
NOTES

Introduction

1. For text and discussion of this important letter, see Petrarch, *Senile V 2*, ed. Monica Berté (Florence: Le Lettere, 1998). Petrarch's scribe, who attaches the date "August 28," seems to have dictated it in 1364, but Boccaccio didn't receive it until 1366. It was one of three letters (*Seniles* 5.1–3) stolen and kept as souvenirs of their famed author by the messenger charged with their delivery. Petrarch recovered them and asked his trusted friend Donato Albanzani to carry them to their destination. See the commentary by Ugo Dotti in Petrarch's *Lettres de la veillesse. Rerum senilium*, ed. Elvira Nota (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2003), 2:529, n. 42. For the English, see Petrarch, *Letters of Old Age. Rerum senilium libri I–XVII*, trans. Aldo S. Bernardo, Saul Levin, and Reta A. Bernardo (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).
2. Petrarch tries to soothe Boccaccio by recalling Seneca, who ranked Cicero second after Virgil among Latin writers, followed by Asinius Pollio, and then Livy. The flattering implication is that Boccaccio is "one up" on Livy. In an earlier letter to Boccaccio (*Familiars* 21.15), Petrarch cringes to think of Dante's plebian public—fullers, tavern keepers, and woolworkers. He acknowledges, however, Dante's superiority in the vernacular. See Petrarch *Familiars* 21.15.24 in *Le familiari*, ed. Vittorio Rossi and Umberto Bosco (Florence: Sansoni, 1926–42), 4:99: "in vulgari eloquio quam carminibus aut prosa clarior atque altior assurgit"; for the translation, *Letters on Familiar Matters: Rerum familiarium libri XVII–XXIV*, trans. Aldo S. Bernardo (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 206: "[Dante] rises to nobler and loftier heights in the vernacular than in Latin poetry or prose."
3. *Petrarchino* describes an edition of Petrarch's lyric poetry in small editorial format. The fashion for such objects expresses *Petrarchismo*, mania for reading and imitating his vernacular poetry. From left to right, the subjects are Marsilio Ficino, Cristoforo Landino, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Dante, and Guido Cavalcanti. The panel, today in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, was commissioned by Luca Martini, a cultured gentleman who served Cosimo I de' Medici as the ducal administrator in Pisa. In his portrait by Agnolo Bronzino (Pitti Palace), Martini holds a map of the swamps drained around that city. Martini, a poet in his own right, was an eager amateur *Dantista*. For commentary, see Edgar Peters Bowron, "Giorgio Vasari's 'Portrait of Six

- Tuscan Poets,” *Minneapolis Institute of Arts Bulletin* 60 (1971–73): 43–54; Deborah Parker, “Vasari’s *Portrait of Six Tuscan Poets*: A Visible Literary History,” in Deborah Parker, ed., “Visibile parlare: Images of Dante in the Renaissance,” special issue, *Lectura Dantis* (Spring–Fall 1998): 45–62.
4. See pp. 8 for Petrarch’s career as a cleric, or member of the secular clergy. His book of poetry is today often called *Canzoniere* (*Songbook*) or *Rime sparse* (*Scattered Rhymes*). He attached to it a Latin title, *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* (*Fragments of Vernacular Matters*). Throughout his correspondence, he refers both to his epistles and his love poetry for the lady called Laura as “nugae,” that is, “trifles,” “bagatelles,” or in Ugo Dotti’s Italian translation of the letters, “cosucce” (thinglets). See, for example, *Familiare*s 1.1, 12.6.
 5. Arturo Graf’s classic essays of 1888, “Petrarchismo” and “Antipetrarchismo,” in *Attraverso il Cinquecento* (Turin: Giovanni Chiantore, 1926), 1–70, open with an aphorism that amusingly captures the persistent addiction to the vernacular lyric poet: “Petrarchism is a chronic illness of Italian literature.” A gallery of portraits whose sitters hold a *Petrarchino* has been assembled with illustrations by Novella Macola, “I ritratti col Petrarca,” in *Le lingue del Petrarca*, ed. Antonio Daniele (Udine: Forum [Editrice Universitaria Udinese], 2005), 135–57.
 6. See, e.g., Dino Cervigni, ed., “Petrarch and the European Lyric Tradition,” special issue, *Annali d’Italianistica* 22 (2004); Valeria Finucci, ed., *Petrarca: Canoni, esemplarità* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2006); Leonard Forster, *The Icy Fire: Five Studies in European Petrarchism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969); William J. Kennedy, *Authorizing Petrarch* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994); Christopher Kleinhenz and Dini, ed., *Approaches to Teaching Petrarch and the Petrarchan Tradition* (New York: Modern Language Association, forthcoming); Amedeo Quondam, *Petrarchismo mediato: Per una critica della forma antologia* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1974); studies on women Petrarchists published in the University of Chicago Press “Other Voice” series, e.g., Laura Battiferra degli Ammannati, *Laura Battiferra and Her Literary Circle: An Anthology*, ed. Victoria Kirkham (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006). I would like to thank Mary W. Gibbons for a patient reading of this introduction and for suggesting mention of these sibling volumes.
 7. See, e.g., the manuscript note connected with one such exchange, in which Petrarch (or his correspondent?) writes via the poem he sends how “sweet” it was to have heard the other person and talked with him. Giuseppe Frasso calls attention to the jotting, which may relate to poem 17a in *Rime estravaganti*, ed. Laura Paolino, in Petrarch, *Trionfi, Rime estravaganti, Codice degli Abbozzi*, ed. Vinicio Pacca and Laura Paolino, 2nd. ed. (Milan: Mondadori, 2000), 726. See Frasso, “Minime divagazioni petrarchesche,” in *Il genere “ten-*

- zone” nelle letterature romanze delle Origini, ed. Matteo Pedroni and Antonio Stäuble (Ravenna: Longo, 1999), 159–63.
8. Edward H. R. Tatham codified the epithet in the title of his classic two-volume biographical study, *Francesco Petrarca: The First Modern Man of Letters* (London: Sheldon Press, 1925). Dante had spoken of the “maternal tongue” learned by nursing infants in his *De vulgari eloquentia* 1.1.2: “vulgarem locutionem appellamus eam qua infantes assuefiunt ab assistentibus, cum primitus distinguere voces incipiunt; vel, quod brevius dici potest, vulgarem locutionem asserimus, quam sine omni regula nutricem imitantes accipimus” [we call vernacular speech that to which infants are accustomed by those at their sides when they first begin to recognize words, or since it could be said more briefly, I assert that vernacular locution is what we take in without any rules at all, imitating the woman who nurses us]. By *nutrix* is meant “mother.” Dante Alighieri, *De vulgari eloquentia*, ed. and trans. Aristide Marigo, 3rd ed. edited by Pier Giorgio Ricci (Florence: Le Monnier, 1968), 7. Cf. *De vulgari eloquentia* 1.14.7 with reference to “materno . . . vulgare.”
 9. On his boyhood in Provence, see Ernest Hatch Wilkins, *Life of Petrarch* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 3–4; Ugo Dotti, *Vita di Petrarca* (Bari: Laterza, 1987), 7–16; Ariani, *Petrarca* (Rome: Salerno Editore, 1999), 19–27. Petrarch’s Virgil is now at the Ambrosiana Library in Milan (MS A 79 inf.). See the description from the *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* in Michele Feo, *Petrarca nel tempo: Tradizione lettori e immagini delle opere* (Pontedera: Bandecchi and Vivaldi, 2003), 496–99.
 10. Wilkins, *Life of Petrarch*, 179. For the Latin, see Ernest Hatch Wilkins, *Petrarch’s Later Years* (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1959), 8: “Ioannes noster, homo natus ad laborem, ad dolorem meum, et uiuens grauibus atque perpetuis me curis exercuit, at acri dolore moriens uulnerauit, qui, cum paucos letos dies uixisset in uita sua, obiit anno Domini 1361, etatis sue XXV, die Iulii X seu IX medio noctis, inter diem Veneris et Sabbati. Rumor ad me Paduam xiiii^o mensis, ad uesperam. Obiit autem Mediolani in illo publico excidio pestis insolito, quee urbem illam hactenus immunem talibus malis nunc tandem reperit atque inuasit.”
 11. The eulogy is *Epytote* 1.7; cf. *Seniles* 10.2. For the text, see *Panegyricum in funere matris*, ed. Carlo Muscetta, reproduced by P. Blanc in “Petrarca ou la poétique de l’Ego: Éléments de psychopoétique pétrarquienne,” *Revue des Études Italiennes*, n.s., 29, nos. 1–3 (1983): 124–69, with an appended document, 180–83. On the commonplace tradition of the Pythagorean Y as a symbolic road branching to virtue on the right and vice on the left, see Janet Levarie Smarr, “Boccaccio and the Choice of Hercules,” *Modern Language Notes* 92, no. 1 (1977): 146–52. Although Wilkins dates the panegyric

- to Eletta's death (*Life of Petrarch*, 5–7), Blanc, who reproduces the text, dates it to ca. 1325, but without any other evidence than the absence of Laura, who supposedly didn't enter Petrarch's life until 1327. This eulogy must postdate, at least by a few years, the loss it mourns since Petrarch would at that time have been only about fourteen years old.
12. Elena Giannarelli, "Fra mondi classico e agiografia cristiana: Il *Breve panegyricum defuncti matri* di Petrarca," *Annali della Scuola Normale di Pisa* 9, no. 3 (1979): 1099–118, identified many of the sources, an inventory revisited by Blanc in "Petrarca ou la poétique de l'Ego." See further on Petrarch's deeply affectionate memories of his mother and the maternal aspects of Laura in the *Canzoniere*, in Kristen Ina Grimes, "A proposito di *Rvf* 285: Petrarca tra Laura e Monica," *Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia Galileiana di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti già Ricovrati e Patavina* 117 (2004–5): 273–95.
 13. Feo, *Petrarca nel tempo*, fig. 155, pp. 479, 481. The manuscript is Paris, Bibl. nat., Lat. 2201, fol. 58v, "Libri mei peculiare." Cf. Wilkins, *Life of Petrarch*, 15.
 14. Wilkins, *Life of Petrarch*, 16, touches on Petrarch's reconstruction of Livy.
 15. Petrarch *Familiares* 2.7.5 (ed. Rossi; trans. Bernardo, 93): "Meministi, credo, in *Philologia* nostra, quam ob id solum ut curas tibi iocis excuterem scripsi, quid Tranquillinus noster ait: 'Maior pars hominum expectando moritur.'"
 16. Giovanni Boccaccio, *Vita e costume di Messer Francesco di Petrarco, di Firenze*, ed. Renata Fabbri, in *Tutte le opere*, ed. Vittore Branca, vol. 5, part 1 (Milan: Mondadori, 1992), 910–11; Dotti, *Vita di Petrarca*, 59–60. Wilkins, *Life of Petrarch*, 15, dates it to his Avignon period in the 1330s. Dotti speculates that he might have burned it, judging that he could not equal the great comic playwright of ancient Rome, Publius Terentius Afer. Guido Martellotti, "Sulla *Philologia*," in *Scritti petrarcheschi*, ed. Michele Feo and Silvia Rizzo (Padua: Antenore, 1983), 360–61, finds appealing the suggestion advanced by G. Bernardi Perini that the play derives from Martianus Capella's *Marriage of Philology and Mercury*. Feo, *Petrarca nel tempo*, 312, mentions it under "Carmina latina varia."
 17. In one, after a 1347 visit to his brother Gherardo at Montrieux, Petrarch apparently asks for an arrangement that would allow him to live with his friend Socrates close to the Cistercian monastery "propter germanum suum" (because of his brother). Nothing came of this proposal. See Ernest H. Wilkins, "Petrarch's Ecclesiastical Career," *Speculum* 28, no. 4 (1953): 754–75. The one other document in which traces remain of Petrarch's hand dates from 1348 and pertains to that "assai pingue Benefizio" (very fat benefice), the archdeaconate of Parma. See also Feo, "Suppliche," in *Petrarca nel tempo*, 455.
 18. J. B. Trapp published richly informed studies on Petrarch visualized. See

- “The Iconography of Petrarch in the Age of Humanism,” *Quaderni Petrarcbeschi* 9–10 (1992–93): 11–73, and idem, “Petrarch’s Laura: The Portraiture of an Imaginary Beloved,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 64 (2001): 55–192. For further portraits of Petrarch, sometimes confused with Boccaccio (also a cleric), see Victoria Kirkham and Jennifer Tonkovich, “How Petrarch Became Boccaccio: A Bronze Bust from the Morgan Library,” *Studi sul Boccaccio* 33 (2005): 269–98.
19. Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara, dedicatee of the last two versions of the *De viris illustribus*, also commissioned the closely related frescos in the “hall of famous men” in his palace. Although some have suggested that Petrarch himself composed the *tituli* for that fresco cycle (e.g., Dotti, in his commentary on *Seniles* 14.1 [ed. Nota, 4:578]), the attribution was rejected by Theodor E. Mommsen, “Petrarch and the Decoration of the *Sala virorum illustrium* in Padua,” *Art Bulletin* 34, no. 2 (June 1952): 95–116.
20. Boccaccio’s more medieval *De casibus virorum illustrium*, a dream vision in nine books, lays out the universal trajectory of human events as an endless struggle between good and evil. As in Dante’s *Inferno*, shades crowd before the author to tell their mournful fates. Adam and Eve lead the procession, which continues through the ages with notables up to the fourteenth-century Sicilian washerwoman who rose to control the throne of Naples. When inspiration flags, the author imagines that his “excellent and venerable master” Petrarch makes a visionary appearance to rouse him. Man, argues a laureated Franciscus in Boccaccio’s eloquently scripted speech, was born to strive for fame (8.1). This spur to finish *De casibus virorum illustrium* seems to date from the two men’s visit at Milan in March 1359. See Victoria Kirkham, s.v. “Giovanni Boccaccio: Latin Works,” in *Encyclopedia of Italian Literary Studies*, ed. Gaetana Marrone (New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis, 2007), 1:255–60. For an English translation, see Boccaccio, *The Fates of Illustrious Men*.
21. The text, indebted to Livy *Ab urbe condita libri* 9.17–19, 35.14.5–12, is preserved as MS Lat. 7 in the Annenberg Rare Book and Manuscript Collection of the University of Pennsylvania. For a facsimile, see Petrarch, *Collatio inter Scipionem, Alexandrum, Annibalem et Pyrrum*, ed. with an intro. by Guido Martellotti (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Libraries, 1974). Martellotti’s introduction, which appears in an English translation by Enzo U. Orvieto, was published originally in the *Library Chronicle* 28 (1962): 109–14. Cf. Martellotti’s annotated edition in “*La Collatio inter Scipionem Alexandrum Hanibalem et Pyrrum*, un inedito del Petrarca nella Biblioteca della University of Pennsylvania,” in *Classical Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies in Honor of Bertold Louis Ullman*, ed. Charles Henderson, Jr., 2:145–68 (Rome: Edizioni

- di Storia e Letteratura, 1964), which also appears in Guido Martellotti, *Studi petrarcheschi*, ed. Michele Feo and Silvia Rizzo (Padua: Antenore, 1983), 321–46. Pacca, *Petrarca*, 43–44, mentions it as a spinoff of the Hannibal *vita* in *De viris illustribus*.
22. Petrarch, *Africa*, ed. Nicola Festa (Florence: Le Lettere, 1998), 9.233–34.
 23. Contrast Boccaccio, who in his *Filocolo* (5.97) will attach Dante to the classical canon of Virgil, Lucan, Statius, and Ovid, saving “sixth” place for himself as Dante had done in *Inferno* 4. See Victoria Kirkham, *Fabulous Vernacular: Boccaccio’s ‘Filocolo’ and the Art of Medieval Fiction* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 149.
 24. Attilio Hortis, *Scritti inediti di Petrarca* (Trieste: Tipografia del Lloyd Austro-Ungarico, 1876), 311–28.
 25. Ernest Hatch Wilkins, “The Coronation of Petrarch,” in *The Making of the Canzoniere and Other Studies* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1951), 9–12, identifies thirty-one passages or compositions by Petrarch that bear on the coronation. For a history of the editions and a facsimile of the earliest manuscript, see Feo, *Petrarca nel tempo*, 17 and plate M4.
 26. Petrarch, *Africa*, ed. Festa, 9.238–42 (trans. Bergin and Wilson [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977], 9.325–31): “Hic tandem ascendet Capitolia vestra, nec ipsum/Mundus iners studiisque aliis tunc ebria turba/Terrebit quin insigni florentia lauro/Tempora descendens referat comitante Senatu./Hinc modo tantus amor, tanta est reverentia lauri.”
 27. Wilkins, “Coronation of Petrarch,” 53–61, provides an extensive discussion of the *Privilegium*. First published in the seventeenth century, its most recent editor is D. Mertens, “Petrarcas *Privilegium laureationis*,” in *Litterae Mediæ Aevi: Festschrift für Johanne Autenrieth zu ihrem 65 Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Borgolte and Herrad Spilling (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1988), 225–47. For other editions, see Feo, *Petrarca nel tempo*, 17.
 28. Petrarch *Rerum memorandarum libri* 1.37.11 (ed. Billanovich, 40–41): “O vox vere philosophica et omnium studiosorum hominum veneratione dignissima, quantum michi placuisti!” Robert is “prince of philosophers and kings” (*ibid.*, p. lxxxiii).
 29. Cicero, *The Speech on Behalf of Archias the Poet*, in *Pro Archia, Post reditum ad quirites, Post reditum in senatu, De domo sua, De haruspicum responsis, Pro Plancio*, trans. N. H. Watts (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979). Petrarch shared this Ciceronian text with Boccaccio, probably at their Paduan visit in 1351, and Boccaccio adapted it to the panegyric on poetry at the center of his *Trattatello in laude di Dante (Life of Dante)*. See Victoria Kirkham, “The Parallel Lives of Dante and Virgil,” *Dante Studies* 110 (1992): 233–53.
 30. Petrarch, *Rerum memorandarum libri IV*, ed. Giuseppe Billanovich (Florence:

- Sansoni, 1945), 2.1 He invites the reader reverently to enter with him the doors of the “religiosissimi . . . templi,” where Prudence stands at the threshold. Petrarch announces the project in *Familiars* 5.7. Incomplete, it didn’t circulate until after his death, when Tedaldo della Casa, a scribe of scrupulous accuracy, copied it from the autograph. A letter from the Florentine chancellor Coluccio Salutati dated July 13, 1379 requests a copy from Lombardo della Seta, Petrarch’s literary executor. The first person who knew *Rerum memorandarum libri* (probably only by title) was a poet from Pistoia, Zenone Zenoni, who composed a funerary tribute to Petrarch in terza rima, *Rerum memorandarum libri*, introduction by Billanovich, xi–xii.
31. On the total of forty souls in Dante’s *Inferno* 4, a society ruled by the four per-Christian virtues, see Victoria Kirkham, “A Canon of Women in Dante’s *Commedia*,” *Annali d’Italianistica* 7 (1989): 16–41.
 32. The opening chapter of book 1 of *Rerum memorandarum libri*, the treatise on Wisdom, is entitled “De otio et solitudine.” Cf. Valerius Maximus, *Fatti e detti memorabili* (Milan: Rizzoli, 1972), bk. 8, chap. 8.
 33. Ernest Hatch Wilkins, “Peregrinus Ubique,” in *The Making of the Canzoniere and Other Studies* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1951), 1–8. Although relying on a conversion theory now challenged, Giles Constable brings valuable work to Petrarch’s inward turning ca. 1342–52, in “Petrarch and Monasticism,” in *Francesco Petrarca Citizen of the World*, ed. Aldo Bernardo (Padua: Antenore, 1980), 53–99.
 34. Giuseppe Billanovich compellingly argued the fictitious date of the letter, which had to have been written after Petrarch’s brother Gherardo entered a Carthusian monastery in 1342 (and after the death of its destinee, Dionigi), in “Petrarca e il Ventoso,” *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 9 (1966): 389–401. See further, Robert M. Durling, “The Ascent of Mt. Ventoux and the Crisis of Allegory,” *Italian Quarterly* 18, no. 69 (Summer 1974): 7–28; Bortolo Martinielli, *Petrarca e il Ventoso* (Milan: Minerva-Italica, 1977); and Carolyn Chiappelli, “The Motif of Confession in Petrarch’s ‘Mt. Ventoux,’” *Modern Language Notes* 93, no. 1 (Jan. 1978): 131–36.
 35. For more on the numerology of *Familiars* 4.1 in the context of reciprocal influences between Petrarch and Boccaccio, see Kirkham, *Fabulous Vernacular*, 54–60.
 36. Petrarch, *Secretum*, in *Opere latine* (ed. Bufano), 1:94: “cupidissime perlegi: haud aliter quam qui videndi studio peregrinatur a patria, ubi ignotum famosae cuiuspiam urbis limen ingreditur, nova captus locorum dulcedine passimque subsistens, obvia queque circumspicit,” *ibid.*, 1:102–4: “Lectio autem ista quid profuit? . . . Quanquam vel multa nosse quid relevat si, cum celi terreque ambitum, si, cum maris spatium et astrorum cursus herbarumque

- virtutes ac lapidum et nature secreta didiceritis, vobis esti incogniti?" For the English translation, see *The Secret by Francesco Petrarca with Related Documents*, ed. Carol E. Quillen (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2003), 72.
37. Petrarch *Secretum* (trans. Quillen), 52, connects Petrarch's dialogue with *Aeneid* 9.641, which makes virtue a "path to the stars." Cf. note 11 above on the Pythagorean Y, of which Petrarch speaks in the panegyric to his mother. It returns in *Secretum* (trans. Quillen), bk. 3, 113–14.
38. Petrarch *Secretum* in *Opere latine* (ed. Bufano, 1:258; trans. Quillen, 147): "sparsa anime fragmenta recolligam."
39. That task has fallen to Donatella Coppini, who as of 1993 had found 88 manuscripts. Her count has now swelled to 138, an accumulation that marks their great popularity.
40. Feo, *Petrarca nel tempo*, 447–48, and color reproduction of the *rotulus* for Gian Galeazzo, 452–53.
41. An apocryphal tradition associated Petrarch's psalms with another version by "Dante," cited by Matter: *I sette salmi penitenziali di Dante Alighieri e di Francesco Petrarca* (Bergamo: Mazzoleni, 1821; reprint, Florence: Società Tipografica, 1827). The title is still listed in Edward Moore, *Tutte le opere di Dante*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1904); but cf. Wilkins, "An Introductory Dante Bibliography," *Modern Philology* 17, no. 11 (March 1920): 624, who called the attribution spurious. For a more recent assessment, see Salvatore Floro Di Zeno, *Studio critico sull'attribuzione a Dante Alighieri di un antico volgarizzamento dei Sette salmi penitenziali* (Naples: Laurenziana, 1984).
42. Dotti, *Petrarca*, 155–57, assigns the *Psalmi penitentiali* to 1348 and on the authority of Francisco Rico, the *Secretum* (set in 1342) to 1347, with revisions in 1349 and a final version in 1353. Nicholas Mann concurs in his very readable monograph *Petrarch* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 23.
43. Petrarch, *Orationes contra tempestates*, in *Scritti inediti* (ed. Hortis), 367–72.
44. *Ibid.*, 399: "Salus mea hriste ihesu si te ad misericordiam inclinare potest humana miseria: adesto mihi misero et preces meas benignus exaudi, fac peregrinationem meam tibi placitam et gressos meos omnes dirige in viam salutis eterne, dignare michi in exitus mei die et in illa suprema hora mortis assistere. Neque reminiscaris iniquitatum mearum, sed egredientem ex hoc corpusculo spiritum, placatus excipias, ne intres in iudicium cum servo tuo domine. misericordiarum fons misericorditer mecum age. cause mee faveas. et deformitates meas contege in die novissimo, nec patiaris hanc animam opus manum tuarum ad superbum tui et mei hostis imperium pervenire, aut predam fieri spiritibus inmundis et famelicis canibus esse ludibrio, deus meus misericordia mea. per te salvator." I thank Ann Matter for working with me on the English translation.

45. Cachey refers to William Kennedy, *The Site of Petrarchism: Early Modern National Sentiment in Italy, France and England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).
46. Petrarch *De remediis* (ed. and trans. Carraud), 1: xxiv, 2: lviii, on the *sic et non* of presenting a case; for the text, 1:320–21; “De multiplici spe,” 1:520–23: “*Spei. Spero longam vitam./Ratio. “Diuturnum carcerem. . . /Spei. Laudationem funeri./Ratio. Philomenam surdo. . . /Spei. Gloriam post mortem./Ratio. Lenes auras post naufragium.”*
47. Petrarch, *De remediis* (ed. Carraud), Liber secundus, Praefatio, 530: “Omnia secundum litem fieri,” 1:549.
48. “De morte,” “De morte ante diem,” “De morte violenta,” “De morte ignominiosa,” “De morte repentina,” “De moriente extra patriam,” “De moriente in peccatis,” “De studio fame anxio in morte,” “De moriente sine filiis,” “De moriente qui metuit insepultus abici.”
49. Petrarch, *De remediis* (ed. Carraud, 1:1147; trans. Rawski, 3:338): “*Metus. Insepultus abiciar./Ratio. Age res tuas. Curam hanc linque viventibus.”*
50. Ovid’s *Remedia* may also lurk in the background. Ariani, *Petrarch*, 144.
51. Boccaccio hits similar notes, more humorously, in his contemporary characterization of Maestro Simone. See Victoria Kirkham, “Painters at Play on the Judgment Day (*Decameron* VIII 9),” *Studi sul Boccaccio* 14 (1983–84): 256–77, reprinted in *The Sign of Reason in Boccaccio’s Fiction* (Florence: Olschki, 1993), 215–35.
52. For useful information, see Steven A. Walton, “An Introduction to the Mechanical Arts in the Middle Ages,” Association Villard de Honnecourt for Interdisciplinary Study of Medieval Technology, Science and Art, University of Toronto, 2003, available at <http://members.shaw.ca/competitivenessofnations/2.%20Articles.htm>.
53. Petrarch, *Invective* (trans. Marsh), 189.
54. *Invective* (trans. Marsh), 209.
55. *Invective* (trans. Marsh), 196–99: “Non dat Fortuna mores bonos, non ingenium, non virtutem, non facundiam. Unde hec qua nescio quid anserinum potius quam cycneum strepis, non eloquentia, ut dicebam, sed loquacitas tua est.”
56. *Invective* (trans. Marsh), 218–19: “ad nundinas Simonis, non ut serus, sic et piger mercator accesseris.” Petrarch alludes to the Acts of the Apostles 8:18, as Marsh notes in his commentary (504).
57. *Invective* (trans. Marsh), 282–83: “non quasi philosophum loquentem, sed apostolum.”
58. *Epytote* 3.30, in *Petrarch at Vacluse: Letters in Verse and Prose*, trans. Ernest Hatch Wilkins (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 39–40. For the

- Latin, see *Epystole metriche* at <http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it>. He begins his *Collatio brevis coram Johanne Francorum rege* by apologizing for not speaking French, but the stance is rhetorical.
59. “Natura autem Galli sunt indociles,” quoted by Gianfelice Peron, “Lingua e cultura d’oil in Petrarca,” in *Le lingue del Petrarca*, ed. Daniele, 11–32. Petrarch claims not to speak French in the speech he made at Paris in 1361 for Galeazzo Visconti before King John II of France. In a fourteenth-century didactic strain of thought, he judged negatively other French romances—Arthurian tales and legends of Alexander the Great—because as fiction (*fabulae*) they lack the authority of history (*historia*). Cf. William Paden, “Petrarch as a Poet of Provence,” *Annali d’Italianistica* 22 (2004): 19–44, with rich bibliographical references. For the intractability of the French, see Petrarch *Invectives*, trans. David Marsh (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 440–41.
60. *Invective* (trans. Marsh), 370: “a feritate morum Franci olim dicti,” literally, “[French] were once called Franks from their feral manners.” Disclaiming responsibility for his insult, Petrarch says he merely follows the historians and cosmographers, who all called the French “barbaros Gallos.”
61. *Invective* (trans. Marsh), 379; cf. for other insults that bestialize Hesdin (387, 399, 427, 445).
62. *Invective* (trans. Marsh), 375, 385.
63. See the classic discussion by Giuseppe Billanovich, “Dall’*Epystolarum mearum ad diversos liber ai Rerum familiarium libri XXIV*,” in *Petrarca letterato. I. Lo scrittoio del Petrarca* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1947), 1–55.
64. Petrarch to his new friend, Francesco da Siena, a teacher of logic and medicine, *Seniles* 16.3. Cf. *Familiars* 1.1.9 (ed. Rossi 1: 5): “mille, velo eo amplius, seu omnis generis sparsa poemata seu familiares epystolas . . . Vulcano corrigendas tradidi” [I committed to Vulcan’s hands for his correction at least a thousand and more of all kinds and variety of poems and friendly letters; trans. Bernardo, 5]. Bernardo applies the epithet “born-again ancient” in the introduction to his translation of the *Seniles* (1: xix). Wilkins, *Life of Petrarch*, 52, connects this Verona visit to Petrarch’s acquaintance with Pietro Alighieri, a recipient of one of his *Epystole*.
65. Ariani, *Petrarca*, 168, for Petrarch’s “grafomania.” On the comparative quantity of Petrarch’s letter writing, see Wilkins, *Life of Petrarch*, 150; also quoted by Bernardo in his introduction to the *Seniles*, xix.
66. Petrarch speaks of both projects in his letter dedicating the *Familiars* to Socrates. On the date of the dedicatory epistle (*Familiars* 1.1), suppressed in the text, see Wilkins, *Life of Petrarch*, 87; Ariani, *Petrarca*, 68. Petrarch mourns the death of Socrates in a letter ca. 1361–62 to Nelli (*Seniles* 1.3).

67. There is one letter to a woman. See Petrarch *Familiares* 21.8 (ed. Rossi, 4: 61): “Ad Annam imperatricem, responsio congratulatoria super eius femineo licet partu et ob id ipsum multa de laudibus feminarum” [To Empress Anna, felicitations on the birth of a child, though a girl, and the occasion it affords to express many thoughts in praise of women; trans. Bernardo, 175]. Anna is the only female addressee in all of Petrarch’s letter collections. Even writing on the death of his grandson (*Seniles* 10.4), he does not name the child’s mother. Neither does he write to his daughter Francesca or name her in his will, which designates her husband, Francesco da Brossano, as Petrarch’s universal heir. For the phases of composition of *Seniles*, see Wilkins, *Life of Petrarch*, 152. The very last letter, like the first, is to Socrates. Probably fictional, it closes the anthology in a ring structure.
68. Petrarch *Familiares* 24.13.6–7 (ed. Rossi, 4: 265; trans. Bernardo, 251–52): “hic liber satis crevit nec, nisi iusti voluminis meta transcenditur, plurium capax est, que huius quidem generis scripta iam superant, his avulsa extra ordinem alio quodam, que scribenda autem, siquid tale nunc etiam sum scripturus, ab etate iam nomen habitura, rursus alio venient claudenda volumine.”
69. For a thumbnail sketch of Nelli’s life, see *Rai International Online*, s.v. “Francesco Nelli” at http://www.italica.rai.it/rinascimento/parole_chiave/schede/I36nelli.htm. Petrarch mourned his death in a letter to Boccaccio (*Seniles* 3.1). Nelli receives twenty-seven letters in the *Familiares*.
70. Petrarch, *Seniles* (ed. Bernardo), xix. Bernardo quotes from his article, “Petrarch’s Autobiography: Circularity Revisited,” *Annali d’Italianistica* 4 (1986): 50.
71. Petrarch *Seniles* 10.2: “incolarumque colluvie exundans” (ed. Nota, 3: 243; trans. Bernardo, 360); “conkursantes et coactas ibi concretasque totius orbis sordes ac nequitas” (ed. Nota, 3: 251; trans. Bernardo, 360, 363). The letter dates from 1367. Carpentras lies about twenty kilometers from Avignon.
72. As Stefano Carrai writes of the *Bucolicum carmen* in this volume: “He clearly rejected the numerical structure of Virgil’s *Bucolica*, comprised of ten eclogues, choosing instead another canonical Virgilian number, that of the twelve-book *Aeneid*.” So, too, for *Familiares*, Petrarch chose an “epic” number, as Giuseppe Mazzotta writes (see below): “We know that originally Petrarch had conceived of writing twelve books of letters. In 1359, however, after reading through the partial translation of the *Odyssey* by Leontio Pilato, he settled on twenty-four books. With that discovery, an epistolary epic is born.”
73. See Carlo Calcaterra’s classic chapter “Feria sexta aprilis,” in *Nella selva del Petrarca* (Bologna: Cappelli, 1942).

74. Petrarch *Secretum* in *Opere latine* (ed. Bufano, 1:166; trans. Quillen, 102): “Ego vero numerum ipsum ternarium tota mente complector; non tam quia tres eo Gratie continentur, quam quia divinitati amicissimum esse constat. Quod non tibi solum aliisque vere religionis professoribus persuasum est, quibus est omnis in Trinitate fiducia, sed ipsis etiam gentium philosophis, a quibus traditur uti eos hoc numero in consecrationibus deorum: quod nec Virgilius meus ignorasse videtur ubi ait: *numero Deus impare gaudet.*” The Virgil Petrarch cites is *Eclogues* 8.75. In the Pythagorean-Neoplatonic system, odd numbers are superior to even numbers, and the first odd number that “counts” is 3. For a discussion in the context of Boccaccio’s rich numerology, see Kirkham, *Fabulous Vernacular*, 159. Petrarch again plays on the number 3 in the preface to his *De remediis*, which opens with an allusion to the three parts of Prudence (memory, understanding, and foresight) and then comments that man, endowed with wisdom unlike the beasts, “must continuously wrestle with threats as menacing as a three-headed Cerberus” trans. Rawski, 1:3.
75. Hence the *Divina commedia* has 10×10 cantos and a cosmology with ten heavens, while Dante’s infernal funnel pierces earth through nine concentric circles. So, too, Boccaccio’s woeful cases of the fallen mighty, *De casibus virorum illustrium*, form an encyclopedia in nine books. Boccaccio probably designed his *De casibus* in nine books to echo the number of circles in Dante’s Hell. See Victoria Kirkham and María Rosa Menocal, “Reflections on the ‘Arabic’ World: Boccaccio’s Ninth Stories,” *Stanford Italian Review* 7, nos. 1–2 (1987): 95–110.
76. Paul Piur, *Petrarcas ‘Buch ohne Namen’ und die päpstliche Kurie* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1925), “Iaruarum ac lemorum domus est,” 194, “civitas confusionis,” 198, “labyrinthum Rodani,” 221, “populum . . . militantem Satane,” 221, “Nulla ibi preterea lux, nullus dux, nullus index amfractuum, sed caligo undique et ubique confusio, ne parum uera sit Babilon ac perplexitas rerum mira,” 216, and for the city’s denizens, see, e.g., 193–94 (trans. Zacour, 68, 71, 72, 91, 93, 99).
77. Piur, *Petrarcas ‘Buch ohne Namen’*: “Hec tibi raptim Hierosolymitanus exul inter et super flumina Babilonis indignans scripsi,” 196 (trans. Zacour, 71). Martinez calls attention to the sole subscription “signature” in his essay in this volume, “*The Book without a Name: Petrarch’s Open Secret.*” Jerusalem here stands for Rome and Italy.
78. For a schematic presentation of the dates and dedicatees of the letters, see Ernest Hatch Wilkins, *The “Epistolae metricae” of Petrarch: A Manual* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1956). See Feo, *Petrarca nel tempo*, 292–302, on the textual history. Eight of the metrical epistles find an elegant English

- translator in Ernest Hatch Wilkins, *Petrarch at Vacluse: Letters in Verse and Prose* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958). Scholars have also created a category of “epistole metriche varie”. See Wilkins, “*Epistole metriche di Petrarca*, 16–17. For the current thinking on what pieces legitimately belong there, including two recent discoveries, see Feo, *Petrarca nel tempo*, 309.
79. Petrarch *Familiars* 1.1.21 (ed. Rossi, 1: 7; trans. Bernardo, 8): “Ulixeos errores erroribus meis confer.”
80. Mazzotta ends linking Petrarch’s name to Machiavelli’s. It is not a far-fetched comparison. Cf. Dotti, *Vita di Petrarca*, 449, who refers to Umberto Bosco’s intuition “Già sentì nello scrittore un cenno del futuro ‘principe’ del Machiavelli” [He sensed in the writer a future sign already of Machiavelli’s “prince.”]
81. Petrarch *Secretum* 1:250–52 (trans. Quillen, 144; see also Mommsen, *Petrarch’s Testament*, 3–4): “incipi tecum de morte cogitare, cui sensim et nescius appropinquas. Rescissis velis tenebrisque discussis, in illam oculos fige. Cave ne ulla dies aut nox transeat, que non tibi memoriam supremi temporis ingerat.”
82. Petrarch, *Poesie minori*, ed. Rossetti, “Epigraphe 4.7, vol. 2 (n.p.): “Vix mundi novus hospes iter, vitaeque volantis/Attigeram tenero limina dura pede./Franciscus genitor, genitrix Francisca; secutus/Hos de fonte sacro nomen idem tenui./Infans formosus, solamen dulce parentum,/Nunc dolor; hoc uno sors mea laeta minus./Caetera sum felix, et verae gaudia vitae/Nactus et aeternae, tam cito, tam facile./Sol bis, luna quarter flexum peragraverat orbem:/Obvia mors, fallor, obvia vita fuit./Me Venetum terris dedit urbs, rapuitque Papia:/Nec querar, hinc coelo restituendus eram.” Among his other surviving epitaphs are those he composed for himself, for Pope John XXII, and for his dog Zabot. See Feo, “Carmina latina varia,” in *Petrarca nel tempo*, 312.
83. Petrarch, *Invective* (trans. Marsh), 384–85: “Nec videtur audivisse, civili cautum lege, ut is locus, ubi non dicam liberi, sed servi etiam corpus, nec corpus modo integrum, sed pars corporis humo condita est, religiosus habeatur”; 466–67: “[I have seen] Parisius insignium choros ecclesiarum sic confertas bustis et cadaveribus peccatorum, quodque est fedius peccatricum, ut vix quisquam possit ibi se flectere vixque iter pateat ad altare.”
84. Vittore Branca, “Francesco Petrarca,” *Dizionario critico della letteratura italiana* (Turin: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1986), 3:419–32.
85. Giosuè Carducci, *Ai parentali di Giovanni Boccacci in Certaldo* (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1876).
86. Wilkins, “Peregrinus ubique,” reckons that Petrarch was in eighty-three cities: Abano, near the Adda, the Adige valley, Aix-la-Chapelle, the Ardennes

- forest, Arezzo, Arquà, Avignon, Baia, Basel, Bergamo, Bologna, Bolsena, Capranica, Carpentras, Carpi, Cavaillon, Cave of Ste-Beaume, Mt. Cenis, Cologne, the Enza river valley, Ferrara, Florence, Lake Garda, Garignano, the Garonne valley, Genoa, Ghent, Imola, near Lavenza, near Lerici, Liège, L'Incisa, Lombez, Lonigo, Lyons, Malaucene, Montellier, near Motrone, Naples, Nice, Mantua, Milan, Modena, Monaco, Montrieux, Monza, Naples, Narni, Novara, Oriago, Padua, Palestrina, Paris, Parma, Pavia, Perugia, Peschiera, Piacenza, Pisa, Porto Maurizio, Pozzuoli, Prague, near Reggio, Rimini, Rome, Saint Maximin, San Colombano, Scandiano, Selvapiana, Siena, Suzzara, Todi, Toulouse, Treviso, Valsereina, Vaucluse, Mt. Ventoux, Udine, Verona, Venice, Vicenza, and Viterbo.
87. “nobilibus non ultima pestis ingenii,” Petrarch *Seniles* 5.1 (ed. Nota, 2:123), cited and trans. James Harvey Robinson, with Henry Winchester Rolfe, *Petrarch: The First Modern Scholar and Man of Letters* (New York: Putnam, 1898), 27. Translated by Bernardo as “not the least of the plagues that we noble minds endure,” (1:115).
88. Timothy J. Reiss, *Mirages of the Self: Patterns of Personhood in Ancient and Early Modern Europe* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), chap. 11 (“Multum a me ipso differre compulsus sum”), 303.
89. Francesco De Sanctis, *Storia della letteratura italiana* ed. Paulo Arcari (1870–71; Milan: Fratelli Treves, 1925), 1:211: “Così sorsero i primi puristi e letterati in Italia, e capi furono Francesco Petrarca e Giovanni Boccaccio” [Thus arose the first purists and men of letters in Italy, and the leaders were Francesco Petrarch and Giovanni Boccaccio], and 1:213: “Questo sentimento delle belle forme, della bella donna e della bella Natura, puro di ogni turbamento è la Musa del Petrarca” [This sentiment of formal beauty, of female beauty, and of natural beauty, purified of all disturbance, is Petrarch’s Muse].
90. The so-called conversion was said to have occurred in 1342–43, when his brother became a monk and his second daughter was born. Dotti, *Petrarca*, 447–48, cites Bosco: “The period in which he was in large part other than what he later became either didn’t exist except as the poet’s illusion, or else it has left no appreciable literary traces.” Dotti agrees: “the complex problem of relations between classical and Christian culture should be approached taking into account an elementary truth: that Petrarch is reflected the same way in all his works.”
91. Giosuè Carducci, “Ad Arquà, presso la tomba del Petrarca,” in *Prose scelte*, ed. Emilio Pasquini (Milan: Biblioteca Universale Rizzoli, 2007), 225–26.
92. See the introduction by Manlio Pastore Stocchi to Petrarch, *Opere latine*, ed. Bufano, cited by Branca, *Dizionario critico*, 3:423.

93. Petrarch *Seniles* 17.2 in *Epistole* (ed. Dotti, 856): “Multum . . . adhuc restat operis multumque restabit; nec ulli nato post mille secula preciditur occasio aliquid adhuc adiciendi.” Cited by Robinson, *Petrarch*, 418.

Chapter One

1. The title in the autograph is *Francisci petrarche laureati poete Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* (*Fragments of Vernacular Matters of Francis Petrarch Poet Laureate*). The title *Rime sparse* (*Scattered Rhymes*), with its Italian analogue to the Latin *fragmenta*, is taken from the first verse of the first poem: *Voi ch’ascoltate in rime sparse il suono*. The title *Canzoniere* is traditional and derives from the Italian noun *canzoniere* or collection of lyric poems. I will refer to the *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* at times as *Fragmenta*.
2. See Aristotle, *Physics*, in *The Basic Works of Aristotle*, ed. Richard McKeon, trans. R. P. Hardie and R. K. Gaye (New York: Random House, 1941). Dante’s *Convivio* is cited in the edition of Cesare Vasoli, in *Opere minori*, vol. 5.1, part 2 of *La letteratura italiana: Storia e testi* (Milan: Ricciardi, 1988).
3. This position is set out more fully in Teodolinda Barolini, “Petrarch as the Metaphysical Poet Who Is Not Dante: Metaphysical Markers at the Beginning of the *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*,” in *Petrarch and Dante*, ed. Zygmunt Baranski and Theodore Cachey (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 2009). The common view is that Petrarch rejected metaphysics along with Scholasticism and other forms of the medieval mindset: “In place of speculative metaphysical systems, of scientific, especially medical, investigation, of legal codification, he puts grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history, moral philosophy” (Peter Hainsworth, *Petrarch the Poet: An Introduction to the “Rerum vulgarium fragmenta”* [London: Routledge, 1988], 4). While not without elements of truth, this commonplace requires considerable nuancing.
4. On the critical issues surrounding the division, see Teodolinda Barolini, “Petrarch at the Crossroads of Hermeneutics and Philology: Editorial Lapses, Narrative Impositions, and Wilkins’ Doctrine of the Nine Forms of the *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*,” in *Petrarch and the Textual Origins of Interpretation*, ed. Teodolinda Barolini and H. Wayne Storey, Columbia Series in the Classical Tradition (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 21–44.
5. According to Petrarch’s handwritten note, sonnet 211 was originally excluded from the collection and added very late, in 1369; see note 31 below. Lyric poets in this period did not title their poems, but referred to them by their incipits, or first verses; because the incipits are often syntactic fragments, I have not provided translations.
6. Citations of the *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* are from Marco Santagata’s edition: *Canzoniere* (Milan: Mondadori, 1996, rev. 2006). The translations, with

- occasional modifications, are by Robert M. Durling, *Petrarch's Lyric Poems* (Cambridge, Mass. and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1976). In this instance I have written out the numbers in poem 336 as Durling does in poem 211.
7. For elaboration of these views, see Teodolinda Barolini, "Notes toward a Gendered History of Italian Literature, with a Discussion of Dante's *Beatrice Loquax*," *Dante and the Origins of Italian Literary Culture* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2006), 360–78.
 8. The constructed nature of this tension comes more clearly into focus if we consider that in the year 1327 Good Friday actually fell on April 10, not on April 6.
 9. *Confessions* 8.9, emphasis added. Augustine's *Confessions* are cited in the translation of R. S. Pine-Coffin (London: Penguin, 1961), 172. For the importance of Augustine in the *Rerum vulgariarum fragmenta*, see Nicolae Iliescu, *Il "Canzoniere" petrarchesco e Sant'Agostino* (Rome: Società Accademica Romana, 1962); Kenelm Foster, *Petrarch: Poet and Humanist* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1984); and Sara Sturm-Maddox, *Petrarchan Metamorphoses: Text and Subtext in the "Rime sparse"* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1985), chapter 5.
 10. Foster lists a set of "penitential poems," referred to as such in the appended chart "Metrical and Thematic Sets in the *Rerum vulgariarum fragmenta*," in *Petrarch: Poet and Humanist*, 60.
 11. Peter Hainsworth claims "some eighteen political, moral or occasional poems which are not love-poems in any obvious sense" (*Petrarch the Poet*, 51) but does not list the poems he includes in this count. Classification is difficult because the categories overlap. For instance, there are five poems to Sen-nuccio del Bene, the last on his death (108, 112, 113, 144, 287), which could be classified as occasional, but they are also love poems. I have construed "occasional" broadly in appendix 1, and have included all poems addressed to friends even if they are love poems, arriving at a group of 31 poems.
 12. The fifteen anniversary poems are 30, 50, 62, 79, 101, 107, 118, 122, 145, 212, 221, 266, 271, 278, 364. See Dennis Dutschke, "The Anniversary Poems in Petrarch's *Canzoniere*," *Italica* 58 (1981): 83–101.
 13. Hainsworth, *Petrarch the Poet*, 135.
 14. See Ernest Hatch Wilkins, *The Making of the "Canzoniere" and Other Petrarchan Studies* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1951). Wilkins's methods and findings are currently being challenged and updated by philologists working with contemporary technologies; see, for instance, Dario Del Puppo and H. Wayne Storey, "Wilkins nella formazione del canzoniere di Petrarca," *Italica* 80 (2003): 295–312. Unfortunately, over the last decades many of

- Wilkins's interpretations have been disseminated as philological fact. For a study that critiques our acceptance of Wilkins's doctrine of the nine forms, and emphasizes the existence of only two forms, see Barolini, "Petrarch at the Crossroads of Hermeneutics and Philology."
15. *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta. Codice Vat. Lat. 3195, Edizione in fac-simile* (vol. 1 [2003]) and *Commentario* (vol. 2 [2004]), ed. Gino Belloni, Furio Brugnolo, H. Wayne Storey, and Stefano Zamponi (Rome: Antenore, 2003–4).
 16. Malpaghini's work was continuous, unlike Petrarch's (Wilkins, *Making of the "Canzoniere"*, 137); he stopped work on April 21, 1367 (Wilkins, *Making of the "Canzoniere"*, 139). Malpaghini transcribed 244 poems, 189 in part 1 and 55 in part 2; Petrarch transcribed 123 poems, including one retranscription, 75 in part 1 (the retranscription is number 121) and 48 in part 2. See Wilkins, *Making of the "Canzoniere"*, 75–76.
 17. To see tabulated the last 31 poems of Vat. Lat. 3195 both according to the position in the manuscript and according to Petrarch's added marginal numerals, see table 1 in Wilkins, *Making of the "Canzoniere"*, 77.
 18. On this topic, see H. Wayne Storey, "Doubting Petrarca's Last Words: Erasure in MS Vat. Lat. 3195," in *Petrarch and the Textual Origins of Interpretation*, ed. Teodolinda Barolini and H. Wayne Storey, Columbia Series in the Classical Tradition (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 67–88.
 19. "These sonnets [259–263] were his last additions to the collection. He presumably intended to add still other poems—otherwise he would hardly have inserted a full duernion at the end of Part I. But he never did so: Part I of the *Canzoniere* is therefore, in a sense, incomplete. I find no evidence, internal or external, to indicate that Petrarch ever thought of 263 as a terminal poem for Part I, or that he was ever concerned to bring the total number of poems in the *Canzoniere* to three hundred and sixty-six" (Wilkins, *Making of the "Canzoniere"*, 186–87). Dependent on the intentionality of the total of 366 poems are all arguments like Thomas Roche's, "The Calendrical Structure of Petrarch's *Canzoniere*," *Studies in Philology* 71 (1974): 152–72.
 20. For a discussion of the properties of the lyric sequence as a genre, see Teodolinda Barolini, "The Making of a Lyric Sequence: Time and Narrative in Petrarch's *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*," *MLN* 104 (1989): 1–38; now in *Dante and the Origins of Italian Literary Culture*, 193–223.
 21. The passage is the beginning of *Familiars* 24.1, which treats "de inextimabili fuga temporis," in the translation by Aldo S. Bernardo, *Letters on Familiar Matters: Rerum familiarium libri XVII–XXIV* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 308.
 22. Citations from the *Secretum* are from *Prose*, ed. Enrico Carrara (Milan and Naples: Ricciardi, 1955), quotation on 210.

23. Wilkins, *Making of the "Canzoniere"*, 145.
24. The formulation "canzoniere come genere letterario e canzoniere come genere codicologico (il repertorio 'antologico')" belongs to Del Puppo and Storey, "Wilkins nella formazione del canzoniere di Petrarca," 306.
25. In his recent essay "Medieval English Literature and the Idea of the Anthology," Seth Lerer seeks the "controlling literary intelligence" of the anonymous medieval English Harley 2253 manuscript; see *PMLA* 118 (2003): 1251–67, quotation on 1255.
26. Along with the Chigi form of the *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*, Chigiano L V 176 contains Dante's *Vita nuova*, fifteen of Dante's lyrics, Boccaccio's *Vita di Dante*, his poem to Petrarch *Ytalie iam certus bonos*, and Cavalcanti's *Donna mi prega*. See the facsimile of the Chigiano with introduction by Domenico De Robertis (discussion of the date on 12), *Il codice chigiano L. V. 176, autografo di Giovanni Boccaccio* (Rome: Archivi edizioni, 1974).
27. Olivia Holmes, *Assembling the Lyric Self: Authorship from Troubadour Song to Italian Poetry Book* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000) champions Guittone, claiming that "the elaborate formal disposition of Guittone's texts serves as evidence of an original authorial ordering" (47). However, in the absence of an authorial codex we cannot claim to be witnessing "original authorial ordering."
28. The full title of the Chigi collection as given by Boccaccio is *Francisci petrarce de Florentia Rome nuper laureati fragmentorum liber* (*The Book of Fragments of Francis Petrarch of Florence Lately Crowned in Laurel at Rome*). Still extremely helpful on the Chigi form is the study by Ruth Shepard Phelps, *The Earlier and Later Forms of Petrarch's "Canzoniere"* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925).
29. Of course canzone 264, *I' vo pensando*, was not number 264 in the earlier Chigi collection, but number 175, because the Chigi collection consists of a total of 215 poems, 174 in part 1 and 41 in part 2.
30. The contents of Vaticano Latino 3196 are easily accessed through the edition of Laura Paolino in *Trionfi, Rime estravaganti, Codice degli abbozzi*, ed. Vinicio Pacca and Laura Paolino (Milan: Mondadori, 1996).
31. The notation to *Voglia mi sprona* reads in part: "Mirum: hunc cancellatum et damnatum post multos annos, casu relegens, absolvi et transcripsi in ordine statim, non obstante . . . 1369 iunii 22, hora 23, veneris" (Amazing, rereading by chance after many years this [sonnet] which had been crossed out and condemned, I absolved it and transcribed it in order immediately, in spite of [having rejected it], on Friday, June 22, 1369, at the 23rd hour). The text is from *Trionfi* (ed. Pacca and Paolino), 809–10; the translation is Peter Hainsworth's, *Petrarch the Poet*, 46.
32. For Petrarch's sequential count, see Wilkins, *Making of the "Canzoniere"*, 122.

33. On sonnet 34 as the original number 1, see Wilkins, *Making of the “Canzoniere”*, 147.
34. Given the cancellation of time carried out in this sonnet, it is interesting that verse 8, “ove tu *prima*, et *poi* fu’ invescato io” (emphasis added), echoes very precisely the Aristotelian definition of time in Dante’s *Convivio*: “numero di movimento, secondo *prima e poi*” (*Convivio* 4.2.6; emphasis added). For Petrarch’s handling of the Apollo/Daphne myth, see P. R. J. Hainsworth, “The Myth of Daphne in the *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*,” *Italian Studies* 34 (1979): 28–44.
35. The form *pentere*, for *pentire*, is unusual; Hainsworth points out that the irregularity “was muted in many editions by replacing the unusual ‘pentersi’ with the more usual ‘pentirsi’” (*Petrarch the Poet*, 180).
36. Thus, the comment to poem 1 in the Carducci-Ferrari edition: “Proemio; e dovreb’essere epilogo” (The proem, but it should be the epilogue [3]). The words “breve sogno” are from *Voi ch’ascoltate*’s celebrated last verse, “che quanto piace al mondo è breve sogno” (whatever pleases in the world is a brief dream).
37. Hainsworth, *Petrarch the Poet*, 151.
38. Petrarch wrote next to 366 “in fine libri ponatur” (to be placed at the book’s end); see Wilkins, *Making of the “Canzoniere”*, 177.
39. I would suggest as a model Augustine, who structures his *Confessions* so that the conversion experience occurs at roughly two-thirds of the way through the text.
40. For the use of narrativity as a means of injecting temporality into the *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*, see Barolini, “Making of a Lyric Sequence.” On time as a thematic (rather than structural) presence in the *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*, see Gianfranco Folena, “L’orologio del Petrarca,” *Libri e documenti* 5, no. 3 (1979): 1–12, and the two contributions of Edoardo Taddeo, “Petrarca e il tempo: Il tempo come tema nelle opere latine,” *Studi e problemi di critica testuale* 25 (1982): 53–76, and, on the *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*, “Petrarca e il tempo,” *Studi e problemi di critica testuale* 27 (1983): 69–108. See also Giovanni Getto, “*Triumphus Temporis*: Il sentimento del tempo nell’opera di Francesco Petrarca,” in *Letterature comparate: problemi e metodo. Studi in onore di Ettore Paratore* (Bologna: Patron, 1981) 3: 1243–72, Marianne Shapiro, *Hieroglyph of Time: The Petrarchan Sestina* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980), and Marco Santagata, *I frammenti dell’anima: storia e racconto nel “Canzoniere” di Petrarca* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1993).
41. Wilkins adopted as his principles of construction for Vaticano Latino 3195 those adduced by Ruth Shepard Phelps for the Chigi collection in her book *The Earlier and Later Forms of Petrarch’s “Canzoniere.”* Although Wilkins was

- explicit in acknowledging the contribution of “Miss Phelps” (93), her fundamental work has been largely overlooked.
42. Wilkins’s desire to account for all textual decisions in terms of chronological order is one of the most dated aspects of his analysis. With respect to variety of form, Wilkins notes that the intermixture of sonnets, canzoni, *ballate*, and *madrigali* constitutes “a major innovation” (156). Variety of content is achieved by the inclusion, alongside love poems, of poems of “friendship, politics, religion, etc.,” so distributed “as to prevent the existence of long series of love poems” (156).
 43. Although the verse in question is probably Guillem de Saint-Gregori’s, according to Contini Petrarch certainly attributed it to Arnaut; see Gianfranco Contini, ed., *Canzoniere* (Turin: Einaudi, 1964). Petrarch felt a particular affinity with Arnaut, the troubadour who invented the *sestina*.
 44. If Dante wrote the *Fiore*, he wrote an extended version of the kind of *corona* of sonnets practiced by poets like Folgòre da San Gimignano (for which see Marco Santagata, *Dal sonetto al Canzoniere: Ricerche sulla preistoria e la costituzione di un genere* [Padua: Liviana, 1979]). This operation does not entail collecting previously written lyrics and transcribing them in a newly significant order but composing sonnets with the express purpose of telling a story. The *Fiore*’s sequence of 232 sonnets condenses and retells the *Roman de la rose* in a mode that is less philosophically digressive and hence, if anything, more dedicated to narrative thrust than the octosyllabic original. In fact, this sequence of sonnets (which, if Dante’s, would constitute a pre-*Vita nuova* example of Dante’s experimentation with lyric/narrative *contaminatio*), in no way eschews narrativity. It is best compared not to Petrarch’s lyric sequence, in which the *contaminatio* is so delicately balanced, but to a work like the *Filostrato*; the sonnets take the place that in Boccaccio’s work will be taken by octaves. In other words, although made of lyrics, the work is a narrative. See Barolini, “*Cominciandomi dal principio infino a la fine: Forging Anti-narrative in the Vita nuova*,” in *Dante and the Origins of Italian Literary Culture*, 175–92.
 45. For *Giovene donna* belonging to two contradictory sets, see Barolini, “Making of a Lyric Sequence,” 205; this essay also offers interpretive guidelines to some of these categories, in particular, the marking of a beginning, middle, and end, the canzoni series 70–73 and 125–129, the anniversary poems, the *sestine*, and the “death sequence.”
 46. The word *istoria/historia* appears only in canzone 127.7 and in sonnet 343.11. It is worth noting that canzone 127, *In quella parte dove Amor mi sprona*, with its first use of *istoria*, is followed by the “historical” political canzone, *Italia mia*.
 47. The idea that part 1 can be divided into two sections is not new: for instance, in *Petrarch the Poet* Hainsworth writes of the “second half of Part 1” (61) and

considers the series 125–129 to be the “turning-point” (61), although he also uses poems 140 and 133 (the exact midpoint) as divisions (59). There are other possible implicit endpoints in this vicinity. Much was made by Wilkins of sestina 142 as a poem that “would have made a dignified and appropriate ending” to an earlier version of part 1 (97). Whichever of these endpoints is chosen, the effect is to create an implicit tripartite structure to counteract the explicit bipartite structure.

48. For the importance of the number 6, reflected in my numerological note to appendix 2, see Carlo Calcaterra, *Nella selva del Petrarca* (Bologna: Cappelli, 1942), chapter 7.
49. The Latin text of the *Confessions* is from the Loeb Classical Library edition, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Heinemann, 1976). For discussion of these passages from the *Confessions*, which influenced greatly both Dante and Petrarch, see Teodolinda Barolini, *The Undivine Comedy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), chapter 7.
50. Because Laura here possesses an “angelica forma,” the reflex has been to suggest that we must be in the presence of stilnovist themes—in the presence of theologized courtliness. Indeed, the formulaic rigidity that has calcified the Italian critical tradition is such that the mere presence of the word “angelic” is taken to signal a stilnovist pedigree. But the echoes of stilnovism that we find in the concluding sextet of the sonnet *Erano i capei d’oro a l’aura sparsi* are interesting precisely because they do *not* constitute a homage to the transcendent.
51. For these different intertexts, see Sturm-Maddox, *Petrarchan Metamorphoses*.
52. This quintessentially Petrarchan focus on (lack of) self and identity was painstakingly achieved through the lengthy process of revision of canzone 23. The earlier version of this verse is courtly and Dantean: “Però con una carta et con enchiostro/Dissi: accorrete, donna, al fedel vostro!” (Therefore with a paper and ink I said: run, lady, to your faithful servant!) became “ond’io gridai con carta et con incostro: Non son mio, no. S’io moro, il danno è vostro” (so I cried out with paper and ink: I am not my own, no; if I die the fault is yours). For the development of the canzone, see Dennis Dutschke, *Francesco Petrarca: Canzone XXIII from First to Final Version* (Ravenna: Longo, 1977).
53. This is the limitation of the gender analysis in Nancy Vickers, “Diana Described: Scattered Woman and Scattered Rhyme,” *Critical Inquiry* 8 (1981): 265–79; the analysis does not account for the fact that particularizing description and bodily fragmentation are applied to the male lover/poet as well as to Laura (for instance, in the many references to his hair).
54. This synthesis is from Barolini, “Making of a Lyric Sequence,” 222.

Chapter Two

1. The text cited for *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* is Petrarch, *Canzoniere*, ed. Marco Santagata (Milan: Mondadori, 1996); and for *Triumphs*, Petrarch, *Trionfi, Rime estravaganti, Codice degli abbozzi*, ed. Vinicio Pacca and Laura Paolino (Milan: Mondadori, 1996). Translations of the *Triumphs* are from *The Triumphs of Petrarch*, trans. by Ernest Hatch Wilkins (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), occasionally modified to retain a more literal reading. Other translations, unless attributed, are my own. On Petrarch's debt to the *Divina commedia*, see Claudio Giunta, "Memoria di Dante nei *Trionfi*," *Rivista di Letteratura Italiana* 11 (1993): 411–52. For the more complex triangular interaction among Petrarch, Dante, and Boccaccio, see Vittore Branca, "Inter-testualità fra Petrarca e Boccaccio," *Lectura Petrarce* 14 (1994): 359–80; and Carlo Vecce, "La 'Lunga Pictura': Visione e rappresentazione nei *Trionfi*," in *I Triumphs di Francesco Petrarca (Gargnano del Garda, 1998)*, ed. Claudia Berra, 299–315 (Milan: Cisalpino, 1999).
2. Marina Ricucci, "L'esordio dei *Triumphs*: Tra *Eneide* e *Commedia*," *Rivista di Letteratura Italiana* 12 (1994): 313–49.
3. Although the text of the *Triumphs* is in Italian, its titles are in Latin.
4. Emilio Pasquini, "Il Testo: Fra l'autografo e i testimoni di collazione," in Berra, ed., *I Triumphs di Francesco Petrarca*, 11–37.
5. Dante Alighieri, *La Commedia secondo l'antica vulgata*, ed. Giorgio Petrocchi (Turin: Einaudi, 1975), *Inferno* 1.1; *The Divine Comedy*, trans. by Charles S. Singleton, 6 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970–75).
6. Victoria Kirkham, "Dante's Polysynchrony: A Perfectly Timed Entry into Eden," *Filologia e Critica* 20 (1995): 329–52.
7. Teodolinda Barolini, *The Undivine Comedy: Detheologizing Dante* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 3–16.
8. Guido Martellotti, "Il Triumphus Cupidinis in Ovidio e nel Petrarca," in *Scritti petrarcheschi* (Padua: Antenore, 1983), 517–24.
9. Giovanni Ponte, "La decima *Egloga* e la composizione dei *Trionfi*," in *Studi sul Rinascimento: Petrarca, Leonardo, Ariosto* (Naples: Morano, 1994), 63–90; and Claudia Berra, "La varietà stilistica dei *Trionfi*," in Berra, ed., *I Triumphs di Francesco Petrarca*, 175–218.
10. Paola Vecchi Galli, "I *Triumphs*: Aspetti della tradizione quattrocentesca," in Berra, ed., *I Triumphs di Francesco Petrarca*, 343–73; Tateo, "Sulla ricezione umanistica dei *Trionfi*," 375–401; Corsaro, "Fortuna e imitazione nel cinquecento," 429–85; and Konrad Eisenbichler and Amilcare Iannucci, eds., *Petrarca's Triumphs: Allegory and Spectacle* (Toronto: Dovehouse, 1990).
11. "Illustres itaque viros, quos excellenti quadam gloria floruisse doctissimo-

- rum hominum ingenia memorie tradiderunt, eorumque laudes.” Petrarch, *De viris illustribus*, ed. Guido Martellotti (Florence: Sansoni, 1964), prohemium.
12. Wolfgang Iser, *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978); Susan Suleiman and Inge Crosman, eds., *The Reader in the Text: Essays on Audience and Interpretation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980); Robert C. Holub, *Reception Theory: A Critical Introduction* (London and New York: Routledge, 1984); and Elizabeth Freund, *The Return of the Reader: Reader-Response Criticism* (London and New York: Methuen, 1987).
 13. Johannes Bartuschat, “Sofonisba e Massinissa. Dall’Africa e dal *De viris ai Trionfi*,” in *Petrarca e i suoi lettori*, ed. Vittorio Caratozzolo and Georges Güntert (Ravenna: Longo, 2000), 109–41.
 14. Petrarch, *De viris illustribus*, prohemium: “Si vero forsán studii mei labor expectationis tue sitim ulla ex parte sedaverit, nullum a te aliud premii genus efflagito, nisi ut diligar, licet incognitus, licet sepulcro conditus, licet versus in cineres, sicut ego multos, quorum me vigiliis adiutum senseram, non modo defunctos sed diu ante consumptos post annum millesimum dilexi.”
 15. Petrarch, *Secretum*, ed. Enrico Carrara (Turin: Einaudi, 1977), 3:188.
 16. Petrarch *Seniles* 3.9.15 in *Rerum senilium*, ed. Elvira Nota (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2002–3).
 17. Francisco Rico, *El sueño del humanismo: De Petrarca a Erasmo* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1993).
 18. See Petrarch, *Die Triumphe*, ed. Carl Appel (Halle an der Saale: Niemeyer, 1901); *Il Canzoniere e i Trionfi*, ed. Andrea Moschetti (Milan: Vallardi, 1908); Carlo Calcaterra, *Nella selva del Petrarca* (Bologna: Cappelli, 1942).
 19. See Petrarch, *Triumphs*, ed. Marco Ariani (Milan: Mursia, 1988); Emilio Pasquini, “Il testo: Fra l’autografo e i testimoni di collazione,” in Berra, *I Triumphs di Francesco Petrarca*, 11–37.
 20. Angelo Romanò, *Il codice degli abbozzi (Vat. Lat. 5196) di Francesco Petrarca* (Rome: Bardi, 1955), 282, 284.
 21. Marco Santagata, *I frammenti dell’anima: Storia e racconto nel Canzoniere di Petrarca* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1992), 290–91.
 22. Santagata, *I frammenti dell’anima*, 295–343.
 23. Romanò, *Il codice degli abbozzi*, 283.
 24. Edoardo Taddeo, *Petrarca e il tempo e altri studi di letteratura italiana* (Pisa: ETS, 2003).
 25. Mario Petrini, *La risurrezione della carne: Studi sul Canzoniere* (Milan: Mursia, 1993); and Maria Cecilia Bertolani, *Il corpo glorioso: Studi sui Trionfi del Petrarca* (Rome: Carocci, 2001).

26. Ea est rerum conditio humanarum, ut qui pauciora meminerit, minor illi fletuum causa sit. Ubi nec emendatio, nec penitentia utilis locum habet, quid superest aliud quam oblivionis auxilium? *De remediis utriusque fortune* 2.101, 2.28–30.

Chapter Three

1. “Sunt apud me huius generis vulgarium adhuc multa, et vetustissimis cedulis, et sic senio exesis ut vix legi queant. E quibus, si quando unus aut alter dies otiosus affulserit, nunc unum nunc aliud elicere soleo pro quodam quasi diverticulo laborum, sed perraro; ideoque mandaveram quod utriusque partis in fine bona spatia linquerentur, ut, si quando tale aliquid accidisset, esset ibi locus horum capax.” Latin text from the new version edited by Michele Feo, “‘In vetustissimis cedulis’ Il testo del postscriptum della senile XIII 11 γ e la ‘forma Malatesta’ dei *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*,” *Quaderni Petrarceschi* 11 (2001): 148.
2. Poems from the *Rerum vulgariam fragmenta* are cited from Petrarch, *Canzoniere*, ed. Marco Santagata (Milan: Mondadori, 2004); English translations from idem, *Petrarch’s Lyric Poetry: The Rime sparse and Other Lyrics*, ed. and trans. Robert M. Durling (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976). The *disperse* are based on Petrarch, *Trionfi, Rime estravaganti, Codice degli abbozzi*, ed. Vinicio Pacca and Laura Paolino (Milan: Mondadori, 1996); English translations from idem, *Rime disperse*, ed. and trans. Joseph A. Barber (New York: Garland, 1991).
3. “Mirum, hunc cancellatum et damnatum, post multos annos casu relegens absolvi et transcripsi in ordine statim. Non obstante . . . [oval symbol]. 1369 iunii 22, hora 23, veneris.” Transcription from Vaticano Latino 3196 in Petrarch, *Trionfi, Rime estravaganti, Codice degli abbozzi*, 809–10.
4. Aldus Manutius, in his 1514 edition of the *Canzoniere*, already justifies the inclusion of a short appendix of *disperse* by pointing to what these poems might reveal about Petrarch’s anthologizing strategies: “Se non in altro, in questo almeno vi seranno utili: che da qui potrà ognuno conoscere a che regola drizzava il Petrarca le cose che per sue volea che si leggessero, e se drittamente di sé medesimo giudicava” [If nothing else these (poems) will at least be useful to you: that anyone will be able to know through them by what rule Petrarch corrected what he wanted to be read as his own, and whether he was correct judge of himself]. Cited in Petrarch, *Rime disperse di Francesco Petrarca o a lui attribuite*, ed. Angelo Solerti (1909; Florence: Le Lettere, 1997), 38.
5. Petrarch *Seniles* 2:177: “Invitus, fateor, hac etate vulgari iuveniles ineptias cerno, quas omnibus—mihi quoque si liceat—ignotas velim. Etsi enim stilo quolibet ingenium illius etatis emineat, ipsa tamen res senilem dedecet

gravitatem. Sed quid possum? Omnia iam in vulgus effusa sunt legunturque libentius quam que serio, postmodum, validioribus annis scripsi. Quomodo igitur negarem tibi, sic de me merito tali viro tamque anxie flagitanti, que, me invito, vulgus habet et lacerat?" English translation based on Petrarch, *Letters of Old Age/ Rerum senilium libri*, trans. Aldo S. Bernardo, Saul Levin, and Reta A. Bernardo (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 2:500.

6. Petrarch, *Le familiari*, ed. Vittorio Rossi and Umberto Bosco (Florence: G. C Sansoni, 1933–42), 4:141.
7. "You say you have many of my letters. I should like you to have all of them, particularly in a corrected text, but it will never be up to me, and I should like the same about other things too. Besides you hope you have collected all my vernacular writings and my poetry, but that is hard for me to believe. You realize, however, that they more than other writings require the most exact corrections, since I suppose you have begged them from various people who did not even understand them." Petrarch, *Letters of Old Age*, 2:486. "Dicis te habere epystolas meas multas: velim omnes et maxime correctas habeas, neque unquam per me steterit idque ipsum et de aliis velim. Ad hec cuncta nostra vulgaria et siquid est poeticum collegisse te speras, sed id michi difficile est creditu. Ceterum illis ante alia necessariam esse correctionem exactissimam sentis, que a diversis, ut auguror, iisque nec intelligentibus mendicasti." *Seniles* 2:151.
8. See Annarosa Cavedon, "Intorno alle 'Rime estravaganti' del Petrarca," *Revue des études italiennes*, n.s., 29 (1983): 86–108, and especially idem, "La tradizione 'veneta' delle Rime estravaganti del Petrarca," *Studi Petrarceschi* 8 (1976): 1–73.
9. Paula Vecchi Galli has proposed using different terms to refer to the two categories, *estravaganti* versus *disperse*: "Per una stilistica delle 'disperse,'" in *Le lingue del Petrarca*, ed. Antonio Daniele (Udine: Forum, 2005), 110.
10. For a summary of the textual question of the *disperse*, see the excellent *postfazione* by Paolo Vecchi Galli in the reprint of Petrarca, *Rime disperse di Francesco Petrarca*, 325–401, as well as her entry "Rime disperse" in *Petrarca nel tempo: Tradizione lettori e immagini dell'opere*, ed. Michele Feo (Pontedera [Pisa]: Bandecchi & Vivaldi, 2004), 159–68. See also on the same subject, Alessandro Pancheri, "*Con suon chioccio*": *Per una frottola 'dispersa' attribuibile a Francesco Petrarca* (Padua: Antenore, 1993), 3–22.
11. For a critique of past attempts at establishing a canon of *disperse* based on impressions of Petrarch's stylistic or psychological development, see Vecchi Galli's comments in Petrarch, *Rime disperse di Francesco Petrarca*, 332–35 and 344–45.

12. Even several of the texts of the Casanatense are of questionable attribution. Three sonnets found in Solerti's edition, "Lora, le perle e i bei fioretti e l'erba"; "In cielo, in aria, in terra, in fuoco, e in mare"; and "O pruove oneste, ligiadrette e sole" (*Rime disperse*, ed. Solerti, 12, 13, and 14) are now excluded from modern editions because of their distinctly Venetian linguistic traits.
13. On the poems written for Confortino, see Alessandro Pancheri, "Pro Confortino," in Cesare Segre and others, *Le varianti e la storia: Il canzoniere di Francesco Petrarca* (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 1999), 49–59.
14. Umberto Bosco, *Francesco Petrarca* (Bari: Laterza, 1968), 10.
15. The Correggio is the name given to the form of Petrarch's *Canzoniere* at the time he prepared a fair copy for Azzo da Correggio, as evident in a marginal note in the *codice degli abbozzi*. Since no manuscript exists, its exact content and order are not certain, although scholars have largely reconstructed it from Petrarch's autograph notes. Although no longer unquestioned, the starting point for the history of the forms of the *Canzoniere* remains E. H. Wilkins, *The Making of the "Canzoniere" and Other Petrarchan Studies* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1951). See also, especially for the choral aspects of this form, Marco Santagata, *I frammenti dell'anima: Storia e racconto nel Canzoniere di Petrarca* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1992), 159–60.
16. Feo, "In vetustissimis cedulis," 144.
17. Irene Affò, cited by Giorgio Montecchi in the entry s.v. "Correggio, Azzo da" in the *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960), 425–30. Most of what follows on Azzo derives from this entry.
18. See Santagata, *Frammenti dell'anima*, 162–63.
19. For a general treatment of poetic exchanges in late medieval Italy, see Claudio Giunta, *Versi ad un destinatario: Saggio sulla poesia italiana del Medioevo* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2002).
20. For biographical details on Sennuccio and his family, see the introduction to Daniele Piccini, *Un amico del Petrarca: Sennuccio del Bene e le sue rime* (Rome and Padua: Antenore, 2004), xi–xlii, as well as Giuseppe Billanovich, "L'altro stil nuovo: Da Dante teologo a Petrarca filologo," *Studi Petrarceschi*, n.s., 11 (1994): 1–98.
21. "Oltra l'usato modo si rigira" responds to *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* 266 in the name of Giovanni Colonna; and "La bella Aurora nel mio orizzonte" responds to the *dispersa* "Sì come il padre del folle Fetonte." The text for Sennuccio's poems is based on Piccini, *Un amico del Petrarca*.
22. For a survey of Petrarch's poetic exchanges with Sennuccio, see Joseph A. Barber, "Il sonetto CXIII e gli altri sonetti a Sennuccio," *Lectura Petrarce* 2 (1982): 21–39.

23. See for example, Barber, “Il sonetto CXIII,” 33–36.
24. In “Per una stilistica delle ‘disperse,’” Paolino, while making exception for “Sì mi fan risentire,” generally cautions against the canonicity of poems echoing too closely Petrarch’s language and imagery. Similar conclusions and cautions about later imitators of Dante and Petrarch are in Emilio Pasquini, “‘Minori’ in bilico fra le ‘due corone,’” in *Le botteghe della poesia: Studi sul Tre-Quattrocento italiano* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1991), 331–51.
25. For the various claims about the influence and critical place of “Sì mi fan risentire a l’aura sparsi,” see Barber, “Il sonetto CXIII,” 33–35; Rosanna Bettarini, “Perché ‘narrando’ il duol si disacerba (Motivi esegetici dagli autografi petrarcheschi),” in *La critica del testo: Problemi di metodo ed esperienze di lavoro*, Atti del Convegno di Lecce, 22–26 ottobre, 305–20 (Rome: Salerno, 1985), 309–10; Dante Bianchi, “Intorno alle ‘rime disperse’ del Petrarca: Il Petrarca e i fratelli Beccari,” *Studi Petrarcheschi* 2 (1949): 131–33; Solerti’s note in Petrarch, *Rime disperse di Francesco Petrarca*, 112; and Carlo Pulsoni, *La tecnica compositiva nei Rerum vulgarium fragmenta: Riuso metrico e lettura autoriale* (Rome: Bagatto Libri, 1998), 110–12.
26. Laura Bellucci suggests a similar reversal in the direction of influence between the *Canzoniere* and the *disperse* in her analysis of an exchange with Antonio da Ferrara. See “Palinodia amorosa in una ‘dispersa’ di Petrarca,” *Studi e problemi di critica testuale* 2 (1971): 117.
27. Of the many possible examples noted by Piccini in *Un amico di Petrarca*, at least one is worth mentioning: “a nullo amato amar perdona” from “Amor, tu ssai ch’i’ son col capo cano” (line 70). This is clearly a conscious citation of *Inferno* 5.103 and not simply a mark of Dante’s influence on Sennuccio.
28. For Petrarch’s influence on Boccaccio, see Wilkins, *Making of the Canzoniere*, 300–1; Armando Baduino, *Boccaccio, Petrarca e altri poeti del Trecento* (Florence: Olschki, 1984), 231–347; and Giuseppe Billanovich, *Petrarca letterato I. Lo scrittoio del Petrarca* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1947), 81–83. For Boccaccio’s influence on Petrarch, see Marco Santagata, *Per moderne carte: La biblioteca volgare di Petrarca* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1990), 246–70; and Giuseppe Velli, “La poesia volgare del Boccaccio e i *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*. Primi appunti,” *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* 169 (1992): 183–99.
29. For the relationship between *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* 113 and “Guido i’vorrei,” see Pulsoni, *La tecnica compositiva*, 136–39.
30. For a recent discussion with relevant bibliography, see Enrico Fenzi, “L’ermeneutica petrarchesca tra libertà e verità,” *Lettere italiane* 54 (2002): 170–209.
31. See for example, “Tu sè tal maraviglia a chi ti vede/alto valor sovr’ogni

- umanitade/che discese dal ciel ciascun ti crede" [You are such a marvel to anyone who sees you, that each believes you are a lofty power descended from heaven] from "L'alta bellezza tua è tanto nova" (lines 12–14); "o angiola discesa in questa vita/ di tal bellezza e di virtù vestita" [O angel descended among us, dressed in such beauty and virtue] from "O salute d'ogni occhio che ti mira" (lines 6–7); and "chi per la tua via corre/ disposto a bene amare e qui si sprona" [whoever runs across your way is spurred to be disposed to love well] from "Amor, tu ssai ch' i' son col capo cano" (lines 68–69).
32. The Chigi or Chigiano form (1359–1363) refers to Boccaccio's transcription of the *Canzoniere*, now MS Vaticano Chigiano 50.5.176.
 33. Laura Paolino, "Ad acerbam rei memoriam: Le carte del lutto nel codice Vaticano latino 3196 di Francesco Petrarca," *Rivista di letteratura italiana* 11 (1993): 73–102.
 34. Petrarch, *Trionfi, Rime estravaganti, Codice degli abbozzi*, 856 (line 82). In the original draft, the incipit reads "Amore, in pianto ogni mio riso è vòlto" and is accompanied by the marginal note "non videtur satis triste principium" [the beginning does not seem sad enough].
 35. "1349 no[ve]mbr(is) 28, inter primam et tertiam. Videtur nunc animus ad hec exp[ed]ienda pron[us], propter sonitia de morte Sennucii et de Aurora, que his diebus dixi et erexerunt animum." Petrarch, *Trionfi, Rime estravaganti, Codice degli abbozzi*, 850.
 36. For recent discussions and further bibliography, see commentary in Petrarch, *Canzoniere*, 692; and Bettarini, "Perché 'narrando' il duol si disacerba," 309–11.
 37. See at least the groundbreaking essays of John Freccero, "The Fig Tree and the Laurel: Petrarch's Poetics," *Diacritics* 5 (1975): 34–40; and Giuseppe Mazzotta, "The *Canzoniere* and the Language of the Self," *Studies in Philology* 75 (1978): 271–96.
 38. See the last line of "Quand'io veggio": "né di sé m'à lasciato altro che 'l nome" [nor has she left me anything of herself besides the name]. Analyzing Petrarch's exchanges with Sennuccio, Giuseppe Billanovich argues that Laura was in fact only a name: "Laura fantasma del *Canzoniere*," *Studi Petrarqueschi*, n.s., 11 (1994): 149–58.

Chapter Four

1. "Te ipsum derelinquere mavis, quam libellos tuos. Ego tamen officium meum peragam; quam feliciter, tu videris, at certe fideliter. Abice ingentes historiarum sarcinas: satis romane res geste et suapte fama et aliorum ingeniis illustrate sunt. Dimitte Africam, eamque possessoribus suis linque; nec Scipioni tuo nec tibi gloriam cumulabis; ille altius nequit extolli, tu post eum

- obliquo calle niteris. His igitur posthabitis, te tandem tibi restitue.” Petrarch, *Secretum*, ed. Enrico Carrara, in Petrarch, *Prose*, ed. Guido Martellotti, Pier Giorgio Ricci, Enrico Carrara, and Enrico Bianchi (Milan and Naples: Ricciardi, 1955), 206. The translation is taken from *The Secret*, ed. and trans. Carol E. Quillen (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 2003), 144.
2. For fragments of Landolf’s *Brevarium*, see Giuseppe Billanovich, *La tradizione del testo di Livio e le origini dell’Umanesimo*, vol. 1, *Tradizione e fortuna di Livio tra medioevo e umanesimo*, vol. 1.1, *Studi sul Petrarca*, 9 (Padua: Antenore, 1981), 129, n. 1. The contents of Giovanni’s work, *Mare historiarum*, are described by Stephen L. Forte, “John Colonna, O.P., Life and Writings (ca. 1298–1340),” *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum* 20 (1950): 394–402. Among other Italian contemporaries writing universal histories were (1) Riccobaldo da Ferrara (d. 1318): *Pomerium* (unpublished), *Historiae* (unpublished), and *Compendium romanae historiae*. The latter is edited by A. Teresa Hankey, *Riccobaldi ferrariensis. Compendium romanae historiae* (Rome: Fonti per la Storia d’Italia, no. 108 in 2 pts., 1984). Despite its title, the *Compendium* is a summary of world history with a concentration on Roman history. (2) Giovanni Matociis (Mansionarius, d. 1337): *Historia imperialis* (unpublished). (3) Benzo da Alessandria (d. 1333): *Cronica*. Joseph Berrigan has published the first of three parts of this work: “Benzo d’Alessandria and the Cities of Northern Italy,” *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 4 (1967): 125–92. (4) Giovanni da Cremona (d. 1344): *Historia Johannis de Cermenate, notarii mediolanensis*, ed. L. A. Ferrai Fonti per la storia d’Italia pubblicate dall’Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2 (Rome: Forzani E. C. Tipografi del Senato, 1889).
 3. Riccobaldo da Ferrara’s *Chronica parva Ferrariensis* has been edited by Gabriele Zanella (Ferrara: Deputazione Provinciale Ferrarese di Storia Patria, 1983). See the important observations on the work by A. Teresa Hankey, *Riccobaldo of Ferrara: His Life, Works and Influence* (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1996), 4–5 and 78–92. For Albertino Mussato, see *Historia augusta Henrici VII caesaris et alia quae extant opera*, ed. Laurentii Pignorii vir. Clar. Spicilegio necnon Foelici Osia et Nicolae Villani, etc. (Venice: Ducali Pinelliana, 1636), separately paginated.
 4. Ferreto dei Ferretti, *Historia rerum in Italia gestarum*, in *Le opere di Ferreto de’ Ferretti vicentino*, ed. Carlo Cipolla, Fonti per la storia d’Italia, 42–43 (Rome: Fonti per la Storia d’Italia, 1908–20).
 5. For a discussion of earlier Italian city chronicles, see my forthcoming *The Italian Difference: The Two Latin Cultures of Medieval Italy (800–1250)*.
 6. On Giovanni’s work, see Braxton W. Ross, “Giovanni Colonna, Historian at Avignon,” *Speculum* 45 (1970): 533–63; and G. M. Gianola, “La raccolta di biografie come problema storiografico nel *De viris* di Giovanni Colonna,” *Bul-*

- lettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio muratoriano* 89 (1991): 509–40. Pastrengo, *De viris illustribus et de originibus*, ed. G. Bottari, Studi sul Petrarca, 21 (Padua: Antenore, 1991), has a long introduction. Cf. Rino Avesani, “Il preumanesimo veronese,” *Storia della cultura veneta* (Vicenza: Neri Pozzi, 1976), 2:126–29. Bottari in Pastrengo, *De viris illustribus*, xxxi–xxxii and xciii, acknowledges Colonna’s influence on the alphabetical order followed by Pastrengo and the latter’s decision to deal both with pagan and Christian authors. Doubtless well known to these authors was Saint Jerome’s *De viris illustribus* that briefly discussed the life and works of Christian writers from Simon Peter to his own time.
7. These are the calculations of Ernest Hatch Wilkins, *Petrarch’s Later Years* (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1959), 284 and 287.
 8. I have analyzed a passage from the *Vita Scipionis* in my “*In the Footsteps of the Ancients*: *The Origins of Humanism from Lovato dei Lovati to Leonardo Bruni* (Leiden and New York: Brill, 2000), 271–72.
 9. “Quid est enim aliud omnis historia, quam Romana laus,” *Invectiva contra eum qui maledixit Italie*, in Petrarch, *Invective*, ed. and trans. David Marsh, I Tatti Renaissance Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 417.
 10. Petrarch, *De viris illustribus*, ed. Guido Martellotti, Edizione nazionale delle opere di Francesco Petrarca, no. 2, pt. 1 (Florence: Sansoni, 1964), 4: “Apud me nisi ea requiruntur, que ad virtutes vel virtutum contraria trahi possunt; hic enim, nisi fallor, fructuosus historicorum finis est, illa prosequi que vel sectanda legentibus vel fugienda sunt.” The translation is from Benjamin Kohl, “Petrarch’s Prefaces to the *De viris illustribus*,” *History and Theory* 14 (1974): 143. On history as teaching by example, see especially Richard Kessler, *Petrarca und die Geschichte: Geschichtsschreibung, Rhetorik, Philosophie im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit* (Munich: W. Fink, 1978).
 11. *De viris illustribus*, 3: “Namque ea que scripturus sum, quamvis apud alios auctores sint, non tamen ita penes eos collocata reperiuntur: quedam enim que apud unum desunt ab altero mutatus sum, quedam brevius, quedam clarius, quedam que brevitatis obscura faciebat expressius, quedam que apud alios carptim dicta erant coniunxi et ex diversorum dictis unum feci.” For a translation, see Kohl, “Prefaces to the *De viris illustribus*,” 142.
 12. *De viris illustribus*, 3: “Namque ea que scripturus sum, quamvis apud alios auctores sint, non tamen ita penes eos collocata reperiuntur: quedam enim que apud unum desunt ab altero mutatus sum, quedam brevius, quedam clarius, quedam que brevitatis obscura faciebat expressius, quedam que apud alios carptim dicta erant coniunxi et ex diversorum dictis unum feci.” Kohl, “Prefaces to Petrarch’s *De viris illustribus*,” 143. The earlier preface (1351–52)

- contains the same ideas similarly expressed: Petrarch, *Prose* (ed. Martellotti et al.), 218–27.
13. I illustrate this in “Petrarch’s Conception of History,” in *Petrarca: Canoni, Esemplarità*, ed. Valeria Finucci (Rome: Bulzoni, 2006), 211–18. I suggest a degree of parallel between Petrarch’s and Dante’s focus on Rome and their capacity to recreate ancient personalities.
 14. Martellotti describes the codex in his edition of Petrarch, *De viris illustribus*, xxxvii–xxxviii.
 15. On the early publication history of this *vita*, see Domenico Rossetti, *Petrarca, Giulio Celso e Boccaccio, illustrazione bibliologica delle Vite degli uomini illustri del primo, di Cajo Giulio Cesare attribuita al secondo e del Petrarca scritta dal terzo* (Trieste: G. Marenigh, 1828), 154–75.
 16. *Le vite degli uomini illustri di Francesco Petrarca*, ed. Luigi Razzolini (Bologna: Collezione di opere inedite o rare dei primi tre secoli della lingua, 1874–79).
 17. Martellotti in *De viris illustribus*, xx–xxi, describes Vat. Lat. 4523. The manuscript, representing the *De viris illustribus* as completed by Lombardo della Seta, contains thirty-six lives, not the thirty-five attributed to it by Razzolini, *Le vite degli uomini illustri*, xvi–xvii.
 18. Pierre de Nolhac, “Le *De viris illustribus* de Pétrarque,” in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques* 34, no. 1 (1891): 91.
 19. Because the twenty-fourth biography included in 6069 I, the *Vita Cesaris*, was composed at least toward the end of Petrarch’s life, a scribe would have had to add it to the second version of the *De viris illustribus* (1351–53) at a later time. For the dating of the *De gestis Cesaris*, see below, n. 39.
 20. This wider plan has usually been referred to as “the all-ages plan.” See, for example, Kohl, “Prefaces to the *De viris illustribus*,” 33. See, however, below, pp. 8.
 21. Scholars commonly cite Carlo Calcaterra, “La concezione storica del Petrarca,” *Annali della cattedra petrarchesca* 9 (1939–40): 3–25; republished in his collection of articles, *Nella selva del Petrarca* (Bologna: Cappelli, 1942), 415–33, breaking with de Nolhac by placing the “Roman” plan prior to the version discovered by the French scholar. But in fact, in this article of 1939, Calcaterra (“La concezione storica del Petrarca,” 7–8) accepts de Nolhac’s chronology. He rewrites these pages and reorders the versions only when including the essay in his collection three years later (*Nella selva*, 418–19). Martellotti offers a detailed description of the development of *De viris illustribus* following Calcaterra. See Martellotti, “Linee di sviluppo dell’umanesimo petrarchesco,” *Studi Petrarcheschi* 2 (1949): 51–80; also in *Scritti petrarcheschi*, ed. Michele Feo and Silvia Rizzo, *Studi sul Petrarca*, 16 (Padua: Antenore,

- 1983), 131. Henceforth all citations from this and Martellotti's other articles will be to *Scritti petrarcheschi*.
22. In Petrarch *Africa* 2.274–76, ed. Nicola Festa, Edizione nazionale delle opere di Francesco Petrarca, no. 1 (Florence: Sansoni, 1926), 40. Petrarch has Scipio end his prophesying with the reigns of the Emperors Vespasian and Titus: "Ulterius transire piget; nam scepra decusque/ Imperii tanto nobis fundata labore/ Externi rapiunt Hispanie stirpis et Afre."
23. Petrarch *Secretum* 192: "Ideoque manum ad maiorem iam porrigens, librum historiarum a rege Romulo in Titum cesarem, opus immensum temporisque et laboris capacissimum, agressus es."
24. The dating of the *Secretum* and, consequently, that of the reference to the *De viris illustribus* has been the subject of intense debate. Traditionally the work had been assigned to 1342–43 on the basis of Franciscus's remark that he had known Laura for sixteen years at the time of the colloquy with Augustinus (*Secretum*, 136). Interpreting the marginal note "modo 3, 1353, 1349, 1347" on the final page of the manuscript copied by the meticulous scribe Tedaldo della Casa from Petrarch's original (Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence, 26 sin. 9 [formerly Santa Croce 696], fol. 243) as indicating three versions of the *Secretum*, Francesco Rico, *Vida u obra de Petrarca: Lectura del Secretum*, Studi sul Petrarca, 4 (Padua: Antenore, 1974), 471, concludes that the current version is the product of "una refundición íntegra" of the work done by Petrarch in 1353. Hans Baron, *Petrarch's Secret: Its Making and its Meaning* (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1985), 20–21, accepts Rico's interpretation of the three dates as indicating three versions of the text, but he argues for an initial composition in 1347 with some revisions in 1349 and 1353. Several scholars remain convinced that the date given by Petrarch was in fact the date when the work was initially composed: B. Martinelli, "Sulla data del *Secretum* del Petrarca. Nova et vetera," *Critica letteraria* 13 (1985): 431–82 and 643–93; and Giovanni Ponte, "Nella selva del Petrarca," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 167 (1990): 1–63. Ponte points out, for example, that the preface to the *Secretum* refers to the *Africa* as containing a description of the palace of truth, a passage belonging to a version of the poem dated before 1341–42 and replaced, probably in 1344, by a description of the palace of Syphax: Petrarch *Africa* 3.88–3.264 (ed. Festa, 54–62). The discussion of dating is important for an understanding of the development of *De viris illustribus* in that specialists generally have agreed that between 1351 and 1353 Petrarch was following an "all-ages" plan for the *De viris illustribus* (see below and my discussion of the 1351–53 dating). If, as Rico contends, the work was totally revised in 1353, Petrarch's description of the *De viris illustribus* in book 3 as following the "Roman plan" ill accords

with the 1351–53 dating. In his work of 1974 (*Vida e obra*, 386–88, n. 478) Rico identifies a passage in book 2 of the work as referring to the “all-ages” plan (*Secretum*, 72): “Si, cum omnis evi clarorum hominum gesta meminertis, quid vos quotidie agitis non curatis?” This passage would consequently be dated 1351–53. However, in his “Ubi puer, ibi senex”: Hans Baron y el *Secretum* de 1353,” *Il Petrarca latino e le origini dell’Umanesimo. Atti del Convegno internazionale Firenze 19–22 maggio 1991, Quaderni Petrarcheschi*, 9–10 (Florence: Nistri-Lischi, 1996), 228–29, Rico identifies the reference to the “Roman plan” as an “eco del pasaje de Livio (XX III 43, 6) en que Escipión afirma que es propio de un espíritu grande compararse ‘cum omnis aevi claris viris.’” Consequently, the latter phrase was not meant to designate a particular version of the *De viris illustribus*. In this article Rico appears to endorse the opinion of Guido Martellotti expressed in the latter’s review of Rico’s book according to which the reference to the “Roman” plan, “deve riportarsi senza anacronismi alla data fittizia [1342–43]; sicchè le testimonianze relative agli inizi del poema e dell’opera storica conservano il loro valore documentario.” “Sulla data del *Secretum*,” *Scritti petrarcheschi*, 493. For Baron, who denies that the text was completely rewritten in 1353, the reference to the “Roman” plan would have been included in 1347 or 1349, before Petrarch’s decision to reconceptualize the work in 1351–53, *Petrarch’s Secret*, 130–31.

25. The marginal note is discussed in Giuseppe Billanovich, “Uno Suetonio della Biblioteca del Petrarca (Berlinese Lat. Fol. 337),” *Studi Petrarcheschi* 6 (1956): 29.
26. Petrarch *De viris illustribus* 58–92.
27. *Ibid.*, 70; Martellotti, “Linee di sviluppo dell’umanesimo petrarchesco,” 131. Martellotti, “La *Collatio inter Scipionem Alexandrum Hanibalem et Pybrrum*. Un inedito del Petrarca nella biblioteca della University of Pennsylvania,” *Scritti petrarcheschi*, 324–26, points out that in this brief work Scipio’s superiority as a general is recognized by the other three.
28. Petrarch *Africa* 2.449–54 (ed. Festa, 54–62). On this passage and the earliest *Vita Scipionis*, which Martellotti labels γ , see “Sulla composizione del *De viris e l’Africa*,” 9.
29. Martellotti, “Il *De viris et l’Africa*,” 13, effectively argues that the second edition of the *Vita Scipionis* (β) was written before 1343 because it makes no mention of the death of Magone, an incident celebrated in the fragment of the *Africa* sent to Barbato dal Sulmona in 1343. The original twenty-three lives recur in all revisions of the work. They are the following: Romulus, Numa, Tullus Hostilius Ancus Martius, Junius Brutus, Horatio Cocles, Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus, Marcus Furius Camillus, Titus Manlius Torquatus, Marcus Valerius Corvus, Publius Decius, Lucius Papirius Cursor, Marcus

- Curius Dentatus, Fabritius Lucinius, Alexander, Pyrrhus, Hannibal, Quintus Fabius Maximus Cuntator, Marcus Cladius Marcellus, Claudius Nero, Livius Salinator, Publius Cornelius Scipio, and Cato Censor. The second edition contains twelve lives of biblical and mythological figures: Adam, Noah, Nimrod, Ninus, Semiramis, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Jason, and Hercules.
30. According to Martellotti, “*Il De viris et l’Africa*,” 15: “quanto si è visto finora intorno all’attività del Petrarca ci permette di datare più precisamente il testo ß della Vita di Scipione al 1342; e a quell’epoca risale pressappoco tutto lo stadio ß dell’*De viris*. Il poeta attendeva allora alacramente alla sua opera storica, ordinandola e completandola, col proposito di presentarla a Roberto di Napoli insieme con *l’Africa*. La morte del principe interrompe bruscamente il lavoro, che solo più tardi doveva esser ripreso.” In a later article, published in 1949, “Linee di sviluppo dell’umanesimo petrarchesco,” 128, he writes that “lo studio critico della tradizione manoscritta indica alla fine del ’42 o ai primissimi del ’43 un alacre lavoro intorno al *De viris*. Sappiamo che subito dopo il Petrarca ne abbandonò la composizione per dedicarsi a quella dei *Rerum memorandarum*, e in quest’opera infatti egli parla del suo *De viris* come di qualche cosa che sia già lontana nel tempo.” The *Rerum memorandarum* has been definitively dated by Giuseppe Billanovich as written between 1343 and 1345: *Rerum memorandarum libri*, ed. Giuseppe Billanovich, Edizione nazionale delle opere di Francesco Petrarca, 5 (Florence: Sansoni, 1945), cix–cxx. Martellotti divides the manuscript tradition of ß into two families, “s,” presumably reflecting the work as it was in 1343, and “u,” showing later modifications by Petrarch: *De viris illustribus*, lxi–lxii. That the “s” family dates from 1343, however, cannot be proven.
31. De Nolhac, “Storiografia del Petrarca,” *Scritti petrarcheschi*, 482–83.
32. Petrarch, *De viris illustribus*, ed. Guido Martellotti, in Petrarch, *Prose*, ed. Guido Martellotti, Pier Giorgio Ricci, Enrico Carrara, and Enrico Bianchi (Milan and Naples: Ricciardi, 1955), 218: “Scriberem libentius, fateor, visa quam lecta, novat quam vetera, ut sicut notitiam vetustatis ab antiquis accepteram ita huius notitiam etatis ex me posteritas sera perciperet. Gratiam habeo principibus nostris, qui michi fesso et quietis avido hunc preperipiunt laborem; neque enim historie sed satyre materiam stilo tribuunt.” The translation is from Kohl, “Petrarch’s Prefaces to *De viris illustribus*,” 138.
33. Petrarch, *Invective contra medicum*, in *Invectives*, 51: “Scripsi aliqua, nec desino, aut unquam desinam, dum hic digitus calamum feret. Sed, omissis aliis, ne me rursus de me ipso magnifice loqui dicas, scribo de viris illustribus. Que non ausim dicere: iudicent qui legent; de quantitate pronuntio: haud dubie magnum opus multarumque vigiliarum et, si non ab auctore, certe a subiecta

- materia nominandum. Nichil ibi de medicis nec de poetis quidem aut philosophis agitur, sed de his tantum qui bellicis virtutibus aut magno reipublice studio floruerunt, et preclaram rerum gestarum gloriam consecuti sunt. Illic, si tibi debitum locum putas, dic ubi vis inseri; parebitur; sed verendum est ne quos ex omnibus seculis illustres, quantum hac ingenii paupertate licuit, in unum contraxi adventu tuo diffugiant, teque ibi solo remanente, mutandus libri titulus, neque *De viris illustribus* sed *De insigni fatuo* inscribendum sit.”
34. Martellotti, “Linee di sviluppo dell’umanesimo petrarchesco,” 128–30. The edited version is found in *Le familiari*, ed. Vittorio Rossi and Umberto Bosco, Edizione nazionale di Petrarca, 10–13 (Florence: Sansoni, 1933–), 2:160: “Ex omnibus terris ac seculis illustres viros in unum contrahendi illa michi solitudo dedit animum.”
35. Petrarch *Familiars* 19.3 (3:314–15), cited from Baron, *Petrarch’s Secretum*, 151–52, n. 72.
36. “quanquam si illustres evi nostri viros attigissem, non dicam te-ne tibi, quod placatus non soleo, iratus adulari videar-at certe nec patruum nec patrem tuum silentio oppressurus fuerim. Nolui autem pro tam paucis nominibus claris tam procul tantasque per tenebras stilum ferre; ideoque vel materie vel labori parcens longe ante hoc seculum historie limitem statui ac defixi.” Petrarch *Familiars* 4:28–29.
37. As Petrarch writes in the last lines of his preface to *De viris illustribus* dedicated to Carrara (5): “ab illo igitur, ad quem rogatus stilum vertere paro, Urbis Romanae conditore Romulo nam sic volentis desiderium impellit, inchoandum iter assumo.” The first lines of the preface to Carrara also make it clear that the work was undertaken “rogatu tuo” (at your request). For a discussion of Carrara’s relationship to the composition, see the discussion of Ernest Hatch Wilkins, *Petrarch’s Later Years* (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1959), 285–86, and 300–1.
38. On the third *Vita Scipionis*, see Umberto Bosco, “Il Petrarca e l’umanesimo filologico,” *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 120 (1942): 84–92; and Martellotti, “Storiografia del Petrarca,” 483–84. Martellotti’s edition of the *De viris illustribus* (see above, n. 10) contains the earliest *vita* as an appendix (327–54). Whereas Martellotti (“Petrarca e Cesare,” 78–79), believes that the lives of Caesar were conceived of as independent works, Wilkins (*Petrarch’s Later Years*, 290–91) holds that Petrarch continued to see it as part of *De viris illustribus*. Furthermore, whereas Martellotti maintains that the *De gestis Cesaris* was completed before Carrara made his request for a new edition in 1368 (79–89), Wilkins maintains holds that “the Life of Caesar may have been begun either before or after Petrarch’s receipt of Francesco’s request” (291). He argues that, because the first twenty-three lives were

already completed before Carrara's request, were *De gestis Cesaris* already finished by then, we must assume that, having written a dedicatory preface to Carrara for the *De viris illustribus*, that Petrarch "never did anything toward its completion." I agree with Wilkins on both issues.

39. Wilkins, *Petrarch's Later Years*, 294–95, points out that Petrarch's own references to the work throughout most of his life indicated that he thought of the work as encompassing all the major Roman heroes not merely certain ones, but Petrarch's description of the work in his preface to Carrara (see above, n. 33) as "illustres quosdam viros" suggests that Lombardo reflected Petrarch's own sense of the subject of the *De viris illustribus* at this time. In his "Storiografia del Petrarca," 485, Martellotti suggests that *epitboma* in the title *Quorundam virorum illustrium epitboma* "sembra significare 'sezione' dell'opera intera, 'saggio' o qualche cosa di simile." Also see his extensive analysis of the terms *epitome* and *compendium* in "Epitome e compendio," *Scritti petrarcheschi*, 50–66.
40. Wilkins, *Petrarch's Later Years*, 292, cites from the first edition of the Latin works of Petrarch (Basle, 1496), fol. 362v: "Iussisti enim multa et maxima quorundam virorum illustrium facta: prius quodam Epitomate neque prolixo neque artato: sed mediocri stilo declarari: nunc quodammodo (ut ita dixerim) eadem stipare compendiosius imperas: ut cognitioni tradantur . . . Hoc enim idem et celeberrimo Petrarcae commiseras invictissimae eloquentiae viro: qui cum desiderio tuis satisfacere lucubraret: terris elatus evanuit rediturus ad astra."
41. Martellotti, "Storiografia del Petrarca," 485. Cf. Wilkins, *Petrarch's Later Years*, 292–93.
42. Martellotti, "Epitome e compendio," 58.
43. Petrarch, *La vita di Scipione l'Africano*, ed. Guido Martellotti (Milan: Ricciardi, 1954).
44. Marco Santagata, in *Trionfi, Rime estravaganti: Codice degli abbozzi*, ed. Vinicio Pacca and Laura Paolino (Milan: Mondadori, 1996), xlvi, concludes his extensive discussion of the dating of the *Trionfi* by assigning the whole work to the early 1350s.
45. The date 1350 is that given by Martellotti, "Linee di sviluppo dell'umanesimo petrarchesco," 126, n. 24. Santagata, in *Trionfi, Rime estravaganti* (ed. Pacca and Paolino), xxxii, concludes only that this draft "sta anteriore al 1352–53." The draft is published, *ibid.*, 555–85.
46. Santagata, in *Trionfi, Rime estravaganti*, 558–70 (vv. 22–102). Petrarch's decision to celebrate Trajan, Hadrian, Antonius Pius, and Marcus Aurelius was probably motivated by contact with *Historia augusta*, a work he possessed from 1356, but which he could well have known earlier: Martellotti, "Linee di sviluppo dell'umanesimo di Petrarcesco," 119, and especially n. 15.

47. Petrarch *Trionfi* 2.120–56, 2.157, 2.160–63 (ed. Pacca and Paolino, 574–83).
48. I am using for reference *Triumphus Fame I* and *Triumphus Fame II* in the edition of Pacca and Paolino (pp. 353–428). The subdivision of the categories are as follows (1) *TF I*, vv. 1–129 (353–86); (2) *TF II*, vv. 1–51 (393–406); (3) vv. 52–87 (406–12); (4) vv. 88–120 (412–18); and (5) vv. 121–62 (418–28).
49. Martellotti, “Linee di sviluppo dell’umanesimo petrarchesco,” 126–27.
50. *Ibid.*, 126–27.
51. Hans Baron, “The State of Petrarch Studies,” in *From Petrarch to Leonardo Bruni: Studies in Humanistic and Political Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press for the Newberry Library, 1968), 30–31 and 44–45.
52. *Ibid.*, 23–27.
53. Martellotti traces the changing attitude of Petrarch toward Caesar in “Petrarca e Cesare,” 77–89. He regards what might be considered as a somewhat positive reference in book 8 of *Africa* as a later interpolation (83) and maintains that the decisive change in attitude came with a close reading of the *Commentarii* in the 1360s. Two years later in “Linee di sviluppo dell’umanesimo petrarchesco,” 119, Martellotti finds the change taking place in the first version of the *Triumphus Fame* and here he tends to credit *Historia augusta Henrici VII* for giving Petrarch a more positive attitude to the emperors: see above, n. 36.
54. Martellotti, “Linee di sviluppo dell’umanesimo petrarchesco Cesare,” 139–40.
55. Baron, *From Petrarch to Bruni*, 37–40.
56. Baron, *From Petrarch to Bruni*, 45, suggests that Petrarch returned to the original Roman plan because Carrara insisted on it. If the beginning of the *De gestis Cesaris* cannot be firmly dated before 1368, when Carrara made the request, that is not the case with the third biography of Scipio. This new biography indicates that Petrarch’s interest in the Roman plan preceded Carrara’s request.
57. See my “The *De tyranno* and Coluccio Salutati’s View of Politics and Roman History,” *Nuova rivista storica* 53 (1969): 445, republished in Ronald G. Witt, *Italian Humanism and Medieval Rhetoric* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate/Variorum, 2001).
58. *Ibid.*, 443–50.

Chapter Five

1. In general, a twofold philological question surrounds the poem’s composition and publication. Nicola Festa, who produced the first and only critical edition of the work in 1926, focuses on Petrarch’s reluctance to publish in his *Saggio sull’Africa* (Palermo: Sandron, 1926)—to date still the most complete

- discussion of the poem. Festa's introduction to his edition also carefully maps the complicated and delayed editorial process that led to Pier Paolo Vergerio's first edition in 1396. On the question, see the sparse notes in Giuseppe Billanovich, *Petrarca letterato. I. Lo scrittoio del Petrarca* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1952), 228–30, 251–52, 286–99; and Ernest Hatch Wilkins, *Studies in the Life of Petrarch* (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1955), 248–50. See also Vincenzo Fera, *La revisione petrarchesca dell' "Africa"* (Messina: Centro di Studi Umanistici, 1984); and most recently, Enrico Fenzi, "Dall'Africa al *Secretum*: Il sogno di Scipione e la composizione del poema," in *Saggi Petrarcheschi* (Fiesole: Cadmo, 2003), 305–64. On the compositional unity of the poem, see Giuseppe Velli, "Il proemio dell'Africa," *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 8 (1965): 323–32.
2. The published excerpts from the poem are the lament of Mago from book 6 (on which see *Seniles* 2.1 to Boccaccio) and, most likely, what is now the description of the palace of Syphax (*Africa* 3.87–262)—an extended ekphrastic piece probably intended for a different episode (known to Petrarch's friend Pierre de Bersuire as early as 1339–40: see Enrico Fenzi, "Di alcuni palazzi, cupole e planetari nell'Africa del Petrarca," in *Saggi Petrarcheschi* (Fiesole: Cadmo, 2003), 233–35. For Virgil's strategy of reluctant publication of the *Aeneid*, see the so-called *Vita Donati*, which attests the recitation to Augustus of books 2, 4, and 6 in their entirety and of other fragments to larger audiences.
 3. Interwoven with the drafting of the *Africa*, Petrarch also composed a biography of Scipio that was to occupy the central position in the *De viris illustribus*. Three progressively enlarged versions of this biography survive dating from 1338–39, 1343, and probably 1353. For a study of the three redactions, see Guido Martellotti, *La vita di Scipione l'Africano* (Milan and Naples: Ricciardi, 1954). A survey of Scipio in Petrarch's works may be found in Aldo Scaglione, *Petrarch, Scipio and the "Africa": The Birth of Humanism's Dream* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1962).
 4. On the importance of Petrarch's philological work on Livy—and in particular on this *deca*—see the seminal contributions by Giuseppe Billanovich, "Petrarch and the Textual Tradition of Livy," *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 14 (1951): 137–208, *La tradizione del testo di Livio e le origini dell'umanesimo: Tradizione e fortuna di Livio tra medioevo e umanesimo* (Padua: Antenore, 1981); and the summation of his findings in "Tito Livio, Petrarca, Boccaccio," *Archivio Storico Ticinese* 97 (1984): 3–10. Petrarch's involvement with Livy is reflected in his Caesarian sonnets, *Rerum vulgariū fragmenta* 102–4.
 5. For the three episodes the *Africa* most clearly inherits from classical pretreatments (Scipio's dream, Sophonisba's suicide, and the council of the Gods

- in book 7), see Tamara Visser, *Antike und Christentum in Petrarca's "Africa"* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 2005), with comprehensive bibliography. On classical similes, see Franz Friedersdorff, "Die poetischen Vergleiche in Petrarca's *Africa*," *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* 20 (1896): 471–91; 21 (1897): 58–72; and 22 (1898): 9–48.
6. Petrarch, unlike Lucan, does not eliminate supernatural agency from the historical poem. For the peculiar status of Lucan as historian-poet, see Isidore of Seville's definition at *Etymologiae*, VIII, vii, 10: "Unde et Lucanus in numero poetarum non ponitur, quia videtur historias composuisse, non poema" ["Lucan too, thus, should not be listed among the poets, since he appears to have written books of history, not a poem"—my translation]. See *Etymologiae sive originum libri XX*, ed. W. M. Lindsay (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911). On the direct influence of Lucan's *Bellum civile* on precise episodes in Petrarch, see Richard T. Bruère, "Lucan and Petrarch's *Africa*," *American Journal of Philology* 56 (1961): 83–99.
 7. For Dante's presence in the *Africa*, see Giuseppe Velli, "Il Dante di Francesco Petrarca," *Studi Petrarceschi* 2 (1985): 185–99.
 8. Cicero's work was, in its turn, a historicizing remake of the so-called "Myth of Er," a similar dream vision with which Plato brought to a close his own treatise on the state, also known in the Latin West as *De republica*.
 9. See Lucan *Bellum civile* 1.33–66; Statius *Thebaid* 1.18–40, and (in a minor key) *Achilleid* 1.14–19. On the thorny question of the potentially ironic tone of Lucan's dedication to Nero, see Michael Dewar, "Laying It on with a Trowel: The Proem to Lucan and Related Texts," *Classical Quarterly* 44 (1994): 199–211. See also Gian Biagio Conte, "Il proemio della *Farsalia*," *Maia* 8 (1966): 42–53; and the problematizing position of Alessandro Barchiesi, *Speaking Volumes: Narrative and Intertext in Ovid and Other Latin poets* (London: Duckworth, 2001), 75–76.
 10. All citations are from Petrarch, *L'Africa*, ed. Nicola Festa (Florence: Sansoni, 1926). The English version cited here and throughout is from *Petrarch's "Africa"*, translated and annotated by Thomas G. Bergin and Alice S. Wilson (New Haven: Yale University Press), 1997. The line numbers refer to the Latin text. For a new critical edition, which appeared too late to be incorporated into this essay, see *L'Afrique/Affrica*, ed. and trans. with introduction and notes by Pierre Laurens (Paris: Belles Lettres, 2006), cxxix–cxliv.
 11. On the issue, see J. Christopher Warner, *The Augustinian Epic: Petrarch to Milton* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 20–50.
 12. In the same passage, Petrarch also stresses the connection of poetry with the active life and expounds on the theme by connecting poetic and military valor through their shared signifier, the laurel (lines 109–23).

13. For the stylistic issues involved in Petrarch's relationship with Ennius, the epic poet whose *Annales* were a "ruvido carme" (rough poetry) in praise of Scipio, see *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* 186.12–14. From the brief review of the Latin epic canon, which Petrarch phrases as options for imitation in *Africa* 1.45–55 (Virgil, Statius, Lucan), Ennius is left out as the author of an epic on contemporary matters surviving only in fragments and as having potentially exhausted the last heroic subject available to the new epic poets. Silius Italicus's *Punica*, a poem containing a few episodes uncannily similar to those we find in Petrarch's, remained most likely outside of the philological scope of the available models, its text having been recovered only in the fifteenth century by Poggio Bracciolini. See Guido Martellotti, "Petarca e Silio Italico: Un confronto impossibile," in *Scritti Petrarceschi* (Padua: Antenore, 1983), 563–78; and Carlo Santini, "Nuovi accertamenti sull'ipotesi di raffronto tra Silio e Petarca," in *Preveggenze umanistiche di Petarca*, ed. Giorgio Brugnoli and Guido Paduano (Pisa: ETS, 1993), 111–39.
14. For the notion that the balance achieved in Scripture between difficult and easy passages is designed to counteract both the readers' despair of achieving understanding and their potential satiety with an all-too-available meaning, see the key passage in Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* 2.6.7–.8—a textual locus with which Petrarch's argument deeply resonates.
15. The vicissitudes of the late-antique and medieval interpretation of Dido are complex. I have tried to assess the centrality of the problem for Petrarch's first disciple, Boccaccio, in Simone Marchesi, *Stratigrafie decameroniane* (Florence: Olschki, 2004), 67–85. For the best philological account in English of the two Didos, see Arthur Stanley Pease, *Publi Vergili Maronis Aeneidos. Liber quartus* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935), 3–79; for a more recent discussion of the story's medieval redeployments, see Marilyn Desmond, *Reading Dido: Gender, Textuality, and the Medieval "Aeneid"* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 23–73.
16. For the historicizing glosses to Dido, see Servius's commentary *Ad Aeneid* 1.267, 1.343, and 4.36. For Augustine, see the famous passage in *Confessiones* 1.13; for Macrobius *Saturnalia* 1.17.
17. For a discussion of the Petrarchan *loci* on the Dido question, see Giuseppe Billanovich, *Restauri boccacceschi* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1947), 137–38, the list of relevant passages ranges from *Triumphus Pudicitiae* 10–12 and 154–59 (particularly bent on rebuffing Dante's treatment of Dido in *Inferno* 5), to *Familiares* 13.8 and *Seniles* 4.5.
18. Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* 1.400–20 takes advantage of the "mixed style" (*Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* 186.4) that Petrarch had experimented with for his Massinissa. On the episode's peregrination across genres and languages,

- see Johannes Bartuschat, “Sofonisba e Massinissa: Dall’Africa e dal *De viris ai Trionfi*,” in *Petrarca e i suoi lettori*, ed. Vincenzo Caratuzzolo and Georges Günthert (Ravenna: Longo, 2000), 109–41.
19. That there was a literary Medea-Dido connection that allowed circulation of such poetic material was a commonplace ever since Servius had prefaced his commentary to *Aeneid* 4 indicating that Virgil depended on Apollonius’ portrayal of Medea in love in his *Argonautica*; for the lament, see Euripides, *Medea*, prologue 1–2; Catullus 64.171–72; and Ovid *Heroides* 7.139–40. For the transmission of Catullus’s wording, see Cicero *De oratore* 3.214; and Macrobius *Saturnalia* 6.1.42.
 20. On Petrarch’s imitation theory, see Thomas M. Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 98–99.
 21. The Dido connection is stressed by the ring composition of the lament: at its onset, Sypfax evokes Dido as the origin of all of Africa’s misfortunes (*Africa* 6.225–30), and he then closes his set speech with the denigration of Sophonisba. In the triangular scheme Massinissa-Sophonisba-Sypfax, Sypfax plays a role not unlike that of the deceased husband, who appears satirically in Boccaccio’s *Corbaccio* dream vision to denounce to the lover the wickedness of his wife.
 22. For the rhetorical soliloquy of the forsaken woman in the Latin tradition, see Barchiesi, *Speaking Volumes*, 29–48.
 23. The Virgilian corresponding passage may be found at *Aeneid* 4.173–4.195. Petrarch appears more reluctant to associate “rumor” with his own narrative: his *fama* is more accurate than Virgil’s and she does not “sing” as in Virgil’s poem.
 24. The text through which the Middle Ages conceptualized the experience of dreaming was Macrobius’ *Commentary to the Dream of Scipio*, a treatise conceived as an extended gloss to the last book of Cicero’s *De republica*, which contained a preliminary discussion of dreams (1.3.1–1.3.11). For the reception of Macrobius’s theory and text, see Macrobius, *A Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, trans. William H. Stahl (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962), 39–55; and Albrecht Hüttig, *Macrobius im Mittelalter: Ein Beitrag zur Rezeptionsgeschichte der “Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis”* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1990), 147–73.
 25. In perfect correspondence with the q elaborated by Macrobius (*somnium, visio, oraculum, insomnium, visum*), the text labels her dream as “somnium” and associates the technical verb “visa est” (she seemed to see) with her experience.
 26. The Elder Scipio here echoes a passing remark that he had made at the be-

- ginning of the dream, forewarning the dreamer that he must lend credit to the vision and preserve it in his memory: “Put fear aside and with attentive mind/take in my words. For God, who reigns on high,/lord of Olympus, grants us one hour,/brief but yet promising great joy, if you/but waste it not” (*Africa* 1.170–72).
27. The three classes of subjects of instruction in the curriculum taught to Scipio are evidently heterogeneous. A difference in the time of composition might account for the difference in tone between the section on the past history of Rome and the one on its future. In *Dall’Africa al Secretum*, Fenzi notes that the second, more eschatological and pessimistic part of the dream was probably composed later in Petrarch’s life (1350s), in conjunction with the new project of meditation on time and eternity addressed in the Latin dialogue.
 28. Macrobius is the starting point, for instance, of the *Roman de la rose* and Chaucer’s *House of Fame*; even Dante’s *Divina commedia* is open—ever so briefly—to the dream option (*Inferno* 1.10–12), which will become the absolute framing device for Boccaccio’s *Amorosa visione*. See the background study by Patricia Cox Miller, *Dreams in Late Antiquity: Studies in the Imagination of a Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 1–123.
 29. Cf. an earlier passage, in which Ennius evokes together Achilles, Alexander, and Scipio as a lineage of the epic protagonists who had received praise from stylistically different poets (9.50–64). The situation is the same as in *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* 187.1–4.
 30. The argument has been first advanced by Theodor Mommsen, “Petrarch’s Conception of the ‘Dark Ages,’” *Speculum* 17 (April 1942): 226–42; most recently, see Andreas Kablitz, “Das Ende des Sacrum Imperium: Verwandlung der Repräsentation von Geschichte zwischen Dante und Petrarca,” in *Mittelalter und Frühe Neuzeit*, ed. W. Haug (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1999), 499–549.
 31. Several disconcerting elements mark Homer’s dream-apparition to Ennius. His visitation is admittedly an escape from the “prison of Dis,” not a descent from the starry heaven (*Africa* 176–77); despite the ecstatic tone, he is the literary repository of little more than geographical-poetic expertise (*Africa* 147–48 and 189–95). For Petrarch’s geographical praise of the coast between Genoa and Rome in the *Africa* (6.839–84), as it is echoed in the most geographically based of his later works, see Theodore J. Cachey, *Petrarch’s Guide to the Holy Land: Itinerary to the Sepulcher of Our Lord Jesus Christ* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002).
 32. The principle of discontinuity here enforced is surprising, as it contradicts Petrarca’s habit of conversation with the ancients. For the paradigmatic case of Augustine in the *Secretum*, and for the character’s reconsideration of the *Africa*, see the essay by David Marsh in this volume.

33. The point Petrarca makes here through an allusion ultimately derives from Virgil's ekphrastic depiction of the Battle at Actium (*Aeneid* 678–84 vs. 685–88; and 698–700 vs. 704–6). It will not be lost on Tasso, as demonstrated by Sergio Zatti's seminal study *L'uniforme cristiano e il multiforme pagano: Saggio sulla "Gerusalemme liberata"* (Milan: Il Saggiatore, 1983).
34. The lexical association of *favilla* and *flamma* is, to my knowledge, not common in classical poetry. The purest example of the maxim may be found in Curtius Rufus, *Historia Alexandri* 6.3.11 (often cited for Dante's line, but not fully coincident with Petrarca's): *Parva saepe scintilla . . . magnum excitavit incendium*. Parallels that are closer in language may be found in Ovid, *Metamorphoses*. 7.80–81, and *Tristia* 5.12.62–66, but the notion is also biblical; see Isaiah 1.31.1–3 and James 3.5.

Chapter Six

1. I follow the Latin text in Carlo Godi, "La 'Collatio laureationis' del Petrarca nelle due redazioni," *Studi Petrarcheschi*, n.s., 5 (1988): 1–58. In an e-mail message to me on April 1, 2004, Italo Pantani, who is editing and translating the work for the Edizione Nazionale delle Opere del Petrarca, reports that he doesn't anticipate major changes to Godi's text. But see Silvia Rizzo's suggestions for improving it in Michele Feo, ed., *Codici latini del Petrarca nelle biblioteche fiorentine* (Florence: Le Lettere, 1991), 322–30. The catalog edited by Feo contains a beautiful reproduction of the opening page of the *Collatio*, folio 57r, from the only manuscript of the complete work, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Firenze, 2.7.47 (plate 34). I follow the translation of Ernest Hatch Wilkins in "Petrarch's *Coronation Oration*," *Studies in the Life and Works of Petrarch* (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1955), 300–13, which is based on Attilio Hortis's 1874 edition.
2. Its full title is *Collatio edita per clarissimum poetam Franciscum Petrarcam Florentinum, Romae in Capitolio, tempore laureationis sue*. Wilkins's essay, "The Coronation of Petrarch," in *The Making of the "Canzoniere"* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1951), 9–69, remains the essential starting place for studying the oration.
3. Wilkins, "Petrarch's *Coronation Oration*," 300.
4. In addition to Pantani's edition of the *Collatio*, the Edizione Nazionale will also include new editions of Petrarch's five other orations, two of which will be edited by Michele Feo (speech at Novara and second Venetian speech of 1373), with the remaining three to be edited by Giacinto Namia. In the bibliography I provide information on the editions of these works that we must depend on for now. The first four of these speeches date from Petrarch's period in Milan when he served the Visconti. They include: *Arenga facta*

Veneçis (Speech delivered to the Venetians, November 8, 1353), delivered by Petrarch as ambassador for the Visconti court before the Venetian Senate on ending the Third Genoese War; *Arenga facta Mediolani* (Speech delivered to the Milanese, October 7, 1354), a funeral oration on the death of Archbishop Giovanni Visconti, which we have only in a late sixteenth-century Italian translation; *Arenga facta in civitate Novarie* (Speech delivered to the city of Novara, June 19, 1358), a speech made against the rebellious citizens of Novara; and *Collatio brevis coram Iohanne Francorum rege* (Brief oration in the presence of John, king of the French, January 13, 1361), a speech delivered in Paris in honor of King John the Good, celebrating both his release from English captors in 1360 and the betrothal of his daughter Isabelle to Gian Galeazzo Visconti. Petrarch's last official oratorical work, *Orazione per la seconda ambasceria veneziana* (Oration for the second Venetian embassy, October 2, 1373), was a speech delivered before the Venetian Senate as an ambassador for Francesco da Carrara of Padua, suing for peace between Venice and Padua, of which we have only a summary in Paduan vernacular made by an anonymous contemporary chronicler. See Rossella Bessi's annotations on all the oratorical works in Feo, *Codici latini*, 332–33, as well as Feo's comments with facsimiles and bibliography in the catalog he edited, *Petrarca nel tempo*, 435–42. I am grateful to the anonymous reader for the Press for additional bibliographical information on current editions.

5. See Petrarch *Familiares* 18.16, where he refers to having used Cicero's words before the Venetian Senate in 1353; and 24.4, where he emphasizes Cicero's eloquence as a public speaker but without claiming explicitly to follow the Roman model in his own speaking. Ronald L. Martinez presents a full list of passages in which Petrarch acknowledges his debt to Cicero in "Petrarch's Lame Leg and the Corpus of Cicero: An Early Crisis of Humanism?" in *The Body in Early Modern Italy*, ed. Julia L. Hairson and Walter Stephens.
6. Petrarch depicts Demosthenes playing second fiddle to Cicero in *TF* 3.13–24. Given Petrarch's devotion to Cicero, one wonders if the comparison of himself to Demosthenes is an admission of some degree of inadequacy.
7. See Francesco Nelli, *Un ami di Pétrarque: Lettres de Francesco Nelli à Pétrarque*, ed. Henry Cochin (Paris: Champion, 1892), 206: "But, to sum up those gestures better in a word, I noticed that your habits were such as neither Cicero would have better formulated as precepts nor himself have more fittingly put into practice." I thank Ronald L. Martinez for this reference and Mark Posanza for advice on translating it.
8. "[S]cripsit etiam *Invectivas*, ut non solum poeta, sed etiam orator haberetur" [He also wrote *Invective* so that he would be considered not only a poet but also an orator]. Leonardo Bruni, *Ad Petrum Paulum Histrum Dialogus*, in In

- Prosatori latini del Quattrocento*, ed. Eugenio Garin (Milan and Naples: Ricciardi, 1952), 72.
9. Ronald G. Musto points out that in general “the medieval letter followed the rules of oratory,” in *Apocalypse in Rome: Cola di Rienzo and the Politics of the New Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 41.
 10. One example among many: Petrarch *Familiars* 12.4, to Francesco Nelli.
 11. Wilkins, “Coronation of Petrarch,” 58–59. Edward H. R. Tatham, who gives a spirited reconstruction of the events surrounding the coronation, argues that the *Privilegium* was composed by a scribe consulting the *Coronation Oration: Francesco Petrarca: The First Modern Man of Letters* (London: Sheldon Press, 1926), 2:145–46.
 12. Petrarch makes two errors: victors in the Capitoline contests of ancient Rome received crowns of oak leaves, and Statius never won in those contests; but see Wilkins, “The Coronation of Petrarch,” 17–20, for the medieval tradition of Statius’s laureation. See also Michelangelo Picone, “Il tema dell’incoronazione poetica in Dante, Petrarca e Boccaccio,” *L’Alighieri* 25 (2005): 5–26, esp. 14–20, for comments on the theme of coronation in Petrarch’s lyrics
 13. Hans Baron makes this point in *From Petrarch to Leonardo Bruni: Studies in Humanistic and Political Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 15. In “La ‘Collatio laureationis,’” Godi contradicts this claim, without, however, referring to Baron’s comments (1). Although the changes seem relatively minor (e.g., “deportasse” > “reportasse” at 6.1), Godi is emphatic that Petrarch does elaborate some changes in his text.
 14. Stephen Murphy explores the *Africa’s* ties to the *Coronation Oration* in *The Gift of Immortality* (Madison: Teaneck: Farleigh Dickinson Press and Associated University Presses, 1997), 74–127.
 15. Nicholas Mann, *Petrarch* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 108. For a detailed list of the various passages in Petrarch’s writings that refer to the coronation, see Ariani, *Petrarca*, 39–40.
 16. In Douglas Biow, *Doctors, Ambassadors, Secretaries: Humanism and Professions in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 27–44.
 17. Mazzotta uses the image of “worlds” both as a metaphor for the different realms in which Petrarch fashioned his self-image (literature, history, politics, philosophy, theology, etc.) and as a synonym for the literary works he created while passing through these realms. The fragmented assemblage of varied works is shaped by the unifying presence of the singular Petrarch.
 18. For Petrarch’s understanding of Roman monuments including those on the Capitoline Hill, see Maria Accame Lanzillotta, “Le *antiquitates romanae* di Petrarca,” in *Preveggenze umanistiche di Petrarca* (Pisa: ETS, 1993). See also

- J. B. Trapp, "The Poet Laureate," in *Rome in the Renaissance*, ed. P. A. Ramsey (Binghamton: MRTS, 1982), 101–7.
19. For the epistle to Luca da Penna, see *Letters of Old Age* (trans. Bernardo et al.), 2:601. Consider also *Seniles* 12.2 where Petrarch lambastes Arabic authorities to fall back again on Virgil and Cicero; see Gian Carlo Garfagnini, "Note sull'uso degli *Auctores* nelle *Seniles*," *Quaderni Petrarceschi* 9–10 (1992–93): 676–77.
 20. In Biow, *Doctors, Ambassadors, Secretaries*, 32. Contrast the discovery announced by Godi ("La 'Collatio laureationis,'" 2) of a heretofore-unknown manuscript copy of an excerpt from the *Coronation Oration*, Vat. Pal. Lat. 1552, which refers to the work as an *oratio* rather than *collatio*, "Oratio Francisci Petrarche." But see Michele Feo's rebuttal of Godi's discovery in "Note petrarchesche. I: Petrarca e Enrico da Iernia. II: Le 'due redazioni' della *Collatio laureationis*," *Quaderni Petrarceschi* 7 (1990): 186–203.
 21. Pierre de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, 2 vols. (Paris: Champion, 1907), 2:213.
 22. Petrarch was a great disseminator of Cicero's works: "Once in Petrarch's hands, *Pro Cluentio* spread quickly, not only in Italy but also in France," in M. D. Reeve and R. H. Rouse, "[Cicero's] Speeches," in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L. D. Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 87. See also Petrarch *Familiares* 13.6 where he describes sending the *Pro Archia* to friends in Florence.
 23. Petrarch's involvement with the complex process of restoring the Ciceronian corpus included, among other innovations, the separation of the speeches as a body of work from other works by Cicero (Reeve and Rouse, *Texts and Transmission*, 94).
 24. I follow Wilkins's helpful division of the speech into three large sections. Godi, "La 'Collatio laureationis,'" 17, regrets not having followed Wilkins's design, a situation one hopes Pantani will correct in his edition.
 25. "At the Renaissance, Lactantius, the most classical of all early Christian writers, comes to be known as the Christian Cicero," in *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 811.
 26. Several recent critics have agreed with Wilkins's position: Godi, "La 'Collatio laureationis,'" 1; and Riccardo Fubini, review of Douglas Biow in *Renaissance Quarterly* 56 (2003): 1152–53.

Chapter Seven

1. Petrarch's speeches, six all together, go by three kinds of titles that are synonymous in meaning. First is the classical Latin "collatio" (oration), used for

- Collatio laureationis* (Coronation Oration), and *Collatio brevis coram Iobanne Francorum rege* (Brief Oration before John, King of the French). Second is the medieval “arenga” or “arringa” (from Old German “hring”), which survives in modern Italian (“arringa”) and is cognate with English “harangue.” This identifies talks he gave in Venice and Milan. Third is the Italian “orazione,” used to designate the final discourse, before the Venetian senate in 1373, which survives only in a chronicler’s vernacular summary. Except for this last talk, all are preserved only in single copies. For basic information on their transmission and editorial history, as well as facsimile reproductions of the first folios, see Michele Feo, *Petrarca nel tempo: Tradizione lettori e immagini delle opere* (Pontedera: Bandecchi and Vivaldi, 2003), 435–42.
2. Giuseppe Frasso, *Itinerari con Francesco Petrarca* (Padua: Antenore, 1974), the catalog of an exhibit at the sixth centenary of the poet’s death, includes photographs of the house at Arquà, near Padua, and of many places he lived or visited. For the will, see Theodore E. Mommsen, *Petrarch’s Testament* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1957).
 3. Ugo Dotti, *Vita di Petrarca* (Bari: Laterza, 1987), 28–47, documents the poet’s service as “capellanus continuus commensalis” in the Colonna family. See further, by the same author, *Petrarca a Parma* (Reggio Emilia: Diabasis, 2006), 22–23, for their financial assistance from 1325. Petrarch speaks of Cardinal Giovanni Colonna as a “father” or better, “brother,” in his autobiographical letter to Posterity. See Petrarch, *Posteritati*, ed. Gianni Villani (Rome: Salerno, 1990), 48–49.
 4. Petrarch *Rime estravaganti* (ed. Paolino), nos. 6–7 (674–81). They answer a proposing sonnet from an unknown poet. In the manuscript that preserves them, Petrarch’s Vatican autograph 3196, his notes introducing the first read: “Responsio mea, domino iubente” (My answer, at my lord’s command), and explaining the second, “Alia responsio mea, domino materiam dante et iubente” (Another response of mine, at the command of my lord, who gave the material).
 5. Avignon as Babylon is a recurrent motif in Petrarch’s *Liber sine nomine*. See, for example, letters 10 and 17 and the essay in this volume by Ronald Martinez.
 6. Dotti, *Petrarca a Parma*, reconstructs the chronology and literary activity of the three Parma sojourns: May 23, 1341, to June 1342; late December 1343 to February 23, 1345; and intervals between March 1348 and June 1351. Petrarch sent the “Correggio” redaction of *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* (ca. 1356–58) to Azzo, a friend until his death in 1362.
 7. Latin text reproduced from Dotti, *Petrarca a Parma*, 16, translation mine. A mannered canzone fabricated for the same occasion highlights Azzo’s family

- name: “COR REGIO fu, sì come suona il nome, / quel che venne sicuro a l’alta impresa” (REGAL HEART it was, as the name sounds, / that came sure to the high task). See Petrarch *Rime estravaganti* (ed. Paolino), no. 21, vv. 49–57. Halting rhythms, banal formulas, and dated content—signs of enforced poetic activity, sent this vernacular exercise into the discard bin of dispersed rhymes. See further the essay by Justin Steinberg in this volume.
8. Giovanni Boccaccio *Epistole*, ed. Ginetta Auzzas, no. 10, “A Francesco Petrarca,” in Boccaccio, *Tutte le opere*, 5.1: 574–83. Petrarch’s first Visconti patron was the archbishop of Milan, Giovanni, who came to power with his brother Luchino after the death of their predecessor in 1339. They ruled together until Luchino’s death in 1349, after which Giovanni recalled three nephews exiled by Luchino and sons of another brother of theirs, Stefano, to join in administration of the duchy: Matteo II, Bernabò, and Galeazzo II. They inherited rule from Giovanni (d. 1354). Matteo died, perhaps simply from a life of excesses or possibly from poisoning by his siblings (as their mother is said to have suspected) in 1355. The two survivors partitioned rule. Milan became the residence of cruel Bernabò (d. 1385); Pavia became headquarters to Galeazzo (d. 1378), a constructive ruler and diplomat, who married his son Gian Galeazzo to Isabelle of Valois, daughter of the king of France, and his daughter Violante to the son of England’s King Edward III.
 9. “In ortu M. Vicecomitis,” (*Epystole* 3.29), in *Poesie minori del Petrarca sul testo latino ora corretto e volgarizzate da poeti viventi o da poco defunti*, ed. Domenico Rossetti (Milan: Società Tipografica de’ Classici Italiani, 1831), 2: 158–69. Hortis, *Scritti inediti*, 139–41, comments on this metrical epistle, which begins “Magne puer” (Great boy). Petrarch’s company in the family reveals something of his status: godfathers to little Marco’s brother’s were the marchesi of Ferrara, of Mantova, and the republic of Bologna. Marcello Simonetta offers some astute pages on the poet’s ambiguous situation at the court of Milan, “L’antenato dei segretari: Petrarca e i Visconti,” in *Rinascimento Segreto: Il mondo del Segretario da Petrarca a Machiavelli* (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2004), 25–36.
 10. Petrarch, *Lettere disperse varie e miscellanee*, ed. Alessandro Pancheri (Parma: Guanda, 1994), 39.65: 312–14: “si humano ore loqui possint, natura ipsa fatebitur; vel si ita sors tulerit, aprorum dentibus quam fame vel gladio perituros.” A manuscript of the letter at Bergamo ends with a note saying Petrarch wrote it for Bernabò: “Franciscus Petrarca pro domino Bernaboue Vicecomite Mediolani etc. domino generali.” Francesco Novati, “Il Petrarca e i Visconti,” in *Francesco Petrarca e la Lombardia* (Milan: Hoepli, 1904), 9–84, esp. 36–39, exonerates Petrarch by reading the letter as a masterpiece of sarcasm; Ernest Hatch Wilkins, *Petrarch’s Eight Years in Milan* (Cambridge:

Mediaeval Academy of America, 1958), 197–98, takes a more neutral stance. Dotti, *Vita di Petrarca*, 334, finds the episode “mean-spirited and miserable.” Petrarch had earlier, on March 25, 1359, written an angry but honest letter to Bussolari, urging him to abandon politics and return to a life of prayer (*Familiare*s 19.18). Attilio Hortis, *Scritti inediti di Francesco Petrarca* (Trieste: Tipografia del Lloyd Austro-Ungarico, 1874), gives detailed historical background in his discussion of Petrarch’s letters to this temporary tyrant, whom one local historian called “the Savonarola of Pavia,” 175–81, esp. 179, n. 1. Such was Bernabò’s notoriety for outrageous villainy that it generated a collection of scurrilous *novelle*. See Piero Ginori Conti, *Novelle inedite intorno a Bernabò Visconti* (Florence: Fondazione Ginori Conti, 1940). I thank David Wallace for this last reference.

11. In *Seniles* 10.1, to Sagremor de Pommiers congratulating him on becoming a Cistercian monk, Petrarch mentions the frightening journey they made together through Switzerland and Germany to Prague in 1356. Shortly after his return, in the fall of that year, Basel was destroyed by an earthquake, an event that deeply impressed Petrarch (*De remediis* 2.91; *Seniles* 10.2). He had earlier traveled from Milan to Mantua to meet in person with the emperor, when the latter came to Italy in fall and winter of 1354–55. See Wilkins, *Petrarch’s Eight Years in Milan*, 142–44, and further, 152–53, on the northern journey. Petrarch recalls being made a member of the Counts Palatine in a thank-you letter to the emperor’s chancellor, the bishop of Olmütz (*Familiare*s 21.2).
12. For the text, see Petrarch *Scritti inediti* (ed. Hortis), 329–33, *Arenga facta venecijs 1553, octauo die Nouembris super pace tractanda Inter commune Janue et dominum Archiepiscopum Mediolanensem ex una parte, et commune veneciarum ex altera per dominum franciscum petrarckam poetam et ambasiatorem supradictum*; and for the words quoting Virgil, 331: “Tu regere Imperio populos romane memento, hec tibi erunt artes pacisque imponere morem et res.” An electronic version of Petrarch’s text is available at the University of Rome’s “La Sapienza” site Biblioteca italiana, under the rubric *Arringhe* and the title *Super pace tractanda*. The same site also offers the speeches on the death of Giovanni Visconti and to the conquered Novarese.
13. Ps. 45:9–10: “Venite et videte opera domini, quia posuit prodigia supra terram auferens bella usque ad fines terre archum conteret et confringet arma et scuta conburet igni.” Petrarch’s role was ceremonial; he didn’t participate in the official peace negotiations. For an account of the political situation and the Latin text of this brief oration, *Arenga facta venecijs* (*Speech to the Venetians*), see Hortis, *Scritti inediti*, 107–126, 329–33. Here and throughout scripture is cited in the Douay version. For the letter to Dandolo, see Petrarch, *Le famil-*

- ari*, ed. Rossi, 18.16.9, vol. 3, p. 304: “Sed aperire aures obseratas et obstinatos animos movere non nostri, nescio an vel ciceroniani esset eloquii”; *Letters on Familiar Matter* (trans. Bernardo [1985]), 70.
14. Hortis, *Scritti inediti*, 131, reports on the manner of Giovanni Visconti’s sudden death on October 5, 1354. Hortis first published the panegyric from the only surviving version, *ibid.*, 335–40. A late sixteenth-century copy in Italian, gives the date of the oration as October 7, 1354; so too Feo, *Petrarca nel tempo*, 435, noting that the biographical tradition erroneously puts it on October 17, 1353.
 15. Hortis, *Scritti inediti*, 66–67, terms Giovanni Visconti the greatest prince of his age and quotes Thomas Campbell’s *Life of Petrarch* on the epithet “Bonaparte of Italy.” Giovanni controlled extensive territories in Lombardy and beyond from a court resplendent with pageantry and patronage (54–63).
 16. “Cor meum conturbatum est, dereliquit me virtus mea, et lumen ocularum meorum et ipsum non est mecum” (trans. Douay).
 17. *Petrarca a Novara* (Novara: Interlinea Edizioni, 2004), 39: “deum oro ut dominum ut uos illuminet et sibi ea iusticia ac consilio preesse vobis ea fide atque obsequio subesse tribuat ne aut vobis alium statum seu dominum optare aut sibi alium populum plus amare coneniat.” The 2004 edition reprints the text in Latin and Italian from *Francesco Petrarca a Novara e la sua aringa ai novaresi*, trans. Carlo Negrone (Novara: Fratelli Miglio, 1876). Negrone reproduced the *aringa* in Latin from Hortis, *Scritti inediti*, 166–74. Hortis gives extensive historical background. The speech is about 3,000 words.
 18. Agriculturalist, economist, political scientist, and historian, Jean Charles Léonard Simonde de Sismondi (1773–1842) published his *Histoire des républiques italiennes du moyen âge* in the second decade of the nineteenth century. Hortis quotes him, *Scritti inediti*, 155–56.
 19. For a sense of proportions, we can recall that Petrarch in his *Testamentum* bequeathed fifty gold florins to his friend Boccaccio, for the purchase of “a winter garment to be worn by him while he is studying and working during the night hours,” and his entire bequest to his brother Gherardo was 100 florins. Mommsen, *Petrarch’s Testament*, 82–83: “pro una veste hiemali ad studium lucustrationesque nocturnas”; and for the bequest to Gherardo, 92–93.
 20. Petrarch *Familiares* (ed. Rossi), 22.14.3, vol. 4, p. 138: “sic ubique solitudo infelix et meror et vastitas, sic ubique horrida et inculta arva, sic dirute deserteque domus nisi que, cincte arcium menibus aut urbium, evasissent, sic demum locis omnibus Anglorum mesta vertigia, et recentes fedequae cicatrices cladium extyabant”; (trans. Bernardo), 242: “Everywhere were dismal devastation, grief, and desolation, everywhere wild and uncultivated fields, everywhere ruined and deserted homes . . . everywhere remained the sad

- vestiges of the Angli and the recent, loathsome scars of defeat. The biblical text is 2 Chron. 33:13: “Exaudivit orationem eius reduxitque eum in Ierusalem, in regnum suum.” For the text of the oration and an Italian translation, see Petrarch, *Opere latine*, ed. Antonietta Bufano (Turin: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1975), 2: 1285–1309.
21. For a concise description of this mission see Wilkins, *Petrarch's Eight Years*, 220–25.
 22. Petrarch *Seniles* (ed. Nota), 13.16, vol. 4, pp. 217–19: “Ego ad civitatem redii—iam tertius dies est—et familiolam meam rure dimissam hodie vel, ad tardius, cras expecto. Libellos quos ibi habui mecum abstuli; domum et reliqua conservabit Christus qui sollicitus est mei quique a pueritia, imo ab utero matris mee, licet indignum et immeritum, me custodit. Que si tamen omnino destinata esset incendio, fiat voluntas Dei; michi de cetero satis est sepulcrum, domus ultima. Nam quod amor dictat et tu scribis de inscribendo nomen meum ipso domus in limine, pium magis quam accommodatum est rebus atque temporibus: studiosorum nomina Mars non curat”; (trans. Bernardo, 519), dated Nov. 17 [1371], to Gasparo [Squaro dei Broaspini] di Verona, introduced to Petrarch by Coluccio Salutati. Books surviving from Petrarch’s library, in and of itself the subject matter for many books, preserve numerous marginalia and annotations constituting another family of his writings, but beyond the scope of this volume. A useful starting point is the catalog “La biblioteca. I. I codici postillati,” in Feo, *Petrarca nel tempo*, 457–95.
 23. Feo, *Petrarca nel tempo*, 442. Background on the war, Petrarch’s role in the embassy, and the surviving vernacular summary of his oration can be found in Vittorio Lazzarini, “La seconda ambasceria di Francesco Petrarca a Venezia,” in *Miscellanea di studi critici pubblicati in onore di Guido Mazzoni dai suoi discepoli*, ed. Arnaldo Della Torre and P. L. Rambaldi (Florence: Successori B. Seeber, 1904), 1:173–83. Cf. Wilkins, *Life of Petrarch*, 240–41.
 24. In this *vita*, which circulated widely after he died, Petrarch distinguishes between two ancient men of the same name, the playwright and a senator. On Petrarch and Terence, see Pierre de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l’humanisme*, rev. ed. (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1907), 1:187–93; Feo, *Petrarca nel tempo*, 377; and for further bibliography, Ariani, *Petrarca*, 64.
 25. Lazzarini, “La seconda ambasceria,” 183: “Con lo qual magnifico Signor messier Francesco nouello da Carrara andò a Venesia una gran comitiua de nobili caualieri et doctori de lege et de altri homini in numero assai, intro i quali fo el notissimo poeta, homo da alta et celebre fama degno de farne sempre memoria, messier Francesco Petrarca, per nation toschano. Al quale, per lo predicto magnifico Signore, in quella parte fo commesso lo officio de douer dir le parole, et così fe’ in la forma che da soura è dicto; ben che per la soa

- uechieça et per una infirmità la quale ello hauea habuda et de la qual ello no era ancora guarido, le vose ie tremò un pocho.”
26. Petrarch, *Testamentum* (ed. Mommsen), 73, 79–80. For Petrarch’s last years at Padua and Arquà, see Dotti, *Vita di Petrarca*, 401–39, and for his funeral, 439.
27. *Seniles* 17.2, in Petrarch *Prose*, ed. G. Martellotti, P. G. Ricci, E. Carrara, E. Bianchi (Milan: Ricciardi, 1955, 1446–48: [“Huc etiam illud effers:] bonas me partes temporum sub obsequio principum perdidisse. . . . Nomine ego cum principibus fui, re autem principes mecum fuerunt. Numquam me illorum consilia et perraro convivia tenuerunt. Nulla michi unquam conditio probaretur, que me vel modicum a libertate et a studiis meis auerteret. Itaque cum palatium omnes, ego vel nemus petebam vel inter libros in thalamo quiescebam. . . . semel Venetias pro negotio pacis missus inter urebm illam et Ianuam reformande, hibernum in hoc mensem integrum exegi; inde ad romanum principem in extrema barbarie . . . tres estivos menses; denique ad gratulandum Iohanni Francorum regi, britannico tunc carcere liberato, alios tres hibernos. . . . perditos dies voco; quamvis in ultimo, . . . epistolam ingentem dictavi. . . . Ecce ergo: menses septem sub obsequio principum amisi.”
28. *Seniles* 14.1 (ed. Nota), 4:235: “non civibus tentum tuis egregium te rectorem, sed exemplar aliarum urbium rectoribus exhiberes”; (ed. Bernardo), 523.
29. *Seniles* 14.1 (ed. Nota), 4: 247; (ed. Bernardo), 528.
30. *Seniles* 14.1 (ed. Nota), 4: 299–301: “[reor, quod] viros egregios ut honores tibi que familiarissimos efficias”. . . . Egregios autem viros dico, quos e grege hominum vulgarium aliqua abstraxit excellentia, et vel iustitia insignis ac sanctitas—quod, heu, nostra etate perrarum est—vel rei militaris experientia ac doctrina, vel literarum copia, rerumque notitia, singulares fecit”; (ed. Bernardo), 549.
31. *Seniles* 14.1 (ed. Nota), 4: 247: “equi, vestes, arma, vasa, pecunie, domus, agri, et que sun eiusmodi”; (ed. Bernardo), 543.
32. *Seniles* 14.1 (ed. Nota), 4: 305; (ed. Bernardo), 551.”Nam quid, oro, benemeritis et insignibus viris potest esse iocundius quam sub iusto et miti principe ac favorabili extimatore meritorum vitam agere? . . . Armati enim tibi ad horam utiles esse possunt et temporale obsequium prestare, literati autem et temporale consilium et mansurum nomen; insuper ascendendi ad superos rectum iter ostendere.”

Chapter Eight

1. All references are to Petrarch, *Rerum memorandarum libri*, ed. Giuseppe Billanovich, Edizione nazionale delle opere di Francesco Petrarca, 5 (Florence:

- Sansoni, 1945). Billanovich's edition is the only modern one. English translations from this source are my own.
2. The *editio princeps* was published at Louvain in 1485, and other editions appeared in the complete *Opera* of Petrarch published at different dates. The *Rerum memorandarum libri* has no translation in English or in any other language, except for a German one by Stefanus Vigilius, published in three editions in the sixteenth century: at Augsburg in 1541, at Frankfurt am Main in 1566, and at Frankfurt am Main in 1591. For notice of this version, see *Catalogue of the Petrarch Collection in Cornell University Library*, intro. by Morris Bishop (Millwood: Kraus-Thomson Organization, 1974), 92. Petrarch enjoyed a vast *Rezeption* in Germany, on which see Frank L. Borchardt, "Petrarch: The German Connection," in *Francis Petrarch Six Centuries Later*, Aldo Scaglione (Chapel Hill and Chicago: North Carolina University Press and Newberry Library, 1975), 418–31. Borchardt recalls that Herman Schedel "went to the trouble of compiling an index for an early print of Petrarch's *Rerum memorandarum liber*" (426). In general the *Rerum memorandarum libri* has not enjoyed much attention on the part of Petrarch scholars, who at the most devote some paragraphs to it in general works while dealing with Petrarch's Latin production; on the other hand, given the "erudite" nature of the work, there have been occasional notes on philological details—see Joseph G. Fucilla, *Oltre un cinquentennio di scritti sul Petrarca (1916–1975)* (Padua: Antenore, 1982), 213—such as one by Pier Giorgio Ricci, "Una citazione del Petrarca," in *Rinascimento* 3 (1952): 372. On the same line of research, see Paolo Cherchi, "'Quodam historicos' (*Rer. Mem. Lib., III 12*)," in *Studi Petrarcheschi* 18 (2005): 159–62. More than a philological note is the piece by Etienne Gilson, "Sur deux textes de Pétrarque: II In confinio duorum populorum," in *Petrarca e Petrarchismo. Atti del terzo congresso dell'associazione internazionale per gli studi di lingua e letteratura italiana (Aix-en-Provence e Marsiglia, 51 marzo–5 aprile 1959)* (Bologna: Minerva, 1961), 43–50, which is quite insightful on the position of *Rerum memorandarum libri* between classical and humanistic terrain.
 3. For the reception of Valerius Maximus in the Middle Ages, see the fundamental studies by Madlaine D. Schullian, "A Preliminary List of Manuscripts of Valerius Maximus," in *Studies in Honor of B. L. Ullman* (Saint Louis: Saint Louis University Press, 1960), 81–95, and idem, "A Revised List of Manuscripts of Valerius Maximus," in *Miscellanea Augusto Campana* (Padua: Antenore, 1981), 695–728; and "Valerius Maximus," in *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum*, ed. F. Edward Cranz and O. P. Kristeller (Washington: Catholic University Press, 1984), 4:287–403. This last is the most important contribution for several aspects of Valerius Maximus's afterlife (manuscripts, commentaries, excerpts, editions). Some data, especially

concerning his fortunes in the vernacular languages, are found in *Dionigi da Borgo di San Sepolcro fra Petrarca e Boccaccio*, ed. Franco Suitner (Città di Castello: Petrucci, 2000), passim; but see more specifically the essay by Giuseppe Di Stefano, “Dionigi di Borgo di San Sepolcro e Valerio Massimo,” 147–64. John Briscoe’s recent edition, *Valeri Maximi facta et dicta memorabilia* (Stuttgart and Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1998), shows that text, selections, and translations of Valerius Maximus were transmitted in over eight hundred manuscripts, many from the later Middle Ages. See D. Wardles’s review of this valuable contribution in the online *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* (1999.09.25).

4. See Schullian, “Valerius Maximus,” in *Catalogus*, 324–28; Di Stefano, “Dionigi di Borgo di San Sepolcro e Valerio Massimo,” in Suitner, *Dionigi da Borgo di San Sepolcro*, 147–64. This volume is interesting for other data pertaining to the fortunes of Valerius in Italy during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.
5. “Eque tristis et terrifica nec letioris exitus Cassii Parmensis quies. Post bellum actiacum, victo cui enixe faverat Antonio, Athenis, quo disperatis rebus se contulerat, per noctem dormiens quendam immensi corporis et ethiopici nigroris insueteque prorsum deformitatis hominem in cubiculum suum ingredientem cernere visus est et stupefactus aspectu ex eodem quisnam foret exquirere; ille autem nescio quid horrisonum graeco murmure respondisse. Quo metu sompnum frangente trepidanter servos suos excivit, quis ea specie thalamum irrupisset interrogans. Quibus aperte negantibus quempiam introisse, curis eger rursus sompno succubuit; et eadem visione iterum experrectus ac territus, illato lumine servos suos lectum circumstare precepit. Nocturno pavore diurnus successit dolor. Per eosdem enim dies ab Augusto Cesare, quem comuni insectatione non contentus nominatim gravibus maledictis irritaverat, capite multatus est.” *Rerum memorandarum libri* (ed. Billanovich), 4.56.
6. “Vincit huiusce somnii dirum aspectum quod insequitur. Apud Actium M. Antonii fractis opibus, Cassius Parmensis, qui partes eius secutus fuerat, Athenas confugit. Ubi concubia nocte, cum sollicitudinibus et curis mente sopita in lectulo iaceret, existimavit ad se venire hominem ingentis magnitudinis, coloris nigri, squalidum barba et capillo immisso, interrogatumque quisnam esset respondisse *κακον δαμωνα*. Perterritus deinde taetro visu et nomine horrendo, servos inclamavit, sciscitatusque est ecquem talis habitus aut intrans cubiculum aut exeuntem vidissent. Quibus adfirmantibus neminem illuc accessisse, iterum se quieti et somno dedit, atque eadem animo eius observata species est. Itaque fugato somno lumen intro ferri iussit puerosque a se discedere vetuit. Inter hanc noctem et supplicium capitis quo eum Caesar adfecit parvulum admodum temporis intercessit.” Valerius Maximus,

Memorable Doings and Sayings, ed. and trans. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), bk. 1, chap. 7 (On Dreams), 88–89.

7. Op. cit., cxxii–cxxxiii.
8. See Marco Ariani, *Petrarca* (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1999), 104.
9. Paolo Cherchi, “Petrarch, Valerio Massimo, e le “concordanze delle storie,” in *Rinascimento: Rivista dell’Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento*, 2nd ser., 42 (2002): 31–65.
10. Paolo Cherchi, *Polimattia di riuvo—Mezzo secolo di plagio (1559–1589)* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1998).

Chapter Nine

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1. The most recent edition is *Bucolicum carmen/Pétrarque*, Latin text with French trans. and comm. by Marcel François and Paul Bachmann with François Roudaut, preface by Jean Meyers (Paris: Champion, 2001). For the text with its earliest commentaries, see Antonio Avena, *Il Bucolicum carmen e i suoi commenti inediti* (1906; Bologna: Forni, 1969). For an Italian prose translation that accompanies the Latin, see Petrarch, *Bucolicum carmen*, ed. Tonino T. Mattucci (Pisa: Giardini, 1970). For an English translation with succinct commentary, see Thomas G. Bergin, ed., *Petrarch’s Bucolicum Carmen* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974). Bergin’s translation faces Avena’s text, which follows the autograph (MS Vat. Lat. 3358). See further for the autograph in Domenico De Venuto, ed., *Il Bucolicum Carmen di Francesco Petrarca: Edizione diplomatica dell’autografo Vat. Lat. 3358* (Pisa: ETS, 1990); On questions of dating, see Enrico Carrara, “I commenti antichi e la cronologia delle ecloghe petrarchesche,” *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* 28 (1897): 138–43; Arnaldo Foresti, “La data della prima egloga” and “Quando il Petrarca fece le grandi giunte al Bucolicum?” in *Aneddoti della vita di Francesco Petrarca* (Padua: Antenore, 1977), 204–8 and 471–84; Nicholas Mann, “The Making of Petrarch’s *Bucolicum Carmen*: A Contribution to the History of the Text,” *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 20 (1977): 127–82; Nicholas Mann, “L’edizione critica del Bucolicum Carmen,” *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, 3rd ser., 19 (1989): 231–38. The classic source on the early fourteenth-century eclogue exchange between Dante and Giovanni del Virgilio is Philip H. Wicksteed and Edmund G. Gardner, *Dante and Giovanni del Virgilio. Including a Critical Edition of the Text of Dante’s “Eclogae Latinae” and of the Poetic Remains of Giovanni del Virgilio* (1902; Freeport: Books for Li-

- braries Press, 1971). See also the more recent Dante Alighieri, *Le ecloghe*, text, trans. with comm. by Giorgio Brugnoli and Riccardo Scarcia (Milan: Ricciardi, 1980). For the Latin pastorals of Petrarch's great contemporary, see *Bucolicum carmen*, ed. Giorgio Bernardi Perini, in Giovanni Boccaccio, *Tutte le opere*, ed. Vittore Branca, vol. 4 (Milan: Mondadori, 1994), 689–1085; and Giovanni Boccaccio, *Eclogues*, trans. and comm. by Janet Smarr (New York: Garland, 1987), both with an excellent apparatus that probes the complex relationship between the "bucolics" of Boccaccio and Petrarch. See, for example, Smarr, introduction to Boccaccio, *Eclogues*, xli–l. For the history of the genre more broadly, Enrico Carrara's classic study is still important, *La poesia pastorale* (Milan: Vallardi, 1909).
2. King Robert of Anjou ("Robert the Wise," 1278–1343), ruler of Naples and a papal ally, possessed great literary culture and had examined Petrarch on the occasion of his poetic coronation in 1341. Petrarch befriended the brothers Giovanni and Giacomo of the powerful Roman Colonna family in 1330 and entered the latter's service that year as a chaplain. He resigned the position in 1347, troubled by Giovanni's opposition to the republican reformer Cola di Rienzo (1313–54). Appointed in 1344 by Pope Clement VI notary of the Roman treasury, he organized a popular uprising against the nobles that had gained momentum by 1347, but he was defeated by the Colonna and Orsini families and denounced by the papacy as a heretic (an allegation of which he was later absolved). Petrarch was enthusiastic about Cola's dream, never realized, of making Rome the seat of political and moral regeneration, thus uniting and bringing peace to Italy. See Mario Emilio Cosenza, *Francesco Petrarca and the Revolution of Cola di Rienzo* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1913).
 3. For keys to the allegories generally, the most useful sources are Avena, *Il Bucolicum carmen e i suoi commenti inediti*, which publishes such early commentators as Benvenuto da Imola and Francesco Piendibeni; and Bergin, *Petrarch's Bucolicum Carmen*.
 4. In *Familiares* 10.4, written to his brother, Petrarch summarizes and explains the content of this eclogue. "Monicus" is the epithet of the Cyclops, meaning *monoculus* or "one-eyed." Of the two eyes that nature gives each person, one for seeing whatever is earthly and the other for things divine, Gherardo only keeps open the latter, hence he is one-eyed. The name "Silvius," from the Latin for "woodland, is appropriate to Petrarch because this eclogue was composed in the woods, for which he has always felt an affinity. *Parthenias*, as Petrarch explains in the same letter, is Virgil, a guiding model. In the preface to his commentary on Virgil, Servius wrote that the Mantuan poet was called Parthenias ("virginal") from his reputation for upright morals

- and chastity. Smarr, introduction, in Boccaccio, *Eclogues*, xxvii, observes the natural suitability of the pastoral genre, which is about shepherds and their flocks, to a discussion of Christian themes.
5. As Petrarch explains in a letter of January 18, 1347, to Barbato da Sulmona, “by the shepherd full of eyes [Argus] is meant our most watchful lord king, who had been the far-sighted shepherd of his people; by “Idaeus” I mean our “Jupiter” (for Jove was brought up on Ida of Crete); by “Pythias” I mean our faithful Barbato from his signal renown for friendship; and since I may not assume this for myself, I have chosen to be not Damon but “Silvius”—both from my ingrained love of the woods, and because this form of poetry occurred to me . . . in my woodland solitude.” See Bergin, *Petrarch’s Bucolicum Carmen*, 220, who cites from *Variae* 49 (*Disperse* 7) as Englished by Edward Henry Ralph Tatham, *Francesco Petrarca, the First Modern Man of Letters, His Life and Correspondence* (London: Sheldon Press, 1925–26), 2:394. Ovid tells the story of Argus, shepherd with one hundred eyes, set by Juno to guard the heifer Io from Jupiter’s advances; Jupiter dispatched Mercury to lull Argus to sleep and kill him, after which Juno put his eyes on the tail feathers of her bird, the peacock (*Metamorphoses* 622–746).
 6. “Obstupuisti, credo, perstrinxitque oculos fulgor insolitus. Dicunt enim stuporem amoris esse principium,” Petrarch *Secretum* 3.152. See Michele Feo, “Per l’esegesi della III egloga del Petrarca,” *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 10 (1967): 385–401. Petrarch uses the form “Dane” for Daphne.
 7. Petrarch here follows the model of Virgil’s seventh eclogue, which, according to the late Latin commentator Servius, showed a contest between Virgil and an inferior rival poet (Boccaccio, *Bucolicum carmen* [trans. Smarr], xlv).
 8. Petrarch explains the political allegory in a letter from Vaucuse of late summer 1347, to Cola di Rienzo (*Variae* 42, *Disperse* 11), cited by Bergin, *Petrarch’s Bucolicum carmen*, 225–26, as translated by Tatham, *Francesco Petrarca*, 2:407–8: “The two shepherds are two sorts of citizens living in the same city but differing widely as to its interests. One is ‘Martius,’ which is to say ‘warlike’ and restless . . . yet dutiful and compassionate towards his mother, who is Rome. The other brother is ‘Apicius’ (whom we know as a master of the culinary art . . . by whom you are to understand those given over to pleasure and indolence.” Festinus is “the swift one,” in other words, Fame, who travels fast to bear her tidings.
 9. Clement VI (c. 1291–1352), was pope from 1342 to 1352, when the papacy had its seat at Avignon. In Rome, Clement initially supported Cola di Rienzo’s movement but later excommunicated him.
 10. See Ernest Hatch Wilkins, “Petrarch’s Seventh Eclogue,” in *Studies in the Life and Works of Petrarch* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955), 48–62.

- Epy is explained by Benvenuto da Imola, whom Bergin, *Petrarch's Bucolicum carmen*, 229, cites from Avena, *Il Bucolicum carmen e i suoi commenti inediti*, 219: “Mea Epicurea, id est, Ecclesia: sic Epicurus qui posuit felicitatem in gaudendo” [my Epicurea, that is, the Church, even as Epicurus, who put his happiness in pleasure].
11. See Minna Skaftte Jenson, “Petrarch’s Farewell to Avignon: *Bucolicum Carmen* VIII,” in *Avignon and Naples: Italy in France, France in Italy in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Marianne Pade, Hannemarie Ragn Jensen, and Lene Waage Peterson (Rome: L’Erma di Bretschneider, 1997), 69–82. For the allusions in the names, see Bergin, *Petrarch's Bucolicum carmen*, 232: “Ganymede, the mortal carried off to Olympus to join the gods” is Colonna, “exalted to the pomp and luxury of the College of Cardinals.” The poor fisherman Amyclas (Lucan *De bello civile* 5.515–31; Dante *Paradiso* 11.68) is Petrarch.
 12. See Giovanni Gasparotto, “Il Petrarca conosceva direttamente Lucrezio: Le fonti dell’egloga IX, ‘Querulus’ del *Bucolicum carmen*,” in *Atti e Memorie della R. Accademia di Scienze, Lettere, e Arti in Padova* 80 (1967–68): 309–55.
 13. Bergin, *Petrarch's Bucolicum Carmen*, 235, sees Philogeus and Theophilus as “allegories of emotional attitudes . . . both characters speak for Petrarch.” Evidence suggests that the eclogue was written when the plague was well underway, but before the poet learned of Laura’s death.
 14. Ludwig van Kempen is the dedicatee of Petrarch’s *Epistolae familiares*.
 15. See Giovanni Ponte, “Problemi petrarcheschi: La decima egloga e la composizione dei Trionfi,” in *Rassegna della letteratura italiana* 69, no. 7.5 (1965): 517–29. See also sonnet 318 of the *Canzoniere* (“Al cader d’una pianta che si svelse”), which likewise employs the metaphor of the laurel, uprooted but immortal (Bergin, *Petrarch's Bucolicum Carmen*, 236).
 16. The nymphs express different aspects of the poet’s response to Laura’s death. See Fredrik Amadeus Wulff, *En svensk Petrarca-bok till jubelfästen* (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1905), 86, accepted by Bergin, *Petrarch's Bucolicum carmen*, 248, which cites Piendibeni from Avena, *Il Bucolicum carmen e i suoi commenti inediti*, 285, on “Galathea” as a *senbal* for Laura, signifying “White Goddess.” Niobe recalls Ovid’s sorrowing mother, punished for boasting about her children by Apollo and Daphne, who killed her seven sons and seven daughters (*Metamorphoses* 6. 165–312); Fusca in Latin means “dark”; Fulgida is “bright, refulgent”). Needless to say, eclogues 3, 10, and 11 express in a bucolic key a motif pervasive in the *Canzoniere*, Petrarch’s cult of Laura as the laurel, studied, for example, by Robert M. Durling, “Petrarch’s ‘Giovene Donna Sotto un Verde Lauro,’” *MLN* 86, no. 1 (Jan. 1971): 1–20; John Freccero, “The Fig Tree and the Laurel,” *Diacritics* 5 (1975): 34–40; Ugo Dotti, “Petrarca: Il mito dafneo,” *Convivium* 37 (1969): 9–23; and Durl-

- ing in his introduction to *Petrarch's Lyric Poems* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), esp. 26–29.
17. Early commentators, cited by Avena, *Il Bucolicum carmen e i suoi commenti inediti*, understand Multivolus to be the vulgar mob. Volucer, literally a “winged creature” or “bird,” suggests news that quickly travels, hence Bergin’s translation “Swiftfoot” (250).
 18. See especially sonnets 114, 117, 137, and 138 of the *Canzoniere*, in which the poet vituperates the Avignon papacy and compares the city to Babylon. So, too, in Petrarch *Sine nomine* 18, for example, with a scathing attack on the Church and final novella savagely satirizing its representative, a grotesque and goatish old lecher. For more on this collection of letters, see the essay by Ronald Martinez in the present volume.
 19. “Es meritis post vincla crucem, post verbera ferrum./Supplicium breve!
Quin potius sine fine dolores/Carceris eterni, vel si quid tristius usquam
est,/Serve infide, fugax, dominoque ingrato benigno.”
 20. “Immortale homini nichil est; moriemur et ipsi./Ludere consilium, nec euntis
temporis horam/Perdere segnitie, curasque repellere inanes;/Ni forsan tibi
nunc aliud, dilecta, videtur.”
 21. On Petrarch’s relationship to Virgil’s eclogues, see Magrith Berghoff-Bührer, *Das Bucolicum Carmen des Petrarca: Ein Beitrag zur Wirkungsgeschichte von Vergils Eclogon* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1991).
 22. Virgil, *Eclogues*, in *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid*, trans. H. Ruston Fairclough, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974):
“Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi/silvestrem tenui musam meditaris
avena:/nos patriae finis et dulcia linquimus arva.”
 23. “Monice, tranquillo solus tibi conditus antro,/Et gregis et ruris potuisti spernere
curas;/Ast ego dumosos colles silvasque pererro.”
 24. “Tum fusca nitentem/Obduxit Phebum nubes, precepsque repente/Ante
expectatum nox affuit; horruit ether/Grandine terribili; certatim ventus et imber/
Sevire et fractis descendere fulmina nimbis./Altior, ethereo penitus convulsa
fragore./Corruit et colles concussit et arva cupressus.”
 25. “. . . Daphnis pastoribus olim,/Et tibi nunc ingens merito cantabitur Argus.”
 26. On the myth of Polyphemus and Galatea and its development from Virgil to Ovid and subsequent use in the Italian Renaissance, see F. Battera, “Sulla pístola di Polifemo e Galatea: Primi appunti,” *Compar(a)ison: An International Journal of Comparative Literature* 2 (1993): 35–64.
 27. “Dulcior his silvis et gramine dulcior arvi,/Gratior his antris et gratior amne sonoro,
/Huc modo, dum sum solo, ades, mea nobilis Epy.”
 28. “Candidior folio nivei Galatea ligustri,/floridior pratis, longa procerior alno,
/splendidior vitro, tenero lascivior haedo,/levior adsiduo detritis

- aequore conchis, / solibus hibernis, aestiva gratior umbra, / nobilior pomis, platano conspectior alta, / lucidior glacie, matura dulcior uva, / mollior et cygni plumis et lacta coacto, / et si non fugias, riguo formosior horto." The translation is Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Frank Justus Miller, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), 13:789–97.
29. Petrarch *Bucolicum carmen* (trans. Bergin, modified). On the use of elements of Terence's comedies in the Renaissance pastoral genre, particularly in England, see Clark L. Chalifour, "Sir Philip Sidney's Old Arcadia as Terentian Comedy," in *SEL: Studies in English Literature* 16, no. 1 (Winter 1976): 51–63.
30. See Guido Martellotti, *Dalla tenzone al carme bucolico: Giovanni Del Virgilio, Dante, Petrarca*, in Guido Martellotti, *Dante e Boccaccio e altri scrittori dall'Umanesimo al Romanticismo*, foreword by Umberto Bosco (Florence: Olschki, 1983), 71–89. For a panorama on the *tenso*, as this form of poetic debate was called in Provençal, see *Il genere "Tenzzone" nelle letterature romanze delle Origini*, ed. Matteo Pedroni and Antonio Stäuble (Ravenna: Longo, 1997).
31. Petrarch *Familiare* 10.4: "est quod nisi ex ipso qui condidit auditum, intelligi non possit." For Benvenuto's view, see Fausto Ghisalberti, *Le chiose virgiliane di Benvenuto da Imola*, in *Studi virgiliani pubblicati in occasione delle celebrazioni bimillennarie della Reale Accademia Virgiliana* (Mantua: Reale Accademia Virgiliana, 1930), 117, n. 1: "est impossibile quod aliquis intelligat bucolica nisi habeat aliquid ab illo qui composuit."
32. Petrarch *Bucolicum carmen* 12.160: "I nunc, in rebus spem certam pone secundis."
33. See Petrarch, *Laurea occidens. Bucolicum carmen X*, trans. and ed. Guido Martellotti (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1968). This eclogue constitutes, in Bergin's view, the "most 'mediaeval' of the series" due to its extraordinarily lengthy and pedantic cataloging of ancient poets. Here, more than in any other eclogue of the *Bucolicum*, "The Virgilian element is completely overshadowed" (237). Bergin, *Petrarch's Bucolicum carmen*, also points out that this section displays a direct blending, rare in Petrarch's opus, of the poet as ardent lover, on the one hand, and the pedantically meticulous philologist, on the other.
34. "Laurea culta michi, nec me situs asper et horrens / Arcuit incepto; propriis nec viribus ausus, / Externos volui onsultor adire colonos. / Nec longe tenere vie, nec tempus iniquum / Ac durum tardavit opus. . . ."
35. On the merging of Laura and the Laurel in Petrarch's poetics, see Paolo Cherchi, "Dispositio e significato del sonetto LXVII," in *The Flight of Ulysses: Studies in Memory of Emmanuel Hatzantonis*, ed. Augustus A. Mastro (Chapel Hill: Annali d'Italianistica, 1997), 82–96, esp. 86–89.
36. "Sed letum fortuna oculo suspexit iniquo: / Forte aberam, silvasque ieram

- spectare vetustas;/ Pestifer hinc eurus, hinc humidus irruit auster;/ Ac, stratis late arboribus, mea gaudia laurum/Extirpant franguntque truces, terreque cavernis/Brachia ramorum, frondesque tulere comantes.” According to Bergin, *Petrarch’s Bucolicum carmen*, 247, “These lines refer to the plague of 1348. Eurus, the southeast wind, and Auster, the south wind, are perhaps meant to indicate the direction from which the plague struck Provence.”
37. “. . . laurum non eurus et auster,/Sed superi rapuere sacram et felicibus arvis/Inseruere dei; pars corticis illa caduci/Oppetit, pars radices vivacior egit/Elisiosque novo fecundat germine campos.”
38. “Heu nimis arcta domus, tanto domus atra decori!/Hec sedes Galathea tibi est? Quam fulgere cernens,/Sol stupuit, fassusque parem, fassusque subinde/Maiorem, attonitus serum se se abdidit undis.”
39. “Hei michi! Quo nunc fessus eam? Quibus anxius umbris/recrear, aut ibi iam senior nova carmina cantem?”
40. “Huc genitor profugus me ruris aviti/Finibus infantem rapuit, ripaque palustri/Exposuit miserum, atque abiit.”
41. “Meminit haud ignobilis Italie civitas, Aretium, quo pulsus patria pater magna cum bonorum acie confugerat. Inde mense septimo sublatus sum totaque Tuscia circumlatus prevalidi cuiusdam adolescentis dextera; qui—quoniam iuvat laborum discriminumque meorum tecum primitias recordari—linteo obvolutum, nec aliter quam Metabus Camilam, nodo de stipite pendentem, ne contactu tenerum corpus offenderet, gestabat. Is, in transitu Arni fluminis, lapsu equi effusus, dum honus sibi creditum servare nititur, violento gurgite prope ipse periit.” For Petrarch’s comparison of himself to Ulysses and further discussion of this important letter, see the essay in this volume by Giuseppe Mazzotta as well as S. Carrai, “Il mito di Ulisse nelle ‘Familiari,’” in *Motivi e forme delle Familiari di Francesco Petrarca*, ed. Claudia Berra (Milan: Cisalpino, 2003), 167–73.
42. “Theocritus syragusanus poeta, ut ab antiquis accepimus, primus fuit qui greco carmine buccolicum excogitavit stilum, verum nil sensit preter quod cortex ipse verborum demonstrat. Post hunc latine scripsit Virgilius, sed sub cortice nonnullos abscondit sensus. . . . Post hunc autem scripserunt et alii, sed ignobiles, de quibus nil curandum est, excepto inclito preceptore meo Francisco Petrarca, qui stilum preter solitum paululum sublimavit et secundum eglogarum suarum materias continue collocutorum nomina aliquid significantia posuit.” Giovanni Boccaccio, *Epistole*, ed. and trans. Ginetta Auzzas, in Giovanni Boccaccio, *Tutte le opere*, ed. Vittore Branca, vol. 5, pt. 1 (Milan: Mondadori, 1992), 493–856, quotation on 712.
43. “Quis insuper adeo insanus erit, ut putet preclarissimum virum atque christianissimum Franciscum Petrarcam, . . . expendisse tot vigilias, tot sacras

- meditationes, tot horas, dies et annos, quot iure possimus existimare inpen-
sos, si *Buccolici* sui carminis gravitatem, si ornatum, si verborum exquisitum
decus pensemus, ut Gallum fingeret Tyrheno calamos exposcentem, aut
iurgantes invicem Panphylum et Mitionem et alios delirantes eque pastores?”
Giovanni Boccaccio, *Genealogie deorum gentilium*, ed. Vittorio Zaccaria, in
Giovanni Boccaccio, *Tutte le opere*, ed. Vittore Branca, vols. 7–8 (Milan:
Mondadori, 1998), 8:1420–25.
44. See Boccaccio, *Ecloques* (ed. Smarr), xxviii–xxxii; Carrara, *La poesia pastorale*;
and Nicholas Mann, “Il “Bucolicum Carmen” e la sua eredità,” *Quaderni
Petrarcheschi* 9–10 (1992–93): 513–35. On the posterity of Petrarch’s pas-
torals more generally in Europe, see William J. Kennedy, “The Virgilian
Legacies of Petrarch’s *Bucolicum carmen* and Spenser’s ‘Shepherdess Calen-
dar,’” in *The Early Renaissance: Virgil and the Classical Tradition*, ed. Anthony
Pellegrini, Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies (Binghamton: State
University of New York Press, 1985), 79–106; Richard Cody, *The Landscape
of the Mind* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969); Louise George Clubb, *Italian
Drama in Shakespeare’s Time* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989); and
Andrew Ettin, *Literature and the Pastoral* (New Haven: Yale University Press,
1984).
45. For the text, see Angelo Poliziano, *Silvae*, ed. Francesco Bausi (Florence:
Olschki, 1996). Poliziano’s chief model for the *Nutricia* was Petrarch’s tenth
eclogue, on which see Martellotti’s discussion in his edition of Petrarch’s
Laura occidens.

Chapter Ten

1. Petrarch, *De vita solitaria*, in *Opere latine*, vol. 1, ed. Antonietta Bufano (Turin:
Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1975), bk. 1, 374, translation, Pe-
trarch, *The Life of Solitude by Francis Petrarch*, trans. Jacob Zeitlin (Urbana:
University of Illinois Press, 1924), bk. 1, 180–81.
2. Petrarch, *Petrarch’s Lyric Poems: The Rime sparse and Other Lyrics*, trans.
Robert M. Durling (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976); cf. Italian
text in Petrarch, *Canzoniere*, ed. Marco Santagata (Milan: Mondadori, 2001).
On Petrarch’s ecstatic vision in the *Canzoniere*, see Marjorie O’ Rourke
Boyle, *Petrarch’s Genius: Penitimento and Prophecy* (Berkeley: University of Cali-
fornia Press, 1991), 65–68.
3. Vinicio Pacca, *Petrarca* (Bari: Laterza, 1998), 95–96. Cf. Nicholas Mann,
Petrarch (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 42; Kenelm Foster,
Petrarch (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1984), 8; and Arnaud
Tripet, *Pétrarche ou la connaissance de soi* (Geneva: Droz, 1967), 50–52. In
Prolegomeni al “De vita solitaria” di Petrarca (Parma: Scuola Tip. Benedettina,

- 1967), Francesco Serpagli connects *De vita solitaria* to Augustine's *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae*, 55–62. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine.
4. Peter von Moos, "Les solitudes de Pétrarque. Liberté intellectuelle et activisme urbain dans la crise du XIV^e siècle," in *Rassegna europea di letteratura italiana* 7 (1996): 23–58, esp. 25.
 5. Von Moos, "Les solitudes de Pétrarque," 26.
 6. Charles Edward Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness: Humanity and Divinity in Italian Humanist Thought* [electronic resource] (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1995), part 1.1, 4. Cf. Antonietta Bufano, "Introduzione," in Petrarch, *Opere latine*, 1:27; and Jacob Zeitlin, introduction to Petrarch, *De vita solitaria*, 55–67; on the ideal nature of the book, 56.
 7. Etienne Gilson, "Sur deux textes de Pétrarque," in *Studi Petrarqueschi* 7 (1959): 35–50, esp. 36.
 8. On the crucial importance of friendship for Petrarch, see Claude Lafleur, *Pétrarque et l'amitié* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 2001), 33–50; and Pietro Paolo Gerosa, *Umanesimo cristiano del Petrarca* (Turin: Bottega d'Erasmus, 1966), 99–104.
 9. Giorgio Ficara, "Introduzione," in Petrarch, *De vita solitaria*, ed. Marco Noce (Milan: Mondadori, 1992), xxvi.
 10. Guido Martellotti, "Introduzione alle prose," in *Scritti petrarcheschi*, ed. Michele Feo and Silvia Rizzo (Padua: Antenore, 1983), 220–39, esp. 228, Petrarch, *Triumphus Cupidinis* 1.17, in *Trionfi*, ed. Vinicio Pacca and Laura Paolino (Milan: Mondadori, 2000), translation, *Triumphs of Petrarch*, trans. Ernest H. Wilkins (Chicago: Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).
 11. See Marco Ariani, "Petrarca," in *Storia della letteratura italiana*, ed. Enrico Malato (Rome: Salerno, 1995), 2:601–726, esp. 2:640–51. On the thorny issues of its composition, see B. L. Ullman, "The Composition of Petrarch's 'De vita solitaria' and the History of the Vatican Manuscript," in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1946), 4:117–31.
 12. Ernest Hatch Wilkins, *Life of Petrarch* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), 17–18.
 13. Wilkins, *Life of Petrarch*, 231–32.
 14. Gerosa, *Umanesimo cristiano del Petrarca*, 339. On Petrarch's borrowings from the Bible and Augustine's *Confessions* with special emphasis on the *Canzoniere*, see Giovanni Pozzi, "Petrarca, i Padri e soprattutto la Bibbia," in *Alternatim* (Milan: Adelphi, 1996), 143–89.
 15. Cf. Petrarch, *Invective contra medicum*, in *Opere latine*, ed. Antonietta Bufano (Turin: UTET, 1987), 2: 920–22; and *De suis ipsius et multorum ignorantia*, in *Opere latine*, 2: 1118. As Petrarch's epistles are concerned, see *Familiares* 2.9,

- 16.4, 17.1. In *De otio religioso*, the first quotation from *De vera religione* is in its opening pages. Cf. Petrarch, *De otio religioso*, in *Opere latine*, 1:581.
16. Augustine, *De vera religione*, ed. William Green (Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1961), chap. 3, section 3, 5.
 17. Augustine, *De vera religione*, chap. 42, section 79, 58.
 18. Augustine, *De vera religione*, chap. 4, section 6, 8–9.
 19. Augustine, *De vera religione*, chap. 3, section 5, 7.
 20. Augustine, *De vera religione*, chap. 26, section 48, 34.
 21. Petrarch *Secretum* bk. 2, in *Opere latine*, 1:94.
 22. Petrarch *Secretum* bk. 2, in *Opere latine*, 1:140. Cf. Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness*, part 1.1, 3–50.
 23. Petrarch *De vita solitaria* in *Opere latine*, bk. 1, 328. In his article on the codex 2201 of the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris that contains Augustine's *De vera religione* with Petrarch's summaries and glosses, Francisco Rico points out that Petrarch transcribed the above sentence from Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations* on top of Augustine's text, as if to state that Augustine's treatise originates from Cicero's text. As Rico explains, Petrarch first read Augustine's brief treatise circa 1335 and continued to reflect on it for the rest of his life. See Francisco Rico, "Petrarca y el "De vera religione,"" in *Italia medievale e umanistica* 17 (1974): 313–64, 327–28.
 24. Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, trans. J. E. King, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), book 3.1.2, 227.
 25. Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* bk. 3.1.3, 226–27.
 26. Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* bk. 1.16.37–38, 45.
 27. "veder mi parve un mondo/ novo, in etate immobile ed eterna,/ e'l sole e tutto 'l ciel disfar a tondo/ con le sue stelle, anchor la terra e'l mare,/ e rifarne un più bello e più giocondo."
 28. For a complete list of biblical references, see Petrarch, *Trionfi* (ed. Pacca and Paolino), 514–15.
 29. Petrarch *Triumphus Eternitatis* 31–32 (trans. Wilkins, 108).
 30. Petrarch *Familiars* 3.5, translation, *Rerum familiarum libri I–VIII*, trans. Aldo S. Bernardo (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1975) 126.
 31. Petrarch, *De vita solitaria*, dedicatory epistle, 262.
 32. *De vita solitaria* (trans. Zeitlin), 97. Pozzi speaks of Petrarch's "parodic" use of biblical passages. By "parody" Pozzi means that Petrarch slightly modifies a text in order to use it in a different context. See Pozzi, "Petrarca, i padri i soprattutto la bibbia," 154.
 33. *De vita solitaria* (trans. Zeitlin), 100. Cf. Petrarch, *De vita solitaria*, 268.
 34. *De vita solitaria* (trans. Zeitlin), 98; Petrarch, *De vita solitaria*, 264.
 35. *De vita solitaria* (trans. Zeitlin), 105. I have modified Zeitlin's translation

- slightly to highlight the reference to the non-place of solitude, which disappears in his English version. Petrarch, *De vita solitaria*, bk. 1, 272.
36. *De vita solitaria* (trans. Zeitlin), 220; Petrarch, *De vita solitaria*, bk. 2, 430.
 37. Petrarch, *De vita solitaria*, bk.1, 276 and 278. Cf. Petrarch *Seniles* 2.1. On the opposition between the two ideal men, see von Moos, “Les solitudes de Pétrarque,” 37–38; Ilaria Tufano, “La notte, la paura, il peccato: Il ritratto dell’ ‘occupatus’ nel “De vita solitaria,”” in *Rassegna europea di letteratura italiana* 22 (2003): 37–52. The emphasis of this essay is on the connection between the “occupatus,” the worldly man, and “Franciscus,” the protagonist of the *Secretum*. On the concept of *phantasma* in its relation to *De vera religione*, see 46. See also Sandra Isetta, “Il linguaggio ascetico di Francesco Petrarca nel *De vita solitaria*,” in *Studi umanistici piceni* 23 (2003): 75–94, on the two opposite men, 85.
 38. Augustine, *De vera religione*, chap. 26, section 48, 34.
 39. Augustine, *De vera religione*, chap. 26, section 49, 35.
 40. Petrarch, *De vita solitaria*, bk. 1, 274.
 41. For the echoes of Pseudo-Basilus in *De vita solitaria*, see Petrarch, *De vita solitaria. Buch I*, ed. K. A. E. Enekel (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 172–74.
 42. Peter Damian, *Opusculum Undecimum*, in *PL* 145 (Paris: Thibaud, 1867), chap. 19, 246.
 43. Palladius Helenopolitanus (368–431) is the author of the *Historia lausiaca*. He became a monk of the Mount of Olives at the age of twenty. His *Historica lausiaca* is a history of the monks of Egypt and Palestine in the form of anecdotes and short biographies. Its name comes from the dedication to Lausus, a chamberlain of Theodosius II (408–50 C.E.). For the English text, see Palladius, *Lausiaca History*, trans. Robert Meyer (Westminster: Newman Press, 1965).
 44. Peter Damian, *Opusculum Undecimum*, chap. 19, 246.
 45. Petrarch, *De vita solitaria*, bk. 1, 324.
 46. *De vita solitaria*, bk. 1, 328 and 324–26. Cf. Seneca, *Ad Lucilium*, 25.5–6. On the centrality of Christ in Petrarch, cf. Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness*, pt. 1.1, 37–40.
 47. Augustine, *De vera religione*, chap. 2, section 2, 3.
 48. Petrarch, *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* 251.7. See also the canzone 73.37. Gerrosa, *Umanesimo cristiano del Petrarca*, 341.
 49. Ernst Cassirer, *The Individual and the Cosmos in Renaissance Philosophy*, trans. Mario Domandi (Mineola: Dover Publications, 1963), 143. Cf. Paolo Cherchi, “La simpatia della natura nel *Canzoniere* di Petrarca,” in *Cultura Neolatina* 63, nos. 1–2 (2003): 83–113, esp. 89–90. On the personified presence of “natura” in the Middle Ages, see Barbara Newman, *God and the Goddesses*:

- Vision, Poetry, and Belief in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 51–137.
50. Nicholas Mann, "Preface," in Petrarch, *De vita solitaria*, ed. Christophe Carraud (Grenoble: Millon, 1999), 18.
 51. Palladius Helenopolitanus, *Historia lausiaca*, in *PL* 73 (Paris: Garnier, 1879), 1091.
 52. Petrarch, *De vita solitaria*, bk. 2, 382. Palladius Helenopolitanus, *Historia lausiaca*, 1093.
 53. Palladius Helenopolitanus, *Historia lausiaca*, chap. 8, 1099.
 54. *Historia lausiaca*, chap. 8, 1100.
 55. Petrarch, *De vita solitaria* bk. 2, 382–84; Palladius Helenopolitanus, *Historia lausiaca*, chap. 12, 1103–4.
 56. Petrarch, *De vita solitaria*, bk. 2, 390; Palladius Helenopolitanus, *Historia lausiaca*, chap. 4, 1094–95.
 57. Petrarch *De vita solitaria* bk. 2, 394.
 58. *De vita solitaria*, bk. 2, 394 and 404. Cf. Jeremiah 8:23–9:1.
 59. *De vita solitaria*, bk. 2, 428.
 60. *De vita solitaria*, bk. 2, 406–8.
 61. *De vita solitaria*, bk. 2, 408; Ambrose, "Epistola 49," in *PL* 16 (Paris: Garnier, 1880), 1203.
 62. Ambrose, "Epistola 49," 1204.
 63. Virgil, *Georgics*, trans. H. R. Fairclough (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 3.215–16.
 64. Cf. Ficara, "Introduzione," in Petrarch *De vita solitaria* (ed. Noce), xiii–xiv. Ficara stresses the abstract connotation of Petrarch's concept of solitude. Ficara holds that, for Petrarch, no place on earth can ever be perfect for the solitary man. Cf. Giorgio Ficara, *Solitudini* (Milan: Garzanti, 1993), 71–98.
 65. Theodore J. Cachey Jr., introduction to *Petrarch's Guide to the Holy Land* (South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002), 19. Cf. chapter 10 in this volume.
 66. Petrarch, *De vita solitaria*, bk. 2, 416.
 67. *De vita solitaria*, bk. 2, 424.
 68. *De vita solitaria*, bk. 2, 440.
 69. Cf. Petrarch, *Against a Detractor of Italy*, in Petrarch, *Invective* (trans. Marsh), 375 and 385.
 70. Petrarch, *De vita solitaria*, bk. 2, 456.
 71. *De vita solitaria*, bk. 2, 460. Similar invective appears in *TF* 2.139–44.
 72. *De vita solitaria*, bk. 2, 478.
 73. *De vita solitaria*, bk. 2, 466.

74. *De vita solitaria*, bk. 2, 486.
75. *De vita solitaria*, bk. 2, 526.
76. Ronald G. Witt, introduction in Petrarch, *On Religious Leisure*, ed. and trans. Susan S. Schearer (New York: Italica Press, 2002), xiv.
77. Petrarch, *De vita solitaria*, bk. 2, 528. Cf. Cicero, *Dei doveri*, bk. 3.1, ed. Dario Arfelli (Milan: Mondadori, 1994), 206.
78. Ambrose, *De officiis ministrorum*, in *PL* 16, 3.1, 145–47.
79. 1 Kings 18:17.
80. Petrarch, *De vita solitaria*, bk.2, 530.
81. *De vita solitaria*, bk. 2, 532.
82. *De vita solitaria*, bk. 2, 534.
83. Tore Janson, *Latin Prose Prefaces* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1964), chap. 1, 64. See also the “conclusion,” 158–61. Cf. *De vita solitaria. Buch 1* (ed. Enenkel), 133–41.
84. Petrarch, *De vita solitaria*, 270.
85. *De vita solitaria*, bk. 2, 536.
86. *De vita solitaria*, bk. 2, 538.
87. *De vita solitaria*, bk. 2, 550; Petrarch, *De vita solitaria* (trans. Zeitlin), 307.
88. “O felice colui che trova il guado/ Di questo alpestro e rapido torrente/ Ch’a nome vita ed a molti è sì a grado.”
89. Petrarch, *Triumphus Eternitatis*, 49.
90. Petrarch, *De otio religioso*, in *Opere latine*, vol. 1, bk. 1, 570. On this treatise, see Jean-Luc Marion, “Préface,” in Petrarch, *De otio religioso: Le repos religieux*, ed. Christophe Carraud (Grenoble: Millon, 2000), 5–10. See also Carraud’s introduction to his edition, 11–26. Carraud highlights the connections among the *Secretum*, *De vita solitaria*, and *De otio religioso*.
91. Petrarch, *De otio religioso*, bk. 2, 808.
92. Petrarch, *De vita solitaria*, bk. 2, 562.
93. *De vita solitaria*, bk. 2, 564.
94. *De vita solitaria* (trans. Zeitlin), 316.
95. On the possible date of this poem, see Petrarch, *Canzoniere* (ed. Santagata), 686–87.
96. Petrarch, *Canzoniere*, sestina 142, stanza 2, v. 8, 685.
97. “A la dolce ombra de le belle frondi/ corsi fuggendo un dispietato lume/ che’n fin qua giù m’ardea dal terzo cielo.”

Chapter Eleven

1. Petrarch mentions the episode in *De otio religioso*, 1. On Montrieux and Gherardo, see Henry Cochin, *Le frère de Pétrarque et le livre “Du repos des religieux”*

- (Paris: Boullion, 1930); and Arnaldo Foresti, “Quando Gherardo si fece monaco,” in *Aneòdoti della vita di Francesco Petrarca*, Studi sul Petrarca, 1 (Padua: Antenore, 1977), 108–14.
2. There is no critical edition of *De otio religioso*. The best available edition of the Latin text is by Giovanni Rotondi and Guido Martellotti, *Il “De otio religioso” di Francesco Petrarca* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1958). Translations based on Rotondi and Martellotti’s edition are *Opere latine di Francesco Petrarca*, vol. 1, ed. Antonietta Bufano, with B. Aracri and C. K. Regiani (Turin: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1974); *Le repos religieux*, ed. Christophe Carraud (Paris: Millon, 2000); *On Religious Leisure*, ed. and trans. by Susan S. Schearer with an introduction by Ronald Witt (New York: Italica Press, 2002). See also Giuseppe Rotondi, “Note al *De otio religioso*,” *Studi Petrarqueschi* 2 (1949): 153–66; and “Le due redazioni del *De otio religioso*,” *Aevum* 9 (1935): 22–77. Petrarch’s works are cited with their original Latin title. Unless otherwise stated, English translations and page references are from the Schearer edition.
 3. See Ugo Dotti, *Vita di Petrarca* (Rome and Bari: Laterza, 1992), 136–75. See also Enrico Fenzi, “Petrarca a Milano: Tempi e modi di una scelta meditata,” in *Petrarca e la Lombardia: Atti del Convegno di Studi Milano, 22–25 maggio 2003*, ed. Giuseppe Frasso, Giuseppe Velli, and Maurizio Vitale (Padua: Antenore, 2005), 221–63.
 4. See Berthold L. Ullman “The Composition of Petrarch’s *De vita solitaria* and the History of the Vatican Manuscript,” in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1946), 124–25. See also Dotti, *Vita di Petrarca*, 151–54.
 5. Of the codices examined by Rotondi, three (the Marciano Lat. 476, the Vat. Pal. 1730, and the Vat. Barb. Lat. 2110) contain a shorter text than the others do. Six codices have a longer version (the Vaticano Urbinate Lat. 333; the Estense a. R. 6.7; the fragmented codex Brera AD, XIV, 27; the very short fragment of Laurenziano Santa Croce pl. XXVI, sin. N. 9, copied by Fra’ Tedaldo della Casa; the Paris. Lat. 6502, and the London Harl. 6348). Rotondi almost completely collated the last two codices, and based his edition on Vat. Urb. Lat. 333. The printed editions (Venice 1501, 1503; Basilea 1554, 1581; Berna 1604) reproduce the short text, probably written in 1347. The other is probably from the first half of the 1350s. A translation in Italian vernacular of 400 is contained in a codex at Wolfenbüttel 86.8 Aug. fol. Giulio Goletti recently added a new codex: Chicago, Newberry Library, f. 95.
 6. See Martellotti’s introduction in *Il “De otio religioso” di Francesco Petrarca*, 8–12. Based on a new manuscript, the Chicago, Newberry Library, f. 95, and on an attentive reading of Harl. 6348, Giulio Goletti proposes two additions

- to the text of the *De otio religioso*. Giulio Goletti, “Due integrazioni testuali al *De otio religioso*,” in *Petrarca nel tempo: Tradizione lettori e immagini delle opere; Catalogo della mostra. Arezzo, Sottocbieisa di San Francesco 22 novembre 2005–27 gennaio 2004*, ed. Michele Feo (Florence: Bandecchi e Vivaldi, 2003), 418–22. See also Giulio Goletti, “Restauro al *De otio religioso* del Petrarca,” in *Studi Medievali e Umanistici* (2004): 295–307.
7. Rotondi, *Note al De otio religioso*, 155–56.
 8. Jean Mombaer (Mauburnus, 1460–1501), recommended Saint-Thierry’s *Golden Letter* and Petrarch’s *De otio religioso* in his *Rosetum exercitiorum spirituum et sacrarum meditationum. In quo etiam habetur materia predicabilis per totum anni circulum* (1494). Jean Mombaer, from Brussels, was abbot of Livry and an important figure in the movement of *devotio moderna* that developed in Belgium. The *Rosetum* introduced a series of subjects and a method for individual meditation or mental prayer. Prior to the *Rosetum*, there were no texts on methodical meditation. Monastic orders such as that of the Carthusians prescribed special times for mental prayer but no regulation in terms of subjects and method existed. From this point of view, Petrarch’s *De otio religioso* was a path-breaking work.
 9. See Rotondi and Martellotti, *Il “De otio religioso” di Francesco Petrarca*, 1. 4, n. 3.
 10. Petrarch did not directly challenge religious life, “he was contributing to an eventual challenge to the notion that the professional religious were inherently more meritorious or more pious than lay Christians.” Charles Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness* (London: Constable, 1970), 662.
 11. “Ita vero moderabor stilum, ut quasi ad presentes sermo michi sit ad absentes epystola.” Petrarch, *De otio religioso*, 5. According to Giuseppe Mazzotta, “Petrarch’s soliloquies are radically dialogic . . . the recognition of contradictory voices lodged in the reflexive center of the self.” Giuseppe Mazzotta, *The Worlds of Petrarch* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 148. For the characteristics of humanist dialogue, see David Marsh, *The Quattrocento Dialogue: Classical Tradition and Humanist Innovation* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1980).
 12. Guillaume de Saint-Thierry, *Lettre aux frères du Mont-Dieu* (Paris: Vrin, 1946).
 13. “We know this certainly: that this Being is unutterable, incomprehensible, and inaccessible to our minds.” Petrarch, *De otio religioso*, 58.
 14. For Petrarch’s “poetic theology,” see Charles Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness*, 689–97; and Charles Trinkaus, *The Poet As Philosopher: Petrarch and the Formation of Renaissance Consciousness* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 90–113.
 15. See also Giovanni Boccaccio, *Genealogie deorum gentilium*, 15.8.2, ed. Vittorio

- Zaccaria, vols. 7–8, in Giovanni Boccaccio, *Tutte le opere*, ed. Vittore Branca (Milan: Mondadori, 1998), 8:1544–47. Petrarch *Familiare* 10.4.1, addressed to Gherardo, restates that theology was nothing but poetry on God.
16. Cf. Witt, introduction to *Petrarch on Religious Life*, 14.
 17. “Etsi enim non sit in virtute finis noster, ubi eum philosophi posuere, est tamen per virtutes iter rectum eo ubi finis est noster; per virtutes, inquam, non tantum cognitatas, sed dilectas. Hi sunt ergo veri philosophi morales et virtutum utiles magistri, quorum prima et ultima intentio est bonum facere auditorem ac lectorem, quique non solum docent quid est virtus aut vitium preclarumque illud hoc fuscum nomen auribus instrepunt, sed rei optime amorem studiumque pessimeque rei odium fugamque pectoribus inserunt.” Petrarch, *De sui ipsius et multorum ignorantia*, ed. Enrico Fenzi (Milan: Mursia, 1999), 4, 148.
 18. For the genres of medieval religious literature, see Jean Leclercq, *L'amour des Lettres et le désir de Dieu* (Paris: Cerf, 1990), 87–107, 145–78. For the importance of *De vera religione*, see Francisco Rico, “Petarcarca y el *De vera religione*,” *Italia Medievale e Umanistica* 17 (1974): 313–64.
 19. On Petrarch’s knowledge of classical and patristic texts, see Pierre De Nolhac, *Pétrarque et ‘l’humanisme* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1907); Giuseppe Billanovich, *Petrarca letterato: Lo scrittoio del Petrarca* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e letteratura, 1947); and *Petrarca e il primo umanesimo* (Padua: Antenore, 1996). See also Giuseppe Velli, *Petrarca e Boccaccio: Tradizione, memoria, scrittura* (Padua: Antenore, 1979). On the complexity of Petrarch’s relation to classical thought, see Trinkaus, *Poet As Philosopher*, 1–51.
 20. Petrarch further developed the anti-Scholasticism visible in the *De otio religioso* in works such as *Invective contra medicum* and *De sui ipsius et multorum ignorantia*. The English translations of these works are from Petrarch, *Invective* (trans. Marsh).
 21. Petrarch, *De sui ipsius et multorum ignorantia*, 149: “Itaque longe errant qui in cognoscenda virtute, non in adipiscenda, et multo maxime qui in cognoscendo, non amando Deus tempus ponunt. Nam et cognosci ad plenum Deus in hac vita nullo potest modo, amari autem potest pie atque ardentier.”
 22. Cranz illustrates Petrarch’s paradoxical use of ancient sources on the themes of conversion; of “seeing with the mind”; of *ae-gritudo* (sadness); and finally the theme of “meditation upon death.” Edward F. Cranz, “Some Petrarchan Paradoxes,” speech delivered at the New England Renaissance Conference, Wheaton College, 1984.
 23. “Vacatio” means freedom from ordinary occupations so as to be able to dedicate oneself to something more elevated. In the Bible the term is rare and usually negative, but it is frequent in patristic literature. *Otium*, and its Greek

- equivalent *scholé*, were well-established notions in classical literature. For the meaning of *quies*, *otium*, and *vacatio* in monastic literature, see Jean Leclercq, *Otia monastica: Études sur le vocabulaire de la contemplation au moyen âge*, Studia Anselmiana, 51 (Rome: Herder, 1963), 13–49.
24. Theologians such as Augustine, Jerome, Benedict, and Bernard, among others, used this verset to exhort to contemplation. Augustine followed the *Vetus Italica*, a Latin version of the Bible in use before the Vulgate, which translated from the Greek Septuagint: “Agite otium, et agnoscetis quia ego sum Dominus.” “Agite otium” corresponds to “scholasate,” reflecting the classical ideal of study and contemplation (*scholé*). By adopting Augustine’s translation to comment on the “vacatio,” Petrarch maintained this meaning. This version is found in the Italian edition of Augustine’s treatise *De vera religione* 35 (Milan: Mursia, 1987), but it is absent in his *Enarrationes in Psalmos* (*Psalm* 45) (Nuova Biblioteca Agostiniana, <http://www.sant-agostino.it/nba.htm>), *Biblia Sacra Vulgatae Editionis*, Sixti V Pontificis Maximi iussu recognita et Clementis VIII auctoritate edita (Milan: San Paolo, 1995). The English translation is from the Douay version of the Latin Vulgate, available at <http://www.drbo.org/lvb>.
 25. *De otio et solitudine* is the title of book 1 of Petrarch’s *Rerum memorandarum libri*, which initially Petrarch wanted to entitle *Rerum humanarum*. Unlike *De vita solitaria*, this book does not include religious examples. See Petrarch, *Rerum memorandarum libri*, ed. Giuseppe Billanovich, Edizione nazionale delle opere di Francesco Petrarca, 5 (Florence: Sansoni, 1945), 1. The *otium* is also the theme of *De vita solitaria*, book 4 of the *Invective contra medicum*, and many *Familiares* (e.g., 9, 4; 11, 15; 7, 5) and *Seniles* (e.g., 10, 1; 15, 3; 16, 3).
 26. For a brief *excursus* on the meaning of *otium* from antiquity to the Middle Ages, see Ronald Witt, introduction to *Petrarch on Religious Life*, 12–14. See also Leclercq, *Otia monastica*.
 27. “Otio etenim est opus non resolutio et inerti atque enervante animos, sed strenuo et, quod maxime vestrum est, religioso et pio . . . Ubi enim ieronimiana translatio habet: ‘Vacate,’ vetustior habebat: ‘Otium agite.’” *De otio religioso*, 64–65. I have slightly changed the Schearer’s translation of “agite otium” to show the closeness of *Vetus Italica* verset and Petrarch’s idea of *otium*.
 28. “Our Lord’s bees” [dominice apes]. Petrarch, *De otio religioso*, 4.
 29. Petrarch, *De otio religioso*, 65; Virgil *Georgics* 4.150–280. In Christian iconography, honey symbolized both Christ and the virginity of Mary. A sign of religious eloquence this image was recurrent in the writings of Ambrose and Bernard of Clairvaux. Ambrose associated honey with the Holy Spirit and the beehive with the Church. In his view, the Christian was the hard-working bee, whose virtue adds “honey” to the community. In Petrarch it also symbolizes the work of the *litteratus*.

30. “Come and behold ye the works of the Lord: what wonders he hath done upon earth, Making wars to cease even to the end of the earth. He shall destroy the bow, and break the weapons: and the shield he shall burn in the fire. *Be still and see that I am God*; I will be exalted among the nations, and I will be exalted in the earth. The Lord of armies is with us: the God of Jacob is our protector,” emphasis added [Venite et videte opera Domini, / quae posuit prodigia super terram. / Auferet bella usque ad finem terrae, / arcum conteret et confringet arma / et scuta comburet igne. / Vacate et videte quoniam ego sum Deus: / exaltabor in gentibus et exaltabor in terra]. Psalm 45 (46):9–11.
31. “Quid est enim aliud ‘Vacate et videte’? Vacate, quies praesens; videte, requies aeterna. Vacate in terra, in caelo videbitis, et in terra etiam quantum purus et detersus, sed adhuc carnis, videre oculus potest.” *De otio religioso*, 7. I have slightly changed Scheerer’s English translation. The term “quiet” instead of “rest” seems closer to the technical spiritual meaning the word “quies” had in the religious literature. I also preferred to translate literally “videte” with “to see” as it stresses the meaning of knowledge as vision on which Psalm 45 insists. It also suggests the relevance of the material act of seeing for the achievement of a superior spiritual vision.
32. “Virtue semita, Deus finis videndus in Syon.” *De otio religioso*, 130.
33. See the same idea in *Remedies for Fortune Fair and Foul*, ed. Conrad H. Rawski (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), preface, 8.
34. “Neque vero vos tutus arbitremini quia in castris Christi agitis; quamvis enim sub optimo duce militetis et castra munitissima ac fortissimo sint, nullus tamen locus ad plenum tutus extimandus est quem insomnes et feri hostes obsident atque circumsonant . . .” *De otio religioso*, 22–23.
35. “Suspecta securitas et que non spiritalia tantum profectus impediatur, sed etiam temporalia.” *De otio religioso*, 28.
36. “Omni custodia servate cor vestrum et cavete iugi studio que damnosa cognoscistis. Quod facile erit expertis in seculo quid insidiosum, quid violentum, quid precipue moribus vestris formidabile fuerit. Que nocentiora sensitis cautius declinate: hunc ira torquebat, hunc libido, hunc superbia extollebat, hunc deprimebat accidia, hunc avaritia et hunc gula, hunc tristis coquebat invidia: quisque familiarem suum hostem in prelio recognoscat et inde maxime caveat, unde sibi noceri amplius solitum recordatur.” *De otio religioso*, 22.
37. See Hugh of Saint-Victor, *Didascalicon. De studio legendi* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991); and Elspeth Whitney, *Paradise Restored: The Mechanical Arts from Antiquity through the Thirteenth Century*, Transactions of the Amer-

- ican Philosophical Society (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1990).
38. Petrarch argued that this life “if properly governed, could be the most happy and gratifying of all things” [si rite ageretur, felicissima prorsus ac iocundissima rerum erat]. Petrarch *De remediis utriusque fortune* 1.10.
 39. “It is not suitable to Him to hate anything he created” [Dignus nichil odisse omnium que fecit]. Petrarch, *De otio religioso*, 15.
 40. “O inenarrabile sacramentum! Nam quo altius humanitas attolli poterat, quam ut homo ex anima rationali et humana carne subsistens, homo mortalis casibus, periculis, necessitatibus nostris obnoxius et, ut paucis absolvam, verus ac perfectus homo, et a Verbo filio Dei Patrique consubstantiali et coeterno in Deum atque in unitate persone ineffabiliter assumptus, duas in se naturas mira rerum prorsus imparium aggregatione coniungeret.”
 41. Petrarch’s attitude toward the clergy indicates “that the privileged and special position of sanctity and merit granted to the religious in medieval Catholicism was being diluted and that the difference between layman and regular clergy was becoming one of degree, or lesser degree.” Trinkaus, *In our Image and Likeness*, 662.
 42. The comparison of the additions to *De vita solitaria* and *De otio religioso* reveals that Petrarch revised them in parallel. See Martellotti, *Introduzione al De otio*, 13. Cf. Ullman, “The Composition of Petrarch’s *De vita solitaria* and the History of the Vatican Manuscript,” 123–25; Rico, “Petarca y el *De vera religione*,” 355.
 43. Petrarch, *Rerum senilium libri*, trans. by Aldo S. Bernardo, Saul Levin, and Reta A. Bernardo (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), idem, *Seniles* 6.5, to Philippe of Cabassoles. This letter accompanied in 1366 the completed version of the *De vita solitaria*.
 44. Petrarch revised the *De vita solitaria* until 1370. For a commentary on the first book, see K. A. E. Enenkel, *De Vita Solitaria. Buch I. Kritische Textausgabe Und Ideengeschichtlicher Kommentar* (Leiden: Brill, 1990).
 45. See Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness*, 654–62; and Mazzotta, *Worlds of Petrarch*, 147–66.
 46. See Ugo Dotti, *Petrarca civile: Alle origini dell’intellettuale moderno* (Rome: Donzelli, 2001), 73–91; Enrico Fenzi, “Preveggenze umanistiche di Petarca,” *Saggi petrarcheschi* (Florence: Cadmo, 2003), 633–53; and, on Petrarch’s poetic “profession,” consult Douglas Biow, *Doctors, Ambassadors, Secretaries: Humanism and Professions in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 27–44.
 47. According to Jean-Luc Marion, *Familiars* 4.1 and the two treatises on sol-

- itude constitute a triptych. See his introduction to the French edition of *De otio religioso*.
48. Petrarch *Invective* bk. 4.170 (trans. Marsh, 145): “And you should see that solitude is not the enemy of the polity.”
 49. According to Billanovich, the letter was written in 1353, even if Petrarch sets the narration in 1336, presumably the date of the ascent. Giuseppe Billanovich, “Petrarca e il Ventoso,” *Italia Medievale e Umanistica* 9 (1966): 389–401; and Bortolo Martinelli, *Petrarca e il Ventoso* (Milan: Minerva Italica, 1977), 147–215. See also Robert M. Durling, “Il Petrarca, Il Ventoso e la possibilità dell’allegoria,” *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 23, nos. 3–4 (1977): 304–23.
 50. Petrarch sent the book and the letter in 1348–49. Monicus was a Cyclop whose name meant “one eye” or “monocular.” It alluded to Gherardo’s condition as a monk, having only one eye to look at the heaven. The name Silvius alludes to Petrarch’s love for the woods and symbolizes his choice of “humanistic” solitude.
 51. Monicus and Silvius correspond to Davidic poetry (a genre Petrarch explored in his *Penitential Psalms*) and to morally engaged secular poetry (epics inspiring virtue through exemplary figures), respectively.
 52. Saint Basil the Great was the author of a famous letter to the young people in which he exhorted them to study the ancient poets because in teaching virtue, these authors would prepare their souls to receive Christ’s evangelical message. The letter, translated in 1400 by Leonardo Bruni, had a wide circulation and became a milestone in the debate on the reform of the curriculum of study.

Chapter Twelve

1. The standard edition is in Petrarch, *Prose*, ed. Guido Martellotti, Pier Giorgio Ricci, Enrico Carrara, Enrico Bianchi (Milan and Naples: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore, 1955). Among the most important studies of the work are Francisco Rico, *Vida u obra del Petrarca. I. Lectura del Secretum* (Padua: Antenore, 1974); Hans Baron, *Petrarch’s Secretum: Its Making and Its Meaning* (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1985); and Carol Everhart Quillen, *Rereading the Renaissance: Petrarch, Augustine, and the Language of Humanism* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998). Petrarch, *Secretum*, ed. Enrico Fenzi (Milan: Mursia, 1992), offers an Italian translation and valuable notes.
2. Cf. the allegorical introduction of book 2 of Petrarch, *Rerum memorandarum libri*, ed. Giuseppe Billanovich, Edizione nazionale delle opere di Francesco Petrarca, 5 (Florence: Sansoni Editore, 1943), 43: “Ingredienti michi quidem

reverenter velut religiosissimi cuiuspian templi fores primogenita sororum occurrit in limine. Ea est Prudentia” [As I entered the portals of a sort of most holy temple, the first-born of the sisters meets me at the threshold. She is Prudence]. On book 1 of the work as a sort of “vestibule” to the following books, cxxiv–cxxv.

3. See the manuscript illumination *Truth, Petrarch, and St. Augustine*, Bruges, Grootseminarie, MS 113/78, fol. 1r (pl. 000 [frontispiece]). On the opening scene, see Marco Ariani, *Petrarca* (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1999), 116: “The opening bears some affinity to the introductory cantos of the *Comedy*: Virgil, sent by three ladies, appears to Dante, who is lost in the forest of sin.”
4. Petrarch, *Prose*, 28: “A. Quid agis, homuncio? . . . An non te mortalem esse meministi?” [What are you doing, little man? . . . Don’t you remember that you are mortal?] The emphasis on memory and writing evokes Augustine’s *Soliloquia*. See Francesco Tateo, *Dialogo interiore e polemica ideologica nel “Secretum” del Petrarca* (Florence: Casa Editrice Le Monnier, 1965), 18–19. Petrarch also calls himself *homuncio* in his *Posteritati*: see *Prose*, 2: “Vestro de grege unus fui autem, mortalis homuncio” [I was one of your herd, a mortal little man]. Augustine’s reproach seems to echo the opening of Anselm’s *Prologion*: “Eia nunc, homuncio, fuge paululum occupationes . . . Abice nunc onerosas curas . . . Vaca aliquantulum Deo . . .”: see Bortolo Martinelli, “Abice ingentes historiarum sarcinas . . . dimitte Africam: Il finale del ‘Secretum,’” *Revue des études italiennes* 29 (1983): 58–73, at 66.
5. Cf. Petrarch *Seniles* 14.1 (later printed as *De republica optime administranda*), an epistle written in 1373 to Francesco da Carrara, in which Petrarch refers to the *Somnium Scipionis* as “fictum illud in celi arce colloquium” [that conversation imagined in the citadel of heaven]: see Petrarch, *Opera* (Basileae: Henrichus Petri, 1554; Ridgewood, N.J.: Gregg Press, 1965), 1:421. Petrarch also calls his tract *De sui ipsius et multorum ignorantia* a “conversation”: Petrarch, *Invectives*, ed. and trans. David Marsh (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 222–23: “Liber quidem dicitur, colloquium est” [I have called this work a book, but it is really a conversation]. In *Familiares* 4.3.7 (to Robert of Naples, 26 December 1338), Petrarch refers to Cicero’s *De amicitia* as “in dyalogo Lelii, qui de vera amicitia est” [in the dialogue *Laelius*, which is about friendship].
6. See Petrarch *Familiares* 24.5.2 (to Seneca, August 1, 1348 or 1350): “Iuvat vobiscum colloqui, viri illustres, qualium omnis etas penuriam passa est, nostra vero ignorantiam et extremum patitur defectum” [I like to converse with you, illustrious men, who are rare in every age, but unknown and utterly lacking in ours]. Cf. *Familiares* 4.12 (to Cardinal Giovanni Colonna, January 5, 1342), Petrarch writes “Recognosce mecum singula, pater

optime, nec de germano *colloqui* pigeat cum illo qui in fratre tuo decus suum sibi praeceptum luget . . .” [Recall each thing with me, holy father, and do not hesitate to converse with someone who mourns the loss of his glory in your brother]. Cf. *De vita solitaria* 1.6, in *Prose* (ed. Martellotti et al.), 356: “versari passim et colloqui cum omnibus, qui fuerunt gloriosi viri” [(We must) everywhere dwell and converse with all the glorious men of the past].

Petrarch also uses the verb *alloquor*: see *Familiares* 10.3.3 (to his brother Gherardo, September 25, 1348): “Dum ergo te *alloquor*, ipse res meas ago . . .” [While I speak to you, I deal with my own affairs]; and *Familiares* 24.12.1 (to Homer, October 9, 1360): “Dudum te scripto *alloqui* mens fuerat” [Some time ago I resolved to speak to you in writing].

7. The heading “dyalogus” was introduced in the Basel 1554 edition: see Petrarch, *Les remèdes aux deux fortunes, 1554–1566*, ed. and trans. Christophe Carraud (Grenoble: Éditions Jérôme Millon, 2002), 1:22, n. 1. Ariani, *Petrarch*, 357, refers to the humanist’s “model of the man of letters who dialogues with the world solely by virtue of his culture.”
8. Petrarch *Familiares* 10.3.56: “Lege Gregorii dyalogum.”
9. Gregory, *Dialogi*, ed. Umberto Moricca (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1924), 13–16: “Quadam die, nimiis quorundam saecularium tumultibus depraesus, quibus in suis negotiis plerumque cogimur solvere etiam quod nos certum est non debere, secretum locum petii amico merori, ubi omne quod de mea mihi occupatione displicebat se patenter ostenderit, et cuncta quae infligere dolore consueverant congesta ante oculos licenter venirent. Ibi itaque cum adflictus valde et diu tacitus sederem, dilectissimus filius meus Petrus diaconus adfuit, mihi . . . qui gravi excoqui cordis languore me intuens ait: numquidnam novi aliquid accedit quod plus te solito moeror tenet? . . . Si sola, Petre, referam quae de perfectis probatisque viris unus ego homuncio vel bonis ac fidelibus viris attestantibus agnovi, vel per memetipsum dedici, dies, ut opinor, antequam sermo cessabit.”
10. See Petrarch, *De vita solitaria* 2.1–8 in *Prose*, 406–80, idem, *De vita solitaria*, ed. Marco Noce (Milan: Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, 1992), 142–226, and idem, *De vita solitaria: La vie solitaire, 1546–1566*, ed. and trans. Christophe Carraud (Grenoble: Éditions Jérôme Millon, 1999), 176–265. For *Invective contra medicum*, see Petrarch, *Invectives*, 110–11.
11. For some Petrarchan themes in Alberti, see David Marsh, “Petrarch and Alberti,” in *Renaissance Essays in Honor of Craig Hugh Smyth*, ed. Sergio Bertelli and Gloria Ramakus (Florence: Giunti-Barbera, 1985), 1:363–75.
12. See *Familiares* 10.3–5, 16.2, and 17.1. *Familiares* 10.4 in fact explicates the allegory of this eclogue. On the affinities of *Parthenias* and the *Secretum*, see Martinelli, “Il finale del ‘Secretum,’” 70–71.

13. See the recent edition with French translation: Petrarch, *L'Afrique, 1558–1574*, preface by Henri Lamarque, intro., trans., and notes by Rebecca Lenoir (Grenoble: Éditions Jérôme Millon, 2002), and esp. 27–28 of the introduction, on the poem as “counterpoint” to the *Secretum*.
14. Ovid *Remedia amoris* 581–87: “non tibi secretis (augent secreta furores)/est opus; auxilio turba futura tibi est . . . /nec fuge colloquium nec sit tibi ianua clausa . . .”
15. Petrarch, *Prose* (ed. Martellotti et al.), 336, citing Quintilian 10.3.27–30: “Est lucubratio, quotiens ad eam integri ac refecti venimus, optimum secreti genus. Sed silentium et secessus et undique liber animus, ut sunt maxime optanda, ita non semper possunt contingere . . . quare in turba, itinere, convivii etiam cogitatio ipsa faciat sibi secretum.” This passage may have influenced Lorenzo Valla’s dialogue *De voluptate* (1431), in which Leonardo Bruni observes that seclusion and silence promote discussion: see Lorenzo Valla, *De vero falsoque bono*, ed. Maristella De Panizza Lorch (Bari: Adriatica Editrice, 1971), 143–44: “Secretum et silentium magis disputationibus convenit.”
16. Petrarch, *Prose* (ed. Martellotti et al.), 32: “unum illud indignor, quod quenquam vel esse miserum suspicaris invitum.” On this passage, see Rico, *Lectura*, 44–71.
17. On the voluntaristic thesis of book 1, see Petrarch, *Secretum* (ed. Fenzi), 293–95, nn. 9–18.
18. Petrarch, *Prose* (ed. Martellotti et al.), 130–32: “A. Duabus adhuc adaman-tinis dextra levaque premeris cathenis . . . /F. Quenam sunt quas memoras cathene? /A. Amor et gloria.”
19. Augustine *Confessions* 8.5.10: “velle meum tenebat inimicus, et inde mihi catenam fecerat, et constrinxerat me. quippe ex voluntate perversa facta est libido, et dum servitur libidini, facta est consuetudo, et dum consuetudini non resistitur, facta est necessitas. quibus quasi ansulis sibimet innexis— unde catenam appellavi—tenebat obstrictum dura servitus. voluntas autem nova, quae mihi coeperat, ut te gratis colerem, fruique te vellem, deus, sola certa iucunditas, nondum erat idonea ad superandum priorem vetustate roboratam. ita duae voluntates meas, una vetus, alia nova, illa carnalis, illa spiritualis, confligebant inter se, atque discordando dissipabant animam meam” Cf. also *Confessions* 6.12. 21: “trahebam catenam meam solvi timens” [I dragged my chain, fearing to be released].
20. Rico, *Lectura*, 259: “el protagonista es ahora fundamentalmente el Francesco escritor” [the protagonist is now essentially Franciscus as writer].
21. For the text of Petrarch’s coronation speech, see Carlo Godi, “La ‘Collatio Laureationis’ del Petrarca,” *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 13 (1970): 1–27; for its ambitious program, see Stefano Gensini, “‘Poeta et historicus’: L’episodio

- della laurea nella carriera e nella prospettiva culturale di Francesco Petrarca,” *La Cultura* 18 (1980): 166–94.
22. By the same token, in book 9 of the *Africa* Ennius is crowned with laurel, even though he has not yet written his epic of Roman history. Cf. Aldo S. Bernardo, *Petrarch, Scipio, and the “Africa”: The Birth of Humanism’s Dream* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1962), 48: “the crowning of Ennius appears strange. He seems, indeed, to be rewarded from something he is yet to do, namely, a poem honoring Scipio.” In *Bucolicum carmen* 3, the shepherd Stupeus (Petrarch) is likewise awarded a laurel wreath.
23. Cf. the observation of Augustinus in *Prose* 210: “Tu quoque nunc etate florida superbus alios calcas, mox ipse calcaberis” [Now in the prime of life, you haughtily tread on others, but soon you yourself will be trodden underfoot]; and the opening dialogue of *De remediis utriusque fortune* 1.1, “De etate florida et spe vite longioris” [On the prime of life and hope for long life], in Petrarch, *Prose* (ed. Martellotti et al.), 606–13, and in Petrarch, *De remediis utriusque fortune* (ed. Carraud), 1:22–27.
24. Petrarch’s expressions “solis ardores” and “solis ardoribus” (*Prose*, 194, 200) recall a Sallustian phrase describing Africa—“loca exusta solis ardoribus” [regions burned by the sun’s hot rays], *Bellum Iugurthinum* 19.6—which Jerome had echoed in his *Epistle* 22.7 (to Eustochium, on virginity) and which Petrarch cites in book 2 of his *De vita solitaria* (ed. Noce), 180, 375, n. 3; and Petrarch, *De vita solitaria* (ed. Carraud), 218, and 418, n. 486.
25. Petrarch, *Prose* (ed. Martellotti et al.), 194: “A. Quid tamen tam grande facturum esse te iudicas? / F. Preclarum nempe rarumque opus et egregium. / A. . . . hoc ipsum preclarum neque late patet, neque in longum porrigitur, locorumque ac temporum angustiis coartatur.” Petrarch also refers to space and time in his letter “To Posterity” (2): “dubium sit an exiguum et obscurum longe nomen seu locorum seu temporum perventurum sit” [it is doubtful whether my paltry and obscure name can travel far in space or time].
26. Ibid.: “Intelligo istam veterem et tritam iam inter philosophos fabellam: terram omnem puncti unius exigui instar esse, annum unum infinitis annorum milibus constare; famam vero hominum nec punctum implere nec annum. . . . Hec enim relatu magis speciosa quam efficacia sum expertus.” “All the same, Petrarch was not averse to using geographical descriptions in his Latin poetry: cf. *Africa* 6.839–84 (the Tuscan coast), and *Africa* 9.189–99 (Homer’s vivid description of Greece).
27. For a detailed description of Petrarch’s sources, see Rico, *Lectura*, 391 n. 486.
28. On Macrobius and Petrarch’s *Africa*, see Simone Marchesi, “The *Africa*: Petrarch’s epic of Philology,” in this volume, esp. n. 22.
29. See Petrarch, *De remediis utriusque fortune*, 1:92, 1:96, and 2:68; Latin text with

- French translation in Petrarch, *De remediis utriusque fortune* (ed. Carraud), 396, 428, and 834; English translation in *Petrarch's Remedies for Fortune Fair and Foul*, trans. Conrad H. Rawski (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1991), 1:245, 1: 264, and 3:157.
30. Augustine *City of God* 16.9 on the existence of the antipodes. On this passage, see Rico, *Lectura*, 401–3; and Petrarch, *Secretum* (ed. Fenzi), 404–6, n. 371.
31. Petrarch, *Prose* (ed. Martellotti et al.), 200: “Ea ne est fabula, queso, que geometricis demonstrationibus terre totius designat angustias?”
32. Cicero *De natura deorum* 2.204–14.
33. Petrarch *Africa* 2.361–63: “angustis arctatus finibus orbis/insula parva situ est, curvis quam flexibus ambit/Occeanus.” Cf. also *Africa* 2.470–71: “annorum, nate, locorumque/ estis in angusto positi.” Both passages are quoted in Rico, *Lectura*, 392 n. 486.
34. Petrarch, *Prose* (ed. Martellotti et al.), 204: “A. Habes de gloria iudicium meum . . . nisi forte nunc etiam fabulosa tibi hec omnia videntur./F. Minime quidem, neque michi more fabularum affecerunt animum, quin imo veteris abiciendi novum desiderium iniecerunt.”
35. See J. B. Harley and David Woodward, *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 144–46.
36. Cf. Petrarch, *Secretum* (ed. Fenzi), 289–90, nn. 17, 21.
37. Dante, *Paradiso* 22.133–35: “Col viso ritornai per tutte quante/le sette spere, e vidi questo globo/tal, ch'io sorrisi del suo vil sembiante.” Cf. Chaucer *Troilus and Criseyde* 5.1814–22, in *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. F. N. Robinson, 2nd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1961), 479: “And down from thennes faste he gan avyse/This litel spot of erthe, that with the se/Embraced is, and fully gan despise/This wrecched world and held al vanite/To respect of the pleyn felicite/That is in hevene above; and at the laste,/Ther he was slayn, his loking down he caste,/And in himself he lough right at the wo/Of them that wepten for his deth so faste.”
38. See Dante *Convivio* 3.5 in *Le opere di Dante*, Testo critico della Società Dantesca Italiana, ed. M. Barbi et al., 2nd ed. (Florence: Nella Sede della Società, 1960), 203–6.
39. Dante, *Questio de aqua et terra*, 52–54 in *Le opere di Dante*, 438: “Nam, ut demonstratum est in theorematibus mathematicis, necesse est circumferentiam regularem spere a superficie plana sive spherica, qualem oportet esse superficiem aque, emergere semper cum horizonte circulari. Et quod terra emergens habeat figuram qualis est semilunii, patet et per naturales de ipsa tractantes, et per astrologos climata describentes, et per cosmographos regiones terre per omnes plagas ponentes. Nam, ut comuniter ab omnibus

habetur, hec habitabilis extenditur per lineam longitudinis a Gadibus, que supra terminos ab Hercule positos ponitur, usque ad hostia fluminis Ganges, ut scribit Orosius.”

40. Cf. *Collatio* 2.47–49, in Carlo Godi, La “Collatio Laureationis” del Petrarca,” *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 13 (1970): 15: “Et ex hoc nimirum fonte procedunt illa ludibria usque ad extremum vite tempus inutiliter et inefficaciter in hac facultate laborantium, qualia non nulla legimus in libris de scolastica disciplina” [And indeed this is the source of those ludicrous trifles, written by men who toil vainly and ineffectually all their lives in such fields, that we sometimes find in reading books of Scholastic teaching].
41. Petrarch, *Prose* (ed. Martellotti et al.), 206: “F. Labores ne meos interruptos deseram? / A. Abice ingentes historiarum sarcinas . . . Dimitte Africam.”

Chapter Thirteen

1. There were actually three versions of the Psalter translated, or at least adapted, by Jerome. The one used in the liturgy, called the Roman Psalter, was, like most biblical texts in medieval liturgies, an ancient translation from the Septuagint (Greek Jewish) Bible, the Gallican Psalter was a slightly more elaborated translation of the Greek text, and the later Hebrew Psalter was a close translation of the Hebrew. Even though the Old Roman text was used liturgically, the Gallican was the preferred Psalter for study in most of Europe. Deluxe editions of the Psalms showed all three versions. All first references to the Psalms in this article will be according to the Septuagint-Vulgate numbers, with the Hebrew numbering found in most English translations given in parentheses where appropriate. The major shifts of numbering occurred in two places: Hebrew Psalms 9 and 10 are combined as Vulgate Psalm 9; and Vulgate Psalms 146 and 147 are combined as Psalm 147 in the Hebrew. This means that between Psalm 10 and 146 of the Hebrew numbering, the Vulgate psalm numbers are one less, but that all Latin versions and the Hebrew Psalter count 150 psalms.
2. Walter Drum, *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 12 (New York: Robert Appleton, 1911), s.v. “The Psalms.” For general information on the Psalms in medieval Christianity, see *The Place of the Psalms in the Intellectual Culture in the Middle Ages*, ed. Nancy van Deusen (Albany: State University of New York, 1999).
3. Alcuin of York, *Enchiridion seu expositio pia ac brevis in Psalmos Poenitentiales*, in *Psalmum CXVIII et Graduales*, in *PL* 100:569–640 (570–84 for the Penitential Psalms).
4. The text is published as Gregory the Great, *In septem Psalmos Poenitentiales, Expositio* in *PL* 79:549–660, with a reference to it as “Auctor Incertus” (Gregory VII?), *Commentarius in VII Psalmos Poenitentiales* in *PL* 148. A. Mer-

- cati, working from a history of the manuscripts and printed editions, thought the text was written by Heribert, twelfth-century bishop of Reggio Emilia, “L'autore della *Expositio in Septem Psalmos poenitentiales* fra le opere di S. Gregorio Magno,” *Revue Bénédictine* 31 (1914–19): 250–57. The text is no. 2649 in F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum Medi Aevi* (Madrid, 1950).
5. Auctor incertus (Innocent III?), *Commentarium in Septem Psalmos Poenitentiales*, PL 217:967–1130 (from the Cologne edition of 1575); no. 4005 in Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum Medi Aevi*.
 6. Martin Luther, “The Seven Penitential Psalms,” trans. by Arnold Guebert, *Luther's Works*, vol. 14 (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1958), 137–205. For a general study of Luther on the Psalms, see Scott H. Hendrix, *Ecclesia in via: Ecclesiological Developments in the Medieval Psalms Exegesis and the Dictata Super Psalterium (1515–1515) of Martin Luther* (Leiden: Brill, 1974).
 7. The *Sette salmi penitenziali* attributed to Dante were first published in Venice as “Nel Beretin Convento della Ca' Grande,” about 1475; the better-attested edition is Dante Alighieri, *I sette salmi penitenziali ed il Credo, trasportati alla volgar poesia, illustrate con annotazioni dall'abate Francesco Saverio Quadrio* (Bologna: Giovanni Gottardi, 1753), reprinted in Milan by G. Silvestri in 1851, and published in the *Biblioteca scelta di opere italiane antiche e moderne*, vol. 562. For another edition, with the Latin Psalm texts on facing pages, cf. *I sette salmi penitenziali di Dante Alighieri e di Francesco Petrarca* (1821; Florence: Dalla Società Tipografica, 1827). These poems in terza rima may have been the first Italian versions of the Penitential Psalms; see Maria Palermo Concolato, “Il Viaggio del testo: *I Salmi penitenziali* dall'Aretino al Wyatt,” in *Per una topografia dell'Altrove* “spazi altri nell'immaginario letterario e culturale di lingua inglese,” ed. Maria Teresa Chialant and Eleonora Rao (Naples: Liguori Editore, 1995), 399–412, reference to Dante on 401.
 8. Laura Battiferra degli Ammannati, *I sette salmi penitenziali di David con alcuni sonetti spirituali*, ed. Enrico Maria Guidi (Urbino: Accademia Raffaello, 2005). For the most recent study of Aretino, Ammannati, and other versions and their influence on English poetic translations, see Hannibal Hamlin, *Psalm Culture and Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 111–44.
 9. See Hamlin, *Psalm Culture*, 173, for the reference to George Chapman. Other studies include T. M. C. Lawler, “Some Parallels between Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* and St. John Fisher's *Penitential Psalms*,” *Moreana: Bulletin Thomas More* 9 (1966): 13–27; Kenneth Muir, “The Texts of Wyatt's *Penitential Psalms*,” *Notes and Queries* 14 (1967): 442–44; Robert G. Twombly, “Thomas Wyatt's Paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms of David,” *Texas Studies in Literature and Language: A Journal of the Humanities* 12 (1970): 345–80;

- and Danielle Clarke, “‘Lover’s Songs Shall Turne to Holy Psalmes,’ Mary Sidney and the Transformation of Petrarch,” *Modern Language Review* 92 (1997): 282–84. In my study of the Penitential Psalms in English I have been helped by Clare Costley King’oo, “David’s “Fruytfull Saynges”: The Penitential Psalms in Late-Medieval and Early-Modern England” (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2005).
10. Donatella Coppini, “Don Giuseppe de Luca e l’incompiuta edizione dei *Salmi penitenziali* del Petrarca,” *Quaderni Petrarqueschi* (1993): 413–35. I am grateful to Stefano Cracolici and Francesco Caruso for help with the elusive bibliography on Petrarca’s *Salmi penitenziali*.
 11. Coppini, “Don Giuseppe de Luca,” 415, 430–35.
 12. Petrarch, *Les psaumes pénitentioux, publiés d’après le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque de Lucerne*, ed. Henry Cochin (Paris: L. Rouart et Fils, 1929). Coppini identifies the manuscript as Zentralbibliothek BB S 20. 4o, “Don Giuseppe de Luca,” 424, n. 45, even though Cochin and de Luca never mention the shelf mark. For this manuscript, see O. Besomi, *Codici petrarcheschi nelle biblioteche svizzere* (Padua: Antenore, 1967), 49–51; and the description of Donatella Coppini in *Petrarca nel tempo: Tradizione lettori e immagini delle opere, Catalogo della mostra, Arezzo, Sottoc chiesa di San Francesco, 22 novembre 2005–27 gennaio 2004*, ed. Michele Feo (Pontedera: Edizioni Bandecchi & Vivaldi, 2003), 452–53. I am grateful to Peter Kamber of the Zentral- und Hochschulbibliothek Luzern for information about this manuscript.
 13. Petrarch, *Psalmi penitentiales* (ed. Cochin), 83–89.
 14. Petrarch, *Poesie Latine*, ed. Guido Martellotti and Enrico Bianchi (Turin: Einaudi, 1976), 214–23, and idem, *Salmi penitenziali*, ed. Roberto Gigliucci (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1997), intro., 19.
 15. The latest edition by Ida Garghella, *I sette salmi* (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane; Perugia: Università degli studi di Perugia, 2002) contains only selections.
 16. The review appeared in *Frontespizio*, June, 1931, 13; cf. Coppini, “Don Giuseppe de Luca,” 423, n. 44.
 17. Pierre de Nolhac, “Préface,” in Petrarch, *Les psaumes pénitentioux* (ed. Cochin), 1–7; on p. 6 he calls the work “un recueil d’amour” (a love miscellany).
 18. Petrarch *Psalmi penitentiales* (ed. Cochin), 9.
 19. Petrarch, *Psalmi penitentiales* (ed. Cochin), 87.
 20. Quoted by Coppini, “Don Giuseppe de Luca,” 423, my translation.
 21. For a history of the scholarship on dating of the *Psalmi*, see Vinicio Pacca, *Petrarca* (Bari: Laterza, 1998), 131, and 171–72, n. 42; and Ariani, *Petrarca*, 127, esp. n. 16.
 22. Petrarch, *Sent.* 10.1, quoted by Pacca, *Petrarca*, 131.

23. Petrarch, *Psalmi penitentiales* (ed. Gigliucci), 10; Pacca, *Petrarca*, 132.
24. Petrarch, *Bucolicum carmen 1, Parthenias*, 101–110.
25. For the first edition (Venice: Albert Stendal, 1473), see Ariani, *Petrarca*, 127 n. 16 and Petrarch, *Psalmi penitentiales* (ed. Cochin), 90; the edition at the University of Pennsylvania is *Ludolfi Carthusiensis qui et autor fuit vite Christi In Psalterium expositio: in qua subiecte reperiuntur materie: Psalmi penitentiales et co[n]fessionales elegantes et deuoti Domini Francisci Petrarche poete laureati: tabula cunctorum Dauiticorum Psalmorum: tabula versicolorum omnium . . . : tabula materia[rum] principalium in marginibus annotatarum: additur in margine ad solita[m] Hieronymi translationem, Diui Augustini accuratissima de Hebreo in Latinum translationem* ([Paris]: Venundatur Parrhisijs in vico Diui Iacobi a Mag[ist]ro Bertholdo Rembolt [et] Iohanne Paruo, [10 Mar. 1514]).
26. Coppini, “Don Giuseppe de Luca,” 448.
27. As it is usually translated into English: “Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit / As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be / World without end. / Amen.”
28. Petrarca, Psalmus 1, *Psalmi penitentiales* (ed. Gigliucci), 23.
29. Flavius Cassiodorus Senator, *Expositio Psalmorum*, ed. M. Adriaen, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 97–98 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1973); and *Explanation of the Psalms*, trans. by P. G. Walsh (New York: Paulist Press, 1990).
30. See extensive list of sources in the notes to Petrarch, *Salmi penitenziali* (ed. Gigliucci).
31. This has been noted by many critics. The introduction to the 1827 edition explains: “Petrarca wrote the Penitential Psalms in Latin prose” (4); Pacca says: “Petrarca opts for a serial prose, made up of brief syntactical units, that seeks to reproduce the biblical style” (*Petrarca*, 132). See also Hamlin, *Psalm Culture*, 2.
32. Ariani, *Petrarca*, 218. Ariani’s reference here is to a letter from Petrarch to Gherardo on the Vulgate Bible, *Familiares* 10.4.31, but *Parthenias* 103 also asks that the Psalms not be seen as “rough”: “ne raucum dixeris, oro” (Don’t call it rough, I beg of you).
33. Giovanni Pozzi, “Petrarca, i Padri e soprattutto la Bibbia,” *Studi Petrarceschi* 6 (1989): 125–69, reprinted in Giovanni Pozzi, *Alternatim* (Milan: Adelphi, 1996), 143–89.

Chapter Fourteen

1. Petrarch, *Le familiari*, ed. Vittorio Rossi and Umberto Bosco (Florence: Sansoni, 1933–42): “Statum meum vis audire; atque si a stando status dicitur, nullus hic homini status est, sed fluxus iugi ac lapsus atque ad ultimum ruina. Quid velis tamen intelligo: quam seu suaviter seu duriter res mee non

- stant, dico, sed volvuntur.” For the English, see *Rerum familiarum libri*, trans. Aldo S. Bernardo (1975; reprint, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982–1985).
2. Petrarch, *Petrarch's Guide to the Holy Land. Itinerary to the Sepulcher of Our Lord Jesus Christ*, ed. Theodore J. Cachey, Jr. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002), pr. 5: “Longam mortem et peiorem morte nauseam, non de nichilio quidem sed expertus, metuo.”
 3. Petrarch *Itinerarium* Pr. 7: “Nichilominus te animo comitabor et, quoniam ita vis, his etiam comitabor scriptis, que tibi brevis itinerarii loco sint. Morem enim secutus amantium, cuius presentia cariturus es, imaginem flagistasti, qua utcumque tuam absentiam solareris, non hanc vultus imaginem, cuius in dies mutatio multa fit, sed stabiliorem effigiem, animi ingeniique mei que, quantulacumque est, profecto pars mei optima est.”
 4. Petrarch can be considered the founder of the early modern genre of cartographic writing. See Theodore J. Cachey, Jr., “Petrarchan Cartographic Writing,” *Medieval and Renaissance Humanism: Rhetoric, Representation and Reform*, ed. Stephen Gersh and Bert Roest (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 73–91; and Tom Conley, *The Self-Made Map: Cartographic Writing in Early Modern France* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).
 5. “de qua si tam parvo in spatio loqui velim, intolerande nimis audacie sim.”
 6. “Inde mons prealtus, cui carminibus potens Circe nomen imposuisse creditur.”
 7. “Hinc utinam tu secundis ventis et cursu tam facili proveharis ut ego ad Italie finem facili provehar stilo!”
 8. Michele Feo, “Di alcuni rusticani cestelli di pomi,” *Quaderni Petrarceschi* 1 (1983): 23–24.
 9. See Petrarch *Itinerarium* 20.1 for the anecdote. Thomas M. Greene, “Petrarch *Viator*: The Displacements of Heroism,” *Yearbook of English Studies* 12 (1982): 46.
 10. Petrarch *Itinerarium* 21.0: “Quod enim iter tu tribus forte vix mensibus, hoc ego triduo consummavi.”
 11. Mary W. Helms, *Ulysses' Sail: An Ethnographic Odyssey of Power, Knowledge, and Geographical Distance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 5.
 12. Marco Ariani, “Petrarca,” *Storia della letteratura italiana* (Rome: Salerno editrice, 1995–), 633.
 13. Petrarch, *Canzoniere*, ed. Marco Santagata (Milan: Mondadori, 2004). Translations are from *Petrarch's Lyric Poems: The Rime sparse and Other Lyrics*, trans. and ed. by Robert M. Durling (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976).

14. Ernest Hatch Wilkins, *Life of Petrarch* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 159–60.
15. Petrarch, *Canzoniere* (ed. Santagata), 1392; but see also Marco Santagata, *Frammenti dell'anima: Storia e racconto nel Canzoniere di Petrarca* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1992), 251–52.
16. "Siquidem post compressos adolescentie turbines et flammam illam beneficio maturioris etatis extinctam—o quid poquor cum tot libidinosos passim ac deliros senes videm, turpe iuvenibus vel spectaculum vel exemplum—imo igitur post illud incendium celesti rore Cristique refrigerio consopitum, prope unus semper vite mec tenor fuit, et cum sepe interim loca mutaverim, ille mansit immobilis."
17. Santagata, *I frammenti*, 143–90; see also Guglielmo Gorni, "Metamorfosi e redenzione in Petrarca. Il senso della forma Correggio del *Canzoniere*," *Lettere italiane* 30 (1978): 4–13. In speaking of a "Correggio" form for which no manuscript evidence survives, one should bear in mind the caveats of Teodolinda Barolini, "The Making of a Lyric Sequence: Time and Narrative in Petrarch's 'Rerum vulgarium fragmenta,'" *MLN* 104 (1989): 18–19.
18. Wilkins, *Life*, 158. See also for the biographical information that follows, Ugo Dotti, "Gli anni milanesi (1353–1361): L'attività letteraria," in *Vita di Petrarca* (Rome and Bari: Laterza, 1992), 318–53.
19. Nicholas Mann, "The Making of Petrarch's *Bucolicum Carmen*," *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* (1977): 127–82.
20. Wilkins, *Life*, 19.
21. William Kennedy, *The Site of Petrarchism: Early Modern National Sentiment in Italy, France and England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004); and see also Roland Greene, *Unrequited Conquest: Love and Empire in the Colonial Americas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).
22. Theodor Adorno, *Minima moralia* (London: Verso, 2003), 87.
23. In the introduction to his edition of the *Trionfi*, Marco Ariani characterizes the poem's incubation during this period in terms of an "integral expression of [Petrarch's] experimentalism that at the beginning of the 1350s became the lucid awareness of a poetic project." See Petrarch, *Trionfi*, ed. Marco Ariani (Milan: Mursia, 1988), 6. Marco Santagata, in his introduction to the poem, notes that "the surviving annotations document nearly uninterrupted work on the entire poem from beginning to end between 8 September 1357 and 12 February 1374." See Marco Santagata, "Introduzione," in Petrarch, *Trionfi; Rime stravaganti; Codice degli abbozzi*, ed. Vinicio Pacca (Milan: Mondadori, 1996), 50.
24. "Ego interim anhelus vigilo sudo esuo nitor in adversum, et ubi densior dif-

- ficultatum sepes, eo alacrior gresum fero, ipsa rerum novitate seu asperitate excitus atque impulsus. Certus labor, fructus incertus, malum michi comune cum ceteris stadium hoc ingressis.”
25. “Nolo ducem qui me vinciat sed precedat; sint cum duce oculi, sit iudicium sit libertas; non prohibear ubi velim pedem ponere et preterire aliqua et inaccessa tentare; et brevior sive ita fert animus, planior callem sequi et properare et subsistere et divertere liceat et reverti.”
26. *Petrarch's Triumphs: allegory and spectacle*, ed. Konrad Eisenbichler and Amilcare A. Iannucci (Ottawa: Dovehouse Editions, 1990).
27. Petrarch, *Trionfi* (ed. Ariani), 18.
28. Marziano Guglielminetti, *Memoria e scrittura: L'autobiografia da Dante a Cellini* (Turin: Einaudi, 1977), 130.
29. “Ipsa sed oculis erit Inarime que sese obviam dabit, insula poetarum nota preconio, Isclam moderni vocitant, sub qua, Iovis edicto, obrutum Typhoeum gigantem fama est; fecitque locum fabule vapor, velut hominis anhelantis, et Ethneo more estuare solitum incendium.”
30. Petrarch, *Triumphus Pudicitie* (ed. Pacca and Paolino), 109–14; *The Triumphs of Petrarch*, trans. Ernest Hatch Wilkins (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), 43.
31. *Sine nomine* 18 (April–May, 1358), in Petrarch, *Epistole*, ed. Ugo Dotti (Turin: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1978), 606–607: “Taceo denique illa prodigia, que insensibilis vereque orbus terrarum orbis tamdiu quasi Etnam Enceladus aut Typhoeus Inarimen pati potest, quorum omnium mesta nimis et severa narratio est.” For the English, see *Petrarch's Book without a Name: A Translation of the “Liber Sine nomine,”* trans. Norman P. Zacour (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1973), 113: “Finally I say nothing of those prodigies which a numb and truly destitute world can suffer only so long, like Enceladus buried under Mount Etna or Typhoeus under the island of Ischia. About all of this it is too sorrowful and gloomy to write.”
32. Giuseppe Billanovich, “Tra Dante e Petrarca,” *Italia medioevale e umanistica* (1965): 1–44, quotation on 39–40.
33. “Quid vero nunc cogitas? An nondum te desiderium nostri cepit, ut domum, ut patriam, ut amicos invisere animus sit? Credo id quidem, imo ne aliter fieri posse certus sum. Sed nullus est acrior stimulus quam virtutis. Ille nunc per omnes difficultates generosum animum impellit, nec consistere patitur, nec retro respicere cogitque non voluptatum modo, sed honestorum pignorum atque affectuum oblivisci, nichil aliud virtutis spetiem optare, nichil velle, nichil denique cogitare. Hic stimulus qui Ulixem Laertis et Penelopes et Thelemaci fecit immemorem, te nunc nobis vereor abstrahet quam vellemus.”

34. See Enrico Fenzi, “Tra Dante e Petrarca: Il fantasma di Ulisse,” in *Saggi petrarcheschi* (Florence: Cadmo, 2004), 493–517.
35. “[I]lle obstitit, et tum vehementius cepto incubuit, omnium negligens soliusque fame cupidus. In quo illum satis mirari et laudare vix valeam, quem non civium iniuria, non exilium, non paupertas, non simultatum aculei, non amor coniugis, non natorum pietas ab arrepto semel calle distraheret, cum multi quem magni tam delicati ingenii sint, ut ab intentione animi leve illos murmur avertat.”
36. Theodore J. Cachey, Jr., “From Shipwreck to Port: *RVF* 189 and the Making of the *Canzoniere*,” *MLN* 120, no. 1 (2005): 30–49.
37. For the literary relationship between Petrarch and Dante, see *Petrarch and Dante: Antidantism, Metaphysics and Tradition*, ed. Zygmunt G. Baranski and Theodore J. Cachey, Jr. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, forthcoming).

Chapter Fifteen

I would like to thank Ronald Witt for his reading of this article in manuscript.

1. See the Latin-French edition by Christophe Carraud of Petrarch, *Les remèdes aux deux fortunes* (Grenoble: Millon, 2002); and the English edition and translation of Conrad Rawski, *Petrarch's Remedios for Fortune Fair and Foul* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991). On the dating of the work, see Klaus Heitmann, “La genesi del ‘De remediis utriusque fortune’ del Petrarca,” *Convivium* 25 (1957): 9–30; and Ernest Hatch Wilkins, *Life of Petrarch* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961). See also the biography of Azzo da Correggio by Giorgio Montecchi in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1983), 29:425–30.
2. Fifteenth-century humanists were particularly exercised by the relation between virtue and fortune, as in Poggio Bracciolini's 1440 *De infelicitate principum* (*On the Unhappiness of Princes*). Leon Battista Alberti's vernacular dialogue *Theogenius* (c.1440) directly adopts the thematic of Petrarch's treatise.
3. Klaus Heitmann, *Fortuna und Virtus: Eine Studie zu Petrarca's Lebensweisheit* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1958); see also Charles Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness: Humanity and Divinity in Italian Humanist Thought* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 1:41–42, 179–80; Nicholas Mann, “The Manuscripts of Petrarch's *De remediis*: A Checklist,” *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 14 (1971): 5–90; Randolph Starn, “Petrarch's Consolation on Exile: A Humanist Use of Adversity” in *Essays Presented to Myron P. Gilmore*, ed. Sergio Bertelli and Gloria Ramakus (Florence: La Nuova Italia Editrice, 1978), 1:241–54 and Heinrich C. Kuhn, “Petrarca's *De remediis*: Ethik ohne Richtschnur?”

- in *Ethik—Wissenschaft oder Lebenskunst? Modelle der Normenbegründung von der Antike bis zur Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Sabrina Ebbersmeyer and Eckhard Kessler (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2007), 127–41.
4. Petrarch, *Secretum*, ed. Enrico Carrara, in Petrarch, *Prose*, ed. Guido Martellotti, Pier Giorgio Ricci, Enrico Carrara, and Enrico Bianchi (Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1955), 64.
 5. Cicero *Tusculanae disputationes* 3.11.24–25 in Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, ed. and trans. J. E. King, Loeb Classical Library, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1945), 254–56. See also Cicero's reference to the twofold power of Fortune in *De officiis* 2.19 (*On Duties*, ed. and trans. by W. Miller, Loeb Classical Library [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1913], 186). On Petrarch's appreciation of Cicero, see Pierre de Nolhac, *Pétrarque e l'humanisme* (Paris: H. Champion, 1907), 1:213–68; B. L. Ullman, "Petrarch's Favorite Books," in his *Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1955), 123–24. See also Petrarch *Familiare* 18.14.4, cited by Heitmann, *Fortuna*, 180, n. 163.
 6. *De remediis fortuitarum liber*, in L. Annaeus Seneca, *Opera quae supersunt. Supplementum*, ed. F. Haase (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1902), 44–55. An Elizabethan English translation of the work, entitled *The remedies against all casual chaunces*, is reprinted in Ralph Graham Palmer, *Seneca's "De Remediis Fortuitarum" and the Elizabethans* (Chicago: Institute of Elizabethan Studies, 1953), 27–65. See Janet Levarie Smarr's recent *Joining the Conversation: Dialogues by Renaissance Women* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 18–22, for examples of edifying dialogues in late-classical and medieval literature.
 7. For example, the dialogues 64 and 65 of the first part, hereafter cited as *De remediis* 1.64–65; and 1.83–85, 1.95–96; *De remediis* 2.2–9, 2.19–22, 2.35–36, 2.43–44, 2.52–53, 2.59–60, 2.62–63, 2.68–69, 2.71–73, 2.78–81, 2.91–92, 2.117–125; see also Carraud's note to 1.57 (*De remediis*, ed. Carraud, 2:304).
 8. Cicero *Tusculanae disputationes* 1.30.74 (trans. King, 86) citing *Phaedo* 67D, and in turn cited by Augustinus in the *Secretum* (*Prose*, ed. Carrara, 210); Seneca *Ep.* 70 and 82 in *Epistles*, ed. and trans. by R. M. Gummere, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920), 57–72 and 240–58.
 9. *De remediis* 2.104–11.
 10. Heitmann, *Fortuna*, 74–94, 139–49, 250, sees contradictions among these camps while admitting that Petrarch did not. One should bear in mind that the traditions of Stoicism itself, early, middle and late, incorporated Platonism in varying degrees, and that Cicero himself, whom Heitmann views as a Stoic (19, 35, 111, 119), was self-consciously eclectic in his approach. This eclecticism and inconsistency no doubt appealed to the variable moods of

- the poet-humanist: see *Familiares* 6.2.1, in *Le familiari*, ed. Vittorio Rossi and Umberto Bosco (Florence: Sansoni, 1934–42), 2:55; also *Familiares* 2.5.3 (ed. Rossi and Bosco, 1:81).
11. Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness*, 1:179–80, 1:190–95.
 12. One problem with the readings of Heitmann and Trinkaus is that they fail to address the relation among the dialogues and treat them as individual, separate units; another is that they interpret the statements of *Ratio* to be expressions of the author himself. As Petrarch showed with respect to the figure of Franciscus in the *Secretum*, one should be cautious about establishing these identifications.
 13. I have used the capitalization “Fortune” and feminine gender when discussing how Petrarch personifies this force congruent to the conventions of his time.
 14. See *De remediis* 1, preface (ed. Carraud, 1:16, lines 132–34), and *Familiares* 23.12.13, cited by Heitmann, *Fortuna*, 61; and by Rawski in *De remediis* (trans. Rawski), 2:22. See Heitmann’s overview, *Fortuna*, 35–37.
 15. The form also demarcates the work’s divergence from its more systematic predecessors on the subject of Fortune. While Chalcidius, Augustine, and Boethius all design a metaphysical or theological concatenation of causes that subordinate Fortune to Fate or Providence, Petrarch by contrast confronts the various moments of human joy or sadness. For an overview of these thinkers, see Vincenzo Cioffari, “Fate, Fortune, and Chance,” in *Dictionary of the History of Ideas*, ed. Philip P. Wiener (New York: Scribner, 1973), 2:225–36.
 16. *De remediis* (ed. Carraud, 1:294–96, lines 20–22 [Petrarch *De remediis* 1.63, *De pisciniis*]; trans. Rawski, 1:184, revised): “immo si rationi, subditus atque obediens est, ad meliorem finem rectiori calle vos duceret prestaretque ut multa que cupitis sperneretis.”
 17. *De remediis* (ed. Carraud, 1:854, lines 1 and 24 [“Animi discordia”; “philosophi”], 1:856, lines 31–32 (trans. Rawski, 3:171, modified): “coge, vel consilio, vel vi, partes ignobiles parere nobilebus.” Rawski (*De remediis*, 4:259–61) cites the Platonic teaching transmitted in Cicero *Tusculanae disputationes* 1.10.20; and Augustine *De civitate dei* 14.9.
 18. *De remediis* 1.2, see also 2.3, 1.89, 2.64, 2.117.
 19. *De remediis* 2.117 (trans. Rawski, 4:468) cites *Tusculanae disputationes* 1.31.7; Carraud (ed. Carraud, 2:638) cites *De remediis fortuitorum* 2.7.
 20. *De remediis* (ed. Carraud, 1:16, lines 132–34). For antecedents, see *De remediis* (trans. Rawski, 2:20–22); and (ed. Carraud, 2:176).
 21. *De remediis* 2.97, 2.102.
 22. *De remediis* 1.63.

23. *De remediis* 1.100, 2.56.
24. *De remediis* 2.1.
25. *De remediis* 2.7, 2.8.
26. *De remediis* 2.114, adapting Cicero's *Tusculanae disputationes* 2, as I shall explain below.
27. *De remediis* 1.11, 1.45, and 1.92.
28. *De remediis* 2.28 (ed. Carraud, 1:694, line 61; trans. Rawski, 3:83): "Non est vera virtus cui conscientie premium non sufficit" [If yours is true virtue it is sufficiently rewarded by your good conscience]. See also *De remediis* 2.25, 77, 102, 122. On this point see Cicero *Tusculanae disputationes* 2.26.64 (trans. King, 218), which discusses conscience only after a long section on the motivations of glory and custom for virtue.
29. *De remediis* 1.90, 1.106.
30. *De remediis* 2.31 (ed. Carraud, 1:706, lines 27–28; trans. Rawski, 3:88): "Quamvis nempe politicum et sociale animal dicatur homo, si verum tamen inspicitur, nullum minus [Man is called . . . a political creature and one whose nature it is to live with others. However, if the truth is carefully examined, he turns out to be nothing less than that].
31. *De remediis* 1.14, 2.119.
32. *De remediis* 2.17 (ed. Carraud, 1:644, lines 8–11; trans. Rawski, 2:60): "Quod miri autem volvi humana? Homo ipse volvitur et non stat, sed ut scriptum est, 'quasi flos egreditur, et conteritur, et fugit velut umbra, et nunquam in eodem statu permanet.'"
 33. *De remediis*, 1.115, 2.2, see also 1.117.
 34. See Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen, *Fortuna, Money, and the Sublunar World: Twelfth-Century Ethical Poetics and the Satirical Poetry of the Carmina Burana* (Helsinki: Finnish Historical Society, 1995); Jerold C. Frakes, *The Fate of Fortune in the Early Middle Ages: The Boethian Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 1988); G. W. Trompf, *The Idea of Historical Recurrence in Western Thought: From Antiquity to the Reformation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 62–64, 161–66, 197–98; Cioffari, "Fate, Fortune, and Chance"; F. P. Pickering, *Literature and Art in the Middle Ages* (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1970), 168–222; John W. Fleming, *The Roman de la Rose: A Study in Allegory and Iconography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 123–25; Pierre Courcelle, *La consolation de philosophie dans la tradition littéraire: Antécédents et postérité de Boèce* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1967), 113–39; and Howard Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), 20–22.
 35. *De remediis* 2, preface (trans. Rawski, 3:1; ed. Carraud, 1:530, line 3): "Omnia secundum litem fieri."

36. *De remediis* 2.83 (trans. Rawski, 3:190, amended; ed. Carraud, 1:890, lines 9–15): “*Dolor*. Velocissime senui. *Ratio*. Dicebam tibi tempus fugere: iam credere incipis. Dici nequit, non modo inter opiniones hominum diversorum, sed unius hominis opinionis quid intersit. Iuvenis ante oculos etatem habens, longissimam opinatur; hanc ipsam senior a tergo respiciens, videt esse brevissimam.” See also Petrarch *Familiare*s 1.1.27–44 (ed. Rossi and Bosco, 1:8–13) and 24.1.22–31 (ed. Rossi and Bosco, 4:219–21).
37. See Heitmann, *Fortuna*, 113–14, citing *Familiare*s 12.3.10. Ratio cites Horace’s *Ars poetica* 38–53 to underscore that statements of the philosophers need to be adorned with “order” (*ordinis*) and “setting” (*iuncture*) so that they reach the minds of their listeners (2.117 [*De remediis*, ed. Carraud, 1:1054, lines 68–69]).
38. *De remediis* 1.63 and 1.93.
39. *De remediis* 2.79, and 1.79 (trans. Rawski, 1:220; ed. Carraud, 1:358, line 19): “Fusca enim et ambigua merx est homo.”
40. See *De remediis* 2.21, 2.31, 2.36, 2.37, and 2.74.
41. *De remediis* 1.27.
42. *De remediis* 2.64–65, 2.54.
43. *De remediis* 2.67.
44. *De remediis* 1.116 (trans. Rawski, 1:312; ed. Carraud, 1:510, lines 31–32): “stultissimum et mali sui semper avidissimum animal est homo.”
45. *De remediis* 1.121 (trans. Rawski, 1:322; ed. Carraud, 1:524, lines 13–14): “Vix tantum deberent niti homines ut salvi essent, quantum nituntur ut pereant.”
46. *De remediis* (trans. Rawski, 1:264, with slight modification; ed. Carraud, 1:428, lines 202–9): “Proinde expergiscimini aliquando mortales! Aperite oculos neve semper falsis caligate fulgoribus, vestra metimini atque extimate corpuscula, circumspicite quibus septi estis angustiiis, nolite geometras ac philosophos contemnere: terra omnis punctus est . . . cum ascendere creditis descenditis et cum stare videmini, tum maxime ruitis; nec ullum animal magis suarum virium obliviscitur ac sepius vermes semimortui regna et imperia somniatis” (see also *De remediis* 2.58, 2.119). There is a reference to Cicero’s *Dream of Scipio*, a work integral to the teaching of Augustine in the *Secretum* (*Prose*, ed. Carrara, 194). See the note by Rawski in *De remediis* (trans. Rawski), 2:335–39 to *De re publica* 6 (*Somnium*); and Carraud’s reference (*De remediis*, 2:362) to Boethius’s *Cons.* 2, pr.7.
47. *De remediis* 1.18, 1.19, 2.4, 2.52.
48. *De remediis* 2.122, 2.118.
49. *De remediis* 2.71, 1.89, 2.91.
50. *De remediis* 2.50 (trans. Rawski, 3:120, modified; ed. Carraud, 1:768, lines 53–67): “Nunc fabellam accipe ridiculam, sed materie non ineptam. Circa

litus Oceani, quod Britanniam ab adverso conspicit, ante non multo annos, fama est fuisse mulierculam inopem, sed forma appetibili, et insigni lascivia, hec duodecim parvos filios, totidem ex viris genitos habebat, annuis etatum interstitiis inter se distantes. Instante ante mortis hora, vocari prope virum iubet et: “non est, inquit, amplius ludi tempus: nullus horum puerorum ad te spectat, preter maiorem solum. Primo enim anno nostri connubii casta fui.” Sedebant tunc forte pueri omnes, humi, circa ignem, more gentis aliquid manducantes. Stupente igitur viro, atque illis rei novitate suspensis, illa singulorum patres ordine nominat; quod audiens omnium minimus, qui triennis erat, panem quem dextera, et rapam quam habebat in manu altera, in terram posuit, at tremens desiderio et ambabus manibus in altum erectis, adorantis in morem, ‘Da,’ inquit, ‘queso, michi, genitrix, aliquem patrem bonum!’ cunq̄ue illa in fine verborum patrem parvuli nominasset, et famosum quendam divitemque hominem, reassumpto in mandibus cibo, ‘bene habet,’ inquit, ‘bonus est pater.’” See also the previous story in *De remediis* 2.50 (ed. Carraud, 1:766, lines 26–39), and 2.13.

51. *De remediis* 1.41, 1.23; see also 1.28 on comedians; 1.21 on two types of *otium*.
52. *De remediis* 2.93; Carraud (in *De remediis*, 2:589) refers to Cicero’s *De natura deorum* 2, which is adapted by Augustine in *De civ. Dei* 22.24.
53. *De remediis* 1.108 (trans. Rawski, 1:293; ed. Carraud, 1:472, lines 19–20): “Nemo igitur felix, priusquam ex hac miseriarum valle migraverit” (see also *De remediis* 2.96 and 97).
54. Cicero *Tusculanae disputationes* 2.21.47 (trans. King, 200): lacking reason, “nihil esse homine deformius.” Cicero did recognize elsewhere that ethical teaching needed to be tailored to a person’s character: *De officiis* 1.30–34 (trans. Miller, 108–28).
55. Modifying *De remediis* (trans. Rawski, 3:268–69, 274; ed. Carraud, 1:1024, line 9): “philosophice fabelle”; 1: 1028, line 71: “hec inania que philosophica dicitis”; 1:1034, lines 155–57: “Nunc languori meo propius adhibes manum, docens ubi illa reperiam, que in hoc statu, Stoicorum opinionibus inhumanis et saxeis potiora et michi opportuniore confido, quamvis et confidendo diffidam.”
56. Cicero *Tusculanae disputationes* 2.12.29–13.31 (trans. King, 176–78).
57. Sorrow begins to change its view when Ratio cites Cicero’s notions of patience and perseverance in the face of suffering; yet Ratio itself acknowledges its verbal relief is ephemeral: *De remediis* (ed. Carraud), 1:1044, lines 300–302. Humanists in the fifteenth century would explore in various ways the limitations of Stoic theory: cf. Poggio’s *De vera nobilitate* (*On True Nobility*); Giannozzo Manetti’s *Dialogus consolatorius* (*Dialogue of Consolation*); Lorenzo

Valla's *De voluptate (On Pleasure)*; and Alberti's *Profugiorum ab erumna libri (On Refuges from Hardship)*.

58. *De remediis* 2.122, 2.126. The limits of logic can be found in Ratio's argument to Sorrow in *De remediis* 2.119 (ed. Carraud, 1.1074, lines 17–19; trans. Rawski, 3:299): “non morereris utique, nisi mortalis esse; sin id defles quod mortalis sis, non est flendi locus ubi esse desinis, quod invitus es” [You would not die if you were not mortal. And if you deplore being mortal, then you have no cause to weep when you cease to be what you do not want to be]. Of course the basic sorrow is over one's mortality, for which death by definition offers no consolation.
59. *De remediis* 2.117 (trans. Rawski, 3:290; ed. Carraud, 1:1060, lines 151–53): “atque nil damniosus in humanis malis, quam Dei, sui que ipsius et mortis oblivio, que tria numero sic connexa sunt, ut vix valeant dissolvi.”
60. *De remediis* 2.122.
61. *De remediis* (trans. Rawski, 3:323; ed. Carraud, 1:1116, lines 45–46): “Nullam tam magnum peccatum esse potest, quin multo maior misericordia Dei est.”

Chapter Sixteen

1. For the current authoritative edition of the text, see Petrarch, *Invective contra medicum: Testo latino e volgarizzamento di ser Domenico Silvestri*, ed. Pier Giorgio Ricci with an appendix by Bortolo Martinelli (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1978). This edition, based on only nine of the over forty manuscripts that transmit the text, was supposed to offer an entirely new edition with respect to the one Ricci himself had prepared for the same publisher in 1950, an edition already incisively criticized by Ruggero Raimondi in a long and meticulous review that appeared in *Studi Petrarceschi* 4 (1951): 225–62. Ricci died in 1976, leaving his revision unfinished. His posthumous 1978 edition is in fact the result of a careful consideration of his handwritten notes that Bortolo Martinelli was able to study and discuss, producing a text that certainly improved the one previously published but that cannot be considered definitive. A new edition, based on the entire tradition and accompanied by a commentary and a new Italian translation, was recently announced by Francesco Bausi, “Il *mechanicus* che scrive libri: Per un nuovo commento alle *Invective contra medicum* di Francesco Petrarca,” *Rinascimento* 42 (2002): 67–68. For both the Latin text and the English translation, I will quote from “*Invective contra medicum: Invectives against a Physician*,” in Petrarch, *Invectives*, ed. and trans. David Marsh, I Tatti Renaissance Library Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 2–179, which is based on the 1978 posthumous edition of Ricci's text.
2. The thematic spectrum outlined here roughly reflects the order in which Pe-

- trarch treats the matter in the four books of the *Invectives*. Book 1 rejects the alleged equivalence between rhetoric and medicine by reaffirming the medieval distinction between liberal arts (grammar, rhetoric, dialectics, mathematics, music, geometry, and astronomy), on the one hand, and mechanical arts (fabric making, armament, commerce, agriculture, hunting, medicine, and theatrics), on the other, following the classification provided by Hugh of Saint-Victor in his *Didascalicon* (bk. 2, chap. 1); see Hugh of Saint-Victor, *Didascalion A Medieval Guide to the Arts*, trans. Jerome Taylor (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 74; and Bausi, “Il *mechanicus* che scrive libri,” 89–94. Books 2 and 3 contest the epistemological validity of both medicine and Scholastic philosophy by attacking their purportedly sterile cult of dialectics and exalting poetry as a form of true philosophy, described in book 3 as a discipline superior to both alike. Book 4 praises the solitary life of the countryside, described as the ideal environment for the liberal activity of the humanist, against the frenetic life of the city, portrayed as the natural habitat for the lucrative activity of the doctors. For further readings in English, see Conrad H. Rawski, “Notes on the Rhetoric in Petrarch’s *Invective contra medicum*,” in *Francis Petrarch, Six Centuries Later: A Symposium*, ed. Aldo Scaglione (Chapel Hill: Department of Romance Languages, University of North Carolina, 1975), 249–77; Thomas G. Benedek, “An Interpretation of Petrarch’s ‘Invective against Physicians,’” in *Thirty-first International Congress on the History of Medicine*, ed. Raffaele A. Bernabeo (Bologna: Monduzzi, 1990), 691–96; Nancy Struever, “Petrarch’s ‘Invective contra medicum’: An Early Confrontation of Rhetoric and Medicine,” *MLN* 108 (1993): 659–79; George A. Trone, “‘You lie like a doctor!’: Petrarch’s Attack on Medicine,” *Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine* 70 (1997): 183–90; and Carol E. Quillen, *Rereading the Renaissance: Petrarch, Augustine, and the Language of Humanism* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 73–74 and 148–81.
3. For the recurrence of these themes in Petrarch’s works, see Vinicio Pacca, *Petrarca* (Rome and Bari: Laterza, 1998), 163–67; and Marco Ariani, *Petrarca* (Rome: Salerno, 1999), 159–64. For a philosophical and historical appraisal of the concept of “moral perfectionism,” see Stanley Cavell, *Conditions Hand-some and Unbandome: The Constitution of Emersonian Perfectionism* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1990), 1–17, and his most recent *Cities of Words: Pedagogical Letters on a Register of the Moral Life* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 313–39, 352–72.
 4. See Ernest Hatch Wilkins, *Life of Petrarch* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 123–24; Ugo Dotti, *Vita di Petrarca* (Bari: Laterza, 1987) 252–57; Pacca, *Petrarca*, 117–78; Ariani, *Petrarca*, 41–51. Clement’s illness might well be connected with his alleged addiction to wine. Still today, the

pope's name is enshrined on the label of a red burgundy known as *Châteauneuf du Pape Clément*; on Clément's drinking reputation, see John E. Wrigley, "A Papal Secret Known to Petrarch," *Speculum* 39 (1964): 618. In the *Invective*, Petrarch fails to make any explicit reference to the papal penchant for the grape. But in *Bucolicum carmen* 6, Pamphilus (Saint Peter) accuses Miotto (Clément VI) of neglecting his pastoral duties precisely because of wine, see Ernest Hatch Wilkins, *Studies in the Life and Works of Petrarch* (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1955), 48. In the sonnets 136.7 and 137.3–4, famously known for Petrarch's attack on the papal court of Avignon, the poet characterizes the Curia as the "slave of wine" ("de vin serva") and devotee of Venus and Bacchus, rather than as Jove and Pallas ("à fatti suoi dèi/non Giove et Pallas, ma Venere et Bacco"). See Petrarch, *Canzoniere*, ed. Marco Santagata (Milan: Mondadori, 1996), 666 and 670. Santagata's commentary refers to *Seniles* 12, 1.41, *Epystole* 3.26.42, *Sine nomine* 18, and *Vita solitaria* 1 but omits any reference to Petrarch's sixth eclogue.

5. Petrarch *Familiares* 5.19 in *Rerum familiarum libri: I–VIII*, translated by Aldo S. Bernardo (Albany: State University of New York, 1975), 279; for the Latin text, see *Le Familiari*, ed. Vittorio Rossi and Umberto Bosco (Florence: Sansoni, 1933–42), 2:44.
6. The question about the real identity of this doctor has puzzled the readers of the *Invective* since the time of de Sade's uncle. See Jacques-François-Paul-Aldonce de Sade, *Mémoires pour la vie de François Pétrarque* (Amsterdam: Arskée and Merkus, 1764–67), 216; Gaetano Luigi Marini, *Degli archiatri pontifici* (Rome: Stamperia Pagliarini, 1784), 1:79; Eduard Niçaise, *La Grande Chirurgie de Guy de Chauliac* (Paris: Alcan, 1890), 84–86; Pierre Pansier, "Les médecins des papes d'Avignon (1308–1403)," *Janus* 14 (1909): 405–34; Nicola Latronico, "I medici e la medicina nelle *Invettive* del Petrarca," *Castalia* 1–6 (1955 but 1936): 35–42, 79–91, 133–39, 77–86, 231–39, 79–84, available also as a separate publication (Milan: Tipografia Giuseppe Bianchi, 1956); Adalberto Pazzini, *Storia della medicina* (Milan: Società editrice libraria, 1947), 514–15; Mario Tabanelli, *Un secolo d'oro della chirurgia francese: Guy de Chauliac* (Forlì: Valbonesi, 1970); Martinelli, "Il Petrarca e la medicina," in *Invective contra medicum*, 209–11. Martinelli justly rejects the traditional identification with Jean d'Alais and Guy de Chauliac (211).
7. Petrarch *Invective contra medicum* 2.88 (trans. Marsh, 70–71): "Illam certe premeditari, contra illam armari, ad illius contemptum ac patientiam componi, illi si res exigit occurrere, et pro eterna vita, pro felicitate, pro gloria brevem hand miseramque vitam alto animo pacisci, ea demum vera philosophia est, quam quidam nichil aliud nisi cogitationem mortis esse dixerunt." This passage is to be read in conjunction with Petrarch *Secretum* 1 (ed. Carrara, 8):

“Aug. . . . cum sit profecto verissimum ad contemnendas vite huius illecebras componendumque inter tot mundi procellas animum nichil efficacius reperiri quam memoriam proprie miserie et meditationem mortis assiduam; modo non leviter, aut superficialitenuis serpat, sed in ossibus ipsis ac medullis insideat” [For there can be no doubt that to recollect one’s misery and to practice frequent meditation on death is the surest aid in scorning the seductions of this world, and in ordering the soul amid its stoles and tempests, if only such meditation be not superficial, but sink into the bones and marrow of the heart]. On the concept of medicine as a contemplation of death, see Klaus Bergdolt, “Die *meditatio mortis* als Medizin: Betrachtungen zur Ethik der Todesangst im Spätmittelalter und Heute,” *Würzburger medizinhistorische Mitteilungen* 9 (1991): 249–57.

8. See Bausi, “Il *mechanicus* che scrive libri,” 67–68. Bausi’s scrutiny of the entire handwritten tradition of the *Invective* indicates that Petrarch’s revision of the texts spans a much longer period of time than the one previously assumed by Ricci.
9. See Umberto Bosco, *Petrarca* (Turin: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1946), 9–10. The revision of the *Invective* coincided with the revision or the composition of the *Sine nomine*, the *Posteritati*, the *Secretum*, *De viris illustribus*, the *Remediis utriusque fortune*, the *Invective* against Jean de Caraman, *De otio religioso*, *De vita solitaria*, the *Bucolicum carmen*, the Correggio draft of the *Canzoniere*, and the *Triumpho*. See Vinicio Pacca, “Cronologia della vita e delle opere,” in Pacca, *Petrarca*, 261–65.
10. See Klaus Bergdolt, *Artz, Krankheit und Therapie bei Petrarca: Die Kritik an Medizin und Naturwissenschaft im italienischen Frühhumanismus* (Weinheim: Acta Humaniora, 1992), with particular reference to *De otio religioso*, *De vita solitaria*, the *Secretum*, *De remediis utriusque fortune*, see 50–54, 55–57, 77–82, 90–101, respectively; see also, by the same author, “Petrarca, la medicina e le scienze naturali,” *KoA*, n.s., 89 (1993): 43–49, where the invectives are presented as a key text to explain the shift from the Middle Ages to the early Renaissance, 43).
11. For Petrarch’s rhetorical models, see the annotated edition of the text in Petrarch, “Invective contra medicum: Invettive contro un medico,” trans. Clara Kraus Reggiani, in Petrarch, *Opere latine*, ed. Antonietta Bufano (Turin: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1975), 2:818–981; and the discussion provided by Bausi, “Il *mechanicus* che scrive libri,” 79–106. The reader interested in this particular aspect of Petrarch’s *Invective* may refer to Wilhelm Süss, *Ethos: Studien zur älteren griechischen Rhetorik* (1910; Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1975), 247–55; and Felice Vismara, *L’invettiva: Arma preferita dagli umanisti nelle lotte private, nelle polemiche letterarie, politiche e religiose* (Milan: Um-

- berto Allegretti, 1900) 1–8; see, more recently, Severin Koster, *Die Invektive in der griechischen und römischen Literatur* (Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1980), 210–81.
12. See Susan L. Feagin, *Reading with Feeling: The Aesthetics of Appreciation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996); Terrance Brown, “Affective Dimensions of Meaning,” in *The Nature and Ontogenesis of Meaning*, ed. Willis F. Overton and David Stuart Palermo (Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1994), 168–90; Maria Chiara Levorato, *Le emozioni della lettura* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2000); and John Gibson, “Between Truth and Triviality,” *British Journal of Aesthetics* 43 (2003): 224–37. If it is true that a viable theory of literary humanism must do justice to the idea that literature offers cognitive rewards to the attentive reader, the main goal of this approach is to provide clues for both a cognitive understanding and an aesthetic appreciation of Petrarch’s works within the context in which it was once produced and the context in which it may be received today. Knowledge but also acknowledgment, understanding but also appreciation, idea but also emotion, meaning but also feeling represent the tentative set of dialectical keywords that may guide a new reading of Petrarch’s *Invective* and, more generally, of his humanistic engagement.
 13. See Jole Agrimi and Chiara Crisciani, *Medicina del corpo e medicina dell’anima: Note sul sapere del medico fino all’inizio del secolo XIII* (Milan: Episteme, 1979). For a pertinent anthology of primary texts, see Luigi Firpo, *Medicina medievale: Testi dell’alto medioevo, miniature del codice di Kassel, regole salutari salernitane, incisioni del Fascicolo de medicina, anatomia di Mondino de’ Liuzzi* (Turin: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1972).
 14. Petrarch *Familiares* 5.19.3–4 (trans. Bernardo, 278–79). The Latin text reads as follows: “Lectum tuum obsessum medicis scio; hinc prima michi timendi causa est. Discordant enim de industria, dum pudet novi nichil afferentem alterius hesisse vestigiis. ‘Nec est dubium’ ut eleganter ait Plinius, ‘omnes istos famam novitate aliqua aucupantes animas statim nostras negotiari . . . et in hac sola artium *evenire*, ut cuicumque se medicum profitenti statim credatur, cum sit periculum in nullo mendacio maius; non tamen illud intuemur, adeo blanda est sperandi pro se cuique dulcedo. Nulla preterea lex que puniat inscitiam capitalem, nullum exemplum vindicte; discut periculis nostris et experimenta per mortes agunt, medicoque tantum hominem occidisse impunitas summa est. Horum turbam velut inimicorum aciem, Clementissime Pater, intuere.” Cf. Pliny *Naturalis historia* 29.8.11: nec dubium est omnes istos famam novitate aliqua aucupantes anima statim nostra negotiari,” together with 17–18: “itaque, Hercules, in hac artium sola evenit, ut cuicumque medicum se professo statim credatur, cum sit periculum in nullo mendacio maius.

non tamen illud intuemur, adeo blanda est sperandi pro se cuique dulcedo. nulla praeterea lex quae puniat inscitiam capitalem, nullum exemplum vindictae. discutunt periculis nostris et experimenta per mortes agunt, medicoque tantum hominem occidisse impunitas summa est.”

15. Petrarch *Invective contra medicum* 1.23 (Marsh trans., 18–21): “Non detraho claris viris, ne fiam tui similis, qui obtrectandi studio me cum Plinio miscuisti, quem si intelligere posses, esses hortandus ut legeres, et te ipsum in eo speculo intuens, vel deformitatem tuam corrigeres, vel desineres superbire” [I will not disparage famous men, lest I resemble you, who are so eager to malign me that you confuse me with Pliny. For if you viewed yourself in that mirror, you would either correct your deformity or cease to be proud].
16. Petrarch *Invective contra medicum* 1.3 (Marsh trans., 4–5): “Ego quidem (nam memini) non artificium sed artifices improbavi, eosque non omnes, sed procaces atque discordes” [For my part, I remember clearly that I did not criticize the medical profession, but merely its professionals—and not all of them, but only the insolent and factious ones]; 1.26 (Marsh trans., 20–21): “invenies ne nil omnino contra medicinam nilque contra veros medicos locutum, sed contra discerptores atque adversarios Ypocratis” [You’ll find that I said nothing against medicine or true physicians, but only against the detractors and adversaries of Hyppocrates]; and 1.40 (Marsh trans., 30–31): “Hec non adversus medicinam—quod sepe testatus sum—neque adversus excellentes medicos, qui irasci non debent si, semper rari, nostra etate rarissimi, sed adversus te delirantesque similiter dicta sint” [As I have often said, my remarks are not directed at medicine, nor at excellent physicians, who should not be angered that they are so rare in this age, when they have always been rare].
17. See Paul Oskar Kristeller, “Humanism and Scholasticism in the Italian Renaissance,” *Byzantion* 17 (1944–45): 346–74; Eugenio Garin, *Italian Humanism: Philosophy and Civic Life in the Renaissance*, trans. Peter Munz (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 1–36; and Cesare Vasoli, *La dialettica e la retorica dell’umanesimo: Invenzione e metodo nella cultura del XV e XVI secolo* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1968).
18. Petrarch *Familiars* 5.19 (ed. Rossi, 2:44; trans. Bernardo, 279): “atque illis morientibus ypocraticos nodos tulliano stamine per miscentes, sinistro quamvis eventu superbiunt, nec rerum effectibus sed inani verborum elegantia gloriantur.”
19. Randall Collins, “On the Acrimoniousness of Intellectual Disputes,” *Common Knowledge* 8 (2002): 47–70; the article is substantially drawn from his *The Sociology of Philosophies: A Global Theory of Intellectual Change* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), where Collins provides a general theory of

- intellectual life based on a general theory of interaction rituals and a sociology of thinking.
20. On the long-lasting quarrel against the doctors after Pliny, see Klaus Bergdolt, “Die Kritik am Arzt im Mittelalter: Beispiele und Tendenzen vom 6. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert,” *Gesnerus* 48 (1991): 43–64, and idem, “Zur antischo-lastischen Arztkritik des 13. Jahrhunderts,” *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 26 (1991): 264–81.
 21. For an account of the genre of the invective in Italian humanism, see Pier Giorgio Ricci, “La tradizione dell’invettiva tra Medioevo e Rinascimento,” *Lettere italiane* 26 (1974): 405–14; Lucia Cesarini Martinelli, “Note sulla polemica Poggio-Valla e sulla fortuna delle ‘Elegantiae,’” *Interpres* 3 (1980): 29–79; Claudio Griggio, “Note sulla tradizione dell’invettiva dal Petrarca al Poliziano,” in *Bufera e molli aurette: Polemiche letterarie dallo Stilnovo alla ‘Voce,’* ed. Maria Grazia Pensa (Milan: Guerini e Associati, 1996), 37–51, and idem, “Forme dell’invettiva in Petrarca,” *Atti e memorie dell’Accademia patavina di scienze morali, lettere e arti. Memorie della classe di scienze morali, lettere e arti* 109 (1996–97): 375–92.
 22. See Petrarca *Invective contra medicum* 3.162 (trans. Marsh, 134–35): “et cum nulla gens magis rethoricis floribus nuda sit, nulla minus illis indigeat, tamen rethorici, et oratores, et poete, et philosophi, et apostoli, ac suscitatores corporum dici vultis; et penitus nihil estis, nisi verba inania nugeque volatiles” [Although no group lacks rhetorical embellishments more, and need them less, you still insist on being called rhetoricians, orators, poets, philosophers, apostles, and raisers of the dead. Yet you are absolutely nothing but empty words and fleeting trifles]. As early as the first invective, Petrarca compares himself to Demosthenes, in order to justify the fact that his reply is longer than the letter of his detractor, as “the defense of Demosthenes is longer than the accusation of Aeschines” [Ideoque et maior defensio Demosthenis quam Eschinis accusatio est], see 1.40 (trans. Marsh, 31–32): For the concept of *gravitas nervosa*, see Leonardo Bruni Aretino, *Humanistisch-philosophische Schriften mit einer Chronologie seiner Werke und Briefe*, ed. Hans Baron (Leipzig: Teubner, 1928) 130; as discussed in Giovanni Ponte, “La ‘gravitas nervosa’ del Poliziano,” in *Poliziano nel suo tempo: Atti del VI Convegno internazionale (Chianciano-Montepulciano 18–21 luglio 1994)*, ed. Luisa Secchi Tarugi (Florence: Francesco Cesati Editore, 1996), 107–15; and more recently in Stefano Cracolici, “Alberti e la ‘gravitas nervosa’: Note su un contributo di Giovanni Ponte,” in *Leon Battista Alberti (1404–72) tra scienze e lettere: Atti del Convegno (Genova, 19–20 novembre 2004)*, ed. Alberto Beniscelli and Francesco Furlan (Genoa: Accademia Ligure di Scienze e Lettere, 2005), 287–308.

23. On this crucial event in Petrarch's life, see Renee Neu Watkins, "Petrarch and the Black Death: From Fear to Monuments," *Studies in the Renaissance* 19 (1972): 196–223; Klaus Bergdolt, "Petarca und die Pest," *Sudhoffs Archiv* 76 (1992): 63–73; and Francesco Gianni, "Per una storia letteraria della peste," in *The Regulation of Evil: Social and Cultural Attitudes to Epidemics in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Agostino Paravicini Bagliani and Francesco Santi (Florence: Sismel, 1998), 63–124.
24. These topics are to be found also in Petrarch's correspondence with various contemporary physicians, notably Francesco Casini and Giovanni Dondi dall'Orologio, who agreed to his position and partially also to his polemic; see Antonio Zardo, *Petrarca e i Carraresi* (Milan: Hoepli, 1887), 105–24; Klaus Bergdolt, *Artz, Krankheit und Therapie bei Petrarca: Die Kritik an Medizin und Naturwissenschaft im italienischen Frühhumanismus* (Weinheim: Acta Humaniora, 1992), and "Petrarca, la medicina e le scienze naturali"; Tiziana Pesenti, "Dondi dall'Orologio, Giovanni," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1992), 41:96–104; Giuseppe Dell'Anna, "Il Petrarca e la medicina," in *Petrarca e la cultura europea*, ed. Luisa Rotondi Secchi Tarugi (Milan: Nuovi Orizzonti, 1997), 203–322; Matilde Conde Salazar, "El médico en las epístolas de Séneca y Petrarca," in *Séneca dos mil años después: Actas del congreso internacional conmemorativo del bimilenario de su nacimiento (Córdoba, 24–27 de septiembre, 1996)* (Córdoba: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Córdoba y Obra Social y Cultural CajaSur, 1997), 637–44.
25. Petrarch *Invective contra medicum* 1.9 (trans. Marsh, 8–9): "O si quod ominari horreo, sed, licet immortalis Dei vicarius, est tamen ipse mortalis—si ergo tunc nature debitum persolvisset, quanta fuisset inter vos et quam indecisa discordia de pulsu, de humoribus, de die cretico, de farmacis! Celum ac terram dissonis clamoribus implessetis, causam ipsam egritudinis ignorantes. Miseri qui sub auxilii vestri fidutia egrotant! Cristus autem, in cuius manu salus hominum sita est, salvum illum, ignorantibus omnibus vobis, fecit—et faciat precor quantum sibi, quantum Ecclesie cui presidet, est necesse!"
26. See Agrimi and Crisciani, *Medicina del corpo e medicina dell'anima*, 34–36, 90, n. 174; Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), chap. 3, idem, "Die medizinische Fakultät," in *Geschichte der Universität in Europa*, ed. Walter Rüegg (Munich: Beck, 1993), 1:321–342, and idem, *Medicine and the Italian Universities, 1250–1600* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 161–63; David D. Lines, "Natural Philosophy in Renaissance Italy: The University of Bologna and the Beginning of Specialization," *Early Science and Medicine* 6 (2001): 267–323; and George W. McClure, *The Culture of Profession in Late Renaissance Italy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 6–12.

27. Petrarch describes his medical detractor as “declaming, arguing, and shouting” and quotes Virgil’s characterization of medicine in the *Aeneid* (12.396–97) as the “mute art.” See Petrarch *Invective* 3.161 (trans. Marsh, 134–35): “Expedire tibi, sed multo magis egris tuis, ut mutus esses, non orator . . . Certe non ad artis ignominiam, nec a casu, medicinam Virgilius mutam vocat, sed quoniam muta debet esse, non loquax . . . Solebant medici veteres taciti curare: vos perorantes, et altercantes, et conclamantes occiditis” [It would be better for you, and even better for your patients, if you were mute and not an orator . . . It is clearly neither a slur on the profession nor an accident when Virgil calls medicine mute: it should be mute and not verbose . . . Ancient physicians used to give care in silence. You kill while declaiming, arguing, and shouting]. The Virgilian characterization of medicine as a silent art, which also returns in his correspondence to Giovanni Dondi dall’Orologio and Francesco Casini (see *Seniles* 3.8), classicizes, in fact, a well-established recommendation of monastic medicine. See Agrimi and Crisciani, *Medicina del corpo e medicina dell’anima*, 9; and Firpo, *Medicina medievale*, 28, 38, 40. For the convergence here implicit between classical and Christian imitation practices, see Dina De Rentii, *Die Zeit der Nachfolge: Zur Interdependenz von ‘imitatio Christi’ und ‘imitatio auctorum’ in 12.-16. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1996).
28. Petrarch *Invective contra medicum* 1.11 (Marsh trans., 10–11): “at Romano Pontifici, gravi tunc egritudine laboranti, metu ac devotione dictantibus, epystolam scripsi brevem.”
29. See, in particular, Brian Stock, “Reading, Writing, and the Self: Petrarch and His Forerunners,” *New Literary History* 26 (1995): 717–30, which expands and applies to Petrarch an argument previously presented in “The Self and Literary Experience in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages,” *New Literary History* 25 (1994): 839–52. For the patristic and monastic influences on Petrarch’s thought, see Giuseppe Billanovich, *Un nuovo esempio delle scoperte e delle letture del Petrarca: L’Eusebio-Girolamo-PseudoProspero* (Krefeld: Scherpe, 1954), as well as his fundamental “Nella biblioteca del Petrarca,” *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 3 (1960): 1–58; Jean Leclercq, “Temi monastici nell’opera del Petrarca,” *Lettere italiane* 43 (1991): 42–54, now in *Spiritualità e lettere nella cultura italiana e ungherese del basso Medioevo*, ed. Sante Graciotti and Cesare Vasoli (Florence: Olschki, 1995), 149–62; and George W. McClure, *Sorrow and Consolation in Italian Humanism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 18–72.
30. Petrarch *Invective contra medicum* 3.136 (Marsh trans., 112–13).
31. Judson Boyce Allen, *The Ethical Poetic of the Later Middle Ages: A Decorum of Convenient Distinction* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 12.

32. For the definition of *ethica docens* and *ethica utens*, see Egidio Colonna, *De regimine principum libri III: Recogniti et una cum vita auctoris in lucem editi per Hieronymum Samaritanum* (Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1967), 3; see also Georg Wieland, *Ethica, scientia practica: Die Anfänge der philosophischen Ethik im 15. Jahrhundert* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1981), 103, as well as his “Ethica docens—Ethica utens,” in *Sprache und Erkenntnis im Mittelalter*, ed. Jan P. Beckmann (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1981), 593–601.
33. See Charles G. Osgood, *Boccaccio on Poetry* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1930) 122–23. For the Latin text, see Giovanni Boccaccio, *Genealogie deorum gentilium*, 15.8.5, ed. Vittorio Zaccaria, in Giovanni Boccaccio, *Tutte le opere*, ed. Vittore Branca, vols. 7–8 (Milan: Mondadori, 1998), 2:1548, “Equo modo, si quis poetas dicat theologos, nulli facit iniuriam. Si sacros quis illos dicunt, quis ades demens est quin videat quoniam mentiretur? Esto non unquam, ut in precedentibus patet, circa honesta eorum theologia versetur, que sepiissime potius physiologia aut ethologia quam theologia dicenda est, dum eorum fabule naturalia contegunt aut mores.”
34. For a comparison between Petrarch’s and Boccaccio’s theories of poetry, with a thoughtful comment on the passage in question, see Vittorio Zaccaria, “La difesa della poesia: Dal Petrarca alle *Genealogie* del Boccaccio,” *Lectura Petrarce* 19 (1999): 211–29.
35. On Petrarch’s therapeutic eloquence, see Jerrold E. Seigel, *Rhetoric and Philosophy in Renaissance Humanism: The Union of Eloquence and Wisdom; Petrarch to Valla* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 37–42; Charles Trinkhaus, *The Poet as Philosopher: Petrarch and the Formation of Renaissance Consciousness* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 90–113 and 119–20; and George W. McClure, “Healing Eloquence: Petrarch, Salutati, and the Physicians,” *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 15 (1985): 317–46. For an account of the ancient relationship between poetry and medicine, see Pedro Laín Entralgo, *The Therapy of the Word in Classical Antiquity*, trans. L. J. Rather and John M. Sharp (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970).

Chapter Seventeen

1. The circumstances of its composition are as follows: In September 1362 Petrarch moved from Milan and Padua to Venice with the intention of bequeathing to the Republic a permanent public library based on his books; in spring 1365 he initiated a friendship with four men who would malign him the following fall while he was visiting Padua. Upon his return to Venice in January 1366, another friend, Donato Albanzani, informed him of their slander, but he did not respond to the charges until May 1367, when he began writing *De ignorantia* during a trip to Pavia. In January 1368 he wrote to

Donato (*Seniles* 13.5) about revising the project. The following March he left Venice permanently, taking up residence first in Padua and then two years later (after trips to Pavia and Milan) at his house in Arquà (bequeathed by Francesco da Carrara). There he completed *De ignorantia* and dated his personal copy on 25 June 1370.

2. Quotations throughout refer to Petrarch, *Invectives*, ed. and trans. David Marsh, I Tatti Renaissance Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), here cited from 284–85 and 224–25. I have profited also from the detailed annotations in *De sui ipsius et multorum ignorantia*, ed. Enrico Fenzi (Milan: Mursia, 1999). An earlier translation by Hans Nachod appears in *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man*, ed. Ernst Cassirer, Paul Oskar Kristeller, and John Herman Randall (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), 47–133.
3. Sigmund Freud, *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. James Strachey in collaboration with Anna Freud, 24 vols. (London: Hogarth Press, 1953–74), vol. 8, *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious* (London: Hogarth Press, 1960), 42–45.
4. Freud, *Jokes and Their Relation*, 102.
5. During his periodic visits to Padua, Petrarch lived in a small house adjoining the cathedral and university precincts. Pietro da Moglio had moved to the university from Bologna in 1362, and returned to Bologna in 1368; see Arnaldo Foresti, “Pietro da Moglio a Padova e la sua amicizia col Petrarca e col Boccaccio,” *L’Archiginnasio* 15 (1920): 163–73, and Ernest Hatch Wilkins, *Petrarch’s Later Years* (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1959), 47–48 and 178. Lombardo della Seta (?–1390) was an independent scholar who introduced himself to Petrarch in 1368 and completed *De viris illustribus* after the poet’s death; see Giuseppina Ferrante, “Lombardo della Seta, Umanista padovano,” *Istituto veneziano di scienze, lettere, ed arti: Atti* 93 (1933–34): 445–87; and Wilkins, *Later Years*, 160–65, 292–302. Giovanni de’ Dondi (1330–89) constructed a celebrated mechanical clock at Padua and later a planetarium at Pavia; see Vincenzo Bellemo, *Jacopo e Giovanni de’ Dondi* (Chioggia: Duse, 1894); and Wilkins, *Later Years*, 166, 186–87, 194–97. Before Petrarch’s time, the University of Padua was particularly noted for the study of law and rhetoric; its faculty included Rolandino da Padova after 1260, Lovato Lovati in the late thirteenth century, Giovanni d’Andrea in 1307–9, and Albertino Mussato in 1315. Its faculty of medicine and natural philosophy included Dino del Garbo in 1300 and Pietro d’Abano (a teacher of Marsilio of Padua) in 1307–15. See J. K. Hyde, *Padua in the Age of Dante* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1966); Nancy Siraisi, *Arts and Science at Padua: The Studium of Padua before 1550* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Stud-

- ies, 1973); and Paul Oskar Kristeller, “Umanesimo e scholasticismo a Padova fino al Petrarca,” *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters IV* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1996), 11–26; and Ronald G. Witt, *In the Footsteps of the Ancients: The Origins of Humanism from Lovato to Bruni* (Boston: Brill, 2000).
6. Only one passage in *De ignorantia* refers to Averroes (twice in two paragraphs, 322–23, to be cited below). Another passage offers a mocking parody of certain philosophers’ mania for quantifying “how many hairs a lion has” (238–39), perhaps evoking here the Oxford Calculators at Merton College, heirs of William of Ockham’s terminist logic. The ensuing examples are conventional, derived from such thirteenth-century encyclopedic texts as Vincent of Beauvais’s *Speculum naturale*, Alexander Neckham’s *De rerum naturis*, or Bartholomaeus Anglicus’s *De proprietatibus rerum*. An allusion to those who fix their eyes on “some god . . . that desires iniquity” (242–43) might evoke William of Ockham’s thought experiment about *odium dei*. Petrarch expresses contempt for the Scholastic argument of double truth (300–301) which might validate conflicting claims of philosophy and theology, an argument long since condemned by the bishop of Paris in 1277. Elsewhere the invective alludes briefly to the Pythagorean doctrine of metempsychosis (294–97), the Democritean and Epicurean doctrines of atomism (296–97), and the Aristotelian theory of the eternity of the material world (296–97, 304–11).
 7. They are identified in two fifteenth-century glosses, one printed for the first time by Giovanni Degli Agostini in 1752, the other by Emmanuele Cicogna in 1830. See Paul Oskar Kristeller, “Petrarch’s Averroists,” *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters, II* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1985), 209–16; and *De sui ipsius* (ed. Fenzi, 105–7).
 8. For the impact of this endowment, see Bruno Nardi, “Letteratura e cultura veneziana del Quattrocento,” in *La civiltà veneziana del Quattrocento* (Florence: Sansoni, 1957), 99–146.
 9. Donato Albanzani taught grammar at Venice; among his pupils was Giovanni Malpighini, who became Petrarch’s copyist in summer 1364; after 1370, Albanzani volunteered a translation of *De viris illustribus* into Italian. See Wilkins, *Later Years*, 75, 92–93, 117–21, 173, 201; and Carmine Jannaro, “Donato Casentinese, volgarizzatore del Petrarca,” *Studi Petrarceschi* 1 (1948): 185–94.
 10. All revisions are carefully noted in Marsh’s edition, 480–89, with the translator’s gracious acknowledgment of assistance by James Hankins in editing the Latin text.
 11. For the economy of trecento Venice, see *Money and Banking in Medieval and Renaissance Venice*, vol. 1, Frederic C. Lane and Reinhold C. Mueller, *Coins and Moneys of Account* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985),

- and vol. 2, Reinhold C. Mueller, *The Venetian Money Market* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), esp. 121–57, 288–358, and 453–87, with specific references to Petrarch’s maligners Contarini and Talenti on 19–20, 152–53, 485–87, 576. For its commercial revolution in the fourteenth century, see Peter Spufford, *Power and Profit: The Merchant in Medieval Europe* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2002), 228–85. For its sociological composition, see Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan, *Venice Triumphant: The Horizons of a Myth*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 229–71.
12. See Kristeller, “Curriculum,” 86. For a protohumanist emphasis on subjectivity in late-medieval Augustinian, Dominican, and Franciscan schools, see Richard Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995–2001).
 13. The fictive date of the discussion is 76 BCE. Its participants are C. Velleius the Epicurean, Q. Lucilius Balbus the Stoic, and C. Aurelius Cotta, the Neoplatonist Academic, who suspends judgment on both. See Cicero, *The Nature of the Gods*, trans. P. G. Walsh (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997).
 14. For Petrarch’s *theologica poetica* in *De ignorantia*, see Charles Trinkaus, *The Poet as Philosopher* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 91–113.
 15. Petrarch, *Invective contra medicum* (trans. Marsh, 14–15), from Hugh of Saint-Victor’s *Didascalion*, as cited in Marsh’s notes (492).
 16. See Alfred Ernout and Antoine Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1932), 671–73.
 17. Petrarch draws his account from Suetonius *Divus Augustus* 86.1–5, where Augustus criticizes Maecenas and Marc Antony for their convoluted styles, as noted by Marsh (*Invective contra medicum*, 510, n. 105).
 18. He declines to say how much Greek he really knows, which is actually very little, perceptibly attested by his faulty transcription of ΜΕΤΕΜΨΙΚΟΣΙΣ (for the correct ΜΕΤΕΜΨΥΧΟΣΙΣ), 294–95.
 19. Basing his example upon a misreading in medieval manuscripts of Seneca *Epistulae* 38.43, Petrarch identifies the author of this claim as the philosopher Pythagoras rather than the rhetorician Protagoras.
 20. For Petrarch’s sense of such colloquy, see Nancy Struever, *Theory as Practice: Ethical Inquiry in the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 7–56; and Carol Everhart Quillan, *Rereading the Renaissance: Petrarch, Augustine, and the Language of Humanism* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 106–81.
 21. Zeno used the word to amuse his Roman students who included Cotta, Cicero, and Atticus; see Philip B. Corbett, *The Scurra* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1986), 27ff.

22. For evolving communities of readership, see Erich Auerbach, *Literary Language and Its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages*, trans. Ralph Manheim (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), 275–338.

Chapter Eighteen

1. The Latin text is taken from Enrico Bianchi's partial edition included in Petrarch, *Rime, Trionfi e poesie latine*, ed. F. Neri, G. Martellotti, E. Bianchi, N. Sapegno, *La letteratura italiana: Storia e Testi*, 6 (Milan and Naples: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore, 1951), 705–805. For the *Epystole* not present in this edition, I used, with slight corrections in spelling and punctuation, *Poemata minora quae exstant omnia / Poesie minori del Petrarca*, ed. Domenico Rossetti, vols. 2–3 (Milan: Società Tipografica dei Classici Italiani, 1831–34). Unless otherwise noted, translations are mine.
2. For comprehensive and updated information on the manuscript tradition, title, and dating of the work's publication, see Michele Feo, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, ed. Enrico Malato, vol. 10 (Rome: Salerno, 2001), 294–96. For the dates and addressees of the single letters, Ernest H. Wilkins's "manual," *The "Epistolae metricae" of Petrarch* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1956), remains valuable. A critical edition by Michele Feo is expected soon. See also Feo's attentive but somewhat labored presentation of the muddled picture of the various (mostly incorrect) proposals advanced for the title: "Fili petrarcheschi," *Rinascimento* 19 (1979): 3–26. The one commonly used in modern times, *Epistole metriche* is not however without a basis in Petrarch's writings, as Feo himself shows (12).
3. Petrarch, *Petrarch's Lyric Poems*, ed. and trans. by Robert M. Durling (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 36, emphasis added.
4. Petrarch, *Poemata minora* (ed. Rossetti), 2:208. To translate is to interpret. In this case it is possible to err. Is the writer saying that he has *really* tamed his flesh? This is what Vinicio Pacca thinks (*Petrarca* [Rome and Bari: Editori Laterza, 1998], 148). He translates "domata finalmente la carne." *Vix* can hardly mean *finally*, it could express temporality, an action immediately preceding another: "as soon as, once I have tamed my flesh." The early nineteenth-century translator, Giuseppe Adorni, is correct when he writes "Domata a stento la mia carne," in Petrarch, *Poemata minora* (ed. Rossetti), 2:204.
5. See Feo, *Fili petrarcheschi*, 45, for this farewell implying the author's ultimate responsibility for the organization of the work in its entirety. Enrico Carrara, quoting the very same verses (3.34.39–40) had in 1935 already acutely made this point (*Enciclopedia italiana*, 27:15).
6. Adequate attention has not been paid to the fact that Giovanni Boccaccio, in copying *Epystole* 1.14 in his notebook (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Lau-

- renziana, MS 29.8, fol. 72r–v), gives for its date 1340. Only this early date can explain the epistle's echoes in the famous description of the Black Death at the beginning of the *Decameron*. See Giuseppe Velli, "Il *De Vita et moribus domini Francisci Petracchi de Florentia* del Boccaccio e la biografia del Petrarca," *MLN* 102 (1987): 32–39, esp. 34.
7. Enrico Fenzi's assumption that the writer, in *Epystole* 2.18, is indulging in a metaphor implying the composition of *Africa* is hardly justified by the text. See Petrarch, *Il mio segreto*, ed. Enrico Fenzi (Milan: Mursia, 1992), 33–37. The poem is the main subject up to v. 15, with the poet's expected conclusion that the glory coming from it is vain. Then, the *cura secunda* (the second commitment), *the house*, equally strong (*par*) takes over: "Cura secunda domus michi par. . ." The distinction is clear. In her edition and translation of Petrarch, *L'Afrique 1338–1374* (Grenoble: Éditions Jérôme Millon, 2002), 29–35). Rebecca Lenoir picks up what could be at most a hypothesis and makes an allegory out of Fenzi's metaphor, giving free play to unbridled considerations (see her "interpretation" of the *rimula* [small crack] in a wall). The translation of the entire epistle (29–31) is not faultless.
 8. *Petrarch at Vacluse: Letters in Verse and Prose* (trans. by Wilkins), 8.
 9. *Ibid.*, 10.
 10. *The Letters of Machiavelli*, trans. by Allan Gilbert (New York: Capricorn Books, 1961), 142, emphasis added.
 11. Christian Bec uses E. R. Curtius's topos in the chapter "Dal Petrarca al Machiavelli: Il dialogo tra lettore ed autore," first published in *Rinascimento* 16 (1976): 3–19, and then in his volume *Cultura e società a Firenze nell'età del Rinascimento* (Rome: Salerno, 1981), 228–44. His reference to Curtius has no relevant hermeneutic effectiveness. This is true not only for the afterlife of the Petrarchesque formulations of the theme but also for their sources, which may be different depending on their specific stylistic form. To recur to the anonymous and impersonal topos is of little use, but identifying the actual "readings" behind Petrarch's individual passages is important (Let me say that Seneca has a central position: *De brevitae vitae* 14–15; *Ad Lucillum* 62.67.104). That Machiavelli could not have known *Epystole* because "uscite a stampa più tardi" (they were printed later)—Bec relies on E. Scarpa—is a useless statement. Apart from the fact that Machiavelli might have had access to the manuscript tradition, *Epystole* are included in the Venetian editions of 1501 and 1503.
 12. Petrarch, *Prose*, ed. G. Martellotti, P. G. Ricci, E. Carrara, and E. Bianchi (Milan and Naples: Ricciardi, 1955), 16.
 13. Petrarch, *Rime, Trionfi e poesie latine*, 764. On his return to *Africa* and on the composition of the entire proem (1, vv.1–70) which indeed took place in Sel-

- vapiana and Parma, see Giuseppe Velli, “Il proemio dell’ *Africa*,” in *Petrarca e Boccaccio: Tradizione—memoria—scrittura*, 2nd ed. (Padua: Antenore, 1995), 47–59.
14. *Petrarch’s Lyric Poems* (trans. Durling), 504.
 15. Concerning the presence of Lucan in Petrarch’s Latin works (not exclusively in *Africa*) and in his vernacular compositions, see the index of my *Petrarca e Boccaccio*. A mere hint at the constrictive strength of tradition: vv. 402–403 of Lucan “Hunc [lucum] non ruricolae Panes nemorumque potentes / Silvani Nymphaeque tenent” [No rural Pan dwelt there, no Silvanus, ruler of the woods, no Nymphs, trans. J. B. Duff], are the opposite of Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.314 (*clausola*): “Haec nemora indigenae Fauni Nymphaeque tenebant” [In these woodlands native Fauns and Nymphs once dwelt, trans. H. R. Fairclough].
 16. Virgil *Catalepton* 14.1–4 in *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid, the Minor Poems*, trans. by H. R. Fairclough (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), 2: 507–9.
 17. Cf. the chapter “La memoria poetica del Petrarca” in my *Petrarca e Boccaccio*, 35–36.
 18. Ovid, *Remedies for Love*, in *The Art of Love and Other Poems*, trans. by J. H. Mozley (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 191.
 19. The rhetorician Claudian was much loved by Petrarch, who probably owned more than one manuscript of his works. One manuscript is extant (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS Par. Lat. 8082), rich in *notabilia* and glosses of that exceptional reader. For the presence of Claudian in the works of Petrarch see Velli, *Petrarca e Boccaccio*, particularly 22–23n., 68, 68n.
 20. Claudian, *In Rufinum*, in *Claudian*, trans. by Maurice Platnauer (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), 41.
 21. Note the different position of the verb; the anaphora *horridus hunc; rusticus hunc* (*Epystole* 2.16.41–42), but discontinued in 43 where the third subject *custos* is at the very end of the hexameter; the recurrence of the *r* for ‘low’ subject matter (*rusticus—rastris.*), doubled only once (“*horridus*”)—because Petrarch tends to avoid *rr* within a context, even a large one, where it is frequent. For his proposed correction in *Africa* 3.446, see Vincenzo Fera, *La revisione petrarchesca dell’ Africa* (Messina: Centro di Studi umanistici, 1984), 105.
 22. Torquato Tasso, *Gerusalemme liberata*, ed. Anna Maria Carini (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1961), 13.3.1–8; reprinted on-line at <http://www.liberliber.it>. Compare Tasso’s “(né) guida *bifolco* mai, guida *pastore*” with Petrarch’s “né *pastori* appressavan né *bifolci*”; and Tasso’s “ma lunge passa e la *dimostra a dito*” with Petrarch’s “*digitoque hunc signat.custos.*” The connections are indisputable. For the *Fortleben* of Tasso’s passage, see, for example, Giambattista Ma-

rino, *La strage de gl' innocenti* 1.15, “correr bifolci poi correr pastori”; where the substantives (in the plural) come from Petrarch, but Tasso’s subtler influence is felt at the “musical” level (doubling of the same verb; the rhythm of the hendecasyllable).

23. Torquato Tasso, *Jerusalem Delivered*, trans. by Joseph Tusiani (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1970), 287.

Chapter Nineteen

1. The edition of record is Paul Piur, *Petrarcas 'Buch ohne Namen' und di päpstliche Kurie: Ein Beitrag zur Geistesgeschichte der Frührenaissance* (Halle and Saale: Max Niemeyer, 1925). Petrarch, *Sine nomine: Lettere polemiche e politiche*, ed. Ugo Dotti (Bari: Laterza, 1974), follows Piur’s text. An English translation is Norman P. Zacour, *Petrarch's Book without a Name: A Translation of the "Liber Sine nomine"* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1973). Nine letters are translated into English in Robert Coogan, *Babylon on the Rhone* (Potomac: Studia humanitatis, 1983). References to the *Familiar Letters* are to *Le familiari (Rerum familiarum libri 24)*, ed. Vittorio Rossi, 4 vols., Florence: Sansoni, 1933–42 [Edizione nazionale, vols. 10–13]; references to the *Rerum vulgariū fragmenta* are to Petrarch, *Canzoniere*, ed. Marco Santagata, 2nd ed. (Milan: Mondadori, 1997); for the *Variae*, see Petrarch, *Lettere disperse, varie, e miscellanea*, ed. Alessandro Pancheri (Guanda: Parma, 1994).
2. For the writing and arrangement, see Petrarch *Sine nomine* (ed. Piur, 147–60); Ernest Hatch Wilkins, *Studies in the Life and Works of Petrarch* (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1955), 81–181, esp. 179–81; Ernest Hatch Wilkins, *Petrarch's Eight Years in Milan* (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1958), 48–49, 166–67, 179, 184, 202; and *Petrarch's Book without a Name* (trans. Zacour), 19–23. Translations are mine unless otherwise noted.
3. Marco Ariani, *Petrarca* (Naples: Sellerio, 2000), 188. Another recent account is Vinicio Pacca, *Petrarca* (Bari: Laterza, 1998), 140–43.
4. For the manuscripts, see Petrarch *Sine nomine* (ed. Piur, 241–90). The name of the collection is discussed by Michele Feo in “Fili petrarcheschi,” *Rinascimento* 19 (1979): 3–89, esp. 22–23.
5. *Sine nomine, praefatio* (ed. Piur, 164).
6. See *Sine nomine* 11 (ed. Piur, 204). In terms of *ars dictaminis*, Petrarch’s letters include intrinsic parts from exordium to conclusion but lack the extrinsic *allocutio* or address and the signature or seal, *communitio*. These are essential for several theorists (see Emil J. Polak, *A Textual Study of Jacques de Dinant's Summa dictaminis* [Geneva: Droz, 1975]: 67, 124–25, without them the letter does not transmit the writer’s thoughts to a remote addressee, as its definition requires 67).

7. See *Familiars* 24.13.6 (“I have uprooted from the order of these [the *Familiars*] other similar writings that remain to me, which will make up another volume”); other references to the *Sine nomine* in the *Familiars* are at 15.12.2 and 20.6.2; they appear to establish the dating of the first (1353) and second (1359–60) versions of the *Sine nomine*. Petrarch assembled the first, twenty-book collection of the *Familiars* in 1359.
8. See *Sine nomine* 2 (ed. Piur, 167): “those very words, which might have softened hearts of marble, were torn up and scattered . . . Your courier was captured at the Durance, tortured, whipped, forbidden entrance to the city and sent off with threats, bruises, and blows, returning to your feet with bloodied head.”
9. Petrarch *Sine nomine* (ed. Dotti), 2; see *Familiars* 21.1.2: “I long ago fashioned and composed many things . . . when I go from here, they will break out from their concealment and show me to have been a disciple of the truth, though hidden for fear of the Jews” (cf. John 16.19).
10. See Petrarch’s *praefatio* (ed. Piur, 164): “if anyone judges that they should be erased or separated out, they can more easily uproot a part of the work without disfiguring the whole.”
11. Vergerio included parts of six letters; see Coogan, *Babylon on the Rhone*, 14–15.
12. Piur’s edition depends on over forty manuscripts of the collection, partial or complete, between the late trecento and the late quattrocento; all identify the work as Petrarch’s (see *Sine nomine*, ed. Piur, 244–90).
13. Petrarch *Sine nomine praefatio* (ed. Piur, 164): “If, as the satirist pleases to say, it is safe for the living to talk about the dead, surely it is safer for the dead to talk about the living.” For the citation, see Juvenal *Satura* 1.162.
14. Petrarch *Sine nomine* 6 (ed. Piur 190–91): “I shall write, truth will dictate, the whole human race will bear witness; Posterity, you be the judge, unless you are deaf to our ills because of your own!”
15. Petrarch *Sine nomine* 19 (ed. Piur, 237); for *Sine nomine* SN 11 (ed. Piur, 204): “you know who I am, and you recognize my voice.” In *Sine nomine* 4 (ed. Piur, 181), Petrarch, made a Roman citizen at his coronation, writes, “I add this, that it is a Roman citizen who speaks.”
16. For Petrarch’s “grandiose” self, see Pierre Blanc, “Petarca ou la poétique de l’ego: Éléments de psychopoétique peétrarquienne,” *Revue des Études Italiennes* 29 (1983): 122–69, esp. 144.
17. For the dates of individual letters, some highly conjectural, see Petrarch *Sine nomine* (ed. Piur, 313–407), passim; Wilkins, *Studies in the Life of Petrarch*, idem, *Petrarch’s Eight Years in Milan*; and Petrarch *Sine nomine* (ed. Dotti), passim.
18. For the chronology, see Wilkins, *Studies in the Life of Petrarch*, 179–81, but see

- esp. note 106. *Sine nomine* 5–13, written, except for letter 12, from late 1351 to spring of 1352, were ordered as follows (digits represent the letter's place in the likely chronological order): 7, 9, 8, 10, 11, 6, 5, 13. See Dotti in *Sine nomine* (ed. Dotti), xxx–xxxii.
19. Petrarch *Sine nomine* 7 (ed. Piur, 192); see also 5 (ed. Piur, 185): “I was happier in my Italian Helicon”; 6 (ed. Piur, 188, 190): “Give back Nero, I beg, give back Domitian,” “Do you think I lack subjects for a tragic poem?”
 20. *Sine nomine* 5 (ed. Piur, 185): “Now I am held by the Gallic world, by western Babylon.”
 21. *Sine nomine* 10 (ed. Piur, 196–97), begins: “You will be amazed at the subscriptions (*subscriptiones*) to my letters,” referring to signing the previous letter “written, full of indignation, by the waters of Babylon.”
 22. Babylon appears in *Sine nomine* 14 (ed. Piur, 211): “who I ask you would not flee from Babylon?” Other references in *Sine nomine* 17 (ed. Piur, 220, 227), 18 (ed. Piur, 228), and seven other uses; 19 (ed. Piur, 235). The last three letters were all likely written to Francesco Nelli, though the latter two are fictional letters never sent. See E. H. Wilkins, *Studies* 192–212, and idem, “A Survey of the Correspondence between Petrarch and Francesco Nelli,” *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 1 (1958): 351–58.
 23. See *Sine nomine* 9 (ed. Piur, 196): “Under this burden of persecution enslaved Italy sighs in our time” [*serva . . . suspirat Italia*]. The end of *Sine nomine* 8 and beginning of *Sine nomine* 9 are closely linked verbally (ed. Piur, 195): “it is unseemly for a man to want (*velle*) what just now he spurned (*noluit*);” and “There are two kinds of persecution: one we endure unwillingly [*nolentes*], the other willingly (*volentes*).”
 24. *Sine nomine* 13 (ed. Piur, 208).
 25. *Sine nomine* 14 (ed. Piur, 214): “See Rome, Milan, Venice . . . only do not look upon Babylon; do not descend living into the Inferno.” *Sine nomine* 15 (ed. Piur, 216): “If not snatched away by God (*nisi Deus eripiat*), who could escape from here?” *Sine nomine* 16 (ed. Piur, 216): “reditus tuus, namque ire in patriam redire est” (translated in the text).
 26. *Sine nomine* (ed. Piur, 234) notes that Dedalus is said to have “swum” as he flew (*enatavit*) in Virgil *Aeneid* 6.16; Deucalion, escaping the flood, swims (*enatavit*) in *Sine nomine* 11 (ed. Piur, 203).
 27. “viventium infernus” [the hell of the living; *Sine nomine* 8 [ed. Piur, 195]] derives from Psalm 54.16; *evasiimus* is also used anaphorically of Petrarch’s and Gherardo’s escapes from youthful error in Avignon, *Familiares* 10.3.39–40. *enatasti* and *evasiisti* also echo the first of the *Sine nomine* (ed. Piur, 166): “see if there is any raft fit for swimming with (*enatandum tabula*), so that holding it we may escape to the dry land (*in siccum evadamus*).”

28. Virgil *Aeneid* 6.128: “sed revocare gradum superasque evadere ad auras”; also *Sine nomine* (ed. Piur), 365, 370–71 (“eripe me his, invicte, malis . . .”; emphases added).
29. In numerous passages, Petrarch grafts Palinurus’s plea to be snatched from Acheron into Hades with pleas to Christ for the soul’s rescue from Hell (“a porta inferni erue me, domine,” 2nd Nocturns of Matins in the Office of the Dead) and for the liberation of the just from Limbo, as narrated in the Gospel of Nicodemus; see especially *Familiares* 23.12, quoted in Petrarch, *Secretum*, ed. Enrico Fenzi (Milan: Mursia, 1992), 308; see also *Canzoniere* 214 (ed. Santagata), 28–29, and *Seniles* 16.8.
30. Petrarch *Sine nomine* 19 (ed. Piur, 237).
31. For Petrarch’s use of invective, see Franco Suitner, “L’invettiva antiavignonese del Petrarca e la poesia infamante medievale,” in *Studi Petrarqueschi*, n.s., 2 (1985): 201–10; see also Emilio Pasquini, “Il mito polemico di Avignone nei poeti italiani del Trecento,” in *Aspetti culturali della società italiana nel periodo del papato avignonese* (Todi: Accademia Tudertina, 1981), 257–309, esp. 270–87. For the rhetoric of medieval invective and satire, see also Maurizio Perugi, “Il sordello di Dante e la tradizione mediolatina dell’invettiva,” in *Studi danteschi* 55 (1983): 23–135; and Hugo Kindermann, *Satyra: Die Theorie der Satire im Mittellatenischen Vorstudie zu einer Gattungsgeschichte* (Nuremberg: Hans Carl, 1978).
32. Horace *Sermones* 1.4.39–42; Kindermann, *Satyra*, 24, cites a twelfth-century *accessus* to Juvenal that prescribes verse for satire, prose for invective.
33. Martellotti’s suggestion, reported in Feo, “Fili petrarcheschi,” 23, that the *titulus Sine nomine* attests to a reluctance to pin down the collection with a title, offers some guidance.
34. See *Canzoniere* (ed. Santagata), 133–35, and Santagata’s notes; on the *Epystole* to Nelli, see Wilkins, *Studies in the Life of Petrarch*, 193–204.
35. In Martianus Capella (*De nuptiis* 1.2, cited in Kindermann, *Satyra*, 26), Petrarch could have found the Roman comic formula used to applaud satire.
36. Petrarch *Sine nomine, praefatio* (ed. Piur, 164): “this idea led me . . . to write the *Bucolicum carmen*, an obscure kind of poem (*poematis genus ambigui*) which though understood by few might possibly please many.”
37. *Sine nomine* 6 (ed. Piur, 190): “do you think I lack a subject for a tragic poem (*tragico carmine*)? . . . the Linen books will agree with the annals . . . You need no other work of tragedy or history.”
38. *Sine nomine* 3 (ed. Piur, 172): “a formal debate was held on the question: would it not be best for the world if the city of Rome and Italy were united and at peace?”
39. See *Sine nomine* (ed. Dotti), 88, 126–32.

40. Petrarch *Sine nomine* 17 (ed. Piur, 221): “With all their strength they drag him again and again to Calvary—scuffed at, naked, helpless, scourged—and to blasphemous applause they affix him once again to the cross.”
41. Isidore of Seville, cited in Kindermann, *Satyra*: “They are called satirists (*Satyrici*) . . . because their fullness and abundance means they speak at once of many things; or because of that platter (*lance*) that crammed with various fruits and produce was borne to pagan temples; or the name was taken from the satyrs (*Satyrii*), who hold pardonable what is said because of drunkenness” (31–37, quotation from 31).
42. Dotti in *Sine nomine* (ed. Dotti), xxxiv–xxxv; see also Ariani, *Petrarca*, 187.
43. John Wrigley, “A Rehabilitation of Clement VI,” *Archivum historiae pontificiae* 3 (1965): 127–38, makes an elaborate case for the adulterous couple as Louis of Taranto and Joanna I of Spain, not Clement VI and the Vicountess of Turenne, as argued by the abbé de Sade.
44. Juvenal *Satura* 1.160: “. . . digito compesce labellum”; cf. *Sine nomine* 19 (ed. Piur, 238), citing Job 39.34–35.
45. Juvenal *Satura* 1.52–54: “Heracleas aut Diomedea aut mugitum labyrinthi/et mare percussum puero fabrumque volantem” [the exploits of Hercules or Diomedes, or the bellowing of the labyrinth, or the sea struck by the boy, or the flying craftsman . . .].
46. Juvenal *Satura* 1.79–80: “Si natura negat, facit indignatio versum/qualem-cumque potest” [If nature holds back, it is outrage itself that, as best it may, drives me to verses]. See Ariani, *Petrarca*, 187; Kindermann, *Satyra*, 76, 118.
47. Giuseppe Velli, “Il Dante di Francesco Petrarca,” in *Studi Petrarqueschi*, n.s. 2 (1985): 185–99, esp. 190–92; see also Giuseppe Billanovich, *Petrarca letterato I. Lo scrittoio del Petrarca* (Rome, 1947), 165–66; Pasquini, “Il mito polemico di Avignone”; Perugi, “Il sordello di Dante” 87–97; Suitner, “L’invettiva antiavignonese del Petrarca.”
48. See Perugi, “Il sordello di Dante,” 81–108.
49. For this aspect of Lamentations commentary, see Ronald L. Martinez, “Mourning Beatrice: The Rhetoric of Threnody in the *Vita nuova*,” *MLN* 113 (1998): 1–29 and idem, “Lament and Lamentation in *Purgatorio* and the Role of Dante’s Statius,” *Dante Studies* 117 (1997): 46–82.
50. See Petrarch *Sine nomine* (ed. Piur, 168); that this passage also echoes Dante, *Purgatorio* 6.76–78 is noted by Kenelm Foster, *Petrarch, Poet and Humanist* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1984), 11–12. See *Sine nomine* 2 (ed. Piur, 168): “Is this the way you honor your mistress (*dominam*) Rome? . . . Do you not know the origins of the name ‘Provençe’ (Provincie nomen)? . . . Is this the way your revere the mistress of the Provinces (*provinciarum dominam*)?”

51. See *Sine nomine* (ed. Piur, 196); there are some ten passages, including six from Dante's *Purgatorio* 6 and political epistles (5–7, 11); only four, all previously identified, are registered in Marco Baglio, "Presenze dantesche nel Petrarca latino," *Studi Petrarceschi* 9 (1992): 77–137, esp. 134–36.
52. See *Sine nomine* 18 (ed. Piur, 230): "Now rejoice, Babylon, rejoice at least for being the opposite of the mistress of virtues . . ."
53. Ezio Raimondi, "Un esercizio satirico del Petrarca," in *Metafora e Storia* (Turin: Einaudi, 1970), 189–208. All the letters to Nelli include a narrative anecdote of some kind, another distinguishing feature of the letters added in the late fifties.
54. Petrarch *Sine nomine* 18 (ed. Piur, 234): "And just like the Psyche of Lucius Apuleius, to be honored in happy marriage, she enters the chamber of a man unknown to her."
55. *Sine nomine* 18 (ed. Piur, 234–35).
56. Similar spousal (and adultery) metaphors are found in Petrarch's *Bucolicum carmen* 6.149–157, describing simoniacal "adultery" (cf. Dante *Inferno* 19.3), and the subsequent infidelities of the Avignon harlot.
57. For Guido da Pisa, Dante is not only a comic and lyric poet but "a satirist, too, on account of the reproaches he makes of vices and the recommendations to virtue; and a tragedian as well, because of the great deeds of high personages that he narrates" (my trans.); see Guido da Pisa, *Expositiones et glose super Comediam Dantis facte per Fratrem Guidonem Pisanum*, ed. Vincenzo Cioffari (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1974).

Chapter Twenty

1. Petrarch, *Lettere disperse, varie e miscellanee*, ed. Alessandro Pancheri (Parma: Guanda, 1994), 78–80 (*Lettere disperse*, 9, *Variae* 38): "litteras tuas, que istinc ad nos ueniunt, non extimes apud eos, quibus destinantur, permanere, sed confestim ab omnibus tanta sedulitate transcribi tantoque studio per aulas Pontificum circumferri, quasi non ab homine nostri generis, sed a superis uel antipodibus misse sint." Translations are mine unless otherwise noted.
2. Barbato's letter is quoted and dated by Marco Vattasso, *Del Petrarca e di alcuni suoi amici* (Rome: Tipografia Vaticana, 1904), 13–14: "nedum prolixas epistolas, sed fragmenta tui eloquij undecumque possum querito. . . ." This responded to Petrarch's letter, "Aliquotiens, Barbate, queri soleo" (*Familiares* 22.4).
3. Petrarch *Lettere disperse* (ed. Pancheri), 268 (*Lettere disperse* 33, *Variae* 22): "eadem amicitie vis compellet, que te adeo sollicitum ardentemque coacervandis opusculis meis fecit, que ut memoras, ab innumeris et mirum in modum patria, moribus ac professione distantibus mendicasti. . . . michi propter

perseverantiam admiratio quotidie recens est, quod ita nichil affectui tuo detrahat cuncta consumens etas.” On Barbato’s passion for Petrarch’s writing, see also *Lettere disperse* 5 (*Miscellaneae* 16) and *Lettere disperse* 51 (*Miscellaneae* 9).

4. In addition to the *Familiare*s and *Seniles*, Petrarch grouped nineteen letters together in the *Liber sine nomine*. The letters were explicitly excluded from the *Familiare*s because they were too controversial, so much so that Petrarch did not want them published until after his death. The letters in the three collections together number about five hundred.
5. Vittorio Rossi, “Un archetipo abbandonato di epistole di Petrarca,” in *Studi sul Petrarca e sul Rinascimento*, ed. Vittorio Rossi (Florence: Sansoni, 1930), 176. See, for example, also Giorgio Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1952), 458, 64; Aldo S. Bernardo, “Letter-Splitting in Petrarch’s *Familiare*s,” *Speculum* 33, no. 2 (1958): 236–41; and below, n. 7.
6. For the 350 *Familiare*s, for instance, Silvia Rizzo estimates that an original version exists for less than one-quarter (or about eighty-eight; “Il latino del Petrarca nelle *Familiari*,” in *The Uses of Greek and Latin*, ed. A. C. Dionisotti, Anthony Grafton, and Jill Kraye [London: Warburg Institute, 1988], 53). For an early list of precanonical versions of these letters, see Paul Piur, “Die Korrespondenz Petrarca’s,” in *Briefwechsel des Cola di Rienzo*, vol. 2, ed. Konrad Burdach and Paul Piur (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1928), 133–34.
7. Vittorio Rossi described Petrarch’s general procedure in refining his letters: after drafting the letter and making additions, subtractions, and corrections, he had two copies of the letter made, the *transmissiva* to send to his addressee and the *transcriptio in ordine* to keep for himself. Petrarch did not, however, unerringly follow this procedure. See Rossi, “Un archetipo,” 175.
8. In the mid-nineteenth century, Giuseppe Fracassetti issued the first large compilation of letters extraneous to the structured prose letter collections. From manuscript and printed sources, Fracassetti published sixty-five of these extraneous letters as *Epistolae variae* and included eight more in an *Appendix litterarum*: Francisci Petrarcae, *Epistolae de rebus familiaribus et variae*, ed. Giuseppe Fracassetti (Florence: Le Monnier, 1859–1863), 3:309–536. Of these seventy-three letters, twelve have since been excluded, but the sixty-one others form the most important nucleus of the *Lettere disperse*. In 1962, E. H. Wilkins and Giuseppe Billanovich collected and published other extraneous letters and letter fragments as “*Miscellaneous letters*” in “The Miscellaneous Letters of Petrarch,” *Speculum* 37, no. 2 (1962): 226–43. With only two exceptions, the seventy-six letters in the modern edition of the *Lettere*

- disperse*, edited by Alessandro Pancheri, were first collected as *variae* or *miscellaneae*. The exceptions are the letter that begins “Invitus ducur” (*Lettere disperse* 37), published in 1991 by Giovanna Rao and Michele Feo in Feo, ed., *Codici latini del Petrarca nelle biblioteche fiorentine* (Florence: Le Lettere, 1991), 474–79; and the “D’Orville letter” (*Lettere disperse* 61), published in 1974 by Nicholas Mann as “‘O Deus, qualis epistola!’ A New Petrarch Letter,” in *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 17 (1974): 242–43. Pancheri’s edition is now the key reference work for study of the *Disperse*, where the various provenances of the letters are discussed in the textual note, xxvii–xxxiv.
9. Mikhail Bakhtin writes, for instance, that “the letter, like a rejoinder in a dialogue, is addressed to a specific person, and it takes into account the other’s possible reactions, the other’s possible reply.” *Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics* (Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1973), 205.
 10. Giles Constable, “Letters and Letter-Collections,” *Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental* 17 (1976): 11.
 11. Although there are some exceptions (including the Viscontean letters, discussed below), Petrarch largely spurned the rigid rules of composition of the *ars dictaminis* and embraced the more open and personal style of expression of classical letter writing. See, for example, Ronald Witt, “Medieval ‘Ars Dictaminis’ and the Beginnings of Humanism: A New Construction of the Problem,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 35, no. 1 (1982): 1–35, especially 28–35; and Ronald Witt, *In the Footsteps of the Ancients: The Origins of Humanism from Lovato to Bruni* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 230–91.
 12. Pancheri, introduction, xvii. As Pancheri explains, since Petrarch wrote many more letters than he could include in his planned collections, many of the *lettere disperse* (along with the hundreds or thousands of other letters that have not survived) were not deliberately rejected as much as they were not chosen. Petrarch several times commented on his nearly obsessive compulsion to write (see, for example, *Familiars* 13.7), and wrote that he burned at least a thousand of his poems and letters (*Familiars* 1.1). See also *Seniles* 16.3.
 13. MS Marciano XIII 70 = 4309. See Giuseppe Billanovich, *Petrarca letterato. I. Lo scrittoio del Petrarca* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1947), 23; Michele Feo, “Fili petrarcheschi,” *Rinascimento*, 2nd ser., 19 (1979): 63.
 14. The dating between late 1363 and 1365 is offered by Rossi, “Un archetipo,” 184; see also Feo, “Fili,” 64.
 15. These letters are *Lettere disperse* 45–47 (*Variae* 14, 25, 52) and *Lettere disperse* 55–58 (*Variae* 54, 58, 19, 43). Some of the letters from the codex M were also moved to the *Seniles*. On codex M, see for example Rossi, “Un archetipo”; Billanovich, *Petrarca letterato*, 23–24; Pancheri, introduction, xx–xxii.

16. Petrarch might have removed *Lettere disperse* 46 to Giovanni Boccaccio because it repeated the narration, also found in *Familiare*s 21.10, of an injury Petrarch received from an unwieldy Ciceronian codex; the first part of the letter returned, in any case, in amplified form, in *Seniles* 10.2; he might have eliminated *Lettere disperse* 47 as repetitive of *Familiare*s 22.4 (Pancheri, introduction, xx).
17. *Lettere disperse* 45 announced publication of a work, *De vita solitaria*, that was not yet ready when Petrarch was having the definitive version of the *Familiare*s copied (see Feo, “Fili,” 64). *Lettere disperse* 55–57 were eliminated from the final collection because they regarded the copyist of the codex M, who was not the copyist of the final manuscript (see Rossi, “Un archetipo,” 185). *Lettere disperse* 58 discussed Petrarch’s plan to donate his codices to found a public library in Venice; although Petrarch still lived in Venice when the final books of the *Familiare*s were being transcribed, his decision to exclude this letter seems to Pancheri a sign that he was already contemplating leaving the city (Pancheri, introduction, xxi).
18. Michele Feo, “L’epistola come mezzo di propaganda politica in Francesco Petrarca,” in *Le forme della propaganda politica nel due e nel trecento*, ed. Paolo Cammarosano (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1994), 224. Pancheri’s edition names only Bernabò in association with the letter (cf. *Lettere disperse* [ed. Pancheri], 289).
19. Petrarch *Lettere disperse* (ed. Pancheri), 290: “Tu quidem, quantum intelligi datur, credens forte tibi rem esse cum pueris, multipliciter visus es ut nos ventoso tonitru et verborum inanum fragoribus deterres. Nos . . . insolentiae tuae minas ac dicta contemnimus, omnino muscularum murmur, ac vanus strepitus non horremus.”
20. Feo gives a summary of who does and does not attribute authorship of this letter to Petrarch; by Feo’s counts, eleven critics sustain that Petrarch wrote it; two allow that it is probably his; two doubt it; and four deny it. Based on the sources that Feo cites, no critic after Paul Piur in 1933 has denied authorship. See Michele Feo, “Francesco Petrarca e la contesa epistolare tra Markwart e i Visconti,” in *Filologia umanistica per Gianvito Resta*, ed. Vincenzo Fera and Giacomo Ferrau (Padua: Antenore, 1997), 683–84. Feo here also provides a critical edition of Markwart and Petrarch’s letters.
21. For the string of setbacks that brought Bussolari to extreme measures, see Luisa Vergani-Zamboni, “Per una nuova lettura delle epistole del Petrarca a Iacopo Bussolari,” *Filologia e Letteratura* 15, no. 2 (1969): 131–22.
22. Petrarch *Lettere disperse* (ed. Pancheri), 312.
23. Bussolari, and Petrarch’s condemnation of him, are matters of historical controversy. Scholars who criticize Petrarch’s actions in this episode include

- Dotti, *Vita di Petrarca* (Rome: Laterza, 1987), 334; Michele Feo, “Nuove petrarchesche,” *Belfagor* 46, no. 2 (1991): 151, and idem, “Propaganda,” 220. Other historians, in implicit criticism, draw a parallel between Bussolari and Cola di Rienzo, whose struggle for Roman liberty Petrarch passionately supported. See, for instance, Francesco Cognasso, *I Visconti* (Milan: Dall’Oglio, 1966; rpt. 1987), 235. Vittorio Rossi argues, however, that Petrarch at least saw their struggles as fundamentally different and the condemnation of Bussolari as necessary: “Petrarca a Pavia,” in *Studi sul Petrarca e sul Rinascimento*, ed. Vittorio Rossi (Florence: Sansoni, 1930), 9.
24. Other troublesome letters among those Petrarch wrote for the Visconti are those denouncing the captain Pandolfo Malatesta (*Lettere disperse* 37 and 38), who was a friend and correspondent of the poet’s; Feo doubts he could have written these letters without “some moral uneasiness” (“Nuove,” 151).
 25. For a discussion of his friends’ reactions, and especially Boccaccio’s, see, inter alia, Billanovich, *Petrarca letterato*, 180–86; and Ugo Dotti, *Petrarca a Milano: Documenti milanesi 1553–1554* (Milan: Ceschina, 1972), 51–75.
 26. Petrarch *Lettere disperse* (ed. Pancheri), 130: “desueta iugo colla submisi.” His freedom was limited enough that he had to obtain permission from the Visconti to leave the city. See the editor’s note in Petrarch, *Lettere*, ed. Giuseppe Fracassetti (Florence: Le Monnier, 1863–1867), 3:467.
 27. For dating, see Ernest Hatch Wilkins, *Petrarch’s Eight Years in Milan* (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1958), 40, with whom Dotti concurs, *Petrarca a Milano*, 67–68.
 28. On him, see Ludovico Frati, “Gano di Lapo da Colle e le sue rime,” *Propugnatore*, n.s., 6, no. 2 (1893): 195–226. His sonnet to Petrarch, which also lauded Petrarch and evidently contrasted Florentine freedom to Milanese tyranny, has not survived.
 29. Petrarch *Lettere disperse* (ed. Pancheri), 166: “quod discedat a tyrannide dominorum de Mediolano et accedat ad libertatis locum.” The words are from an explanatory note in the manuscript Vat. Barb. Lat. 56, fol. 21r, that precedes Petrarch’s letter of response (ibid., 167, n. 5).
 30. Ibid., 166: “Sed error facti magna sepe fallit ingenia.”
 31. Wilkins, *Eight Years*, 69–71.
 32. Petrarch *Lettere disperse* (ed. Pancheri), 190: “id enim agis non ut vulgare aliquid, sed ut suprema vitae gaudia, libertatem, solitudinem, otium, silentium, id agis ut laborum ferias, ut tranquillae mentis statum, ut te postremo, ut me mihi restituas.” Also in the *dispersa* that follows this one, to Gui de Boulogne, Petrarch expresses hope (vain, as it turned out) that Cabassoles will win his freedom.
 33. The dating is from Wilkins, *Eight Years*, 91.

34. Petrarch *Lettere disperse* (ed. Pancheri), 200: “At quotiens ad plebeias atque humiles curas, quas nec stilo dignas putem, aliqua rerum necessitas me attraxerit, plebeium quoque characterem non recuso, ne forte plus operae verbis impendam quam sententiis debeatur.”
35. The dating is from Wilkins, *Eight Years*.
36. Petrarch *Lettere disperse* (ed. Pancheri), 318: “omnibus una mens est moram meam his in locis: nisi sat reliquae vitae meae consentaneam probare.”
37. Critics differ on what this is: see Wilkins, *Eight Years*, 102; Arnaldo Foresti, *Aneddoti della vita di Francesco Petrarca* (Padua: Antenore, 1977), 523; Dotti, *Vita*, 310–11; *Lettere disperse* (ed. Pancheri), 318, n. 8.
38. *Lettere disperse* (ed. Pancheri), 318: “ubi si res meas: non dicam irreprehensibiles aut laudabiles: sed tolerabiles excusabilesque: mira vero & illi amico & alijs miratoribus meis siue amantibus siue temptantibus siue ex professo carpentibus puto responsum erit.”
39. In *Lettere disperse* 46 (*Variae* 25), again to Boccaccio, Petrarch also pleads the necessity of his choice, since he has no other place to go (*Lettere disperse*, ed. Pancheri, 344).
40. This was the second of three consecutive letters to Nelli on the issue.
41. Dotti, *Petrarca a Milano*, 74–75.
42. Petrarch *Lettere disperse* (ed. Pancheri), 38: “Sed quibus iterum verbis utar in tam repentino tamque inopinato gaudio? Quibus votis exultantis animi motus explicem? Usitata sordescunt, inusitata non audeo.”
43. Petrarch *Lettere disperse* (ed. Pancheri), 92 (*Lettere disperse* 10, *Variae* 40): “uindex libertatis unice.” The two letters to Cola in the *Sine nomine*, a collection of letters that Petrarch himself explains were deliberately excluded from the *Familiare*s, similarly discuss Cola’s revolution at its apex and address Cola in exaltative terms.
44. The surviving letters to Cola thus number seven: the four *disperse*; two in the *Sine nomine*; and one in the *Familiare*s. Since Petrarch said he wrote the tribune every day (*Lettere disperse* 9, *Variae* 38) and that writing to him soothed his worries (*Lettere disperse* 10, *Variae* 40), we must imagine that these letters represent only a fraction of those actually written.
45. Petrarch, *Le familiari*, ed. Vittorio Rossi (Florence: Sansoni, 1934), 2.110–11: “Mundus ergo te videbit de bonorum duce satellitem reproborum? . . . Immortale decus est, immortalis infamia,” translated by Aldo Bernardo as *Letters on Familiar Matters I–VIII* (New York: Italica Press, 2005), 350–51.
46. Petrarch says as much in *Lettere disperse* 8 (*Variae* 48), *Lettere disperse* (ed. Pancheri), 74–75, and *Lettere disperse* 9 (*Variae* 38), *Lettere disperse* (ed. Pancheri), 82–85.
47. Demonstrations of its authenticity in Arnaldo Della Torre, “Aneddoti pe-

- trarcheschi," *Giornale Dantesco* 16 (1908): 82–88; and Billanovich, *Petrarca letterato*, 257, n. 1, followed by Ernest Hatch Wilkins, *Studies on Petrarch and Boccaccio* (Padua: Antenore, 1978), 126; but Feo expresses some reservation about whether the letter was originally in Italian ("Fili," 56).
48. Petrarch *Lettere disperse* (ed. Pancheri), 366–67: "o' pregato che cerchi alcuni libri et se forse trovasse cosa alcuna . . . prego che vi piaccia pagare i denari infino a cento fiorini, et terrete i libri" [I asked him to look for certain books, and if he happens to find any of them . . . I ask that you please pay up to 100 Florins and hold the books.]
 49. Horace, *Sermones* 1.9; *Lettere disperse* (ed. Pancheri), 158, n. 6.
 50. On Nelli and the correspondence between him and Petrarch, see Henry Cochin, *Un amico di Francesco Petrarca: Le lettere del Nelli al Petrarca* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1901).
 51. Petrarch *Lettere disperse* (ed. Pancheri), 160: "coenatus . . . solis fabulis."
 52. *Ibid.*, 166: "ut ego testifitor, lingua, incolumem pervenisse."
 53. This same bothersome visitor is mentioned in several other letters among the *Familiars*, *Lettere disperse*, and *Seniles*; on him, see Foresti, *Aneddoti*, 305–18.
 54. Plus two (*Lettere disperse* 10, 16, *Variae* 40, 33) to unknown correspondents. Only a slight majority of the addressees of the *disperse* were also addressees of the *Familiars*, *Seniles*, *Sine nomine*, or the *Epytote*. Compare tables in *Lettere* (ed. Fracassetti), 1.153–61, "Indice dei nomi di tutti coloro cui il Petrarca scrisse lettere,"; and Alessandro Pancheri, textual note to Petrarch, *Lettere disperse* (ed. Pancheri), xxxiv–xxxvi.
 55. Petrarch also wrote Gui de Boulogne independent of his work for the Visconti in *Lettere disperse* 27 (*Variae* 26).
 56. The close friendship is also testified by letters to Azzo's natural and legitimate sons, *Lettere disperse* 14 and 33 (*Variae* 2, 22). In his ordered collections, however, Petrarch does not mention Azzo, *signore* of Parma who might himself have been accused of despotism.
 57. Only one letter from an ordered collection is addressed to him.
 58. Both Bruni and Barbato are frequent addressees also in the ordered collections.
 59. See Feo, *Codici*, 348–52.
 60. See p. ☒ above. On a miscellany gathered by Barbato, see also Vattasso, *Petrarca*; and Ernest Hatch Wilkins, *Studies in the Life and Works of Petrarch* (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1955), 242–52. Paul Piur names Barbato and Moggio among the most dedicated collectors of Petrarch's letters ("Korrespondenz," 140, n. 3).

Chapter Twenty-one

1. I have used Petrarch, *Le Familiari*, ed. Vittorio Rossi (Florence: Sansoni, 1933). The Latin quotations from *Familiars* 1.1 are taken from Petrarch, *Le Familiari*, intro. and trans. Ugo Dotti (Rome: Archivio Guido Izzi, 1991), who bases his text on that of Rossi. The number in each quotation refers to the paragraph of the letter. The English translations are taken from Petrarch, *Rerum familiarum libri I–VIII*, trans. Aldo S. Bernardo (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1975). The other letters are to be found in *Letters on Familiar Matters. Rerum Familiarum Libri*, trans. Aldo S. Bernardo (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982 and 1985).
2. Petrarch *Familiars* 1.1 (trans. Bernardo, 1:9; ed. Dotti, 56): “Prima quidem scribentis cura est, cui scribat attendere; una enim et quid et qualiter ceterasque circumstantias intelliget. Aliter virum fortem, aliter ignavum decet alloqui; aliter iuvenem inexpertum, aliter vite muneribus functum senem; aliter prosperitate tumidum, aliter adversitate contractum; aliter denique studiosum literisque et ingenio clarum, aliter vero non intellecturum siquid altius loquaris.”
3. *Familiars* 24.13 (trans. Bernardo, 1:8; ed. Dotti, 52–53): “usque ad hoc tempus vita pene omnis in peregrinatione transacta est. Ulixeos errores erroribus meis confer: profecto, si nominis et rerum claritas una foret, nec diutius erravit ille nec latius. Ille patrios fines iam senior excessit; . . . [ego] periclitari cepi antequam nascerer et ad ipsum vite limen auspicio mortis accessi. . . . pulsus patria pater magna cum bonorum acie confugerat. Inde mense septimo sublatus sum totaque Tuscia . . . Finis tusci errores, Pise; unde rursus etatis anno septimo divulsus ac maritimo itinere transvectus in Gallias, hibernis aquilonibus haud procul Massilia naufragium passus, parum abfui quin ab ipso rursus nove vite vestibulo revocarer. . . . quot inter errandum periculorum timorum ve species pertulerim, preter me unum nemo te melius novit. Que idcirco memorare nunc libuit, . . . si modo iam senui, et non graviora michi in senio reservantur.”
4. Giovanni Boccaccio, *Trattatello in Laude di Dante*, ed. Pier Giorgio Ricci, in *Tutte le opere di Giovanni Boccaccio*, ed. Vittore Branca (Milan: Mondadori, 1974), 3:455–57, parags. 72, 82: “Uscito adunque in cotale maniera Dante di quella città, della quale egli non solamente era cittadino, ma n'erano li suoi maggiori stati reedificatori, e lasciatevi la sua donna, insieme con l'altra famiglia, male per picciola età alla fuga disposta. . . . Non poterono gli amorosi disiri, né le dolenti lagrime, né la sollecitudine casalinga, né la lusinghevole gloria dei pubblici ofici, né il miserabile esilio, né la intollerabile povertà giammai con le loro forze rimuovere il nostro Dante dal principale intento,

cioè da' sacri studii; perciò che, sì come si vederà dove appresso partitamente dell'opere da lui fatte si farà menzione, egli, nel mezzo di qualunque fu più fiera delle passioni sopra dette, si troverà componendo essersi esercitato"; Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Life of Dante (Trattatello in laude di Dante)*, trans. by Vincenzo Zin Bollettino (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990), 20–23: "And so Dante departed from that city where he had not only been a citizen, but which his ancestors had rebuilt. He left behind his wife, together with the rest of his family, whose youthful age poorly adapted them to share his flight. . . . Neither Dante's ardent passion, nor painful tears, nor domestic anxieties, nor the seductive glory of public office, nor the misery of his exile, nor unendurable poverty could ever with all their force turn our poet away from his main objective, which was his complete dedication to sacred studies. For, as will be seen later, when mention shall be made of each of the works he composed, in the middle of whatever was most threatening of the trials just named one will find that Dante always pursued his writing with great intensity." Cf. *Inferno* 26.94–96, which, after the attack against Florence, features Ulysses' speech: "Né dolcezza di figlio, né la pieta/del vecchio padre, né il debito amore,/lo qual dovea Penelopè far lieta" [neither fondness for my son, nor reverence for my aged father, nor the due love which would have made Penelope glad.] Text and translation are cited from Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy*, trans. with comm. by Charles S. Singleton (Princeton: Princeton University Press: 1970–76), 1:276–77.

5. For a reading of Dante's rhetorical and philosophical ambiguities in the representation of Ulysses, see Giuseppe Mazzotta, *Dante Poet of the Desert: History and Allegory in the Divine Comedy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 66–106.
6. For the historical development of this practice, see Marcello Simonetta, *Il Rinascimento segreto: Il mondo del segretario da Petrarca a Machiavelli* (Milan: F. Angeli, 2004). The issue of Petrarch's ambiguities has recently been treated with historical precision by Riccardo Fubini, "Pubblicità e controllo del libro nella cultura del Rinascimento," in *Humanisme et eglise en Italie et en France meridionale (XV siècle–milieu du XVI siècle)*, ed. Patrick Gilli (Rome: École Française, 2004), 207–10.
7. Petrarch *Familiars* (ed. Dotti), 48: "hec igitur tibi, frater, diversicoloribus, ut sic dicam, licis texta dicaverim; ceterum, si stabilis sedes . . . contigerit . . . nobiliorem et certe uniformem telam tuo nomine meditor ordiri."
8. "È dunque da sapere che 'autoritate' non è altro che 'atto d'autore.' Questo vocabulo, cioè 'autore,' senza quella terza lettera C, può discendere da due principi. . . . L'altro principio onde 'autore' discende, sì come testimonia Uguccione nel principio de le sue Derivazioni, è uno vocabulo Greco che

dice ‘autentin,’ che tanto vale in latino quanto ‘degno di fede e obediienza.’” *Convivio*, in *Opere Minori*, vol. 1, pt. 2, ed. Cesare Vasoli and Domenico de Robertis (Milan : Ricciardi, 1988).

Chapter Twenty-two

1. See Petrarch, *Letters of Old Age: Rerum senilium libri*, 16.3, trans. Aldo S. Bernardo, Saul Levin, and Reta A. Bernardo (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 609; Kenelm Foster, *Petrarch: Poet and Humanist* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1984), 19–21; and Marco Ariani, *Petrarca* (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1999), 180–86.
2. See Ernest Hatch Wilkins, *Petrarch's Later Years* (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1959), 18; Petrarch, *Seniles* (ed. Bernardo et al.), xvii–xviii.
3. See Wilkins, *Later Years*, 146, 305–6. See further, “Petrarca, Boccaccio e Zanobi da Strada,” in Giuseppe Billanovich, *Petrarca e il primo umanesimo* (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1996), 158–67.
4. See Wilkins, *Later Years*, 308–11.
5. See *Seniles* (ed. Bernardo et al.), ix–x; all translations from *Seniles* follow this edition. This volume translates from the *Librorum Francisci Petrarce annotatio impressorum* (Venice, 1501), with questionable readings checked against fifteenth-century manuscripts. Ironically, the very greatness of Petrarch’s reputation as Latinist and philologist seems to have inhibited efforts to provide a workable edition of *Seniles*: there is now (since 1998) a book series entitled ‘Materiali per l’edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Francesco Petrarca,’ sponsored by the ‘Commissione per l’edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Francesco Petrarca,’ building painstakingly toward the monumental edition. The “Commissione” was established by “legge dello Stato 365” on July 11, 1904, by way of marking the sixth hundred anniversary of Petrarch’s birth. The first volume of the series, Nicola Festa’s edition of the *Africa*, was published in 1926; the four volumes of the *Familiars*, edited by Vittorio Rossi (and laterly Umberto Bosco) appeared between 1933 and 1942. To mark the seven hundredth anniversary, the CNP is launching a new, faster-track series (in book and CD-ROM formats) that will cover all Petrarch’s works; authorial variants will be reported, but there will be no commentary. The *Seniles* volume will be edited by Silvia Rizzo and Monica Berté, with the participation of Michele Feo and Vincenzo Fera.
6. See now Petrarch, *Lettres de la vieillesse (Rerum Senilium)*, ed. Elvira Nota, trans. Frédérique Castelli, François Fabre, and Antoine de Rosny, annotated by Ugo Dotti (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2002–). As Pierre Laurens argues, “this is certainly the first time, since the editions of Venice (1501, 1503)

- and of Basle (1554, 1581) that we will have a complete text of the second of Petrarch's great epistolary works at our disposal; and, even better, a text established (for the first time) as a critical edition that will be regarded as authoritative" (1:x).
7. On the slaves at Venice, see *Seniles* 10.2 (370–71); for analysis of this passage in the context of European slaving and humanist practice, see David Wallace, *Premodern Places* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 190–92.
 8. Nicholas Mann, *Petrarch* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 98.
 9. For a fine edition of *Seniles* 5.2, first fruit of the series "Materiali per l'Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Francesco Petraraca," see Petrarch, *Senile V*, 2, ed. Monica Berté (Florence: Casa Editrice Le Lettere, 1998).
 10. On *amor hereos*, see Mary Frances Wack, *Lovesickness in the Middle Ages: The Vitaticum and Its Commentaries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990).
 11. See J. Burke Severs, *The Literary Relationships of Chaucer's Clerkes Tale* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942). See further Severs, "The Clerk's Tale," in *Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, ed. W. F. Bryan and Germaine Dempster (New York: Humanities Press, 1958), 288–331; all quotations from the Latin of Petrarch's Griselde story, *Seniles* 17.3, follow this text. The base text of Severs's edition is Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome, MS Vat. Lat. 1666. For an edition based upon Peterhouse, Cambridge, MS 81 (collated with eight other manuscripts), see Thomas J. Farrell, "The Story of Griselda," in *Sources and Analogues of the Canterbury Tales*, vol. 1, ed. Robert M. Correale and Mary Hamel (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2002), 108–29. There are some 150 uncollated versions of *Seniles* 17.3 (which circulated independently, as well as part of the collection): see Charlotte C. Morse, "Exemplary Griselde," *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 7 (1985): 51–86, in particular 64.
 12. Chaucer, "Clerk's Tale," *Canterbury Tales*, 4.32–3. All references follow *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry D. Benson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).
 13. See Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosexual Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 25–26.
 14. See *Decameron*, ed. Vittore Branca (Milan: Mondadori, 1976), 10.8; Victoria Kirkham, "The Classic Bond of Friendship in Boccaccio's Tito and Gisippo (*Decameron* 10.8)," in *The Classics in the Middle Ages: Papers of the Twentieth Annual Conference of the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies*, ed. Aldo S. Bernardo and Saul Levin (Binghamton: Center for Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1990), 223–35; David Wallace, *Giovanni Boccaccio: Decameron* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 103–4;

Louis Sorieri, *Boccaccio's Story of Tito e Gisippo in European Literature* (New York: Institute of French Studies, 1937).

15. It is fascinating to note that nameless and exemplary Griselde comes between Petrarch and Boccaccio in the opening, title-bearing rubric of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome, MS Vat. Lat. 1666, fol. 17r: “Francisci Petrarce, Poete Laureati, de Insigni Obedientia et Fide Uxoris, ad Johannem Bocacium de Certaldo” (fol. 17r; Severs, “Clerk’s Tale,” 296). The embedded title, “On the Distinctive Obedience and Faithfulness of a Wife,” has authority, although so too does the one adopted from MS Peterhouse, Cambridge, 81 by Farrell: “Historia Griseldis.” Ambivalence about quite how to characterize or moralize the tale begins, it seems, with the author himself and with his scribes: “scribes produced” (in copying the final part of 17.3, Thomas J. Farrell observes) “many and widely divergent versions of Petrarch’s statement about his purpose and moral” (“*The Story of Griselde*,” 129).
16. Severs notes that of the seventy-two manuscripts and early prints he has examined, five have “stilo alto” (“Clerk’s Tale,” 330; see further, for further variations, Farrell, “The Story of Griselda,” 129). Chaucer’s Clerk speaks of Petrarch writing “in heigh stile” (4.41).
17. See Severs, “Clerk’s Tale,” 330; Petrarch *Seniles* (trans. Bernardo et al.), 668.
18. Petrarch *Seniles* 17.4 (trans. Bernardo et al.), 669. On this circle of humanist men friends, see Vittore Branca, *Boccaccio Medievale*, 5th ed. (Florence: Sansoni, 1981), 390.
19. On the *duplex causa efficiens* (twofold efficient cause) that sees God as the force that moves the human author to write, see *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism, c. 1100–c. 1575: The Commentary Tradition*, ed. A. J. Minnis and A. B. Scott with the assistance of David Wallace (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), esp. 198.
20. See David Wallace, *Chaucerian Polity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 225–26, 261–98.
21. Petrarch *Seniles* 17.2 as conveniently available in Petrarch, *Prose*, ed. Guido Martellotti et al. (Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1955), 1135–59 (p. 1142).
22. “Opto ego vobis salvis mori, et post me relinquere quorum in memoria et in verbis vivam, quorum precibus adiuver, a quibus amer ac desider” (ed. Martellotti et al., 1154; ed. Bernardo et al., 652).
23. Alan Bray, *The Friend* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003). See especially chapter 4, “The Body of the Friend,” which is largely dedicated to intimate behaviors such as eating, drinking, and sleeping together; emptying chamberpots; and exchanging gifts and letters.
24. “Me too, by night.” See J. T. Muckle, “Abelard’s Letter of Consolation to a Friend [*Historia Calamitatum*],” *Medieval Studies* 12 (1950): 163–213, quotation

- from 165. Petrarch is likely referring to his own fall from horseback on February 23, 1345.
25. This suggestion, concerning “un examen de conscience particulièrement réservé aux péchés de la chair,” is made by Pierre de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l’humanisme*, 2nd ed, 2 vols. (Paris: Champion, 1907), 2:290. The manuscript in question is Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, MS Lat. 2923.
 26. “Saepe humanos affectus aut provocant aut mitigant amplius exempla quam verba” (*Abaelard’s Historia calamitatum*, ed. and trans. (into German) by Dag Nikolaus Hasse (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2002), 2; “there are times when example is better than precept for stirring or soothing human passions” (*The Letters of Heloise and Abelard*, trans. Betty Radice [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974], 57).
 27. See Victoria Kirkham, “L’immagine del Boccaccio nella memoria tardogotica e rinascimentale,” in *Boccaccio visualizzato: Narrare per parole e per immagini fra medioevo e rinascimento*, ed. Vittore Branca (Turin: Einaudi, 1999), 1:85–144, quotation from 105. In Giorgio Vassari’s famous *Ritratto di sei poeti toscani* (1544), Boccaccio appears with “viso rotondo, mascella robusta, labbra piene e sensuali” (85).
 28. “olim iuvenis edidisti,” 290. Burke Severs includes the “Preface” to *Seniles* 17.3 after his edition of the French and Latin texts in *Literary Relationships*.
 29. “Egit me tui amor et historie,” ed. Severs in *Literary Relationships*, 291.
 30. *Of Mountains, Woods, Fountains, Lakes, Rivers . . . Oceans*: see now the edition by Manlio Pastore Stocchi in Branca, *Tutte le opere di Giovanni Boccaccio*, vol. 8 (Milan: Mondadori, 1998). On Boccaccio as geographer, see Wallace, *Pre-modern Places*, 212–13. Chaucer’s Clerk thinks Petrarch’s display of geography “a thing impertinent” (4.54).
 31. Chaucer works hard to associate his version of the Griselde story with *Lumbardye*, a place he consistently associates with *tyranny*: his opening geographical account speaks of “West Lumbardye” and his Walter is, “to speke as of lynage, The gentilleste yborn of Lumbardye” (4.46, 71–2). See further, Wallace, *Chaucerian Polity*, 40–54, 267–77, 367.
 32. “Quid iussu principum perdiderim . . .,” 1148.
 33. *Decameron* 10.10.3 (“mad bestiality”; equivalent language recurs at 10.10.61, where Walter speaks of those who repute him “crudele e iniquo e bestiale”).
 34. “Quam quidem an mutata veste deformaverim an fortassis ornaverim,” Petrarch declares to Boccaccio, “tu iudica” (ed. Severs in *Literary Relationships*, 291): “whether I have deformed it or, perhaps, beautified it by changing its garment, you judge” (656).
 35. “Nomine ego cum principibus fui, re autem principes mecum fuerunt” (1146).

36. “Non sumus paris meriti” (1138).
37. See *Variae* 56, discussed in Wallace, *Chaucerian Polity*, 348.
38. See Wallace, *Chaucerian Polity*, 268.
39. “neque in hoc unquam fatigabor aut lentescam dum spiritus huius reliquie ulle supererunt,” 324.
40. Latin text follows Petrarch, *Opera Latina omnia*, 3rd ed. (Venice: Simone Gabi, called Bevilacqua, 1503), not paginated.
41. *Opera Latina omnia* (“Francesco Petrarca to posterity, greetings”).
42. See Louise O. Fradenburg, “The Manciple’s Servant Tongue: Politics and Poetry in *The Canterbury Tales*,” *ELH* 52 (1985): 86, 103–8.
43. See Pier Giorgio Ricci, “Posteritati,” in Petrarch, *Prose*, 1161; Petrarch, *Selected Letters*, ed. Craig Kallendorf (Bryn Mawr: Thomas Library, Bryn Mawr College, 1986), 136. Kallendorf supplies a Latin text of *Seniles* 18.1. On the Testament that Petrarch drew up at Padua on April 4, 1370, an altogether more practical document, see *Petrarch’s Testament*, ed. and trans. Theodor E. Mommsen (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1957).
44. Petrarch, *Seniles* (trans. Bernardo et al.), 671, lightly modified; *Opera Latina omnia*: “Promiseram memini in quadam ordinis huius epistola me deinceps in epistolis brevius scriptuarum declivi iam temporis urgente penuria; promissum implere non valui; multoque facilius ut intelligi datur silentium cum amicis est quam breviloquium tantus est ubi semel incepimus ardor colloquendi ut facilius fuerit non coepisse quam frenare impetum cepti sermonis: sed promissum. Nonne sat promissum implet qui plus prestat? Eram credo dum promitterem oblitus Catonis illud apud Ciceronem late notum: quo natura ipsa loquencior est senectus. Valetate amici. Valetate epistolae. Inter colles euganeos. 6 idus Iunias.”

Chapter Twenty-three

1. Petrarch, “Last Will,” in *Petrarch’s Testament*, ed. and trans. Theodor E. Mommsen (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1957), 93.
2. Theodor E. Mommsen, “The Last Will: A Personal Document of Petrarch’s Old Age,” in *Petrarch’s Testament*, 10.
3. Jacques Chiffolleau, *La comptabilité de l’au-delà* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1980), 39.
4. Mommsen, “The Transmission of the Text,” in *Petrarch’s Testament*, 51.
5. Petrarch *Seniles* 11, 17. I quote from Ernest Hatch Wilkins, *The Life of Petrarch* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 224, on the *Testamentum*, see 223–25. For a complete translation of this letter, see Petrarch, *Letters of Old Age*, vol. 2, trans. Aldo S. Bernardo, Saul Levin, and Reta A. Bernardo (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 433–37.

6. We make minimal changes to Mommsen's translation (*Petrarch's Testament*, 70).
7. Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., *Death and Property in Siena, 1205–1800* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 59.
8. *Il testamento di Giovanni Boccaccio secondo l'originale in pergamena* (Siena: Alessandri e Landi, 1853), 9. Compare the incomplete form in vernacular reproduced at the end of the "Proemio" of *Annotationi et discorsi sopra alcuni luoghi del Decameron di M. Giovanni Boccaccio* (Florence: Giunti, 1574), in particular, on the relationship between the final Latin version and the Italian draft, 3–5. A translation in modern Italian is also present in Cesare Marchi, *Boccaccio* (Milan: Rizzoli, 1975), 303–10. On Boccaccio's testament, see Vitore Branca, *Giovanni Boccaccio: Profilo biografico* (Florence: Sansoni, 1977), 187–89; Thomas Caldecot Chubb, *The Life of Giovanni Boccaccio* (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1969), 258–59.
9. Cicero *De senectute* 20.74; *Tusc.* 1.48.115. I find the reference to *De senectute* in Mommsen's edition (69).
10. Petrarch, *Letters of Old Age*, vol. 1, trans. Aldo S. Bernardo, Saul Levin, and Reta A. Bernardo (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 18 and 23. Instead of "literature," as we find in Bernardo's version, I translate "literis" as "letters." On the significance of this letter, see Vinicio Pacca, *Petrarca* (Bari: Laterza, 1998), 222–23.
11. Saint Francis of Assisi, *Testamentum*, in *Opuscula sancti patris Francisci assisensis*, vol. 12, ed. Caietanus Esser O.F.M. (Rome: Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1978), 307–317, quotation on 315.
12. On Francis's testament, see Giovanni Miccoli, *Francesco d'Assisi* (Turin: Einaudi, 1991), 41–56.
13. Saint Francis of Assisi, *Testamentum*, 308, 307.
14. Cf. Cohn, *Death and Property in Siena*, 59–60.
15. Chiffolleau, *La comptabilité de l'au-delà*, 77.
16. Chiffolleau, *La comptabilité de l'au-delà*, 77–78.
17. Chrodegangus Metensis, *Regula canonicorum secundum recensionem Dacherii*, in *PL* 89, ed. J. P. Migné (Paris: Migné, 1850), chapter 32, 1072: "Impri-
mis prosterne te humiliter in conspectu Dei in terra ad orationem, et roga
beatam Mariam cum sanctis apostolis, et martyribus, et confessoribus, ut
ipsi intercedant pro te ad Dominum, et Deus omnipotens dignetur tibi dare
sapientiam perfectam, et scientiam, et intelligentiam veram, ad confitendum
peccata tua." Caietanus, *Ordo Romanus XIV*, in Mabillon, *Musei Italici*, 2
(Luteciae Parisionum: Martin, 1689), 246–443, quotation on 329. On the
evolution of this sacrament, see Cyrille Vogel, *Le pécheur et la pénitence au
moyen âge* (Paris: Cerf, 1969), 15–47; Philippe Rouillard, *Histoire de la pénitence*

- (Paris: Cerf, 1996), 65–75. The basic information on the *Confiteor* comes from the entry “Confiteor” in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 4 (<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/04222a.htm>). For a general overview of the concept of penance and confession, see the entry “pénitance” in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, 78–79 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1984), 943–1010. In particular, on the medieval view of penance, 970–80. On the issue of confession in Petrarch’s *Secretum*, see Timothy Kircher, *The Poet’s Wisdom* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 145–84.
18. Mommsen, *Petrarch’s Testament*, 70.
 19. Petrarch, *Salmi penitenziali*, ed. Roberto Gigliucci (Rome: Salerno, 1997), psalm 3, 36, and 38.
 20. Mommsen, “The Last Will: A Personal Document of Petrarch’s Old Age,” in *Petrarch’s Testament*, 16. Cf. Wilkins, *Life of Petrarch*, 243–44.
 21. Petrarch, *Canzoniere*, canzone 366, ed. Marco Santagata (Milan: Mondadori, 2001), 1397–1416, on the date of composition, 1401.
 22. Petrarch, *Canzoniere*, canzone 366, vv.135–37 (ed. Santagata, 1401).
 23. Cohn, *Death and Property in Siena*, 60–61.
 24. On Francesca and Francescuolo da Brossano, see Mommsen, *Petrarch’s Testament*, 40–41; Wilkins, *Life of Petrarch*, 177–78.
 25. Petrarch, *Lettres de la vieillesse (Rerum senilium)*, book 14, epistle 1, edited by Elvira Nota, (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2006), 4:228–307.
 26. Petrarch *Seniles* (ed. Nota), 2: 551.
 27. Petrarch *Seniles* (ed. Nota), 4: 307.
 28. On this epistle and the broader issue of mourning women in medieval Italy, see Diane Owen Hughes, “Mourning Rites, Memory, and Civilization in Premodern Italy,” in *Riti e rituali nelle società medievali*, ed. Jacques Chiffolleau, Lauro Martines, and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di studi sull’Alto Medioevo, 1994), 23–38.
 29. Mommsen, *Petrarch’s Testament*, 72.
 30. Nicholas Mann, *Petrarch* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 6.
 31. Cf. Mann, *Petrarch*, 4.
 32. *Il testamento di Giovanni Boccaccio secondo l’originale in pergamena*, 10.
 33. Giovanni Boccaccio, *Genealogie deorum*, in *Tutte le opere*, ed. Vittore Branca (Milan: Mondadori, 1998), 8:1486. Giovanni Boccaccio, *Trattatello in laude di Dante*, in *Tutte le opere*, edited by Vittore Branca (Milan: Mondadori, 1974), 3:463, paragraph 105.
 34. Boccaccio, *Genealogie deorum*, 1484 and 1488.
 35. Wilkins, *Life of Petrarch*, 82.
 36. Wilkins, *Life of Petrarch*, 96.
 37. Petrarch, *De vita solitaria*, in *Opere latine*, ed. Antonietta Bufano (Turin: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1975), vol. 1, book 2, 530.

38. Cf. Chiffolleau, *La comptabilité de l'au-delà*, 165–71.
39. See Samuel Cohn, “Burial in the Early Renaissance: Six Cities in Central Italy,” in *Riti e rituali nelle società medievali*, ed. Jacques Chiffolleau, Lauro Martines, and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di studi sull’Alto Medioevo, 1994), 39–57.
40. Mommsen, *Petrarch’s Testament*, 70.
41. Mommsen, *Petrarch’s Testament*, 74.
42. Mommsen, *Petrarch’s Testament*, 77.
43. Cohn, *Death and Property in Siena*, 27.
44. Mommsen, *Petrarch’s Testament*, 81; on Petrarch’s admiration for Giotto, 22–23.
45. Mommsen, *Petrarch’s Testament*, 80.
46. *Il testamento di Giovanni Boccaccio secondo l’originale in pergamena*, 12.
47. Mommsen, *Petrarch’s Testament*, 81–83.
48. Mommsen, *Petrarch’s Testament*, 90.
49. Mommsen, *Petrarch’s Testament*, 83.
50. Mommsen, *Petrarch’s Testament*, 87.
51. Mommsen, *Petrarch’s Testament*, 86.
52. Mommsen, *Petrarch’s Testament*, 93.
53. Timothy J. Reiss, *Mirages of the Self: Patterns of Personhood in Ancient and Early Modern Europe* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), chapter 11 (“Multum a me ipso differre compulsus sum”), 303.
54. Mommsen, “The Last Will: A Personal Document,” in *Petrarch’s Testament*, 7.

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