

ANDREA BIGLIA (c. 1394-1435)

His Life and Writings

LIFE AND TIMES

Prologue

Speaking in the year 1481 in defense of the Order of St. Augustine against its detractors, Ambrogio da Cora, erstwhile prior general and first Augustinian bibliographer of Augustinian writers¹, thus succinctly limned the life and work of one of its more notable sons:

"Twenty-eighth [among our men of talent and erudition]² is the venerable brother, Master Andrea Biglia of Milan. This was so universal a man that he had command of the Greek, Hebrew, and Latin languages. From the first two tongues he translated many things into the last. He was, in the art of oratory, another Cicero; in philosophy, a second Aristotle; in theology, a perfect follower of his father Augustine. With propriety and clarity he composed questions on the *De anima*, interpretations of the gospels, histories of the Lombards and, in particular, of the Milanese, and many other things. He died as a young man; his name, had he lived long, would have been immortal"³.

The scholarly reconstruction, however, of the life of this learned Augustinian friar was initiated only in 1906 by Remigio Sabbadini⁴, developed in 1907 by Francesco Novati⁵ and again in 1942 by Fedele

¹ AMBROGIO DA CORA, O.S.A., *Defensorium ordinis fratrum heremitarum s. Augustini responsivum ad maledicta canonicorum assertorum regularium congregationis Frisonariae* (Rome: G. Herot, 1481).

² Part of da Cora's *Defensorium* was devoted to a description of Augustinians of talent and erudition. See *ib.*, p. 107r: "In prima igitur parte viros doctos et sapientes brevis cum eorum operibus describam".

³ *Ib.*, p. 111r-v: "Vigesimus octavus fuit venerabilis frater Magister Andreas de biliis de Mediolano. Hic tam universalis homo fuit ut graecam: hebraicam latinamque linguam haberet optime. Hic e duabus primis in nostram multa traduxit. Hic in arte oratoria alter Cicero. In philosophia secundus Aristoteles. In theologia patris sui Augustini pedisequs perfectus erat: quaestiones de anima. Interpretationes evangeliorum: loginbardorum [sic] et maxime Mediolanensium historias et alia multa apte et distincte composuit: Iuvenis e vita decessit: qui si diu vixisset aeternum posteris reliquisset nomen". [translation mine]

⁴ Remigio SABBADINI, *Andrea Biglia (Milanese), frate Agostiniano del sec. XV*, in *Istituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere: Rendiconti*, 2.serie 39 (1906), 1087-1102.

⁵ Francesco NOVATI, *Di un codice originale del 'Liber rerum mediolanensium' di frate Andrea Billia esistente nella Nazionale di Madrid*, in *Archivio storico Lombardo*, 4.serie 34 (1907), 217-24.

Marletta⁶, but given well-nigh definitive form in 1965 by Rudolph Arbesmann⁷. Sabbadini laid the foundations with a wealth of materials culled from Biglia's own works and other sources; new documents enabled Novati and Marletta to add precision to certain of Sabbadini's particulars; but it was Arbesmann who produced a masterly synthesis of all previous research and commentary. This present biographical sketch is necessarily a compendium of its predecessors, somewhat enriched with an account of the salient historical features of the times.

Early Years

Andrea Biglia was born of a noble Milanese family in the last decade of the fourteenth century, probably around or a little before 1394⁸.

⁶ Fedele MARLETTA, *Note all'epistolario del Panormita*, in *La Rinascita* 5 (1942), 516-26.

⁷ Rudolph ARBESMANN, O.S.A., *Andrea Biglia, Augustinian Friar and Humanist* (†1435), in *Analecta Augustiniana* 28 (1965), 154-85.

⁸ NOVATI, *Codice*, passim, but particularly pp. 223-24, argues in favor of c. 1395 as the date of Biglia's birth. A summary of his argument is presented by ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia*, p. 157, note 14. The argument is based on a passage in Biglia's preface to his first Milanese history. As published in P. VANDER AA, ed., *Historia patriae*, col. 6 (separately numbered 1-122 cols.), Vol. IX of *Thesaurus antiquitatum et historiarum*, ed. J. G. GRAEVIUS (Leiden: Petrus vander Aa, 1723), on the first of three unnumbered pages before the text proper, and in Filippo ARGELATI, ed., *Mediolanensium rerum historia*, cols. 9-10, Vol. XIX of *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, ed. Ludovico Antonio MURATORI (Milan: Societas Palatina, 1731), the text reads: "Neque quae cis triginta annos acciderunt, qua aetate partim ipse me me [sic] e medio rerum sustuli, reliquum fere dimidium puerulus ego". Emended with a reading from cod. 1066 of the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid, the passage reads: "Neque quae cis triginta annos acciderunt, qua aetate partim ipse me me [sic] e medio rerum sustuli, reliquum fere dimidium per vulgus egi". According to the first version, the events described in the history occur in a thirty year period between 1402 and 1431, the first half of which was equivalent to the author's boyhood, the second half being spent in the religious life. In the second version, the second half of the period was again spent in the monastery, but the first half was spent in the world. The latter version allowed Novati to push the date of Biglia's birth back beyond that postulated by Sabbadini, that is, from 1398 to 1395, the latter being consonant with Biglia's entrance into religion and other events in his early life. The identification by Anna MORISI, *Una pagina sconosciuta di Andrea Biglia sull'immortalità dell'anima*, in Raoul MANSELLI and Girolamo ARNALDI, eds., *Studi storici sul medioevo cristiano, offerti a Raffaello Morghen per il 90° anniversario dell'Istituto* (1883-1973), *Studi storici*, fasc. 88-92 (Rome: Ist. Stor. Ital. per il Medio Evo, 1974), I, 539-52, however, of *codex Florentinus Nationalis Centralis*, Nuovi Acquisti 921, as that which contains the hitherto missing opusculum, the *De non necessario mortis metu* [S 43¹; Pam <21>], has shed new light on the problem of Andrea Biglia's birthdate. MORISI, *Pagina*, p. 540, note 4, informs us that in that work one reads that Biglia's father, Pietro, died in

From the register of the University of Florence we know that his father's name was Pietro⁹. The father died around 1402 during a pestilence, leaving his wife with two young children, Andrea, the firstborn, then around nine years old, and an infant daughter, eight years younger. He was laid to rest in San Eustorgio, the Dominican church in Milan. Some years later, around 1427-1428, the burial of the mother there at the side of her husband was opposed by a certain Fra Galvano of the Order of Preachers because of the polemic [S 7] Andrea had launched against the Dominican, Manfredo da Vercelli¹⁰. In one of his three extant eulogies of Gian Galeazzo, Duke of Milan [S 13], Andrea tell us that his blood relative Giovanni, then considered the head of the family, was at the time of that speech (?1425) castellan of the Castello of Pavia¹¹, a post which Giovanni retained as late as 1440¹². In 1745 the tomb of the Biglia family, possibly the burial place of the descendants of Dionisio Biglia, Giovanni's brother¹³, could still be seen in San Marco, the church of the Augustinian

1402, leaving his wife with two children, Andrea, the elder, and an infant daughter, eight years younger. No indication is given as to in what part of the year the father's death occurred. It is possible, therefore, to place the birth of the daughter at the latest in the latter months of 1402. Andrea's birth, eight years before, then, at the latest, would have occurred in the latter months of 1394. The earliest date for his birth, pushed back by an allowance of two years for his sister's infancy, would be sometime in late 1392 to early 1393.

⁹ A. GHERARDI, *Statuti della università e studio Fiorentino dell'anno MCCCCLXXXVII, seguiti da un'appendice de documenti dal MCCCXX-MCCCCLXXII* (Florence: M. Cellini, 1881), p. 402: "(September 4, 1422) Frater Andreas Petri de Mediolano". From SABBADINI, *Biglia*, p. 1088. See note 46 below.

¹⁰ MORISI, *Pagina*. The reference [S] is to my own listing in *Prolegomena to the Edition of the Extant Works of Andrea Biglia, O.S.A. († 1435)*, *Analecta Augustiniana* 60 (1977), 141-184: Master List [=ML], 151-184. Similar indication is given for each of Biglia's writings as they are mentioned.

¹¹ ANDREA BIGLIA, O.S.A., *In exequiis Johannis Galeatii Vicecomitis ducis Mediolani laudatio funerea* VI,9-11: "Quid in terris aut vidimus aut accepimus simile arci quae Papiæ sita est, cuius hodie custos e nostra familia est Johannes Billia?". Also MORISI, *Pagina*.

¹² MILANO, Bibl. Naz. Braidense, *codex Morbius* 65, p. 46: "Giovanni [Biglia] fu l'anno 1440 castellano di Pavia". From SABBADINI, *Biglia*, p. 1088. Giovanni Biglia was distinguished for valor in the civil war in the action fought in the territory between Lecco and Bergamo, and again later, in the war with Genoa. See MORISI, *Pagina*, especially note 5.

¹³ The father of Giovanni was Antonio Biglia, who had fallen in the valley of San Martino, fighting in the entourage of Ambrogio Visconti, the son of Bernabò. His brother was named Dionisio, and it was from the latter that the successive generations of the family descended, Giovanni Biglia's line ending with the death of his only son, Leone or Leonino, and Pietro Biglia's line ending in his celibate son, Andrea. Ib.

Friars in Milan¹⁴. In at least one extant manuscript, that of Biglia's *Annotationes in evangelia quadragesimae* [S 40], now in the Ambrosian Library, one can clearly see the Biglia family coat of arms, which displays three bandlets with B majuscule in the sinister chief¹⁵.

Something less than a decade before Biglia's birth, that is, in 1385, Gian Galeazzo had deposed his uncle Bernabò and reunited the Visconti state. From this beginning it was his consistent policy to create a great

¹⁴ Filippo ARGELATI, *Bibliotheca scriptorum Mediolanensium*, 2 vols. in 4 (Milan: Societas Palatina, 1745), I,2,159: "Nobilissima Billiorum Mediolanensis Familia, cujus antiquissimum Sepulcrum usque hodie visitur in S. Guilielmi Sacello, Ecclesiae Sancti Marci hujus Urbis, & quod ante elatum denue pavementum in area Presbyterii extabat, jure merito gloriari potest de hoc Andrea omni aevo memorando".

¹⁵ The illuminator of this Biglia manuscript, *codex Ambrosianus* ES VII 2 (Sussidio G 156), incorporated the family crest into a larger device at the bottom of folio 1r (see plate 4*). The writer was obliged to omit color from his description of the Biglia crest, thus depicted, because he had only a black and white microfilm at his disposal. For definitions of the heraldic terms used, see Francis J. GRANT, *The Manual of Heraldry* (Edinburgh: J. Grant, 1948), pp. 61 and 65. Another Biglia manuscript, the *Interpretatio Physicorum Aristotelis*, bearing the shelf mark 4°36 in the Budapest Academy of Sciences, likewise has a heraldic device on the bottom of folio 1r, but the microfilm copy of it which the writer inspected, also black and white, afforded little clearly distinguishable of the coat of arms except the shield itself set on a circular pattern. A heraldic device very similar to that in the Ambrosian codex described above is to be found at the upper left corner a miniature portrait of the author (see plate 3*), which ARGELATI, *Bibliotheca*, I,2,160, has described thus: "in prima littera, quae est O, visitur Auctor, super eminentem Cathedram in actu legendi librum, cum Auditoribus Regularibus variorum Ordinum"; "in the first letter, which is 'O', the author is seen above an elevated chair, in the act of reading a book, with religious of various orders as auditors" [translation mine]. Another such miniature portrait is found on folio 1r of *codex Ambrosianus* N 280 sup., likewise in the upper left corner in the first letter, which, in this instance, is "E" (see plates 15 and 16*). The figure is of an Augustinian male religious facing right, with the cowl of the habit covering the back of the head, his hands raised in a preaching gesture. The physiognomy is clearly discernible. We may presume, as Argelati did in the first instance above, that it is a portrait of the author. Another similar miniature portrait is found on folio 57r of *codex Florentinus Nationalis Centralis* N.A. 921, again in the upper left corner in the first letter, which, in this third instance, is the letter "V" (see plates 19 and 20*). The figure, apparently of a woman in secular dress, faces front, the coifed head turned slightly to the right. Her identity is completely a matter of conjecture. It may be a portrait of the author's mother, whose death occasioned the composition of this, the second, consolatory epistle [S 43²] in the codex. Instead of a miniature portrait, the illuminated capital "Q" which initiates the first work in the codex [S 43¹], occasioned by the death of young Leone, or Leonino, Biglia, is graced with a drawing of a bird, perhaps a goldfinch, a symbol of immortality, which perches beneath it. See note 13 above and note 117 below.

* For the complete set of 24 plates see *The Preservation and Dispersion of the Biglia Manuscripts*, forthcoming in *Augustiniana* 44 (1994).

power equal to the monarchies of England and France: a kingdom of 'continental Italy'. By 1402 he was in control of Pisa, Siena, Perugia, and Bologna; and he had Florence politically and economically by the throat. His dream seemed about to be realized, when he caught a fever and died¹⁶. Andrea was then, as we have seen, a small boy of about nine years.

Biglia tells us, in the same eulogy of the duke [S 13], that after the death of Gian Galeazzo in 1402 there was considerable political turmoil; murder, rapine, and the destruction of property were rife¹⁷. The *condottieri*, Gian Galeazzo's captains of war, seized the opportunity to take their pickings; the cities of Umbria and Tuscany, under the influence of Florence, reasserted their independence. The Venetians, alarmed at the fundamental change wrought by the death of Gian Galeazzo, decided to become a land power and pushed westward into Lombardy in order to secure the Alpine passes through which their trade passed and to assure a buffer zone against a resurgent Milan. Once again the great feudal families, the Colleoni, Auguisola, Cavalcabò, and Corregio, were locked in the struggle for domination¹⁸.

In Biglia's Milanese history [S 1¹] we read that this struggle precipitated a movement against those most eminent for wealth and power, and the Guelph party, to which the Biglias belonged, was especially hard pressed¹⁹. This long-standing division of society into two camps during the struggle for domination between Church and State, the Guelphs initially favoring the papacy and the Ghibellines initially favoring the emperor, was the perennial cause of unrest and internecine hostility²⁰. It is easy to un-

¹⁶ J. H. PLUMB, *Milan, City of Strife*, in Richard M. KETCHUM, ed., *The Horizon Book of the Renaissance* (New York: American Heritage, 1961), pp. 172-73.

¹⁷ BIGLIA, *In exequiis* XIII,5-12: "Nèque ulla in re melius declaratur hominis in gubernando sapientia quam quod, illo moriente, omnes concidimus atque corruimus. Quid unquam strages hominum, quis agrorum vastitates, quis urbium ruinas, quis rerum dissipationes enumeret quae huius boni ducis mortem sunt secutae? Quando quidem, ipso vivo, nihil erat usquam in omnibus terris suis periculi, nihil metuendum, nihil inquietum; quaquā pergeres, omnia tuta et expedita erant".

¹⁸ PLUMB, *Milan*, p. 174.

¹⁹ BIGLIA, *Historia* 2 (col. 27A ARGELATI-MURATORI): "Tum ad alios, ut quique opibus eminebant, itum: maxime autem Guelfi premebantur, quo tempore & familiae nostrae (haec Bilia vocatur) ingens periculum fuit, tum affinitate Casatium, ac Barbavriorum, tum divitiarum fama".

²⁰ According to Edmund G. GARDNER, *Guelphs and Ghibellines*, in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Encyclopedia Press, 1910), VII,58, these terms had lost much of their original significance even before Biglia's time: "Before the return of the popes from Avignon [January 17, 1377], 'Guelph' and 'Ghibelline' had lost all real significance. Men called themselves Guelph or Ghibelline, and even fought furiously under those

derstand why the family Biglia could not avoid involvement because, as Andrea informs us, his relatives had a monopoly in metalworking, not only in Milan, but throughout Italy²¹. This monopoly may have been concerned with the construction of weapons, perhaps even with the casting of cannon²². Because of their reputation for wealth and their affinity with the families Casati and Barbavara, the Biglias were in particular danger. But among the plebs their name had not been tainted with guilt. And the head of the family at that time was Giacobbe Biglia, a leading citizen and principal of the city known for his sterling character. Through a policy of prudence and daring, Giacobbe was able to bring his kinsmen through the crisis unscathed²³. Andrea adds that he himself, though still a boy, was personally involved in the political ferment, having to count war levies in the treasury²⁴.

Of all the disasters that overtook Lombardy at this time none was more terrible than the ten-year reign of Gian Galeazzo's eldest son, Giovanni Maria. His tyranny was incredibly cruel and insane²⁵. And his Guelfic sympathies were well known. Consequently, as Facino Cane, the

names, simply because their forebears had adhered to one or other of the factions. In a city which had been officially Guelph in the past, any minority opposed to the government of the day, or obnoxious to the party in power, would be branded as 'Ghibelline.' Thus, in 1364, we find it enacted by the Republic of Florence that anyone who appeals to the pope or his legate or the cardinals shall be declared a Ghibelline. 'There are no more wicked nor more mad folk under the vault of heaven than the Guelphs and Ghibellines,' says St. Bernardino of Siena in 1427. He gives an appalling picture of the atrocities still perpetrated, even by women, under these names, albeit by that time the primitive signification of the terms had been lost, and declares that the mere profession to belong to either party is in itself a mortal sin. As party catchwords they survived, still attended with bloody consequences, until the coming to Italy of Charles V (1529) finally re-established the imperial power, and opened a new epoch in the relations of pope and emperor".

²¹ BIGLIA, *Historia* 2 (col. 28C ARGELATI-MURATORI): "Quippe soli in ea Civitate, omnique Italia metallicum artificium componimus".

²² Peter BURMANN, *Praefatio* (col. 6 VANDER AA-GRAEVIVS): "quod de tormentis forte capiendum puto". Since Burmann used *tormentum*, an engine for hurling missiles, in reference to *metallicum artificium*, metalworking, he may, for want of a better word, have intended it in the sense of 'cannon.'

²³ BIGLIA, *Historia* 2 (col. 27A ARGELATI-MURATORI): "Juvit tamen & innocentia nominis, quod in plebe erat, & unius familiae capitis Jacobi prudentia simul, & audacia. Quem, nisi metuerem propinquitatis arrogantiam videri, perfecto dicerem primarium fuisse hac aetate, & principem nostrae Civitatis".

²⁴ Ib. 2 (col. 30D ARGELATI-MURATORI): "Haec indicta gravis maximam pecuniam Othoni conflavit, quem numerum ipse tum puer in aerario versatus confeci".

²⁵ Dorothy MUIR, *A History of Milan under the Visconti* (London: Methuen, 1924), pp. 129-30.

greatest and most loyal of the Visconti *condottieri*, lay dying, the Ghibelline lords of Milan reached the conclusion that, with Facino gone, Giovanni Maria would be unrestrained. Accordingly, on May 16, 1412, the same day Facino died in Pavia, the Ghibellines cornered Giovanni Maria in Milan and stabbed him to death in the Church of San Gottardo²⁶.

Religious Vocation

It was just about the time that Facino Cane fell mortally ill that Andrea Biglia, around nineteen years of age, removed himself from this secular strife to the tranquility of the cloister²⁷, taking the habit of the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine in the monastery of San Marco in Milan²⁸, which belonged to the Augustinian Province of Lombardy²⁹. The year of novitiate was probably spent in this same house. His initial probation over, his superiors sent Andrea, now around twenty years old, to study philosophy in the *studium generale* at Padua and to reside in the Augustinian monastery of Santi Filippo e Giacomo — "Gli Eremitani"³⁰.

Biglia now, as subsequently at Florence and Bologna and Siena, had the good fortune of frequenting an important center of Italian humanism. The faculty at the University of Padua during Andrea's sojourn there from 1413 to 1418 boasted of Gasparino Barzizza in literature, Raffaele Fulgosi in jurisprudence, and in philosophy Paolo Veneto (Nicoletti), also an Augustinian, of whom Biglia was certainly a student³¹. At that time there were studying at Padua certain young men who would later make

²⁶ *Ib.*, pp. 131-32.

²⁷ BIGLIA, *Historia* 2 (col. 35A-B ARGELATI-MURATORI): "Quo tempore [1412] ipsi tantorum malorum taedio in hanc religionem [The Order of the Augustinian Hermits] confugimus. Inter haec Facinus, dum Papiæ versaretur (sive illum tutela arcis, sive amoenitas delectabat) in extremum morbum decidit, magna adolescentium expectatione, quos ille ad summam inopiam redegerat".

²⁸ ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 157. After Andrea's death the convent of San Marco in Milan claimed the books and other effects left by him, which according to the constitutions was their right as the convent which initially accepted him into the order. *Constitutiones O.E.S.A.* [of 1290] (Venice, 1508), p. 21v: "Et si qua bona iure hereditario post decessum suum remanserint, ad locum qui eum in Christo genuit, deductis tamen expensis infirmitatis et sepulture, devolvantur".

²⁹ Benigno A. L. VAN LUDK, *Le monde augustinien du XIIIe au XIXe siècle* (Assen: van Gorcum, 1972), p. 38.

³⁰ *Ib.*, p. 44.

³¹ SABBADINI, *Biglia* p. 1100.

names for themselves: Vittorino da Feltre, Francesco Filelfo³², Antonio Raudense, and perhaps Pier Candido Decembrio³³, and with these men, or with some of them, Andrea could have had close relationships, like the deep friendship he formed, there at Padua, with Sicco Polenton³⁴. Biglia was later to reminisce with another alumnus of Padua, known to us only as Ludovico, about the disputations they had engaged in there as part of their training in dialectics³⁵; and as a source of inspiration for his friend, who had recently become an Augustinian, he recalled the library of the Augustinian convent in Padua which had been decorated with the likenesses of the most distinguished members of the community³⁶. And it was there in Padua that Andrea managed to take some little time from his philosophical studies to begin his no less ardent pursuit of sacred letters³⁷.

While Biglia was a student at Padua, Bernardino, the Franciscan missionary from Siena, came to preach on two different occasions. Neither of the two instances, which were separated by an interval of some three

³² Filelfo, in an unedited letter to Carlo Barbavara which is dated, *X kal. octobris 1476* [September 22], and found in *codex Mediolanensis Trivulzianus* 873, book 46, wrote the following: "Agebam ego decimumoctavum aetatis annum [that is, 1416], quo quidem tempore Patavii diebus ordinariis studebam legibus et iuri civili sub excellentissimis duobus illis Raphaelibus, Fulgosio Comensique; extraordinariis vero diebus audiebam mane oratoriam docentem disertissimum rhetora Gasparinum Bergomensem. Nam post prandium operam dabam philosophiae sub eruditissimo clarissimoque philosopho Paulo Veneto ordinis eremitarum". From SABBADINI, *Biglia* note 2.

³³ *Ib.* In note 3 Sabbadini refers to Raudense and Decembrio as treated in L. BAROZZI and R. SABBADINI, *Studi sul Panormita e sul Valla* (Florence: Successori Le Monnier, 1891), p. 11.

³⁴ *Ib.* See notes 42 and 45 below.

³⁵ ANDREA BIGLIA, *Ad fratrem Ludovicum de ordinis nostri forma et propagatione*, fol. 127r (ed. ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 190): "Hinc vero exultabam, quod te memineram adolescentem, quando et ipse Pataui primis artibus inhiabam, ac nunc quoque disputationes referebam, quas plerunque inter nos egeramus; nam uterque illa etate imbuebamur dialecticis [dyalecticis *cod.*]".

³⁶ *Ib.*, fol. 142v (ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 218): "Ego uero hec tibi uelut exemplaria quedam descripsi, unde si uelis, queas degende vite tue rationes accipere; iam per te uel de ordine uel de patribus maiora reperiēs, nec longe opus est eas qui domi ac, si recte memini, in ipsa patavina bibliot<h>eca clarissimorum eius conuentus fratrum nomina atque imagines [ymagines *cod.*] habes".

³⁷ *Codex Ambrosianus* ES VII 2 (Sussidio G 156), fol. 1r (*Prooemium* to the *Annotationes in evangelia quadragesimae*): "Secularium quoque litterarum non nichil fortasse proderit [to the preacher] eruditio. Quibus in rebus non sane negaverim mediocriter laborasse. Quippe etiam quum Padue adolescens phylosophie artibus essem deditus, sacras tamen litteras cum paululum vacare vellem haud minus avide persequerbar".

years, had anything like the popular response that would later attend Bernardino's innovative techniques in spreading devotion to the holy name of Jesus and embroil the missionary in the conservative reaction in which Andrea was to be an antagonist³⁸. Just about then Andrea had a third occasion to see Bernardino preaching, this time at Mantua, where the crowds the missionary attracted were little out of the ordinary³⁹.

By the summer of 1418, Andrea, a young man of around twenty-five, must have finished his studies at Padua, because in September of that same year Lector Biglia was in Florence, residing at the Augustinian monastery of Santo Spirito and teaching ethics at the university⁴⁰. Some of the scholarly atmosphere of an earlier time, as described by Arbesmann, may have lingered about this house:

"The Augustinian monastery of Santo Spirito in Florence [was] a meeting place of early Platonizing humanists and a kind of literary academy for the cultivation of ancient literature. The soul of the movement was Luigi Marsili, another Augustinian friend of Petrarch. This learned friar had an extraordinary influence on those Florentine humanists who, at the turn of the fourteenth century, made Florence the intellectual center of Italy"⁴¹.

On September 29, 1418, Sicco Polenton wrote from Padua to his friend Andrea in Florence, describing how eagerly he had been looking for some word from him and congratulating him on the relations he had established with Niccolò Niccoli and was hoping to establish with Leonardo Bruni, both of whom were outstanding humanists⁴². During his

³⁸ ANDREA BIGLIA, *De institutis, discipulis, et doctrina fratris Bernardini ordinis Minorum* 9; ed. B. DE GAFFIER, *Le mémoire d'André Biglia sur la prédication de saint Bernardin de Sienne*, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 53 (1935), 319-20: "Atque ego te ipsum dudum memini, cum adolescens Patavi [putavi *cod.*] essem, eo praedicaturum venisse; statimque in urbem vulgatus rumor adesse quendam vocatum Bernardinum, qui se magnum praedicatorem ferat, qui scripturarum misteria promptissime loquatur, cuius omnis fere praedicatio in Apocalipsis explanatione versetur. Nec tamen, ut scis, frequentia vulgi ad te concursus est, quanquam, non ut ceteri, in ecclesiis, sed in ipso praetorio praedicationis signum proposuisti, et eo usque contemptui res habita, ut praetorem ipsum necesse foret palatii illius procuratores tabellionesque ad te audiendum convocare. Sic paulo post, nullo excitato tumultu, urbem egressus es. Quo et post triennium regressus haud multo magis plebem permovisti".

³⁹ Ib. 9 (ed. DE GAFFIER 320): "Eodem fere tempore vidi Mantuae praedicantem, ubi ferme nichil enim adhuc innovaveras, non multo frequentiores ad te quam ad ceteros conveniebant".

⁴⁰ ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 158.

⁴¹ Id., *Outstanding Augustinian Humanists in Tagastan* 10 (1947) No3, 105.

⁴² SABBADINI, *Biglia* p. 1090: "IX. A. Segarizzi, *La Catina, le orazioni e le epistole di Sicco Polenton* (Bergamo, 1899), p. 90: 'Sicco Polentonius Andree Billio s. p. d. Epistole tue, que multum oratoris, nichil hominis capati sapit, diebus iam plurimis respondissem ... Postea vero quam istinc [hinc] abiisti, summo cum desiderio expectavi

stay in Florence Biglia also made the acquaintance of Ambrogio Traversari, another eminent humanist and a monk⁴³. And it may have been at Florence under the tutelage of Traversari or Bruni that Biglia acquired his mastery of Greek⁴⁴.

Another letter from Polenton, date July 15, 1419, some eleven months later, congratulates Andrea specifically on his appointment to teach ethics⁴⁵. But by September 1422, three academic terms later, Biglia's teaching load had been broadened, his contract for that school year, 1422-1423, calling for him to lecture in moral philosophy, poetics, and rhetoric, at a salary of thirty-five florins⁴⁶.

The Sacred Orator

From that same letter of Polenton we also learn that Biglia had been privileged to deliver an oration before Pope Martin V and his curia,

atque sepenumero postulavi, si quis de te nuntius advenisset ... Delata tandem epistola tua est, qua, michi crede, letitiam et maximam letitiam accepi: augmentum letitiae longa mora dedit ... Nec illud metuo, quod nunquam repetas hanc urbem, que et vetustate rerum et dignitate litterarum tibi cara sit. Hoc tibi animus suadebit, cum memor amicis fueris, quos neque paucos numero neque obscuros nomine pro tua humanitate et beneficiis coiunxisti. Quod autem cognitus et apud Nicolaum [Niccoli], virum optimum, iam sis et apud Leonardum [Bruni], quem eloquentie principem secula nostra vocant, te cito futurum speres, firmum michi atque pergratum est. Urbs illa Florentissima [Firenze] floret viris ... Patavii III kal. octobris MCCCCXVIII [September 29, 1418]'. See also note 45 below.

⁴³ Remigio SABBADINI, *Carteggio di Giovanni Aurispa*, (Fonti per la storia d'Italia) (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1931), pp. 25-26: "XVII. L'Aurispa al Traversari: 'Aurispa Ambrosio monacho viro sancto et eruditissimo p. s. ... Viro optimo atque humanissimo Andream mediolanensem et Thomam sarazanensem ex te salutavi ... Ex Bononia' [May 1425]". Traversari finds his place with other scholarly order-priests of the Renaissance in Paul Oskar KRISTELLER, *The Contribution of Religious Orders to Renaissance Thought and Learning*, in *The American Benedictine Review*, 21 (1970), 53.

⁴⁴ SABBADINI, *Biglia* p. 1102.

⁴⁵ *Ib.*, pp. 1090-91: "X. Segarizzi, *La Catina*, p. 97: 'Xicho Polenton Andree mediolanensi heremite s. p. d. Amantissimus tui Johannes Papiensis lector ad me detulit orationem tuam, quam Florentie ad romanum pontificem et collegium cardinalium habuisti; postea interpositis diebus epistolam tuam ex manu eius ipsius accepi ... Ex fine orationis deprehendi quam surdis auribus auditus sis; qua de re non mirum in modum mirer, cum exoraveris apud homines, quos amplius capatum illud sermonum genus allegationibus plenum, quam Ciceronis ars oblectet. Quid dixerim? tuo tu, suo ipse [ipsi?] officio usi estis. Ceterum ethice legende locum te adeptum letor ... Preterea familiaritatem te iam inisse cum Leonardo Aretino reor ... Ex Patavio idibus iuliis MCCCCXIX' [July 15, 1419]".

⁴⁶ GHERARDI, *Statuti* 402: "[September 4, 1422] ad legendum filosofiam moralem, poesiam et rhetoricam frater Andreas Petri de Mediolano, ordinis fratrum sancti Spiritus". From SABBADINI, *Biglia* pp. 1091-92. See note 9 above.

who were returning from the Council of Constance, where the election on November 11, 1417, of Martin, the former Odo Cardinal Colonna, to the supreme pontificate had ended the Great Western Schism⁴⁷. This disaster had begun in 1379, some fifteen years before Andrea's birth, and lasted thirty-eight years⁴⁸. The oration, however, was not successful because, as Polenton pointed out, the pope and his retinue had no taste for the Ciceronian art espoused by Biglia⁴⁹.

Biglia's letters to Polenton and his oration before Pope Martin may have been included in the *Orationum et epistolarum libri 2* [S 37]⁵⁰, which sadly are among his missing works. Also conceived, if not completed, in this period, when he was actively occupied with the theory of eloquence, may have been Biglia's rhetorical works, the *Exordia super practica rhetorices libri 3* [S 61], the *Grammatices, sive de octo partibus orationis, libri 8* [S 62]⁵¹, and the *De arte dicendi libri 3* [S 63], all likewise missing.

Pope Martin was in residence in Florence from February 1419 to September 9, 1420⁵², a stay which may have afforded Andrea the opportunity of associating with the papal curia and even, possibly, of making the acquaintance of Giordano Cardinal Orsini⁵³ and the future cardinals, Jean Rochetaillée⁵⁴ and Niccolò Albergati⁵⁵, to whom, respectively, he

⁴⁷ See note 45 above. See also Archibald MAIN, *The Emperor Sigismund (The Stanhope Essay)* (Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1903), p. 25-35.

⁴⁸ E. DELARVELLE, E. R. LABANDE, and P. OURLIAC, *L'Église au temps du grand schisme et de la crise conciliaire (1378-1499)*, Vol. XIV of *Histoire de l'Église*, ed. A. FLICHE and V. MARTIN (Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1962), pt. 1, pp. 3-200.

⁴⁹ See note 45 above.

⁵⁰ Reference here is to my own listing, see above note 10.

⁵¹ This work is also cited under the title *De verborum latinorum interpretatione*, as in Bartolomeo FACIO, *De viris illustribus* (Florence: J. P. Giovannelli, 1745), p. 40, and also under the title *De verborum latinorum interpretatione, sive de octo partibus orationis*, as in Girolamo MANCINI, *Vita di Lorenzo Valla* (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1891), p. 32.

⁵² SABBADINI, *Biglia* p. 1091.

⁵³ Giordano Orsini (Jordanus de Ursinis), archbishop of Naples, was created a cardinal by Pope Innocent VII on June 12, 1405. With Gulielmo Fillastre, Cardinal of San Marco, his fellow legate, he left Constance on April 2, 1418, to shore up the peace between the kings of England and France. He died May 29, 1438. See Conrad EUBEL, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi* (2nd ed.; Münster: Libreria Regensbergiana, 1913), I, 26 and 33. To him Biglia dedicated his *Ammonitio ad fratrem Manfredum Vercelensem* and his pamphlet *Pro suscipienda in Bohemos expeditione*; see notes 107 and 115 below.

⁵⁴ Jean Rochetaillée (Joannes de Ruppescissa) and Niccolò Albergati (Nicolaus de Albergatis) were created cardinals by Pope Martin V on May 24, 1426, in the first promotion held by him. To Jean Rochetaillée, archbishop of Rouen, who died in Bologna on March 24, 1437, Biglia dedicated his *De detrimento fidei orientis, sive de origine Turcharum*. See note 203 below. See also EUBEL, *Hierarchia catholica*, I, 34.

would dedicate three of his future works. The ex-antipope John XXIII, deposed at Constance, likewise arrived in Florence in June of 1419 and died there on December 22 of the same year⁵⁶.

Ordination to the Priesthood

We do not know at this time when Andrea was ordained to the presbyterate, but in the spring of 1420, when he was about twenty-seven years old, Biglia, at the request of superiors, was preaching the Lenten course in the Augustinian church attached to Santo Spirito⁵⁷. Nearby, where they had received shelter, he first encountered the followers of Manfredo da Vercelli⁵⁸. These deluded men and women of all ages and circumstances were convinced that Antichrist was already born and would soon appear in the world⁵⁹. They had been taught by Fra Manfredo, a Dominican, that it was lawful for husbands and wives to leave one another and band together in the third order of penance of San Domenico, in order to flee the persecution of Antichrist, with the assurance that they would thus persevere in their faith⁶⁰. Bernardino da Siena got wind of these goings-on and denounced them to the Inquisition⁶¹. Later that year Fra Manfredo came to preach at Florence, but he was commanded on that very occasion by Martin V either to desert his followers or lead them back to

⁵⁵ See preceding note. To Niccolò Albergati (Nicolaus de Albergatis), archbishop of Bologna, who died at Siena on May 9, 1443, Biglia dedicated two works: the *De pace et victoria Romanae ecclesiae* and the *De amore et magnitudine crucis*; both now missing. See EUBEL, *Hierarchia catholica*, I, 34.

⁵⁶ SABBADINI, *Biglia* p. 1091. Biglia may have had occasion to see the ex-antipope in Florence at this time.

⁵⁷ *Ib.*: "XII. Cod. Ambros. E. S. VII 2 (*Annotationes in evangelia del Biglia*), f. 1 'Maxime vero contigit ut primum cum essem Florentie in illa Ecclesia pro diebus quadragesime hanc a me operam (del predicare) postulerent'. See following note *ad finem*.

⁵⁸ *Ib.*: "XI II. Cod. Ambros. H. 117 inf. f. 64 'Fr. Billie Andree ammonitio ad fratrem Manfredum Vercellensem ordinis fratrum predicatorum ... Equidem vidi cum primum Florentiam ingressi [i seguaci di Manfredo] tectum potius quam domum in vicinia nostra acceptissent' ...; f. 64v 'Meministi ... quantum eo tempore Martinus pontifex contendit ut aut illos desereres aut in domos suas reduceres. Idem tibi frater Leonardus [Dati] Florentinus home sane gravissimus ac tui ordinis genera lis persuasit literisve quantum poterat iniunxit' ...; f. 65 'Equidem memini cum illis diebus Florentie predicarem.'"

⁵⁹ Costantino MARIA, *The Life of S. Bernardine of Siena* (London: R. Washbourne, 1873), p. 75.

⁶⁰ *Ib.*, p. 76; John HOFER, *St. John Capistran Reformer*, trans. Patrick CUMMINS (St. Louis: Herder, 1943), pp. 60-61.

⁶¹ MARIA, *Life of S. Bernardine*, pp. 76-77.

their homes⁶². Thus humiliated, Manfredo became one of the bitterest opponents of Bernardino⁶³.

Biglia's four academic years at the University of Florence, that is, from 1419 to 1423, and at least two academic terms at the University of Bologna, that is, 1426-1427 and 1427-1428, were devoted not only to lectures but probably also to intense literary activity in philosophy, encompassing the conception, if not the completion, of his numerous commentaries, namely, the *Expositio super Universalia Porphyrii* [S 49], the *Expositio super Perihermenias Aristotelis* [S 50], the *Commentaria super libros Aristotelis De anima, libri 3* [S 51], the *Commentaria in libris <Aristotelis> De coelo et mundo, libri 4* [S 52], the *Quaestiones in libris <Aristotelis> De Anima, libri 3* [S 53], the *Quaestiones in libris <Aristotelis> Physicorum, libri 8* [S 54¹], and perhaps a set of *Quaestiones Metaphysicorum <Aristotelis>, libri 12* [S 55¹]⁶⁴. Unfortunately, these too are all missing.

From an entry in the registers of Agostino Favaroni da Roma, Prior General of the Augustinian Order, dated November 29, 1423, we learn that permission was granted to Fra Andrea da Milano, *Baccalaureus*, to withdraw for certain compelling reasons from the University of Florence, where by virtue of the promotion he had received from the general he had begun to lecture on the *Liber sententiarum* of Peter Lombard. This permission had been granted so that Andrea could be incorporated into either the University of Bologna or that of Padua, and, upon this incorporation, could satisfy the remaining obligations of his lectureship and the other customary requirements. Thereafter, he could, at his convenience, take the degree of *Magister*⁶⁵.

It comes as no surprise that Biglia's choice was for a new experience at Bologna, then the center of the most spirited, varied, and prolific humanist society. For, either studying or teaching there at that time were the laymen Giovanni Lamola, Giovanni Toscabella, Leon Battista Alberti, Antonio Panormita, Giovanni Aurispa, and Francesco Filelfo, all of them

⁶² See above note 58.

⁶³ Iris ORIGO, *The World of San Bernardino* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1962), p. 122.

⁶⁴ See Master List nr. 55 in SCHNAUBELT, *Prolegomena*, 179-181 for a discussion of the various titles of Biglia's work on Aristotle's *Metaphysics* and their identity.

⁶⁵ "Rome, Archiv. gen. O.S.A., Dd 4, fol. 130r: Senis Nov. 29, 1423 — 'Concessimus fratri Andree de Mediolano bachallaureo, qui quibusdam rationalibus causis cogitur recedere de Florentia, in cuius universitate per nostram promotionem legebat librum Sententiarum, ut incorporari possit aut in universitate Bonon. aut Paduana et, in qua incorporatus fuerit, complere quod restat lecture sue et ceterorum actuum solitorum, ac deinde pro libito suscipere gradum magisterii'". From ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 159.

famous, the last four very famous; nor were ecclesiastics wanting to that learned company: Alberto da Sartiano, at that time fresh from the lectures of Battista Guarino, preached at Bologna in those years, and there at Bologna was the residence of Archbishop Niccolò Albergati, whose secretary, Tommaso Parentucelli, would be the future Pope Nicholas V⁶⁶. With Giovanni Aurispa, Andrea formed the staunchest of friendships, and we can certify at least Parentucelli as a member of the Bolognese circle in which these friends moved, for in a letter of May, 1425 from Bologna to Traversari in Florence, Aurispa linked the two, Biglia and the future pope, in relaying their regards to the erudite monk⁶⁷. From Pavia, Panormita would be mindful of Biglia⁶⁸.

After he received the general's permission, Biglia made his move from Santo Spirito in Florence to San Giacomo Maggiore, the Augustinian monastery in Bologna. This move must have been completed at least by December 27, 1423, because Andrea's name with the title of *baccalaureus* was on that day affixed as a witness to the last will and testament of Carlo Barna, a benefactor of the Augustinian Friars in Bologna⁶⁹.

It is evident from this document, taken in conjunction with the entry in the registers of the prior general cited above⁷⁰, that Andrea's first concern and occupation at the University of Bologna as a *baccalaureus sententiarum* had to be the completion of his lectures on the *Book of Sentences* and the fulfillment of other requirements for his admission to the *magisterium*, which event, consequently, could not have taken place before 1425⁷¹. Andrea may have found time, however, to lay the foundations for his commentary *Super primum sententiarum* [S 48], a work extant in at least two copies⁷².

⁶⁶ SABBADINI, *Biglia* p. 1101.

⁶⁷ See note 43 above, where Aurispa refers to Parentucelli as *Thomas sarazanensis*.

⁶⁸ See note 196 below.

⁶⁹ ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 159 and note 24: "*Chartularium Studii Bononiensis: Documenti per la storia dell'università di Bologna dalle origini fino al secolo XV*, edd. L. NORDI and E. ORIOLI (8 vols., Bologna and Imola, 1909-27) 1.312"; MARLETTA, *Note*, p. 521, note 3: "*Chartularium studii bononiensis*, I, p. 312. Il 27 dicembre Carlo Barna, benefattore del convento eremitano di San Giacomo di Bononia, fa testamento 'presentibus ... magistro Christoforo Pauli de Bononia, sacre theologie professore ... fratre Aprilo de Catelonia, fratre Andrea de Mediolano ambobus bachalariis'".

⁷⁰ See note 65 above.

⁷¹ See MARLETTA, *Note*, p. 521. See also note 79 below.

⁷² OXFORD, Bodleian Library, Canonicianus 276, fols. 1-120; and CITTÀ DEL VATICANO, Bibl. Apost. Vaticana, lat. 1084, fols. 144-52. Compare Argelati's description of the San Marco manuscript ("XX. In primum librum sententiarum. MS. fol. perg. justae molis. Codex imperfectus, cui aliena manu inscriptum est ut supra³"; [He means: "XVIII. Primus, & secundus liber Physicorum, cum principio libri tertii. MS. in fol. max. perg.

The Political Pamphleteer

Biglia certainly took time to respond in writing to current issues. From Bohemia, far east across the Adriatic, came news of a Hussite rebellion against papal and episcopal authority that was fearfully tainted with heresy. Biglia lamented this disruption of the peace and unity of Christendom with his *Querellae pacis* [S 2] of 1424⁷³. That year probably also saw the composition of Biglia's pamphlet, *Ad Alphonsum regem Aragonum de pace cum Philippo duce Mediolanensi componenda* [S 3]⁷⁴, an effort toward the reconciliation of two Christian princes at war. To the south, King Alfonso V of Aragon was struggling for the throne of the Kingdom of Naples with Queen Giovanna II, for whose relief Duke Filippo Maria of Milan, at the behest of Pope Martin V and Duke Louis II of Anjou, had assembled a fleet at Genoa⁷⁵. Both these works are extant in manuscript⁷⁶.

Andrea had occasion to hear Bernardino again in Bologna. The Franciscan came there to preach at the beginning of 1424, went to Milan for a short while, but returned to Bologna by April⁷⁷. It was while Bernardino was addressing the crowd at Bologna that he was first accused of heresy by an unlettered friar who began to preach against him. During Advent of that same year, Bernardino was preaching at Volterra. As a

Manu aliena antiqua sic adnotatum est in principio: Scriptum hoc super Physicis, superveniente morte incompletum, fecit Angelicus Doctor Magister Andreas de Billiis de Mediolano"), with the descriptions of the extant manuscripts in ML 48 (c and h) in SCHNAUBELT, *Prolegomena*, 177-178.

⁷³ Apropos of Biglia's motive for writing this treatise, MURATORI, *Praefatio*, col. 4, observes: "Declamationis instar est, ibique de bellis eo tempore flagrantibus non pauca habet, ac praecipue de Bohemis".

⁷⁴ In regard to the *Ad Alphonsum regem Aragonum*, SABBADINI, *Biglia* p. 1097, says: "Si riferisce alle ostilità fra il duca di Milano e Alfonso d'Aragona degli anni 1423-24", and in regard to the *Panischolaria*: "Contro l'elezione de Egidio Muñoz, ad antipapa dopo la morte dell'antipapa Benedetto XIII. Quest'ultimo morì nel novembre 1424 e il Muñoz fù eletto nel 1425 (PASTOR, *Geschichte der Päpste*, I, 208). Con ciò è stabilita la data del presente opuscolo [the *Panischolaria*] e di due altri già descritti, a cui qui si allude f. lv ... 'quum querelas illas pacis [the *Querellae pacis*] anno preterito [perciò nel 1424] explicabam' ... 'Benignitati tue de pace cum civibus nostris facienda rationes cum litteris scripsi' [perciò si conferma che la succitata lettera ad Alfonso e del 1423-24]".

⁷⁵ MUIR, *History of Milan*, p. 147.

⁷⁶ MILANO, Bibl. Ambrosiana N 280 sup. fols. 1r-14v (*Querellae pacis*), and fols. 14v-17v (*Ad Alphonsum regem Aragonum de pace cum Philippo duce Mediolanensi componenda*). The *Querellae pacis* is also available in codex C 69 inf. fols. 142r-159v of the same library.

⁷⁷ ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 159; DE GAIFFIER, *Le mémoire d'André Biglia*, p. 317.

means of rekindling popular fervor, at the close of each sermon he would display for the crowd's adoration a gilded tablet bearing the monogram *yhs*, a representation of the most holy name of Jesus centered in golden rays⁷⁸. This became his regular practice. Thus, we shall see, did Bernardino afford his enemies a weapon against himself.

Advancement to the Doctorate

In the next year, that is, in 1425, the principal event in the life of Andrea Biglia was his attainment of the *magisterium*, the mediaeval equivalent of the present day doctorate, and this with outstanding success. Of the 506 *magistri* in the official list of the theological faculty of the University of Bologna only two were found worthy of epithetical praise, one of them Biglia⁷⁹. As the 191st entry we read: "Master Andrea da Milano of the Order of Hermits", and another hand has added: "angelic doctor, a man most expert in the Greek language"⁸⁰.

In 1425 Andrea addressed another work to King Alfonso, his *Panischolaria ad Alphonsum regem Aragonum adversum schisma Benedicti* [S 4], which attempted to persuade the king to abandon his support of the antipope living in his realm at Peñíscola. The Western Schism died hard. After the convocation of the Council of Constance in November of 1414, John XXIII submitted under duress, Gregory XII finally decided to abdicate, but in distant Spain Pedro de Luna, Benedict XIII, remained obdurate until his death in 1423. Unfortunately he had a

⁷⁸ Paul THUREAU-DANGIN, *The Life of S. Bernardino of Siena*, trans. by G. VON HUGEL (London: P. L. Warner, 1911), p. 82.

⁷⁹ ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 160; id., *Outstanding Augustinian Humanists*, p. 104; MARLETTA, *Note*, p. 521; Giovanni N. P. ALODISI, *Li dottori forestieri* (Bologna: Tebaldini, 1623), p. 4: "Andrea da Milano dell'ord. eremitano 1423. Fù lettore di Rettorica, di Filosofia naturale, e morale, fin'al 1429. Et fù addottorato in Theologia dal Collegio di Bologna, & aggregato in quello. Era chiamato Dottore Angelico, fù peritissimo in lingua Greca".

⁸⁰ Francesco EHRLE, *I più antichi statuti della facoltà teologica dell'Università di Bologna*, (*Universitatis Bononiensis monumenta*, 1)(Bologna: Istituto per la Storia dell'Università di Bologna, 1932), p. 112: "191. MAGISTER ANDREAS DE MEDIOLANO ORDINIS HEREMITARUM, [doctor angelicus, in lingua greca homo peritissimus]" [translation mine]. Biglia as bearer of the honorific title *Doctor Angelicus* seems to have been ignored by scholars who have dealt with such titles — possibly because of his relatively late date. He is not taken into account by J. C. VANSTEENKISTE, *Doctor (scholastic Title)*, *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, IV, 935-38, who does, however, list as *Doctor Angelicus* not only St. Thomas Aquinas (†1274) but Richard Brinkel (†c. 1350) and reports a few titles borne by fifteenth- and even sixteenth- and seventeenth- century Doctors. See above note 72, Argelati's description of the San Marco manuscript.

successor as antipope — Egidio Muñoz, a canon of Barcelona, who took the name of Clement VIII⁸¹. Apparently, Andrea's appeal to King Alfonso had no immediate effect, for Clement's presence and posture were tolerated in Spain until his death in 1429, and only then was all of western Christianity once again united in allegiance to one spiritual head, Martin V.

Probably around the same time or shortly after the composition of his treatise on the schism⁸², Biglia heard that his brothers in religion in Rheims far to the north were being harassed by the archiepiscopal curia and other magistrates and, therefore, had been unable to obtain permission to preach in the city. In two letters, now known under the general title: *Ad Reginaldum Remensem archiepiscopum de concordia et meritis ordinum, super generali indulto Alexandri Papae V* [S 5], Biglia interceded with the archbishop in behalf of the Augustinians of Rheims, who, as Andrea pointed out, belonged to an order illustrious for its service to the Church⁸³. Extant in manuscript, the *Ad Reginaldum* has been published⁸⁴.

The General Chapter of 1425

Andrea's brilliance as a preacher had become apparent. Though but recently admitted to the *magisterium* and only about thirty-two years old, he was nevertheless chosen to deliver the address at the opening of the General Chapter of Bologna, May 26, 1425, at which Agostino Favaroni da Roma, to whom Biglia was indebted for his opportunity to take the

⁸¹ Antonio CASAMASSA, *L'autore di un preteso discorso di Martino V*, in A. CASAMASSA, M. MACCARRONE, and L. OLIGER, eds., *Miscellanea Pio Paschini* II, 109-25 (Rome: Facultas Theologica Pontificii Athenaei Lateranensis, 1948), p. 113, note 15; ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 183, note 106.

⁸² It would appear that there is no way to give a precise date to the composition of the *Ad Reginaldum*; it can only be noted that it is found in a manuscript in which the other eight of Biglia's works contained therein are presented in chronological order. Since the *Panischolaria*, which precedes the *Ad Reginaldum* in manuscript, is dated 1425, and the *De disciplina ordinis ammonitio*, which follows it, is dated May 27, 1425 (see note 86 below), it would seem a like date, that is, sometime in 1425, should be assigned to the *Ad Reginaldum*. This Reginaldus was archbishop of Rheims from 1414 to 1444. See EUBEL, *Hierarchia catholica*, I, 419 and II, 222, note 1.

⁸³ ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 183, note 107.

⁸⁴ MILANO, Bibl. Ambrosiana H 117 inf. fols. 1r-28r (the *Panischolaria*), and fols. 28r-42r (the *Ad Reginaldum*). A. M. VOCI published a critical text of the *Ad Reginaldum* in *La suggestione umanistica dell'Eremo in Andrea Biglia*, in *Critica Storica* 18 (1981), 665-81.

doctorate, was continued in the office of Prior General⁸⁵. It was the feast of Pentecost⁸⁶. On this occasion Andrea's sacred oratory was thoroughly Augustinian, emphasizing charity above all, as taught by Jesus, preached by Paul, and interpreted by Augustine. The *De disciplina ordinis ammonitio habita in capitulo Bononiensi* [S 25] is a thoroughly Christian speech with but two classical allusions, and it shows Biglia to have been a friend of reform and an advocate of regular discipline and the common life⁸⁷. Andrea seems also to have gained a reputation at Bologna as a preacher of funeral eulogies. His panegyric on one Battista Bentivoglio [S 15], a very famous soldier of the city of Bologna, which was delivered on August 14 of the same year, is still extant, as are six other similar speeches for various notables of Bologna: one Giacobbe [S 16], another military man by the name of Giovanni Gisleri [S 17], a Lorenzo [S 18], a doctor of law also named Giacobbe [S 19], a Stefano [S 20], and Niccolò, a lawyer [S 21]⁸⁸. And it was possibly on one of the feasts of St. Augustine, August 28, celebrated during his Bologna period that Biglia delivered the first of his two extant panegyrics of St. Augustine, the [*Laudatio sancti Augustini Bononiae dicta*] [S 23]⁸⁹.

⁸⁵ Luigi TORELLI, *Secoli Agostiniani* (Bologna: Per Giacomo Monti, 8 vols., 1659-86), VI, 558.

⁸⁶ BIGLIA, *De disciplina ordinis* IV, 3-5. TORELLI, *Secoli Agostiniani*, VI, 558, gives May 20 as the date of the opening of the chapter; but, according to A. CAPPELLI, *Cronologia, cronografia e calendario perpetuo* (Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1930), p. 70, Pentecost in 1425 fell on May 27.

⁸⁷ Passim, but especially chapters 26 and 27.

⁸⁸ The quoted words are from the title in the manuscript: *F. B. Andreae collaudatio funerea pro Baptista Bentivoglio clarissimo milite civitatis Bononiae*. [Translation mine] See E. STEVENSON and I. B. DE ROSSI, *Codices Palatini Latini Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Rome: Ex Typographeo Vaticano, 1886), I, 212-13; A. SEGARIZZI, *Per la bibliografia di Andrea Biglia* (Venice: Prem. off. grafiche C. Ferrari, 1920), pp. 5-6; Paul O. KRISTELLER, *Iter Italicum: A Finding List of Uncatalogued or Incompletely Catalogued Manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and Other Libraries* (London: The Warburg Institute; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1963-1990, 5 vols.), II, 396.

⁸⁹ The panegyric is third in a series of three hitherto unknown orations by Biglia discovered by G. Billanovich in MS 146B of Balliol College Library, Oxford, occupying respectively fols. 66r-68v, 68v-71v, and 71v-75r, and described by him in 1955 in his article, *Pietro Piccolo da Monteforte tra il Petrarca e il Boccaccio*, in *Medioevo e rinascimento: Studi in onore di Bruno Nardi* (Florence: G.C. Sansoni, 1955), I, 1-76, p. 12. Latin titles for the three orations (S 23, 28, and 29), which are untitled in the manuscript, have been adapted by the writer from Billanovich's descriptions of them in Italian. To the first oration Billanovich assigns 1423 as the date of its composition in Bologna; he does not state why. R.A.B. MYNORS, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), p. 126, accepts Billanovich's date for this oration, but goes beyond Billanovich in calling it "Andrea Biglia's inaugural lecture

Six years had elapsed between general chapters⁹⁰. As in the Church, so in the Order of Hermits, the great schism had split the spiritual leadership. But as the Council of Constance had healed the wound of the Church by the election of Martin V in 1417, so had the General Chapter of Asti bound up the lesions of the order by the election of Agostino Favaroni da Roma in 1419⁹¹. Following the canon of the constitutions that a general chapter should be held every third year, the fourteenth determination of the chapter at Asti was for the celebration of the next chapter at Paris in 1422⁹². However, wars and famine had made it impossible for the chapter fathers to convene either in that year or in the two following⁹³. These disasters were repercussions of the political vacuum created by the death of Duke Gian Galeazzo back in 1402. By 1425, however, Duke Filippo Maria, the second son of Gian Galeazzo and successor to his mad brother, Giovanni Maria, had restored political stability and had in large measure won back the Visconti lands lost after the death of his father⁹⁴. For this, Fra Andrea Biglia, a staunch monarchist and an advocate of law and order, would more than once declare himself grateful, as in his eulogies of Gian Galeazzo⁹⁵.

as professor of theology at Bologna", describes the second oration as "what is apparently a sequel" to the first, and mistakenly equates the third to the "panegyric on St. Augustine delivered in Siena, 28 August, 1432" [S 24], possibly because he did not know *codex Ambrosianus* N 280 sup. at first hand, but was relying on SABBADINI, *Biglia* p. 1097, who does not give the incipit of the Siena [*Laudatio*] (see 'f' under ML 23 and 24 in SCHNAUBELT, *Prolegomena*). There appears to be no external evidence for the assignment of this speech [S 23] to Biglia's Bologna period (1423-1428), except its association in the codex with the two inaugural addresses [S 28 and 29]. See note 112 below.

⁹⁰ *Series capitulorum et priorum generalium ordinis*, in *Catalogus ordinis fratrum sancti Augustini* (Rome: Curia Generalis Augustiniana, 1971), p. 359.

⁹¹ Eustasio ESTEBAN, *De capitulo generali ordinis nostri anno 1419 Astae celebrato*, in *Analecta Augustiniana* 6 (1915-16), 255.

⁹² *Ib.*, p. 258: "Quoad definitiones in eodem Capitulo editas ex actis eiusdem Prioris Generalis Augustini Romani sequentes pro historia excerpimus notitias"; p. 270: "14. — *Sequens Generale Capitulum anno 1422 Parisiis celebrandum*".

⁹³ ESTEBAN, *De capitulis generalibus ordinis eremitarum s. Augustini ab an. 1425 ad an 1439 celebratis*, in *Analecta Augustiniana* 6 (1915-16), 326: "Capitulum Generale, quod ultra montes Parisiis an. 1422 celebrari debuerat Parisiis propter bella celebratum non fuit, nec alibi illo anno 1422, immo nec annis 1423 et 1424, ut ex ... actis Augustini Romani patet".

⁹⁴ MUIR, *History of Milan*, pp. 145-48.

⁹⁵ ANDREA BIGLIA, *In exequiis* XIV,1-7: "Tanto igitur bono ... illius hominis morte perpetuo caruissemus, si non ... hoc quoque accessisset ... Res in manifesto est: quem hodie, duce Deo, ducem Mediolani habemus, hunc ... paternae virtuti respondere; idem, Secunda collaudatio XX,1-6: Eandem sane morem iam inde a maioribus traditum noster hic Philippus, quo duce hodie gubernamur, ita suscepit, ut in hoc magnificentiae genere

There seems to have been a period of leisure in the life of Andrea Biglia roughly equivalent to the school term of 1425-1426, after he had attained the *magisterium* and before he contracted to teach at the University of Bologna, during which he was free to travel and to accept speaking engagements. He may have gone to Milan to visit his family. On such an occasion, if not at this very time, Biglia was asked to deliver the eulogy at the annual memorial service for Duke Gian Galeazzo Visconti, which we may presume was celebrated on the anniversary of his death. Accordingly, Andrea may have given the first of his three extant funeral orations on Gian Galeazzo, the *In exequiis Johannis Galeatii Vicecomitis ducis Mediolani laudatio funerea* [S 13], on September 3, 1425⁹⁶. In 1402, another Augustinian, Pietro da Castelletto, a professor of theology at the University of Pavia⁹⁷, had been chosen to pronounce the panegyric over the body of Gian Galeazzo because he had, as Biglia tells us, glorified the house of Visconti by tracing the ancestry of the duke back to Aeneas⁹⁸. Similarly, the choice of Andrea to deliver the annual eulogy of the duke on at least three occasions was ideal for the propaganda purposes of the Visconti dynasty because of the Guelfic affiliation of the Biglia family, whose outlook and sympathies Andrea did in fact forcefully and frequently professed as his own. More than a score of years after the death of Gian Galeazzo, Biglia was proudly repeating the idea which the duke had planted in the minds of his subjects, that the Visconti in general, and he himself in particular, had restored in Milanese arms the ancient military prowess of Italy and caused it to triumph over barbarian invaders from the

superiore omnes transcensurus videatur, tot aedificatis moenibus, tot ductis munitionibus, tot paratis atriis, tot perfectis aut ornatis ecclesiis, ut quaque versum per omnem provinciam eas, per civitates, villas, agros, huius hominis videas aedificia surrexisse". P.O. KRISTELLER, *Iter Italicum*, IV, 92, gives *Ad invictissimi ducis Mediolani laudes Magistri Andree (Bilie) Agustinensis ordinis oratio* as the title of a third eulogy of Gian Galeazzo by Biglia.

⁹⁶ There is no external evidence to support this date. And the time span connoted by the internal evidence is very broad. The writer, therefore, suggests this date merely as a convenient possibility. See note 138 below.

⁹⁷ R. MAIocchi, O.S.A., and N. CASACCA, O.S.A., *Codex Diplomaticus Ord. E. S. Augustini Papiæ* (Pavia: Successori C. Rossetti, 1906), II, 13, note 1: "Frate Pietro da Castellato, come apparirà dai nostri documenti, appartienne alla Comunità di S. Agostino di Pavia e fù professore di Telogia nell'Università".

⁹⁸ BIGLIA, *Historia* 1 (col. 11A-B ARGELATI-MURATORI): "Defuncti [Gian Galeazzo] laudationem non minime pro illo tempore infacundam habuit Petrus Papiensis, homo nostri ordinis frater; caeteris (nam multi orationes dederant) eo maxime praelatus, quia stirpem Ducis, nominatis gradibus, in usque Aeneam produxerat".

north⁹⁹. Andrea also adverted in this speech to the setting in which the panoply of Visconti glorification was being refurbished, the great *duomo* of Milan¹⁰⁰. Begun in 1387 under the auspices of Gian Galeazzo¹⁰¹, its construction was promoted by him and his successors¹⁰² and was, Biglia asserted, a matter of great concern to the duke¹⁰³.

Meanwhile, in Bohemia, the situation had become critical. The people of Bohemia had never forgiven Sigismund, King of the Romans, for his treatment of their priest John Hus. Hus had been summoned to appear before the Council of Constance to give an account of his doctrine; and, in order to assure Hus' compliance, Sigismund had granted him "safe conduct". This was a guarantee that Hus would be allowed to return unmolested to Bohemia, but not an immunity, once home, from prosecution for heresy by his own ruler, Wenceslaus. Sigismund was persuaded, however, to renege on this "safe conduct"; and he permitted Hus to be tried and condemned for heresy at Constance, where he was burned at the stake on July 6, 1415. Thereafter, upon the death of Wenceslaus, Sigismund was rejected by the Bohemian people when he tried to assume the kingship of Bohemia as his brother's heir¹⁰⁴. But the strongest opposition to Sigismund and to the Catholic cause came from the heretical Hussites who, under the brilliant leadership of John Ziska, continually routed the huge armies of crusaders launched against them by

⁹⁹ BIGLIA, *In exequiis* IV,13-16: "Hi primi, quum iam Italia velut armorum nescia languesceret, restituta veteri disciplina, docuere non esse Italīs hominibus opus peregrinis neque stipendiis, neque armis, neque corporibus"; this passage and its context seems to reflect Biglia's monarchist views and his desire for the unification of Italy under a strong central government — that is, under the Visconti. But the union of the peninsula under the sway of one man was not, at that time, a political concept capable of realization. The Hapsburgs weakened Milanese control of the northern trade routes by pressure on the Alpine passes. Savoy was encroaching on the western border of the duchy. The republics of Tuscany resisted and, under the leadership of Florence, maintained their independence. Venice was master of the head of the Adriatic. The States of the Church in a strip athwart central Italy divided the progressive and developed north from the backward kingdom of Naples in the south. See Daniel Meredith Dueno DE MESQUITA, *Giangaleazzo Visconti: Duke of Milan (1351-1402)* (Cambridge: University Press, 1941), p. 307.

¹⁰⁰ BIGLIA, *In exequiis* VII,13-14: "Quanta illi cura huius nostri maximi templi in quo has religiones perficimus".

¹⁰¹ See Antonio CERUTI, *I principi del duomo di Milano* (Milan: G. Agnelli, 1879), pp. 79-81.

¹⁰² MUIR, *History of Milan*, pp. 235-39.

¹⁰³ BIGLIA, *In exequiis* VII,15-16: "Nihil enim fecisse putabat, quom audiret vel puncto temporis has aedificationes intermitteri".

¹⁰⁴ MAIN, *The Emperor Sigismund*, pp. 36-40.

the implacable Martin V¹⁰⁵. The legation for such an undertaking against the Bohemian heretics was entrusted to Giordano Cardinal Orsini by Pope Martin in January of 1426¹⁰⁶. Such was the stimulus for the composition of Biglia's treatise, the *Pro suscipienda in Bohemos expeditione Iordano Ursino* [S 6], which Andrea directed to Cardinal Orsini. In this brief work, finished on March 15, 1426, Biglia advocated swift, strong, and decisive action against a danger that was not to be underestimated. It is available in manuscript¹⁰⁷.

The political calm in northern Italy was brief. Hardly secured in his restored domain, Duke Filippo Maria was to begin the second phase of his reign with a war with Venice and her allies¹⁰⁸. Biglia showed his loyalty to the Visconti dynasty and gave his support during the struggle by addressing encouraging words to the faltering forces of Duke Filippo in their camp before Brescia¹⁰⁹. Nonetheless, Brescia fell to the Venetians¹¹⁰. This speech, the *In castris Philippi ducis mediolani oratio militaris* [S 22], is also extant in manuscript¹¹¹.

During the school terms 1426-1427 and 1427-1428, Andrea was in Bologna at the university teaching natural and moral philosophy. It may have been at the respective beginnings of these terms that he delivered two rather recently discovered speeches that have the appearance of inaugural addresses, the first entitled: [*Oratio theologici cursus initiandi causa Bononiae habita*] [S 28]; and the second: [*Oratio in Sacrae Scripturae studium introductoria*] [S 29]¹¹². As part of his salary at Bologna,

¹⁰⁵ *Ib.*, pp. 40-42.

¹⁰⁶ SABBADINI, *Biglia* p. 1092. See also E. KÖNIG, *Kardinal Giordano Orsini* (Freiburg im Br.: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1906), p. 48. From SABBADINI, *ib.*

¹⁰⁷ MILANO, Bibl. Ambrosiana N 280 sup. fols. 20v-26v.

¹⁰⁸ MUIR, *History of Milan*, p. 149.

¹⁰⁹ Biglia cites in the speech the series of reverses recently suffered by the Milanese.

¹¹⁰ MUIR, *History of Milan*, p. 149.

¹¹¹ MILANO, Bibl. Ambrosiana N 280 sup. fols. 26v-29r.

¹¹² See note 89 above. The writer agrees with MYNORS, *Catalogue*, p. 126, that these speeches [S 28 and 29] are inaugural orations delivered by Biglia at Bologna; but, because of the nature of Biglia's audience whom he addresses as *patres venerantissimi* in the first and in the second as *patres sanctissimi*, he disagrees with Mynors that they are only lectures. The writers would elevate them to the status of inaugural addresses of the assembly of the University of Bologna at the opening of academic years, like the two similar speeches delivered at Siena [S 30 and 31]. The writer would then be obliged to take exception with Billanovich's (*Pietro Piccolo*, p. 12) assignment of the year 1423 to the first speech [S 28] as the date of its delivery. Having attained the *magisterium* only in 1425 (see note 71 above), Biglia would have qualified for the honor of inaugurating the scholastic year as a full professor and new lecturer first in 1426 and again in 1427, when he was under contract at the university, and before he fled the anti-papal riots in Bologna

Andrea was paid sixty florins, a substantial increase over the thirty-five florins he had received per annum in Florence¹¹³.

Controversy with Manfredo da Vercelli

Sometime after Cardinal Orsini returned from his mission to Bohemia, Andrea thought it expedient to write a treatise in two books as a warning or exhortation to the Dominican, Manfredo da Vercelli, the *Ammonitio ad fratrem Manfredum Vercelensem ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum* [S 7^b], which Andrea dedicated to the aforementioned Cardinal Orsini in a prefatory letter entitled, *Ad Iordanum Ursinum nobilem Romanum et ecclesiae cardinalem epistola velut prooemium pro duobus libellis sequentibus* [S 7^a]. From this letter we gather that the cardinal's mission to Bohemia had been unsuccessful because the danger in the east had been underestimated, and we learn that Biglia felt that his opposition to Bernardino da Siena was justified because it sprang from no personal motive, and that Manfredo da Vercelli, whom Cardinal Orsini had also seen fit to censure, had not been keeping the solemn promises he had previously made in the presence of Bernardino¹¹⁴. This treatise, extant in manuscript, has been published¹¹⁵.

At just about this time Andrea composed two more treatises, both now among his missing works, which he dedicated to Niccolò Albergati, the cardinal archbishop of Bologna¹¹⁶, namely, the *De pace et victoria Romanae ecclesiae ad Nicolaum Bononiensem ex Cisterciensi ordine Romanae ecclesiae cardinalem* [S 8], and the *De amore et magnitudine crucis ad Nicolaum Bononiensem cardinalem* [S 42]. The first treatise may

in 1428. If it can be presumed that this scholastic event took place on the eighteenth of October, the feast of St. Luke, as it did in Siena, the first oration [S 28] would then have been delivered on October 18, 1426, and the second [S 29], on October 18, 1427 (see in particular notes 146-49 below).

¹¹³ 113 MARLETTA, *Note*, p. 521; Giuseppe ZAOLI, *Di alcuni 'rotuli' dello studio ecclesiastico*, in *Studi e memorie per la storia dell'Università di Bologna* 1 (1907) (Biblioteca de l'"Arciginnasio", 1: Istituto per la storia dell'Università di Bologna, 4), p. 232: "M. Andreas de mediolano, ordinis heremitarum, philosophiae naturalis et moralis, pro parte sui salarii L. 60".

¹¹⁴ See the text of this letter in Appendix I.

¹¹⁵ MILANO, Bibl. Ambrosiana H 117 inf. fol. 57r: prefatory letter; fols. 57v-73v: treatise; published by R. RUSCONI, *Fonti e documenti su Manfredo da Vercelli OP ed il suo movimento penitenziale*, in *Archivum Praedicatorum*, 47 (1977), 71-97.

¹¹⁶ Niccolò Albergati was made archbishop of Bologna on April 13, 1418, and was created a cardinal on May 24, 1426, by Pope Martin V. See EUBEL, *Hierarchia catholica*, I, 34 and 141.

have been apologetic in nature, while the second appears to have been an ascetical work. Around 1427 Biglia wrote the first of his two recently identified consolatory epistles, the *De non necessario mortis metu* [S 43¹], directed to his relative Giovanni, the castellan of Pavia, who had recently lost his only son Leone or Leonino; and shortly thereafter, that is, around 1427-1428, he composed the second, the *De bona et pretiosa matris morte* [S 43²], which he sent to Benedetto, his only sister's husband, after he had received the news of his own dear mother's death¹¹⁷. It was also at this time that Biglia began work on his voluminous and still extant, but unedited, *Annotationes in evangelia quadragesimae* [S 40¹]¹¹⁸.

Since 1424 the opposition to Fra Bernardino da Siena had been mounting, his chief accusers being the *fratelli* of the rival preaching orders, the Augustinians and the Dominicans. Supported by his order, the fanatical Dominican Manfredo da Vercelli had been challenging the orthodoxy of Bernardino's preaching and techniques, and had even gained the ear of Antonino, the archbishop of Florence, who was later canonized a saint! In the spring of 1426 Bernardino received a summons from Pope Martin V to come to Rome to acquit himself. The charges were both heresy and idolatry. Bernardino was forbidden to preach or to display the monogram of the name of Jesus to the crowds¹¹⁹.

Conflict with Bernardino da Siena

It was soon after the pope had silenced Fra Bernardino, that is, early in 1426, that Biglia published his pamphlet inveighing against the practices of Bernardino, the *De institutis, discipulis, et doctrina fratris Bernardini ordinis Minorum* [S 9]. Eight times Andrea comes to the defense of the papal action; and this persistence suggests that the pontifical action prompted him to take up his pen. Biglia's attack was specific and incisive: while expressing his own personal admiration for the man, that is, for Bernardino's holiness and eloquence, he maintained, nevertheless, that the Franciscan's doctrines and devices were unnecessary, superstitious, and scandalous. And he insisted in five different passages that he was

¹¹⁷ *Codex Florentinus Nationalis Centralis* N. A. 921. KRISTELLER, *Iter Italicum*, I, 172, gives "Andreas de Mediolano O.S.A." as the author of this codex. MORISI, *Pagina*, pp. 539-40, correctly identifies this Andreas as our author, Andrea Biglia. Morisi, pp. 541-46, 548-51, has published excerpts from this codex, as has RUSCONI, *Fonti*, pp. 97-98. For two examples of the autograph elements found in this codex, see plates 18 and 19. See note 13 above.

¹¹⁸ See below note 191.

¹¹⁹ ORIGO, *The World*, pp. 117-24.

motivated by no feelings of jealousy or envy toward Bernardino¹²⁰. He would reiterate these latter sentiments in a beautiful letter written to Bernardino some years later¹²¹.

Bernardino had many disciples who spread the devotion to the most holy name of Jesus throughout Europe. Among these was Matteo da Messina, afterwards bishop of Agrigento (1414-1446), and later declared a *beatus*, who in addition to Sicily spread the devotion to the name of Jesus in Spain. Preaching at Barcelona, he urged the citizens of that city to have the monogram *yhs* inscribed or painted on their houses and doors, in their bedrooms and other places, as Bernardino was urging in Italy. As in Italy, so here, controversy had arisen, but in Barcelona, among other things, the dispute concerned the very manner of writing the name of Jesus, with certain brethren of the Order of Preachers averring that it ought not to be written with an "h", and Matteo defending the way of writing it he had learned from his master. One of the Dominicans had to flee from the city because of the wrath of the people, with whom Fra Matteo was very popular. The controversy growing in intensity, a certain Fray Antonio, a member of the Augustinian Order and from the same city of Barcelona, doubtless aware of Biglia's genius and his strong feeling in the matter, directed a letter to him informing him about the dispute. Andrea then sent Fray Antonio his treatise, the *Ad Barchinonenses de littera h in Yhesu* [S 10], and advised him that, if he needed more information, he should consult a certain Fray Santiago of Tarragona, a brother Augustinian, who he had heard was a man of gravity and approved doctrine¹²².

In this little work Biglia, first of all, rebuked the people of Barcelona because they were disputing among themselves about an inane thing, which pertained, not to faith, but to grammar. They had been incited, Andrea said, into this most stupid of controversies by Fra Matteo and his associates, who were teaching, according to him, that all salvation depended on that one letter, a letter whose value was dubious and disputed among grammarians¹²³.

Although he knew Greek very well, Andrea was mistaken about the true origin of the letter "h" in the monogram *yhs*. Instead of recognizing the letter as the Greek *eta* represented by a miniscule Roman "h", he considered it a light aspiration that had somehow crept into the word¹²⁴.

¹²⁰ DE GAIFFIER, *Le mémoire d'André Biglia*, pp. 309-10, and 311, note 6.

¹²¹ See below note 210.

¹²² J.B. WÜST, ed., *Andreae de Billis, O.S.A., tractatus ad Barchinonenses de littera h in nomine Ihesu*, in *Antonianum* 3 (1928), 65-86; p. 68.

¹²³ *Ib.*, p. 69.

¹²⁴ *Ib.*, p. 65.

This tract was most probably composed in 1427, after Bernardino's vindication in Rome. In its tone the work is more restrained, if no less scholarly, than the *De institutis* [S 9]¹²⁵. For in the presence of Martin V, surrounded by numerous theologians, Bernardino had responded to the attacks of his detractors. His defense was completely successful, and the pope, entirely reassured in regard to his orthodoxy, invited him to preach at Rome. A little later, in June of 1427, he offered him the bishopric of Siena, but Bernardino refused it¹²⁶. Both these treatises relating to Bernardino have been published¹²⁷.

Unrest and Revolt at Bologna

In August of 1428 Bologna was seething with social unrest and civil disorder¹²⁸. Some 153 years earlier, that is, in 1276, the Bolognese had placed themselves under the protection of the Holy See, to better assure their civil liberties. The papal authority was vested in a cardinal legate. In the next century, that is, the fourteenth, the Pepoli family was the dominant influence in Bolognese affairs, but the city later came alternately under control of the Visconti of Milan or the Bentivoglio family of Bologna itself. At times the popes asserted their authority there and took over the government of the city, as in 1420-1428, under Cardinal Condulmer¹²⁹.

The revolt of the Bolognese in August, 1428, against the ecclesiastical government is described in graphic detail in the seventh book of his Milanese history [S 1¹] by Biglia, who was himself a witness of the civil disturbances that swirled around the precarious sanctuary of the Augustinian monastery. The anti-papal riots led by the Canetoli family were so violent that the cardinal legate was constrained to take to flight¹³⁰. That no one and no thing, no matter how sacred, was exempt from the fury of the mob is evident from Andrea's description of the indignities heaped on the monastery of San Giacomo by the rioters:

"No segment of society was in greater jeopardy than the personnel of the Church, than adherents of the Faith, or members of religious orders. The

¹²⁵ *Ib.*, pp. 71-72.

¹²⁶ DE GAIFFIER, *Le mémoire d'André Biglia*, pp. 310-11.

¹²⁷ See notes 120 and 122 above.

¹²⁸ ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 160.

¹²⁹ C. M. ADY, *The Bentivoglio of Bologna* (Oxford: Univ. Press, 1969), pp. 1-15; U. BENIGNI, *Bologna, Archdiocese of*, in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1907), II, 639.

¹³⁰ ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 160.

convent of San Giacomo was the object of particular hostility, for, while the convent itself pertains to our order, almost all around it are the dwellings of the other party. Every day the brethren were threatened with fire, destruction, and slaughter. One brother they immediately hanged, because it was said that he wanted to ring the bells. They killed another brother around sixty or more years of age, who had been thrown into prison to make him give them money. During the night they destroyed some of the columns of the exterior portico. The rest of the churches were likewise afflicted with various insults and acts of vandalism"¹³¹.

Flight to Milan

Somehow (he himself gives us no particulars) Andrea was able to take refuge in his native Milan. From there he wrote the following letter [S 35], so charming and full of affection, to his close friend, the humanist, Giovanni Aurispa, in the troubled city he had just fled:

Fra Andrea Biglia bids the best of health to his Aurispa.

Fortune so changes things, my Aurispa, that I fear we grow more distant day by day, even though we ourselves want nothing to come between us that could hinder our mutual regard and relationship. At Bologna we certainly used to take advantage of the opportunity to chat freely and see each other if we wanted to. Now, to bring about what at that time was ready to hand, we have to resort to letters; and we are indeed kept apart, not so much by geography, as by, I might almost say, pestilential decrees. This I know, however: even though the physical man had been disenfranchised, our hearts will certainly persevere in the friendship we have formed.

But you can gather the reason why I remain here from this, that generally in his own city a man leads his life less according to his own will: everyone is looking for things, making demands, importuning, as if it is an affront to family and friends or to the country itself to deny them the advantages we have been accustomed to impart to strangers. Now by entreaties, now by commands they have kept me here against my will, and what I did at Bologna I will do at Pavia, where I have been permitted to go against neither the sovereign authority of our duke nor the will of my friends. Furthermore, you see how Bologna endures quiet. I certainly feared this evil might proceed further than it has; I do not discern the end, since at this very time I have noted that from lesser causes greater dangers have emanated from Rome.

¹³¹ BIGLIA, *Historia* 7 (col. 114B-C ARGELATI-MURATORI): "Nullum nomen quam Ecclesiae, quam fidei, aut Religionis infestius. Praecipue Conventus Sancti Jacobi (ipse est noster ordo, nam altera pars circum fere habitat) invisus erat: quotidie ignes, ruinae, caedes Fratribus minitabantur. Unum, quia dictus est campanas voluisse pulsasse, statim suspenderunt; alium ferme amplius sexaginta annos natum, ut pecuniam daret, conjectum in vincula necaverunt: aliquot columnas exterioris porticus nocte diruerunt. Sic ceterae Ecclesiae variis contumeliis ac damnis sunt affectae". [translation mine]

But to us. I do not so much send this Mariano¹³² as the bearer of my letter as I consign to you the vicegerent of my commitment, my friendship, my relationship; his affability which, as I might say in one word, is congruous with your humanity is generally well-deserving. I pray you will, as they say, receive him into your bosom and cherish him, for he is completely taken with you. That is, he wants not so much to take advantage of your patronage and genius as to enjoy your benevolence and wisdom. But he himself will explain this better in his own behalf, and by reason of his excellence he will prevail. I for my part have given him assurance about your kindness, which a short time ago had been afforded to me as well and which you yourself seem to intend should in the same way be known and open to all.

I want very much for you to be well and to love us in God, my Aurispa, and to inform us once in a while about your affairs, if you cannot do so often. I go to Pavia into the drudgery, so to speak, of recalling acquaintances but keeping you first in mind. In conclusion, will you greet our friends when you see them, or in your letters, in that city common to the two of us? Farewell.

From Milan, the nones of October [October 7, 1428]¹³³.

It is little wonder that sagacious Filippo Maria tried to enlist in his service the brilliant and eloquent son of a noble house of proven loyalty. The University of Pavia owed its revival to Filippo's grandfather, Galeazzo II, and its great activity and fame to his father, Duke Gian Galeazzo. In attempting to recruit Andrea for the university, Fillippo was simply emulating his father, who had brought scholars from all over Italy to teach at Pavia¹³⁴.

We do not know whether Andrea accepted this ducal appointment to the University of Pavia for the academic year of 1428-1429. Nor do we know what he would have taught there¹³⁵. It is possible, however, that his nomination was to the chair of rhetoric which had been held with distinction by Gasparino Barzizza. But these possibilities are not substantiated by documentary evidence¹³⁶. A little later, however, this chair was certainly to be occupied by Biglia's friend, Antonio Beccadelli Panormita¹³⁷.

It is probably in the period following Biglia's flight from Bologna that Andrea acceded to a request by the duke that he deliver another memorial oration for Gian Galeazzo. Biglia's second eulogy of the great

¹³² SABBADINI, *Carteggio di Giovanni Aurispa*, p. 60, note 2: "Francesco Mariano abruzzese fù prima scolaro del Barzizza a Milano e poi di Guarino a Verona (*Epistolario di Guarino*, III, 210)".

¹³³ For the Latin text of the letter see Appendix II. [translation mine]

¹³⁴ DE MESQUITA, *Giangaleazzo Visconti*, p. 42.

¹³⁵ MARLETTA, *Note*, p. 521 and note 8.

¹³⁶ *Ib.*

¹³⁷ *Ib.*

duke, the *F. B. Andreae secunda collaudatio anniversaria Johannis Galeatii Vicecomitis ducis Mediolani* [S 14], may then have been delivered on September 3, 1428¹³⁸. It has much in common with the first: there is a similar account of Gian Galeazzo's achievements and a few complimentary remarks acknowledging the presence of Duke Filippo, and in the second eulogy as in the first Biglia declared his intention to expatiate on the Visconti theme at another time¹³⁹, which intention may have evolved and been realized in his magnum opus, the Milanese history [S 1¹].

However these things may have been, Biglia, a lover of tranquility, soon had to remove himself from the duchy of Milan, where, as he had written to Aurispa, he was suffering much from his fellow-citizen's unwillingness to let him live in his own way. At least by the end of the academic year in the summer of 1429, Andrea was transferred, quite likely at his own request, to Sant'Agostino, the Augustinian monastery in Perugia. There he had more time for scholarly activity and did in fact resume work on his *Annotationes in evangelia quadragesimae* [S 40¹], which he had begun at Bologna¹⁴⁰.

During his stay in Perugia, Andrea accepted a three-year contract as a lecturer in theology at the university there; but by the first days of October he had already departed for Siena. Thereafter, because the university officials kept insisting he honor his contract with them, he informed them through a certain Fra Bernardino¹⁴¹, prior of the convent of Hermits in Perugia, that for the next two years he would be unable to teach in their city. What circumstances made it impossible for Biglia to fulfill this contract have not come to light, but, in view of his character, it is repugnant to believe that he had, like many professors of his time, simultaneously accepted more than one contract. The fact that Fra Bernardino himself, the prior of the house where Andrea had been in residence, came to present the letters in which Biglia declared that he could not keep his agreement makes one think that Andrea acted at the

¹³⁸ See note 96. The writer is of the opinion that it is possible to attach a much higher degree of probability to September 3, 1428 as the date of the delivery of the *Secunda collaudatio* than to the date suggested by the author for the delivery of the *In exequiis*, because Biglia was certainly in the Duchy of Milan in 1428. *Secunda collaudatio*: MILANO, Bibl. Ambrosiana F 55 sup., ff. 50r-57r.

¹³⁹ BIGLIA, *In exequiis* V,5-8: "Quanquam ne ego suscepi dicendum omnia quae de tantis viris magnifice praedicanda essent. Alius ferme locus aliudque tempus, si rite spero, his rebus explicandis dabitur"; id., *Secunda Collaudatio* XXII,1: "Atqui de his alio tempore liberius".

¹⁴⁰ See below note 191.

¹⁴¹ An Augustinian, not to be confused with the Franciscan, Bernardino da Siena.

behest of his superiors. No doubt Fra Bernardino explained the peculiar circumstances necessitating so sudden a transfer when he presented Andrea's written statement¹⁴².

Final Situation

Whatever the facts of the case may be, in the autumn of 1429, at about the age of thirty-six, Fra Andrea Biglia entered upon the last phase of his life and took up residence at the Augustinian monastery in Siena, also named Sant'Agostino¹⁴³. It is certain that he was immediately offered a teaching contract by the Sienese, which he accepted. That the men of Siena, who professed the greatest veneration for their Fra Bernardino, the Franciscan missionary, did not hesitate to welcome to their university the man who had not been sparing, but perhaps even excessive, in his criticism and censure of the Franciscan's preaching methods is in itself a commentary on the academic freedom prevailing in the Italy of the early fifteenth century¹⁴⁴.

Andrea commenced his regular course of lectures at this university at the beginning of the academic year 1429-1430 and, on January 15, 1430, he received thirty florins as the first third of the salary due to him¹⁴⁵.

It devolved upon the new lecturers at the University of Siena to give the inaugural address at the opening of the academic year on the eighteenth of October, the feast of St. Luke¹⁴⁶. Two such speeches made by Biglia at Siena are extant: the *F. B. Andreae Mediolanensis de laudibus disciplinarum. Senis* [S 30], which has been published¹⁴⁷, and the *Oratio in novationem annuam studiorum habita per fratrem Andream sacrae theologiae discretissimum magistrum Mediolanensem. Senis* [S 31], which is available in manuscript¹⁴⁸. The first of these, most probably delivered on October 18, 1429, takes note of the presence of Niccolò de' Tedeschi, the foremost canonist of his day, and alludes to the translation of Aristo-

¹⁴² MARLETTA, *Note*, p. 522; ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 161.

¹⁴³ VAN LUIJK, *Le monde augustinien*, p. 43.

¹⁴⁴ MARLETTA, *Note*, p. 522-23.

¹⁴⁵ *Ib.*, p. 523 and note 2: "Archivio di Stato, Siena. Vol. 310, c. 3: 'M.' Andrea di Pietro di milano.' Un altro pagamento è registrato a c. 65v: 'M. Andrea di Milano a di 16 novembre fl. 30'".

¹⁴⁶ *Ib.*

¹⁴⁷ K. MÜLLNER, *Die Reden und Briefe italienischer Humanisten: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Pädagogik des Humanismus* (Wien, 1899), pp. 64-70.

¹⁴⁸ FIRENZE, Bibl. Naz. Centrale, Nuovi Acquisti 354 fols 142v-146v.

tle's *Metaphysics* [?S 55²] which Biglia had made that year, that is, probably in 1429¹⁴⁹. The second of these speeches would, of course, have been delivered at a subsequent inauguration. A third speech by Biglia of similar character, the *Oratio [de studiis disciplinisque liberalibus] Andrea Mediolanensis ordinis Heremitarum* [S 32], is also extant in manuscript¹⁵⁰. These three discourses considered together with the two inaugural speeches delivered by Biglia at the University of Bologna: the [*Oratio theologici cursus initiandi causa Bononiae habita*] [S 28], and the [*Oratio in Sacrae Scripturae studium introductoria*] [S 29], furnish a fair idea of Biglia's views on the theory and practice of education in his day¹⁵¹.

Lecceto: Haven of Peace

Andrea seems to have found at Siena a scholar's ideal milieu: the peace and tranquility he had craved so much and missed elsewhere and the company of learned confreres. No less than five other Augustinian doctors of theology were in residence at Sant'Agostino and on the theological faculty at the university, namely, Masters Gabriele da Spoleto, Bartolomeo da Massa, who was, in addition, provincial of the province of Siena in 1432, Leonardo da Sicilia, Paolo da Buella, and Pietro da Genova¹⁵². And not far off, only a few miles west of Siena, Biglia had an idyllic retreat in the Augustinian hermitage of Lecceto (Lat. *Illicetum*), which was situated in a locale hallowed by Augustinian tradition and legend. This area in Tuscany was revered as the homeland of Augustinian eremitical life. After his baptism in Milan at the hands of St. Ambrose and before his return to Africa, Augustine had come, so the legend had it, to the forest

¹⁴⁹ See SABBADINI, *Biglia* p. 1095; id., *Spigolature di letteratura siciliana nel secolo XV*, in *Archivio storico per la Sicilia Orientale* 4 (1907), 119; MARLETTA, *Note*, p. 523, note 4: "Il Sabbadini fissa la data per esclusione. L'orazione fù pronunciata in presenza del Tudisco, questi nel '31 non era più a Siena, dunque essa è del '30. Ragionamente che vale anche nel '29. Vero è che in quest'anno il Tudisco dovette recarsi in Sicilia per decidere una lite, ma ciò avvenne nel dicembre (cf. R. Pirro, *Sicilia Sacra*, I, 171) e l'assenza durò pochissimi giorni, tanto che gli venne pagato intero il salario"; ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 162 and note 40.

¹⁵⁰ VENEZIA, Bibl. Naz. Marciana XI 3 fols. 25r-30r.

¹⁵¹ See notes 89 and 112 above.

¹⁵² MARLETTA, *Note*, p. 524, note 2: "Dagli *Statuti* della Facoltà teologica risulta che nell'anno 1434 vivevano a Siena altri cinque Eremitani dottori in teologia: M.^o Gabriele di Spoleto, M.^o Bartolomeo di Massa, M.^o Leodardo di Sicilia, M.^o Paulo de Buella e M.^o Pietro di Genova"; ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 163, note 44: "... Bartolomeo da Massa was provincial of the province of Siena in 1432 (Ambrogio Landucci, *Sacra Illicetana Sylva* [Siena: Bonetti, 1653] p. 49)".

fastness of these hills, in imitation of St. Paul, the first hermit, and St. Antony, the desert father. There Augustine gathered men of similar persuasion into communities, for whom he had, while on Monte Pisano, so the legend persisted, written his Rule, generally known today by the Latin title, *Praeceptum sancti Augustini*. Into these woody solitudes over the years had come, in addition to Augustine, St. Monica, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. William, St. Galganus, and even St. Francis, whom the legend would have a hermit at Lecceto before he founded his own order. Andrea retired here periodically during the few remaining years of his life, and his prolific literary production during this period shows how congenial he found this spot for scholarly activity¹⁵³.

Holy Week, that is, April 9 through 15, of 1430 saw the solemn transfer of the mortal remains of St. Monica, Augustine's mother, from a secret crypt under the altar of the Church of Sant'Aurea in Ostia Antica, up the river to Rome, where the saintly relics were entrusted to the care and protection of her spiritual grandsons, the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine¹⁵⁴. From what the aged pontiff, Pope Martin V, was reported to have said to the Augustinian brethren on that august occasion Biglia fashioned, not long afterwards it would seem, a fascinating little work entitled *De concessione et translatione beatae Monicae, matris beatissimi patris Augustini, sermo* [S 26], the first of Biglia's works to be printed (1587). So different is the tone and style of various parts of this work from Biglia's other writings that it may well have been that Andrea had someone's notes of the proceedings before him as he wrote¹⁵⁵. The work is well divided into five sections, the fourth and fifth being, in a word, exhortatory of greater Augustinian religious fervor¹⁵⁶. It is important for the insight it gives into Andrea's Augustinianism when taken in conjunction with the address to the General Chapter of Bologna in 1425 [S 25] and his treatise on the form and propagation of the Augustinian order [S 11].

¹⁵³ ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* pp. 167-68; to the literature there cited (note 63) for the present conditions of the Lecceto hermitage there may be added the exterior view shown in a photograph in *Toscana, Parte seconda* (Milan: Touring Club Italiano, 1935) p. 173, fig. 89.

¹⁵⁴ For the detailed argument concerning the dating of this work, see ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 185.

¹⁵⁵ MILANO, Bibl. Ambrosiana H 117 inf. fols. 112v-124v is Biglia's approved copy of this sermo. It ends on fol. 124v with the words: *Sermo explicit de concessione et translatione beate Monice tanquam ex ore pontificis Martini compositus F. B. Andree mediolanensis*. The other extant manuscript of this work is Kiel, Universitätsbibl. Bord. 10 fols. 1-8.

¹⁵⁶ CASAMASSA, *L'autore di un preteso discorso*, p. 110.

Not many days after composing the sermon on the transfer of Monica's relics, Biglia began work on this last mentioned work, the *Ad fratrem Ludovicum de ordinis nostri forma et propagatione* [S 11]¹⁵⁷. The Ludovico cited in this title is Biglia's aforementioned friend, the fellow alumnus of Padua University who was a magister at that university and had recently become an Augustinian. And it was for this friend's inspiration and instruction that the treatise was written¹⁵⁸. Andrea attempts in this work to establish a direct link between St. Augustine and the Augustinian hermits of the thirteenth century and mounts a spirited, if futile, defense of the historicity of such tradition. He deplores the decline of the pristine religious fervor of the order and appeals for a better observance of the rule¹⁵⁹. Both these works written in 1430 have been published, and the sermon on the transfer of Monica's relics has had several reprints¹⁶⁰.

The Translator of Aristotle

It was also in the solitude of Lecceto that Biglia made his translation of the three books of Aristotle's treatise on the soul, the *De anima*, under the title *Fr. B. Andreae Mediolanensis Aristotelis liber De anima ex Graeca in linguam Latinam translatus* [S 57]. This work is extant in manuscript¹⁶¹. At the beginning of the Bodleian codex¹⁶², we find the following six hexameters and a prose dedication to the Blessed Mother,

¹⁵⁷ MILANO, Bibl. Ambrosiana H 117 inf. fols. 125r-142v.

¹⁵⁸ See above note 35. See also ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* pp. 163 and 165. Biglia fervently believed in and defended the moral continuity between the monastic community founded by Augustine in North Africa toward the end of the fourth century and the Order of Augustinian Hermits organized under Pope Alexander IV in the Great Union of 1256. See below note 159. See also John J. GAVIGAN, O.S.A., *St. Augustine and African Monasticism*, in *Tagastan* 1, No. 3 (July 1937), 8-19; id., *De vita monastica in Africa Septentrionali inde a temporibus S. Augustini usque ad invasiones Arabum* (Torino: Marietti, 1962), passim; Arthur J. ENNIS, O.S.A., *The Rule of St. Augustine: Its True History*, in *Tagastan* 9, No. 3 (Mar. 1946), 89-91; Balbino RANO, O.S.A., *Agostiniani*, in *Dizionario degli istituti di perfezione*, Gerrino PELLICCIA and GianCarlo ROCCA eds. (Rome: Edizione Paoline, 1974), I, 278-382.

¹⁵⁹ ARBESMANN, *ib.*

¹⁶⁰ Arbesmann's edition of the *Ad fratrem Ludovicum de ordinis nostri forma et propagatione* is in *Analecta Augustiniana* 28 (1965), 186-218. The *editio princeps* of the work on St. Monica was by Fivizzano. See ML 26 in SCHNAUBELT, *Prolegomena* for detailed information on the *De concessione* and its reprints.

¹⁶¹ OXFORD, Bodleian Library, Bywater 10 (40042); CITTÀ DEL VATICANO, Bibl. Apost. Vaticana lat. 2078 fol. 59r.

¹⁶² That is, folio 1v, which is the reverse of the fly-leaf.

which we may presume are Andrea's own composition, because they are written in his own hand:

"Virgo, pios oculos mentemque intende benignam
 Supplicibus, nam sola malis superes, veneranda.
 Usque adeo absorpti pervastis (prevastis *cod.*) mergimur undis
 Haeremusque rati, si non tua dextra revellat
 Lunctantes morti et levior subvectat ad auras
 Unda sinusque tuos laeti gremiumque petamus¹⁶³.
 Beatissimae virgini mariae, F. B. Andreas in Illiceto".

"O venerable virgin
 turn your kindly eyes and tender regard
 upon your suppliants
 for you alone may vanquish the evil.
 Swallowed up
 to the point of vanishing
 by enormous waves
 we sink and cling to the barque
 except your right hand snatch us
 struggling with death
 and a lighter surge raise us up
 into the air
 and joyfully we seek
 the hollow of your bosom.

To the most blessed virgin Mary, Fra Andrea Biglia in Lecceto".

If they are his, these verses constitute one of the two extant specimens of Biglia's poetry¹⁶⁴.

Whether the translation of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, made by Andrea, probably in 1429, is to be identified with the *In Metaphysicam Aristotelis commentaria* [S 55²], described by Argelati as extant in 1745 among the Biglia manuscripts then to be found in the library of San Marco in Milan, is a moot point¹⁶⁵. No manuscript of Biglia's dealing in any way with the *Metaphysics* has been identified as yet. Biglia's translation of Aristotle's *Ethics*, the *[Interpretatio] ethicorum Aristotelis, libri 10* [S 56¹], is to be read in manuscript¹⁶⁶. It is quite possible that all or most of Andrea's translations of Aristotle belong to his Lecceto period. It seems that Andrea was making, or having made, a second copy of his translation

¹⁶³ Compare the writer's reading of the hexameters with Argelati's on p. 84 below. Argelati omits the fifth hexameter and in consequence changes *unda* to *unde*.

¹⁶⁴ For the second see, above p. 31. ARGELATI, *Bibliotheca*, I,2,161, does not hesitate to attribute the verses on Mary to Biglia, calling them *Versus Auctoris*. [translation mine]

¹⁶⁵ See ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 174. See above note 149.

¹⁶⁶ BUDAPEST, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára 4'46; CITTÀ DEL VATICANO, Bibl. Apost. Vaticana lat. 2078 fol. 1r.

of the *Physics*, known by the title *Primus et secundus liber Physicorum <Aristotelis>, cum principio libri tertii* [S 56²], when death stilled him¹⁶⁷.

The question may well be raised as to why a man of Biglia's obviously exceptional intellectual stature was spending his time making translations when he could have been devoting himself to original, creative composition. The question is based, however, on a modern viewpoint of relative values. In the Italy of the early fifteenth century, when still only a few had a knowledge, much less a command, of Greek, it was considered a worthwhile employment and a mark of achievement and distinction to make the Greek classics available to others in Latin translation. Like Andrea, his friends and associates, the eminent humanists Bruni, Aurispa, Guarino, Filelfo, and Valla devoted considerable time and effort to this task. In a *Mischhandschrift* of the fifteenth century, one finds, in association with translations of Greek authors by the prominent humanists Francesco Barbaro, Battista Guarino, Leonardo Giustiniani, and Leonardo (Bruni) Aretino, a Latin version by Biglia of Plutarch's *Vita Timoleontis*, bearing the title *F. B. Andreae Timoleontis vita ex Graecis Plutarchi in Latinas litteras translata* [S 59²]. It has a preface addressed to Carlo Malatesta, the [*Praefatium Vitae Timoleontis Plutarchi ab Andrea Biglia translatae ad Carolum Malatestam Ariminensium dominum*] [S 59¹], which tells of Biglia's friendly relations with Malatesta, the courtesy paid by the prince to Biglia on his visit to Rimini, and the long discussions they had there concerning religion and ecclesiastical politics¹⁶⁸.

Andrea's broad and intimate knowledge of the Greek classics, in addition to Aristotle and Plutarch, is evidenced by the verbatim quotations which grace his works, as, for example, of Homer and Aeschines in the *Ad Alphonsum regem Aragonum de pace cum Philippo duce Mediolanensi componenda* [S 3] and the *Querellae pacis* [S 2], of Demosthenes in the [*Annotationes in evangelios quae per annum leguntur*] [S 41¹], of Diogenes Laertius and Plato's *Phaedo* and *Republic* in the *De laudibus disciplinarum* [S 30], and by many references to characters and events in Greek literature¹⁶⁹. Similarly, his writings also abound with quotations from and references to the Latin classics, all of which is not surprising in

¹⁶⁷ See above note 72, Argelati's description of the San Marco manuscript; also ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* pp. 175-76.

¹⁶⁸ *Ib.*, pp. 173, 178-89. *Timoleontis vita*: MACERATA, Bibl. Communale 5 3 c 26, ff. 89r-119r.

¹⁶⁹ *Ib.*, p. 179.

a man who it was said had only to read a thing twice to retain it *in toto*¹⁷⁰.

Among the books Biglia had in his library was certainly a copy of the *Republic* which we know later came into the possession of the humanist Pier Candido Decembrio¹⁷¹. In this category of books owned, that is, Biglia's own personal library, belongs the copy of Terence which has from Argelati¹⁷² the title: *Terentii comediae a Fr. B. Andrea Mediolanensi scriptae in membranis cum suis variis commentariis marginalibus atque variantibus lectionibus interlinearibus* [S 60]. This title is inaccurate in that only the argumentum at the beginning of the recently identified manuscript and a few marginal corrections are in Biglia's own hand¹⁷³.

Personal Manuscripts

One can readily observe from the Biglia manuscripts that he was careful to have his books well written and tastefully decorated with gracious capitals and, in some instances, with charming miniatures; and he was wont to add to his books, which are, with the exception of the Terence and the Plato, the approved copies of his own works, various elements in his own firm, clear, distinctive script. Among all these

¹⁷⁰ Giacomo Filippo FORESTI DA BERGAMO, *Supplementum supplementi de le chroniche vulgari, novamente dal venerando padre frate Jacobo Philippo del ordine heremitano primo auctore aggentovi & emendato. Et per Francesco E. Fiorentino vulgarizato & historiato* [Venice: G. di Rusconi, 1520], p. 286: "Et dicono che questo fù di tanta tenacità de memoria: che ogni cosa che due uolte o tre hauesse lecto: subitamente alla memoria lo commenaua"; Domenico A. GANDOLFO, *Dissertatio historica de ducentis celeberrimis Augustinianis scriptoribus* (Rome: Typis Ioannis Francisci Buagni, 1704), p. 60: "Ferunt hunc tantae tenacitatis extitisse, ut quicquid bis legisset, statim memoriae commendaret". The writer interprets this phenomenal tenacity of memory to mean total recall.

¹⁷¹ FIRENZE, Bibl. Riccardiana 827 fol. 36v: Writing to Fra Angelo, Pier Candido Decembrio says in regard to this volume: "Cum in novo exemplari olim fratris Andreae Bilii graece scriptum offenderim ...". See SABBADINI, *Biglia* p. 1102, and ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 179.

¹⁷² ARGELATI, *Bibliotheca* I,2,161: "XXIV. Terentii Comediae a F.B. Andrea Mediolanensi scriptae in pergamento peregrine cum suis variis Commentariis marginalibus, atque variantibus lectionibus interlinearibus".

¹⁷³ LONDON, British Library (formerly, Museum) Add. 10081. That I need not refer to Biglia's *Terence* [S 60] as a lost production, but can direct the reader to a manuscript in the British Library is due to the fact that Miss Albinia C. de la Mare, visiting the Catholic University of America in the summer of 1974, mentioned her preliminary study of the manuscript to Professor Peebles, who recalled Argelati's relatively detailed account of the *Terence*. This description was subsequently found to agree with the description contained in Miss de la Mare's notes. See also ML 60 in SCHNAUBELT, *Prolegomena*, 183.

examples, perhaps the most beautiful specimen of Andrea's book hand is to be found in the aforementioned six hexameters and prose dedication to the Blessed Mother placed at the beginning of his translation of the *De anima*¹⁷⁴.

Where Biglia acquired his knowledge of Hebrew is entirely a matter of conjecture¹⁷⁵. But it would obviously have served him in good stead in his scriptural studies, as in the composition of his commentary on part of Genesis, the *Hexaemeron, seu de mundo sex diebus condito* [S 47¹], and in writing and compiling his huge collections of sermons which, as former bibliographers have noted, are, in some respects, expositions of Scripture.

It may well have been said that the sermon collections, the *Sermonum diversarum materiarum libri 3* [S 38] and the *Dominicale et festivum [sermones], libri 2* [S 39], were the repositories of Biglia's earlier sermons. Unfortunately, they are both missing. There is extant, however, a sermon by Biglia on St. Dominic, the *Sermo de s. Dominico a fratre Augustiniano Mediolanensi* [S 27^b], which has a prefatory letter of small account [S 27^a] that dedicates the sermon to a certain abbot because he paid strict attention while it was being delivered. A *Sermo de corpore Christi* [S 27²] and a *Sermo in cena domini* [S 27³] are also extant¹⁷⁶. From Marraccio and Novarini, two seventeenth-century bibliographers¹⁷⁷, we learn the title of a collection of sermons by Biglia on the Blessed Mother, the *Sermones festivi de beata virgine* [S 45], and the titles of what appear to be two treatises by Biglia on Mary, the *Super "Missus est angelus" et canticum "Magnificat" expositio* [S 44] and the *De excellenti dignitate virginis Mariae opusculum* [S 46]. All three of these works are

¹⁷⁴ For a treatment of the autograph elements in the Biglia manuscripts see Table VI, forthcoming in *Augustiniana* 44 (1994). See also Table II, ib., and notes 162-64 above.

¹⁷⁵ SABBADINI, *Biglia* p. 1102. da Cora, whose entry on Biglia has been translated into English by the writer and quoted at length (on p. 1), states that Biglia translated many things from Greek and Hebrew into Latin. Biglia's translations from the Greek, particularly the works of Aristotle (see ML, items S 53, S 54, S 55 and S 56) are well known; but thus far not a single instance of translation by Biglia directly from Hebrew into Latin has come to writer's attention. Some citation in Hebrew or some bit of translation into Latin from that language may yet be found in the two extant collections of Biglia's sermons, see ML, S 40¹ and S 41¹.

¹⁷⁶ *Sermo de s. Dominico a fratre Augustiniano Mediolanensi*: ROMA, Bibl. Angelica 1139 (S 4 8) fols. 129v-135r. *Sermo de corpore Christi*: SALAMANCA, Bibl. Universitaria 64 fols. 69v-72v; *Sermo in cena domini*: fols. 74 bis v-76.

¹⁷⁷ Ippolito MARRACCIO, *Bibliotheca Mariana* (Rome: Typis C. Caballi, 1648, 2 vols), I, 80; Luigi NOVARINI, *Virginea Umbra (Electa sacra, 4)* (Lyons: Laurentii Durand, 1647, 4th ed.), pp. 29-30.

likewise missing except for four brief citations preserved in Novarini's *Virginea Umbra*¹⁷⁸, which Novarini says were excerpted from chapter three of Biglia's manuscript book, the *De laudibus virginis*¹⁷⁹. Whether this title is to be identified with the *De excellenti dignitate virginis Mariae opusculum* [S 46] is again moot. The citations in Novarini, moreover, furnish the merest inkling of Andrea's Mariology, which would seem to be traditional and orthodox; but the six hexameters and prose dedication found at the beginning of the Bodleian codex¹⁸⁰ of the translation of the *De anima* are eloquent of a tender personal devotion to Mary.

The year 1431 was especially notable for the demise of the stalwart Martin V at Rome on February 20¹⁸¹. He died still struggling, among other things, with the conciliar movement, which sought to master the pope. Martin left it to his successor, Eugene IV, a nephew of Gregory XII, to deal with the Council of Basle, which, after much delay, had been summoned as the Council of Constance had provided¹⁸².

Humanist Connections

The unwinding of the mesh of circumstance along the path of life often leads to frustration, sometimes to fulfillment, but seldom to glory. Tommaso Parentucelli, Andrea's friend and associate at Bologna, would as the future Pope Nicholas V be a great promoter of humanism¹⁸³. During the last months of 1431 and the first months of 1432, however, Biglia had as his student at Siena the young Enea Silvio Piccolomini, who later as Pope Pius II would be one of the most brilliant figures of the Renaissance¹⁸⁴. Harking back in his opusculum, *De viris aetate sua claris*, to his experience as a student at the University of Siena, Piccolomini reflected that Andrea of Milan, of the Order of Augustinians, whose lectures he had attended, even then had a reputation as a writer of history¹⁸⁵. It may well have been that Biglia had already circulated the

¹⁷⁸ For the text of these excerpts, see ML 46 in SCHNAUBELT, *Prolegomena*.

¹⁷⁹ NOVARINI, *Virginea Umbra*, p. 29.

¹⁸⁰ See note 162 above.

¹⁸¹ EUBEL, *Hierarchia catholica*, I, 33.

¹⁸² FLICHE-MARTIN, *Histoire de l'Église*, XIV, 229-36.

¹⁸³ ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 162.

¹⁸⁴ *Ib.*, p. 163.

¹⁸⁵ *Ib.*, note 43: *Pii II olim Aeneae Sylvii Piccolominei Senensis orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*, ed. J. D. MANSI (Lucca, 1759), III, 171: "Hoc tempore etiam Andreas Mediolanensis ex ordine Augustinensium, quem Senis audiui, historiarum scriptor floruit". SABBADINI, *Biglia*, p. 1095, places the time in which Enea Piccolomini was Biglia's student in the last months of 1431 and the first months of 1432.

early books of his Milanese chronicle [S 1¹].

On June 13, 1431, Agostino Favaroni da Roma, Prior General of the Augustinian Order, had been made titular archbishop of Nazareth¹⁸⁶. To fill the vacancy thus created until the celebration of the next general chapter, which was to take place on Pentecost of 1434, Pope Eugene appointed Gerardo da Rimini on the same day to the office of *Rector Ordinis*. Gerardo in this new capacity obviously could not fulfill the office of *magister regens* in Bologna for the academic year 1433-1434, to which he had been appointed in 1430 by the General Chapter of Montpellier¹⁸⁷. Accordingly, on March 22, 1432, he appointed Biglia to serve as *regens* at Bologna in his stead¹⁸⁸. Andrea, however, never assumed this office, at least not in Bologna¹⁸⁹.

Working under Andrea's close personal supervision, his personal scribe finally finished the approved copy of Andrea's huge work on the gospels of Lent, the *Annotationes in evangelia quadragesimae* [S 40¹]. In addition to the rubrics before each sermon, Andra appended in his own hand¹⁹⁰ a colophon to the work which bespeaks a sigh of relief and satisfaction over a long, hard task brought to a felicitous conclusion:

"Here ends the book of annotations on the gospels of Lent of Fra Andrea Biglia of Milan, of the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine. Thanks be ever to God. Amen. Begun at Bologna, advanced at Perugia, completed at Siena — for many other things intervened until the year 1431 — on the feast day of Augustine [August 28], as I had desired. Offer praises and prayers to God. Amen. Fra Andrea of Milan, by surname, of the Biglias. The book is ended"¹⁹¹.

¹⁸⁶ EUBEL, *Hierarchia catholica*, II, 200.

¹⁸⁷ ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 171, note 66. For the text of the papal bull, see *Analecta Augustiniana* 6 (1915-16), 318-20.

¹⁸⁸ Rome, Archivum generale O.S.A., Dd 5, fol. 5v: "Ferrarie, mart. 22, 1432. — Fecimus magistrum Andream de Mediolano magistrum regentem Bononie pro 4^o anno a capitulo generali immediate preterito [*chapter of Montpellier, 1430*] scilicet pro anno nobis [*Gerardo da Rimini*] assignato, et quandocumque vellet manere Bononie in conventu posset sicut magister senior cum scriptore et communi vita fratrum et precipiendo priori et fratribus sub pena inobedientie quod eum recipiant et sibi provideant, sicut dictum et consuetum est". From ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 171, note 66.

¹⁸⁹ *Ib.*

¹⁹⁰ For the writer's handling of the problem of Biglia's autograph, see Table VI, forthcoming in *Augustiniana* 44 (1994).

¹⁹¹ MILANO, Bibl. Ambrosiana, ES VII 2 (Sussidio G 156), fol. 375: "Hic finis libri annotationum in evangelia quadragésime F. B. Andree Mediolanensis ordinis heremitarum sancti Augustini. Deo semper gratias. Amen. Cepta Bononie, producta Perusii, completa Senis, nam multa alia intervenire ad annum millesimum quadringentesimum ac trigesimum primum. In die festo Augustini [*August 28*] quod obtaveram [*sic*]. Date laudes ac preces deo. Amen. Frater Andreas Mediolanensis

Yet such was the incredible energy, such was the indefatigable industry of the man that Biglia was soon launched on another project of equal magnitude: "[he would do] the same in expounding the gospels that are read through the year as he [had] done on the gospels of Lent"¹⁹². The result was another huge volume, the [*Annotationes in evangeliiis quae per annum leguntur*] [S 41¹], or, most probably, the *Expositiones in quattuor evangeliiis, libri 4* [S 41³]¹⁹³. Both these works on the gospels are available in manuscript¹⁹⁴.

Andrea's contract with the University of Siena was shortly due to expire. It was natural, then, for his friends in Lombardy who had tried so hard in 1428 to win him over for the University of Pavia to try again in the summer of 1431, by tempting him with a very prestigious position there. Antonio Panormita, his close friend of student days at Bologna, made himself the spokesman for the rest, and from Stradella, where he had taken refuge from the plague, wrote to Biglia with the offer¹⁹⁵. They could easily get Andrea a chair, a lectureship at Pavia, he said; and something more: Andrea thought that he, Panormita, had perhaps forgotten him, but no, he had had him made chancellor of the university. So Biglia should get himself up to see Panormita at Stradella¹⁹⁶. It was at Siena, however, that Biglia had found the peace he had sought in vain elsewhere, the peace that was so dear to his heart and which abided in such a convent of select scholars as Sant'Agostino. Andrea knew how to resist enticement,

cognomine Billiadarum. Explicit". I have found no other example of Biglia's use of the patronymic form, *Billiadae*. [translation mine]

¹⁹² MILANO, Bibl. Ambrosiana, ES VII 3 (Sussidio G 157), fol. 1r: "Idem in evangeliiis que per annum leguntur faciam quod in exponendis quadragesime effeci". [translation mine]

¹⁹³ The writer is of the opinion that the title devised by him for this untitled work, that is, [*Annotationes in evangeliiis quae per annum leguntur*], and the title found in Pamfilo's list, that is, *Expositiones in quattuor evangeliiis, libri 4*, most probably represent one and the same work by Biglia. For the argument see 'h' under ML 43³ in SCHNAUBELT, *Prolegomena*.

¹⁹⁴ The *Annotationes in evangelia quadragesimae* is found in three manuscripts: MILANO, Bibl. Ambrosiana ES VII 2 (Sussidio G 156), OXFORD, Balliol Library 142, and ROMA, Bibl. Angelica 1109 (S 3 4), while the [*Annotationes in evangeliiis quae per annum leguntur*] is found in only one: MILANO, Bibl. Ambrosiana ES VII 3 (Sussidio G 157).

¹⁹⁵ MARLETTA, *Note* pp. 523-24.

¹⁹⁶ ANTONIO PANORMITA, *Epistole Galliche*, III,34: "Antonius Panormita Andreae theologo s. p. d. ... Veni, fortuna tibi parta est honorificentissima et satis utilis, etiam praeter lecturam quam tibi facile impetrabimus. Et tu putabas me fortassis oblitum tui: at ego feci ut creareret Studii cancellarius ... Te confer ad Stratellae oppidum, ubi pestilentiam fugiens ago in praesentiarum" [*sic*]. From SABBADINI, *Biglia* p. 1095.

and remained at Siena¹⁹⁷.

Relations with the Holy Roman Emperor

Sigismund, King of the Romans, had failed to overawe the Council of Constance; he had been unable to quell the rebellion in Bohemia; he had lost control over his German nobles; his armies had been defeated by invaders from Turkey; and there had been other misadventures. Consequently, he needed to enhance his badly eroded prestige and influence at the Council of Basle. Therefore, he judged it expedient for him to journey to Rome, there to be crowned Holy Roman Emperor by Pope Eugene¹⁹⁸. This journey brought Sigismund to Siena on July 11, 1432, and there he remained until the end of the year¹⁹⁹. Sigismund had had particularly cordial relations with the Augustinians in Constance, who had provided the Roman King with a residence in their monastery of Sankt Augustinus from sometime in 1417 until Sigismund's departure from Constance in the summer of 1418²⁰⁰. And so it was only fitting that Sigismund in 1432 should come together with the Augustinians in Siena for the celebration of the year's principal Augustinian event, the feast of St. Augustine on August 28.

On this as on other important and auspicious occasions the eloquent Fra Andrea Biglia was asked to deliver the address. The result was the second of Biglia's two extant panegyrics of St. Augustine, the [*Laudatio sancti Augustini coram Sigismundo rege*] [S 24]²⁰¹. As one reads the grandiloquent phrases of this oration, the feeling rises that Biglia can hardly restrain himself: in the rush of rhetoric and in awe of the aged emperor in the midst of his courtiers before him, Biglia, the court preacher, seems nearly on the verge of daring a parallel with the court of heaven itself — almost, but not quite. Even Augustine, whose feast it was, is asked to yield to Sigismund and take second place. The life and deeds of Sigismund, who had more than a little human weakness, who on occasion had been mean and even treacherous, whose over-all achievement can

¹⁹⁷ MARLETTA, *Note* p. 524.

¹⁹⁸ Boleslaw B. SZCZESNIAK, *Sigismund, Holy Roman Emperor*, *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, XIII, 208; ORIGO, *The World*, p. 144.

¹⁹⁹ Ludovico A. MURATORI, *Annali d'Italia* (Rome: A. Curti, 1787), IX, 1, *ad annum* 1432.

²⁰⁰ Adolar ZUMKELLER, *Die Augustinereremiten in der Auseinandersetzung mit Wyclif und Hus, ihre Beteiligung an den Konzilien von Konstanz und Basel in Analecta Augustiniana* 28 (1965), 20-21.

²⁰¹ MILANO, Bibl. Ambrosiana N 280 sup. fols. 29r-30v; no title in the MS.

at best be termed mediocre — the life and deeds of this man are eulogized almost beyond recognition. But what in another would have been servile flattery, or at least outlandish hyberbole, has in Biglia's mouth the ring of sincerity. For Andrea the symbol loomed larger and more important than the reality. This man before him, of advanced years and, consequently, venerable appearance, was for Biglia the elect of heaven, the annointed of God, the successor of Charlemagne, the secular head of the city of God on earth. It would seem that Andrea was overwhelmed by his vision, and the Guelfic sympathies he had inherited from family and friends in Guelfic Milan and professed by word and deed all his life fell into abeyance in Ghibelline Siena.

Sigismund evidently was pleased with the speech. He paid the learned friar the compliment of sending two letters written in Greek for him to translate, then granted him an audience. In the [*Epistola praefatoria commentariorum historicorum de origine Turcharum ad Johannem cardinalem Rupescissam* [S 12^a]²⁰², the letter to Jean Cardinal Rochetaillée, archbishop of Rouen, written as a preface to the historical commentary on the origin of the Turks he was shortly to write, Biglia has left us a description of this audience that is redolent with reverential deference:

"To the most honored and faithful father in Christ, Jean Rochetaillée, cardinal of the holy Roman Church and archbishop of Rouen.

I have become quite joyful these days, to tell the truth, since I saw the two letters which Sigismund ordered brought to me for translation because they had been written in Greek. He had received them from Asian parts and from those glorious kings whose names I had hardly believed could reach our ears. Moreover, the inscription on them of the most venerable name of Jesus and of the sign of the Holy Cross, the addition also of the official emblems of the regions as the first fruits of the foreigners' esteem, and lastly, the disposition of their troops as auxiliaries to the king, as often as it should be necessary, against the infidels — these things caused me truly great joy, for it had not even entered my mind that the faith which we ourselves have lost in places less remote was being preserved among [these] foreigners. And particular mention was made in the same letters that the Commander, for that is what they call the head of the Tartars today, had received a great many cities and towns under his suzerainty — in this direction from the Turks, in the opposite direction, from the Persians, with whom the Medes are generally associated.

But when I marveled and, in fact, rejoiced over these things in the presence of Sigismund, he replied he had it for certain that the Christian nations were far more numerous and greater than the infidels or pagans. And he immediately produced a little book that seemed to contain some particulars about these foreign affairs, which he said had been brought to him from the

²⁰² In Appendix III, I have constructed the text of this letter from two manuscripts. [translation mine]

archives of those cities, and he urged me, if I had any leisure, to make these things better known to our people by a different kind of writing he had in mind. And so, inspired by the special exhortation of so great a king, I myself have undertaken the business as one who has in the opinion of the holy doctor as great an obligation to foreigners in the ministry of religion as to our own. Indeed, I am not so much minded to produce any great work as eager to hazard the labor, if this little work might in some way perhaps find a place among our writings.

To you certainly, excellent father, and to your college, we solemnly pledge and vow a beginning and whatever will come of it. And you will demand no more than we deem complete and worthy of memory or notice, except for this one proviso above all: no one should be so rash as to believe I have excited your eminence's interest by so feeble a lucubration. And yet I know you expend on such things no less of your courteous kindness than of your prudent judgment. Now, therefore, as if you too had commanded it, we begin the task with pleasure and confidence.

Biglia did in fact finish this book, the *Commentarii historici de detrimento fidei orientis, sive de origine Turcharum, ad Johannem cardinalem et episcopum Rhotomagensem* [S 12^b], along with other writings, in the little more than three years of life that remained for him. It is available in two manuscripts²⁰³.

Behind Sigismund's special exhortation of Biglia to write a book which would make these things better known to the Christian peoples one detects the concern of a man whose singular preoccupation it had been for many long years to keep the Moslem Turks in check. Most of the other problems of Sigismund's reign would yield to his perseverance or sheer longevity. After almost a decade of struggle with the heretic Hussites in Bohemia, Sigismund's approval in 1436 of the *Compactata* of Prague (1433) would pave the way for peace in Bohemia and the consequent formal recognition of Sigismund as their king by the estates of Bohemia. Almost seventy years old, he was to die unchallenged King of Hungary, King of Bohemia, and Holy Roman Emperor. In dealing with the infidel invaders from the south, however, Sigismund had been largely unsuccessful. In 1396, when Sigismund was a young man of twenty-eight and Andrea was only about three years old, Pope Boniface IX had called for a crusade against the Turks who were overrunning Serbia and Bulgaria. And that same year Sigismund had advanced down the Danube valley at the head of a great army of the chivalry of Europe. But shortly afterward, because of the pride and folly of the French cavalry, the Turks had inflicted a crushing defeat on the crusaders at Nicopolis. Sigismund had

²⁰³ ROMA, Bibl. Angelica 1136 (S 4 5); CITTÀ DEL VATICANO, Bibl. Apost. Vaticana 5298 fols. 83r-118v.

had to escape then by way of Constantinople, and made his way back to Hungary only the next year. Eighteen years later, that is, in 1414, when Sigismund was forty-six and Andrea was approximately twenty-one, it had been Sigismund's purpose in promoting the Council of Constance not only to heal the great schism of the papacy but also to establish peace in Christendom, so that a new crusade could be launched against the Turks. After 1422, for the most part, Sigismund's duties to the empire had to be neglected, because he was obliged to remain in Hungary to counter the pressures being exerted there by the Moslems. In 1426-1427 the Danubian province was invaded by the Ottomans. The next year Sigismund was again defeated in a campaign against the Turks. So in 1432, when the King of the Romans at the then venerable age of sixty-four strongly urged the erudite friar of about thirty-nine years to write the different kind of book he had in mind, Sigismund once again was trying through Andrea to communicate to Christians the warning and the plea that had so long gone unheeded: it was imperative for Christendom to unite to check the Turk, or disaster threatened. It took a disaster, however, to awaken Europe to its peril. In 1453, when Andrea had been dead some eighteen years and Sigismund some sixteen, Constantinople, the eastern bastion of Christendom, fell to the infidel²⁰⁴.

In lieu of the appointment as *magister regens* in Bologna, from which it would seem Andrea begged off, Gerardo da Rimini, the *Rector Ordinis*, on October 1, 1432, appointed Biglia to serve as *magister regens* in Siena until the next general chapter, to be held in Mantua in 1434²⁰⁵. There is no reason to believe Andrea did not accept and fulfill this office. We know, however, that he continued his lectures in Siena, because his name appears on a list of the professors of the university dated November 12, 1432²⁰⁶.

²⁰⁴ MAIN, *The Emperor Sigismund*, passim; G. J. SHAW-LEFEVRE EVERSLEY, *The Turkish Empire from 1288 to 1914* (London: T. F. Unwin, [1917]), pp. 31-72; Edward S. CREASY, *History of the Ottoman Turks* (Beirut: Khayats, 1961), p. 22-74; James BRYCE, *The Holy Roman Empire* (New York: Schocken, 1961), pp. 324-26.

²⁰⁵ Rome, Arch. gen. O.S.A., Dd 5, fol. 267r: "Cesene, oct. 1, 1432. — Fecimus regentem in conventu Senarum usque ad generale capitulum prox. futurum magistrum Andream de Mediolano". From ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 171, note 66.

²⁰⁶ MARLETTA, *Note* p. 524: "Al 1433 si riferisce la nota dei lettori dello studio riportata dalla Zdekauer" (*Lo Studio di Siena nel Rinascimento* [Milano 1894], p. 164) con la data 12 Novembre 1432, data che vale solo per la prima adunanza dei Savi dello Studio".

Reconciliation with Bernardino da Siena

Bernardino da Siena was obliged as late at 1431 to defend himself against charges still being brought against him. Then on January 5, 1432, Pope Eugene IV issued the Bull *Sedis apostolicae* which completely exculpated Bernardino and silenced his enemies²⁰⁷. Thereafter, the Franciscan missionary retired to the monastery of La Capriola near Siena, where he turned to setting down his sermons²⁰⁸. It would seem there were two young Franciscans, Fra Leonardo and Fra Barnabeo, living at La Capriola and studying at the nearby university. There they were attending the lectures of the celebrated master, Fra Andrea Biglia, the Augustinian. Through his friendship with these young men, Andrea attempted to effect a reconciliation with Fra Bernardino, for whom he had always professed a deep personal respect and admiration²⁰⁹. Barnabeo evidently agreed to make a special effort to bring the two men together, and to that purpose he carried a letter from Andrea to Bernardino at La Capriola [S 36]:

"To his most honored father in Christ, Fra Bernardino, Fra Andrea bids good health.

Your charity often brings your name to my mind, and I desire nothing more than to be with you, to talk and confer with you, for I believe you intend and pursue all things with a certain singular goodness: under the proviso that you please Christ, even if you do not receive the complete approval of men, since this is a rule in accordance with the thought of the Apostle: *the man who wants to be the servant of Christ must beware of man's tribunal* [Gal 1.10 and 1 Cor 4.3].

Indeed, your sons in Christ, Leonardo and Barnabeo, especially commend your charity to me; and it is really a most beautiful and pleasing thing to listen to them, to hear how they praise your goodness and extol your dignity. And although I love you with an affection not unlike theirs, yet when I listen to them, it is as if they are talking about a parent or the altogether best man in the spirit. My conversation with them is often about your sincerity, your word, and especially about your preaching, which they represent to me in no other wise than the service of a most holy man.

I for my part receive it with all the human understanding I can: thus do I love common virtue, thus am I striving after the charity of all men, especially those who have been dedicated to Christ, who, to me, seem adorned with the spiritual gifts. Today Italy receives you as such, your virtue shows you as such, and I thereupon congratulate you as such. I would neither want you to think I hold any other opinion of you nor to believe any other person, in this regard, more than me, who have thus proposed to cultivate charity, wherever it be, and to preserve peace with others as far as, nay, rather farther than can be done.

²⁰⁷ ORIGO, *The World*, pp. 127-28.

²⁰⁸ *Ib.*, pp. 34 and 214.

²⁰⁹ *Ib.*, p. 213.

For what can we intend that is more amiable, what can we practice toward on another that is more agreeable? This, in my judgment, is what religious profess, and it ought to be the pattern of our daily lives together too. Above all, I would have you accept this brief letter as evidence of this; these common sons of ours, whom I spoke of before, will prove it to you; finally, they will make their report: each of them will tell you that everyone was talking with me about your holiness. You yourself also, if you wish to put it to the test in person, if you would perhaps deign to speak to me face to face, will understand nothing has greater weight with me, nothing is more outstanding in my mind than my opinion of and faith in you.

Given at Siena at the convent of Sant'Agostino. [September 22, 1433]²¹⁰.

Barnabeo wrote to Andrea from La Capriola the next day to describe Bernardino's reaction to the letter and to ask for Andrea's further evaluation of the situation:

"Barnabeo of Siena bids good health to his reverend master in Christ, Andrea the theologian.

After I left you yesterday, as speedily as possible I joined Fra Bernardino, a most observant man, at the monastery of La Capriola. He had been badly afflicted the previous night with a distressful fluidity in his bowels and a burning in his head. Straightway, when I saw him in this wretched condition, so that the illness would not wear him out, I greeted him with a cheerful countenance and kind words. He immediately sat up to receive me, and I gave him your letter. And having read it, he was neither pleased nor resentful in your regard. So you can readily perceive from this how much love, or hatred, he has conceived for you. I for my part really put my whole soul into persuading him that your heart has by no means been closed to him. And he rather wanted to agree with you in all things according to your own best judgment. For which reason I affirmed that you were, as much as humanly possible, both a defender of his honor and a patron of his cause. I would have you inform me by letter what your mind is in regard to these things, because to me it seemed to deviate not a whit from your judgment of it, nor should I have.

From home the ninth day before the Kalends of October. [September 23, 1433]²¹¹.

We can hope these two religious at odds did, by grace, come to mutual trust and understanding, if not friendship, in the brief span left for them together on earth. Andrea's time was short. Bernardino, who had been born about thirteen years before Biglia, would outlive him by some nine years²¹².

At the next general chapter, which was indeed held at Mantua the

²¹⁰ For the Latin text of this and the following letter see Appendix IV. [translation mine]. For the chronology of these letters, see SEGARIZZI, *Per la bibliografia*, p. 6, n. 2.

²¹¹ See the preceding note.

²¹² Bernardino was born September 8, 1380 and died on May 20, 1444. See ORIGO, *The World*, pp. 1-2, 238.

next year, that is, in 1434, Gerardo da Rimini, the *Rector Ordinis* appointed in 1431 by Pope Eugene IV, was elected prior General of the Order of Hermits²¹³.

The Milanese History

In 1434 Biglia composed the ninth and last book of his magnum opus, his chef-d'oeuvre, the *Mediolanensium rerum historia* [S 1']²¹⁴. The work deals with events in Italy from the death of Gian Galeazzo on September 3, 1402, to the battle on the Po, which took place on May 23, 1431²¹⁵, four years and some four months before Andrea's own death. He knew he had further current happenings to comment on. But he decided of his own accord to give himself a respite from this work, so that he could devote himself to other things²¹⁶. However, before he could return to his chronicle, death intervened²¹⁷.

That the work had an immediate vogue is witnessed by the large number of fifteenth-century manuscripts of the history still in existence²¹⁸. And its perennial interest for historians of the period is already evidenced by its two editions in the early eighteenth century²¹⁹.

Livy was the model from which Biglia adopted the diction and style and some of the devices of classical historiography. One such device is the use of fictitious speeches put in the mouths of leading characters, such as generals about to lead armies into battle, to set the state and mood for the ensuing action and, when possible, to present opposing viewpoints²²⁰.

²¹³ ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 171, note 66.

²¹⁴ Girolamo MANCINI, *Vita di Lorenzo Valla* (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1891), p. 85. From MARLETTA, *Note* p. 524, note 4.

²¹⁵ SABBADINI, *Biglia* p. 1089.

²¹⁶ BIGLIA, *Historia* 9 (col. 156C ARGELATI-MURATORI): "Quisnam futurus sit exitus, Deus adhuc in incerto tenet. Itaque & nos ultro aliis dediti, paulum interim ex hoc labore silebimus".

²¹⁷ *Ib.* 9 (cols. 157-58 ad finem ARGELATI-MURATORI): "Siluit postea ab opere, quia mortuus, Deo optimo laus & gloria". The edition gives the manuscript which formerly belonged to Apostolo Zeno, that is, VENEZIA, Bibl. Naz. Marciana 162 (3536) (Cl. XXII 306), as the source of the foregoing. In his description of the Madrid manuscript of the Milanese history, NOVATI, *Codice*, p. 219, says that alongside the words given in note 216 above an unknown reader who had scattered notes throughout the manuscript added the following: "Siluit postea perpetuo, quia vita functus 1430 [?] Senis obiit".

²¹⁸ See ML 1' in SCHNAUBELT, *Prolegomena*.

²¹⁹ *Ib.*

²²⁰ ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 180.

The work demonstrates that its author was an Italian patriot of Lombardy, contemporary to the events he was describing, who hoped for the realization of his political ideal, a strong, independent, and politically stable Italian nation, through the expansionist policies of the Visconti lords of Milan. As we have seen, this vindication and glorification of the Visconti and their policies was also the main thrust of Biglia's three extant eulogies of Gian Galeazzo [S 13, S 14, S 14²]. Thus through Biglia, the propaganda put into circulation by the Visconti perdured to influence modern historians in their interpretation of the role played by Gian Galeazzo in the politics of the Renaissance²²¹.

At the end of some of the manuscripts of the *Mediolanensium rerum historia* [S 1¹], one finds an epigram, consisting of four hexameters, which epitomizes the content of the work²²²:

"Quicquid in Italia gestum est post funera magni
Anguigeri Galeaz, repeti per tempora dignum,
Donec aquas rediere suas, ex arce Cremonae
Propulsi Veneti, manet hoc in codice scriptum".

"Whatever worthy of repetition throughout time
took place in Italy
after the burial of viper-bearing²²³ Galeaz
until the Venetians
driven from the citadel of Cremona
returned to their own waters —
this endures written in this book".

While the writer has not yet found an autograph of these verses, or other evidence, it would seem likely that they are Biglia's own composition and would, therefore, constitute the second of two extant specimens of

²²¹ *Ib.*, pp. 180-81.

²²² NOVATI, *Codice*, p. 220, observes that these verses written at the very end of folio 82r of the Madrid codex are in another hand. The epigram is to be found on pp. 121-22 of the vander Aa-Graevius edition and on pp. 157-58 of the Argelati-Muratori edition, on fol. 82r of cod. 1066 of the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, on fol. 115v of cod. AD XII 12 of the Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense of Milan and, in two copies of the preceeding *codex Braidense*, on fol. 141v of cod. 162 (3536) (Cl. XXII 306) of the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice, and on fol. 137r of cod. 5891 of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna. According to NOVATI, *Codice*, p. 220, note 2, the epigram was also to be found in the codex which MURATORI, *Praefatio*, p. 637, had borrowed for collation in his edition and which he referred to as *il Valisone*, specifically, cod. 1381 of the Biblioteca Tribulziana in Milan. However, this codex is now missing and has been presumed destroyed in the Second World War. See ML 1 in SCHNAUBELT, *Prolegomena*. [Translation mine]

²²³ For a description of the Visconti coat of arms with an account of its evolution, see MUIR, *History of Milan*, pp. 6-7.

Andrea's poetry, the first being the dedicatory verses of Biglia's translation of the *De anima* [S 57]²²⁴.

In solemn assembly on the fifth of November, 1434, and in the presence of the bishop, chancellor of the university, the theological faculty of Siena approved new statutes, among which is to be found a review of the doctors then incorporated in the college. There, in tenth place, one reads: "Master Andrea da Milano, of the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine"²²⁵. From a notation in the deliberations of the consistory of the university dated February 11, 1435, we know that Biglia was also lecturing on ethics on feast days. Associated with Andrea that year in the lectureship of philosophy at Siena was Master Battista da Fabriano and, in the second half of the term, Master Piero dei Rossi²²⁶.

Final Days

However it was transported from the east, bubonic plague, known in this instance as the Black Death, had arrived in Sicily some seventy-five years earlier, that is, in the first days of October, 1347, about three months before it reached peninsular Italy²²⁷. From there it spread throughout Europe until the pandemic stage of the infection was spent some five years later in 1352²²⁸. To say that one European in three died in this epidemic is not far from the truth²²⁹. According to the best statistics available, about five thousand Augustinian friars succumbed to the Black Death between 1347 and 1352²³⁰.

The disease then became sporadic, that is to say, the bacillus responsible for the epidemic, or general infection, became confined by constitutional and acquired immunity to a host, such as the flea which

²²⁴ NOVATI, *Codice*, p. 220, note 2, also inclines to Biglia's composition of the epigram at the end of the *Historia*. See note 162 above.

²²⁵ SIENA, Biblioteca Comunale, cod. A XI 9, fol. 8v: "M. Andreas de Mediolano, ord. heremit. S. Augustini". From MARLETTA, *Note*, p. 524 and note 5. [translation mine]

²²⁶ SIENA, Archivio di Stato, *Delib. del Concistoro* 414.26r: "Die xj februarii [1434 st. flor. = 1435]. Magnifici domini ... decreverunt quod Magister Andreas de Mediolano ordinis heremitarum S. Augustini habere debeat pro conducta facta de eo ad legendum philosophiam moralem diebus festivis florenos 30"; ib. 412.28v, 413.27r, 415.10r. From MARLETTA, *Note*, p. 524 and note 6; p. 525, notes 1 and 2.

²²⁷ Philip ZIEGLER, *The Black Death* (New York: Harper Torchbook, 1971), p. 40.

²²⁸ David GUTIÉRREZ, *Los estudios en la Orden Augustiniana desde la edad media hasta la contemporanea*, in *Analecta Augustiniana* 33 (1970), 98.

²²⁹ ZIEGLER, *Black Death*, p. 231.

²³⁰ GUTIÉRREZ, *Los estudios*, p. 98; A. DE ROMANIS, *L'Ordine agostiniano* (Florence: Tipografia fiorenza, 1935), 73.

infests rats²³¹. Thereafter, the disease broke out in a fresh epidemic whenever the population became susceptible, as, for example, by reason of recent birth or malnutrition²³². Such an outbreak was evidenced in 1431 by Panormita's flight from Pavia to Stradella in the summer of that year²³³. And the disease was raging again in Siena in 1435.

On August 28 of that year, the officials at the University of Siena renewed Andrea's contract with them for two more years²³⁴, and, on September 24, Gerardo da Rimini, formerly the *Rector Ordinis*, now Prior General, appointed Biglia vicar for the province of Siena²³⁵.

Providence, however, disposed otherwise. Three days later, that is, September 27, 1435, Fra Andra Biglia, man of penetrating intelligence, compelling eloquence, captivating charm, indefatigable industry, professor of philosophy and theology, popular and court preacher, historian, friend and associate of Renaissance luminaries, author of some sixty-three or more literary compositions, nobleman and gentleman, Augustinian religious and priest of Jesus Christ, had his brilliant career cut short at the height of his powers: he was carried off by the dreaded plague. He died a young man, early in his fifth decade²³⁶.

His obituary recorded in a Sienese chronicle is terse: "On the twenty-seventh day of the said [September 1435] died Andrea, master in sacred theology, of Milan. He died of pestilence, in Sant'Agostino"²³⁷. His

²³¹ ZIEGLER, *Black Death*, pp. 24-27.

²³² *Ib.*, pp. 25 and 35.

²³³ See above notes 182 and 183.

²³⁴ SIENA, Archivio di Stato, *Delib. del Consistoro* 417.30v: "Dicti M. domini cum Vix. magistris et Reformatibus Studii ... conduxerunt Magistrum Andream de Mediolano pro duobus annis proximis futuris ... cum eodem salario quo ad presens servit et ad illam lecturam deputandam per dictos Reformatores Studii". From MARLETTA, *Note*, p. 525.

²³⁵ ROMA, Archivum generale O.S.A., Dd 5, fol. 267r: "Arimini, sept. 24, 1435. — Misimus litteram ad conventum Senarum et fecimus magistrum Andream de Mediolano vicarium illius provincie cum auctoritatibus consuetis". From ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 171.

²³⁶ The bibliographers are in general agreement concerning the year of Andrea Biglia's death, that is, 1435; and this is precisely confirmed by documentary evidence. See above notes 223 and 224. Until the studies by Novati and Morisi, however (see notes 5 and 8 above), which fixed the date of Biglia's birth as, first, c. 1395, then c. 1394, there had been some dispute as to whether Biglia died in youth or in old age. See, for example, Vincenzo BINI, *Memorie istoriche della Perugina università degli studi e dei suoi professori* (Perugia: F. Calindri, V. Santucci e G. Garbinesi, 1816, 1 vol. in 2 pts), p. 249, or Gianmaria MAZZUCHELLI, *Gli scrittori d'Italia* (Brescia: Bossini, 2 vols in 6 pts) II, 2, 1220, note 9, or GANDOLFO, *Dissertatio historica*, p. 60.

²³⁷ Chronicle in manuscript, SIENA, Bibl. Comunale 3 25, fol. 115r: "A dì 27 di detto [settembre 1435] morì maestro Andrea in sacra teologia [sic] da Milano. Morì di pestilentia in santo Agostino". From SEGARIZZI, *Per la bibliografia*, p. 6. [translation mine]

entry into the necrology of his home monastery of San Marco in Milan is also brief, but more laudatory: "Likewise the death of [our] brother, the extraordinary doctor in theology and all the fine arts, Master Andrea Biglia, who produced in writing many things of enduring memory. MCCCCXXXV"²³⁸. He lies buried in the church of that same Augustinian house in Siena which he loved²³⁹.

Epilogue

According to Ludovico A. Muratori, Fra Andrea Biglia died in the odor of sanctity and was venerated as a *beatus* in Milan and in Siena²⁴⁰, but this cult apparently died out and nothing more has come of it. His prolific scholarship, however, is still attested by his writings, of which something like half certainly survive, a lasting and most fitting monument for a man of genius and dedication.

Villanova

Joseph C. SCHNAUBELT, O.S.A.

²³⁸ The Necrology of the Augustinian monastery of San Marco in Milan, MILANO, Bibl. Trivulziana 1614, [n.p.] "Item obitus fratris, doctoris mirabilis in theologia et omnibus bonis artibus, magistri Andree de Bilijs qui multa scribendo edidit perpetue memorie. MCCCCXXXV". From NOVATI, *Codice*, p. 222, note 1. [translation mine]

²³⁹ Those bibliographers who take note of it, without exception, give the Church of Sant'Agostino in Siena as the place of Biglia's burial, for example: Philippe ELSÉN, *Encomiasticon augustinianum* (Brussels: Ex typographia Francisci Vivieni, 1654), p. 52, or ARGELATI, *Bibliotheca*, I,2,159.

²⁴⁰ Ludovico A. MURATORI, *In Andreae Biliū historiam Mediolanensem praefatio*, in his *Rerum Italicarum scriptores* XIX,3-5 (Milan: Ex typographia Societatis Palatinae, 1731) p. 3: "Adolescens Religioso Ordini Eremitarum Sancti Augustini nomen dedit, atque in eo instituto adeo pietate, reliquisque virtutibus claruit, ut post mortem titulo *Beati* apud Mediolanenses ac Senenses fuerit auctus".

APPENDIX I

*The Letter of Andrea Biglia To Giordano Cardinal Orsini,
Prefatory to the Ammonitio ad Manfredum*

AD IORDANUM URSINUM
NOBILEM ROMANUM ET ECCLESIAE CARDINALEM
EPISTOLA VELUT PROOEMIUM
PRO DUOBUS LIBELLIS SEQUENTIBUS*

1. Quid ego aut qua ratione de his quae hoc tempore contingunt scripserim nullius iudicium potius volo esse quam tuum, pater in domino honoratissime, quippe qui tuam auctoritatem in primis multifacio, nec fere quenquam cognosco quem melius intelligere arbitrer quo in loco hodie
5 res ecclesiastica sit. Quod ita Martinum quoque sensisse existimo, cum tibi eam legationem dedit qua adversus perfidam Boemorum rabiem es profectus. Ibi credo plane agnovisti quanti periculi fuerit male orientes errores dissimulavisse. Id ego rectene an potius inepte tantum timuerim suspicione quam experientia diiudicari malo.

10

2. Hoc mihi modo conscius sum nulla privata cura Bernardini me nomen offendisse, quamobrem placuerit vel de institutis vel adversum instituta eius hoc conscribere. Nam de alio, Manfredo, quid dicam, cuius morem in litteris abs te datis ipse quoque damnavisti, decernes nihil
15 teneri quod apud illum spopondisset.

3. Quae igitur ad hos scripsi, pater optime, tuae prudentiae, dignitati, bonitati subicio, cui et illi, si boni viri esse volunt, maxime credent, et ego semper omne ingenium meum omnemque, ita dicam, fidem meam
20 parata ac dedita ut sint constitui.

* *Cod. Ambrosianus* H 117 inf., fol. 57r.

14 viduam mediolanensem *post* damnavisti *delevi*

APPENDIX II

Biglia's Letter to Giovanni Aurispa

Frater B[ilia] Andreas Aurispae suo s. p. d.*

Sic mutat fortuna, mi Aurispa, ut verear ne in dies remotiores
simus, quando tamen cuperemus ipsi nihil intervenire, quod vel caritati
5 vel familiaritati officere posset. equidem Bononiae ea opportunitate uteba-
mur, ut si vellemus facile liceret et verba nostra invicem audire et ora in-
tueri. nunc quod eo tempore ad manum erat, desiderio litterarum effici
necesse est: nec sane tam terris quam pene ita dicam pestiferis decretis
abstrahimur. verum hoc scio, corporum duntaxat haec fuerit iniuria; animi
10 certe in suscepta amicitia perseverabunt.

Tu vero quone pacto hic restiterim, ex eo cogitare potes, quod fere
in sua civitate minus suo arbitrio vivitur; omnes quaerunt postulant exi-
gunt, tanquam iniuriae sit vel cognatis atque amicis vel ipsi patriae eas
15 commoditates negare, quas peregrinis hominibus afferre consuevimus. his
modo precibus modo iussis invitum tenere, qui quod Bononiae faciebam,
agam Papiæ, ubi nec ducis nostri imperio atque auctoritati contraire
licuit, nec amicorum voluntati. Bononiam porro quam quietem ferat
vides. ego sane extimui ne longius id malum procederet quam est; haud
20 cerno finem, quandoquidem hoc ipso tempore vidi, minoribus causis, La-
tinis maiora pericula emanavisse.

Verum ad nos. Marianum hunc non tam litterarum portitorem
mitto, quam et voti et causae et consuetudinis meae vicarium dedo;
25 meretur ferme eius bonitas quae, ut uno verbo dicam, humanitati tuae
congruat. hunc oro, quod aiunt, in sinum accipias foveasque; totus enim
te cupit, hoc est non tam patrociniū atque ingenio tuo uti, quam bonitate
et sapientia frui. atqui hoc ipse per se melius explicabit proque sua virtute

* *Cod. Riccardianus* 770, fol. 170r. This letter has been copied from the edition by Remigio Sabbadini. See Table VII, under the year 1891 [forthcoming in *Augustiniana* 44 (1994)].

1 *Cod.* Frater B[ilia] Andreas/Franciscus B. Andree 4 *Cod.* quando/quin 12 *Cod.*
quone/quove 25 *Cod.* meretur/verum 26 *Cod.* foveasque/ferasque

impetrabit. eam ego illi de tua benignitate fiduciam praestiti, quae et mihi
 30 dudum comparata erat et ipse ita videris velle omnibus notam et apertam
 fore.

Opto multum valeas nosque in Deum ames, mi Aurispa; deque
 tuis rebus nonnunquam, si non potes saepe, doceas. ego Papiam in quod-
 35 dam recordationum pistrinum, primus tui memorabundus, vado. tu deni-
 que amicos nostros, qui in illa communi urbe utrique sunt, aut verbis aut
 litteris tuis salutabis. Vale.

Ex Mediolano, nonis octobribus [1428].

APPENDIX III

*The Letter of Andrea Biglia to Jean Cardinal Rochetaillée,
 Prefatory to the De origine Turcharum*

AD HONORATISSIMUM FIDELISSIMUMQUE
 IN CHRISTO PATREM JOANNEM A RUPESCISSA
 S. R. E. CARDINALEM ET ARCHIEPISCOPUM
 ROTHOMAGENSEM*

1. Factus sum per hos dies, ut vera dicam, laetior, visis duabus
 epistolis, quas ad me legendas, cum graece scriptae essent, Sigismundus
 iussit afferri. Has ille ex partibus Asianis acceperat atque ab illis regibus
 quorum vix nomina ad nos perferri posse credidissem. Nam quod in iis
 5 carissimum et Jesu Christi nomen et beatae crucis signum inscriptum erat,
 quod munera quoque et insignia regionum veluti peregrinae caritatis pri-
 mitias addebant, quod denique auxilia regis adversum infideles, quoties

* *Cod. V Vaticanus latinus* 5298, fols. 83r-83v; *Cod. A Angelicus latinus* 1136 (S 4 5), fols. 2r-2v. *Tit. ex V* (*tit. ex A*: Optimo et honoratissimo patri in Christo, fidelissimo cardinali et episcopo Rothomagensi).

1-2 duabus epistolis V/geminis litteris A 4 ad nos perferri posse credidissem, *ordine numeris s. v. imposito* V/credidissem posse ad nos venire A nam V/tum vero A, huiusmodi A/*om.* V iis V/illis A 5 Iesu V/hyesu A 6 quod munera V/munera *scriptum super* quia *del.* A 7 addebant, quod denique V/attulerunt. Denique et A quoties V/quotiens A

foret opus, exponebant, ea me sane ingenti laetitia affecere, cui ne in mentem quidem venire potuisset fidem apud barbaros servari quam ipsi
 10 propinquioribus locis amissemus. Ac praesertim in iisdem litteris dicebatur imperator, sic enim vocant hodie caput Tartarorum, hinc ex Turcis, inde ex Persis quorum ferme sunt Medii, complures civitates oppidaque in potestatem accepisse.

15 2. Cuiusmodi ego cum apud Sigismundum et mirarer et vero gratularer, respondit ille se habere pro comperto longe plures maioresque esse Christianorum quam infidelium aut paganorum gentes; ac deprompsit continuo libellum, in quo nonnulla de barbaricis illis gestis contineri videbantur, ex archiviis, ut asserebat, earum urbium / (A 2v) ad se delatum; hortatusque est, si quid otii haberem, haec alio quodam scribendi genere facerem, nostris ut essent notiora. Itaque ipse, qui pro beati doctoris sententia barbaris aequae ac nostris in religionis ministerio deberem, praecipue tanti regis adhortatione provocatus, negotium suscepi, non tam certus equidem magni cuiuspiam edendi operis quam experiundi
 20 laboris cupidus, si quo pacto forsitan hoc opellae in nostris monumentis locum reperiret.

3. Tibi certe, pater optime, tuoque collegio initium atque quodcumque id erit nuncupamus ac vovemus; neque ipsi plus efflagitetis
 30 quam nos factum aut memoria aut cognitu dignum existimavimus: hoc uno in primis proviso, ne temere quisquam me credat tam tenui lucubratione dignitatis vestrae cardines excitavisse. Quamquam scio non

8 exponebant, ea me V/exposita, quae mihi A ingenti laetitia affecere V/ingentem laetiam fecere A 9 ac teneri *post* servari A/om. V 10 amissemus V/amisimus A ac praesertim V/praesertim quod A 10-11 iisdem litteris dicebatur imperator V/illis litteris ferebatur imperatorem A 11 caput Tartarorum V/Tartarorum caput A vel *ante* hinc A/om. V 12 Turcis V/Theucris A vel *ante* inde A/om. V 15 Cuiusmodi ego V/Ea vero ipse A 16 se habere *etiam post* comperto *ditto*graphia A longe V/multo A 17-18 ac deprompsit continuo V/protulitque interim A 19-20 ex archiviis, ut asserebat, ... civitatum ... delatum V/rem, ut referebat, ex archiviis ... urbium ... delatam A 20 hortatusque est V/hortatus A 21 Itaque ipse V/Ego igitur A 21-22 pro ... sententia V/secundum ... sententiam A 22 ac V/ut A in V/pro ipsius A 23 deberem V/debitor sum A 24 equidem V/om. A cuiuspiam V/alicuius A experiundi V/experiendi A 25 hoc opellae V/ea res A monumentis V/monimentis A 26 reperiret V/reperire posset A 28 pater optime V/optime pater A tuoque collegio initium atque V/om. A 29 erit V/est A nuncupamus ac vovemus V/vovemus ac dicamus A ipsi plus efflagitetis V/ipse ultra efflagites A 30 nos V/om. A factum aut memoria aut ... existimavimus V/putavimus factum, memoria ... videri A 31 in primis proviso V/ante omnia suscepto A me credat V/putet nos A 32 vestrae V/tuae A cardines V/cardinem A

tu minus his rebus humanitatis tuae officium quam prudentiae / (V 83v)
iudicium impendes. Iam itaque, quasi tu quoque iusseris, vel libentes rem
35 vel fidentes aggredimur.

APPENDIX IV

*Biglia's Letter to San Bernardino, and Barnabeo's Letter to Biglia**

1

In Christo patri honoratissimo fratri Bernardino frater Andreas
salutem.

Tua caritas mihi saepe memoriam tui nominis excitat, ut nihil plus
5 desiderem quam tecum esse loqui agere, nempe qui te omnia credo singu-
lari quadam bonitate et velle et sequi, dum Christo placeas et iam [*sic*] si
non totus proberis hominibus, quum ea est secundum apostolicam senten-
tiam regula: qui velit esse Christi servus cavendum ei esse ab humano
die.

10

Praecipue vero mihi tuam caritatem commendant Leonardus ac
Barnabeus tui in Christo filii, quos sane pulcherrimum est ac
iocundissimum audire quemadmodum et bonitatem tuam laudent et
dignitatem predicant, quos ego, cum non dissimili affectu diligam, ita
15 audio ut si mihi parentem aut omnino in spiritu virum optimum
commemorent. Saepe cum illis de sinceritate tua de verbo tuo ac de
praedicationibus tuis sermo est quae mihi haud aliter quam sanctissimi
hominis offitia referunt.

20

Ipse quanta possum humanitate amplector: sic communem
virtutem amo, sic omnium caritatem affecto, praesertim qui Christo sunt

32-33 non tu minus V/haud minus ipse A 33 his V/iis A 34 impendes V/afferis A
Iam itaque V/Nosque ita A 34-35 quasi tu ... vel ... rem vel ... aggredimur V/veluti rem
ipse ... seu ... sive... ingredimur A

* These letters have been copied from the editions by Arnaldi Segarizzi. See SEGARIZZI,
Per la bibliografia, pp. 6-7. SIENA, Bibl. Comunale D VI 5, fols. 2r-3r.

dediti, qui mihi spiritalibus donis videantur ornati. Talem te hodie Italia accipit, talem te virtus tua exhibet, denique et ego talem esse gratulor. Nec velim ullo pacto aliam meam opinionem existimes neque de hac re
 25 alteri plusquam mihi credas, qui sic proposui caritatem, ubicumque sit, colere, pacem, quoad quin etiam ultra quam fieri possit, cum omnibus servare.

Quid enim amabilius animo tenere possumus, quid suavius
 30 invicem tractare? Est haec quantum arbitror religiosorum professio, quae et nostrae conversationis forma esse debet. Eius velim ante omnia brevem hanc epistolam testem accipias; idem tibi hi, quos ante dixi communes filii, probabunt; postremo omnes referent quique mecum de tua sanctitate sermonem habuisse dixerint. Ipse quoque, si cupias praesens experiri, si
 35 forte digneris ore ad os mecum verba facere, intelliges nihil apud me plus valere, nihil in animo praestantius esse quam fidem existimationem tui.

Datum Senis apud religionem sancti Augustini [1433].

40

2

Barnabeus senensis reverendo in Christo magistro Andreae theologo sa. di.

45

Postquam abs te quam raptim praeterito die discessi, fratrem Bernardinum virum observantissimum apud monasterium Capriolum conveni, qui male praeterita nocte dolore stomaci humiditatis capitisque accensu affectus erat. Quem, quum statim vidissem ita squalidum, ne
 50 dolor ipsum conficeret, alacri vultu et humanis verbis salutavi; statimque sessu me recepit; cui litteras tuas reddens neque gratus neque molestus in te lectis litteris fuit. Itaque percipere eo facile potes quantum erga te amoris seu odii conceperit. Ipse vero omni mente sibi persuasi animum tuum nequaquam ab se alienum fuisse, sed potius in omnibus tecum sentire pro tua optima prudentia cupiebat; quamobrem quanto humano consilio possibile fuit te et defensorem suae dignitatis et patronum suae causae, si opus esset, confirmavi. Quarum rerum consilium tuum quale sit tuis litteris velim me certiore facias, quum a iudicio tuo nunquam discedere mihi visum est neque debui.

60

Ex aedibus VIII Kl. octobris [1433].