fortunately the eclogues have now found an editor, Professor Edmund Miller, s.j., University of Detroit. He has prepared a critical edition, with English translation, which will be published in the near future. I am indebted to Professor Miller for generously placing his work at my disposal.

The better of the two manuscripts appears to be Naples, BN, MS V.F. 20, with the eclogues on ff. 22r-34r, but it is not described in any printed catalogue, merely listed in *Inventario generale di tutti i codici manoscritti della Biblioteca Nazionale [di Napoli]*, vol. I, f. 241v. The other manuscript is at Rome, BA, MS Lat. 1001, with the eclogues on ff. 36r-44v, and is described by Narducci, *Cat.cod.mss Bibl. Angel.*, pp. 416-18.

The first eclogue, *Paramellus et Aegon*, is autobiographical (with Giles as Aegon) and stands as an introduction for the other two eclogues. It clearly owes its form to Virgil, with the two shepherds, Paramellus and Aegon, engaged in discussion about the troubled world in which they live. The title of the second eclogue, on the birth of

Christ, *De ortu Domini*, is self-explanatory, as is the third, *In Resurrectione Domini*. The poems are not dated in either of the manuscripts, but we are fortunate in having a letter of Giles to Antonio Zocolo, dated 2 July 1504, (printed in Signorelli, *Egidio*, p. 220, no. VII), in which he relates that he had just regretfully left the island of Martana in Lake Bolsena, 'where I composed the eclogues'.

The obvious value of the eclogues is the example they provide of religious thought expressed in Renaissance image language. The success of this method of religious presentation was given immortal expression by a leading figure of the Italian literary Renaissance at Naples, Giovanni Pontano (1462-1503), when he made Giles the inspiration and title of his work, *Aegidius*. It was confirmed by another guiding spirit of the Renaissance, Sannazzaro (c. 1456-1530), when he acknowledged that his epic poem, *De Partu Virginis*, owed its inspiration to a quotation in a sermon preached by Giles. On the other hand, this apparently happy marriage of christian thought and classical language was derided by Pietro Pomponazzi in his *Apologia*, Bologna 1518, car. xxxiii, in a passage aimed at Giles. Pomponazzi's attitude was expressed with greater force and edge by Erasmus in his *Dialogus Ciceronianus* (Paris 1528) where he assailed what he considered to be a medley of paganism and christianity. This was the view which was to become triumphant with the success of both Protestantism and the Counter-Reformation. It partly explains why the three eclogues were relegated to obscurity.

The eclogues have value on purely literary grounds but also merit attention for their theological content, as an expression of religious sentiment. It is not surprising to find Giles, a true son of the Renaissance, returning to a classical model, to the pastoral, for a suitable setting and series of images, but it will arouse special interest to find that for his religious themes he returns to two doctrines, so prominent in the early christian church, the Incarnation and the Resurrection. He, as it were, skips the Passion and Crucifixion of Christ, as well as so many other devotions which were typical of the medieval world. The theological content of the eclogues show Giles to be an optimist, convinced of man's redemption and consequently of his dignity as a son of God. Nature is once more harmonious, and the very animals manifest themselves as God's creatures. All of this stems from Christ, the Redeemer, who took flesh, died, but rose again victorious. Here there is no room for despair. Man has been made the measure of all things.

24) *Latin translation of Petrarch poem, "Canzone alla Vergine"*

The text of Giles's translation is no longer available. The renowned and moving poem by Petrarch in honour of the Blessed Virgin, 'Vergine bella, che di sol vestita', is normally listed as No. CCCLXVI, the last in the canon of Petrarch's poems.

The fact of the translation is put beyond doubt by a letter of Lucillo Filalteo to Giles, addressed 'E Campo Nucerio', 17 Sept. 1527, in Lucillus Philaltheus, *Libri tres epistolarum*, Pavia 1564, ff. 38r-40r, at f. 38v, where, after praise for Sannazzaro because of his expertise in Latin and Italian, there is mention of his verses on the Blessed Virgin. Filalteo then continues,

'Deprehendi unum in oda et lyra tua suavissimum, quod mihi perplacuit, et cuique perplaciturum sentio. Tam belle carmen Francisci [Petrarca], ut non potuerit ad verbum et ad rem traduci melius. Quoties confero, cecinisti tu melius vel aequae. Nec parum fuit tua florenti aetate huiusmodi cecinisse, quando ipse quidem senserim magis arduum versus vernaculae linguae convertere in latinam, quam suaptae minerva pangere'.

Note of Giles's translation was made by G. Fontanini, *Biblioteca dell' eloquenza italiana, con le annotazioni del Signor Apostolo Zeno*, 2 (Venice 1753) 46; Perini, *Bibl. Aug.*, cit., I. 185. I am indebted to Dr Nicholas Mann, Pembroke College, Oxford, and Miss Jennifer Petrie, Department of Italian, University College, Dublin, for generous information and advice about Petrarch's *Canzone alla Vergine*.

25) *Cyminia*

This was a novel, in Italian, written in the year 1500, as Giles himself tells in a letter to Antonio Zocolo, 2 July 1504, in Signorelli, *Egidio*, p. 220, 'Sunt anni ferme quatuor quum Cyminiam edidimus favellam sermone vulgi conscriptam'. Giles lived at Naples from 1498 to 1501, and was a member of the Pontanian Academy, one of whose members, Musuccio Salernitano had set a new fashion with the publication of his *Novellino* in 1476. No copy of Giles's novel has survived, but the title doubtless refers to the Cimino mountain, overlooking Viterbo, on which there was an Augustinian hermitage where Giles was so often to seek peace and solitude.

26) *Dictionarium sive liber radicum*

Rome, BA, MS Lat. 3, ff. 785. Listed by Narducci, *Cat. cod. mss Bibl. Angel.*, p. 1, and discussed by Pélissier, 'Manuscripts', in *Rev. Biblioth.*, II, 231-2.

It is a rough copy by a scribe, 'Johannes Margaritus Narniensis', of a translation by Giles, of a large 'Book of Roots' (i.e. vocabulary) by the famed Jewish scholar, David (1160?-1235?), son of Joseph Kimhi. A hand, other than that of the scribe, has sub-titled the work on f. 1v, 'Aegidio Viterbien. Card. interprete'; f. 441v has the information, 'Ego Johannes Margaritus Narniensis summa cum diligentia scripsi. Fr Egidius scribi iussit'; f. 785v ends the volume with the words, 'Frater Egidius Eremita'. The scribe observes at two points, ff. 2r and 769v, that the work (i.e. translation) is imperfect. Nevertheless, the size and scope of the compilation shows how systematically Giles was studying Hebrew.

David Kimhi (1160?-1235?) was usually known as 'the Spaniard', and is so described on f. 2r of this MS, but, in fact, he was born at Narbone, France. Yet, because of his continued association with Spain, he always signed himself as David ben Joseph Kimhi the Spaniard. His fame rests largely on his work, the *Mikhlol*; it is in two parts, the morphological and syntactic section — the *Mikhlol* per se, and the lexical portion, generally known as the *Shorashim* (Roots). It is this latter work which Giles undertook to translate. The *Mikhlol* settled the issues of Hebrew grammar for centuries. Probably no other Hebrew grammar of such significance was written in medieval times, and it was to David Kimhi that the christian scholars of the Renaissance and Reformation turned for a understanding of Hebrew. The *Roots* was first published at Naples in 1479, and presumably this was the text Giles used for his translation and notes. For David Kimhi, see Frank E. Talmage, *David Kimhi: the man and the commentaries*, Cambridge (U.S.A.) 1975.

In his register, under the date 4 Jan. 1513, Giles records 'Scripsimus ad Magistrum Gabrielum Venetum ut mitteret ad nos David super tota Biblia et eiusdem librum de radicibus', A.G.A., Dd 11, f. 99v.

In the University Library, St Andrews, Scotland, there is a fair copy (perhaps the one made for Giles), MS 1158 H 4 D2 (2), of the translation. The catalogue of 1826 describes it as 'Liber radicum seu dictionarium Hebraicum, accurante Francisco [sic] Aegidio Viterbiensi Eremita'. The first folio, unnumbered, contains the note, 'Curavit Frater Egidius Viterbiensis Eremita tituli S. Mathei presbyter cardinalis hec haberi tametsi inepta insulsa et minus latina'. The volume ends with the note that the work was completed for Giles on

7 January 1519, at Saragossa, while he was cardinal legate in Spain. I am indebted to Dr R.N. Smart, Keeper of Manuscripts, University Library, St Andrews, and Professor P.O. Kristeller, Columbia University, New York, for ready information on this copy of the translation.

27) *Taghin, id est signa facta super literas et specialiter Ghimel, Zain, Teth, Samech, Gnchain, Zadi, Scin*

Rome, BA, MS Lat. 1253, ff.408. Described by Narducci, *Cat.cod.mss Bibl. Angel.*, p. 529, and Pélissier, 'Manuscripts', in *Rev. Biblioth.*, II. 232.

The work had been translated from the Hebrew by Flavius Mithridates for Pico della Mirandola (see F. Secret, ed., *Scechina*, Rome 1959, I. 23 n. 1, 152 n. 19). It is a cabbalist work on the mystical meanings of the *Tagin* (special designs for seven letters of the Hebrew alphabet). The Angelica copy was made for Giles but with his own comments, as indicated by the sub-title, 'Aegidio Viterbien. Cardinali interprete'. It will need a separate study to decide how much of the manuscript is by Giles; the first 29 folios have his marginal notes and comments, including the unexpectedly contemporary reference on f. 18v, 'veluti Picus cum uxore Laurentii', when discussing the sin of adultery. It is a massive volume, an impressive final draft rather than a finished work; the last book begins on f.408r but ends abruptly, incomplete, on f.408v.

Narducci, cit., describes the Angelica copy as lacking the first three books, the beginning of the fourth, and the fourteenth. He believes most of it is in Giles's hand, but Pélissier, cit., rightly doubts this. Narducci entitles it 'Tractatus de Anima libri XV'. F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi*, 2 (Madrid 1950), p. 24 (934), wrongfully identifies this with a Giles MS at Rome, Vatican, MS Lat. 5808, see above, No. 10.

28) *Traductio et expositio librorum Cabalae et Talmudis* (I)

Paris, BN, MS Lat. 527 (1). Described in *Bibl. Nat.: cat.gen.mss latin*, I. 184.

Ff. 566. Text and marginalia in Giles's hand. F. 5r begins 'Incipit Liber Zohar super libros Mosis: labore magno quesitus: maiore inunctus: maximo rescriptus: longe ac multo cumulatiore in latinum raptim cursimque excerptus, F. Egidio Viterb. Erem.', and at the foot of f. 5r is a 12 line latin verse, signed by Giles, published by F. Secret,

Le Zohar chez les kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance. Paris 1958, pp. 35-6 n. 3. The book *Sefer ha-Temunah* is given in translation but in disjointed order, ff. 299r-308v, 314r-361r, 561r-566v. This MS includes translations of *Zohar*, *Sefer ha-Temunah*, *Ginat Egoz*, *Hortus Nucis*, *Raziel* (see F. Secret in *Archivio di Filosofia*, 1958, pp. 132 n. 9, 135 n. 18). There are a great number of marginalia, and at foot of f. 264v the Giles symbol of three hills crowned each with a cross; cf. f. 218v. It is a scholar's crowded MS, not a finished work.

The preliminary folio, before f. 1, is blank but for 'N° 2'; this corresponds to N° 2 in the Ridolfi list, ed. Astruc and Monfrin, 'Livres latins et hébreux', p. 551.

29) *Traductio et expositio librorum Cabalae et Talmudis* (II)

Paris, BN, MS Lat. 527 (2). Described in *Bibl. Nat.: cat. gen. mss latin*, I. 184.

Ff. 674. Text and marginalia in Giles's hand. The MS contains translations of *Brescit Raba*, *Sefer ha Bahir*, *Medras Ruth*, *Scir ha scirim*, *Cohélet*, *Ehalot*, *Liber Palatiorum*, *Agadot Talmud*, (see F. Secret in *Archivio di Filosofia*, 1958, p. 135 n. 18). There are typical marginal sketches by Giles of towers and hands, e.g. ff. 21v, 213r. At the foot of f. 273v is 'Finis Canticorum Fratris Aegidii' in Giles's hand, and on f. 670r 'Finis Agadot Talmut, Frater Egidius excerpsit'. Like MS Lat. 527 (1) it is a scholar's collection of pieces, crowded and unfinished.

F. 1r is headed 'N° 7', with a title, which corresponds with N° 7 in the Ridolfi list, ed. Astruc and Monfrin, 'Livres latins et hébreux', p. 552.

30) *Glossarium Chaldaicae linguae et Cabalae vocabula*

Paris, BN, MS Lat. 596. Described in *Bibl. Nat.: cat. gen. mss lat.*, I. 212. Ff. 525 [+ 1]. Partly in Giles's hand and with Giles's marginalia throughout.

It is a scholar's manuscript, crammed with notes; on ff. 8r-72v there are four columns to a page, in Giles's hand, and on f. 73r 'frater Egidius: strinxit: chaldaica'. The rest of this section, ff. 73r-202v is in another hand but with marginalia by Giles, and f. 202v is headed 'Chaldea Babylonica, Aramea: fratris Egidii Viterbiensis'. The rest of the volume, ff. 203r-[526r] is in four column pages, in Giles's hand.

At the very end, f. 526v, another hand has inserted 'N° 4' and a title which corresponds to the No. 4 and title in the Ridolfi catalogue, published by Astruc and Monfrin, 'Livres latins et hébreux', p. 551.

31) *Vocabula diversorum librorum hebraicorum exposita*

Paris, BN, MS Lat 597. Described in *Bibl. Nat.: cat. gen. mss lat.*, I. 212. Ff. 721. Partly in Giles's hand and with Giles's marginalia throughout.

Here again we have a scholar's manuscript, crammed with notes; there are usually 4-5 columns to a page, and occasionally there are 7, and all in small script.

This has been identified by Astruc and Monfrin, 'Livres latins et hébreux', p. 551, as No. 1 in the Ridolfi catalogue.

32) *Interpretatio et annotationes Aegidii Viterbiensis in Librum decem Sephirot et in libros Cabalae*

Paris, BN, MS Lat. 598. Described in *Bibl. Nat.: cat. gen. mss lat.*, I. 212-13. Ff. 382. In Giles's hand and with Giles's marginalia.

This is a further example of a scholar's crowded manuscript, in many cases with two columns to a page, as on ff. 305r-353r; on f. 131v there is in the margin the Giles device of the triple hill surmounted by a cross. At the end of the first section, f. 65r there is a longish, moving, prayer by Giles and his signature; f. 118r, 'Finis Mayrehet: 1513: 10 maij'; f. 163v, 'Sequitur oratio fr. Egid. in Racanatensis super quinque Libros Moisis'; f. 376v has Giles's signature.

There are seven preliminary folios, blank except on f. [7v], whose 'N° 9' corresponds to No. 9 in the Ridolfi catalogue published by Astruc and Monfrin, 'Livres latins et hébreux', p. 552.

33) *Ben Hacane liber qui Pelia dicitur*

Paris, BN, MS Lat. 3667. Listed in *Cat. cod. mss Bibl. Regiae*, 3 (Paris 1744) 445.

Ff. [4+] 38 [+10]. The text, ff. 1r-36r, is in Giles's hand, and there are many marginalia throughout, also in his hand. The title on f. 1r, 'Ben Hacane liber qui Pelia dicitur: frater Egidius', indicates that he compiled the work before he was created cardinal in July 1517. The script is cramped and there are many marginalia. In a word, it was a translation Giles made for his own use, not for publication.

It is listed as No. 38 in the Ridolfi catalogue, ed. Astruc and Monfrin, 'Livres latins et hébreux', p. 553, but with a misleading title, 'Neconia Ben Acana traductus per reverendissimum cardinalem Aegidii [sic]'.

How devoted Giles was to Hebrew studies and how anxious he was to acquire a copy of *Ben Hacane* appears in a letter he wrote on 9 jan. 1514 to the Venetian Augustinian, Gabriele Della Volta

Nos quidem in studiis sanctae linguae hebraeae libentissime conquiescimus et optamus optimos quosque in eo genere sortiri libros: quotquot occurrunt tibi gratissimum nobis faceres si tua opera haberi a nobis poterunt. De libro quem scribis, sine mercede vigini aureorum exemplari non posse, qui quidem liber *Bencana* dicitur super primum cap., hic scribentibus volumina hebraica pro singulo quinternione Marcellos praebemus duos; idcirco curato quantum poteris detrahere, sed ut habeatur liber *Bencana* nullis pecuniis stetur

in BA, MS Lat. 1001, ff. 295v-296r (also BA, MS Lat. 688, ff. 49r-50r, where it is undated).

34) *Nonnulla opera cabalistica*

Rome, Vatican, MS Lat. 5198. Ff. ii + 324 [+ 1]. The sub-title runs, 'Aegidio Viterbiensis Card. interprete'.

The script is inelegant, by two different hands (1) 1r-228v, 247r-258v, (2) 229r-246v, 259v-324v. This is a scholar's notebook, in use, covered with Latin marginalia in Giles's hand. There are Hebrew symbols throughout, particularly ff. 229r-246v, and three lines of Arabic on f. 259r under the heading "Zohar B". On f. 324v, 'Finis Sodot Aramban in Lege: via veritatis; quae Frater Egidius conscripsit. Christo Dei cuius filio eidemque deo decus honor gloria. Amen'.

35) *Liber de revolutione 27 litterarum hebraicarum secundum viam in lingua hebrea*

Listed as No. 37 in the Ridolfi catalogue (now BN, Paris, MS Grec 3, 074, f. 77v) of Giles's library, and described as 'traductus per Reverendissimum Cardinalem Aegidii [sic]'. slightly misrepresented as 'versus per Reverendissimum Cardinalem Aegidium' in Montfaucon, *Bibl. bibl. mss nova*, II. 779, and by Perini, *Bibl. Aug.*, I. 183, as 'interprete Aegidio Viterbiensi', but correctly reproduced by Astruc and Monfrin, 'Livres latins et hébreux', p. 553. It has not yet been located in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. It is liable to be confused with another work which was No. 18 in the Ridolfi catalogue, 'Revolutio septuaginta duorum nominum in hebreo', listed in Astruc and Monfrin, cit., p. 552. On the original evidence (the Ridolfi catalogue), the 'Liber de revolutione' was translated by Giles.

36) *De moribus Turcarum*

Listed by Ossinger, *Bibl. Aug.*, p. 194, who adds, 'quod vivente adhuc Egidio Jacobus Sadoletus periisse arbitratur', as appears from a

letter of Sadoletto to Giles, in *Epistolae Sadoletae*, Lyons 1559, Lib. III, p. 149. Giles is credited with having embarked on a study of Turkish and Persian, see Xystus Schier, 'Adnotationes in Dominici Antonii Gandolfi', in BA, MS Lat. 353, p. 201.

ATTRIBUTED TO GILES: DOUBTFUL

37) *Philosophia ad mentem Platonis*

It is attributed to Giles by Gandolfo, *Dissertatio*, p. 19, a claim repeated by Ossinger, *Bibl. Aug.*, p. 195, who describes it, 'in 4. In Bibliotheca Carbonaria ad S. Joannem'. The vague title could apply to several of Giles's compositions, but it may well refer to the second item in a MS at Naples, BN, MS VIII. F. 7, which seems to have come from the library of the Augustinian priory of San Giovanni in Carbonara. The work is not by Giles, but was compiled for him by Nicolo Scutelli. It is noted by Kristeller, *Iter*, I. 409-10. The MS, which runs to 512 folios, appears to be composed of three parts, i) 'Proclus in Timaeum', ff. 1r-34v; ii) 'Proclus, id operis Periclii', ff. 38v-299r; iii) 'Iamblicus de Mysteriis', ff. 311r-511v. The second item begins on f. 38v, 'Philosophia Platonis divinitus revelata'. There are marginalia by Giles throughout the MS, but particularly on the second item. Among Scutelli's notes are, 'Jesu Domino sempiterna laus. Hanc lecturam Viterbium peperit MDXX. Urbs Roma partum solvit' (f. 299r), 'F. Nicolaus Trid. e Graecia colligebat' (f. 299v), 'Interprete F. Nicolao Er^{to} Aug^o' (f. 511v).

38) *Liber dialogorum*

J. Pamphilus, *Chronicon Ordinis Fratrum Eremitarum Sancti Augustini*, Rome 1581, not merely gives the title of the work, but convincingly adds the incipit, 'En ad Te Princeps Praesulque Humanissime'. It is listed as a bare title by C. Curtius, *Virorum illustrium ex Ordine Eremitarum S. Augustini elogia*, Antwerp 1636, p. 106; and Elssius, *Encom. Aug.*, Brussels 1654, p. 14, adds credibility to the attribution by citing part of the incipit, 'En ad te Princeps'. Neither they nor the several other Augustinian authors who mention this work cite its location. D. A. Gandolfo, *Dissertatio*, Rome 1704, p. 19, looked in vain for it. There is a short text at Naples, BN MS V.F. 5, entitled 'Platonis Dialogus de Iusto', see Kristeller, *Iter*, I. 418. It was composed by Scutelli, 'Fratre Nicolao Tridentino Eremita Augustiniano interprete' (f. 8v), at Rome, in Giles's house, during

April 1525, 'Romae in aedibus R^{mi} Egidii. Idibus April. MDXXV' (f. 1v). It is possible that, as with other texts composed or copied by Scutelli for Giles (see above, Nos 17 and 37) it gave rise to the mistaken notion that Giles was the author. However, the incipit of this Naples MS is not 'En ad te Princeps'. On the evidence supplied by Pamphilius, the balance of probability is in favour of the existence of such a work at one time, though it is unlikely to have been a substantial composition.

39) *Scholia Platonica conformia Evangelio*

It was attributed to Giles by Gandolfo, *Dissertatio*, pp. 18-19, who adds, 'Scribit de hoc libro P.M. Augustinus Rubeus, iam excell. Principis Ioannis Andreae Auriae viventis magister et a secretis in indice MSS apud me: Est eiusdem Aegidii, ut opinor: nam nomen auctoris non apparet, licet scriptio et doctrina satis Aegidium ostendant'. He added that it was 'in 4 ... in Carbonaria'. This was repeated by Ossinger, *Bibl. Aug.*, p. 195.

The MS in question appears to be one noted by Kristeller, *Iter*, I. 409-10, a quarto volume, ff. 207, apparently from the Augustinian priory of San Giovanni in Carbonara, 'Orphei et aliorum laniamenta ac Proclus in Rempubicam Platonis', now Naples, BN, MS II. F. 7. However, though this MS has many marginalia by Giles, for whom it was written, there is no doubt that it was composed by Nicolo Scutelli; see his notes on ff. 184r, 191v, 207r, all dated to 1526. For Scutelli see Perini, *Bibl. Aug.*, III. 175-6, who does not however note this MS.

40) *Porphyrii mysteria et Procli*

This work was mentioned in a letter from Celio Calcagnini to Jacopo Ziegler, undated but written on receiving a letter of 26 April 1519 from Ziegler,

'Accedit Aegidius Cardinalis vir singulari integritate ac nominis celebritate, qui Porphyrii mysteria et Procli theologiam latinam fecit. Is vero, Dii boni, quantum habet literarum, quantum ingenia ad eruenda totius vetustatis arcana.

in Caelius Calcagninus, *Opera Aliquot*, Basle 1544, pp. 100-101. This unsatisfactory title of the work may refer to Giles's *Sententiarum liber primus*, see above No. 17, or it may be a confusion with two MSS which were copied for Giles by Scutelli, namely Vatican, MS Barb. Lat. 322, ff. 133r-144r, 'Porphyrii Ἀπορρητὰ', sive Ansa ad rerum divinarum captum' (see Kristeller, *Iter*, II. 458), or Naples, BN, II. F.

7, 'Orphei et aliorum laniamenta ad Proclus in Rempublicam Platonis' (Kristeller, *Iter*, I. 409-10). G. Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, Tome VI, pt 3 [vol. 10], Rome 1785, p. 418, claimed to be the first commentator to note this work (or works) of Giles.

41) *Annotationes in tria priora capita Geneseos*

Described by J. Pamphilus, *Chronicon Ordinis Fratrum Eremitarum Sancti Augustini*, Rome 1581, f. 141v, as 'In principium Geneseos sive Hexameron'. Listed by C. Curtius, *Virorum illustrium ex Ordine Eremitarum S. Augustini elogia*, Antwerp 1636, p. 106, and Elssius, *Encom. Aug.*, Brussels 1654, p. 14, but with no further information. In 1704 Gandolfo, *Dissertatio*, p. 19, stated that he looked without success for the MS, but A. Arpe, *Pantheon Augustinianum*, Genoa 1709, p. 269, claimed to have seen among Giles's works in the Biblioteca, Rome, the 'Notas in Genes[im]'. In 1768, Ossinger, *Bibl. Aug.*, p. 194, gave somewhat more detail when he described it as 'Annotationes in Genesim, aliosque Veteris Testamenti libros, et in Talmud Codex chart.', but the Austrian Augustinian historian, Xystus Schier (1727-1772), writing about the same time as Ossinger and giving the same title as had Ossinger, commented, 'unde patet, id quod alii viderunt, hujus tantum fuisse fragmentum', in BA, MS Lat. 353, p. 203. The work in question may be identical with a MS at Paris, BN, MS Lat. 527 (1), listed in the Ridolfi catalogue as 'Traductio libri Zoar in tribus primis libris Moysis cum ejusdem annotationibus ad extra. Liber Temuna cum suis expositionibus ac annotationibus. Index nominum sanctorum. Secundus liber Temuna cum aliis annotationibus ab extra alterius intentionis.', see Astruc and Monfrin, 'Livres latin et hébreux', p. 551: described in *Bibl. Nat.: cat. gen. mss latins*, I. 184.

42) *Psalterium translatum*

Joannes Matthaeus Tuscanus, *Peplus Italiae*, Paris 1587, p. 50, prints a verse in praise of Giles, then adds, 'Patri Aegidio fuit Viterbium professus est Ordinis Eremitarum institutum: eruditione et sanctimonia purpurem galerum est assecutus. Extat psalterium ab eo translatum'. The translation, if it still exists, has not been located. The solution may however lie in a Vatican MS, Vat. Lat. 2930, ff. 155-169, which are notes on the Psalter, showing a knowledge of Hebrew and Arabic. Giovanni Mercati has suggested that the notes may be the work of Giles, see Giovanni Mercati, 'A propositio del commentario di

Probo a Virgilio', in *Giovanni Mercati: opere minori*, 4 (Vatican 1937) 434. Giles was expert in Hebrew and was credited by Widmanstetter, in the preface to his edition of the Syriac of the New Testament, as being the only christian scholar in western Europe with a knowledge of Arabic, see *Liber Sacrosancti Evangelii de Jesu Christo Domino et Deo nostro* ... characteribus et lingua Syra, Vienna 1555, f. [10r-v].

43) *De locis quae sapientes Hebraeorum gratia commutaverunt*

Giles, in an undated letter to Giovanni Matteo Giberti, the noted reformer and later cardinal, relates that he had compiled a work for Cardinal Bernardino Carvajal:

Jussit Reverendissimus Cardinalis Sanctorum Quatuor [Coronatorum] ea scribere loca, quae sapientes Hebraeorum ab-dendorum arcanorum gratia commutaverunt. Scripsi ea quae non iniuria abscondita voluisse intelliges: quippe quae omnia nostri Salvatoris mysteriis complectantur. Mitto ea ad te, ut vel legis vel legendas fido alicui trades....

in Martène and Durand, *Veterum scriptorum*, III. 1260. There is no evidence that this compilation was more than an aide-mémoire or list of passages from Jewish authors. It hardly merits to be described as one of Giles's writings, as it has been by J.A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca latina mediae et infimae aetatis*, Florence 1858 ed., I. 22.

44) *De adventu Messiae*

In a letter to Reuchlin, Rome 1516, Giles mentioned, 'Mitto testimonia de adventu Messihaei', in *Illustrium virorum epistolae, hebraicae, graecae et latinae, ad Joannem Reuchlin ... quibus iam pridem editus est liber secundus nunquam antea editus*, Hagenau 1519, f. [50r]. The more precise dating for the letter, 25 October 1516, is given in Vat. Lat. 3461, f. 31v, and was recorded contemporaneously in Giles's register, in A.G.A., Dd 12, f. 82v, 'Dedimus litteras familiares ad Dominum Reuclin'.

In the list of Giles's manuscripts in the royal library at Paris was an entry, No. 53, entitled 'Opus contra Hebreos de Adventu Messiae et de nominibus divinis contra eosdem', see Astruc et Monfrin, 'Livres latins et hébreux', p. 553, below No. 57. On the strength of that entry, it has been assumed by Fabricius, op. cit., I. 22, Ossinger, *Bibl. Aug.*, p. 195, and Perini, *Bibl. Aug.*, I. 183, that the work was by Giles. It may, in fact, be identical with the 'Testimonia' sent to Reuchlin in 1516, but there is no proof that this is so, and that particular MS, No.

53, has not yet been located for examination in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

On the strength of the letter to Reuchlin, the only safe conclusion is that Giles sent notes to the German humanist. They may well be identical with 'De locis quae sapientes Hebraeorum gratia commutaverunt', see above No. 43, but, on the evidence at present available, it would not be justified to describe the 'De adventu Messiae' as a literary work of Giles. Furthermore, there has been confusion between 'De adventu Messiae' and an 'Opus contra Hebreos', see below, No. 57.

45) *De immortalitate animae*

In an undated letter, Giovanni Matteo Gilberti thanks Giles for a composition, written by midnight oil ('lucubrationem tuam'), and mentions that it deals with immortality ('Ubi enim tu immortalitatem illam, omnibus rebus praeponendam dicis, quid aliud niteris, nisi ut haec fluxa caducaque tantisper aequo animo feramus, quo ad illam pervenire possimus?'). The letter is in BA, MS Lat. 1001, ff. 27v-28r; published from BN, Naples, V.F. 20, by Martène and Durand, *Veterum scriptorum*, cit., see above, No. 43.

On the strength of those references, it is claimed by E. Massa, 'Egidio da Viterbo e la metodologia del sapere nel cinquecento', in *Pensée humaniste et traduction chrétienne aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, ed. H. Bédarida, Paris 1950, pp. 185-239, at p. 185 n. 1, that Giles wrote a separate work, 'De immortalitate animae', but the evidence does not support this deduction. The composition may have been a mere series of notes, or a brief essay, or even Giles's 'Sententiarum liber primus', see above, No. 17. No such work as 'De immortalitate animae' is known to have survived.

46) *De materia et forma*

E. Massa in *Pensée humaniste*, cit., (see above, No. 45), p. 185 n. 1, states that a work of Giles, now lost, entitled 'De materia et forma', is referred to in BA, MS Lat. 1001, ff. 127v-128r, as finished. The letter is from Giles to Fra Serafino, dated from the Cimino 19 July [1507?]. While it speaks about the opposition between Aristotelians and Platonists, and refers in that context to the interpretations of 'materia et forma', and the completion of a work (which may be any of Giles's several works such as his 'Sententiarum liber primus', see above, No. 17), there is no solid evidence for attributing to him a monograph, 'De materia et forma'.

47) *De disciplinis Ethruscis*

L.-G. Pelissier, *De opere historico Aegidii Cardinalis Viterbiensis*, Montpellier 1896, p. 15, stated that Giles mentioned he had composed this work. In fact, Giles, in the MS in question, BA, MS Lat. 502, f. 23r, refers to his intention to write such a work (as he does in his *De aurea aetate*, ed. J.W. O'Malley in *Traditio*, 25 (1969) 285, 287), but there is no evidence that he ever did so. See O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo*, p. 13 n. 4.

48) *Informatio contra Lutheranam sectam pro Apostolicae Sedis auctoritate*

Listed as No. 14 in the Ridolfi catalogue of Giles's library, which is printed by Montfaucon, *Bibl. bibl. mss nova*, II. 779, ed. Astruc and Monfrin, 'Livres latins et hébreux', pp. 551-4 at p. 552. The work is described, with an obvious slip, as 'pro Aristotelicae Sedis auctoritate'. The cataloguer adds the comment, 'Credo sit opus Cardinalis Aegidii', which is imprecisely reproduced by Montfaucon as 'Puto esse opus Aegidibus Cardinalis Viterbiensis'. The question of authorship has so far remained open, as the MS has not yet been located for examination in the Bibliothèque Nationale. For two other similar works, sometimes attributed to Giles, see below Nos 56 and 57; see also D. Gutiérrez, 'I primi Agostiniani che scrissero contro Lutero', in *Anal. Aug.*, 39 (1976) 7-74 at p. 73.

ATTRIBUTED TO GILES: DUPLICATED TITLES

49) *De arcana Judeorum doctrina*

It is thus listed in *Cat. cod. mss Bibl. Reg.*, 3 (Paris 1744) 409, Ossinger, *Bibl. Aug.*, p. 194, and Perini, *Bibl. Aug.*, I. 183 (17); described in *Bibl. Nat.: cat. gen. mss lat.*, 5 (1966) 291-2.

In fact it has been published under its more correct name, *Scechina* by F. Secret, *Scechina e libellus de litteris hebraicis*, Paris 1959, 2 vols, pp. 63-239, 1-340, from Paris, BN, MS Lat. 3363, ff. 154r-394v. See above No. 11.

50) *Commentaria in quosdam Psalmos, ad Leonem X*

Mentioned by Elssius, *Encom. Aug.*, p. 14, repeated by Gandolfo, *Le porpore agostiniane*, Mantua 1695, p. 40, and Perini, *Bibl. Aug.*, I. 184 (28). In fact this is the work now known as 'Historia XX Saeculorum', see above No. 18. Giles had to title on the work, but a disciple, probably Girolamo Seripando, described it as 'Aegidii

Viterbiensis Hystoria XX Saeculorum', and added the sub-title, 'per totidem Psalmos digesta. Ad Leonem X Pont. Max.'. Hence the mistake by Elssius, Gandolfo, Perini and others.

51) *Liber de decem seculis*

Listed as No. 55 in the Ridolfi catalogue of Giles's library, in Montfaucon, *Bibl. bibl. mss nova*, II, 779, ed. Astruc and Monfrin, 'Livres latins et hébreux, p. 553, but not attributed to Giles. This was a copy of Giles's *Historia XX Saeculorum*, see above No. 18, and was copied from the original at Naples, BN, MS IX.B.14, which has an inscription on f. 1r, at the foot of the page, 'Liber de decem seculis, No. LV'. Another copy of Giles's work at Naples, BN, MS IX.B.12, likewise has the title, 'Liber de decem seculis'.

52) *De Romanis Pontificibus*

Listed by Ossinger, *Bibl. Aug.*, p. 195, and described as 'MS extat in Angelica Romae'. Almost certainly this is a confusion with Giles's 'Historia XX Saeculorum', for which see above, No. 18.

WRONGLY ATTRIBUTED TO GILES

53) *De opere sex dierum*

Listed by Perini, *Bibl. Aug.*, I. 183 (9), and F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi*, 2 (Madrid 1950) 23 (918), as at Naples, BN, MS VII.A.10. In fact this is a work of Aegidius Romanus († 1316); it ends, f.101r, 'Explicit Liber Exameron. i. de operibus Sex Dierum, editus a Fratre Egidio Romano Ordinis Eremitarum Divi Augustini'.

54) *Promemoria ad Hadrianum Papam VI de depravato statu Romanae Ecclesiae, et quomodo reformari possit ac debeat.*

Published by Konstantin Hoefler in *Analekten zur Geschichte Deutschlands und Italiens in Abhandlungen der historischen Classe der könig. Bayer. Akd. der Wissenschaften*, IV, Bd III, Abthl. (B.), Munich 1846, pp. 62-98, and attributed to Giles. Fifty years later it was proved that the author was Cardinal Campeggio, see W. Friedensburg, 'Ueber den Verfasser des "Promemoria ad Hadrianum Papam de depravato statu Romanae ecclesiae"', in *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, N.F., I-II (Vierteljahrshefte, 1896-7) pp. 71-74. Authors such as Palmieri in *D.T.C.*, 6 (1915) 1368, and Perini, *Bibl. Aug.*, I. 184 (31) have continued to attribute it to Giles.

55) *Resolutio lutheriana super propositionem suam XIII de potestate Papae*

Paris, BN, MS Lat. 3395, pp. 1-40. Listed as No. 28 in the Ridolfi catalogue of Giles's library, printed by Montfaucon, *Bibl. bibl. mss nova*, II. 779, ed. Astruc and Monfrin, 'Livres latins et hébreux', pp. 551-4, and described in *Bibl. Nat.: cat. gen. mss lat.*, V. 341-2.

Far from being from Giles's pen, it is a work by Luther, ed. in the 'Weimarer Ausgabe' of his works, II (1884) 184-240. Neither the text nor marginalia are in Giles's hand. This and two works, see above no. 48, below no. 57, which were listed in the Ridolfi catalogue are briefly discussed by D. Gutiérrez, 'I primi Agostiniani italiani che scrissero contro Lutero', in *Anal. Aug.*, 39 (1976) 73, and he rightly concludes that none of them can be ascribed with any certainty to Giles.

56) *Informatio pro concilio contra Lutheranos*

Paris, BN, MS Lat. 3395, pp. 43-134. Listed as No. 29 in the Ridolfi catalogue, printed by Montfaucon, *Bibl. bibl. mss nova*, II. 779, ed. Astruc and Monfrin, 'Livres latins et hébreux', pp. 551-4, and described in *Bibl. Nat.: cat. gen. mss lat.*, V. 341-2.

Neither text nor marginalia are in Giles's hand. No positive evidence points to him as author. The style is not his, e.g., describing Luther as 'ministrum Sathanae' (p. 43), and 'primogenitum Sathanae' (p. 44). The possibility of Giles being the author is briefly discussed by O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo*, p. 18 n. 1; see also Gutiérrez cit. in *Anal. Aug.*, 39 (1976) 73. The document was one of the memorials on the Lutheran problem which Pope Leo X called for in consistory on 6 Feb. 1521.

57) *Racha*

Paris, BN, MS Lat. 3461, ff. 1r-19v. Listed as No. 43 in the Ridolfi catalogue of Giles's library, published by Montfaucon, *Bibl. bibl. mss nova*, II. 779 (A), ed. Astruc and Monfrin, 'Livres latins et hébreux', pp. 551-4, and described in *Bibl. Nat.: cat. gen. mss lat.*, V. 445-6.

It is anonymous, beginning, 'Super verbis Evangelii. "Non ad solvendam legem sed ad implendam veni". Antiqua disceptatio fuit apud Mathei evangelium ...'. This was a tract, commonly attributed to Jérôme Aléandre, dating from the year 1526, an attack on the Protestant position and Erasmus. It was never printed and, though mentioned several times by Erasmus, it disappeared from sight, see

J. Paquier, *L'humanisme et la Réforme: Jérôme Aléandre*, Paris 1900, p. lxix.

An anonymous tract was examined at Paris by Professor Eugenio Massa, who announced the discovery in an article, 'Egidio da Viterbo, Machiavelli, Lutero e il pessimismo cristiano', in *Archivio di Filosofia*, 18 (1949) 96, and unhesitatingly attributed the work to Giles — 'Lo stile, i pensieri, la cultura, le premesse sono tutte tipicamente egidiane. Anche senza l'indicazione de MS 3074, l'identificazione dell'autore sarebbe stata evidente'. He repeated his judgement in 'Egidio da Viterbo e la metodologia del sapere nel Cinquecento', in *Pensée humaniste et tradition chrétienne aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, Paris 1950, pp. 185-239, now identifying it as the long-lost *Racha*. A. Renaudet, *Erasme et l'Italie*, Geneva 1954, pp. 225-6, p. 236 n. 6, rejected the attribution to Giles. Professor Massa reconsidered the evidence, and in a detailed article, 'Intorno ad Erasmo, una polemica che si credeva perduta', in *Classical, Medieval and Renaissance studies in honor of Berthold Louis Ullman*, ed. C. Henderson, 2 (Rome 1964) 435-54, appeared to reverse his judgement, but according to S.S. Menchi, in *Eresia e Riforma*, Miscellanea I, Florence-Chicago, 1974, p. 73, n. 11, Massa still contends that Giles is the author of *Racha*. This remains to be proved.

58) *Opus contra Hebreos de adventu Messiae et de nominibus divinis contra eosdem*

The title first appeared as No. 53 in the Ridolfi catalogue of Giles's library, published in 1739 by Montfaucon, *Bibl. bibl. mss nova*, II. 779. At that stage it was mentioned as merely a work in Giles's library among the collection of Giles's MSS and books in the royal library at Paris, but Ossinger, *Bibl. Aug.*, p. 195, in citing the entry from Montfaucon mistakenly attributed the work to Giles, 'In eadem Bibliotheca [Regia, Paris] num. 53 reperitur opus Aegidii, cujus titulus: Contra Hebraeos de Adventu Messiae, et divinis nominibus contra eos'. The mistake was repeated by various writers such as Palmieri in *D.T.C.*, 6 (1915) 1369, and Perini, *Bibl. Aug.*, 1 (1929) 183, but Astruc and Monfrin, editing the catalogue 'Livres latins et hébreux', pp. 551-4, at 553, correctly reproduce the title without any attribution to Giles. F. Secret, 'Aegidiana Hebraica', in *Revue des études juives*, 1 (1962) 409, establishes that in a MS at Paris, identified by Astruc and Monfrin, cit., p. 552, as No. 24 of the Ridolfi catalogue, now Paris, BN, MS Italien 612, there is a section, ff. 148r-194v, in

Giles's hand, 'les éléments d'un Adversus Judaeos, en latin de la main de Giles de Viterbe', from the year 1517. Giles was there copying from some other work, not composing. For Giles's personal friendly attitude to the Jews see F. Secret, *Les kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance*, Paris 1964, pp. 107-120, also O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo*, pp. 82-4.

There has been confusion between the 'Opus contra Hebreos' and another work attributed to Giles, 'De adventu Messiae', see above No. 44.

59) *Là've l'aurora*. Pseudo-Giles.

As already noted above (see No. 13) two editors, Arrivabene and Dolce, by a coincidence published in the year, 1553, and in the same city, Venice, a poem entitled *Là've l'aurora*, and attributed it to Giles. The coincidence of publication is a puzzle and the attribution to Giles a mystery. Perhaps the text was circulating without an author's name and the similarity of its theme to that of Giles's *Caccia de amore* convinced Arrivabene and Dolce that this also was from his pen. However, it is more likely that, in the tightlyknit world of Venetian publishers and editors, they were supplied with the text, and with Giles's name as the author, by some person, at present unknown.

Thirty-eight of the verses were published separately at Florence in 1560 as *Stanze divinissime del Reverendissimo Cardinale Egidio*, 'ad instantia de Damonfido pastore, detto el Peregrino'; copy at London, BL, 11427.b.25. The poem has been continually attributed to Giles right to the present day, though the attribution was sharply (and, I believe, correctly) rejected in 1571.

Là've l'aurora became more popular than *Caccia de amore*. Dolce, who had published *Là've l'aurora* in his collection of *Stanze* in 1553, reprinted it in his *Rime scelte da diversi autori*, in that same year, in preference to *Caccia*, and thus set the standard for most of the editors who followed him over the centuries. Yet, a direct and convincing challenge to the assertion that Giles was the author of *Là've l'aurora* was published by Agostino Ferentilli, *Della scielta di stanze di diversi autori Toscani*, Venice: B. Giunta, 1571, pp. 18-19.

The facts and sources which Ferentilli cited are cogent. The poem, on the reign of 'La Pudicitia', was written, he stated, by Giovambattista Lapini, known as 'Fisicoso Intronato' of Siena, at the request of a noble Siennese lady, Laura Piccolomini de' Turchi. Ferentilli claimed to have the written testimony of Donna Laura

herself, as well as that of several citizens of Siena who had copies of the poem addressed to Donna Laura and in Lapini's own hand. Furthermore, the first drafts of the poem, with Lapini's emendations, were in possession of Lapini's nephews. All this evidence, according to Ferentilli, had been duly registered by a public notary at Siena, Ser Buonsignor Gherardi.

Ferentilli's little volume was published by the firm of Giunta at Venice in 1571 (copy at London, BL, 11426.a.46), reprinted in 1579 (copy at London, BL, 1062.a.2) and again in 1584 (copy at Rome, Bibl. Casanatense, Rari 25). But Ferentilli's work was overshadowed by the *Stanze* and *Rime* of Dolce, which went through many editions and reprintings between 1553 and 1600. The result was a general acceptance that Giles was author of *Là've l'aurora*, though Bulgarini in his *Repliche di Bellisario Bulgarini alle risposte del Sig. Orazio Capponi*, Siena, 1585, p. 49 (copy at Rome, BA, RR.4.12), reaffirmed that Lapini was the author. This made no impression on the Augustinian, Domenico Antonio Gandolfo, whose *Fiori poetici dell'eremo agostiniano*, published at Genoa in 1682 (copy at Rome, BA, T.10.35) reprinted both *Là've l'aurora*, pp. 81-93, and *Caccia de amore*, pp. 94-107, as by Giles. Gandolfo blandly reasserted this view in his *Le porpore agostiniane*, published at Genoa in 1695, p. 37 (copy at Rome, BA, FF 9.21). As an Augustinian, he was obviously determined to claim the most credit possible for a member of his order.

The controversy about the authorship of *Là've l'aurora* was unintentionally revived three years later by a great literary figure, Giovanni Maria Crescimbeni, principal founder of the Arcadia Academy at Rome. In the first general history of Italian poetry, *L'istoria della volgar poesia*, Rome 1698, p. 322, he paid tribute to Giles as author of *Là've l'aurora*, but, while the work was still in the press, somebody drew his attention to Ferentilli's book. Crescimbeni then added a note on p. 397, mentioning that it was necessary to reconsider the authorship in the light of Ferentilli's evidence. Gandolfo was not going to relinquish his view easily, and in his last published work, *Dissertatio historica de ducentis celeberrimis Augustinianis scriptoribus*, Rome 1704, pp. 16-20, he surveyed Giles's achievements and repeated the claim for both *Caccia de amore* and *Là've l'aurora*. He referred to the doubts expressed by Crescimbeni about the authorship of *Là've l'aurora*, but reported confidently that he had convinced Crescimbeni that the poem came from Giles's pen.

This was wishful thinking on the part of Gandolfo. When Crescimbeni published volume 3 of his *De' comentari intorno all'istoria della volgar poesia*, Rome 1711, he gave due praise to Giles as an Italian poet and for evidence printed, pp. 225-235, the *Caccia de amore*, not *Là've l'aurora*. In a second edition of his *L'istoria della volgar poesia*, Rome 1714, p. 334, Crescimbeni repeated his praise of *Là've l'aurora*, but now described it ambiguously as by Giles or some other author. In the final edition of his *De' comentari*, vol. 4, Venice 1730, pp. 14-15, he mentioned the controversy about the authorship of *Là've l'aurora* but gave no judgement of his own on the issue. He went on, however, to state that Giles did not need that particular poem since he could safely be ranked among the restorers of poetry in Italy by reason of his *Caccia de amore*. To prove his point, Crescimbeni then printed (pp. 15-23) the poem.

A clear-cut stand was taken by Francesco Saverio Quadrio, *Della storia e della ragione d'ogni poesia*, vol. 3 [tom. II, pt 2], Milan 1742, when he praised (p. 261) Giles as author of *Caccia de amore*, but opted for Lapini as composer of *Là've l'aurora*. It has already been noted, see above No. 13, how confusion arose not merely about the authorship of *Là've l'aurora*, but between it and *Caccia de amore*, a confusion which has come down to our own century. It is now, we hope, at an end.

One further aspect of *Là've l'aurora* deserves mention since it reveals a still further complication about the question of authorship and directly involves Giles. There are two MS version copies of the poem — Venice, BN Marciana, MS It. IX. 307 (= 7564), ff. 18v-30r, and Venice, Museo Civico Correr, MS 2546 (998), ff. 164r-170r. Both not only attribute the poem to Giles but state that he wrote it in reply to what his friend, Pietro Bembo, had expressed in verse about love. How this further refinement about *Là've l'aurora* arose is anybody's guess; the problem requires further detailed research.

The copies of the poem at Venice have hitherto escaped the notice of those studying Giles. Clare O'Reilly pointed out to me in 1968 that *Catalogo di manoscritti ora posseduti da D. Baldassarre Boncompagni*, ed. E. Narducci, 2nd ed. Rome 1892, p. 57, referred to a poem by Giles, an octave entitled, 'Nel regno di costui s'impara spesso', in MS 99 (365). But the Boncompagni collection had been dispersed in 1898 and 1906, and it was only after several years' searching that I located the MS in the Marciana Library at Venice, due to the assistance of Dr Angela Dillon, of the Marciana, and of Dr E. Giovi, director of the

Library. It was only then I discovered that the octave was merely part of a longer poem, in fact *Là've l'aurora*, and that it was supposedly a reply to Bembo. By a coincidence about the same time, 1975, I discovered also at Venice, in the Museo Civico Correr, another copy of the poem with the same mention of Bembo. Surprisingly, the Giles item in the Marciana escaped mention in Kristeller, *Iter*, vol. II, and the copy in the Museo Civico Correr was mentioned, *ibid.*, II. 281, simply as unspecified *stanze* of Giles.

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