

Augustine and the Humanists

Reading the *City of God* from Petrarch to Poliziano

edited by

Guy Claessens & Fabio Della Schiava

in collaboration with

Anthony Dupont, Gert Partoens & Andrea A. Robiglio



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Table of Contents

<i>Introduction</i> , by Guy Claessens & Fabio Della Schiava	7
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	15
I. <i>De civitate Dei in the Renaissance.</i> <i>The Ignoring of Augustine?</i> by Eric Saak	19
II. <i>Petrarch</i> , by Marco Petoletti	43
III. <i>Giovanni Boccaccio</i> , by Carlo Delcorno	73
IV. <i>Coluccio Salutati</i> , by Sam Urlings	99
V. <i>Poggio Bracciolini</i> , by Outi Merisalo	125
VI. <i>Biondo Flavio</i> , by Fabio Della Schiava	139
VII. <i>Francesco Filelfo</i> , by Guy Claessens & Jeroen De Keyser	177
VIII. <i>Tommaso Parentucelli & Giovanni Tortelli</i> , by Antonio Manfredi	205
IX. <i>Nicholas of Cusa</i> , by Enrico Peroli	231
X. <i>Bessarion</i> , by Gianmario Cattaneo & Giuseppe Pascale	259
XI. <i>Enea Silvio Piccolomini</i> , by Fabio Forner	291
XII. <i>Lorenzo Valla</i> , by Clementina Marsico	321
XIII. <i>Niccolò Perotti</i> , by Marianne Pade	349
XIV. <i>Marsilio Ficino</i> , by Valerio Sanzotta	363
XV. <i>Angelo Poliziano</i> , by Francesco Caruso	387
XVI. <i>Pico della Mirandola</i> , by Ovanes Akopyan	409
XVII. <i>Imaging the City of God, Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century</i> <i>Visual Remakings of Augustine's De civitate Dei</i> , by Elisa Brillì	427
<i>Indices</i>	451

Introduction

Guy Claessens & Fabio Della Schiava

The gardens ravaged, the altars and chalices profaned, the Huns rode their horses into the monastery library and mangled the incomprehensible books and reviled and burned them – fearful perhaps that the letters of the books might harbor blasphemies against their god, which was a scimitar of iron. They burned palimpsests and codices, but in the heart of the bonfire, among the ashes, there lay, virtually untouched by the flames, the twelfth book of the *Civitas Dei*, which says that in Athens Plato once taught that at the end of time all things will return again to where they once were – that he, in Athens, before the same circle of listeners, will one day teach that doctrine once again. That text spared by the flames came to enjoy a special veneration; those who read and reread it in that remote province came to forget that the author put forth the doctrine only in order more roundly to refute it.¹

So begins *The Theologians*, a short story by Jorge Luis Borges, first published in 1947 and reprinted two years later in the famous collection *The Aleph*. The protagonists are two theologians, Aurelian and John of Pannonia. Their rivalry is based on the problem of refuting the heresy of the *Monotoni*, who believed that history “was a circle, and that all things that exist have existed before and will exist again.” The theory of the *Monotoni* reads as an anticipation of Giambattista Vico’s notion of historical *corsi e ricorsi* and emerges in Borges’ re-fashioning of late Antiquity as a “parallel universe” where fiction and (historical) fact are wonderfully intertwined. In this particular case, the fiction takes its cue from a real text that has influenced the history (or *histories*) of the Western world like few others: Augustine’s *De civitate Dei*. In Borges’ story, book twelve of *De civitate Dei* is the only one to survive the destructive fury of the barbarian invasions. Over time, however, readers began to forget that Augustine presented the doctrine of the circularity of history only to criticize it, and made it the object of a new belief instead. Yet in Borges’ imaginary history *De civitate Dei* is not merely a narrative device. With the skill of a refined scholar and careful reader of Augustine (from whose works he knew extracts by heart, even in

¹ Borges, *Fictions*, 478-79.

Latin), Borges inserts the familiar dynamics of the text's historical reception into his narrative. Moreover, through its literary "reuse", he shows how Augustine's work is still deeply rooted in the cultural identity of the West – even to the extent that, in a parallel universe, it could rise to the dignity of a sacred and foundational text.

In fact, *De civitate Dei* has been among the most "consequential" works of Western literature. Nonetheless, scholars attempting to trace its reception in early modern Europe and beyond are faced with an often superficial bibliography, in which the dawn of the early modern era – the period in intellectual history generally referred to as Humanism or the early Renaissance – is almost completely neglected.

A thorough investigation into the early modern reception of *De civitate Dei* was implicitly part of a *desideratum* expressed by Paul Oskar Kristeller in his classic "Augustine and the Early Renaissance":

The history of Augustine's "fortune" and influence has not yet been made the subject of an adequate comprehensive study. The basic facts are fairly well known, and a few specific phases and aspects have been studied in greater detail, especially for the earlier Middle Ages, for the Reformation period, and for seventeenth-century France. Augustine's influence on the early Renaissance has so far attracted less attention.²

Kristeller tried to – partially – remedy this absence by providing an overview of the figures who, more than others, contributed to Augustine's fortune in the fifteenth century. Inevitably, this outline is general and incomplete: Kristeller mentions Petrarch, Maffeo Vegio and Lorenzo Valla, but his interest is focused on Platonism in the late fifteenth century on the one hand, and on the contribution of Italian humanism to the Reformation on the other.³

Kristeller's "diagnosis" certainly helped to encourage subsequent lines of research, e.g. the theorization and study of *Augustinianism*, understood as the synthesis and/or elaboration of teachings and doctrines taken from the works of Augustine, which also includes "unorthodox" interpretations (as in the fictitious case of Borges' *Monotoni*). This research angle has been successfully explored by scholars from Étienne Gilson to Eric Saak, yet always with a main focus on the

² Also see the reading of this passage by Saak in this volume, at 20.

³ Kristeller (1944) 1956, 362.

late Middle Ages, with *Agostino, agostiniani and agostinismi*, published by Carron, Brillì and Bartuschat in 2018, as its most recent result.⁴

In recent years, the topic has also been approached from a more philological perspective, in order to develop and refine the instruments and methodology for further research. Check-lists of manuscripts with Augustinian works in Italian libraries have been published along with essays devoted to specific aspects of their reception.⁵ However, even if *De civitate Dei* has always been a part of the puzzle, it has never been the primary focus of any major research enterprise.

In general, research on the reception of *De civitate Dei* during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries has not gone much further than the few preliminary conclusions drawn by Kristeller, and modern companions on Augustine and recent encyclopedic lemmas on his reception certainly prove this statement to be right. In the entry *Augustine in Renaissance Humanism* of the *Oxford Companion to the Historical Reception of Augustine*, very little is said about *De civitate Dei*, and, throughout the companion, the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are generally neglected, as the focus lies on the late Middle Ages and the Reformation. In the entry *Medieval Political Philosophy* of the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, John Kilcullen and Jonathan Robinson write the following about *De civitate Dei*: “Although this work was often copied in the Middle Ages (382 manuscripts survived), a reading of the entire work has never been part of the university curriculum.” However, a recent update of Oberleitner’s catalogue lists more than 730 manuscripts, 96 of which had never been mentioned before,⁶ and although our knowledge of medieval university curricula may still be imprecise, we do know that at the end of the fourteenth century in Florence, Augustine’s work was the object of public readings in the *Studium*, as the result of the synergy between the Florentine municipality and the Augustinians.⁷

This volume wishes to address the aforementioned lacuna in Augustinian studies and aims to do so through a series of portraits of Italian humanists, beginning with Petrarch and ending with Poliziano. This

⁴ Bartuschat & al. 2018.

⁵ Buonocore 1996; Coppini & Regoliosi 2001.

⁶ Della Schiava & al. 2020.

⁷ Brillì & Tanzini 2018, 208-16.

approach is certainly not without its weaknesses. Ultimately, the choice of humanists to be included in this gallery is arbitrary: even if (or perhaps *because*) it is based on a generally shared canon of relevance, it still remains the expression of a specific epoch, taste and set of idiosyncrasies. Prominent humanists whose scholarship is intimately linked to *De civitate Dei*, such as Giannozzo Manetti and other lesser-known figures, such as the Franciscan Lorenzo Traversagni da Savona, who read *De civitate Dei* at Cambridge in 1474, were also part of the work's readership.⁸ Nonetheless, the selected case studies are representative of the different "modes" of Italian Humanism in the Trecento and Quattrocento: classical erudition, with particular attention to mythology; Greek philosophy, with a strong accent on Plato and Neoplatonism; Theology of History, with its ecclesiological and geo-political implications.

The aim of this volume is, first of all, to analyze the reception of Augustine by various humanists, examining the different reading strategies they use and the osmosis between Augustine's *magnum opus* and their own works. Although this goal can certainly be achieved through a series of case studies, we believe that such portraits should be placed in a suitable methodological frame as well. The contributions by Eric Saak and Elisa Brillì, which introduce and close the volume, serve (and challenge) this methodological approach.

As a scholar of the late medieval Augustinian tradition, Eric Saak raises some important heuristic problems, as *De civitate Dei* is a large, composite text that lends itself not only to being read through *excerpta*, but also to being epitomized and read through secondary sources, e.g. the *Milleloquium* by Bartholomew of Urbino. Citing Augustine does not always mean citing him *directly*. Saak argues that our knowledge of what humanists really knew about *De civitate Dei* is still partial and based on the prejudice that humanists had completely abandoned certain reading practices typical of the Gothic age.

Elisa Brillì complements our research angle with a typological study of the representations of *De civitate Dei* in illuminated manuscripts during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. At first sight, in the case of *De civitate Dei*, ideological and apologetic motives appear to be prominent (e.g. the representation of Augustine wearing the habit of

⁸ Lodone 2019. Also see Saak in this volume, at 21.

the Hermits, or the identification of the *civitas Dei* with Florence or Rome). Brilli, however, shows how the focus lies on both the City of God and the Earthly City, with a predominantly eschatological interest. This is especially clear from the shifting spatial relationship between the two cities, one that is no longer imagined on a horizontal axis (earth-earth), but on a vertical one (earth-sky).

If the essays by Brilli and Saak provide a methodological compass to navigate the troubled waters of the reception of *De civitate Dei* in the Renaissance, the other contributions prove to be sturdy and safe vessels, albeit constructed from different materials and guided by helmsmen coming from different fields of study. These case studies offer new ways to understand the undeniable revival of our text during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The humanists' interest in *De civitate Dei* is in fact multifaceted. At times, the work is approached as an encyclopedia of the ancient world, as in the case of Petrarch, Boccaccio and Biondo. After all, *De civitate Dei* was an indispensable vehicle for the recovery or partial recovery of ancient masterpieces, such as Cicero's *De re publica*, Varro's *Antiquitates* and Seneca's *De superstitione*. But it also became the object of philological study and book collecting. Marco Petoletti examines its place among Petrarch's *libri peculiaries*, while Outi Merisalo discusses how Poggio Bracciolini and Niccolò Niccoli contributed to producing new manuscript copies of the work. Antonio Manfredi presents the joint reading of Tommaso Parentucelli and Giovanni Tortelli, the founders of the Vatican Library, and Valerio Sanzotta investigates *excerpta* from *De civitate Dei* that Marsilio Ficino wrote in the margins of a codex containing Calcidius' commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*. Finally, Francesco Caruso follows a lost codex of the Convent of San Marco that might have been used by Poliziano. These are all concrete examples of a first-hand engagement with the Church Father, of a return *ad fontes* that seems to surpass the encyclopedic practices of the Gothic age.

But even if examples of individual approaches to *De civitate Dei* were already known, never before has the great "collective" effort of the humanists towards this text been noted. Besides the cases of Poggio & Niccoli and Parentucelli & Tortelli, it is worth mentioning Bessarion, who mobilized his whole *familia*, including Niccolò Perotti, in an attempt to scour the text in search of material for his *In calumniatorem*

Platonis (see the contributions by Gianmario Cattaneo & Giuseppe Pascale and by Marianne Pade).

The “collective” workshops emerging from these contributions once again refer to the two primary centers of Italian Humanism. On the one hand there is Florence, where the interest in *De civitate Dei* is as high among the direct heirs of Petrarch, e.g. Coluccio Salutati (see the contribution by Sam Urlings), as it is among humanists of the later fifteenth century, e.g. Poliziano and Pico della Mirandola (see the essays by Francesco Caruso and Ovanes Akopyan). On the other hand, Rome, where *De civitate Dei* could become a powerful weapon of propaganda for the Curia, exhibited a sustained interest in the Augustinian treatise during our entire period.

Simultaneously, there is a clear attempt to free *De civitate Dei* from traditional, Thomistic interpretations, as in the cases of Biondo (closely connected to the Curia) and Valla (whose relationship with the Curia was obviously more complicated) and their “unorthodox” challenging of Augustine on subjects such as the *bellum iustum* or the virtues of the ancient Romans. Francesco Filelfo, on the other hand, uses Augustine’s Christian reinterpretation of Roman virtue in order to re-define the truly virtuous person (see the contribution by Guy Claessens & Jeroen De Keyser).

It would be useful to write and draw the *Storia e geografia* of the humanistic reception of *De civitate Dei* – to paraphrase Carlo Dionisotti’s well-known study and methodological manifesto – yet such an exercise should also include Naples and Venice, which are only briefly touched upon in this volume because of the biographical links that connect these cities to Valla and Bessarion. Evidently, the increase in the production of manuscripts of *De civitate Dei* in Italy during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries affected the entire peninsula. Additionally, Augustine’s work is not only among the most transcribed texts in Italy during the early Renaissance, but it is also one of the first works to be printed on the peninsula (at Subiaco, by Conrad Sweynheym & Arnold Pannartz, in 1467). Further research is needed to assess whether Italian institutions and centers of power played a role in developing specific strategies, and whether common patterns can be discovered. In any case, at the end of the fourteenth century the Florentine municipality showed great interest in exploring the work’s ideological potential: a vernacular translation was promoted, public readings were

held at the *Studium* and Augustinian echoes can be traced in important documents of republican propaganda, such as Bruni's *Laudatio Florentinae Urbis*. And if it seems that Florence – unlike Rome – abandoned this strategy over the years, an echo can still be perceived in the iconography of the fifteenth-century manuscript that graces the cover of this volume and identifies Florence with the city of God (New York, NYPL, Spencer Collection, ms. 30 [see also PLATE 1]).

Finally, the revival of *De civitate Dei* among humanists can also be explained by their strong aversion (perhaps more theoretical than practical) to medieval scholastic thought. Interestingly, Augustine provided the perfect synthesis between a well-structured theological system and a precise and clear use of the Latin language that could compete with classical authors. Besides, among Augustine's works, *De civitate Dei* offered a "macro-text" comparable to a *summa*. It is not a surprise, then, to read in Vespasiano da Bisticci's *Vite* that Giannozzo Manetti "Usava dire avere tre libri a mente, per lungo abito, l'uno era l'*Epistole* di Sancto Pagolo, l'altro era Agostino *De civitate Dei* e de' gentili l'*Etica* d'Aristotele," to which Manetti's generation, of course, added Plato.⁹ Possibly the best-known theological "metamorphosis" of Augustine's *De civitate Dei* in the fifteenth century, Nicholas of Cusa's *De pace fide*, is discussed in our volume by Enrico Peroli.¹⁰

Before leaving readers to embark on their own journey through the essays printed on these pages, we would like to thank everyone who made this volume possible. First of all, the authors, who worked relentlessly to ensure the swift and efficient publication of this volume; the project "*Magnum opus et arduum. Towards a History of the Reception of Augustine's De civitate Dei*", funded by KU Leuven and coordinated by Anthony Dupont, Gert Partoens and Andrea A. Robiglio, who have never failed to provide their loyal support; and, last but not least, Scott Blanchard, who reviewed all contributions in terms of language, and Sam Urlings, who checked the indices. Special thanks are due to Jeroen De Keyser, who not only played an important role in the conception of the project, but also contributed significantly to the editing of the volume, enthusiastically agreeing to publish it in the *Colibri* series.

⁹ Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Le vite*, vol. 1, 485-86.

¹⁰ Enrico Peroli's chapter on Nicholas of Cusa is a revised version of Peroli 2018.

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Acknowledgments

Illustrations

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Abbreviations of Augustine's Writings Cited in this Book

<i>Agon.</i>	<i>De agone Christiano</i>
<i>Bapt.</i>	<i>De baptismo</i>
<i>C. Ep. Man.</i>	<i>Contra epistulam Manichaei</i>
<i>C. Faust.</i>	<i>Contra Faustum Manicheum</i>
<i>C. Iul.</i>	<i>Contra Iulianum</i>
<i>Civ.</i>	<i>De civitate Dei</i>
<i>Conf.</i>	<i>Confessiones</i>
<i>Cura mort.</i>	<i>De cura pro mortuis gerenda</i>
<i>Disc. Chr.</i>	<i>De disciplina Christiana</i>
<i>Div. qu.</i>	<i>De diversis quaestionibus octoginta tribus</i>
<i>Div. qu. Simpl.</i>	<i>De diversis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum</i>
<i>Doct.</i>	<i>De doctrina Christiana</i>
<i>En. Ps.</i>	<i>Enarrationes in Psalmos</i>
<i>Ench.</i>	<i>De fide spe et caritate (Enchiridion)</i>
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
<i>Exc. urb.</i>	<i>De excidio urbis Romae</i>
<i>Gn. litt.</i>	<i>De Genesi ad litteram</i>
<i>Io. ev. tr.</i>	<i>In Iohannis evangelium tractatus CXXIV</i>
<i>Lib. arb.</i>	<i>De libero arbitrio</i>
<i>Mus.</i>	<i>De musica</i>
<i>Nat. b.</i>	<i>De natura boni</i>
<i>Praed. sanct.</i>	<i>De praedestinatione sanctorum</i>
<i>Qu. Hept.</i>	<i>Quaestiones in Heptateuchum</i>
<i>Retr.</i>	<i>Retractationes</i>
<i>Serm.</i>	<i>Sermones ad populum</i>
<i>Sol.</i>	<i>Soliloquia</i>
<i>Trin.</i>	<i>De trinitate</i>
<i>Vera rel.</i>	<i>De vera religione</i>

Indices

Index codicum

BARCELONA, Biblioteca de Catalunya
628: 211

BERGAMO,
Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai
MA 123 (*olim* Δ 3.49): 194

BERLIN, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin –
Preußischer Kulturbesitz
Hamilton 76: 270

BERNKASTEL-KUES, Bibliothek
des St. Nikolaus-Hospitals
33: 235
34: 235

BOULOGNE-SUR-MER,
Bibliothèque municipale
53: 433, 446
55: 443

BRUSSELS, KBR
(Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België
– Bibliothèque royale de Belgique)
9006: 440, 446
9014: 448
9016: 446
9294: 439
9295: 443, 446

CAMBRAI,
Médiathèque de l'agglomération
174: 208
475 (*olim* 446): 435, 446

CAMBRIDGE, MA, Harvard University,
Houghton Library
Typ 228: 435, 446

CHICAGO, Newberry Library
93.6: 114

FLORENCE,
Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana

Fies. 12: 126, 136, 402
Fies. 13: 126, 136, 402
Fies. 18: 104
Fies. 227: 126
Plut. 12.12: 436, 448
Plut. 12.17: 433, 446
Plut. 12.23: 104, 106-07
Plut. 12.27: 104
Plut. 52.9: 73, 75, 77
Plut. 89 sup. 71: 372
Plut. 90 sup. 51: 372
S. Marco 264: 104
S. Marco 538: 104
S. Marco 618: 105, 402
S. Marco 619: 104
S. Marco 626: 104
S. Marco 635: 126
S. Marco 639: 104, 107
S. Marco 642: 104
S. Marco 643: 126
S. Marco 653: 104
S. Marco 654: 104
S. Marco 655: 104
S. Marco 665: 126
S. Marco 668: 104

FLORENCE,
Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale

II I 99: 395
II VI 2: 77
Conv. Sopp. J 1 16: 130
Magl. B 2 35: 278-79
Magl. VII 973: 390
Pal. 25: 103, 168, 438, 446

FLORENCE, Biblioteca Riccardiana
135: 365
454: 364
709: 371, 373
1622: 364

GENOA, Biblioteca Civica Berio
Cf. 2.16: 448

HEIDELBERG, Universitätsbibliothek
lat. Sal. IX 35: 446

LONDON, British Library
Harl. 1347: 237
Harl. 2483: 46

MÂCON, Bibliothèque municipale
1: 448

MADRID, Biblioteca Nacional de España
9116: 63

MARSEILLE, Bibliothèque de la Ville
209: 212

MILAN, Biblioteca Ambrosiana
A 22 inf.: 292
B 16 inf.: 292
C 49 sup.: 292
D 11 sup.: 292
H 88 sup.: 292
H 95 sup.: 292
O 109 sup.: 77
Q 91 sup.: 193
R 4 sup.: 275
R 68 sup.: 292
S 14 sup.: 364

MODENA,
Biblioteca Estense Universitaria
Lat. 894 (α.Q.6.13): 295

MONTECASSINO, Biblioteca Statale
del Monumento Nazionale
di Montecassino
14: 403
28: 403

MONTSERRAT, Abadia de Montserrat
882: 265, 284

NAPLES, Biblioteca Oratoriana
CF.3.9 (= Pil. XXIII): 219

NAPLES, Biblioteca San Luigi
Ar. I: 66

NEW HAVEN, Yale University, Beinecke
Rare Book & Manuscript Library
215: 440

NEW YORK, New York Public Library
Spencer Collection 30: 13, 167, 438

OXFORD, Bodleian Library
Laud misc. 469: 433, 446

OXFORD, Exeter College
186: 65

PADUA, Biblioteca Universitaria
1490: 46, 49

PARIS, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève
218: 438, 448
2757: 212

PARIS, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal
251: 32
542: 32
820: 372

PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France
fr. 18: 448
fr. 21: 443, 446
fr. 25: 439, 446
fr. 6272: 440
fr. 20106: 443, 446
fr. 22912: 439, 446
lat. 1989: 43
lat. 1994: 43, 48, 58-60
lat. 2056: 212
lat. 2060: 433
lat. 2103: 34, 44, 57
lat. 2201: 43-44, 48-49, 56-57
lat. 5338: 32
lat. 6802: 52, 57, 67
lat. 7595: 46
lat. 8082: 61
lat. 16861: 212

PARMA, Biblioteca Palatina
58: 220

- PFORTA, Historische Bibliothek
der Landesschule
lat. A 10: 433, 446
- PHILADELPHIA, Museum of Art
1945-65-1: 435, 446
- PIACENZA, Biblioteca Comunale
Passerini-Landi
Landi 19: 195
- POMMERSFELDEN, Gräflich
Schönbornsche Bibliothek
2921 (4): 208
- PRAGUE, Knihovna pražské
metropolitní kapituly
A VII: 437
- RHEIMS, Bibliothèque municipale
403: 212
- RIMINI, Biblioteca Gambalunga
SC-Ms. 2: 434, 446
- ROME, Biblioteca Casanatense
1346: 275
- ROME, Biblioteca Vallicelliana
F 43: 211
I 22: 264, 284
- SAINT PETERSBURG,
Institute of History of the
Russian Academy of Sciences
625/29: 403
627/1 (*olim* V 644): 403
627/2 (*olim* V 645): 403
- STRASBOURG, Bibliothèque nationale
et universitaire
523: 440
- THE HAGUE, Museum Meermanno –
Huis van het boek
10 A 12: 443
- TORTOSA, Arxiu Capítular
20: 446
- TOULOUSE, Bibliothèque municipale
739: 34
- TRAPANI, Biblioteca Fardelliana
VII e 27 (V a 2): 284
- TROYES, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes
552: 61, 64
- TURIN, Archivio Nazionale di Stato
B III 12 J: 440
- UTRECHT, Universiteitsbibliotheek
no shelf-mark (Catalogue no. 42): 448
- VATICAN CITY,
Archivio Segreto Vaticano
Reg. lat. 455: 210
- VATICAN CITY,
Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
Arch. Cap. S. Pietro B 48: 205
Arch. Cap. S. Pietro C 99: 205-06
Arch. Cap. S. Pietro Capsa LVIII, 206
(10): 213
Barb. lat. 690: 205-06
Barb. lat. 4114: 103
Borgh. 366: 168, 205, 293, 438, 448
Chig. A V 135: 150, 205-26, 293
Chig. A VII 213: 205
Chig. A VIII 240: 205-06
Chig. A VIII 241: 294
Chig. E V 153: 296
Chig. H VIII 254: 213-14
Ott. lat. 98: 205-06
Ott. lat. 100: 205
Ott. lat. 113: 205
Ott. lat. 123: 141
Ott. lat. 302: 205-06
Ott. lat. 346: 205-06
Ott. lat. 349: 104, 106-08, 205-06,
224-25
Ott. lat. 1279: 169
Pal. lat. 196: 205-06
Pal. lat. 199: 205

Pal. lat. 200: 205
 Pal. lat. 221: 104
 Patetta 59: 205
 Reg. lat. 128: 205
 Reg. lat. 1882: 293, 438
 Reg. lat. 1994: 294
 Reg. lat. 2096: 205-06
 Ross. 191: 205
 Ross. 260: 205
 Ross. 261: 205-06, 225
 Urb. lat. 73: 205
 Urb. lat. 78: 205-06, 260, 274, 276, 350,
 356
 Urb. lat. 196: 278
 Urb. lat. 224: 125, 135
 Urb. lat. 1180: 350
 Vat. gr. 1435: 270
 Vat. lat. 259: 213-14
 Vat. lat. 269: 211
 Vat. lat. 418: 294
 Vat. lat. 424: 205
 Vat. lat. 425: 205-06
 Vat. lat. 426: 205-06
 Vat. lat. 427: 205
 Vat. lat. 428: 205-06
 Vat. lat. 429: 205-06, 434, 437, 446
 Vat. lat. 430: 205-06
 Vat. lat. 431: 205-06
 Vat. lat. 432: 205-06
 Vat. lat. 434: 205-06
 Vat. lat. 435: 205
 Vat. lat. 436: 205
 Vat. lat. 437: 205
 Vat. lat. 438: 205-06
 Vat. lat. 439: 205-06
 Vat. lat. 440: 205, 293, 448
 Vat. lat. 441: 205
 Vat. lat. 442: 205-06
 Vat. lat. 444: 104, 107
 Vat. lat. 445: 294
 Vat. lat. 446: 294
 Vat. lat. 458: 44
 Vat. lat. 463: 294
 Vat. lat. 480: 294
 Vat. lat. 487: 294
 Vat. lat. 488: 294
 Vat. lat. 490: 294
 Vat. lat. 499: 294

Vat. lat. 500: 294
 Vat. lat. 508: 294
 Vat. lat. 685: 213
 Vat. lat. 1478: 223
 Vat. lat. 1801: 352
 Vat. lat. 1891: 213
 Vat. lat. 1997: 210
 Vat. lat. 2193: 61, 64-65
 Vat. lat. 2212: 210
 Vat. lat. 4116: 213
 Vat. lat. 5860: 351
 Vat. lat. 6848: 351-52
 Vat. lat. 7587: 205-06
 Vat. lat. 9418: 205
 Vat. lat. 9919: 205

VENICE, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana

gr. Z. 145 (891): 261
 gr. Z. 148 (488): 279-80, 284
 gr. Z. 198 (744): 270
 gr. Z. 199 (604): 270, 277
 gr. Z. 523 (846): 282
 lat. II 2: 213
 lat. II 33: 260
 lat. VI 61 (2592): 271
 lat. Z. 55: 260
 lat. Z. 57: 260
 lat. Z. 58: 260
 lat. Z. 59: 260
 lat. Z. 60: 260
 lat. Z. 61: 260
 lat. Z. 62 (1979): 260-61, 277
 lat. Z. 63 (1980): 260, 274, 281, 350
 lat. Z. 64: 260
 lat. Z. 65: 260
 lat. Z. 67: 260
 lat. Z. 68: 260
 lat. Z. 69: 260
 lat. Z. 70: 260
 lat. Z. 71: 260
 lat. Z. 72 (1865): 260, 275, 279, 281
 lat. Z. 229 (1695): 278

WOLFENBÜTTEL, Herzog August

Bibliothek
 Theol. 2° 39: 208

Index locorum

This index contains all generic references to each of (Pseudo-)Augustine's works, followed by citations of specific books or other subdivisions of those writings.

Augustine

- Confessiones*: 21, 23-24, 35, 37, 43-45, 48-51, 102-03, 106-07, 235, 254-55, 292, 297, 342, 353-54, 371, 390, 421
 lib. 1: 371
 lib. 3: 235, 272, 300
 lib. 7: 47, 268, 272, 354, 375-76
 lib. 9: 45, 235
 lib. 10: 254
 lib. 12: 272, 354
- Contra Academicos*: 126, 129, 132, 136, 373, 390, 411, 419
- Contra epistulam Manichaei*: 309
- Contra Faustum Manicheum*: 127, 297, 314
 lib. 22: 300
- Contra Iulianum*: 126, 277, 354, 390
 lib. 4: 271, 277, 354
- Contra sermonem Arrianorum*: 292
- De agone Christiano*: 303, 308
- De animae quantitate*: 299, 364
- De baptismo*: 128, 297
 lib. 4: 128, 131, 298
 lib. 6: 298
- De civitate Dei*
 lib. 1: 26, 52, 64, 80, 93, 108-09, 111-12, 114, 116, 147, 152-53, 158, 180, 207, 212, 274, 299, 306, 312, 314, 335, 337, 439, 446, 448
 lib. 2: 82, 145-47, 186, 212, 218, 268, 271-72, 277, 337, 342, 354, 356-57, 374, 381, 392, 394
 lib. 3: 25, 62, 135, 146-47, 165, 218, 272, 326, 329, 335-37, 394, 439
 lib. 4: 26, 29, 64, 83, 145-46, 165, 167, 224, 272, 301, 323, 328-29, 331, 354, 381, 394
 lib. 5: 29, 61-62, 88-90, 145, 147, 149-50, 158, 162, 181, 187, 299, 311, 323-25, 335-36, 394
 lib. 6: 29, 54-55, 62, 75-76, 145-47, 217, 393-94
 lib. 7: 26, 81, 145-46, 343, 351, 391-92, 394, 396
 lib. 8: 29, 51-52, 64, 85, 146-47, 217, 267-68, 271-72, 277-78, 338, 354, 367-68, 372, 395
 lib. 9: 57, 64-65, 145, 395
 lib. 10: 268, 272, 279-80, 354, 395, 434
 lib. 11: 64, 74, 338, 342, 395, 446
 lib. 12: 31, 60, 395, 446
 lib. 13: 29, 309
 lib. 14: 63, 68, 92, 335, 365, 395
 lib. 15: 31, 67-68, 147, 338, 431
 lib. 16: 67-68
 lib. 17: 59
 lib. 18: 64, 68, 79-80, 85, 93, 134, 145-46, 302, 314, 325, 370-71, 393, 395
 lib. 19: 29, 55, 314, 324, 329, 332, 339, 356-57, 393, 446, 448
 lib. 20: 140, 448
 lib. 21: 59, 219, 314, 403
 lib. 22: 31, 63, 93, 156, 302
- De cura pro mortuis gerenda*: 180
- De disciplina Christiana*: 29
- De diversis quaestionibus octoginta tribus*:
 179, 353, 366
 qu. 18: 272
 qu. 30: 340
 qu. 74: 272, 354
 qu. 83: 338
- De diversis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum*
 lib. 1: 132
- De divinatione daemonum*: 421
- De doctrina Christiana*: 21, 28, 51, 141-42, 144, 352, 381, 390, 415, 421
 lib. 1: 251, 338, 381, 415
 lib. 2: 262-63, 352
- De excidio urbis Romae*: 432
- De fide spe et caritate (Enchiridion)*: 292, 311, 355, 421

- De Genesi ad litteram*: 33-34, 353, 389,
411, 417, 421
lib. 7: 272, 354
lib. 8: 272
lib. 12: 309
- De haeresibus ad Quodvultdeum*: 390, 415
- De immortalitate animae*: 126, 292, 364,
378
- De libero arbitrio*: 29, 33-34, 126, 298
lib. 1: 29
lib. 3: 130, 298
- De musica*: 186, 390
lib. 6: 314
- De natura boni*: 180, 272
- De praedestinatione sanctorum*: 57
- De trinitate*: 33-34, 142, 182, 263, 282,
353, 411
lib. 1: 272, 354
lib. 3: 180-81
lib. 4: 261-62, 295
lib. 5: 261, 272, 354
lib. 6: 272
lib. 7: 272, 354
lib. 8: 184
lib. 9: 272
lib. 10: 338
lib. 11: 313
lib. 12: 183
lib. 13: 29, 268
lib. 14: 313
lib. 15: 272, 354
- De vera religione*: 35, 43-44, 48, 56-58,
126, 271, 308, 354, 370, 374-75
- Enarrationes in Psalmos*: 43, 48, 133,
144, 390
en. 57: 143
en. 61: 421
en. 108: 308
en. 125: 58
en. 136: 60
en. 146: 60
- Epistulae*: 144, 292
ep. 8: 310
ep. 24: 29
ep. 43: 309
ep. 72: 308
ep. 130: 50, 247
ep. 138: 356
ep. 143: 400
ep. 155: 29
ep. 166: 314
ep. 185: 144
ep. 189: 144
ep. 220: 144
- In Iohannis evangelium tractatus CXXIV*:
294
tract. 17: 45
tract. 26: 262
tract. 50: 309
tract. 80: 262
tract. 124: 262
- Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*
lib. 4: 314
- Retractationes*: 183, 211-12, 304, 364,
373, 390, 399-400, 417, 439
lib. 1: 373, 416
lib. 2: 109, 211, 431, 446, 448
- Sermones ad populum*: 133, 292
serm. 84: 262
serm. 103: 351
serm. 104: 351
serm. 174: 263
serm. 220: 305
serm. 227: 262
serm. 245: 157
serm. 272: 262
serm. 295: 308
serm. 323: 31-32
serm. 348A: 142
serm. 351: 301
serm. 355: 314
- Soliloquia*: 50, 141, 144, 363, 379
- Pseudo-Augustine
- De cognitione verae vitae*: 46
- De unitate trinitatis*: 126
- De vera et falsa poenitentia*: 48
- Dialogi quaestionum XLV*: 44
- Epistulae*: 144, 269
- Liber de spiritu et anima*: 26, 44, 179,
183, 272, 281, 353-54.
- Liber sententiarum XXI*: 365
- Sermones ad fratres in eremo*:
32, 46, 180, 182
- Soliloquia animae ad
Deum*: 106

Index nominum

- Abelard, Peter 25
 Acciaiuoli, Donato 295
 Accolti, Benedetto 133
 Aesop 47
 Agli, Antonio 364
 Ahenobarbus, Lucius Domitius 337
 Alaric 108-09, 150, 152-53, 164,
 309, 439
 Albanzani, Donato 48
 Albergati, Niccolò, Cardinal 150,
 209-10, 213-14, 293
Albericus 77
 Albert the Great 180, 421
 Albertini, Francesco 160
 Albizzi, Rinaldo 186
 Alexander of Hales 387
 Alexander the Great, King 29, 331
 Al-Farabi 369
 Alighieri, Dante 22, 36, 91, 94, 113, 336
 Alphons of Aragon (the Magnanimous),
 King of Naples 144, 299, 325
 Ambrose, Bishop of Milan 44, 48, 51,
 141, 143, 182, 199-200, 211, 298-
 99, 305-08, 314, 342-43, 354, 421
Pseudo-Ambrose 190, 194-95
 Amerbach, Johann 441
 Ammannati Piccolomini, Iacopo 295
 Anselm of Canterbury 23, 36, 247
 Anselm of Lucca 25-26
 Anthony, Marc 61
 Antiquario, Iacopo 397
 Antonio da Rho 335
 Apicius 403
 Apollas 67
 Apuleius 51, 64, 86-87, 134, 146,
 219, 365-70
Pseudo-Apuleius 86, 350
 Aquinas, Thomas 94, 106, 113, 263,
 272, 279-80, 300, 309-11, 315,
 328, 344, 381, 415-17, 422-23
 Aragazzi, Bartolomeo 129
 Ariosto, Ludovico 309
 Aristotle 13, 106, 177, 219, 239, 243,
 264, 266, 268, 307, 357-58, 365-66,
 368, 395, 398, 412, 414, 418-23
Pseudo-Aristotle 358
 Arlotti, Cinzio 46
 Athanasius 213, 398
 Augustodunensis, Honorius 46
 Augustus, Emperor 135, 160, 166-67,
 326, 356
 Aurispa, Giovanni 224
 Avendauth 370
 Avicebron 369
 Avicenna 369

 Bacon, Roger 421, 423
Balbus, Caecilius 27
 Bandini, Francesco 374
 Barbaro, Francesco 129, 142
 Barbato da Sulmona 90
 Barbavara, Carlo 188
 Barberigo, Domenico 179
 Barbo, Pietro, *see* Paul II
 Bardaisan 421
 Bardi, Roberto, *see* Robert de Bardis
 Bartholomew of Urbino 10, 34, 49, 160
 Barzizza, Gasparino 141
 Basil of Caesarea 376, 387-88, 421
 Beaufort, Henry, Cardinal 125
 Bede, the Venerable 142
 Benvoglienti, Leonardo 154
 Bernard of Clairvaux 142, 298
 Bernardino of Siena 129, 150-51, 155
 Berti, Giovanni Lorenzo 314
 Bessarion, Cardinal 11-12, 206, 259-
 283, 349-56
 Biondo Flavio 11-12, 133, 139-69, 296
 Biondo, Gaspare 169
 Boccaccio, Giovanni 11, 43, 53, 55,
 73-94, 101, 213, 296, 395
 Boethius 87-88, 91, 277, 343, 369, 398
 Boiardo, Feltrino, Count of Scandiano
 412
 Boiardo, Giulia 412
 Boniface 143-44
 Bracciolini, Iacopo 126

- Bracciolini, Poggio 11, 101, 125-36,
 148, 164, 298
 Bramante, Donato 157
 Bruni, Leonardo 13, 22-23, 35, 37-38,
 101, 128, 133, 164, 306, 335, 358-
 59, 365, 368
 Brutus, Lucius Iunius 110, 113, 336
 Buonarroti, Michelangelo 22, 36-37
 Buonconti, Gilforte 293
 Bussi, Giovanni Andrea 269, 276-77
- Cacciatore, Alessandro 196
 Caesar, Julius 61, 65, 86, 164, 186,
 326, 337, 351
 Calandrini, Filippo 219
 Calcidius 11, 365, 369
 Calderini, Domizio 392-93
 Caligula, Emperor 160
 Callixtus III, Pope 221
 Capella, Martianus 350
 Capranica, Domenico, Cardinal
 206, 225
 Carpaccio, Vittore 282
 Carvajal, Juan, Cardinal 264, 305
 Cassiodorus 44, 144
 Castellani, Grazia 21, 103
 Cato, Marcus Porcius Censorius 133
 Cato, Marcus Porcius Uticensis 56,
 335, 337
 Cattaneo, Lodovico 129
 Cesarini, Giuliano, Cardinal 222, 245
 Charlemagne 22
 Charles V, King of France 81, 428,
 430, 439
 Chaucer, Geoffrey 113
 Chigi, Fabio 292
 Chrysoberges, Andreas, Bishop of
 Rhodes and Nicosia 129
 Chrysostom, John 128-29, 132, 295,
 305, 421
 Ciatti, Lorenzo 403
 Cicero, Marcus Tullius 11, 21, 27-28,
 30, 47-48, 50, 54-56, 61-68, 81-82,
 86-90, 99, 106, 133-35, 141-42, 145,
 147, 156, 158, 162, 165, 177, 186,
 218, 237, 273, 277, 297, 306-07,
 310, 332, 336, 353, 356-57, 359,
 365-72, 396, 398-400, 419, 432
- Cinquini, Francesco 189
 Claudian 61, 79
 Claudius, Emperor 326
 Cleanthes 86, 92
 Colonna, Giacomo, Bishop of Lombez
 52
 Colonna, Prospero, Cardinal 133
 Constantine, Emperor 150, 322, 324-26
 Conti, Ildebrandino, Bishop of Padua 46
 Copernicus, Nicolaus 243, 420
 Cortesi, Alessandro 399-400
 Cortesi, Paolo 399
 Cosimo of Monserrat 221
 Critias 160
 Crotto, Aloisio 184
 Curlo, Giacomo 214
 Cusanus, *see* Nicholas of Cusa
 Cybo, Franceschetto 396
 Cybo, Giovanni Battista, *see*
 Innocent VIII
 Cydones, Demetrius 261, 263, 279-80
 Cydones, Prochorus 263
 Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage 57,
 131, 156, 307, 354
- Darius, King of Persia 160
 Decembrio, Pier Candido 193
 Della Luna, Niccolò 183
 Del Medigo, Elia 413
 Del Monte, Pietro 206
 Didymus the Blind 421
 Diodorus Siculus 125
 Dionigi da Borgo San Sepolcro 35, 43
 Dionysius of Halicarnassus 393
Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite 376-77
 Dominici, Giovanni 99, 120
 Donato, Pietro 213
 Donatus, Tiberius Claudius 401
 Donnino da Parma 74
 Duns Scotus, John 242, 369
- Eck, Johann 185
 Egidio da Viterbo, *see* Giles of Viterbo
 Einhard 22
 Emmanuel of Constantinople 261
 Ennius 82-83

- Epictetus 349, 355
 Epicurus 49
 Erasmus, Desiderius 22, 39, 144,
 185, 194
 Eudorus of Alexandria 368
 Eugene IV, Pope 140, 150, 157-58,
 167, 248
 Eugippius 25
 Euhemerus 83
 Eusebius of Caesarea 26, 80, 377,
 416, 421
- Falciglia, Giuliano 188
 Falconi, Giacomo 209
 Federico d'Arezzo 77
 Fernando of Cordoba 264-69, 272
 Festus, Sextus Pompeius 356, 392-93
 Ficino, Marsilio 11, 363-82, 388,
 397, 412-13, 418-19
 Fidati, Simone 245
 Filarete, Antonio 157-59
 Filelfo, Francesco 12, 177-200, 305
 Filelfo, Senofonte 193
 Filippi, Giovanni de' 191, 195
 Firmus, Bishop of Tagaste 212, 214
 Foresti, Filippo 296
 Fortunatius, Consultius 350
 Francis of Mayrone 411
 Frederick III of Habsburg 304
 Frontinus 64, 169
 Fulgentius 79, 87
- Galba, Emperor 326
 Galilei, Galileo 243
 Garzone, Giovanni 184
 Gatti, Giovanni 269, 271-73, 277,
 281, 354
 Gaza, Theodorus 269-71, 273, 277, 279
 Gellius, Aulus 65, 183, 337
 George, King of Bohemia 303
 George of Kynninmonth 219
 Gianfigliuzzi, Rinaldo 103
 Giles of Rome 32
 Giles of Viterbo 37
 Giovanni da Prato 102
 Giovanni da Spoleto 119
- Giovanni Evangelista da Cannobio 187
 Giustiniani, Leonardo 154
 Gonzaga, Francesco, Cardinal 186
 Gratian 25, 48, 328-29
 Gray, William, Bishop of Ely 349-50
 Gregory of Rimini 33-34, 102
 Gregory Nazianzen 295
 Gregory I the Great, Pope 28, 30, 142,
 343, 415
 Grosseteste, Robert 357-58
 Guariento di Arpo 190
 Guarini da Verona, Guarino 133, 142,
 306
 Guarnieri, Francesco 354-55
 Guillaume d'Estouteville, Cardinal 188
 Guillaume de Nangis 25
 Guillebert de Metz 440
- Härtung von Koppel 303
 Helinand of Froidmont 25-26
 Henry of Friemar 34, 190
 Henry of Ghent 369
 Heraclitus 370
 Hermes Trismegistus 85-86, 370,
 372-73, 377
 Herodian 400
 Herolt, Georg 189, 295
 Hesiod 352, 377
 Hilary of Poitiers 370, 415
 Hipparchus 277
 Hippocrates 399-400
 Homer 82, 232
 Horace 79, 106, 160
 Hugh IV, King of Cyprus 74, 77
 Hugh of Saint Victor 194, 272
- Iacopo da Fabriano 293
 Iamblichus 277, 370, 376-77
 Innocent VIII, Pope 396, 414
 Iohannes Wernheri de Hassya
 208-10, 215, 293
 Iohannes Wernheri de Ymerhusen
 209, 215
 Isidore, Bishop of Seville 46, 432
 Ivani, Antonio 380
 Ivo of Chartres 79

- Jean d'Armagnac 437
 Jean de Montreuil 105, 119
 Jerome 22, 28, 30, 37-38, 110, 127-28,
 141, 143-44, 153, 182, 184-85,
 273, 295, 297, 299, 303-04, 307,
 310, 314, 342-43, 414-16
 Jerome of Prague 128
 Johann Absehn von Heiligenkreuz 304
 John, Duke of Berry 30, 439
 John of Basel 33-34
 John of Salisbury 29
 John of Wales 27-30, 33
 Jordan of Quedlinburg 32
 Jouffroy, Jean 206
 Julian of Eclanum 53
 Justinian, Emperor 82
- Klenkock, John 34
- Labeo, Cornelius 145, 374
 Lactantius 22-23, 35, 38, 53-54, 78, 83,
 306-07, 334, 351, 369, 372-73
 Ladislaus, King of Hungary 305-06
 Laertius, Diogenes 237
 Lancilottus, Cornelius 192
 Landino, Cristoforo 369, 401
 Landriani, Gerardo, Cardinal 132, 141
 Legrand, Jacques 30-33
 Leo IV, Pope 153-54
 Leo X, Pope 154, 396
 Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim 119
 Lipsius, Justus 159
 Liutprand, King of the Lombards 143
 Livy 80, 110, 213, 335-36
 Locatello, Boneto 441
 Lolli Piccolomini, Gregorio 168-69, 293
 Lombard, Peter 21, 25
 Loschi, Antonio 129
 Louis, Duke of Orléans 30
 Luca da Penne 47
 Lucan 30, 335
 Lucian 134, 136
 Lucilius 49, 86
 Lucretia 35, 108-20, 335-36
 Luther, Martin 38
 Lysias 277
- Machiavelli, Niccolò 119, 359
 Macrobius 83, 106, 273, 277, 369,
 392, 398
 Maffei, Celso 190-91
 Malatesta, Battista, Lady of Montefeltro
 22, 38
 Malatesta, Sigismondo, Lord of Rimini
 135
 Mallant, Jordan 304
 Manetti, Giannozzo 10, 13, 224
 Marcellinus, Ammianus 165, 168-69
 Marcellinus of Carthage 158, 400
 Marcello, Valerio 182
 Marsili, Luigi 21, 43, 53, 101-03,
 118, 428
 Marsuppini, Carlo 132
 Martial 160, 351, 355, 392, 437
 Martin, Bishop of Braga 54
 Martin V, Pope 133
 Martino da Signa 73
 Martins de Chaves, António, Cardinal
 222
 Massari, Ambrogio 189-90, 194-97, 295
Master of the Haintz Narr 441
 Maurice de la Mère de Dieu 196
 Medici, Cosimo de' (the Elder) 105,
 135, 369, 401-02, 434
 Medici, Giuliano de' 396
 Medici, Lorenzo de' (the Elder) 132
 Medici, Lorenzo de' (the Magnificent)
 364, 374, 387-88, 396-97, 401,
 418-19
 Medici, Maddalena de' 396
 Medici, Piero de' 434
 Mehmed II, Sultan 231, 313
 Menander 232
 Merula, Giorgio 413
 Mirabili, Niccolò de' 388
 Mithridates, Flavius 418
 Modesti, Iacopo 401
 Moglio, Pietro da 101
 More, Thomas 22
 Moro, Cristoforo, Doge 283
 Mozzanica, Giacomo 182
- Nannius, Petrus 119
 Nelli, Francesco 48

- Nero, Emperor 65-67, 326
 Niccoli, Niccolò 11, 105, 126-32,
 136, 402, 434
 Niccolini, Giovanni, Archbishop of
 Amalfi 375-77
 Nicholas of Alessandria 190
 Nicholas of Cusa 13, 231-55, 308,
 313, 315
 Nicholas V, Pope *see* Parentucelli,
 Tommaso
 Niklas von Wyle 307
 Novi, Agostino 191, 195
 Numenius of Apamea 376-77

 Obey, André 113
 Oleinickt, Zbigniew, Cardinal 306-07
 Oliva, Alessandro, Cardinal 188
 Olivi, Peter John 27
 Olmi, Paolo 188-89
 Origen 45, 328, 377, 380, 414-17
 Orosius 143, 153, 439
Orosius Master 435
 Orsini, Clarice 364, 387
 Orsini, Giordano, Cardinal 206, 213-14
 Otho, Emperor 326
 Ovid 26, 30, 79, 84, 86, 106, 110, 193,
 335, 390, 392

 Palagio, Guido del 103
 Palladius, Rutilius Taurus Aemilianus
 64
 Palmieri, Matteo 135
 Palmieri, Niccolò 265, 268
 Pannartz, Arnold 12, 226, 264, 271, 295
 Parrasius, Demenetus 67
 Parentucelli, Tommaso (Pope
 Nicholas V) 11, 140, 150, 167,
 205-26, 293-94, 299, 349
 Paul 13, 52, 66, 128, 157, 160, 185,
 187, 247, 304, 376
 Paul II, Pope 265
 Paul of Venice 77, 188
 Paul the Deacon 356
 Pennotto, Gabriele 195
 Perault, William 299
 Perotti, Niccolò 11, 271, 276, 278-79,
 349-359, 388
 Perugino, Paolo 85

 Petrarch 8-9, 11-12, 19-22, 28, 33-35,
 37, 39, 43-68, 74, 77, 82, 90, 100,
 102-03, 141, 144, 307, 368, 427,
 437
 Petrone, Pietro di 53
 Petroni, Bartolomeo 193
 Petroni, Niccolò 193-94, 198
 Petrus Honestus de Pescia 168-69, 293
 Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy 440
 Philo of Alexandria 376
 Philolaus 377
 Pico della Mirandola, Gianfrancesco I
 412
 Pico della Mirandola, Gianfrancesco
 410-11, 417
 Pico della Mirandola, Giovanni 12, 388,
 397, 409-23
 Piccolomini, Enea Silvio (Pope Pius II)
 150-57, 161, 165, 168-69, 210, 213,
 231, 291-315, 438, 441
 Pieri, Bartolomeo 293
 Pierleoni da Spoleto 376
 Pierre d'Ailly, Cardinal 423
 Pietro Piccolo da Monteforte 73, 75
 Pilato, Leonzio 86
 Pindar 232
 Pisano, Lorenzo 364
 Pius II, Pope *see* Piccolomini,
 Enea Silvio
 Pius III, Pope 292-93, 296
 Pizolpasso, Francesco, Archbishop
 of Milan 292
 Planudes, Maximus 193, 261-63, 282
 Platina, Bartolomeo 296
 Plato 7, 10-11, 13, 50-51, 64, 82-83,
 158, 177-78, 180, 264-70, 277,
 307, 343, 352-53, 365, 368-80,
 412, 414, 418-20, 423
 Plenevaux, Nicolaus 195-96
 Pletho, Georgius Gemistus 283
 Pliny the Elder 52, 57, 59, 67, 78,
 186, 396
 Pliny the Younger 142, 165-66
 Plotinus 57-58, 241-42, 370-71, 376-81
 Plutarch 142, 186, 349, 355, 368, 393,
 396
 Poliziano, Angelo 9, 11-12, 387-404,
 412, 414, 419-20

- Pollini, Domenico di Niccolò 211
 Polybius 358
 Pomerius, Iulianus 177, 190, 192,
 194-98, 200
 Pontano, Ludovico 308, 314
 Porphyry 146, 244
 Possidius 143-44
 Prenninger, Martin 369
 Priscian 350
 Proclus 370, 376-77
 Prosper of Aquitaine 25, 47, 143-44
 Prudentius 154
 Ptolemy, Claudius 420
 Ptolemy of Lucca 161
 Ptolemy II, King of Egypt 51
 Puccinelli, Placido 192, 196
 Pulcher, Publius Claudius, Consul 62
 Pullus, Lucius Iunius, Consul 62
 Pythagoras 370, 380

 Quintilian 30, 133, 325

 Rabanus Maurus 79, 432
 Raimondi, Cosma 141
 Ralph of Beauvais 25
 Raoul de Presles 81, 428-29, 439, 448
 Regulus, Marcus Atilius 336-37
 Ridevall, John 74
 Robert de Bardis 32
 Robert of Anjou, King of Naples 50
 Román, Gerónimo 191, 195-96
 Rondoni, Iacopo 376
 Rossi, Pino de' 92
 Rovere, Francesco della, *see* Sixtus IV
 Rucellai, Bernardo 371
 Ruffus, Sextus 152
 Rufinus of Aquileia 414, 416
 Rustici, Cencio 129

 Sacco, Catone 334-35
 Sallust 51-52, 162, 186-87, 218,
 329, 331
 Salutati, Coluccio 12, 23-24, 35-39,
 88-90, 99-120, 126, 136, 159, 206,
 224-25
 Salviati, Giorgio Benigno 388
 Sánchez de Arévalo, Rodrigo 313

 Savonarola, Girolamo 397, 410-11,
 418, 423
 Scaevola, Quintus Mucius 146, 336
 Scala, Bartolomeo 400
 Scaliger, Julius Caesar 159
 Schlick, Gaspar 298
 Scholarius, George 283
 Scoto, Ottaviano 441
 Seneca, Lucius Annaeus 11, 27-28,
 30, 49, 54, 56, 62, 68, 86, 91, 106,
 146-47, 166, 210, 237, 307, 335,
 354, 369, 401
 Serra, Joan 342, 344
 Servetus, Michael 382
 Servius, Maurus Honoratus 67-68,
 84-85, 88, 106, 350
 Sextus Empiricus 420
 Sforza, Francesco 187, 192-93
 Sforza, Gabriele 191-92, 195-96
 Sforza, Galeazzo Maria 159, 165-66,
 192-93
 Sforza, Gian Galeazzo 193
 Shakespeare, William 119-20
 Sidonius Apollinaris 421
 Sigibert of Glembox 25-26
 Sigismund of Habsburg 303
 Signorili, Niccolò 163
 Simplician, Bishop of Milan 192,
 199-200
 Sixtus IV, Pope 213, 396
 Socrates 267, 380
 Solomon 59-60
 Soranus, Valerius 391-92
 Sozzini, Fausto 382
 Sozzini, Lelio 382
 Staibano, Ambrogio 191
 Statius 390, 392
 Strabo 169
 Strozzi, Palla 183, 186
 Suetonius 169
 Sweynheym, Conrad 12, 226, 264,
 271, 295
 Sylvester, Pope 325, 332

 Tarquinius Superbus, Lucius (Tarquin
 the Proud), 118, 326
 Tarquinius, Sextus 110

- Tertullian 110, 154, 307, 328, 398, 421
 Textor, Ravisius 159-60
 Theodontius 78, 86
 Theodosius I, Emperor 61, 108, 324, 326
 Thucydides 223, 259, 352
 Tiberius, Emperor 326
 Tibullus 160, 393
 Tifernas, Gregory 169
 Tignosi, Niccolò 133
 Todeschini Piccolomini, Francesco, *see* Pius III
 Tortelli, Giovanni 11, 205-26, 293, 349
 Tosetti, Angelo 45, 54
 Trajan, Emperor 165
 Trapezuntius, Andreas 268-69
 Trapezuntius, George 262, 264, 266, 268-69, 277, 282, 352
 Traversagni, Lorenzo 10, 21
 Traversari, Ambrogio 23-24, 37-38, 213, 237
 Trionfo, Agostino 34
 Trivet, Nicholas 21, 35, 81
 Trovamala, Giovanni Matteo 186

 Uberti, Pier Matteo 403
 Uguccione da Pisa 106

 Valentinian, Emperor 61
 Valerius Maximus 27-28, 30, 50, 106
 Valerius, Bishop of Hippo 177, 189-96, 199-200
 Valla, Lorenzo 8, 12, 119, 148-51, 211, 223, 259, 310, 321-44, 349, 352, 389

 Vargas, Alfonso 34
 Varro, Marcus Terentius 11, 54-55, 62, 64, 67-68, 74-75, 77, 145-47, 217, 352, 391, 396
 Vegetius Renatus, Flavius 27, 64
 Vegio, Maffeo 8, 37-39, 150-61, 168, 310, 335-36, 338
 Verecundus 45
 Vergerio, Pier Paolo 37-38
 Vergil 30, 48, 64, 66, 68, 74, 82, 84, 99, 106, 116, 297, 336, 389, 401
Vergil Master 439, 443
 Vernia, Nicoletto 413
 Vespasian, Emperor 326
 Vespasiano da Bisticci 13, 167, 260, 274
 Vico, Giambattista 7
 Vincent of Beauvais 26-27, 30
 Visconti, Bianca Maria 193
 Visconti, Giangaleazzo 117
 Vitellius, Emperor 326
 Vitéz, John, Archbishop of Esztergom 301, 307
 Vives, Juan Luis 21-22, 39

 Walch, Johann Georg 389
 Waleys, Thomas 21, 35, 81, 411
 Wenck, Johannes 247
 William of Moerbeke 357
 William of Ockham 242

 Xenophon 125

 Zambeccari, Pellegrino 159
 Zancari, Alberto 185
 Zanobi da Strada 66, 86
 Zoroaster 59, 370, 377

