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ITALIAN RHETORIC IN THE MANUSCRIPT NO. 126
FROM THE COLLECTION
OF THE JAGIELLONIAN LIBRARY

This article is devoted to the collection of rhetorical texts brought from Italy – mainly speeches and letters – included in the 15th-century manuscript no. 126 of the Jagiellonian Library.¹ This manuscript has long aroused the interest of researchers of the Late Middle Ages and early humanism, who agree that it is a copy of a hypothetical manuscript brought from Italy to Cracow by John of Ludzisko (Jan z Ludziska), a medical student in Padua. It also contains all the known speeches of John of Ludzisko, based precisely on the models from the aforementioned collection of rhetorical texts. In addition, as Juliusz Domański pointed out in his study on the beginnings of humanism in Poland, this manuscript is the oldest codex created in Cracow to include both

¹ The research was conducted as part of the project *The reception of Italian intellectual culture in the Krakow university environment from ca. the second half of the 14th century until the end of the 15th century* financed by the National Center of Science, granted on the basis of decision number DEC-2012/07/N/HS3/00514. The following abbreviations are used in the text: BA – Biblioteca Ambrosiana; B. Arciv. – Biblioteca Arcivescovile; BAV – Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; BJ – the Jagiellonian Library; BCzart. – the Princes Czartoryski Library; BL – British Library; BN – National Library in Warsaw; BOZ – the Zamoyski Family Library; BNM – Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana; BSB – Bayerische Staatsbibliothek; Oss. – the Ossolinski National Institute Library; DBI – *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*; PSB – *Polish biographical dictionary*; SPK – Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz; WL – Württembergische Landesbibliothek. The term ‘Italian’ in the text will refer to the place of origin of the texts, not to the language in which the texts were written – all the texts discussed are in Latin. The term ‘Cracow’ manuscripts in the text does not refer to the current location of the manuscripts, but to the fact of their belonging to persons associated with the Cracow intellectual milieu in the 15th century or the fact that they were written in Cracow.

humanistic texts and rhetorical works of a medieval nature.² The previous studies on the manuscript have focused on codicological issues and have failed to identify all texts and authors.³ Little attention has been paid to the very structure of this manuscript, the principles of grouping the texts, or the phenomenon of certain texts being dependent on others. There has been no exhaustive analysis of the relationship between this manuscript and other manuscripts containing rhetorical texts brought by John of Ludzisko.⁴ The below analysis of the ‘Italian’ part of the MS BJ 126 will serve to demonstrate the principles of the organization of Italian rhetorical texts, including texts representing the so-called new Italian rhetoric, which may be the starting point for future considerations on the creation of such manuscripts and reception of Italian rhetoric.

The notion of ‘new’ humanistic rhetoric refers not only to the very fact of drawing from ancient models, but also to the way in which these models are evoked and to understanding the very role of rhetoric, which at the time ceased to be subordinated to other disciplines. The desire to imitate the style of the ancients also brought intellectual changes; the imitation of ancient styles, categories and vocabulary had an impact on cognitive processes.⁵ The ‘new’ Italian humanistic rhetoric, just like humanism, was not a homogeneous phenomenon and underwent a number of transfor-

² J. Domański, *Początki humanizmu*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź 1982, pp. 87–89.

³ The exact catalogue description of the MS BJ 126 with extensive incipits and explicits was given by J. S. Bojarski, *Jan z Ludziska i przypisywane mu mowy uniwersyteckie*, “Studia Mediewistyczne” 14, 1973, pp. 38–54. A more recent description, taking into account the current foliation, is contained in *Catalogus codicum mancriptorum medii aevi Latinorum, qui in Bibliotheca Jagellonica Cracoviae asservantur*, vol. 1, eds. Z. Włodęk, J. Zathy, M. Zwiercan, Wrocław 1980, pp. 99–115. However, the authors of the catalogue have not identified all the texts. Recently, G. Franczak has made new discoveries regarding the identification and circumstances of the creation of some Italian rhetorical texts from this manuscript, but he based his research on the description from *Catalogus codicum* and has not read the manuscript itself, G. Franczak, “*Vix imitabilis.*” *La Griselda Polacca fra letteratura e cultura popolare*, Kraków–Udine 2006, pp. 62–64.

⁴ A group of manuscripts containing rhetorical texts brought by John of Ludzisko is discussed by G. Franczak (op. cit., p. 75), who lists seven manuscripts: BJ 42, BJ 126, BJ 173, BJ 2232, BCzart. 1242, Oss. 601 and manuscript of the Library of the University of Wrocław IV Q 48. In the case of the last of the manuscripts listed, which belonged to the monastery in Henryków and whose place of origin has not been determined, the only common element is the translation of the tale of Griselda by Petrarch, see W. Góber, *Katalog rękopisów Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej we Wrocławiu*, vol. 19, p. 185, [online] <http://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=19190> [accessed on: July 10, 2016]. According to G. Franczak, the editors of the story about Griselda in this manuscript, written in 1447, depended on the lost manuscript belonging to John of Ludzisko, see G. Franczak, op. cit., p. 96.

⁵ C. Vasoli, *La dialettica e la retorica dell’Umanesimo. „Invenzione” e „Metodo” nella cultura del XV e XVI secolo*, Milano 1968, pp. 3, 29; R. G. Witt, *Sulle tracce degli antichi. Padova, Firenze e le origini dell’umanesimo*, transl. D. De Rosa, Roma 2005, p. 29.

mations, and the issue of its beginnings arises controversy among researchers.⁶ It is generally accepted that the development of humanism saw its turning point around the year 1400, when Italian humanists of the generation of Leonardo Bruni began to imitate the style of one specific ancient author (Cicero); this distinguished them from their predecessors, who imitated the styles of various authors.⁷ A phenomenon characteristic of the 15th century was the coexistence of medieval and humanistic rhetoric within the same manuscripts and even the same work. Humanists often used forms typical of medieval rhetoric in public letters and speeches, while in private writings they imitated ancient writers.⁸

The biography of John of Ludzisko has been studied by Jan Fijałek, Bronisław Nadolski, Marian Friedberg, Jacek Stanisław Bojarski and Mieczysław Markowski.⁹ It is known that in the years 1430–1433 John was studying medicine in Padua, where

⁶ Some researchers considered Petrarch to be the initiator of humanistic revival, see S. R i z z o, *Il latino del Petrarca e il latino dell'umanesimo*, [in:] *Il Petrarca latino e le origini dell'umanesimo. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Firenze, 19–22 maggio, 1991*, “Quaderni petrarcheschi” 9–10, 1992–1993, pp. 349–350; According to R. G. W i t t, op. cit., pp. 85–177, the origins of humanism have been associated with the activities of the Paduan writers – Lovato Lovati (around 1240–1309) and Albertino Mussato (1261–1329), while other researchers have used the term ‘prehumanism’ (‘preumanesimo’), just like in the classical work of G. B i l l a n o v i c h, *Il preumanesimo padovano*, [in:] *Storia della cultura veneta*, vol. 2: *Il Trecento*, eds. G. A r n a l d i, M. P a s t o r e S t o c c h i, Vicenza 1976, pp. 40–85.

⁷ Researchers use the terms ‘oratory humanism’ or ‘first Ciceronianism’ (‘primo ciceronianismo,’ ‘premier cicéronianisme’) in reference to the first fifteen years of the 15th century, as opposed to mature Ciceronianism at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries; see R. G. W i t t, op. cit., p. 30; M. F u m a r o l i, *L'Âge de l'éloquence. Rhétorique et «res literaria» de la Renaissance au seuil de l'époque classique*, Genève 2002, pp. 337–346; P. O. K r i s t e l l e r, *Humanism and Scholasticism in the Italian Renaissance*, [in:] i d e m, *Renaissance Thought and its Sources*, New York 1979, pp. 85–105; D. G i r g e n s o h n, *Studenti e tradizione delle opere di Francesco Zabarella nell'Europa centrale*, [in:] *Studenti, università, città nella storia padovana: atti del Convegno, Padova 6–8 febbraio 1998*, eds. F. P i o v a n, L. S i t r a n R e a, Trieste 2001, pp. 167–176; C. R e v e s t, *Naissance du cicéronianisme et émergence de l'humanisme comme culture dominante: réflexions pour une histoire de la rhétorique humaniste comme pratique sociale*, “Mélanges de l'École française de Rome – Moyen Âge” 125–1 (2013), [online] <https://mefrm.revues.org/1192#ftn3> [accessed on: January 22, 2016].

⁸ R. G. W i t t, op. cit., p. 11; S. Ś w i e ż a w s k i, *Dzieje filozofii europejskiej XV wieku*, vol. 2, Warszawa 1974, p. 341.

⁹ J. F i j a ł e k, *Polonia apud Italos scholastica saeculum XV*, vol. 1, Cracoviae 1900, pp. 79–83; B. N a d o l s k i, *Rola Jana z Ludziska w polskim Odrodzeniu*, “Pamiętnik Literacki” XXVI, 1929, pp. 198–211; i d e m, *Jan z Ludziska*, [in:] *PSB*, vol. 10, Wrocław 1953, p. 461; i d e m, *Jan z Ludziska, pionier Odrodzenia w Polsce*, Inowrocław–Strzelno 1977; M. F r i e d b e r g, *Kancelaria m. Kazimierza pod Krakowem. 1335–1802*, “Archeion” XXXVI, 1962, pp. 144–145; J. S. B o j a r s k i, *Jan z Ludziska*, pp. 3–85; M. M a r k o w s k i, *Działalność Jana z Ludziska na polu astronomii w świetle rękopisów Państwowej Biblioteki ZSRR im. W. I. Lenina w Moskwie i Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej w Krakowie*, “Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej” XXIII, 1973, pp. 57–67.

he obtained a doctoral degree (March 9, 1433).¹⁰ However, the researchers continued to debate the issue of the duration of John's stay in Italy and the question of his possible rhetorical studies.¹¹ Jan Fijałek and Bronisław Nadolski suggested that he could have studied under one of two famous rhetoricians, namely Gasparino Barzizza of Bergamo or Guarino of Verona.¹² These hypotheses were rejected by Jacek S. Bojarski.¹³ While it seems that the presence of rhetorical texts in the MS BJ 126 does not necessarily suggest that John of Ludzisko did undertake regular studies under the direction of one of the famous Northern Italian rhetoricians, one should nonetheless consider the possibility of John coming into contact with the 'new' rhetoric in Padua itself.

At the beginning of the 15th century, certain conditions which had arisen in Padua favoured the development of rhetoric and grammar, and allowed both disciplines to become independent of strictly professional purposes and of their subordination to logic. One of the factors contributing to this change was the separation of the Faculty of Arts and Medicine (*Universitas artistarum et medicorum*) from the Faculty of Law (*Universitas iuristarum*). In Padua, this resulted in rhetoric gaining a stronger connection to medicine rather than to law (the attempt to introduce humanism at the University of Pavia, where teaching rhetoric remained largely the domain of lawyers, proved unsuccessful despite the efforts of Lorenzo Valla, who assumed the chair of the faculty in 1431).¹⁴ In addition, with the introduction of a separate subject – *Ars notaria* – as part of the curriculum of legal studies, teaching rhetoric and grammar was given freedom to develop without being subordinated to the needs of law. This explains why one of the first manuscripts containing an Italian collection of rhetorical texts was brought to Poland by a Pole studying medicine in Italy, and not a Polish student of law.¹⁵

Studia humanitatis were introduced at the University of Padua in the form of optional lectures with attendance open to the whole university. The students were asked to pay to enrol in such classes, so the scholar conducting them had to make sure they remained 'attractive.' Their form resembled inaugural lectures given to the

¹⁰ J. S. Bojarski, *Jan z Ludziska*, pp. 24–25; J. Fijałek, op. cit., p. 79.

¹¹ B. Nadolski, *Rola Jana z Ludziska*, p. 200; J. Fijałek, op. cit., pp. 75, 83.

¹² J. Fijałek, op. cit., p. 83.

¹³ J. S. Bojarski, *Jan z Ludziska*, p. 28.

¹⁴ M. Fois, *Il pensiero cristiano di Lorenzo Valla: nel quadro storico-culturale del suo ambiente*, Roma 1969, p. 47.

¹⁵ In the years 1400–1430, at least nine Poles studied law in Padua: Paul Vladimiri (Paweł Włodkowiec), Andrew Łaskarz (Andrzej Łaskarz), Peter Wolfram (Piotr Wolfram), Peter Leszczyc of Lubstów (Piotr Leszczyc z Lubstowa), Nicholas Kicki (Mikołaj Kicki), John of Poland (Jan z Polski), Władysław Oporowski, Wojciech Jastrzębiec, the canon of Gniezno called James (Jakub), see J. Fijałek, op. cit., pp. 3–15, 20–26, 33–44, 49–56, 62–65; D. Gallo, *Lauree inedite in diritto civile e canonico presso lo Studio di Padova (1419–1422, 1423, 1424, 1428)*, "Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova" XX, 1987, pp. 11, 19, 23, 25, 27; L. Gargan, *Nuovi codici „condotti” a Padova nel Tre e Quattrocento*, "Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova" XXII–XXIII, 1989–1990, pp. 19, 33–35.

entire university community at the beginning of each academic year. The themes tackled during the lectures often reflected the issues discussed in humanities-centred debates held outside the university.¹⁶

Since the mid-14th century, the model of teaching rhetoric and grammar in Padua was shaped under the influence of Petrarch (invited to Padua in 1349 and active in the area of Padua and Venice from 1361 until his death in 1374), and later under the influence of rhetorician Pier Paolo Vergerio il Vecchio. Gasparino Barzizza (1360–1431), professor at the universities of Pavia (1403–1407 and 1428–1429), Padua (1407–1421), Bologna (1426–1428) and also a private teacher (for example in Venice in 1407), played an important role in introducing Ciceronian models to Padua.¹⁷

STRUCTURE OF THE MS BJ 126

The main part of the MS BJ 126, containing rhetorical works brought from Italy (ff. 1–40r, perhaps also Petrarch's piece on ff. 40r–42v), was written in two columns by several scribes (folios 1–6 and 15–32 were written by the same hand) in Cracow in the 1540s.¹⁸ The leather binding of the manuscript dates to around 1450, while the paper is slightly older. The speeches by John of Ludzisko (ff. 51r–73r), intersected by a fragment of the *Prologue* of Leonardo Bruni to the translation of Plato's *Phaedo* dedicated to Innocent VII,¹⁹ were written down in one column, with most of the text recorded by an unknown scribe and a part written by Peter Gaszowiec (Piotr Gaszowiec, d. 1474), the first known owner of this manuscript, astronomer and doctor of medicine, three-time rector of the University of Cracow, considered to be a student of John of Ludzisko.²⁰ Later, after binding the manuscript, the blank pages

¹⁶ G. Mercer, *The Teaching of Gasparino Barzizza with Special Reference to His Place in Paduan Humanism*, London 1979, p. 43.

¹⁷ P. Grendler, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance*, Baltimore–London 2004, p. 208; R. G. Mercer, op. cit., pp. 12–19, 135–136; R. G. Witt, op. cit., pp. 87–95. In the biography of Gasparino Barzizza, the date of death was specified as February 1431, see G. Martellotti, *Barzizza Gasperino*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 7, Roma 1970, pp. 34–39.

¹⁸ *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, pp. 114–115.

¹⁹ Unidentified author in *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, p. 110, see J. S. Bojarski, *De laudibus et dignitate philosophiae oratio*, “Medievalia Philosophica Polonorum” XIII, 1968, p. 46.

²⁰ A. Birkenmajer, *Gaszowiec Piotr*, [in:] *PSB*, vol. 7, pp. 294–295; B. Nadolski, *Humanistyczne mowy lekarza Piotra Gaszowca*, “Pamiętnik Literacki” XXVIII, 1931, pp. 461–462; B. Nadolski (*Rola Jana z Ludziska*, p. 200) believed that the speeches of John of Ludzisko included in MS BJ 126 were copied by the author himself. Later researchers found, however, that the MS BJ 126 did not contain the handwriting of John of Ludzisko as the writing ductus differed from this present in the writing of John of Ludzisko known from a note in the municipal records of Kazimierz and the treatise of Johannes Dank on solar eclipse copied by John, M. Friedberg, op. cit., pp. 144–145; J. S. Bojarski, *Jan z Ludziska*, p. 54.

were filled with speeches by Peter Gaszowiec (ff. 73v–77r), written down by the author himself and partly by Peter Świętopełk (Piotr Świętopełk, d. 1497) of Ząbrzec (Rząbiec near Włoszczowa), who came in possession of the manuscript after Gaszowiec, and then handed it over to the library of Collegium Maius.²¹ The orations by the sons of King Casimir Jagiellon and the speech by Scholaster of Cracow Zbigniew on ff. 77v–78r were added by Stanisław Biel (d. 1541) – a humanist and author of the letter-writing manual *Exordia epistolarum* who received a doctorate in theology in Rome (1502) and went on to work as a professor at the University of Cracow, lecturing on Virgil and Ovid (from 1485) and later (from 1491) – on Aristotle.²² The last work, a speech by Stanisław Biel (f. 78v), was added to the manuscript in 1509.²³

The MS BJ 126 contains a consolidated body of texts of Italian origin, which indicates that it was copied from another manuscript (brought from Italy by John of Ludzisko). What makes it even clearer that the texts functioned as a single unit is their organisation into sections on the basis of genre. The first block of texts consists of speeches, mostly related to the Paduan and Venetian milieu (ff. 1r–35r). The speeches are followed by letters and literary works classified as epistolography (ff. 35r–40r and perhaps the work by Petrarch on ff. 40r–42v).

The medieval works found on folios 42v–50v most probably did not belong to the corpus of rhetorical texts brought from Italy by John of Ludzisko.²⁴ This is evidenced by the clearly different nature of these texts, both in terms of genre and chronology, the absence of these texts in typical humanistic anthologies circulating in Padua, and the fact that John of Ludzisko did not use them in his speeches.²⁵

This medieval block included texts related to Alexander the Great, which were widespread in the Middle Ages and in the 15th century, especially *Historia Alexandri Magni de proeliis*.²⁶ Among them is a letter of Pseudo-Alexander the Great to Aristotle including a description of India (“Semper memor tui...,” f. 42v), a pseudo-epi-

²¹ Peter Świętopełk of Ząbrzec was matriculated at the University of Cracow in 1446, in 1460 he became a master of arts, in 1494 a doctor of theology, *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, p. 115; *Metryka Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z lat 1400–1508. Biblioteka Jagiellońska rkp. 258*, vol. 1, Kraków 2004, no. 46e/024.

²² H. B a r y c z, *Biel Stanisław*, [in:] *PSB*, vol. 2, p. 32; *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, p. 115.

²³ J. S. B o j a r s k i, *Jan z Ludziska*, p. 38; *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, p. 114.

²⁴ According to G. F r a n c z a k, the collection brought by John of Ludzisko also included the works on ff. 1r–45r (excluding *Expositio quorundam versuum, quo dyabolus dicitur composuisse cuidam puero*), see G. F r a n c z a k, op. cit., pp. 89–91.

²⁵ The sources used by John in his speeches were identified by J. S. Bojarski in the critical edition of John’s orations, see J a n z L u d z i s k a, *Orationes*, ed. J. S. B o j a r s k i, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1971.

²⁶ G. W i t t, op. cit., p. 87; see R. M. Z a w a d z k i, *Legenda o Aleksandrze Wielkim w rękopisach polskich XIII–XV w.*, “Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej” XXI, 1971, vol. 1/2, pp. 69–70; G. F r a n c z a k, op. cit., p. 91.

graphic letter of Mardocheus to Alexander the Great (“Forma epistole, quam Mardocheus princeps Iudeorum misit Alexandro...,” ff. 42v–43v),²⁷ pseudo-epigraphic correspondence of Alexander the Great with Dindimus, King of the Brahmans (*Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi*, ff. 43v–45r).²⁸ Texts related to Alexander the Great circulated in the Paduan milieu,²⁹ but it has not yet been possible to indicate a manuscript created outside Cracow and related to the Paduan milieu which would contain a collection of Paduan rhetorical texts similar to the one in the MS BJ 126 and the entire Alexandrian ‘bundle.’ The issue of the presence or absence of such a collection in the milieu of the University of Padua would require separate research.³⁰ Therefore, it cannot be concluded whether this ‘bundle’ was brought from Italy by John of Ludzisko or whether he bought it somewhere else, although the latter option seems more likely.

Among the texts related to the legend of Alexander the Great there is a piece titled *Lamentacio de obitu Domini Iacobi doctoris legum* (inc.: “Viris prudentibus doctoribus et scolaribus universis Studii Bononiensis Tadeus de Suessa, magister, imperialis curie iudex...,” f. 42v), written by Taddeo di Sessa Aurunca (c. 1190/1200–1247), an outstanding lawyer associated with the court of Frederick II.³¹ Researchers have so far struggled with identifying this work and the figure of James,³² and its placement in the manuscript between the letter of Pseudo-Alexander the Great to Aristotle (inc.: “Semper memor tui...,” f. 42v), a work known in Poland as early as the 12th century, and the

²⁷ MS Oss. 601, ff. 318v–320r. This letter was included in the Appendix to *Historia de proeliis*. See A. M o m i g l i a n o, *On Pagans, Jews and Christians*, Middletown 1987, p. 319.

²⁸ Composed of five letters, titled *De vita et moribus Bragmanorum*, MS BJ 126, ff. 43v–45r, MS Oss 601, ff. 320v–325r. Alexander’s correspondence with Dindimus in the MS BJ 126 has been preserved in the form defined by M. Steinmann as *Collatio III*, which has survived in interpolated versions of *Historia de proeliis* and is an expanded version of the Italianised edition from the 10th century, M. S t e i n m a n n, *Die Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi – eine annotierte Arbeitsbibliographien*, pp. 53, 55, 61, [online] <https://gfa.gbv.de/dr.gfa,004,2001,a,03.pdf> [accessed on: February 13, 2016].

²⁹ R. G. W i t t, op. cit., p. 87.

³⁰ The second Cracow manuscript with these texts is the MS Oss. 601, ff. 320v–325r.

³¹ As A. K i e s e w e t t e r points out, no recent in-depth studies are available on the figure of Taddeo di Sessa, A. K i e s e w e t t e r, *Il governo e l’amministrazione centrale del regno*, [in:] *Le eredità normanno-sveve nell’età angioina. Persistenze e mutamenti nel Mezzogiorno. Atti delle quindicesime giornate normanno-sveve. Bari, 22–25 ottobre 2002*, ed. G. M u s c a, Bari 2004, p. 44; N. K a m p, *Friedrich II. im Europäischen Zeithorizont*, [in:] *Friedrich II. Tagung des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom im Gedenkjahr 1994*, eds. A. E s c h, N. K a m p, Tübingen 1996, p. 15.

³² The authors of the catalogue of medieval manuscripts of the Jagellonian Library date the speech for 1436 (it is not known on what basis, as there is no date provided in the manuscript of this work) and indicate Bertrandus de Bononia, a rather unknown figure, as its author, see *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, p. 107. In the catalogue descriptions of manuscripts BJ 42 and 173, the author is identified correctly as “Thaddeus de Suessa,” but “Bertrandus de Bononia” is mentioned as the protagonist of the work, *Catalogus codicum*, vol. 1, p. 32 and 175. G. Franczak (op. cit., pp. 89–90) has noticed the inconsistency and erroneous datation in the catalogue, but he has been unable to correctly identify the work.

pseudo-epigraphic letter by Mardocheus to Alexander the Great (“Forma epistole, quam Mardocheus princeps Iudeorum misit Alexandro...,” f. 43v) could be surprising.³³ The piece in question is a fragment of a letter of condolence written following the death of the eminent Bologna doctor of law and glossator Giacomo Baldovini (d. 10 April 1235), among whose students were such prominent lawyers as Accursio, Odofredo and Hostiensis.³⁴ The text of the letter, composed in accordance with the model of letters dedicated to deceased professors, testified to the author’s rhetorical knowledge and well-developed skills in *ars dictaminis*.³⁵ It is also known from two medieval manuscripts from outside Cracow, in which it is, however, included among the letters of Pietro della Vigna, master of *ars dictandi* and politician connected with the court of Frederick II.³⁶ The text could not be found in anthologies of Italian rhetorical texts from the 15th century. It is uncertain whether it was brought from Padua by John of Ludzisko.

The bundle of medieval texts includes an anonymous narrative poem with a commentary; in the MS BJ 126 manuscript, it bears the title of *Expositio quorundam versuum, quos dyabolus dicitur composuisse cuidam puero* (inc.: “Expositurus vobis pater Hugo versiculos, quos humani generis inimicus fecit...,” ff. 45r–v), while in other manuscripts written between the 12th and 15th century, it appears under various other titles – *Versus maligni angeli, Tractatus de Fluvio Oronte, Versus extranei*. It is known from 36 manuscripts (including 16 from the 12th century), while its annotated version – the

³³ It is also accompanied by the same texts in the MS Oss 601 (f. 318r–v), while in the other two Cracow manuscripts (BJ 42, f. 4v; BJ 173, f. 200r) it is included separately from the “Alexandrian” texts.

³⁴ The full text of the letter was published by F. Delle Donne, *Ancora sullo “Studium” di Napoli in epoca sveva: una nuova lettera per la morte di Giacomo Baldovini*, “Bullettino dell’Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo” CXIV, 2012, pp. 54–55. In the F. Delle Donne edition, however, Taddeo da Suessa’s letter is addressed to the doctors and students of the University of Naples, not of Bologna. The content of the letter in the MS BJ 126 is identical to the edition by Fulvio Delle Donne; however, in the MS BJ 126 the second half of the letter is missing. In the MS BJ 126 (f. 42v), Giacomo Baldovini was mentioned as ‘Jacobus de Bo’ (Jacobus de Baldovino). For more on Giacomo Baldovini, see R. Abbondanza, *Baldovini Iacopo*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 5, Roma 1963, pp. 521–525. A letter of condolence following the death of Giacomo Baldovini was also written by another lawyer – Pietro della Vigna – associated with the court of Frederick II. See F. Delle Donne, op. cit., p. 48. The letter was published in: *Petri de Vineis, iudicis aulici et cancellarii Friderici II. imp., epistolarum, quibus res gestae ejusdem Imperatoris aliaque multa ad historiam ac jurisprudentiam spectantia continentur, libri VI*, cur. Joh. Rudolphus Iselius, Basileae, sumptibus Joh. Christ, 1740, transcr. F. Delle Donne, vol. 2, ch. IX, p. 18, [online] [http://www.alim.dfl.univr.it/alim/let-teratura.nsf/\(cercaVolumi\)/5D327240C1B-85238C1257263003E3484?OpenDocument](http://www.alim.dfl.univr.it/alim/let-teratura.nsf/(cercaVolumi)/5D327240C1B-85238C1257263003E3484?OpenDocument) [accessed on: December 18, 2015].

³⁵ Detailed analysis of the letter: F. Delle Donne, op. cit., pp. 49–53.

³⁶ The edition by F. Delle Donne was published on the basis of two manuscripts containing this letter: a thirteenth-century manuscript from Cologne (Bibliotheca Bodmeriana C.B. 132, f. 29r) and a manuscript from Prague from the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries (Národní knihovna České republiky, III. G.3 (528), ff. 69v–70r); see idem, op. cit., p. 53; H. M. Schaller, *Della Vigna, Pietro*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 37, Roma 1989, pp. 781–782.

same which is included in the MS BJ 126 manuscript – can be found mainly in manuscripts from Central Europe.³⁷ The work was also included in the MS Oss. 601 – another manuscript related to the Cracow milieu, containing the largest number of works from the corpus of Italian texts appearing in the manuscript MS BJ 126.³⁸ What follows, after two blank folios, is a fragment of a Latin lexicon (inc.: “Accersibant, id est appellabant, advocabant...,” ff. 48r–49r).³⁹ It cannot be found in any of the six above-mentioned Cracow manuscripts which include texts from the collection believed to have been brought from Italy by John of Ludzisko. The lexicon is followed by short medieval poems and sentences which are also absent from all of the Cracow manuscripts containing the same Italian texts as the MS BJ 126 manuscript.⁴⁰

The MS BJ 126 is arranged in a thematic and functional order. Speeches delivered in specific circumstances are placed side by side, e.g. two orations in praise of the arts (inc.: “Vellem, ut pro magnitudine...,” ff. 2r–3r, and inc.: “Postquam decreto patrum conscriptorum...,” ff. 3r–4v), two funeral speeches (one by Guarino of Verona, delivered at the funeral of Giorgio Loredan, inc.: “Maxima pars hodierno die...,” ff. 8r–9v, and another by Andrea Giuliani, given at the funeral of Manuel Chrysoloras, inc.: “Si quis vestrum est...,” ff. 9v–10v), two speeches delivered at the presentation of doctoral insignia (one by Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Non mediocri voluptate afficior...,” ff. 15r–v, and another by Francesco Barbaro, celebrating the doctoral promotion of Alberto Guidalotti, inc.: “Antequam ea, que hodierno die...,” ff. 15v–16r). Speeches with commendations (praise) of academic disciplines are also grouped together, for example five speeches on ff. 16r–20r, including three commendations of philosophy (inc.: “Sencio, magnifici patres et doctores amplissimi...,” ff. 16r–16v, inc.: “Visa vestra singulari et egregia sapiencia...,” ff. 16v–17r, and inc.: “Maxime vellem, patres eruditissimi...,” f. 18v) and two commendations of law (inc.: “Quamquam multos hic esse intelligam...,” ff. 17r–18v, and inc.: “Multi forte vestrum mirantur...,” ff. 18v–20r); as well as four speeches on ff. 25r–26v – one with the praise of philosophy (inc.: “Constituerunt nostri prisci...,” f. 25r) and three with the praise of theology (inc.: “Ego quasi vitis fructicavi...,” ff. 25r–v, inc.: “Et si iam de maximis rebus vestris...,” f. 26r, inc.: “Non sit aliquis vestrum...,” f. 26v).

Some of these thematically arranged texts are ‘packages’ also known from other European manuscripts.⁴¹ The MS BJ 126 also groups together texts written by a spe-

³⁷ L. Doležalová, *The Devil as a Christian Author? The Case of Versus maligni angeli*, [in:] *Auctor et auctoritas in Medii Aevi literis. Author and Authorship in Medieval Latin Literature*, eds. E. D’Angelo, J. Ziolkowski, Firenze 2014, pp. 321–330.

³⁸ Oss. 601, ff. 325r–326r.

³⁹ *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, p. 109.

⁴⁰ MS BJ 126, ff. 50r–v; for the list of incipits, see *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, pp. 109–110; J. S. Bojarski, *Jan z Ludziska*, pp. 49–51.

⁴¹ These ‘packages’ will be discussed below.

cific author, but this only becomes apparent after identifying the works appearing as anonymous in the manuscript. The speeches of the authors related to the Paduan and Venetian milieu, known only from the Cracow manuscripts, are also usually grouped together in the MS BJ 126 (ff. 11v–12r, 23r–29v, 31v–33r, 34r–35r). From the codicological point of view, the first six speeches form a distinctive entity (ff. 2r–6v), because they are separated from the rest of the texts with a blank folio. The first four are by Cristoforo Barzizza, while the author of the last two is still unknown.

OTHER CRACOW MANUSCRIPTS WITH ITALIAN RHETORICAL TEXTS FROM THE COLLECTION OF JOHN OF LUDZISKO

The Cracow manuscripts which contain Italian rhetorical texts from the collection brought by John of Ludzisko are the following: BJ 42, BJ 173, BJ 2038, BJ 2232, Oss. 601, BCzart. 1242 and perhaps BOZ 896. What follows below is their brief description. A detailed analysis of the relationship between these codices shall be presented elsewhere.⁴²

The oldest of the manuscripts mentioned above is the BCzart. 1242, dated by Maria Kowalczyk for around 1435,⁴³ and by other researchers – for around 1444, namely the date provided in the colophon of Guarino's letter to Poggio Bracciolini on f. 155r.⁴⁴ No provenance notes survived in this manuscript (its first and last part were damaged).⁴⁵ As stated by M. Kowalczyk, a large part of the manuscript was copied by James Parkosz of Żórawice – a doctor of decrees, professor and rector of the University of Cracow, and the owner of the codex.⁴⁶ In this manuscript, Italian rhetorical texts from John's collection form a separate unity placed in its second part, after legal dictionaries, a legal treaty and hagiographic works.

The MS BJ 2232, belonging to an unknown decretist, a student of Thomas Strzemiński (Tomasz Strzemiński) and John Elgot (Jan Elgot), was assembled before 1450. It contains university speeches from Cracow, repetitions from *Decretales*,

⁴² Preliminary findings regarding the distribution of texts from the Italian collection brought by John of Ludzisko in manuscripts related to the Cracow milieu were included in the article *Iohannes de Ludzisko: uno studente polacco a Padua (1430–1433) e le sue raccolte di oratoria accademica*, “Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padua” 50, 2017, pp. 53–81. A detailed analysis of these relationships will be the subject of a monograph under preparation.

⁴³ M. K o w a l c z y k, *Jakub Parkosz z Żórawic. Przyczynki do życiorysu*, [in:] *Colligite fragmenta, ne pereant. Studia z dziejów Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego w średniowieczu*, Kraków 2010, p. 293.

⁴⁴ The letter from Guarino to Poggio, inc.: “Ex hiis litteris, quas nuper...” was written on July 3, 1416, the year 1444 is the date of the copy. See G. F r a n c z a k, *Vix imitabilis...*, p. 66.

⁴⁵ S. K u t r z e b a, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Musei principum Czartoryski*, vol. 2, Cracoviae 1908–1913, pp. 147–148.

⁴⁶ M. K o w a l c z y k, *Jakub Parkosz...*, p. 293.

texts discussing legal issues, as well as, in a separate part, Italian rhetorical texts (the texts from the collection of John of Ludzisko and works by Eneas Sylvius Piccolomini and copies of papal bulls).⁴⁷

The MS BJ 173, containing copies of speeches, sermons and letters, is dated to a similar period, around 1450 (before 1460). Its first part consists of speeches delivered at the Faculty of Law of the University of Cracow, followed by a block of Italian rhetorical texts.⁴⁸

The MS BJ 42, containing Polish administrative documents, dates to a similar period, around 1450–1460. This manuscript, originating from the office of the Bishop of Cracow, consists of two main parts – the first contains Italian rhetorical texts and the second – letters and speeches related to the office.⁴⁹

The MS BJ 2038, belonging to Valentine of Pilzno (Walenty z Pilzna), a book-binder active in Cracow, was produced in a later period.⁵⁰ It was probably written in the 1470s, because the colophon on f. 60v mentions the year 1476, and on f. 212 there is a note with information about a fire of the Bernardine monastery in Stradom in 1473.⁵¹ The manuscript contains a collection of speeches and letters, as well as a rhetorical treatise by Stefano Fieschi titled *Synonima sententiarum*.

The latest manuscripts are the MSS Oss. 601 and BOZ 896. The former includes letter forms and also contains texts from the 1470s and early 1480s. It belonged to John Latoszyński (Jan Latoszyński), doctor of decrees and canon of the Cracow cathedral chapter.⁵² This manuscript has the closest connection to the MS BJ 126 from among the discussed Cracow manuscripts. The MS BOZ 896 also dates to the second half of the 15th century. It can be divided into two parts. The first contains Italian rhetorical texts from the first half of the 15th century (including six speeches present in the MS BJ 126) and a speech by John of Ludzisko titled *De laudibus et dignitate philosophie* (without the beginning), and the second part includes speeches addressed to Pope Innocent VIII. It is not known where the manuscript was written and who had been its owner before it found its way to the Zamoyski Family Library.⁵³

⁴⁷ M. Kowalczyk, *Krakowskie mowy uniwersyteckie z pierwszej połowy XV w.*, Wrocław 1970, p. 23.

⁴⁸ *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, pp. 164–186.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 89–91.

⁵⁰ A. Lewicka-Kamińska, *Walenty z Pilzna, introligator krakowski XV wieku*, “Roczniki Biblioteczne” XCVIII, 1974, fasc. 1–2, pp. 265–273.

⁵¹ This manuscript has not yet been given a modern catalogue description. W. Wisłocki dates it to the 15th century, see W. Wisłocki, *Katalog rękopisów biblioteki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, vol. 2, Kraków 1881, p. 496.

⁵² W. Kętrzyński, *Katalog rękopisów Biblioteki Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich*, vol. 3, Lwów 1898.

⁵³ See *Inwentarz rękopisów do połowy XVI wieku w zbiorach Biblioteki Narodowej*, eds. J. Kaliszuk, S. Szylber, Warszawa 2012, p. 64; I. M. Radziejowska, ‘Mowa soborowa’ Poggia Braccioliniego, “Przegląd Tomistyczny” VIII, 2000, p. 365.

'PACKAGES'

'Packages,' or sets of different texts circulating as a single unit (copied together), can be divided into sets of texts by one author and sets consisting of miscellaneous texts. 'Packages' were formed in the aftermath of the circulation of many similarly composed copies or were created by the authors themselves. Some humanists assembled their own letters into collections or whole *epistolaria*, and sometimes this was done by the addressees, their friends or relatives. The letters would be selected and arranged in a specific order (often not a chronological one), and the resulting collections would then find their way into manuscript circulation.⁵⁴ Another issue is the 'dismissal' of certain texts as a result of omission or deliberate choice made by the copyist. In the case of speeches, 'packages' could have been created by the authors themselves, but sometimes they were assembled by other parties, for example students – Paduan university speeches were often collected by students from beyond the Alps.⁵⁵

The following basic 'packages' included in the MS BJ 126, which are known from other manuscripts from outside Cracow, have been successfully identified: Gasparino Barzizza's speeches (divided into smaller 'packages' which circulated in various configurations), the speech of Cristoforo Barzizza, Poggio Bracciolini's letters from Constance in conjunction with other texts, an anonymous speech with the commendation of canon law (inc.: "Multi forte vestrum mirantur, viri insignes...") and a speech by Pseudo-Demosthenes (inc. "Nichil habet, rex Alexander, vel fortuna tua...," ff. 20r–v), and two funeral speeches written by Guarino and Andrea Giuliano.

Out of the 54 works that can be identified in the 'Italian' part of the MS BJ 126 (ff. 2r–42v, including Petrarch's text closing the collection and f. 56v containing Bruni's *Prologue to Phaedo*), the largest number of texts – 15 in total – can be found in the MS Udine B. Arch. 70,⁵⁶ while 12 texts are included in the MS Berlin SPK,

⁵⁴ J. Rice Henderson, *On Reading the Rhetoric of Renaissance Letter*, [in:] *Renaissance-Rhetorik*, ed. H. F. Plett, Berlin–New York 1993, p. 143; D. Mazzucconi, *Per una sistemazione dell'epistolario di Gasparino Barzizza*, "Italia medioevale e umanistica" XX, 1977, pp. 183–189; L. Gualdo Rosa, *Le lettere familiari di Leonardo Bruni: alcuni esempi della loro diffusione in Italia nel primo Quattrocento*, [in:] *Per il censimento dei codici dell'epistolario di Leonardo Bruni. Seminario internazionale di studi, Firenze, 30 ottobre 1987*, eds. L. Gualdo Rosa, P. Viti, Roma 1991, p. 37.

⁵⁵ G. P. Mantovani, *Le orazioni accademiche per il dottorato: una fonte per la biografia degli studenti? Spunti dal caso padovano*, [in:] *Studenti, università, città nella storia padovana. Atti del convegno. Padova 6-8 febbraio 1998*, ed. F. Piovani, Trieste 1998 (Contributi alla storia dell'università di Padova, vol. 34), pp. 111–112.

⁵⁶ Udine, B. Archiv. 70: Cristoforo Barzizza, inc.: "Vellem, ut pro magnitudine...," ff. 3v–4r; Cristoforo Barzizza, inc.: "Si pro gravi mereore vestro...," ff. 5r–6r; Cristoforo Barzizza, inc.: "Postquam decreto patrum...," ff. 8r–9r; Andrea Giuliano, inc.: "Si quis vestrum est...," ff. 17r–19r; Francesco Barbaro, inc.: "Antequam ea, que hodierno die...," ff. 22r–23r; Pseudo-Demosthenes, inc.: "Nihil habet rex Alexander...," ff. 30v–33r; anonym., inc.: "Multi forte mirantur...," ff. 31v–33r; Guarino of

Lat 613⁵⁷ and 11 – in the MS Città di Vaticano, BAV, Ottob. Lat. 3021.⁵⁸ The manuscripts from outside Cracow most similar to the MS BJ 126 were written after Gasparino Barzizza's death, when his speeches already constituted a closed collection. The manuscript of Udine, identified by Ludwig Bertalot as the Paduan rhetorical collection, was written in the 1440s, and the texts contained therein were created between 1401 and 1435.⁵⁹ The manuscript of Città di Vaticano, BAV, Ottob. Lat. 3021 was written in 1435.⁶⁰ As pointed out by Ludwig Bertalot, the manuscript MS Berlin SPK, Lat 613 with a collection of speeches and letters is slightly newer.⁶¹ Researchers have not identified any manuscripts from outside Cracow which would contain all Italian

Verona, inc.: "Optavi, cum sepe alias...", ff. 34r–35r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: "Non mediocri voluptate...", f. 38r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: "Sencio, magnifici patres et doctores...", ff. 38v–39r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: "Visa vestra singulari et egregia sapiencia...", f. 39r; Gasparino Barzizza, "Quamquam multos hic esse...", ff. 40av–42r; Leonardo Bruni, *Prologue* to the translation of *Phaedo*, inc.: "Qui tuam laudant," f. 44r–v; anonym., inc.: "Vereor, magnifici presides...", ff. 52v–53v and Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: "Maxime vellem, patres eruditissimi...", f. 53v.

⁵⁷ Berlin SPK, Lat 613, Francesco Barbaro, inc.: "Antequam ea, que hodierno die...", f. 24r; anonymous, inc.: "Multi forte vestrum mirantur...", ff. 27v–29r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: "Non mediocri voluptate afficior...", f. 34r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: "Sencio, magnifici patres et doctores amplissimi...", f. 34v; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: "Visa vestra singulari et egregia sapiencia...", ff. 34v–35r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: "Quamquam multos hic esse intelligam...", ff. 37v–38r; anonymous, inc.: "Vereor, magnifici presides...", ff. 46v–47r; Cristoforo Barzizza, inc.: "Vellem, ut pro magnitudine ac gloria...", ff. 55r–56r; Cristoforo Barzizza, inc.: "Postquam decreto patrum conscriptorum...", ff. 56v–58r; Andrea Giuliano, inc.: "Si quis vestrum est...", ff. 94v–96v, 132v–133r; Cristoforo Barzizza, inc.: "Si pro gravi mereore vestro...", ff. 108r–109r; Guarino of Verona, inc.: "Maxima pars hodierno...", ff. 111r–113r.

⁵⁸ Città di Vaticano, BAV, Ottob. Lat. 3021: Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: "Quamquam multos hic esse intelligam...", ff. 1r–2v; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: "Sencio, magnifici patres et doctores amplissimi...", ff. 2v–3r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: "Visa vestra singulari et egregia sapiencia...", ff. 3r–4v; anonymous, inc.: "Multi forte mirantur...", ff. 7r–9v; Andrea Giuliano, inc.: "Si quis vestrum est...", ff. 19r–22r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: "Multas ex tuis oracionibus accuratissime...", f. 22r; Leonardo Bruni, *Prologue* to *Phaedo*, inc.: "Qui tuam laudant...", ff. 30r–v; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: "Non mediocri voluptate...", ff. 32r–33r; Francesco Barbaro, inc.: "Antequam ea, que hodierno die...", ff. 33r–34v; Pseudo-Demosthenes, inc.: "Nihil habet rex Alexander...", ff. 35r–36v; Guarino of Verona, inc.: "Optavi cum sepe alias...", f. 38r.

⁵⁹ Udine, B. Arciv. 70, ff. 30v–33r, 38r–39r, 40v–42r. Watermarks on ff. 1–49 of the MS Udine B. Arciv. 70 suggest the year 1442, see L. Bertalot, *Eine Sammlung Paduaner Reden des XV. Jahrhunderts*, [in:] *Studien zum italienischen und deutschen Humanismus*, ed. P. O. Kristeller, vol. 1, Roma 1975, pp. 209–210, 212.

⁶⁰ The exact date is known thanks to the colophon of the manuscript: "Ego Venceslaus de Alamania alta complevi sermones suprascriptos Anno MCCCC 35 dominica, qua cantatur in s. Matre ecclesia Circumdederunt," [in:] L. Bertalot, *Eine Sammlung...*, p. 212.

⁶¹ The researcher did not provide a more precise date of the creation of this manuscript, L. Bertalot, *Eine Sammlung*, p. 212; see P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum. A finding list of uncatalogued*

texts found in the MS BJ 126. Thus, it seems that we are dealing largely with an original collection.

An extremely interesting aspect of the MS BJ 126 is the presence of texts popular in Europe, but appearing as part of quite original ‘packages’ known only from a small number of manuscripts from outside Cracow or exclusively from Cracow manuscripts.

One of such ‘packages’ or a combination of ‘packages’ can be the collection of five widely popular speeches of Gasparino Barzizza placed one after another (*Gasparini Pergamensis oratio in laudem medicine et pro petendis insigniis doctoratus*, inc.: “Non mediocri voluptate afficior, illustres ac magnifici domini...,” ff. 15r–v; *Oratio de recommendacione philosophie*, inc.: “Sencio, magnifici patres et doctores amplissimi...,” ff. 16r–16v; *Oratio de philosophia*, inc.: “Visa vestra singulari et egregia sapientia...” [in other manuscripts from outside Cracow it appears more frequently in the version of “Nisi vestra singularis et egregia sapientia...”],⁶² ff. 16v–17r, *Oratio de iure civili*, inc.: “Quamquam multos hic esse intelligam...,” ff. 17r–18v and *Oratio de philosophie recommendacione*, inc.: “Maxime vellem, patres eruditissimi...,” f. 18v). Among these speeches, placed immediately after Barzizza’s first speech, there is an oration by Francesco Barbaro (*Oratio Francisci Barbaro in promocione Alberti Guidotti, cum susciperet insignia doctoratus*, inc.: “Antequam ea, que hodierno die...,” ff. 15v–16r). The above mentioned speeches by Gasparino Barzizza were often found in collections of humanistic texts of Paduan origin and appeared together in manuscripts, albeit in various configurations (these will be discussed below after the presentation of the speeches themselves).

Six of the above mentioned speeches appear together, although not side by side, in the Udine manuscript.⁶³ Two manuscripts from outside Cracow contain five of the above speeches,⁶⁴ three manuscripts – four (without the first speech by

or incompletely catalogued humanistic manuscripts of the renaissance in Italian and other libraries, vol. 3: *Alia itinera 1, Australia to Germany*, Leiden 1983, pp. 483–484.

⁶² See C. Revest, *Culture humaniste et rhétorique cérémonielle à l’université de Padoue (c. 1400–1435)*, vol. 2: *Catalogue*, Memoire de l’École Française de Rome – Année 2013 – section Moyen Âge, p. 24, [online] <https://f.hypotheses.org/wp-content/blogs.dir/1662/files/2013/12/Revest-M%C3%A9moire-EFR-vol.-2-en-ligne.pdf> [accessed on: September 10, 2015].

⁶³ See note 58.

⁶⁴ London, BL, Arundel 138, Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Quamquam multos hic esse intelligam...,” ff. 149r–151r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Non mediocri voluptate afficior...,” ff. 174v–175r, Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Maxime vellem, patres eruditissimi...,” ff. 180v–181r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Nisi vestra singulari et egregia sapientia...,” ff. 184v–185r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Sencio, magnifici patres et doctores...,” ff. 188v–189r, (without the speech by Francesco Barbaro); Berlin, SPK, lat. F 613: Francesco Barbaro, inc.: “Antequam ea, que hodierno die...,” f. 24r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Non mediocri voluptate afficior...,” f. 34r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Nisi vestra singulari et egregia sapientia...,” ff. 34v–35r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Quamquam multos hic esse intelligam...,” ff. 37v–38r (without the speech inc.: “Maxime vellem, patres eruditissimi...”).

Gasparino and that by Francesco Barbaro),⁶⁵ eleven manuscripts – three,⁶⁶ eight manuscripts – two.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, Mc 70: Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Maxime vellem, patres eruditissimi...,” ff. 56v–57r, Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Nisi vestra singulari et egregia sapiencia...,” ff. 72r–73r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Sencio, magnifici patres et doctores...,” ff. 73v–74r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Quamquam multos hic esse intelligam...,” ff. 78v–80v; München, BSB, Clm 5354: Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Quamquam multos hic esse intelligam...,” ff. 325r–327r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Sencio, magnifici patres et doctores...,” ff. 332r–333r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Nisi vestra singulari et egregia sapiencia...,” ff. 333r–334r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Maxime vellem, patres eruditissimi...,” ff. 334v–335r; Freiburg im Breisgau, Universitätsbibliothek, 159: Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Quamquam multos hic esse intelligam...,” ff. 37v–39r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Sencio, magnifici patres et doctores amplissimi...,” ff. 43v–44r; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Nisi vestra singulari et egregia sapiencia...,” ff. 45r–46v; Gasparino Barzizza, inc.: “Maxime vellem, patres eruditissimi...,” f. 46v.

⁶⁶ Speeches by Gasparino (inc.: “Non mediocri voluptate afficior, illustres ac magnifici...,” “Sencio, magnifici patres et doctores amplissimi...” and “Maxime vellem, patres eruditissimi...”): Venezia, BNM, Marc. Lat. XI 102 (3940), ff. 5r–7r; Troyes, Bibl. Mun. 1531, ff. 435v–437r, 438r–439r, 427r–438r; Roma, Biblioteca dell’Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Nic. Rossi 229 (33 E 27), ff. 35r–36r, 37r–38r; Praha, Státní knihovna, III G 18, ff. 52r, 53v–54r, 438r–439r; Praha, Státní knihovna, I F 8, ff. 129r, 130r–131r, 138r; Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II 164, ff. 21r–22r, 30r, 33r. Speeches (inc.: “Non mediocri voluptate afficior...,” “Antequam ea, que hodierno die...” and “Visa vestra singulari et egregia sapiencia...”): Venezia, BNM, Marc. lat. XI 101 (3939), ff. 28r–33v, 44v–46v. Speeches (inc.: “Non mediocri voluptate afficior...,” “Antequam ea, que hodierno die...” and “Quamquam multos hic esse intelligam...”): London, BL, Harley 2268, ff. 34r–35v, 50v–53r, 62r–63r. Speeches (“Non mediocri voluptate afficior, illustres ac magnifici domini...,” “Visa vestra singulari et egregia sapiencia...” and “Maxime vellem, patres eruditissimi...”): Roma, Biblioteca Angelica, 1139, ff. 106r–107r, 109v, 115r; Toledo, Archivo y Bibl. Capitulares, 101, ff. 5r–6r, 35r, 38r–39r. Speeches (inc.: “Sencio, magnifici patres et doctores amplissimi...,” “Visa vestra singulari et egregia sapiencia...” and “Maxime vellem, patres eruditissimi...”): München, BSB, Clm 265, ff. 23v–26r and 173r–174v. Speeches (inc.: “Non mediocri voluptate afficior, illustres ac magnifici domini...” and “Sencio, magnifici patres et doctores amplissimi...”): Milano, BA, O 57 sup. ff. 19r–20r and 20v–22r; Milano, BA, L 69 sup., ff. 254r–255v and 256v–258r, Città di Vaticano, BAV, Ottob. Lat. 2293, ff. 54r–56r. Speeches (inc.: “Visa vestra singulari et egregia sapiencia...” and “Quamquam multos hic esse intelligam...”): Città di Vaticano, BAV, Pal. Lat. 607.

⁶⁷ Speeches (inc.: “Non mediocri voluptate afficior, illustres ac magnifici domini...” and “Sencio, magnifici patres et doctores amplissimi...”): Milano, BA, O 57 sup. ff. 19r–20r and 20v–22r; Milano, BA, L 69 sup., ff. 254r–255v and 256v–258r; Città di Vaticano, BAV, Ottob. Lat. 2293, ff. 54r–56r. Speeches (inc.: “Visa vestra singulari et egregia sapiencia...” and “Quamquam multos hic esse intelligam...”): Città di Vaticano, BAV, Pal. Lat. 607. Speeches (“Non mediocri voluptate afficior, illustres ac magnifici domini...” and “Quamquam multos hic esse intelligam...”): Stuttgart, WL, HB.VIII. 26, ff. 49r–52r and 62r–70r. Speeches (“Antequam ea, que hodierno die...” and “Quamquam multos hic esse intelligam...”): München, Universitätsbibliothek, F 607, ff. 24v–27v and 79v–81r; London, BL, Arundel 70, ff. 60r–61r and 23v–26r. Speeches (inc.: “Quamquam multos hic esse intelligam...” and “Maxime vellem, patres eruditissimi...”): Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, MM.674, p. 14.

It would be possible to provide more details on the intensity of circulation of Gasparino Barzizza's speeches by arranging the European manuscripts not related to Cracow which contain these speeches in chronological order. This would require a more detailed query, since aggregate directories such as *Iter Italicum* often date manuscripts rather vaguely – in this case to the 15th century. Only in the case of some of the manuscripts mentioned above has it been possible to determine their exact time of creation.⁶⁸

Gasparino was mentioned as the author in the MS BJ 126 only in the title of a speech in praise of medicine (in manuscript Oss. 601 no author was given for any of the above speeches). These speeches are sometimes anonymous also in other European manuscripts.⁶⁹ Anonymity is quite a typical phenomenon when dealing with such collections.⁷⁰

The first of the commendations of medicine was delivered by Gasparino Barzizza on the occasion of receiving the degree of the doctor of arts (16 September 1413). The addressee of the speech was Gasparino's supervisor, Paduan professor of medicine Giacomo della Torre da Forlì (d. 1414).⁷¹ The speech was very popular in Europe.⁷²

⁶⁸ Manuscript London, BL, Arundel 138, is dated to 1440–1500, see [online] <http://www.bl.uk/cata-logues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=1849> [accessed on: September 16, 2016]; P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, vol. 4, Leiden 1989, pp. 127–128. MS Troyes, Bibl. Mun. 1531, is dated to 1447–1449, see [online] http://cmdf.irht.cnrs.fr/cmdf_B1.htm?D=B&L=B&N=C [accessed on: September 20, 2016]. 1471–1487 is the dating for the manuscript of Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek Mc 70, [online] <http://idb.ub.uni-tuebingen.de/diglit/Mc70> [accessed on: September 17, 2016]. The MS Milano, BA, L 69 sup. was created not earlier than in the 1450s, see P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, vol. 1, pp. 333–334, and the MS Milano, BA, 57 sup., also containing letters of Sixtus IV, was created not earlier than in the 1470s, see P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, vol. 1, p. 336.

⁶⁹ The speech “Quamquam multos hic esse intelligam...” is included as anonymous in MS Stuttgart, WL, HB.VIII.26, f. 62; In the MS Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, Mc 70, Gasparino Barzizza's speech appears anonymously: inc.: “Visa vestra singulari et egregia sapiencia...” (ff. 72r–73v), while his name is mentioned in the titles of subsequent speeches inc.: “Sencio, magnificent patres et doctores amplissimi...” (ff. 73v–74r).

⁷⁰ *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, p. 102 lists all these speeches as anonymous. G. Franczak (op. cit., p. 76) names Gasparino Barzizza as the author of only one of the above mentioned four speeches, namely *Oracio de philosophie recommendacione* (inc.: “Maxime vellem, patres eruditissimi...”). In the MS Udine B. Archiv. 70, containing all aforementioned Barzizza's speeches, as well as other humanistic works, the author's name was provided only in two of the 61 texts, while the rest was described as anonymous, L. Bertalot, *Eine Sammlung...*, p. 210.

⁷¹ *Acta graduum academicorum gymnasii patavini ab anno 1406 ad annum 1450*, eds. G. Zonta, I. Brotto, second edition, vol. 1, 1406–1436, Padova 1970, no 302; for more on Giacomo della Torre (Jacobus Forliviensis), see: T. Presenti, *Professori e promotori di medicina nello Studio di Padova dal 1405 al 1509. Repertorio bio-bibliografico*, Trieste 1984, pp. 103–112; P. Sambini, *Su Giacomo della Torre (†1414)*, “Quaderni per la Storia dell'Università di Padova” VI, 1973, pp. 149–161.

⁷² G. P. Mantovani lists 10 manuscripts with this speech (she doesn't mention the MS Oss. 601), G. P. Mantovani, op. cit., pp. 92–93; C. Revest lists 20 manuscripts with this speech, but without the

The second speech was given on October 25, 1416, when Alberto Guidalotti, a representative of a well-known family of Perugia, received the title of a doctor of canon law.⁷³ Its author, Francesco Barbaro (1390–1454), came from an aristocratic Venetian family and studied in Padua under Gasparino Barzizza, graduating with the bachelor of arts degree in 1412.⁷⁴ This speech was also very popular in Europe, as evidenced by the number of manuscripts containing it.⁷⁵

In the MS BJ 126, Gasparino Barzizza's speech in praise of medicine (inc. "Non mediocri voluptate afficior...") is followed directly by a speech by Francesco Barbaro (inc.: "Antequam ea, que hodierno die..."), which is quite a rare occurrence, found only in one Venetian manuscript.⁷⁶

Four other speeches by Gasparino Barzizza appear together in the MS BJ 126 manuscript: two speeches with a commendation of philosophy (inc.: "Sencio, magnifici patres et doctores amplissimi...", ff. 16r–16v and inc.: "Visa vestra singulari et egregia sapiencia...", ff. 16v–17r), as well as a speech in praise of civil law titled *Oracio de iure civili* (inc.: "Quamquam multos hic esse intelligam...", ff. 17r–18v) and the speech *Oracio de philosophie recomendacione* (inc.: "Maxime vellem, patres eruditissimi...", f. 18v). The first of these speeches was given on 16–20 August 1413 as the inauguration of a lecture on Aristotle's *De anima*. The oration is known from several manuscripts, including two from Cracow.⁷⁷ It is uncertain when exactly Gasparino delivered the second, slightly less known speech, which also inaugurated the lecture on *De anima*. The speeches in praise of philosophy inaugurating the lecture on *De anima* are quite similar in terms of content; they commend philosophy as

MS BJ 126, C. Revest, *Culture humaniste...*, p. 25, no. 65, [online] <https://f.hypotheses.org/wp-content/blogs.dir/1662/files/2013/12/Revest-M%C3%A9moire-EFR- vol.-2-en-ligne.pdf> [accessed on: September 10, 2015].

⁷³ Alberto Guidalotti's doctoral promotion – *Acta graduum...*, vol. 1, no. 394; see G. Franzak, op. cit., p. 85; G. P. Mantovani, op. cit., p. 98. More on the Guidalotti family: T. Biganti, *Un prestigio da riconquistare: la famiglia Guidalotti nella prima metà del XV secolo*, [in:] *Beato Angelico e Benozzo Gozzoli, artisti del Rinascimento a Perugia*, Milano 1998, pp. 103–110.

⁷⁴ On October 5, 1412 he earned a bachelor of arts degree, *Acta graduum...*, vol. 1, no. 257; G. Gualdo, *Barbaro, Francesco*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 6, Roma 1964, pp. 101–103.

⁷⁵ L. Bertalot, *Initia humanistica Latina: Initiënverzeichnis lateinischer Prosa und Poesie aus der Zeit des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 2, 1: *Prosa*, A–M, Tübingen 1990, item 1297 mentions 11 manuscripts, but the only Polish one named by the scholar is the MS Oss. 601; C. Revest (*Culture humaniste...*, p. 14, no. 28) lists 20 manuscripts with this speech; G. P. Mantovani (op. cit., p. 98) adds 10 more manuscripts with this speech to Bertalot's list. J. M. McManamon mentions 22 manuscripts with this speech: *An Incipitarius...*, p. 26.

⁷⁶ Venezia, BNM, Marc. lat. XI 101 (3939), ff. 28r–33v.

⁷⁷ MS BJ 2038, ff. 37–39; Oss. 601, ff. 245r–246r. All four speeches are contained in the following manuscripts: Freiburg i. B., Universitätsbibliothek, 159; London, BL, Arundel 138; München, BSB, Clm 5354; Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, Mc 70; Udine, B. Arciv., 70.

the most important discipline and the origin of all other sciences. Gasparino Barzizza gave one more speech inaugurating the lecture on *De anima* (inc.: “Cum saepe mecum repeterem...”), which in some manuscripts from outside Cracow forms a ‘package’ with the two former speeches (inc.: “Sencio, magnifici patres et doctores amplissimi...” and inc.: “Visa vestra singulari et egregia sapiencia...”).⁷⁸

The inaugural speech at the Faculty of Law included in the manuscript, composed as a commendation of civil law, was given on 18 October 1416.⁷⁹ The last oration, written in praise of philosophy, was composed on the occasion of delivering *principium in artibus*, that is, a lecture inaugurating a series of lectures at the Faculty of Arts delivered by Lauro Bragadin, who obtained the degree of a bachelor of arts on November 9, 1409, and a doctoral degree the following day.⁸⁰

These four speeches appear in the exact same order only in one other Cracow manuscript.⁸¹ The speech in praise of civil law does not appear next to both of Gasparino Barzizza’s commendations of philosophy in any of the manuscripts from outside Cracow, and only in one other manuscript does it appear next to one of these orations (inc.: “Maxime vellem, patres eruditissimi...”), namely in the manuscript of Udine.⁸²

Although Gasparino Barzizza was one of the most copied and plagiarised rhetoricians,⁸³ the MS BJ 126 and related Cracow manuscripts contain a rather modest selection of his speeches – in comparison, there are 11 speeches by Gasparino Bar-

⁷⁸ London, BL, Arundel 138: the following speeches are placed directly next to each other: “Cum saepe mecum repeterem...” (ff. 184r–184v) and “Visa vestra singulari et egregia sapiencia...” (ff. 184v–185).

⁷⁹ C. Revest, *Culture humaniste...*, p. 26, no. 69.

⁸⁰ On the basis of the title given to the speech in the manuscript of Perugia (Biblioteca Comunale, J 114, f. 46v: *Gasparini Pergamensis pro domino Lauro Bragadino in principio artium oratio*), C. Revest (*Culture humaniste...*, p. 22) adopted the date of obtaining the degree of a bachelor or doctor of arts by Lauro Bragadin as the date of delivering the speech, see *Acta graduum...*, vol. 1, no. 57 and 59. It can be assumed, however, that the speech had been made before Bragadin obtained his doctoral degree, as the name *principium* was used to refer to the first lecture of a candidate for a doctoral degree, see A. L. Trombetti-Budriesi, *Laureati in diritto civile nel secolo XV*, [in:] *Studenti e università degli studenti dal XII al XIX secolo*, eds. G. P. Brizzi, A. I. Pini, Bologna 1988, p. 155. For the term ‘principium,’ see H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, vol. 1: *Salerno-Bologna-Paris*, Oxford 1895, p. 465.

⁸¹ Oss. 601, ff. 245r–251v.

⁸² Udine, B. Arciv. 70, ff. 30v–33r. In this manuscript the speeches are in the reverse order as compared to the MS BJ 126.

⁸³ According to C. Revest, his speeches were ‘bestsellers’ among fifteenth-century manuscripts with rhetorical anthologies, eadem, *Les discours de Gasparino Barzizza et la diffusion du style cicéronien dans la première moitié du XV^e siècle. Premiers aperçus*, [online] <https://mefrm.revues.org/2996?lang=en#text> [accessed on: September 16, 2016].

zizza in the manuscript from Udine (including five identical to the MS BJ 126),⁸⁴ 11 in the manuscript of Tübingen,⁸⁵ and 19 in the manuscript from the Vatican Library (Lat. Ottob. 2293).⁸⁶ Barzizza's speeches in the MS BJ 126 are arranged in a different order than in manuscripts from outside Cracow, which may be due to the fact that certain speeches were omitted when creating John of Ludzisko's manuscript. The Udine manuscript, apart from the four speeches of Gasparino Barzizza present in MS BJ 126, also includes another two of his orations, which are not included in MS BJ 126.⁸⁷

A relatively rare 'package' is the one including four speeches by Cristoforo Barzizza (d. 1445), the nephew of the famous rhetorician Gasparino, a Paduan doctor of arts and medicine who lectured at the Faculty of Medicine since 1430 and also gave inaugural speeches at the Faculty of Arts.⁸⁸ However, the subsequent analysis of the orations will demonstrate their usefulness for determining the time and, to some extent, the 'method' of the creation of the original codex from which the MS BJ 126 was copied. The orations appear as anonymous in the manuscript and were described as such by Polish researchers.⁸⁹ The first of them is a commendation of liberal arts (inc.: "Vellem, ut pro magnitudine ac gloria earum arcium, de quibus hodierno sermo habendus est, reverendissimi patres....," ff. 2r–3r) which was delivered on October 25, 1430;⁹⁰ it is followed by Cristoforo's oration praising the liberal arts (inc.: "Postquam

⁸⁴ Udine, B. Arciv. 70, ff. 20v–21r, 35r, 35v–36r, 38r, 38v–39r, 39r, 39v–40r, 40v–40ar, 40av–42r, 43r–44r, 53v, see L. Bertalot, *Eine Sammlung...*, ff. 220, 225, 226, 227, 228, 232.

⁸⁵ Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, Mc 70, ff. 43v–44v, 53r–53v, 53v–54r, 54r–55r, 55r–55v, 56r–56v, 56v–57r, 72r–74r, 74r–74v, 78v–80v, [online] <http://idb.ub.uni-tuebingen.de/digit/Mc70> [accessed on: September 15, 2016].

⁸⁶ C. Revest, *Les discours de Gasparino Barzizza*.

⁸⁷ They appear in the Udine manuscript in the following order: first there are three speeches by Gasparino Barzizza common to both manuscripts discussed here: "Non mediocri voluptate..." (Udine, B. Arciv. 70, f. 38r, BJ 126, ff. 15r–v); "Sencio, magnifici patres et doctores..." (Udine, B. Arciv. 70, ff. 38v–39r, BJ 126, ff. 16r–16v); "Visa vestra singulari et egregia sapientia..." (Udine, B. Arciv. 70, f. 39r, BJ 126, ff. 16v–17r). Next, there are two speeches absent from the Cracow manuscripts: "Si quis vestrum est, patres peritissimi..." (Udine, B. Arciv. 70, ff. 39v–40r); "Nisi vestra expectatio..." (Udine, B. Arciv. 70, ff. 40v–40ar) and a speech by Battista del Nevo da Vicenza: "Omnes, qui ante me..." (Udine, B. Arciv. 70, f. 40a), followed by another oration by Gasparino Barzizza also included in the MS BJ 126: "<Q>uamquam multos hic esse intelligam..." (Udine, B. Arciv. 70, ff. 40av–42r; BJ 126, ff. 17r–18v).

⁸⁸ T. P e s e n t i, op. cit., f. 42; P. S a m b i n, *Barzizza Cristoforo*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 7, Roma 1970, ff. 32–34; R. C e s s i, *Cristoforo Barzizza medico del secolo XV*, [in:] *Padova medioevale. Studi e documenti*, ed. D. G a l l o, vol. 2, Padova 1985, pp. 705–714.

⁸⁹ *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, p. 99; G. F r a n c z a k, op. cit., pp. 77, 90.

⁹⁰ See T. P e s e n t i, op. cit., p. 43; L. B e r t a l o t, *Eine Sammlung...*, pp. 216–217. C. Revest dates this speech to October 25, 1429, and mentions six manuscripts with this speech (including Oss. 601), but just like L. B e r t a l o t (*Eine Sammlung...*, pp. 216–217) omits the MS BJ 126; e a d e m, *Culture humaniste...*, p. 16, no. 39.

decreto patrum conscriptorum assertus ornatissimum locum istum ascendi, colendisime antistes...,” ff. 3r–4v), delivered on October 21, 1431.⁹¹

The third speech (inc.: “Si pro gravi merore vestro...,” ff. 4v–5v), mistakenly attributed by some Polish researchers to Gasparino Barzizza, was composed on the occasion of the funeral of Paolo Veneto (d. 1429), a well-known philosopher and author of treatises on logic.⁹² The speech was composed by Cristoforo, who studied under Paolo Veneto.⁹³ It was the most popular of Cristoforo’s speeches and was also present in manuscript circulation independently from other texts by the same author.⁹⁴ It is also known from four other manuscripts originating from the Cracow milieu.⁹⁵ According to Józef Garbacik, it owed its popularity in Poland to the fact that Paolo Veneto came to Cracow in 1412 as a Venetian envoy.⁹⁶ It seems that its wide dissemination was due to its usefulness as a model for funeral speeches.⁹⁷

The fourth speech, addressed to Pope Martin V (inc.: “Quod antea dudum optaveram, pater beatissime, ut aliquando ante pedes tuos prociderem...,” f. 6r), was composed by Cristoforo Barzizza for Giacomo de’ Dottori, abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Santa Maria in Praglia between 1424 and August 27, 1428.⁹⁸ The speech expresses

⁹¹ For more on the date and identification of the author of the speech, see: T. P e s e n t i, op. cit., p. 43. L. B e r t a l o t (op. cit., p. 218) dates the speech to October 21, 1431, but does not mention its author nor the MS BJ 126. C. R e v e s t (op. cit., p. 15) provides the same date and mentions Cristoforo Barzizza as the author; she cites six manuscripts containing this speech, however, she omits the MS BJ 126.

⁹² Published by J. Garbacik, who mentioned Ch. Barzizza as the author; J. G a r b a c i k, *Paolo Veneto, filozof-dyplomata i jego pobyt w Polsce w r. 1412*, “Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego,” *Historia*, 4, 1960, p. 25 (the speech is published on pp. 27–30). J. Garbacik’s work, written according to the methodology of Marxist historiography, is now somewhat outdated, although some of its findings still remain valid. Some Polish researchers attributed the authorship of the speech to Gasparino Barzizza, see *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, pp. 99–100; G. F r a n c z a k, op. cit., p. 75. For more on Paolo Veneto, see A. D. C o n t i, *Paolo Veneto*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 81 (2014), [online] [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/paolo-veneto_\(Dizionario-Biografi-co\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/paolo-veneto_(Dizionario-Biografi-co)/) [accessed on: August 14, 2015].

⁹³ T. P e s e n t i (op. cit., p. 42) provides the wrong date of the delivery of the speech – 1424; see A. D. C o n t i, op. cit.

⁹⁴ J. M c M a n a m o n (*An Incipitarum*, p. 893) lists 13 manuscripts including this speech.

⁹⁵ MSS BJ 42, ff. 6r–7v; BJ 173, ff. 201v–202v; Oss. 601, ff. 260r–261r, BCzart. II 1242, ff. 170v–172r.

⁹⁶ J. G a r b a c i k, op. cit., pp. 19–26.

⁹⁷ C. R e v e s t (*Culture humaniste...*, p. 16, no. 37) lists 12 manuscripts with this speech (including four from Cracow). J. M. McManamon lists 13 manuscripts with this speech, including five from Cracow; J. M. M c M a n a m o n, *An Incipitarum*, p. 893.

⁹⁸ Giacomo de’ Dottori became abbot of Santa Maria in Praglia in 1424. The mention of the death of the abbot of Santa Maria in Praglia dates to 27 August 1428, see F. G. B. T r o l e s e, *Vita religiosa e culturale dell’abbazia dal XV al XVIII secolo*, [in:] *Santa Maria Assunta di Praglia. Storia, arte, vita di un’abbazia benedettina*, eds. C. C e s c h i, M. M a c c a r i n e l l i, P. V e t t o r e F e r r a r o, Abbazia di Praglia, p. 73; see L. B e r t a l o t, *Eine Sammlung...*, p. 218; T. P e s e n t i, op. cit., p. 43. G. F r a n c z a k (op. cit.,

de' Dottori's gratitude to the Pope for granting him the position of prior of the monastery of Santa Maria in Vanzo (which took place before he assumed the office in Praglia).⁹⁹ This speech is included in several 15th-century manuscripts¹⁰⁰ – in a Vienna codex containing an anthology of classical and humanistic rhetorical texts (Cicero's *Epistolarum ad diversos libri XVI*, speeches and letters, primarily from Padua and Venice),¹⁰¹ in a Munich codex also containing other speeches by Cristoforo Barzizza and Gasparino Barzizza,¹⁰² and in a Vatican manuscript with letters and speeches by Italian humanists.¹⁰³

Exactly the same set of Cristoforo's speeches, arranged in the same order as in the MS BJ 126, is known from another Cracow manuscript.¹⁰⁴ Thus, we are dealing with a relatively original collection of speeches which has no equivalent in other manuscripts from outside Cracow. A larger collection of Cristoforo Barzizza's speech assembled at a later date is known from other European manuscripts, for example a manuscript from Udine containing a collection of fifteenth-century rhetorical texts, dated for 1429–1435.¹⁰⁵ The manuscript of Udine contains three speeches by Cristoforo Barzizza included in the manuscript BJ 126, but arranged in a different order (two commendations of arts and a speech delivered at the funeral of Paolo Veneto). Thus,

p. 76), although he knew the work by L. Bertalot, attributed the authorship to Gasparino Barzizza and did not identify the character appearing as "Jacobus de Doctoribus," see *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, p. 100.

⁹⁹ "Accepi enim primum a te tenera adhuc satis etate s. Marie de Auancio prioratum, quem et omni vite integritate et monasterii refeccione gubernandum duxi..." (BJ 126, f. 6r). W. Bracke misinterpreted this fragment and believed that this speech was meant to express the gratitude of the abbot of Santa Maria in Praglia for receiving the position of prior of the monastery of Santa Maria in Vanzo, W. Bracke, *Le orazioni al pontefice*, [in:] *Alle origini della nuova Roma Martino V (1417–1431): atti del Convegno, Roma, 2–5 marzo 1992*, Roma 1992 (Nuovi studi storici/Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, vol. 20), pp. 139–140. For more on the convent of Santa Maria in Vanzo, see P. Gos, *Santa Maria in Vanzo. Da priorato benedettino a seminario diocesano*, [in:] *Il seminario di Gregorio Barbarigo. Trecento anni di arte, cultura e fede*, Padova 1997, pp. 11–28.

¹⁰⁰ L. Bertalot (*Eine Sammlung...*, p. 218) lists four manuscripts with this speech (München, BSB, Clm. 265, f. 188v; Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. 5197, f. 10; Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 3136, f. 173v; Oss. 601, f. 261v), but omits the MS BJ 126.

¹⁰¹ *Tabulae codicum manu scriptorum: praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum*, vol. 2: *Cod. 2001–3500*, Wien 1868, pp. 212–213; *Bücher aus der mittelalterlichen Universität Wien und ihrem Umfeld zusammengestellt von Friedrich Simader, Wien, ab 2007*, [online] <http://www.onb.ac.at/sammlungen/hschrift/kataloge/universitaet/Register.htm> [accessed on: July 12, 2016].

¹⁰² München, BSB, Clm 265, f. 188v; see C. Revest, *Culture humaniste...*, p. 12, no. 18–20, p. 15, no. 31, p. 22, no. 57, p. 24, no. 64, p. 73, no. 28, [online] <http://www.mirabileweb.it/manuscript/m%C3%BCnchen-bayerische-staatsbibliothek-clm-265-manuscript/6814> [accessed on: July 10, 2016].

¹⁰³ Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. lat. 5197, f. 10r; see *Iter Italicum*, vol. 6: (*Italy III and Alia itinera IV*), ed. P. O. Kristeller, Leiden 1992, pp. 337–338.

¹⁰⁴ Oss. 601, ff. 257–263r.

¹⁰⁵ Udine, B. Arciv., 70, ff. 1r–12r; see L. Bertalot, *Eine Sammlung...*, pp. 213–219.

the MS BJ 126 contains an ‘early’ set of speeches by Cristoforo Barzizza from 1429–1431, available in Padua at the time of John of Ludzisko’s stay in the town. It can be presumed that if John of Ludzisko had remained in Padua after completing his medical studies, the manuscript he brought to Poland would have also contained Cristoforo Barzizza’s speeches written after 1433.

Another ‘package’ from the manuscript, consisting of two texts – the anonymous *Oratio de recommendacione iuris canonici* (inc.: “Multi forte vestrum mirantur, viri insignes,”¹⁰⁶ ff. 18v–20r) and the extremely popular speech of Pseudo-Demosthenes titled in the manuscript *Demostenis oracio ad Alexandrum incipit traducta e Greco in Latinum* (inc.: “Nichil habet, rex Alexander, vel fortuna tua...,” ff. 20r–v) – is relatively original, known only from one manuscript codex from outside Cracow.¹⁰⁷ According to the researchers, the former speech was written in circles associated with the University of Padua. Clémence Revest dated it for 1400–1435.¹⁰⁸ The oration has a humanist tone, evidenced by its many borrowings from Cicero.¹⁰⁹ Pseudo-Demosthenes’ speech to Alexander was described in this manuscript, as in many other manuscripts, as a translation from Greek into Latin, although in reality it was an anonymous Latin edition published in the supplement to the work of Quintus Qurcius Rufus *Historiae Alexandri Magni*, written in France in the 11th or 12th century.¹¹⁰ At the beginning of the 15th century, this speech remained in circulation (along with the speeches of Aischines, Demades and Pseudo-Demosthenes to the Athenians) separately from the supplement.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶ L. Bertalot cites the version “Multi forte mirantur;” L. Bertalot, *Eine Sammlung...*, p. 224, likewise – P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, vol. 2: *Italy. Orvieto to Volterra*, London 1967, p. 202. C. Revest (*Culture humaniste...*, p. 9, no. 6) lists four manuscripts with this speech (omitting MS BJ 126). It appears in a ‘package’ with the other speech in question in the MS Udine, B. Arciv. 70, ff. 30v–31r. It is also included in the same combination in one other Cracow manuscript – Oss. 601, ff. 251v–255v.

¹⁰⁷ In MS BCzart. 1242, ff. 95v–96r this piece was titled *Epistola Demostenis ad Allexandrum per Athenis* and was included among medieval texts.

¹⁰⁸ C. Revest, *Culture humaniste...*, p. 9, no. 6.

¹⁰⁹ The incipit: “Multi forte vestrum mirantur” resembles the passage in Cicero’s speech (*Oratio pro P. Sestio*, 31): “forte vestrum miretur.”

¹¹⁰ S. Berti, *L’orazione Pseudo-Demostenica „Ad Alexandrum” dal XII al XVsecolo: tra latino e volgare*, “Aevum” 75, fasc. 2, May–August 2001, p. 480. For a long time this speech was considered a translation from Greek into Latin by Pietro Marcello or Leonardo Bruni, see R. Sabbadini, *Antonio da Romagno e Pietro Marcello*, “Nuovo Archivio Veneto” XXX, 1915, pp. 207–246; L. Bertalot, *Die älteste gedruckte lateinische Epitaphiensammlung*, [in:] *Collectanea variae doctrinae Leoni S. Olschki oblata*, vol. 1, München 1921, p. 1; idem, *Forschungen über L. Bruni Aretino*, “Archivum Romanicum” XV, 1931, pp. 300, 304; idem, *Uno zibaldone umanistico latino del Quattrocento a Parma*, “La Bibliofilia” XXXVIII, 1936, pp. 77–78.

¹¹¹ L. Silvano, *Pseudo-Demostene „Ad Alexandrum” o la forza del falso*, [in:] *Vestigia notitiae. Scritti in memoria di Michelangelo Giusta*, ed. E. Bona, Alessandria 2012, p. 490.

These four speeches, in particular *Ad Alexandrum*, enjoyed enormous popularity, far bigger than genuine speeches by Demosthenes translated by Bruni.¹¹² According to the researchers, this could be due to the fact that Pseudo-Demosthenes' speeches were some of the first texts in circulation to be attributed to Greek orators.¹¹³ In addition, they were quite short, which facilitated their copying. The speech *Ad Alexandrum*, also copied individually, gained great popularity thanks to its Ciceronian style (it was a compilation or plagiarism consisting primarily of two speeches of Cicero – *Pro Marcello* and *Pro Ligario*, as well as fragments of works by other ancient authors).¹¹⁴

Another relatively original 'package' comprises two funeral speeches, one by Guarino of Verona (1374–1460), a well-known humanist and rhetorician teaching rhetoric in Venice, Verona and Ferrara (*Oracio Gwarini Veronensis in funere Georgii Laureani*, inc.: “Maxima pars hodierno die fortissimo viro Georgio Laureano a vobis effecta...,” ff. 8r–9v), and the other by Andrea Giuliano (1384–1455), a Venetian patrician educated under Gasparino Barzizza and Guarino Verona (*Andree Iuliani in Manuelem Crisiloram Epitaphios, id est funebris oracio*, inc.: “Si quis vestrum est, viri dilectissimi, qui forte admiretur...,” ff. 9v–10v).¹¹⁵ The former oration was written on the occasion of the funeral of Giorgio Loredan, the victorious commander at the Battle of Gallipoli (1416), who died in a sea battle off the coast of Sicily in 1421. The speech was very popular in humanistic anthologies.¹¹⁶

¹¹² *Pro Diopithe, Pro Ctesiphonte (De Corona), Olynthiacae*; H. B a r o n, *Leonardo Bruni Aretino, Humanistisch-philosophische Schriften*, Berlin–Leipzig 1928; M. A c c a m e L a n z i l l o t t a, *Leonardo Bruni traduttore di Demostene: La „Pro Ctesiphonte,”* Genova 1986; *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries*, vol. 7, eds. V. B r o w n, P. O. K r i s t e l l e r, F. E. C r a n z, Washington D. C. 1992, p. 111.

¹¹³ It is not known exactly when these four speeches began to circulate separately from the supplement. It is certain that they already existed as independent texts in 1403, when Bishop of Ceneda Pietro Marcello sent them to his friend Antonio da Romagno, S. B e r t i, *L'orazione Pseudo-Demostica...*, p. 479; L. S i l v a n o, op. cit., pp. 485–486.

¹¹⁴ L. S i l v a n o, op. cit., pp. 487–492. This speech can be found in Italian manuscripts with humanistic anthologies, e.g. MS Città del Vaticano, BAV, Ottob. Lat. 3021, ff. 35r–36v; Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Ambr. H 52 suss., ff. 16r–17r; Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, cod. 262, ff. 24v–25r (for the latter manuscript, see L. B e r t a l o t, *Uno zibaldone umanistico latino del Quattrocento a Parma*, [in:] i d e m, *Studien...*, vol. 2, pp. 241–264).

¹¹⁵ G. P i s t i l l i, *Guarini Guarino*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 6, Roma 2003, pp. 357–369; S. T r o i l o, *Andrea Giuliano, politico e letterato veneziano del Quattrocento*, Firenze 1932, pp. 32, 327; R. G. W i t t, op. cit., pp. 478–479; M. P. S t o c c h i, *Pagine di storia dell'umanesimo italiano*, Milano 2014, p. 228; *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, pp. 100–101.

¹¹⁶ J. M. M c M a n a m o n lists 25 manuscripts from outside Cracow containing this speech, i d e m, *An Incipitarium of Funeral Orations and a Smattering of Other Panegyric Literature from the Italian Renaissance (ca. 1350–1550)*, pp. 932–933, [online] http://www.luc.edu/media/lucedu/history/pdfs/Incipit_Catalogue.pdf [accessed on: February 2, 2016].

The latter speech, composed by Andrea Giuliano in 1415 on the occasion of the funeral of Manuel Chrysoloras, enjoyed great popularity in humanistic circles in Europe (the great impression it made on humanists is evidenced by Poggio Bracciolini's letter to Guarino).¹¹⁷

These speeches are placed directly next to each other in one manuscript from outside Cracow, while seven other manuscripts not related to Cracow include both orations separated by other texts.¹¹⁸ The speeches appear side by side in five more Cracow manuscripts.¹¹⁹

The MS BJ 126 includes an interesting combination of five letters and two literary works, namely a letter by Gasparino Barzizza to Andrea Giuliano, four letters by Poggio Bracciolini from Constance, a polemical work by Leonardo Bruni (*Invectiva contra versutos ypocritas*) and a fourteenth-century translation of the last novella of *The Decameron* into Latin (*De oboedientia et fide uxoria*) made by Petrarch. Gasparino Barzizza's letter concerned the speech given by Andrea Giuliano on the occasion of the funeral of Manuel Chrysoloras ("Gasparinus Pargamensis Andree Iuliano salutem dicit. Multas ex tuis oracionibus..." f. 36r).¹²⁰ The letter is dated on 9 October 1432 ("Patavii VIII cal. Octobris 1432"), although it was written on September 24, 1415.¹²¹ Grzegorz Franczak noticed this discrepancy, considering it to be a mistake of the authors of the manuscript catalogue.¹²² It can be assumed that this date corresponds to the date of copying the text to the manuscript

¹¹⁷ The letter by Poggio from Constance, 15 March 1416, inc.: "Si bene vales, ego quidem valeo. Nudius tertius cum Bartholomaeum de Montepolliciano..." *Poggii Epistolae*, ed. T. de Tonnellis, vol. 1, Florentiae 1832, books I, IV, pp. 22–25. There are 45 extant manuscripts containing this speech, see J. M. McManamon, *An Incipitarium...*

¹¹⁸ They also appear next to each other in the MS Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, cod. 868, ff. 60–63; They are included in the following manuscripts: Berlin, SPK, cod. Lat. folio 613, ff. 94–96, 111–113, 132–133r; Berlin, SPK, cod. Lat. quarto 572, ff. 92–97, 104r–109r; Oxford, Balliol College, cod. 135, ff. 38v, 53r; Padova, Museo Civico, cod. B.P. 1223, ff. 104r–112r; 122r–131r; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. Lat. 5834, ff. 29r–33r, 57v–62r; Treviso, Biblioteca Capitolare, cod. I.177, ff. 69r–72r, 75v–79r; Venezia, BNM, cod. XI.127 (4722), ff. 67r–78r, 96r–108r.

¹¹⁹ The speeches appear together in manuscripts: BJ 42, ff. 13v–18v; BJ 173, ff. 210v–215r; BJ 2232, ff. 181v–189r; Oss. 601, ff. 263r–269v; BCzart. 1242, ff. 180r–187v. The sole speech by Andrea Giuliano is preserved in the MS Warsaw, BN BOZ 896, pp. 5–12.

¹²⁰ MSS BJ 42, f. 18v; BJ 173, ff. 215r–v; BJ 2232, f. 189r; BCzart. 1242, ff. 187r–187v; Oss. 601, f. 300r.

¹²¹ The same date is in MS BCzart. 1242, f. 187v. The date "VIII cal. Octobris" also appears in the MS Città di Vaticano, Vat. lat. 5133, f. 105r. D. Mazzuconi lists 13 manuscripts containing this letter, but does not mention any of the Cracow manuscripts, D. Mazzuconi, *Per una sistemazione dell'epistolario di Gasparino Barzizza*, "Italia medioevale e umanistica" MCMLXXXVIII, 1977, p. 221.

¹²² *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, p. 106; G. Franczak, op. cit., p. 76.

brought by John of Ludzisko. The next letter from Poggio to Guarino of Verona also concerned the speech by Andrea Giuliano (“Poggius salutem plurimam dicit Guarino Veronensi. – Si vales, bene est, ego quoque valeo. Nudius tercius...,” 15 March 1417, ff. 36r–v). Poggio’s second letter to Guarino of Verona was devoted to the treatise by Francesco Barbaro titled *De re uxoria* (“Poggius plurimam salutem [dicit] Guarino Veronensi. Dii male faciant...,” 31 December 1417, f. 36v).¹²³ It was followed by a letter describing Poggio’s excursion to the baths in Baden, addressed to the Florentine humanist Niccolò Niccoli (“Poggius plurimam salutem dicit Nicolao suo. Si vales bene est, ego quoque valeo. Per quendam...,” 31 December 1417, ff. 36v–37v), and the last, describing the trial of Jerome of Prague, was addressed to Leonardo Bruni (“Poggius Leonardo Aretino plurimam salutem. Cum pluribus diebus ad balnea fuisset,” 30 May 1416, ff. 37v–38v).¹²⁴ This last letter enjoyed great popularity.¹²⁵ In the MS BJ 126, it is immediately followed by a polemical work by Leonardo Bruni from 1417, devoted to the vices of monks, appearing in the manuscript under the title *Invectiva contra versutos ypocritas Leonardi Aretini* (inc.: “Ex omni genere hominum...,” ff. 38v–40r).¹²⁶ Petrarch’s *De oboedientia et fide uxoria* with a preceding dedication letter (titled in the manuscript *Domino Iohanni Bochacio [...] epistola domini Francisci de oboedientia et fide uxoria*, inc.: “Librum tuum, quem nostro materno eloquio,” ff. 40r–42v) was his most popular work at the turn of the 13th and 14th century.¹²⁷

¹²³ MSS BJ 42, ff. 19r–v; BJ 173, f. 216r; BJ 2232, f. 190r; Oss 601, ff. 301r–v; BCzart. 1242, ff. 188v–190v.

¹²⁴ Manuscripts BJ 173, ff. 217v–219r; BJ 2232, ff. 190v–193r; BCzart. 1242, ff. 191r–194v; Oss. 601, ff. 304v–307r.

¹²⁵ Lucia Gualdo Rosa lists 28 manuscripts with this letter preserved in libraries outside Italy, see *Censimento dei codici dell’epistolario di Leonardo Bruni*, vol. 1: *Manoscritti delle biblioteche non italiane*, Roma 1993, passim.

¹²⁶ BCzart. 1242, ff. 194r–199v.

¹²⁷ Cracow manuscripts containing the novella: BJ 126, ff. 40r–42v; BJ 42, ff. 22r–25v, BJ 173, ff. 223r–227r, BJ 2232, ff. 202r–208v, BCzart. 1242, ff. 143r–149v, Oss. 601, ff. 311r, 317v–318r. For more on this novella and its reception in Poland, see G. F r a n c z a k, op. cit., passim; L. G u a l d o R o s a, *Introduzione*, [in:] *Censimento...*, p. XV; According to preliminary estimates, there exist 65 manuscripts with translations of the story of Griselda, see J. B. S e v e r s, *The Literary Relationships of Chaucer’s “Clerkes Tale,”* New York–New Haven 1942, pp. 41–100. V. Branca has identified 34 other manuscripts with translations of the story of Griselda, see *Tradizione delle opere di Giovanni Boccaccio. Un secondo elenco di manoscritti e studi sul testo del „Decameron” con due appendici*, vol. 2, Roma 1991, pp. 173–174, note 53; G. Albanese estimates that the novella was disseminated in around one hundred manuscripts, but does not provide an exact number and instead refers to works on Petrarch’s manuscripts in individual countries or libraries (see *Fortuna umanistica della “Griselda,”* [in:] *Il Petrarca latino e le origini dell’umanesimo: atti del Convegno internazionale: Firenze, 19–22 maggio 1991*, Firenze 1996, p. 571).

All these works appear together in four Cracow manuscripts,¹²⁸ while one Cracow manuscript contains four of them (BJ 42).¹²⁹ I have yet been unable to find a manuscript from outside Cracow which would contain all of the listed works. Lucia Gualdo Rosa has concluded that the texts frequently appeared in such a combination and formed an ideological whole, but she has not provided any statistical data or listed specific manuscripts containing this ‘package’ (it is unknown whether this observation was made on the basis of Cracow manuscripts).¹³⁰ Ludwig Bertalot emphasised the popularity of two letters by Poggio (the one addressed to Niccolò and containing a description of the baths in Baden and the one to Bruni with the account of the death of Jerome of Prague) in humanistic manuscripts, but he did not mention their exact number.¹³¹ It seems, therefore, that in its entirety it was a fairly original collection, composed of very popular works which were also present independently in manuscript circulation or circulated in smaller ‘bundles’ (e.g. two letters by Poggio from Constance).¹³² These seven works may have been combined in the MS BJ 126 according to the following logic: the first two letters (the first one by Gasparino Barzizza and the second one by Poggio) relate to Andrea Giuliano’s oration for the funeral of Manuel Chrysoloras, the letters by Poggio from Constance also formed a whole in themselves, and finally Poggio’s letter concerning the death of Jerome

¹²⁸ In three of them they appear side by side: BJ 173, ff. 215r–221v, 223r–227r; BJ 2232, ff. 189r–200r; 202r–208v; Oss 601, ff. 300r–311r, 317v–318r. One of the manuscripts also contains the translation of the story of Griselda together with Petrarch’s dedication letter, appearing separately from the five letters and *Invectiva* by Bruni (BCzart. 1242, ff. 143r–143v and ff. 187r–199v).

¹²⁹ Gasparino Barzizza’s letter to Giuliano Andrea (f. 18v), two letters to Guarino by Poggio (ff. 18v–19v) and Petrarch’s *De insignia oboedientia* together with a dedication letter (ff. 22r–25v).

¹³⁰ L. Gualdo Rosa, *Introduzione*, [in:] *Censimento...*, p. XV; see A. Horczyk, *An Italian Intermediary in the Transmission of the Ancient Traditions to Renaissance Poland. Leonardo Bruni and the Humanism in Cracow*, [in:] *Cultures in Motion. Studies in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods*, eds. A. Izdebski, D. Jasiński, Kraków 2014 (*Byzantina et Slavica Cracoviensia*), p. 216. Only six manuscripts from outside Cracow containing the letter “Cum pluribus diebus” and Bruni’s *Invectiva contra versutos ypocritas* were found in the first volume of *Censimento...*, including manuscripts from libraries outside Italy. However, in none of them do the two texts appear directly next to one another (London, BL, Harley 4094, ff. 123–131v, 56r–61r; Berlin, SPK, lat. Fol 557, ff. 129v–135r, 45r–48r; Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek App. 2282, ff. 71r–75r, 185r–192r; München, BSB, clm. 78, ff. 157r–161r, 62r–63v; München, BSB, Clm 418, ff. 181r–186r, 230r–232v; Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale 168[100], ff. 112r–115r, 268v–273r).

¹³¹ L. Bertalot, *Eine humanistische Anthologie. Die Handschrift 4768 der Universitätsbibliothek München*, [in:] *idem, Studien zum italienischen und deutschen Humanismus*, ed. P. O. Kristeller, Roma 1975, vol. 1, p. 30.

¹³² For example, Poggio’s letters: “Poggius plurimam salutem dicit Nicolao suo. Si vales, bene est, ego quoque valeo...” and “Poggius Leonardo Aretino plurimam salutem. Cum pluribus diebus...” München, BSB, Clm. 28137, ff. 202r–209r.

of Prague formed an ideological whole with the work by Brunni condemning the vices of monks. The tale of Griselda in Petrarch's Latin translation – or rather its adaptation, as its tone was much more moralizing in comparison with Boccaccio's original – fitted into this context very well, as it contained an *exemplum* of the life of a Christian wife, and in a broader sense – of Christian life.¹³³

SPEECHES APPEARING INDEPENDENTLY IN THE MS BJ 126
KNOWN FROM OTHER EUROPEAN MANUSCRIPTS

The presence of a very popular speech on the vices of clergy authored by Poggio and titled *Oracio Poggio Florentini* (inc.: “Vellem, patres reverendissimi, tantum virtutis atque animi roboris...,” ff. 12r–14r) in our manuscript is extremely interesting and meaningful. Poggio Bracciolini composed it in Constance in the summer or early autumn of 1417, but its ‘neighbouring’ texts in the MS BJ 126 are Paduan pieces: a speech in honour of Giorgio Corner (inc.: “Hodierno die hanc dabis veniam...,” f. 12r) and university oration by Gasparino Barzizza (“Non mediocri voluptate afficior...,” ff. 15r–v). Poggio's speech was very popular in Europe, but it has not been possible to identify any manuscripts from outside the Cracow milieu in which it would appear in direct connection with at least one of the above-mentioned Paduan speeches.¹³⁴ The popularity of the oration in Cracow is evidenced by its inclusion in seven other Cracow manuscripts.¹³⁵ The fact that Poggio's speech from Constance was placed next to Paduan texts in the MS BJ 126 indicates that it was brought to the Cracow milieu from Padua.

The placement of a letter from Guarino to Poggio Bracciolini, written on 3 July 1416 in response to Poggio's letter reporting the proceedings of the Council of Constance (inc.: “Gwarinus Veronensis doctissimo viro Poggio secretario apostolico salutem plurimam dicit. Ex hiis litteris, quas nuper...,” ff. 33r–v) in the manuscript BJ

¹³³ G. Albanese, op. cit., pp. 572–583.

¹³⁴ Critical edition: R. Fubini, *Un'orazione del Poggio Bracciolini sui vizi del clero, scritta al tempo del concilio di Costanza*, “Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana” 142, 1965, pp. 24–33. Also published by I. M. Radziejowska on the basis of six Polish manuscripts: M. Radziejowska, ‘Mowa soborowa’ Poggia Braccioliniego, “Przegląd Tomistyczny” VIII, 2000, pp. 362–396. There are 16 manuscripts containing this speech listed in the catalogue of speeches delivered at the Council of Constance, see C. Nighman, P. Stump, *A Bibliographical Register of the Sermons & Other Orations Delivered at the Council of Constance (1414–1418)*, p. 33, [online] <http://bibsocamer.org/BibSite/Nighman-Stump/3-Main-Sermon-Register.pdf> [accessed on: May 27, 2016]; J. M. McManamon lists 18 European manuscripts with this speech, including six from Cracow, see J. M. McManamon, *An Incipitarius...*, p. 1029. Poggio's speech is followed by Gasparino Barzizza's speech in the MS Oss. 601 (inc.: “Non mediocri voluptate afficior, illustres ac magnifici domini...”), ff. 233r–243r; Poggio's diatribe follows the speech in honour of Giorgio Corner in the MS BN BOZ 896, pp. 17–24.

¹³⁵ MSS BJ 42, ff. 8r–12v; BJ 173, ff. 206r–210r, BJ 1596, ff. 179r–184r, BJ 2232, ff. 175r–180v; BCZart. 1242, ff. 172v–179r; Oss. 601, ff. 233r–242r.

126 may seem coincidental. It does not appear next to Guarino's speeches nor among his letters; instead, it follows Paolo Robobelli's speech delivered at the University of Padua and an anonymous text titled *Gratiarum actio* (ff. 31v–33r) and precedes a piece by Bernardo Messalto in honour of Nicholas d'Este (f. 34r). Such a placement breaks the harmony of the division into speeches and letters, as well as – like in the case of the above-mentioned *Oracio Poggy Florentini* – seems to ignore the 'Constance-related' part of the codex. In some manuscripts from outside the Cracow milieu, this letter appears next to writings by Paduan authors.¹³⁶ The piece, rather popular in European manuscripts, can be found in four other manuscripts from Cracow, but in none of them is it surrounded by the same texts as in the MS BJ 126.¹³⁷

Separately from any 'package,' the BJ 126 manuscript contains a modified version of Guarino's speech delivered on 10 October 1409 on the occasion of the end of term of the Venetian humanist Zaccaria Trevisan (1370–1414) as the *podestà* of Verona and the assumption of this office by another Venetian, Albano Badoer (around 1360–1428).¹³⁸ In the MS BJ 126, as well as in other manuscripts, the names of Albano Badoer and Zaccaria Trevisan were replaced by Fran. B. and P. Lau., referring to Francesco Bembo and Pietro Loredan.¹³⁹ Francesco Bembo (d. after 1427) held the

¹³⁶ This letter is placed between a letter by Gasparino Barzizza and a letter by Francesco Barbaro in the MS Venezia BNM, Lat. XI. 101 (3939), ff. 12r–14r. For more on this manuscript, see C. R e v e s t, *Naissance du cicéronianisme...*

¹³⁷ MSS BJ 173, ff. 229r–230r, BCzart. 1242, ff. 152v–155r; Oss. 601, ff. 297r–299r. It is also known from at least 20 manuscripts, see G. F r a n c z a k, op. cit., p. 79.

¹³⁸ Inc.: "Optavi tum sepe alias..." (BJ 126, ff. 10v–11v); This speech was published by R. S a b b a d i n i, *La scuola e gli studi di Guarino Guarini Veronese con 44 documenti*, Catania 1896, pp. 170–172. For more on Zaccaria Trevisan, see P. G o t h e i n, *Zaccaria Trevisan*, "Archivio Veneto" 5 series, 21, 1937, pp. 1–59; i d e m, *Zaccaria Trevisan il Vecchio. La vita e l'ambiente*, Venezia 1942; B. G. K o h l, *Francesco Barbaro*, [in:] *The earthly republic. Italian Humanists on Government and Society*, eds. by B. G. K o h l, R. G. W i t t, Philadelphia 1978, p. 180; R. G. W i t t, op. cit., pp. 470–475. For more on Albano Badoer, see G. C r a c c o, *Badoer Albano*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 5 (1963), [online] [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/albano-badoer_\(Dizionario_Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/albano-badoer_(Dizionario_Biografico)/) [accessed on: December 5, 2015]; R. S a b b a d i n i, *La scuola*, pp. 16, 170–172. A very similar incipit ("Optavi cum alias, tum maxime...") may be found in a speech delivered by Matteo Bissaro, a lawyer and orator from Vicenza, when the office of the *podestà* in Vicenza was assumed by Francesco Barbaro (26 February 1425). For this reason, some scholars were convinced that the above-mentioned speech from the MS BJ 126 manuscript may be identified with the one by Bissaro, see *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, p. 101. For more about Matteo Bissaro, see: E. R a g n i, *Bissaro Matteo*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 10 (1968), [online] [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/matteo-bissaro_\(Dizionario_Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/matteo-bissaro_(Dizionario_Biografico)/) [accessed on: February 9, 2016]. List of manuscripts with Bissaro's speech: J. M. M c M a n a m o n, *An Incipitarium*, p. 618.

¹³⁹ The speech appears as anonymous in the MS BJ 126. It is also known from four other Cracow manuscripts: BJ 42, ff. 12v–13r (titled *Oratio doctissimi viri Gwarini Veron.*); BJ 173, ff. 210r–v (also as *Oracio doctissimi viri Guarrini Veronensis*); BJ 2232, ff. 180v–181v; BOss. 601, ff. 270r–v. Some manuscripts contain the version: "Optavi cum sepe alias" (Udine, B. Arciv. 70, ff. 34r–35r);

office of the *capitano* of Verona in 1411 and 1413, Pietro Loredan (d. 1438) was the commander of the Venetian fleet, but none of them served as the *podestà* in Verona.¹⁴⁰ In the speech, which followed the Ciceronian model, Guarino praised the virtues of the Venetian *podestà*.

Another text popular in the fifteenth century, a pseudo-Ovidian epistle from Sappho to Phaon (*Incipit Epistula Saphos poetige Mutilene, inc.*: “Hec quid ubi...,” ff. 35r–36r), appears in the MS BJ 126 separately from Ovid’s *Heroides*, in which it was later included.¹⁴¹ Its presence among Italian rhetorical texts from the 15th century can be attributed to the fact that 15th-century humanists treated it as a newly discovered ancient work.¹⁴² This text was often found in anthologies with classical and humanistic texts copied in the Paduan milieu. Many of them belonged to students (especially to those originating from north of the Alps).¹⁴³ However, it cannot be found

P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, vol. 2, p. 202. Already R. Sabbadini noticed that many manuscripts include the names Fran. B. (= Franciscus Bembo) and P. Lau. (Petrus Laureanus) together with Guarino’s speech, and he could list only two manuscripts containing the correct version of the names of the two *podestà* of Verona (Zaccaria Trevisan and Albano Badoer): Chemnitz Stadbücherei 2411 (now Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, App. 2282) and Siena, Biblioteca Comunale, Cod. H VI 26; *Epistolario di Guarino Veronese*, ed. R. Sabbadini, vol. 3: *Commento*, Venezia 1919, pp. 10–11; see P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, vol. 6: *Italy and alia itinera*, Leiden–New York–Koln 1992, p. 501.

¹⁴⁰ S. Borsari, *Bembo, Francesco*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 8 (1966), [online] [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/francesco-bembo_res-a4e1833c-87e7-11dc-8e9d-0016357eee51_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/francesco-bembo_res-a4e1833c-87e7-11dc-8e9d-0016357eee51_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) [accessed on: February 11, 2016]; G. Guillinò, *Loredan Pietro*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 65 (2005), [online] [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/pietro-loredan_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/pietro-loredan_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) [accessed on: September 12, 2016].

¹⁴¹ Manuscripts BJ 42, ff. 3r–4v; BCzart.1242, ff. 426–432. For 25 Vatican MSS, see L. Gualdo Rosa, (review) *M. Buonocore, Aetas Ovidiana. La fortuna di Ovidio nei codici della Biblioteca Vaticana, Sulmona, Centro Ovidiano di Studi e Ricerche, 1994, pp. 303, tavv. XLII*, “*Humanistica Lovanien-sia. Journal of Neo-Latin Studies*” 45, 1996, p. 542. For 13 Florentine MSS, see A. Perosa, *Studi di filologia umanistica*, ed. P. Viti, vol. 2: *Quattrocento fiorentino*, Roma 2000, p. 39.

¹⁴² The letter was considered to be a genuine work by Ovid until the end of the nineteenth century. The Ovidian authorship was first questioned by classical philologists in the 20th century. Some researchers believe that Sappho’s letter to Phaon was not written by Ovid (which is indicated by its style and content, as well as the method of transmission. In no manuscript did it appear as the fifteenth letter in the Ovid collection of *Heroides*, as it did in print editions), but it was placed either at the end or separately, see R. J. Tarrant, *The Authenticity of the Letter of Sappho to Phaon (Heroides XV)*, “*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*” LXXXV, 1981, pp. 133–153; P. E. Knox, *Introduction*, [in:] *Ovid Heroides selected epistles*, ed. idem, Cambridge 1995, pp. 6–7; G. P. Rosati, *Sabinus, the Heroides and the Poet-Nightingale. Some Observations on the Authenticity of the Epistula Sapphus*, “*The Classical Quarterly*” 46, 1, 1996, pp. 207–216.

¹⁴³ L. Gargan, *‘Dum eram studens Padue.’ Studenti-copisti a Padova nel Tre e Quattrocento*, [in:] *Studenti, università, città nella storia padovana. Atti del Convegno Padova, 6–8 febbraio 1998*, eds. F. Piovani, L. Sitrani-Rea, Trieste 2001, p. 45.

in the above mentioned Udinese manuscript with a collection of humanistic and classical texts.¹⁴⁴

The manuscript also contains a speech composed by an unidentified author in praise of newly graduated doctor Cristoforo da Campo (inc.: “Vereor, magnifici presides...,” ff. 6r–v) which also seems to be a separate text (not belonging to any bigger collection). The addressee of the speech could be identified as the son of Giovanni, patrician of Verona, who studied civil law at the University of Padua.¹⁴⁵ The oration mentions Pietro Marcello, Bishop of Padua (in the years 1409–1428) and Paolo Dotti (c. 1392 – c. 1455). The former belonged to the humanistic milieu of Padua and had contacts with Gasparino Barzizza. The latter was a Paduan lawyer who earned a doctorate in civil law at the University of Padua, where in 1415 he was appointed professor of law (lecturing since 1422). This speech could be dated roughly to 1419–1427.¹⁴⁶ The oration was relatively widespread in

¹⁴⁴ See L. Bertalot, *Eine Sammlung...*, pp. 209–235.

¹⁴⁵ The text mentions the doctor’s name, family name, and place of origin: “de optimis studiis et nature excellentia, de preclara opus domini Christofori nostri familia aliqua dicam... minime de egregia ipsius familia dicam, quae ex Campo cognominata et nam olim maiores sui optima ac opulenta castella in Tridentina regione possederunt... ac permanent, ut dignitatem cum summa laude et gratiam optimorum civium veronensium et aliarum nationum sibi iure optimo vindicaverunt. Egregius denique vir Johannes, pater suus adeo instituisse fortunas sibi comparavit...” (BJ 126, f. 6v). C. Revest has identified the addressee of the speech as Cristoforo da Campo, though she cites a different incipit, C. Revest, *Culture humaniste...*, p. 33. Cristoforo da Campo was a member of the commission appointed in 1427 to reform the statutes of Verona, see G. M. Varanini, *Die Statuten der Städte der venezianischen Terraferma*, [in:] *Statuten, Städte und Territorien zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit in Italien und Deutschland*, eds. G. Chittolini, D. Willoweit, Berlin 1992, p. 219; For more on Cristoforo da Campo, see: G. Dal Pozzo, *Collegii Veronensis iudicum advocatorum [...] elogium*, Verona 1653, pp. 87–89; C. Carcereri de Prati, *Il collegio dei giudici-avvocati di Verona*, Verona 2001, pp. 58, 61. The speech in honour of Cristoforo da Campo is also listed as an anonymous work by A. Sottili, *Studenti tedeschi e umanesimo italiano nell’Università di Padova durante il Quattrocento*, vol. 1: *Pietro del Monte nella società accademica padovana (1430–1433)*, Padova 1971, p. 16.

¹⁴⁶ The *terminus post quem* could be 1415 (the date of obtaining a doctorate by Paolo Dotti) and the *terminus ante quem* could be 1428 (the date of death of Pietro Marcello). It seems that this time span can be narrowed down further. It can be assumed that Cristoforo da Campo was already a doctor of law when he joined the commission established to reform the statutes of Verona in 1427, so he must have obtained his doctorate earlier. He was a member of the Collegio dei giudici-avvocati of Verona and according to the 1399 statute, the candidates to this corporation were required to have studied law at a university for five years. It was not until 1497 that the statute was changed to include the requirement of holding a doctoral degree, see C. Carcereri de Prati, op. cit., p. 63; *Lo statuto del collegio dei giudici e avvocati di Verona (1399)*, eds. A. Ciaralli, G. M. Varanini, Verona 2009, p. 92. The Paduan *Acta graduum* from the years 1415–1428 do not list any doctor of civil law who could be identified with our Cristoforo, therefore it can be assumed that Cristoforo

European manuscripts (especially those from Germany).¹⁴⁷ In the European manuscripts, however, it was surrounded by texts other than in the MS BJ 126. Moreover, they usually appeared in different configurations, which would indicate that this oration did not belong to any fixed ‘bundle.’¹⁴⁸ The speech was included in another Cracow manuscript (Oss. 601, ff. 6r–v) in the same text combination as in the MS BJ 126.

So far, I have not been able to identify a ‘bundle’ which could include the anonymous wedding speech composed in the Paduan milieu (*Oracio pro sponsalibus*, inc.: “Neminem vestrum ignorare arbitrator...,” ff. 20v–21v), known from two manuscripts from outside Cracow.¹⁴⁹ It is difficult to determine the date of its composition, because the text does not mention the names of the newlyweds and only includes a general praise of the marriage.¹⁵⁰ The oration was composed in line with the canons of

obtained his doctorate in the period corresponding to the gap in *Acta graduum* (from 1419 to 1428), see D. Gallo, *Lauree inedite in diritto civile e canonico presso lo studio di Padova (1419–1422, 1423, 1424, 1428)*, “Quaderni per la storia dell’università di Padova” XX, 1987, p. 2; see J. Fijak-Łek, op. cit., pp. 49–50.

¹⁴⁷ C. Revest lists nine manuscripts with this speech (*Culture humaniste...*, p. 12, no. 18): Cracow BJ 126, ff. 6r–6v, Oss. 601, ff. 262r–263r, Berlin SPK, Lat. F 613, ff. 46v–47r; Donaueschingen, Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek, 30, ff. 16r–17v; Freiburg i. B., Universitätsbibliothek 159, pp. 36v–37v; München, BSB, Clm 265, ff. 172v–173r; München, BSB, Clm 5354, ff. 324r–325r; Stuttgart, WL, HB VIII.26, pp. 34–38 and Udine, B. Arciv. 70, ff. 52v–53r; see L. Bertalot, *Eine Sammlung...*, p. 232.

¹⁴⁸ In the MS Udine, B. Arciv. 70, it is preceded by a speech on the occasion of the doctoral promotion in canon law, inc.: “Optarem ego, magnifici presides...,” ff. 51r–52r, followed by Gasparino Barzizza’s speech inaugurating the lecture on *De anima*, inc.: “Maxime vellem...,” f. 53v. In the manuscript of München, BSB, Clm 265, it is followed by Gasparino Barzizza’s speech in praise of philosophy, inc.: “Sentio, magnifici patres et doctores...,” ff. 173r–173v. In the MS Stuttgart, WL, HB.VIII.26, it is preceded by a speech on the occasion of conferring doctoral insignia in canon law to Maffeo Bon, ff. 30r–34r, followed by Gasparino Barzizza’s speech on the occasion of conferring a doctorate in civil law, inc.: “Si quis forte vestrum miratur...,” ff. 38r–42r. In the MS Berlin SPK, Lat. 613, it is preceded by a speech on the occasion of conferring doctoral insignia in canon law, inc.: “Optarem ego...,” ff. 45r–46r, followed by a speech inaugurating a lecture on *De oratore* by Cicero, inc.: “Quamquam sepius...,” f. 47r. In the MS München, BSB, Clm 5354, it is followed by Gasparino Barzizza’s speech in praise of canon law “Quamquam multos hic esse...,” ff. 325r–327r; see C. Revest, *Culture humaniste...*, p. 10, no. 10; p. 12, no. 19; p. 22, no. 57; p. 26, no. 59; p. 28, no. 73; p. 30, no. 76.

¹⁴⁹ The following passage gives evidence that the speech was composed in the Paduan milieu: “Sit propterea ad honorem et gaudium sempiternum virorum nobilium huius regie civitati Patavini...” (BJ 126, f. 21v). The speech can also be found in the MSS: Belluno, Seminario Gregoriano, 49, f. 71v; Venezia, BNM, Marc. Lat. XI 101 (3939), ff. 19v–21v.

¹⁵⁰ A. F. D’Elia, *The Renaissance of Marriage in Fifteenth Century Italy*, Cambridge 2004 (Harvard Historical Studies, vol. 146, p. 150).

Ciceronian humanism and may be associated with the circle of Guarino of Verona, who was the author of many wedding speeches.¹⁵¹

The following funeral speech, *Oracio pro funere Bartholomei Cirmisoni Lodovici de Pirano* (“Sepe numero, patres amplissimi, cogitavi mecum, quanto esse debeat...,” ff. 21v–22v), is also included independently of any ‘bundle.’¹⁵² Delivered in 1421, it was written on the commission of the University of Padua by Ludovico da Pirano (d. 1447), a Franciscan monk, provincial vicar and Paduan doctor of theology (1415).¹⁵³ The oration was written in a traditional (medieval) style, as the author did not have humanistic rhetorical preparation. The protagonist of the speech was Bartolomeo Cermisone (Cermisone da Parma, b. ca. 1340, d. after 1415), a condottiere who fought in the forces of the Carrara family from around 1360. In 1389, following the surrender of Francesco Novello, he joined the side of the Visconti family.¹⁵⁴ There are only seven extant manuscripts with this oration, including five manuscripts from the Cracow milieu.¹⁵⁵

John of Ludzisko’s collection of orations in the MS BJ 126 includes a short fragment of Leonardo Bruni’s *Prologue* to the translation of Plato’s *Phaedo* with a dedication to Pope Innocent VII (inc.: “Qui tuam laudant sanctitatem, pater beatissime, opus certe bonum, pium agere...,” f. 56v). It is placed between a speech welcoming Casimir Jagiellon upon his entrance to Cracow for the coronation and a speech addressed to Archbishop of Gniezno Vincent Kot (Wincenty Kot). The prologue is dated to the period between October 1404 and March 1405.¹⁵⁶ It can be supposed that the scribe in-

¹⁵¹ The beginning of the speech was taken from Cicero’s second speech against Verres (Cicero, *In Verrem*, II, inc.: “Neminem vestrum ignorare arbitror, iudices, hunc per hosce dies sermonem vulgi atque hanc opinionem populi Romani fuisse...”).

¹⁵² For a printed edition of the speech, see: A. C a l a n d r i n i, G. M. F u s c o n i, *Forlì e i suoi vescovi. Appunti e documentazione per una storia della Chiesa di Forlì, II, Il secolo XV*, Forlì 1993, pp. 859–862.

¹⁵³ G. F r a n c z a k, op. cit., p. 86; T. C a l i o, *Ludovico da Pirano*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 66, Roma 2006, pp. 427–430; C. C e n c i, *Lodovico da Pirano e la sua attività letteraria*, [in:] *Storia e cultura al Santo*, ed. A. P o p p i, Vicenza 1976, pp. 265–278.

¹⁵⁴ R. G. W i t t, op. cit., p. 386; M. M a l e t t, *Cermisone Bartolomeo*, [in:] *DBI*, 23 (1979), [online] [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/bartolomeo-cermisone_\(Dizionario_Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/bartolomeo-cermisone_(Dizionario_Biografico)/) [accessed on: August 16, 2015].

¹⁵⁵ Cracow MSS containing this speech: BJ 173, ff. 227r–228v; BJ 2232, ff. 208v–209v; Czart 1242, ff. 149v–152v; Oss. 601, ff. 273r–v. Tommaso Calio (op. cit., pp. 427–430) mentions only three manuscripts with this speech: Città di Vaticano, BAV, Pal. lat., 327, f. 289b; BJ, 173, BJ 126; McManamon adds the MS St. Petersburg Archives of the Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences, LOIII, cod. 1 box 614, ff. 55–58, J. M. M c M a n a m o n, *An incipitarius...*, p. 805.

¹⁵⁶ P. B o t l e y, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*, Cambridge 2004, p. 12; Leonardo Bruni *Are­tino. Humanistisch-Philosophische Schriften: Mit Einer Chronologie Seiner Werke Und Briefe*, ed. H. B a r o n, Leipzig 1928, p. 161.

tended to copy the rest of the prologue on the following empty folio (f. 57r–v) but for some reason did not do it. The text could have been included in the MS BJ 126 independently of the other texts from the ‘Italian’ collection believed to have been brought by John of Ludzisko, because it is known from two other Cracow manuscripts containing a collection of Italian rhetorical texts. The first one, MS BJ 2038 (ff. 38v–39r), was written too late (in the 1470s), so the prologue could not have been copied from it. The second one is the MS BJ 519 (ff. 116v–117r), whose first part (ff. 1r–9v) was written in Constance in 1414 and the second part – around 1420; it was eventually bound in Cracow around 1450.¹⁵⁷ The prologue may have been copied from it to the MS BJ 126. It is also possible that the prologue belonged to the collection supposedly brought by John of Ludzisko (it is included in other European manuscripts containing the collection of rhetorical texts most similar to the one in the MS BJ 126),¹⁵⁸ and the copyist, upon realizing that he had not entered it together with the other texts from the Italian collection, began to copy it to a blank folio next to the speech by John of Ludzisko.

SPEECHES KNOWN ONLY FROM THE MS BJ 126 AND CRACOW MANUSCRIPTS

The corpus of Italian works brought by John of Ludzisko contains a number of texts, including some by unidentified authors, which are known only from Cracow manuscripts.

The MS BJ 126 includes four epigrams by Antonio Baratella appearing outside their original context. Antonio Baratella (c. 1385–1448), a Paduan poet and humanist, student of Gasparino Barzizza, teacher of grammar (in Padua in 1415–1416, in Pirano in 1426–1427 and in Belluno in 1430–1434) and the teacher of the sons of Doge Francesco Foscari,¹⁵⁹ is not identified as their author in the MS BJ 126. The first of these four works was addressed to Guarino of Verona (inc.: “Itala, quem gemine laurus et Greca serenant...,” f. 35), the second one to Pope Martin V (inc.: “Multa vetant calamo, quod adest hoc suscipe gratum...,” f. 35)¹⁶⁰ and the last two to Sic-

¹⁵⁷ *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 3, p. 224.

¹⁵⁸ Udine, Arciv. 70, f. 44r; Città di Vaticano, BAV, Ottob. Lat. 3021, ff. 30r–30v.

¹⁵⁹ The most comprehensive work on Antonio Baratella is the monograph by A. S e g a r i z z i, *Antonio Baratella e i suoi corrispondenti*, “Miscellanea di Storia Veneta,” series III, vol. 10, Venezia 1916, pp. 1–187, and the biography by B. Z i l i o t t o, *Baratella Antonio*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 5, Roma 1963, pp. 778–780. Ruggiero Marconato’s study has a more popularizing character, *Antonio Baratella (1385–1448). Vita, opere e cultura di un umanista padovano*, Citadella 2002.

¹⁶⁰ Another manuscript containing this text is mentioned in *Catalogus codicum*, vol. 1, 105: Padova, Biblioteca Civica, B. P 881. For the description of its content, see: [online] <http://www.nuovabibliotecamancoscritta.it/StampaManoscritto.html?codice=7883> [accessed on: March 11, 2016].

co Polenton (around 1375–1446 / 1448), a humanist, notary of the Carrara family, employed in the communal chancery in Padua from 1415 (inc.: “Nullus ad Euganeas hinc sedes perget amicus...,” f. 35r and inc.: “Nuper ab altissimo cepi Siccone tabelas...,” f. 35r).¹⁶¹ The two epigrams addressed to Sicco Polenton form part of a larger poetic work titled *Laureia*, devoted to the subject of the mythical origin of the town of Loreggia.¹⁶² The work was finished before 1434 and is known from the Venetian manuscript BNM, Lat. XII 174 (3955).¹⁶³ So far, it has not been possible to find a manuscript in which these two epigrams would appear separately from *Laureia* in the same order as in the MS BJ 126. The literary output of Baratella was not held in high esteem by his contemporaries and his poems had a much more modest circulation than Barzizza’s.¹⁶⁴ Baratella’s poem *Foscara* written in 1422 in honour of Doge Francesco Foscari is known only from two manuscripts.¹⁶⁵

The next group consists of four pieces written in honour of well-known people (ff. 34r–34v). It was treated as a whole by the authors of the catalogue of the medieval manuscripts preserved in the Jagellonian Library, who, however, had difficulty identifying the author and suggested a double authorship on the basis of the analysis of explicits (the authors were supposed to be Bernardus de Messaltis and Bernardus de Imiola). The author is referred to as Bernhardus de Mesaltis in the explicits of two pieces (expl. “Bernhardum de Mesaltis tue excelsitudinis devotissimum,” ff. 34r and 34v). The first one was written in honour of Nicholas d’Este, Marquis of Ferrara in the years 1393–1441 (inc.: “Optavi tua gesta, clarissime princeps...,” f. 34r)¹⁶⁶ and the second one in honour of Francisco Foscari, doge in the years 1423–1457 (inc.: “Ecce tue matris...,” f. 34r).¹⁶⁷ In the case of the elaborate rhymed piece in honour of Gasparino Barzizza (titled *Ad exundantissimum eloquencie fontem Gasparinum de*

¹⁶¹ Another manuscript with this text is mentioned in *Catalogus codicum*, vol. 1, 106: Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare CCCXVI.

¹⁶² A. Segarizi, *Antonio Baratella...*, p. 126.

¹⁶³ The two epigrams to Sicco Polenton are included in the Venetian manuscript on f. 73r and 80v, respectively. The author would like to thank Professor Rino Modonutti from Dipartimento di Studi Linguistici e Letterari, Università degli Studi di Padova for this information.

¹⁶⁴ In a letter to Bishop Feltre Enrico Scarampo of 6 October 1437, Sicco Polenton was critical of the poetic works of Baratella, see S. Polenton, *La Catina, le orazioni e le epistole*, ed. A. Segarizi, Bergamo 1899, p. 124.

¹⁶⁵ A. Baratella, *Foscara*, eds. A. Cassata Contin, E. Martellozzo Forin, Venezia 2014, p. 54.

¹⁶⁶ Berardo Messalto probably wrote more speeches in honour of Nicholas d’Este, as could be argued on the basis of the entry from 1467 in the catalogue of the Borso d’Este Library “Quedam Carmina ad Illmum d. Nicolaum estensem edita in uno folio reali in duabus faciebus,” see G. Bertoni, *La biblioteca estense e la coltura ferrarese ai tempi del duca Ercole I (1471–1505)*, Torino 1903, p. 222.

¹⁶⁷ A. M. Ippolito, *Este, Niccolo d’*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 43, Roma 1993, pp. 396–403; G. Gullino, *Foscari Francesco*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 49, Roma 1997, pp. 318–320.

Bartutis in arte oratoria, inc.: “Fessus ad Hesperias...,” f. 34v), appearing as the last of the four discussed pieces, some scholars read the author’s name in the colophon as “Bilardus de Imiola” or even “Bilardus de Imola.”¹⁶⁸ The name in the colophon can also be read as “Bernhardus” and the place of origin as “Muola,” which could refer to Muggia, also called “Muia” or “Mugla” in the Middle Ages.¹⁶⁹ It seems that the author should be identified with Bernardo Messalto of Muggia, who lived in Venice in the Santa Margherita district in the years 1395–1420. He served as the rector of a school in Venice and wrote pieces which he often addressed to well-known personalities.¹⁷⁰

Some Polish scholars have found it more problematic to identify the author of the penultimate of the four pieces discussed above, written in honour of Doge Tommaso Mocenigo (*Oracio continens laudes excellentissimi principis et domini*, inc.: “Excellentissime princeps. Licet parvitas mea non sit digna...,” f. 34v), mainly due to the name Polisenam listed in the colophon (*edita per Polisenam de Masaltis*).¹⁷¹ The mysterious Polisenam was the daughter of the aforementioned rhetorician and poet Bernardo Messalto.¹⁷² She received a literary education and also wrote poems in Latin.¹⁷³ The phrase *edita per Polisenam de Masaltis* seems to suggest that Polisenam published a speech composed by her father. This thesis is also supported by the fact that the piece must have been written during the reign of Doge Tommaso Mocenigo (1414–1414).¹⁷⁴ The speech is known from three more Cracow manuscripts.¹⁷⁵

It has not been possible to identify any other European manuscript containing the same set of panegyrics by Bernardo Messalto, which proves that they were not popular. They could have found their way to the manuscript of John of Ludzisko via

¹⁶⁸ *Catalogus codicum*, vol. 1, p. 105; G. F r a n c z a k, op. cit., p. 77.

¹⁶⁹ MS BCzart. 1242 (f. 207r) states even more clearly “Bernardus de Muola.” I would like to thank Professor Halina Manikowska (The Tadeusz Manteuffel Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences) for her suggestions regarding the transcription of this passus in the manuscript. For more on the medieval Muggia, see E. R o s a m a n i, *Vocabolario giuliano dei dialetti parlati nella Venezia Giulia, in Istria, in Dalmazia, a Grado e nel Monfalconese*, Trieste 1999, p. 658; see G. P e l l e g r i n i, *Ricerche di toponomastica veneta*, Padova 1987, p. 147.

¹⁷⁰ Listed as *rector scholarum* in Venice in the years 1396–1419, E. B e r t a n z a, G. D a l l a S a n t a, *Maestri, scuole e scolari in Venezia fino al 1500*, Venezia 1907 (*Documenti per la storia della cultura in Venezia*), pp. 215, 217, 224, 228, 234, 241, 248, 250, 256, 260, 267, 270, 295. I would like to thank Anna Pomierny-Waśnińska who helped me to access this work. Bernardo Messalto had ties to humanist Antonio Baratella, A. S e g a r i z z i, *Antonio Baratella*, p. 118.

¹⁷¹ See *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, p. 105; G. F r a n c z a k, op. cit., p. 89.

¹⁷² Polisenam is mentioned in the last will made by “Chatarucia uxor ser Bernardi rectoris scholarum” on 15 December 1402, E. B e r t a n z i, op. cit., p. 241.

¹⁷³ V. C o x, *Women’s Writing in Italy, 1400–1650*, Baltimore 2008, p. 261; B. Z i l i o t t o, *La cultura letteraria di Trieste e dell’Istria. Parte prima dall’antichità all’umanesimo*, Trieste 1913, p. 90.

¹⁷⁴ G. G u l l i n o, *Mocenigo Tommaso*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 75, Roma 2011, pp. 150–153.

¹⁷⁵ MS BJ 173, ff. 200r–v; Oss. 601, ff. 299v–300r; Czart 1242, ff. 155r–v.

Padua or may bear evidence to John's ties to the Venetian milieu (both are possible in view of the close connections between Padua and Venice and their geographic proximity). The alleged manuscript of John of Ludzisko, with the MS BJ 126 believed to be its copy, contributed to the introduction of a set of texts by author(s) of secondary importance to circulation in the peripheries of Latin Europe, but at the same time resulted in their preservation solely in manuscripts present within this circulation.

The speech titled *Oracio composita et pronunciata per egregium arcium doctorem Paulum de Robobellis pro principio studii Patavini de lune Octobris 1420* (inc.: "Nisi vestrum pars maxima non ignoraret," ff. 31v–33r) in the MS BJ 126 is currently known from another manuscript related to the Cracow intellectual milieu.¹⁷⁶ The speech was delivered in 1420 by Paolo Robobelli (Paulus de Robobellis), a representative of a well-known Venetian family, Paduan master of arts (1418) and later doctor of medicine (1425).¹⁷⁷

The speech *Oracio in laudem generosi viri domini Georgii Cornario in introitu sui regiminis in Padvam 1430 decembris 8* (inc.: "Hodierno die hanc dabis veniam..." f. 12r)¹⁷⁸ has also been found solely in manuscripts from Cracow. The oration was commissioned by the University of Padua on the occasion of the assumption of the office of the Paduan *podestà* by Giorgio Corner (1374–1439), a member of an influential Venetian family and the son of a doge.¹⁷⁹ Its author was Pietro Del Monte (ca. 1400/1404–1457), a member of a wealthy though non-aristocratic Venetian family, a student of law in Padua (from 1420).¹⁸⁰ He completed rhetorical studies under Guarino of Verona, and his formation can be described as partly humanistic and partly scholastic, as in his output he combined humanistic themes with scholastic concepts.¹⁸¹

In the case of the anonymous wedding speech ("Vereor, patres optimi, ne admiremini hodierno die," f. 11v), an attempt can be made to identify its addressee, defined in the text as the Venetian vice-*podestà* and *capitano*.¹⁸² The authors of the catalogue of medieval manuscripts of the Jagiellonian Library correctly interpreted

¹⁷⁶ MS Oss. 601, ff. 293v–297r.

¹⁷⁷ B. N a d o l s k i (*Jan z Ludziska, pionier...*, p. 3) incorrectly identified the author as Paolo Robortelli the Elder, misled by the similarity to the surname of another humanist from Udine, Francesco Robortelli (1516–1567). The erroneous identification was noted by G. Franczak (op. cit., p. 88), who identified the author of the speech as a member of the Venetian family of Robobelli.

¹⁷⁸ MS BCzart. 1242, ff. 169v–170r; Oss. 601, ff. 270v–271r.

¹⁷⁹ G. G u l l i n o, *Corner Giorgio*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 29, Roma 1983, pp. 212–216.

¹⁸⁰ This speech is mentioned as anonymous in *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, p. 101. G. F r a n c z a k (op. cit., p. 86) identifies Pietro del Monte as the author.

¹⁸¹ R. R i c c i a r d i, *Del Monte, Pietro*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 38, Roma 1990, pp. 141–146.

¹⁸² "Sit ad honorem ac leticiam magnifici ac generosi domini M. civitatis huius vicepotestatis et capitanei generalis" (BJ 126, f. 11v; BJ 42, f. 5v; BJ 173, f. 201r; Oss. 601, f. 271r; BCzart. 1242, f. 203v; BOZ 896, p. 15).

the abbreviation ‘M.’ as Marco, but they suggested that it referred to Marco Foscarelli, who does not fit the description as he did not hold the office of the *podestà* and the *capitano* at the same time.¹⁸³ The addressee could have been Marco Giustiniani Orsalo, who held both of these functions from mid-September to December 1428, as it transpires from the list of Venetian *podestà* and *capitani* in Padua published by Andrea Gloria for the years 1405–1440.¹⁸⁴ Anthony F. D’Elia suggested that the speech could have been composed by Guarino.¹⁸⁵ This hypothesis is supported by the fact that Guarino was one of the first authors to write Renaissance wedding speeches based on classical models. At his school, he taught his students how to write and deliver them.¹⁸⁶ Unfortunately, Guarino never assembled his speeches or letters into a single collection, which makes it difficult to solve the problem of the authorship of the piece.¹⁸⁷

The author of the speech in praise of both laws, which in the manuscript BJ 126 is titled *Oratio utriusque iuris Paridis Cipriensis* (inc.: “Cum mecum ipse, viri eruditissimi, summo studio, maxima cura...,” ff. 29v–31v), can be identified with a considerable degree of confidence. The oration is known from another Cracow manuscript.¹⁸⁸ The first part of the speech was borrowed (with minor modifications) from the oration composed by Gasparino Barzizza to inaugurate lectures on canon and civil law, known from two German manuscripts (where it is titled *Sermo Inicialis Iuris canonici vel civilis Casparini Pergamensis cuiuscumque lectionis*).¹⁸⁹ The speech in the MS BJ 126 is about seven times longer than the corresponding speeches in German manuscripts. It can be assumed that both German manuscripts contain only the initial fragment, not the full speech by Gasparino.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸³ *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, p. 101.

¹⁸⁴ A. Gloria, *Dei podestà e capitani di Padova dal 1405 al 1509. Serie cronologica provata coi documenti dal dottore A... G... direttore dell’archivio e museo civico*, Padova 1860, s. 19. I would like to thank Professor Donato Gallo and Professor Francesco Piovan of Centro per la Storia dell’Università di Padova for helping me to access this work and suggesting Marco Giustiniani as the most probable addressee of the speech.

¹⁸⁵ A. F. D’Elia, op. cit., p. 143. The speech is listed as anonymous by P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, vol. 4: *Alia itinera II. Great Britain to Spain*, London–Leiden 1989, p. 404; *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, p. 101.

¹⁸⁶ A. F. D’Elia, op. cit., p. 40. Ten wedding speeches by Guarino are mentioned by C. de Rimini, *Vita e disciplina di Guarino Veronese e de’suoi discepoli*, vol. 2, Brescia 1806, pp. 139–141.

¹⁸⁷ G. Pistilli, op. cit., pp. 357–369.

¹⁸⁸ Oss. 601, ff. 288r–293v.

¹⁸⁹ A slightly different incipit (“Cum mecum ipse, viri eruditissimi, firmo studio maxima cura...”) is present in the MS Stuttgart WL, HB VIII 26, p. 6 (text of the speech on pp. 6–8); Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, Mc. 70, ff. 74r–74v; C. Revest, *Culture humaniste...*, p. 17, no. 43.

¹⁹⁰ Gasparino’s speech ends with “Et contraria generale decernistis condescendam,” Tübingen Universitätsbibliothek, Mc. 70, f. 74v; Stuttgart, WL, HB VIII 26, p. 8.

The oration contains praise of Bologna and its university.¹⁹¹ It is possible to indicate the approximate time when it was written, because the author addressed the cardinal of the church of St. Cecilia and legate in Bologna.¹⁹² Among the cardinals of St. Cecilia before the 1440s (the time of writing of the MS BJ 126), Louis Aleman (1390–1450) seems to be the best match. He was a legate in Bologna in the years 1425–1428, and he was elevated to the rank of cardinal in 1426 and assigned to the titular church of St. Cecilia.¹⁹³ The time of the creation of this speech (1426–1428) coincides with the time of Gasparino Barzizza’s stay in Bologna.¹⁹⁴ It has been impossible to identify the author named Paris Cypriensis (Cypriot Paris, Paris of Cyprus), so it can be assumed that it was a humanistic pseudonym.¹⁹⁵ Moreover, due to the temporal coincidence of the time of composition of this speech with the stay of Gasparino Barzizza, it can be assumed that it was him who used the name Paris. However, it can be argued that if we were indeed dealing with Gasparino’s oration, it would be known in full from a greater number of manuscripts, since his speeches were very popular and were usually preserved in more than one manuscript.¹⁹⁶ Perhaps this speech is a compilation of an oration by Gasparino made by his student. The passage praising Bologna was later used by John of Ludzisko in his oration *De laudibus eloquentiae*, where he replaced Bologna with Cracow.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹¹ “o beata Bononia, quem talem virum adepta es inducere” (BJ 126, f. 31r) and “Omnes, qui Bononie moram studendi gratia trahunt...” (BJ 126, f. 31v).

¹⁹² “Vellem, viri amplissimi, oratione mea efficere posse nos intelligere tum me Reverendissimo tituli Sancte Cicilie et huius alme Civitas dignissimo legato impartire laudes optatum forti viro et sapientissimo homini et maximo principi debeat” (BJ 126, f. 31r).

¹⁹³ *Hierarchia catholica mediæ aevi, sive Summorum pontificum, S. R. E. cardinalium, ecclesiarum antistitum series ab anno 1198 usque ad annum perducta e documentis tabularii praesertim Vaticani collecta, digesta*, ed. P. E u b e l, Monasterii 1913, p. 40; G. P è r o u s e, *Le cardinal Louis Aleman et la fin du grand schisme*, Lyon 1904, pp. 25, 45, 51–84.

¹⁹⁴ R. G. M e r c e r, op. cit., p. 135.

¹⁹⁵ There is no student with that name in the Paduan *Acta graduum* nor in the Bolognese *Liber secretus iuris caesarei dell’Università di Bologna* (vol. 1: 1378–1420, ed. A. S o r b e l l i, Bologna 1938; vol. 2: 1421–1450, ed. A. S o r b e l l i, Bologna 1942). The only person with the name Paris mentioned in the documents related to the University of Bologna published by C. P i a n a does not correspond to our Paris (Paris de Puteo is not an option as he was born in 1410, see C. P i a n a, *Nuovi documenti sull’Università di Bologna e sul Collegio di Spagna*, vol. 2, p. 1097). He is not identified by G. F r a n c z a k, op. cit., p. 87.

¹⁹⁶ In the list of humanistic speeches drawn up by C. Revest, there are six speeches by Gasparino Barzizza which are known only from one extant manuscript (among a total of 41 listed speeches by Gasparino), see C. R e v e s t, *Culture humaniste...*, pp. 17–33, no. 40–81.

¹⁹⁷ The passage from the speech by Paris Cypriensis (Gasparino Barzizza?): “Quam igitur per hos annos, civitatem in orbe terrarum doctorum vel auctoritate, vel sciencia vel multitudine aut copia hac

Another speech in the MS BJ 126, the author of which is called “Paris Romanus” (*Paridis Romani De oratorie facultatis laudibus oracio feliciter incipit*, inc.: “Non eram, viri eruditissimi, nescius illud me dicendi genus...,” ff. 28r–29v), has so far been found in one more Cracow manuscript.¹⁹⁸ It does not contain any hints (references to persons, places, etc.) allowing us to determine the date and place of its creation. It seems that also in this case the name Paris was a pseudonym. It is possible that it was a pseudonym used by Gasparino Barzizza or some other representative of “Ciceronian” humanism. In the speech, Cicero is presented as the model of an orator.¹⁹⁹ John of Ludzisko used entire passages from the speech in his oration *De laudibus et dignitate eloquentiae*.²⁰⁰

It has proved impossible to identify the author of the speech delivered to celebrate Thomas of Cyprus receiving a bachelor’s degree. Titled *Oracio pro licencia in medicinis* (inc.: “Si quid est, viri lectissimi, quo in tanta fluctuancium rerum tempestate...,” ff. 23r–v), it is only known from one Cracow manuscript.²⁰¹ The analysis of its content indicates that the speech could not have been delivered, as suggested by G. Franczak, for Thomas, son of Peter of Nicosia, who obtained a bachelor’s degree in medicine in Padua on July 22, 1424, because the oration praised King of Cyprus Jacob, and in 1424 Cyprus remained under the rule of Janus of Lusignan (d. 1432).²⁰²

Similarly, it is difficult to identify the author of the following oration (known so far from one other Cracow manuscript), called *Principium in artibus* (inc.: “Censeo, magnifici presides, vos patres ornatissimi non parum dicendi muneris...,” expl.: “vehementissimo amoris incendio mentibus vestris maiorem in modum teneatis,

quam colimus sanctissima Bononia...”) (BJ 126, f. 31v) was used by John of Ludzisko, who replaced “in orbe terrarium” with “in maiori parte Germanie” and “sanctissima Bolonia” with “famosissima Cracovia.” See Jan z Ludziska, *Orationes*, p. 43. John of Ludzisko’s borrowings from the speech of Paris Cypriensis are pointed out by B. Nadołski (*Rola Jana z Ludziska*, p. 209), J. S. Bójarski (*Jan z Ludziska*, pp. 31–32), G. Franczak (op. cit., p. 6). M. Perdek analyzes a fragment of John’s speech in praise of Cracow focusing on the rhetorical figures used by the author, see [online] <http://www.mediewistyka.pl/perdep.htm> [accessed on: January 6, 2016].

¹⁹⁸ See MS Oss. 601, ff. 284v–288r.

¹⁹⁹ See MS BJ 126, f. 28v.

²⁰⁰ B. Nadołski, *Rola Jana z Ludziska*, p. 209.

²⁰¹ The text includes the name: “Hic vir prudentissimus Thomas Ciprius...” (BJ 126, f. 23r; Oss 601, ff. 274r–275v).

²⁰² *Acta graduum...*, vol. 1, no 608. G. Franczak based his conclusions on the fact that there was only one Thomas of Cyprus listed in *Acta graduum*, see *Acta graduum...*, vol. 1, no 528 and 609; see G. Franczak, op. cit., p. 90. For the rulers of Cyprus, see Ł. Burkiewicz, *Królestwo Cypru jako obiekt zainteresowań państw śródziemnomorskich w latach 1192–1489. Próba zarysowania problemu*, “Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego,” *Prace Historyczne*, fasc. 137, 2019, pp. 27–42; M. Miśtał, *Historia Cypru*, Kraków 2013, pp. 233–235.

amen,” ff. 23v–24v).²⁰³ The speech praises philosophy and eloquence, but it lacks references to people or places which would allow to tie it to a particular Italian university. It could be hypothesized that it was composed in Padua because of the mention of Titus Livy of Padua among ancient orators and writers described as masters of rhetorical art.²⁰⁴ The discovery of alleged bones of Livy in the monastery of St. Justine constituted an important event for building his image as the mythical founder of Padua and for the associated sense of pride of the town’s inhabitants.²⁰⁵ However, it is difficult to indicate a more accurate date of creation of this speech.²⁰⁶ Another hint pointing to its Paduan provenance is its placement between two Paduan speeches (the first one in honour of Thomas of Cyprus and the second one discussed below, mentioning the rectors of the University of Padua).

Another anonymous Paduan oration known only from Cracow manuscripts is treated by some scholars as one whole with the discussed *Principium in artibus* (inc.: “Magnopere congratularer ac vehementissima animi iocunditate tenerer, magnifici presides...,” ff. 24v–25r).²⁰⁷ It was delivered on the occasion of the doctoral promotion of an unidentified law student. The names included in this speech allow for its precise dating. The following were mentioned: Pietro Marcello, Bishop of Padua (1409–1428) and doctor of both laws (1413),²⁰⁸ Bartholomeus Nani, *Podestà* of Padua (from late 1426 to at least November 1427), and Bartholomeus Mauracenus (Mo-

²⁰³ MS Oss. 601, ff. 275v–277v. Some scholars considered the oration and the subsequent speech (on ff. 24v–25r) to be two parts of the same text. *Catalogus codicum*, vol. 1, p. 103; G. F r a n c z a k, op. cit., p. 90. J. S. B o j a r s k i believes it to be a separate speech, see *Jan z Ludziska*, pp. 43–44.

²⁰⁴ “Non equidem mihi persuadeo... philosophie laudem... attigisse, imo... existimarem Ciceronis eloquenciam, Salustii eleganciam, Bruti ornatum dicendi copiam... Addo posthac, quid Valerius Maximus, quid Titus Livius Patavus, quid Demostenes, quid Homerus Grecane eloquencie princeps, quid ceteri poete tam Greci quam Latini... dicere potuissent” (BJ 126, f. 24v).

²⁰⁵ After the discovery of the alleged remains of Livy, important Paduan families planned to erect a mausoleum in his honour near their family houses, while Venetian authorities (since 1405 Padua was under Venetian rule) designated Piazza dei Signori for this purpose. Finally, the wall of Palazzo della Ragione was chosen as the burial place. The discovery was described by Siccò Polenton in a letter to Niccolò Niccoli of 28 October 1414 (printed edition: S. P o l e n t o n, *La Catina, le orazioni e le epistole*, ed. A. S e g a r i z z i, Bergamo 1899, pp. 77–84), M. P. S t o c c h i, op. cit., p. 211; see G. B i l l a n o v i c h, *La tradizione del testo di Livio e le origini dell’Umanesimo*, vol. 1: *Tradizione e fortuna di Livio tra Medioevo e Umanesimo*, Padova 1981; G. B o d o n, *Veneranda Antiquitas. Studi sull’eredità dell’antico nella Rinascenza veneta*, Bern 2005, p. 187.

²⁰⁶ This speech is dated to 1436 in *Catalogus codicum* (vol. 1, p. 103), however, there is no evidence for such a date.

²⁰⁷ Antonio da San Severino listed in the speech (BJ 126, f. 25r). The speech is also preserved in MS Oss. 601, ff. 277v–278v.

²⁰⁸ “...permaximas etiam grandes [!] tibi habeo Petro Marcello, utriusque iuris doctori solertissimo, Dei et apostolice institutionis gracia huius ingenue civitatis presuli condigno” (BJ 126, f. 24v). For

rosini), *Capitano* of Padua (11 January 1427–January 1428).²⁰⁹ The text also includes the names of Albanus Mauracenus (Albano Morosini), rector of the Faculty of Law, and Marianus de Camereno (Mariano da Camerino), rector of the Faculty of Arts.²¹⁰ It is difficult to precisely define the dates of Albano Morosini's term as the rector. The year 1425, cited in the antiquarian work by Facciolati as the date when Albano held his office, does not fit here.²¹¹ It is possible that Albano's term was prolonged by one year or that he was a vice-rector in 1425 and then became the rector in 1426.²¹² Mariano da Camerino was mentioned as rector on August 9, 1426, and since the election to the office usually took place in May, he must have held his post until May 1427.²¹³ Other figures listed are Bartolomeo Zabarella (1400–1445), papal protonotary, Archbishop of Padua (from 1426), later Archbishop of Split (1428–1439) and Florence (1439–1445),²¹⁴ as well as three famous Paduan professors of law – Raffaele Fulgosio of Piacenza (1367–12 September 1427), Raffaele Raimondi (1387–20 October 1427) and Prosdocimo Conti (around 1370–1438).²¹⁵ The speech must have been written in 1427, before September 12, 1427 (death of Raffaele Fulgosio), and most likely between January and May 1427.²¹⁶

more on Pietro Marcello, see D. Gallo, *Un'orazione universitaria di Pietro Marcello (Padua 1417)*, "Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova" XXI, 1988, pp. 55–66.

²⁰⁹ "Vobis insuper magnificis dominis Bartholomeo Nani, huius urbis magnifice pretori perspicacissimo, ac Bartholomeo Mauroceno, capitaneo illustrissimo, immortales gratias dico..." (BJ 126, ff. 24v–25r). A. Gloria, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

²¹⁰ "Multasque preterea gratias refero vobis domino Albano Mauraceno et magistro Mariano de Camareno, utriusque unite universitatis, iuristarum scilicet et artistarum rectoribus benemeritis..." (BJ 126, f. 25r).

²¹¹ I. Facciolati, *Rectores iuristarum ab anno MCCCCVI usque ad MDIX, Fasti Gymnasii Patavini*, Patavii 1757, p. 6. Iacopo Facciolati's work was criticised due to its antiquarian nature, see M. Boscaïno, *Facciolati Iacopo*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 44, Roma 1994, pp. 65–68.

²¹² I would like to thank Professor Donato Gallo (Centro per la Storia dell'Università di Padova) for this suggestion.

²¹³ 17 August 1435, *Acta graduum...*, vol. 1, no 1068.

²¹⁴ "Gratias referre tibi domino Bartholomeo de Zabarellis, papalis Curie prothonotario reverendissimo necnon huius cathedrali ecclesie Patavine archipresbitero dignissimo, cuius sciencie claritas atque profunditas vitam teneris annis toti terrarum orbi stuporem" (BJ 126, f. 25r); For Bartolomeo Zabarella, see: A. Belloni, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

²¹⁵ MS BJ 126, f. 25r. For more on these lawyers, see: A. Belloni, *op. cit.*, pp. 45, 47, 312; M. J. C. A. B. e, „*Cum essem in Constantie...*” *Raffaele Fulgosio and the Council of Constance 1414–1415*, Leiden 2015; C. Bukowska-Gorgoni, *Fulgosio, Raffaele*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 50, Roma 1988, pp. 699–702; B. G. Kohl, *Conti, Prosdocimo*, [in:] *DBI*, vol. 28 (1983), [online] [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/prosdocimo-conti_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/prosdocimo-conti_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) [accessed on: March 6, 2016].

²¹⁶ I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Donato Gallo for helping to determine the date of composing this speech.

It has not been possible to identify the author, place or time of the creation of the short speech in praise of philosophy titled *Oratio in laudem philosophiae* (inc.: “Constituerunt nostri prisca non ordine exiguo...,” f. 25), known from another Cracow manuscript.²¹⁷

Four theology-themed speeches (*Sermones*; inc.: “Ego quasi vitis fructicavi suavitatem odoris...,” ff. 25r–v; inc.: “Et si iam de maximis rebus vestris...,” f. 26r; inc.: “Non sit aliquis vestrum, viri doctissimi, qui forte perscrutetur...,” f. 26v; inc.: “Ne dum satis mecum ipse constitui, patres optimi...,” f. 27r) are also known from another Cracow manuscript.²¹⁸ They do not contain any information allowing for a more precise identification, such as references to persons or places. It can only be asserted that they were composed in a university milieu.

The first one (inc.: “Ego quasi vitis fructicavi suavitatem odoris...,” ff. 25r–v) contains the praise of theology and is constructed in a traditional way, typical of medieval university speeches – it is built around an initial quotation from the Old Testament.²¹⁹ It contains a reference to Peter Lombard, whose *Sentences* were a standard reading at the Faculty of Theology.²²⁰ This speech is a compilation, combining medieval features with elements which may be interpreted as influences of humanism, but do not definitively point to such a conclusion (e.g. the borrowing from Cicero).²²¹

The second speech praising theology (inc.: “Et si iam de maximis rebus vestris...,” f. 26r) begins quite typically – with the speaker excusing himself for undertaking to deliver it.²²² Some phrases indicate the humanistic nature of the oration.²²³

The beginning of the third of the discussed speeches, an oration concerning the mystery of the Incarnation (inc.: “Non sit aliquis vestrum, viri doctissimi, qui forte perscrutetur, quod ego, qui neque genio neque eloquencia is sim...,” f. 26v), refers to Andrea Giuliano’s popular speech written for the funeral of Manuel

²¹⁷ MS Oss. 601, f. 278v.

²¹⁸ MS Oss. 601, ff. 279r–282r.

²¹⁹ “Ego quasi vitis fructicavi suavitatem odoris,” Wisdom of Sirach 24:23; for more on the structure of medieval university speeches, see M. K o w a l c z y k, *Krakowskie mowy...*, p. 8.

²²⁰ MS BJ 126, f. 25v; M. A s z t a l o s, *The Faculty of Theology*, [in:] *A History of the University in Europe*, vol. 1: *Universities in the Middle Ages*, ed. H. d e R i d d e r - S y m o e n s, Cambridge 1991, p. 412.

²²¹ “Quantum dicendi gravitate, splendore aut copia...” (MS BJ 126, f. 25v) is a reference to Cicero’s speech *De imperio (Pro lege Manilia)*, 42: “iam quantum consilio, quantum dicendi gravitate et copia valeat.”

²²² MS BJ 126, f. 26r; MS Oss. 601, f. 280r.

²²³ The phrase “ad orandum venerim” could be found in the orations by Gasparino Barzizza: “Si quis forte vestrum miratur... quadam atque mihi insolita ratione dicendi ad orandum venerim,” see *Gasparini Barzizii Bergomatis et Guiniforti filii opera*, vol. 1, ed. G. A. F u r i e t t i, Roma 1723, p. 69.

Chrysoloras.²²⁴ It is thus possible to indicate the year 1415 as *terminus post quem* for this speech.

The last of the university ‘theological’ speeches (inc.: “Ne dum satis mecum ipse constitui, patres optimi...,” f. 27r) is a university sermon for the feast of Corpus Christi. Nadolski described the style of this speech as medieval, because it begins with an invocation to the Virgin Mary.²²⁵

The above university speeches are followed by an unidentified wedding speech, known so far from one other Cracow manuscript (inc.: “Cum videam in hac mea etate...,” f. 27v).²²⁶ There is no information in the text to help determine the author of the piece or the time and place of its composition. The speech contains the usual praise of the institution of marriage, and its author makes a reference to Cicero.²²⁷

The manuscript BJ 126 also contains an anonymous speech accompanying the ceremony of awarding doctoral insignia at the Faculty of Arts (inc.: “Vellem, patres amplissimi, ea esset in me elegancia...,” ff. 27v–28r), which, as indicated by its content, was delivered before the students of the University of Bologna.²²⁸ It is not known who was its particular addressee, therefore it is difficult to date it precisely. The style of the oration allows us to include it in the corpus of humanistic speeches, as it praises oratorical art and contains overt references to Cicero.²²⁹ It is a compilation of various speeches, some of which may have been written outside Bologna. Its content

²²⁴ The beginning of Andrea Giuliano’s speech on the occasion of the funeral of Manuel Chrysoloras: “Si quis vestrum est, viri dilectissimi, qui forte admiretur, quod ego, qui neque ingenio neque eloquentia is sim...” (BJ 126, f. 9v).

²²⁵ B. N a d o l s k i, *Humanistyczne mowy...*, p. 457, app. 1.

²²⁶ See MS Oss. 601, ff. 282v–283r.

²²⁷ “postea quid honestius, quid sancius quid ve preclarius quam ipsam divina coniunctio, cui et ipsem Cicero assentire videtur... dicens” (MS BJ 126, f. 27v).

²²⁸ What points to this conclusion is the praise of Bologna in the speech: “Nam ut olim Athenarum civitas et vetustate quadam et pulcerrimarum arcium dignitate Greciam illustrare solita erat. Ita florentissima Bononie civitas hereditario quodam iure Italie decus sibi vendicat. Nam ut obmittam agros agrorum ubertatem, que ceterum ferme urbibus prestare videtur, que Civitas vel sapientiam vel humanitate vel relinquit ornamentum cum Bononia comparanda...” (MS BJ 126, f. 28r). This passage was used by John of Ludzisko in his speech *De laudibus et dignitate eloquentie et oratorie sciencia*, see MS BJ 126, f. 53r; J o a n n e s d e L u d z i s k o, *Orationes*, p. 13 (the publisher indicated the correct source used by John). According to B. Nadolski, John of Ludzisko followed the descriptions of cities by Guarino, B. N a d o l s k i, *Rola Jana z Ludziska*, pp. 201–202. In the analysis of the passage, M. P e r d e k (op. cit.) did not notice that the praise of Cracow had been borrowed directly from the Italian original (only “Bologna” was changed to “Cracow”). G. F r a n c z a k (op. cit., p. 61) argued that the speech *De laudibus et dignitate eloquentie et oratorie sciencia* was a brilliant compilation of passages from Italian university speeches.

²²⁹ “Ut elegantissime, ait Cicero, non tam mihi copia quam modus in dicendo quaerendus” (MS BJ 126, f. 27v), quoted from: *De imperio CN. Pompei ad Quirites oratio*, 3.

resembles the speeches by Gasparino Barzizza.²³⁰ This may be due to the fact that Gasparino Barzizza taught rhetoric and poetry at the University of Bologna for a short time over the years 1426–1428 (perhaps he was its author).²³¹

Another text which could not be identified more precisely is a short university speech of gratitude (*De gratiarum actione*, inc.: “Sapientissimi patres et domini mei preclarissimi, maximo cuperem,” f. 263). It was delivered at the Faculty of Arts and Medicine and is known from another Cracow manuscript.²³² The fact that it was placed after the Paduan speech in honour of Cristoforo da Campo could suggest that it was written in the Padua university milieu, but it cannot be considered a decisive argument.

The University of Padua was probably also associated with the short speech of gratitude included in the MS BJ 126 directly after the speech of Paolo Robobelli, known from another Cracow manuscript (inc.: “Si hec nostra universitas, magnifici presides, eas gracias referre posset...,” f. 33r).²³³ The oration includes an appeal to the city authorities on behalf of Venice, which indicates that the city in question was Padua.²³⁴

CONCLUSIONS

The state of knowledge about the circulation of texts, both medieval and humanistic, before the invention of the press is quite modest. Despite the increasing number of catalogue and compendial studies, such as *Iter Italicum*²³⁵ or the above mentioned registers of incipits and explicits of speeches (humanistic, funerary, from the Council of Constance),²³⁶ research is still significantly limited by the necessity to use incipits to identify texts. Meanwhile, a comparative analysis of full texts shows that one of-

²³⁰ The incipit is similar to Gasparino Barzizza’s speech in praise of philosophy: “Maxime vellem, patres eruditissimi, ea in me esset vis atque exercitacio...” (MS BJ 126, f. 18v); C. R e v e s t, *Culture humaniste...*, p. 27, no. 71 (with reference to manuscripts containing the speech).

²³¹ R. G. M e r c e r, op. cit., p. 135.

²³² MS Oss. 601, f. 263r. J. S. Bojarski mentions it as a separate piece, *Jan z Ludziska*, p. 40. Not identified by other researchers discussing the MS BJ 126, see *Catalogus codicum...*, vol. 1, p. 100; G. F r a n c z a k, op. cit., p. 90.

²³³ MS Oss. 601, ff. 296v–297r. The speech can be hardly discerned as a separate text in the MS BJ 126. Only its beginning is marked with a new paragraph, there is no empty space separating it from the previous speech, and the copyist did not leave empty space for a possible title. J. S. B o j a r s k i treated this oration as a separate piece, *Jan z Ludziska...*, p. 45; It was listed in the catalogue of medieval manuscripts of the Jagellonian Library, but it was not given a separate number, *Catalogus codicum*, vol. 1, p. 104. It is not listed by G. F r a n c z a k, op. cit.

²³⁴ MS BJ 126, f. 33r.

²³⁵ P. O. K r i s t e l l e r, *Iter Italicum: A Finding List of Uncatalogued Or Incompletely Catalogued Humanistic Mss of the Renaissance in Italian and Other Libraries*, vol. 1–6, London 1963–1992.

²³⁶ C. R e v e s t, *Culture humaniste...*; J. M. M c M a n a m o n, *An Incipitarius...*; C. N i g h m a n, P. S t u m p, *A Bibliographical Register of the Sermons...*

ten deals with inaccurate copies or even *sui generis* variants of speeches. The analysis of full texts also allows for the identification of the author or at least the place and time of the creation of a given speech.

The authors could not be identified in case of seventeen anonymous fifteenth-century speeches included in the manuscript BJ 126. In many cases, however, it was possible to indicate the specific intellectual milieu with which these texts were associated. Further discoveries may be possible after a closer examination of manuscript resources of other libraries.

The pieces which proved possible to date had been written before the year when John of Ludzisko obtained a doctorate in medicine in Padua. It can therefore be assumed that he came into possession of these texts during his medical studies in Padua. The collection of rhetorical texts contained in the MS BJ 126 is not directly related to the canons of teaching and cannot be used as an argument proving that John of Ludzisko underwent regular rhetorical studies in Italy after obtaining his doctorate (a possible confirmation of this fact could be the presence of, for example, works of Cicero with commentary in the collection).²³⁷

By bringing Italian speeches and letters to Cracow, John of Ludzisko provided the local milieu with new rhetorical models. The manuscript BJ 126 has special importance in the research of the reception of Italian rhetoric as it reflects the reception of such texts in the Cracow milieu – the speeches of John of Ludzisko and Peter Gaszowiec were based on the models from the discussed body of Italian works.²³⁸

Some of these works (25) are known, at least for now, only from Cracow codices and not the Italian ones. This may be due to the insufficient recognition of Italian manuscripts, but it can also be explained by the fact that John of Ludzisko, like other students arriving to the Apennine Peninsula from the other side the Alps, had a less extensive literary preparation, so he brought back a manuscript codex containing texts of lesser authors or already somewhat 'outdated' rhetorical models which would be ignored by erstwhile Italian copyists.²³⁹ Many of the texts were probably copied due to their usefulness. The collection provided models for speeches delivered on various occasions: welcoming of distinguished people, funerals, weddings, inauguration of lectures, or handing out doctoral insignia.

²³⁷ G. P. M a n t o v a n i, op. cit., p. 80.

²³⁸ The speech by Peter Gaszowiec on the occasion of obtaining the degree of bachelor of medicine by James of Boksyce (Jakub z Boksysc) was discussed by B. Nadolski, who claimed that it was based on six Italian orations contained in the MS BJ 126 and a speech by John of Ludzisko with the praise of eloquence, *Humanistyczne mowy...*, p. 456; J. S. B o j a r s k i, *Prologomena*, [in:] J a n z L u d z i s k a, *Orationes*, pp. 13–14; i d e m, *Quibus fontibus Joannes de Ludzisko in sua oratione „De laudibus et dignitate philosophiae” componenda usus sit*, "Eos" 56, 1966, pp. 206–212.

²³⁹ A. Sottili draws attention to such a phenomenon when discussing the letters of Pietro del Monte, which are preserved mainly in manuscripts from German territories, *Studenti tedeschi...*, pp. 15–16.

Anthologies of rhetorical models were sometimes created inadvertently, while other times they were curated by a copyist who selected the works and arranged them in a certain order.²⁴⁰ In the MS BJ 126, it can be noted that some texts are placed next to each other with a purpose in mind. It is not known to what extent John of Ludzisko had an influence on this order (neither has it been established whether he copied the manuscript in Padua himself or purchased a ready-made codex there). The Italian texts included in the manuscript are clearly divided into sections with speeches and letters (with minor exceptions to this rule); the speeches are often grouped thematically – orations with commendations of liberal arts, speeches related to the Faculty of Theology, etc. At times, the pieces are grouped according to their authors – there are individual blocks of epigrams by Antonio Baratella or Bernardo Messalto. In many cases, it is possible to explain the placement of specific texts by identifying their presence in ‘packages’ known from other European manuscripts.

The structure of the ‘Italian’ part of the BJ 126 manuscript indicates that it was assembled from ready-made elements. A student in Padua in the 1430s could purchase or copy such pre-prepared sets with rhetorical texts from stationers or bedels who were primarily involved in trading texts related to the university’s activities; he could use the services of professional copyists or students earning money by copying. The sites where students in Padua could rewrite or possibly borrow manuscripts were monastery libraries, in particular those of mendicant orders, which in addition to theological and legal texts were also equipped with philosophical, grammatical and rhetorical works.²⁴¹

Similar examples of importing a corpus of Italian rhetorical texts and subsequently surrounding it with works from the native humanistic output are known from German territories. The manuscript codex belonging to Hermann Schedel, partially consisting of Italian texts transcribed from a manuscript brought from Padua by Johannes Heller, who studied law there in the years 1444–1448, were supplemented with speeches and letters written by German authors by the owner himself.²⁴² The manuscript written in the third quarter of the fifteenth century and owned by Burkhard von Horneck, a doctor of arts and medicine, was enriched in a similar manner.²⁴³

²⁴⁰ A. Sottili, op. cit., p. 5.

²⁴¹ L. Gargan, *Dum eram studens...*, pp. 33–42.

²⁴² Currently in the Munich University Library Hs. 4768, discussion of the manuscript – L. Bertalot, *Eine humanistische Anthologie. Die Handschrift 4768 der Universitätsbibliothek München*, Berlin 1908; A. Sottili, op. cit., p. 6.

²⁴³ Universität Würzburg, M.ch.q.1, description: *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg*, vol. 3, part 2: *Die Papierhandschriften der ehemaligen Dombibliothek*, ed. H. Thurn, Wiesbaden 1981, pp. 74–76; P. G. Schmidt, *Der Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Renaissance am Beispiel des Burkhard von Horneck*, “Wolfenbütteler Renaissance-Mitteilungen” 9, 1985, pp. 1–7.

Anthologies such as the BJ 126 manuscript affected the dissemination of specific texts and played the role of an important carrier in the transmission of intellectual models. The BJ 126 manuscript makes it possible to trace the penetration of rhetorical models from the Padua environment into the Cracow intellectual milieu in the 15th century (and via Padua or through the ‘Paduan filter,’ also of other rhetorical texts – from the Venetian milieu, from the Council of Constance, or works related to Alexander the Great).

Researchers are currently carrying out analytical studies on the relationship between the BJ 126 manuscript and other Cracow manuscripts containing the same Italian rhetorical texts. An identical body of texts may have reached the Cracow milieu in the same period but through other channels. Further research in the field should focus on such issues as the circulation of rhetorical texts imported from Italy in the Cracow intellectual milieu, the issue of the popularity of certain texts and ‘omission’ of others, and their placement within the manuscript codices.

Table 1. MS BJ 126 – ‘Italian’ rhetorical collection.

	Incipit	Author	Folios
1	“Vellem, ut pro magnitudine ac gloria earum arcium, de quibus hodierno sermo habendus est, reverendissimi patres”	Cristoforo Barzizza	2r–3r
2	“Postquam decreto patrum conscriptorum assertus ornatissimum locum istum ascendi, colendissime antistes”	Cristoforo Barzizza	3r–4v
3	“Si pro gravi merore vestro”	Cristoforo Barzizza	4v–5v
4	“Quod antea dudum optaveram, pater beatissime, ut aliquando ante pedes tuos proceriderem”	Cristoforo Barzizza	6r
5	“Vereor magnifici presides”		6r–v
6	“Sapientissimi patres et domini mei preclarissimi, maximo cuperem ac brevi oratione mea vobis dignas laudes”		6v
7	“Maxima pars hodierno die fortissimo viro Georgio Laureano a vobis effecta”	Guarino of Verona	8r–9v
8	“Si quis vestrum est, viri dilectissimi, qui forte admiretur”	Andrea Giuliano	9v–10v
9	“Optavi cum sepe alias”	Guarino of Verona	10v–11v
10	“Vereor, patres optimi, ne admiremini hodierno die”	Guarino of Verona?	11v
11	“Hodierno die hanc dabis veniam”	Pietro Del Monte	12r

12	"Vellem patres reverendissimi, tantum virtutis atque animi roboris"	Poggio Bracciolini	12r–14r
13	"Non mediocri voluptate afficior, illustres ac magnifici"	Gasparino Barzizza	15r–v
14	"Antequam ea, que hodierno die"	Francesco Barbaro	15v–16r
15	"Sencio, magnifici patres et doctores amplissimi, quanto studio sit ab his"	Gasparino Barzizza	16r–16v
16	"Visa vestra singulari et egregia sapiencia, patres amplissimi"	Gasparino Barzizza	16v–17r
17	"Quamquam multos hic esse intelligam, illustres ac magnifici domini"	Gasparino Barzizza	17r–18v
18	"Maxime vellem, patres eruditissimi, ea in me esset vis atque exercitacio"	Gasparino Barzizza	18v
19	"Multi forte vestrum mirantur, viri insignes"		18v–20r
20	"Nichil habet, rex Alexander, vel fortuna tua"		20r–v
21	"Neminem vestrum ignorare arbitror"		20v–21v
22	"Sepe numero, patres amplissimi, cogitavi mecum, quanto esse debeat"	Ludovico da Pirano	21v–22v
23	"Si quid est, viri lectissimi, quo in tanta fluctuancium rerum tempestate"		23r–v
24	"Censeo, magnifici presides"		23v–24v
25	"Magnopere congratularer ac vehementissima animi iocunditate tenerer"		24v–25r
26	"Constituerunt nostri prisci non ordine exiguo"		25r
27	"Ego quasi vitis fructicavi suavitatem odoris"		25r–v
28	"Et si iam de maximis rebus vestris"		26r
29	"Non sit aliquis vestrum, viri doctissimi, qui forte perscrutetur"		26v
30	"Ne dum satis mecum ipse constitui, patres optimi"		27r
31	"Cum videam in hac mea etate"		27v
32	"Vellem, patres amplissimi, ea esset in me elegancia"		27v–28r
33	"Non eram, viri eruditissimi, nescius illud me dicendi genus"	Paris Romanus	28r–29v
34	"Cum mecum ipse, viri eruditissimi, summo studio"	Paris Cipriensis (Gasparino Barzizza?)	29v–31v

35	“Nisi vestrum pars maxima non ignoraret nostrarum scienciarum eximiam ac preclarissimam laudem”	Paolo Robobelli	31v–33r
36	“Si hec nostra universitas, magnifici presides, eas gracias referre posset, quibus vobis et beneficio vestro satisfactum esse intelligam”		33r
37	“Gwarinus Veronensis doctissimo viro Poggio secretario apostolico salutem plurimam dicit. Ex hiis litteris, quas nuper”	Guarino of Verona	33r–v
38	“Optavi tua gesta, clarissime princeps, scribere”	Bernardo Messalto	34r
39	“Ecce tue matris Venete, dux inclite, princeps”	Bernardo Messalto	34r–v
40	“Excellentissime princeps, licet parvitas mea non sit digna”	Bernardo Messalto	34v
41	“Fessus ad Hesperias titan pervenerat undas”	Bernardo Messalto	34v
42	“Itala quem gemine laurus et Greca serenant”	Antonio Baratella	35r
43	“Multa vetant calamo, quod adest hoc suscipe gratum”	Antonio Baratella	35r
44	“Nullus ad Euganeas hinc sedes perget amicus”	Antonio Baratella	35r
45	“Nuper ab altissimo [!] cepi Siccone tabellas”	Antonio Baratella	35r
46	“Hec quid ubi”		35r–36r
47	“Multas ex tuis oracionibus accuratissime”	Gasparino Barzizza	36r
48	“Poggius salutem plurimam dicit Guarino Veronensi. – Si vales, bene est, ego quoque valeo”	Poggio Bracciolini	36r–v
49	“Poggius salutem plurimam dicit Guarino Veronensi. – Dii male faciant”	Poggio Bracciolini	36v
50	“Poggius plurimam salutem dicit Nicolao suo. – Si vales, bene est, ego quoque valeo”	Poggio Bracciolini	36v–37v
51	“Poggius Leonardo Aretino plurimam salutem. – Cum pluribus diebus”	Poggio Bracciolini	37v–38v
52	“Ex omni genere hominum, quos variis dampnabimus”	Leonardo Bruni	38v–40r
53	“Domino Iohani Bochacio... epistola domini Francisci De insigni obediencia et fide uxoria”	Petrarch	40r–v
54	“Est ad Ytalie latus occiduum Vesulus”	Petrarch	40v–42v
55	“Semper memor tui”	Pseudo-Alexander the Great	42v
56	“Viris prudentibus doctoribus et scolaribus universis Studii Bononiensis Tadeus de Suessa magister, imperialis curie iudex...”	Taddeo di Sessa Aurunca	42v

57	“Forma epistole, quam Mardocheus princeps Iudeorum misit Alexandro”		42v–43v
58	“De vita et moribus Bragmanorum”		43v–45r
59	“Expositurus vobis pater Hugo versiculos”		45r–v
60	“Qui tuam laudant sanctitatem, pater beatissime”	Leonardo Bruni	56v

Table 2. Comparison with the description in *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum mediæ ævi Latinorum, qui in Bibliotheca Jagellonica Cracoviae asservantur*, vol. 1, pp. 99–10.

	Incipit	Author according to the catalogue	Correct author	Pages
1	“Vellem, ut pro magnitudine ac gloria earum arcium, de quibus hodierno sermo habendus est, reverendissimi patres”	Anonymous	Cristoforo Barzizza	2r–3r
2	“Postquam decreto patrum conscriptorum assertus ornatissimum locum istum ascendi, colendissime antistes”	Anonymous	Cristoforo Barzizza	3r–4v
3	“Si pro gravi merore vestro”	Gasparino Barzizza	Cristoforo Barzizza	4v–5v
4	“Quod antea dudum optaveram, pater beatissime, ut aliquando ante pedes tuos procederem”	Iacobus de Doctoribus prior in Andante	Giacomo dei Dottori (Cristoforo Barzizza)	6r
5	“Vereor, patres optimi, ne admiremini hodierno die”	Anonymous	Guarino Veronese?	11v
6	“Hodierno die hanc dabis veniam”	Anonymous	Pietro Del Monte	12r
7	“Sencio, magnifici patres et doctores amplissimi, quanto studio sit ab his”	Anonymous	Gasparino Barzizza	16r–16v
8	“Visa vestra singulari et egregia sapientia, patres amplissimi”	Anonymous	Gasparino Barzizza	16v–17r
9	“Quamquam multos hic esse intelligam, illustres ac magnifici domini”	Anonymous	Gasparino Barzizza	17r–18v
10	“Maxime vellem, patres eruditissimi, ea in me esset vis atque exercitacio”	Anonymous	Gasparino Barzizza	18v
11	“Multi forte vestrum mirantur, viri insignes”	Anonymous	Gasparino Barzizza	18v–20r

12	“Cum mecum ipse, viri eruditissimi, summo studio”	Paris Cipriensis	Paris Cipriensis (Gasparino Barzizza?)	29v–31v
13	“Nisi vestrum pars maxima non ignoraret nostrarum scienciarum eximiam ac preclarissimam laudem”	Paulus de Robobellis	Paolo Robobelli	31v–33r
14	“Optavi tua gesta, clarissime princeps, scribere”	Bernardus de Messaltis	Bernardo Messalto	34r
15	“Ecce tue matris Venete, dux inclite, princeps”	Bernardus de Messaltis	Bernardo Messalto	34r–v
16	“Excellentissime princeps. Licet parvitas mea non sit digna”	Bernardus de Messaltis	Bernardo Messalto	34v
17	“Fessus ad Hesperias titan pervenerat undas”	Bernardus (Bilardus) de Imiola	Bernardo Messalto	34v
18	“Viris prudentibus doctoribus et scolaribus universis Studii Bononiensis Tadeus de Suessa magister, imperialis curie iudex...”	Bertrandus de Bononia	Taddeo di Sessa Aurunca	42v
19	“Qui tuam laudant sanctitatem, pater beatissime, opus certe bonum pium agere”	Anonymous	Leonardo Bruni	56v

Translated by Anna Sekulowicz

ABSTRACT

The present article contains an analysis of the rhetorical texts which are to be found in a fifteenth-century manuscript held by the Jagiellonian Library (shelfmark 126). This collection was probably copied from a codex brought to Cracow from Italy by John (Jan) of Ludzisko, who studied medicine in Padua from 1430 to 1433. It consists of humanistic and medieval texts (mainly speeches and letters) and clearly served as a model for speeches which were written both by John himself and by his student Piotr Gaszowiec. An analysis of the full texts (and not only of the incipits) allows us to identify the hitherto unknown authors and/or the time and place of origin of some of these works. This in turn shows that the texts in the collection are divided into certain sections, some consisting of works by the same author (e.g. the speeches of Cristoforo Barzizza or the panegyrics of Bernardo Messalta) and some of speeches meant to be delivered on particular occasions (e.g. praising the sciences or mourning someone's death). Apart from very popular fifteenth-century texts such as Andrea Giuliano's speech for the funeral of Manuel Chrysoloras, the collection also includes Italian rhetorical texts which had hitherto been known only from Cracow manuscripts. An analysis of the manner in which the works are arranged within the volume in question allows us to distinguish certain 'packages' of texts that are also present in other European manuscripts. Most of the texts which are included in this collection came into existence in the intellectual circles of Padua and Venice, but some of them

were written during the Council of Constance by the outstanding Florentine humanists Poggio Bracciolini and Leonardo Bruni. For this reason, MS 126 makes it possible to study the reception of Italian intellectual culture as well as the very process of the transmission of Italian models of writing to Cracow circles. It also proves that the circles of Padua and Venice served as important intermediaries or 'filters' in the process of the transmission of Italian models to Cracow.

KEYWORDS:

rhetoric, Jan of Ludzisko, speeches, letters, manuscript, humanism

RETORYKA WŁOSKA W RĘKOPISIE Z SYGNATURĄ 126 ZE ZBIORÓW BIBLIOTEKI JAGIELLOŃSKIEJ

STRESZCZENIE

Niniejszy artykuł zawiera analizę tekstów z kolekcji retorycznej, znajdującej się w piętnastowiecznym rękopisie Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej z sygnaturą 126. Miała ona zostać odpisana z kodeksu przywiezionego z Włoch do Krakowa przez Jana z Ludziska, studenta medycyny w Padwie w latach 1430–1433. Ta złożona z utworów o charakterze humanistycznym, a częściowo średniowiecznym (głównie mów i listów), kolekcja dostarczyła wzorców dla umieszczonych po niej w tymże rękopisie mów Jana z Ludziska i jego ucznia Piotra Gaszowca. Przeprowadzona analiza pełnych tekstów, a nie samych incipitów, pozwoliła na identyfikację nierozpoznanych dotąd autorów i/lub miejsca i czasu powstania niektórych utworów. Pozwoliło to pokazać sposób uporządkowania tekstów w obrębie tej kolekcji i wyróżnić w niej określone bloki tekstów, na przykład grupy utworów tego samego autora (na przykład mowy Cristofora Barzizy, panegiryki Bernarda Messalta) czy mów wygłaszanych w określonych okolicznościach (na przykład mowy z pochwałami nauk czy mowy pogrzebowe). W skład tej kolekcji obok bardzo popularnych w XV wieku utworów, takich jak mowa Andrei Giuliana na pogrzeb Emanuela Chryzolorasa, wchodzi także teksty retoryczne włoskie znane dotąd tylko z rękopisów krakowskich. Analiza kolejności ułożenia tekstów pozwoliła wskazać w rękopisie BJ 126 „pakiety” tekstów występujących obok siebie również w innych rękopisach europejskich. Większość tekstów wchodzących w skład omawianej kolekcji powstała w środowisku padewsko-weneckim, ale są wśród nich także utwory napisane w czasie soboru w Konstancji przez wybitnych humanistów florenckich Poggia Braccioliniego i Leonarda Bruniego. Z tego względu rękopis BJ 126 umożliwia badania nad recepcją włoskiej kultury intelektualnej i nad samym procesem transmisji włoskich wzorców do środowiska krakowskiego. Dowodzi też znaczenia środowiska padewsko-weneckiego jako „pośrednika” czy „filtra” w procesie transmisji włoskich wzorców do Krakowa.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:

retoryka, Jan z Ludziska, mowy, listy, rękopis, humanizm