

**A NEWLY DISCOVERED AUTOGRAPH BY
FILIPPO DE DIVERSI (PHILIPPUS DE DIVERSIS)
FROM 1455: THE EPISTLES OF ST JEROME,
ST AUGUSTINE AND OTHERS**

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ABSTRACT: A newly discovered autograph by Filippo de Diversi, codex in which he copied the epistles of St Jerome, St Augustine and others during his days in Venice in 1455, casts new light on his life and work. This voluminous codex (278 folios) is kept in Holkham Hall, England, in the library of the Earl of Leicester. The article includes a list of all the epistles copied in the codex, accompanied by bibliographical data.

Key words: Humanism, Filippo de Diversi, Holkham Hall, Latin manuscripts, St. Jerome, St. Augustine

Old and new biographical data on Filippo de Diversi and his family

Filippo de Diversi, Humanist from Lucca, was a member of Diversi family, related to the noble Quartigiani descent. The clock tower, *Torre delle Ore*, once owned by the Quartigiani-Diversi family, still stands in Lucca, but the family signed it away to the municipality in exchange for certain fiscal benefits. The

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Ghibelline Quartigiani family was among those who, in 1316, helped *condottiere* Castruccio degli Antelminelli known as Castracane come to power. Later the Quartigianis turned against Castracane, because he violated the agreement concerning the power division. As a result, almost a hundred members of the Quartigiani family were banished from Lucca in 1328, as described by Giovanni Villani.¹ The Quartigiani later established affinal relations with the Diversi—as early as the middle of the fourteenth century a distinguished magistrate of Lucca, Filippo’s great grandfather Giovanni, was known to bear both surnames.² Niccolò, son of Giovanni de Diversi, tried to persuade Emperor Charles IV to liberate Lucca. Together with other noblemen, during the war between Pisa and Florence, he intended to cede the city to Florence.³ In the first months following the liberation of Lucca, Niccolò de Diversi played a prominent role in the public life, but when it was decided that Lucca would be a republic, the Quartigiani and other noble families were expelled from the city. Until 1371 most of the Diversi family remained banished from Lucca.⁴ Contemporary documents also mention Niccolò’s sons, Galeazzo and Giovanni, Filippo’s father.⁵

Therefore, following the turbulent events in the native Lucca the family of Filippo de Diversi ended up in exile. Even Filippo, born at the turn of the fourteenth century, experienced life in exile, along with the generations of his ancestors. Filippo attended school in the “flourishing city” of Venice, much-yearned after his years in Dubrovnik.⁶ Venice saw a strong Luccan community, organised around the *Scuola del S. Volto*.⁷ The earliest record of Filippo de Diversi in the historical documents dates from 1421, when he is mentioned as a master in *sesterio S. Polo* in Venice. Thirteen years later, in 1434, Diversi set off for Dubrovnik, where, not entirely to his satisfaction, he worked as a school headmaster (*rector*) until 1441. Then, following a dispute with the Ragusan government over his frequent

¹ Giovanni Villani, *Cronica*. Firenze: Magheri, 1823: pp. 33-34.

² *Memorie e documenti per servire all' istoria del principato lucchese*, vol. 1. Lucca: Francesco Bertini, 1813: p. 379.

³ *Memorie e documenti per servire all' istoria del principato lucchese* 1: p. 391.

⁴ Paolo Tronci, *Annales Pisani*, vol. 4. Lucca: Giuseppe Giusti, 1839: pp. 172-174.

⁵ Giuseppe Robolini, *Notizie appartenenti alla storia della sua patria*, vol. 5/1. Pavia: Fusi, 1834: p. 107.

⁶ Filip de Diversis, *Opis slavnoga grada Dubrovnika 1440*, ed. Zdenka Janeković Römer. Zagreb: Dom i svijet, 2004: pp. 109, 185.

⁷ Paolo Procaccioli, »Diversi, Filippo (Philippus de Diversis de Quartigianis)«, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 40. Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1991: pp. 205-206. http://www.treccani.it/Portale/elements/categoriesItems.jsp?pathFile=/sites/default/BancaDati/Dizionario_Biografico_degli_Italiani/VOL40/DIZIONARIO_BIOGRAFICO_DEGLI_ITALIANI_Vol40_053427.xml (consulted January 2011).



Diversi family coat of arms (Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Raccolta Ceramelli Papiani, fasc. 5530; <http://larte.sns.it/ceramellipapiani2/index.php?page=Famiglia&id=2806>)

and lengthy absences from duty, he resigned and left for Venice. Curiously, Diversi's place in history was earned by his days in Dubrovnik. Were it not for his teaching career at the Dubrovnik school and the description of the city of Dubrovnik written in 1440, history would hardly have remembered him.⁸ Details on the later years of his life are scanty. *Libri delle Riformationi* of Lucca record a decision dated 22 October 1441, concerning the employment of Filippo de Diversi as a teacher with a salary of 100 florins plus the tuition fees paid by

⁸ On his teaching career at the Ragusan school and activity in the Ragusan Humanist circle see: Ivan Božić »Pojava humanizma u Dubrovniku«. *Istoriski pregled* 2/1 (1955): pp. 8-11; Ivan Božić, »Filip de Diversis i njegovo djelo«. *Dubrovnik* 3 (1973): 75-80; Zdenka Janeković Römer, »Dubrovački govori Filipa de Diversis: kratka pouka o humanizmu«, in: Filip de Diversis, *Dubrovački govori u slavu ugarskih kraljeva Sigismunda i Alberta*, ed. Zdenka Janeković Römer. Dubrovnik-Zagreb: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2000: pp. 14-21; Zdenka Janeković Römer, »Čast i glas grada Dubrovnika i njegova slaviteljja Filipa de Diversisa«, in: Filip de Diversis, *Sabrana djela. Opis Dubrovnika. Govori u slavu kraljeva*, ed. Zdenka Janeković Römer. Zagreb: Dom i svijet, Ekonomski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2007: pp. 14-18.

the pupils.⁹ From the letter Filippo wrote to the authorities of Lucca in 1444 it is evident that he was considering returning to his native town on condition that his confiscated property be restored to him and that his whole family be allowed to return to the city. As the government of Lucca denied Diversi's petition, he remained in Venice where we are still able to trace him as a teacher in 1444. That, at the same time, was the last dateable evidence on him, until now.¹⁰ The newly discovered Diversi's autograph reveals that by 1455 he was still living in Venice, however, not as a teacher but as a magistrate in Padua. Then, at a fairly advanced age, he embarked upon copying select epistles of St Jerome, St Augustine and others. It may well be assumed that he died in his most treasured city, Venice.

Diversi's autograph of the epistles of St Jerome, St Augustine and others

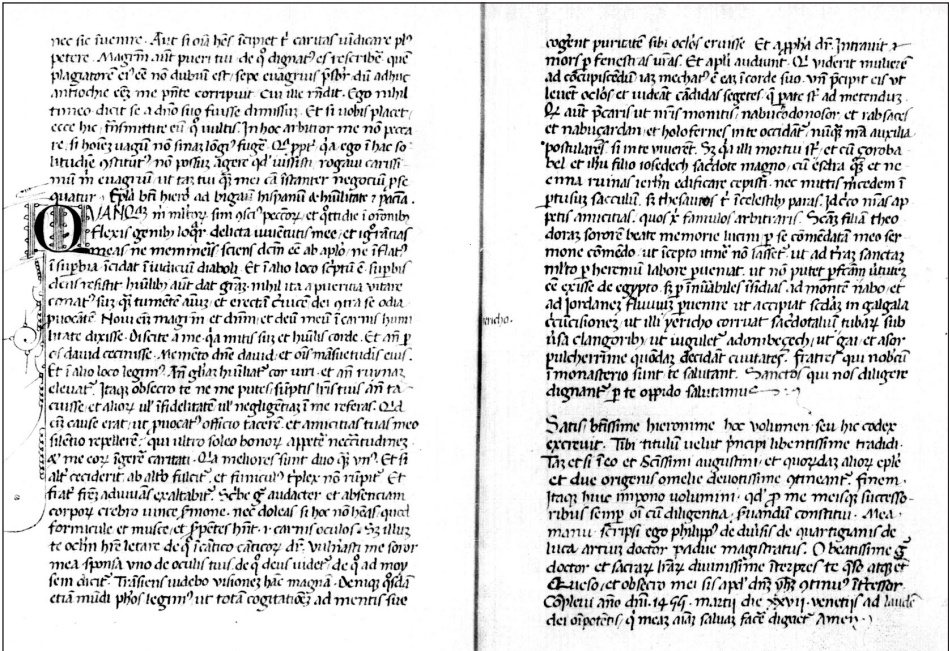
Diversi's voluminous autograph (278 folios) has remained unknown for centuries. A calligraphically written codex is kept at the rich library of Thomas Coke, *Earl of Leicester* (1697-1759). Most of the collection was amassed during Coke's travels in Italy between 1712 and 1718. Upon his return to England, he continued to acquire books through the consul in Venice, with the help of Domenico Ferrari, librarian from Naples. In 1715 he procured around forty valuable manuscripts from the Augustinian monastery in Lyon for 3,000 lire.¹¹ Thomas Coke built Holkham Hall in Norfolk, a mansion completed in 1764, which today houses the mentioned library along with many artefacts collected by Coke himself and his heirs. Holkham Hall, the design of which was based on Palladio's unbuilt Villa Mocenigo, as it appears in *Quattro Libri dell' Architettura*, testifies to the general trend of the era but also of Thomas Coke himself towards the Italian Renaissance.¹²

⁹ Cesare Lucchesini, *Storia letteraria di Lucca, libri sette*, in: *Opere edite ed inedite del marchese Cesare Lucchesini*, vol. 15. Lucca: Giusti, 1833: pp. 39-40, 46.

¹⁰ Frano Maria Appendini, *Notizie storico-critiche sulle antichità storia e letteratura de' Ragusei*, vol. 2. Dubrovnik: Martecchini, 1803: pp. 316-317; Thoma Chersa, *Degli illustri toscani stati in diversi tempi a Ragusa*, Padova: Minerva, 1828: pp. 5-11; Francesco Fortunato Carloni, *Gl'Italiani all'estero*, vol. 2/1, *Poeti e letterati*. Città di Castello: Lapi, 1890: p. 148; Paolo Barsanti, *Il pubblico insegnamento in Lucca dal sec. XIV alla fine del sec. XVIII*. Lucca: A. Marchi, 1905: pp. 116-117; Attilio Tamaro, *Italiani e Slavi nell'Adriatico*, Roma: Atheneum, 1915: pp. 157-158.

¹¹ William Roscoe, »Some account of the manuscript library at Holkham, in Norfolk, belonging to T. W. Coke Esq.«. *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom* 2 (1834): pp. 352-379.

¹² Christine Hiskey, »The Building of Holkham Hall: Newly Discovered Letters«. *Architectural History* 40 (1997): pp. 144-158.



Holkham Ms. 131, ff. 277v-278r.

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Today the library houses 558 manuscripts of the literary, theological and legal content dated between the twelfth and eighteenth century. The collection also includes 209 incunabula as well as more than 15,000 valuable old books, mostly from Italy and about Italy and the Renaissance. Many manuscripts have been sold over the years.¹³ Bodleian Library in Oxford today houses the bulk of the valuable manuscripts from Holkham. Among these manuscripts are the copies of numerous works of the classical authors, church fathers, but also medieval and Renaissance authors, such as Cicero, Caesar, Virgil, Propertius, Ovid, Pliny, Eusebius, St John Chrysostom, John of Damascus, Isidore of Seville, Bede, Albert the Great, Peter Paludanus, Bonaventure, Dante, Petrarch, Leonardo. Included are the copies of the Bible, pontificals, missals, canon law collections, council decrees and other theological, liturgical and historical works, as well as the Medici chronicle and the

¹³ Richard Förster, »Handschriften in Holkham«. *Philologus* 42 (1884): pp. 158-167; *The Holkham library: illuminations and illustrations in the manuscript library of the Earl of Leicester*, ed. William O. Hassall. Oxford: Roxburghe Club, 1970; D. P. Mortlock, *The Holkham Library: A History and Description*, Oxford: Roxburghe Club, 2006.

manuscript of the Florentine and Venetian statutes.¹⁴ Seeking ways to maintain financially the magnificent palace, Sir Edward Coke, current Earl of Leicester, decided to bring to light the list of the valuable manuscripts kept in his library, among which I came across an unknown autograph by Filippo de Diversi.

The manuscript of Filippo de Diversi is registered under the title: *Extracts from s. Hieronymus and others, 1455. Holkham Ms. 131. 81 extracts with illuminated borders and initials. Written by Philippus de Diversis de Quartigianis, of Lucca, at Venice*. The title given to the work by Filippo de Diversi himself in translation reads: “Here begin the epistles of the blessed Jerome. Although written in this codex are also the epistles of other venerable fathers, it is the multitude and splendid verbosity as well as the ponderance of the sentences that have merited my judgement in favour of the most holy doctor Jerome”.¹⁵ Diversi refers to his copy as codex, “for it includes many books in one volume”.¹⁶ He supplied the codex with an index of the titles of certain epistles, accompanied by the folio number.¹⁷ Diversi copied eighty-one epistles, out of which fifty-one by Jerome, seventeen by Augustine, two by Origen (in Jerome’s translation), two by Damascenus, and one by Volusius, Marcellinus, Longinus, Epiphanius (in Jerome’s translation), Pammachius and Oceanus, Paula and Eustochium. Besides Diversi’s codex, Holkham Hall houses two additional volumes containing Jerome’s epistles.¹⁸

Diversi’s manuscript is written in Latin, in calligraphic Gothic script. Drawn out lines contribute to the beautiful style. Titles and subtitles of the epistles are written in red ink (*rubrica*). Between epistles there is no spacing and they are all of the same penmanship. Marginal notes are also written in calligraphy, but in a somewhat brisker handwriting. Rare errors and corrections bear witness to Diversi’s meticulous work. Various abbreviations and ligatures abound.

Each epistle begins with the initials decorated with tendrils and garlands, two folios containing painted illuminations with human images. Jerome’s image was an inspiration to many artists of the medieval period. He was most often

¹⁴ William Roscoe, *A handlist of manuscripts in the library of the Earl of Leicester at Holkham Hall*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932; on line: <http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/medieval/mss/holkham.htm> (consulted January 2011).

¹⁵ *Incipiunt beati Hieronimi epistole, quanquam et aliorum venerabilium patrum in hoc etiam codice sunt epistole notate, quibus et multitudinis et verborum splendore et sententiarum pondere ipsius doctoris sanctissimi Hieronimi nomen merito preferendum iudicavi* (Holkham Ms. 131.81, f. i).

¹⁶ *Et si volumen istud digne codex nominari posset, cum sit ipse codex multorum librorum et liber unius voluminis, nam in eo libelli plures inserti sunt, per excellentiam tamen iste titulus sibi prescribatur* (ibidem).

¹⁷ Holkham Ms. 131.81, ff. i-iv.

¹⁸ Holkham Mss. 125 and 126.

depicted as a hermit, and later as a scholar in his cabinet.¹⁹ In Diversi's manuscript both representations of the saint may be found, exhibiting the diversity and wealth of his spiritual influence. The image on the first initial portrays St Jerome as a scholar sitting in his cabinet which is decorated to suit the taste of the fifteenth century. In cardinal's ornate with a hat on his head, he is leafing through a book, most likely the Bible—the Vulgata, placed on a stand next to the crucifix. A lion is sitting at his feet. Such representation was customary at the time, although St Jerome was never a cardinal—during his stay in Rome he assisted Pope Damasus I. He was depicted with a lion on account of a popular legend according to which he pulled out a thorn from the lion's paw, earning thus the animal's loyalty and trust.

In addition to the mentioned initial, the miniatures of four dominant saints, Doctors of the Church, illuminate each of the corners of the text on the first folio. St Gregory is depicted with the papal mitre and a double-barred cross. St Ambrose, with mitre and bishop's ornate, holding a book in his hand. St Augustine is portrayed as a tonsured Augustinian monk, wearing a black robe and belt. St Jerome is represented in the left bottom corner, this time as a penitent in the desert, with grey hair and white beard, wearing a monk's robe, lifting his arms towards the sky. St Augustine is depicted once again, in the initial opening the copy of his epistle to Volusius. Regrettably, the author of these illuminations cannot be traced.²⁰

The reception of the Church Fathers in Humanism

Under the influence of Burckhardt, historiographic assessments of Humanism tended to emphasise the pagan, heathen dimension of this movement, which is certainly far from the real position of the humanist scholars. Indeed, the Renaissance established a balance between faith and other intellectual pursuits, yet it remained Christian. Medieval religious thought, theology and canon law have been utterly preserved in the Renaissance thought. A novice with regard to the Middle Ages was the rejection of scholasticism, return to the Bible and the Church Fathers, as

¹⁹ On iconographic representations of St Jerome and St Augustin see: Daniel Russo, *Saint Jerome en Italie: etude d'iconographie et de spiritualité (XIIIe-XVIe siècles)*. Paris and Rome: La Découverte-Ecole française de Rome, 1987: pp. 201-251; Eugene F. Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1985: pp. 68-83; Meredith J. Gill, *Augustine in the Italian Renaissance: Art and Philosophy from Petrarch to Michelangelo*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005: passim; *Augustine in Iconography, History and Legend*, ed. Joseph C. Schnaubelt, Frederick van Fleteren. Villanova: Augustinian Historical Institute, 1999: passim.

²⁰ Holkham Ms. 131.81, ff. 1, 31.

well as the fusion of the classical and Christian culture.²¹ In terms of motive and genre, the works of the Humanists drew upon the antiquity, the content, however, being Christian. As Trinkaus puts it, Humanist vision of humanity is inseparable from their image of God: defining the man beyond his relationship with nature and the divine was deemed impossible.²² According to Coluccio Salutati (1331-1406), *studia humanitatis* and *studia divinitatis* are intertwined and cannot be understood one without the other.²³ Humanist understanding of the relationship between classical antiquity and Christianity is best epitomised by the well-known Jerome's dream, in which the saint finds himself before a tribunal of the Lord, accused of being a Ciceronian—he was reading pagan classics for pleasure—for which he was punished and lashed. The Humanists justified his actions because his pursuits of the classical studies were in the service of Christianity.²⁴ Pagan books served merely the purpose of his improvement of expression in Ciceronian style, which helped him in translating the Scriptures, Vergerio says. His work on the Bible and other scriptural texts would have been impossible without classical knowledge.²⁵ To Christian adoption of the classical heritage also contributes St Augustine's story of the Jews who, departing from Egypt, took with them the Egyptian treasure.²⁶ The Church Fathers, St Augustine and St Jerome in particular, as the most learned Roman citizens, acted towards the fusion of two fundamental components of Humanism: pagan antiquity and Christianity, and on account of this contribution they may have become a Humanist ideal. Patristic attitude towards classical culture the Humanists used as a pretext for their own study of the secular literature of Greece and Rome.

²¹ Paul Oskar Kristeller, »Paganism and Christianity«, in: Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and its Sources*, New York: Columbia University Press 1979: pp. 66-81.

²² Charles Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness: Humanity and Divinity in Italian Renaissance Thought*, vol. 1-2. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970: p. 3.

²³ Charles L. Stinger, *Humanism and the Church Fathers: Ambrogio Traversari (1386-1439) and Christian Antiquity in the Italian Renaissance*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1977: p. 12.

²⁴ Jerome described this dream in his epistle to Eustochium. *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae*, vol. 1, ed. Isidor Hilberg. [*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 54]. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1910: pp. 189-191; John McManamon, »Pier Paolo Vergerio (the Elder) and the Beginnings of the Humanist Cult of Jerome«. *Catholic Historical Review* 71 (1985): p. 357.

²⁵ In his *Institutio* Marulić also mentions Jerome's dream, in that he was more critically inclined than Vergerio, holding that Jerome's punishment was but a warning to him and others who were attracted by the pagan texts and disregarded the Scripture. Vinko Grubišić, »Sveti Jeronim prema Deset govora Petra Pavla Vergerija i Instituciji Marka Marulića«. *Colloquia Maruliana* 16 (2007): pp. 114-116; Marko Marulić, *Institucija*, vol. 1, ed. Branimir Glavičić. Split: Književni krug, 1986: pp. 205, 211; Charles Stinger, »Italian Renaissance Learning and the Church Fathers«: pp. 478-479.

²⁶ Peter Burke, *The Renaissance*. London–New York: MacMillan Press Ltd., St. Martin's Press, 1997: pp. 20-22.

Diversi's choice of the epistles of Jerome and Augustine reflects the current thinking and attitudes of his time. Namely, Humanism witnessed a revival of interest in the study of the works of the Church Fathers, within the Humanists' tendency towards the revival of the antique world. With regard to the Middle Ages, they immensely increased their interest in the Latin and especially Greek patristic scholarship, searched for unknown works, and approached familiar writings from a new angle. In the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Humanists translated and published a considerable number of patristic texts.²⁷ Indeed, patristic scholarship attracted Humanists in pursuit of philology, rhetoric and erudition, as contrasted with the scholastic learning and its focus on logic, metaphysics and dialectical method. The meaning of grammar and rhetoric in the cognitive apparatus and in the representations of Humanism was further prompted by a yearning to shift away from the Middle Ages (which proved a futile project). The models of their own literary genres they sought not only in the classical authors of the antiquity but also in the works of the Church Fathers, cultivated on the Roman literary and rhetoric tradition. By doing so they enhanced their Latin scholarship and rhetoric, as well as the understanding of the historical and cultural context in which the patristic texts were composed. The Humanists recognised the Fathers of the Church as the only true disciples of St Paul and true exegetes of the Scripture. They worked on the original biblical texts, analysing and interpreting them, their path also being followed by the Humanists. They considered word, that is, text analysis, as the true fundament of theology. "Rhetorical theology",²⁸ propagated primarily through the texts of the Fathers, was aimed at the spiritual and moral revival of the individual and not at the interpretation and definition of the dogma.

Saint Jerome was undoubtedly one of the most popular Church Fathers among the Humanists. He was considered the forerunner and advocate of *studia humanitatis* on account of his classical learning combined with his devotion to Christianity and Christian virtues. The wealth of diversity embodied in his personality and work contributed to his appeal among different spiritual movements

²⁷ Eugene Rice Jr., »The Renaissance Idea of Christian Antiquity: Humanist Patristic Scholarship«, in: *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms and Legacy*, vol. 1, ed. Albert Rabil, Jr. Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia, 1988: pp. 17-28; Charles Stinger, »Italian Renaissance Learning and the Church Fathers«, in: *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West. From the Carolingian to the Maurists*, vol. 2, ed. Irena Backus. Leiden: Brill, 1997: pp. 474-475.

²⁸ Charles Trinkaus introduced the term *theologia retorica* which describes such an approach of the humanist scholars. See »Themes for a Renaissance anthropology«, in: *The Renaissance: essays in interpretation*, ed. André Chastel. London-New York: Routledge, 1982: pp. 83, 92, 96, 106-116; Hilmar M. Pabel, »Reading Jerome in the Renaissance: Erasmus' reception of the *Adversus Jovinianum*«, *Renaissance Quarterly* 55 (2002): pp. 470-472.

of the time, from Humanism, *devotio moderna* movement, to the Reformation. Many Humanists copied his works and celebrated him in their speeches. Among the first was the rhetorician Pier Paolo Vergerio (c. 1370-1444), who celebrated the saint in the ten orations delivered between 1390 and 1408 and in some epistles. Vergerio holds that, following in the footsteps of their model, St Jerome, the Humanists were to pursue rhetoric in order to understand Christianity.²⁹ The Church Fathers, St Jerome in particular, tended to gain in popularity in the second half of the fifteenth century, especially after Lorenzo Valla's attack on the scholastic approach to the Scriptures and his appeal for the shift towards patristic Christian tradition.³⁰ The bulk of the copies of Jerome's works originates from the fifteenth century, although some are of earlier date, from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.³¹ Jerome was the paragon of ascetic, monastic life, translator of the Bible, author of the Vulgate, fighter against the heretics, a scholar of exceptional erudition and eloquence. Well known is Erasmus' admiration for Jerome, through whom the former intended to revive the theology of the early Church in his own environment. Erasmus was the first to publish all Jerome's works, in Basel in 1516.³² St Augustine

²⁹ J. M. McManamon, »Pier Paolo Vergerio (the Elder) and the Beginnings of the Humanist Cult of Jerome«: pp. 356-361; *Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder and Saint Jerome: An Edition and Translation of Sermones pro Sancto Hieronymo*, ed. John M. McManamon. Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance studies, 1999.

³⁰ Salvatore Camporeale, »The Origins of Humanist Theology«, in: *Humanity and Divinity in Renaissance and Reformation: Essays in Honor of Charles Trinkahus*, ed. John O'Malley, Thomas Isbicki, Gerald Christianson. Leiden: Brill, 1993: pp. 101-124.

³¹ Bernard Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta. La tradition manuscrite des oeuvres de Saint Jérôme*, vol. 1 - *Epistulae*. Steenbrugis: in Abbatia S. Petri, 1969.

³² Most extensive literature demonstrates Erasmus' attitude towards Jerome; I list only some of it. Eugene F. Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1985; John C. Olin, »Erasmus and Saint Jerome: The Close Bond and its Significance«. *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook* 7 (1987): pp. 35-53; André Godin, »Erasmus biographe patristique: Hieronymi Stridonensis Vita«. *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 50 (1988): pp. 691-706; Peter G. Bietenholz, »Erasmus von Rotterdam und der Kult des Heiligen Hieronymus«, in: *Poesis et Pictura: Studien zum Verhältnis von Text und Bild in Handschriften und alten Drucken, Festschrift für Dieter Wuttke zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Stephan Fussell, Joachim Knape. Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1989: pp. 191-221; Lisa Jardine, *Erasmus, Man of Letters: The Construction of Charisma in Print*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993; Mark Vessey, »Erasmus' Jerome: The Publishing of a Christian Author«. *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook* 14 (1994): pp. 62-99; Irena Backus, »Erasmus and the Spirituality of the Early Church«, in: *Erasmus' Vision of the Church*, ed. Hilmar M. Pabel. Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1995: pp. 95-114; Jacques Chomarat, »La Hieronymi Stridonensis Vita d'Erasmus«. *Helmantica* 50 (1999): pp. 109-138; Charles Béné, »Marulic et Erasme, lecteurs de saint Jerome«. *Colloquia Maruliana* 10 (2001): pp. 29-45; Hilmar M. Pabel, »Reading Jerome in the Renaissance: Erasmus' reception of the *Adversus Jovinianum*«. *Renaissance Quarterly* 55 (2002): pp. 470-497.

has also influenced a strong current of Humanist writers. Like Jerome, he too attracted them with his fusion of classical scholarship and Christian thought, but also with his Platonic tradition, as opposed to the scholastic Aristotelianism.³³ For the Florentine Humanist circle headed by Coluccio Salutati, Augustine and Jerome were the paragons of Christianity, examples of strength and virtue, who blended contemplation and public work. Humanists admired their literary achievements and interpretation of the Scriptures, translated their writings and followed them. Ambrogio Traversari, translator of the Greek and Latin texts of the Fathers, believed that the texts of St Jerome encouraged people towards virtue – he advised Cosimo de Medici to use them to examine his consciousness.³⁴

The image of Jerome has also been integrated in the Croatian culture in a special kind of way, considering that he was looked upon as a native, author of the Glagolitic script and liturgy in the Croatian language. Throughout the Middle Ages there were numerous attempts at proving his Dalmatian roots and propagating his cult, most fervently by *Glagolitic clergy* who considered him their founder. Jerome's three monastic biographies (of St Paul the hermit, St Hilarion and St Malchus) were particularly popular in the Croatian Middle Ages.³⁵ It is known that the famous Christian Humanist and poet Marko Marulić (1450-1524) had a copy of his epistles which inspired him in his Latin works, notably in *Institutio bene vivendi per exempla sanctorum*. While writing *De Veteris Instrumenti viris illustribus*—Marulić states that he modelled after Jerome's work *De viris illustribus*.³⁶ For Marulić, Jerome was a model and more than that: "Ille meus est et ego suus", he asserted.³⁷ He wrote Jerome's biography in 1506, ten

³³ Paul Oskar Kristeller, »Augustine and the Early Renaissance«, in: Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters*. Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1956: pp. 355-372; William Bowsma, »The Two Faces of Humanism: Stoicism and Augustinianism in Renaissance Thought«, in: *Itinerarium Italicum. The Profile of the Italian Renaissance in the Mirror of its European Transformations*, ed. Heiko A. Oberman, Thomas Brady Jr. Leiden: Brill, 1975: pp. 3-60; Eric Leland Saak, »The Reception of Augustine in Later Middle Ages«, in: *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West. From the Carolingian to the Maurists*, vol. 1, ed. Irena Backus. Leiden: Brill, 1997: pp. 367-404.

³⁴ Ch. L. Stinger, *Humanism and the Church Fathers*: pp. 100-113.

³⁵ Josip Bratulić, »Sveti Jeronim Dalmatinac«, in: Sveti Jeronim, *Izabrane poslanice*, trans. Ivan Marković, ed. Josip Bratulić. Split: Književni krug, 1990: pp. IX, XXX-XXXIII; Vesna Stipčević Badurina, »Sveti Jeronim: Život svetoga Pavla prvog pustinjaka«. *Kolo* 12/ 2 (2002): pp. 14-23.

³⁶ Marko Marulić, *Starozavjetne ličnosti*, ed. Branimir Glavičić. Split: Književni krug, 1991: p. 233.

³⁷ C. Béné, »Marulić et Erasme, lecteurs de saint Jerome«: pp. 29-35; Vinko Grubišić, »Sveti Jeronim prema *Deset govora* Petra Pavla Vergerija i *Instituciji* Marka Marulića«. *Colloquia Maruliana* 16 (2007): p. 107.

years before Erasmus, a treatise in defence of the saint's Dalmatian identity, *In eos qui beatum Hieronymum Italum fuisse contendunt*, and a laud *De laudibus divi Hieronymi carmen*. The biography is strewn with citations from Jerome's epistles.³⁸ Among Croatian authors writing about Jerome were also Matija Vlačić Ilirik, Petar Zoranić, Nikola Modruški, Faust Vrančić, Vinko Pribojević, Šimun Kožičić Benja, Sebastijan Slade Dolci, Ignjat Đurđević and others.³⁹

Diversi's copies also mirror the position of St Jerome in the Humanist circles. In his words, he copied the work by his own hand for his descendants to read. The choice of the authors and their epistles is entirely his, and he copied the texts according to his own sequence. His copy is not characterised by marginal commentaries as with some other Humanists, yet a remark, correction, underlining or note for the reader's convenience point to the critical reading. Such an approach is characteristic of the Humanists as they experienced the works of the Church Fathers as texts and not as authorities, contributing to their understanding through critical interpretation. Diversi's margins contain names, terms and passages he considered important. Most important annotations are marked by four dots forming a diamond or cross around it in the bottom margin.⁴⁰ In the left and right margins important places are pointed by a drawn hand (*manicula* or *indicator*).⁴¹ Manicules are drawn with a very long index finger (*index*), even with parts of the sleeve.⁴² For easier use he added numbers in the texts. Accompanying the text of the first book "Against Jovinian" is a (misquoted) Greek citation in Latin script from Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians.⁴³ He compared certain passages with other texts, by Jerome or some other author. For example, next to Jerome's epistle to Pammachius and Oceanus on Origen, he notes that Boethius asserts similarly in his comment of

³⁸ C. Béné, »Marulić et Erasme, lecteurs de saint Jerome«: p. 35; The biography was found in the British Library by Darko Novaković, who published it together with the work on Jerome's origin and the laud. Darko Novaković, »Vita diui Hieronymi presbiteri a Marco Marulo edita: adiectis miraculis que de illo Cyrillus Nazarethi episcopus commemorat in summamque redactis breuiorem«. *Colloquia Maruliana* 3 (1994): pp. 26-66; Darko Novaković, »Novi Marulić: Vita divi Hieronymi. (British Library Ms. Add. 18.029)«. *Colloquia Maruliana* 3 (1994): pp. 5-25.

³⁹ Josip Bratulić, »Sveti Jeronim Dalmatinac«: pp. XXXV-XXXIX.

⁴⁰ Holkham Ms. 131.81, ff. 10v, 20v, 40v, 50v, 60v, 70v, 80v, 90v, 110v, 120v, 150v, 160v, 170v, 200v, 220v, 230v, 243v, 250v, 260v, 270v.

⁴¹ William H. Sherman, »Toward a history of the manicule«, in: *Owners, annotators and the signs of reading*, ed. Robin Myers, Michael Harris, Giles Mandelbrote. London: British Library; New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll, 2005: pp. 19-48.

⁴² Holkham Ms. 131.81, ff. 78r, 181v-183r, 184r, 185r, 186v, 188v, 191v-193r.

⁴³ With Filippo de Diversi the annotation reads: "Pros to euscemno, recuparedron to kirio aperispastos". Holkham Ms. 131.81, f. 201v. The original citation reads: "πρὸς τὸ εὐσχημον καὶ εὐπάρεδρον τῷ κυρίῳ ἄπερισπᾶστος".

Aristotle's treatise *De interpretatione*, and Jerome himself in the prologue of the translation of Eusebius Pamphilus.⁴⁴ To the text of the epistle to Oceanus, of the life of the cleric, he adds that shyness is also a man's not only woman's virtue, as Jerome quotes.⁴⁵ Beside the passage where Jerome explains that a woman struggling to lead a life of chastity is bestowed with greater grace, Filippo de Diversi adds his opinion that departs from the moral issues and tends to reflect his own environment. He writes that the reward does not always measure up to the efforts made, probably referring to his personal disappointment expressed in *Description of Dubrovnik* because the Ragusans failed to adequately appreciate and recognise his work and endeavours.⁴⁶

Given the selection and volume of the marginal notes, Diversi apparently focused on the topic of virginity and marriage in particular: fidelity and mutual belonging in marriage, the temptations of sexuality, adultery, remarriage. The epistle to Eustochium on the blessings of virginity, and especially the polemic *Adversus Jovinianum* are strewn with marginal notes and annotations. Among other passages covering the topic of women he marked the one where Jerome comments Theophrastus' book on marriage and states "*uxor ducenda sapiente primum eis impedire studia*"—one cannot serve wisdom and the woman—as well as the passage where the saint quotes that an ugly woman brings less misfortune than a pretty one.⁴⁷ Diversi's choice also mirrors Jerome's acquaintances with aristocratic women in Rome, notably with Paula and her daughter Eustochium, who later followed him to the East and founded a monastery in Jerusalem. In addition, he copied one of their epistles to the Roman woman Marcella, who belonged to the same circle.

Diversi's selection of epistles also included Jerome's longest and most controversial treatise, *Adversus Jovinianum* ("Against Jovinian"). This polemic was written to counter Jovinian's thesis on the equality of virginity and marriage. Jerome vehemently argues in defence of virginity, showing the dark side of marriage,

⁴⁴ Holkham Ms. 131.81, f. 121; *Anicii Manlii Severini Boetii Commentaria in Porphyrium a se translata, liber primus*, in: *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina* (hereafter: PL), ed. Jacques Paul Migne. Paris: Garnier, 1844-1892, vol. 64: pp. 71-85; *Anicii Manlii Severini Boetii in librum Aristotelis De interpretatione liber primus*. PL, vol. 64: p. 293; *S. Eusebii Hieronymi, Stridonensis presbyteri, interpretatio chronicae Eusebii Pamphili cui subjecta sunt continenter fragmenta que extant operis Graeci*, in PL, vol. 27: pp. 33-40.

⁴⁵ Holkham Ms. 131.81, f. 127v.

⁴⁶ Z. Janeković Römer, »Čast i glas grada Dubrovnika i njegova slaviteljja Filipa de Diversisa«: pp. 25-27.

⁴⁷ Holkham Ms. 131.81, f. 224.

which was contrary to the Humanist attitude towards the values of marriage and the possibility of reconciliation between carnal and spiritual love. Namely, unlike the Church Fathers, medieval and Renaissance Christians considered marriage a sacrament.⁴⁸ From the very beginning Jerome's fierce attack on Jovinian gave rise to a controversy over the dignity and indignity of marriage which continued until the dawn of the Reformation. Jerome's friend Pammachius soon reacted to the attack as well as St Augustine himself, who expounded his views on the topic in the tract *De bono conjugali*. Regrettably, Diversi fails to comment the treatise, but his very choice reveals his understanding of the relationship between Christianity and marriage. In the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance the polemic *Adversus Jovinianum* served as a pattern for the works on the desirable behaviour of Christian girls and women, this, too, likely being the context of Diversi's selection. Another possible level is rhetorical, considering that Jerome criticizes Jovinian's writing as barbarian and incomprehensible, "spit out as if he had got drunk the night before".⁴⁹ Diversi confirms his interest in the issues of love and marriage by copying Origen's homilies and Jerome's epistle on the *Song of Songs*, which also appears in the argumentation against Jovinian.

Besides the texts on virginity and marriage, Diversi's attention was absorbed by Jerome's polemic writings addressed to his contemporaries. Here, for example, are his controversies related to Origen, about which he writes to pope Damasus, Avitus, Tranquillius, Pammachius, Oceanus and others. By defending Origen, Jerome turned against the current and came into conflict with many people, even with his friend Rufinus, who, overcome by indignation, banished him from the Mount of Olives. Augustine tried to mediate in their dispute. This bitter controversy was fanned by Rufinus' translation of Origen's treatise—*Peri archon* ("On First Principles"), the translation itself being the main cause of contradiction between the two former friends.⁵⁰ The bulk of the polemic in the treatise *Peri archon* has also been copied by Filippo de Diversi, having added two of Origen's homilies. His selection also includes other invective philippics by Jerome, as, for example, against Vigilantius who questioned the value of ascetism. Included further is much of Jerome's polemic with Augustine, best illustrating the difference

⁴⁸ John Oppel, »Saint Jerome and the History of Sex«. *Viator* 24 (1993): pp. 1-22.

⁴⁹ Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988: pp. 377-378, 429; Robert A. Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990: p. 45; Hilmar M. Pabel, »Reading Jerome in the Renaissance: Erasmus' reception of the *Adversus Jovinianum*«. p. 393.

⁵⁰ Josip Bratulić, »Sveti Jeronim Dalmatinac«. p. XIX.

in their leanings: the former's towards language and rhetoric, and the latter's towards philosophy and theology. The selection encompasses Augustine's epistles to some other contemporaries: Volusius, Marcellinus, Italicus, Praesidius, Longinus. Diversi copied the epistles that Jerome exchanged with pope Damasus, with whom he started his revision of the Bible. Expectedly, Diversi showed interest in linguistic problems, translating and interpretation of the biblical texts: he copied Jerome's epistle to Pammachius on the best method of interpretation. Also included are the epistles on the lives of clerics, such as the one addressed to Oceanus, as well as the epistle to priest Nepotianus, which as early as in the Middle Ages had great influence on monastic discipline, along with several epistles on clerical and monastic life. Equally appealing Diversi found Jerome's contemplations on repentance, redemption and virtues.

Diversi concluded his copy with a dedication to St Jerome and a plea: "Exceedingly, blessed Jerome, has this volume or codex grown. To you, as the principal, with pleasure I have awarded the title, although the codex also contains the epistles of St Augustine and some others, as well as two very devotional homilies of Origen. For this volume I have intended and established the purpose to be diligently used by myself and my successors. Written by my own hand, I, Filippo de Diversi de Quartigiani de Lucca, doctor of arts and magistrate of Padua. Thus, most blessed doctor and divine interpreter of the Holy Scriptures, I beseech, plead and beg of you to be my continuous intercessor with our Lord Jesus Christ. Completed anno Domini 1455, 27 March, in Venice, to the praise of the God Almighty, saviour of my soul. Amen."⁵¹ These words reveal a man at the sunset of his life, ready to depart from this to the other world in reconciliation with God and men, in a manner befitting a learned Humanist scholar, through writing.

⁵¹ *Satis beatissime Hieronime hoc volumen seu hic codex excrevit. Tibi titulum velut principi libentissime tradidi. Tametsi in eo et sanctissimi Augustini et quorundam aliorum epistole et due Origenis omelie devotissime contineantur. Finem itaque huic impono volumini quod per me meisque successoribus semper omni cum diligentia servandum constitui. Mea manu scripsi ego Philippus de Diversis de Quartigianis de Luca, artium doctor, Padue magistratus. O beatissime, igitur doctor et sacrarum litterarum divinissime interpres, te queso atque et queso et obsecro mei sis apud dominum Yhesum continuus intercessor. Complevi anno domini 1455, martii die xxvii, Venetiis, ad laudem Dei omnipotentis, qui meam animam salvam facere dignetur. Amen.* (Holkham Ms. 131.81, f. 287r).

THE LIST OF THE CITED TEXTS:

1. Simbolum fidei ab Christianissimo Sacrarum scripturarum interprete, beatissimo Hieronimo compositum, sanctoque Damaso pape ab eodem missum. Rubrica (ff. 1r-2v).

Inc. Credimus in Deum patrem omnipotentem cunctorum visibilium et invisibilium conditorem.

Expl. Si autem hec nostra confessio apostolatus tui iudicio comprobatur, quicumque me culpare voluerit, se imperitum vel malivolum, etiam non catholicum non me hereticum comprobabit.

Beatissimi Hieronimi doctoris, symbolum catholice fidei ad papam Damasum finit.

Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina (hereafter cited as: PL), ed. Jacques Paul Migné. Paris: Garnier, 1844-1892, vol. 39: pp. 2181-2183; vol. 45: pp. 1716-1718; vol. 48: pp. 488-491 (Explanatio fidei ad Damasum, ad Augustinum et Alipium episcopos missa); *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*, 4 vols., ed. Bernard Lambert. Steenbrugge. Den Haag: Pietersabdij, Martinus Nijhoff, 1969-1972: ep. 316; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, ed. Eligius Dekkers, Emil Gaar. Turnhout: Brepols, 1995: pp. 633, 731.

2. Epistola Damasi pape ad Hieronimum presbiterum magnumque doctorem (ff. 2v-3r).

Inc. Dormientem te et longo iam tempore legentem potius quam sribentem questiunculis ad te missis excitare disposui.

Expl. Cur Ysaac vir iustus et Deo carus non illi licuit cui voluit sed illi cui noluit deceptus errore benedixit.

PL, vol. 22: ep. 35, pp. 451-452; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 54, *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae*, vol. 1, ed. Isidor Hilberg, Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1910: ep. 35, pp. 265-267. *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 36; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620.

3. Epistola Hieronymi presbiteri ad papam Damasum de proponitis sibi ab eo questionibus. Secunda (ff. 3r-7r).

Inc. Beatissimo papae Damaso Hieronimus. Postquam epistolam tuae sanctitatis accepi, confestim accito notario, ut exciperet imparavi.

Expl. Neque tamen maiorem filium penitus fuisse despectum, quia cum intraverit plenitudo gentium, tunc omnis Israel salvus fiet.

PL, vol. 22: ep. 36, pp. 452-461; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 36; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 54: ep. 36.

4. Epistola item Hieronymum ad papam Damasum de expositione Origenis super Cantica. III (f. 7r).

[Praefatio.] Inc. Beatissimo pape Damaso Hieronimus. Origenes cum in ceteris libris omnes vicerit in Cantica canticorum ipse se vicit.

Expl. Ut animadvertas quanti sint illa extimanda quae magna sunt, cum sic possint placere, quae parva sunt.

Diversi brings only the introduction to that epistle.

PL, vol. 23: pp. 1117-1118 (Eusebii Hieronymi Stridonensis presbyteri, interpretatio homiliarum duarum Origenis in Canticum canticorum); *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 206.

5. Omelia prima Origenis super Cantica canticorum de Greco in Latinum, a sancto Hieronimo rectissime translata. IIII (ff. 7v-12r).

Inc. Quomodo didicimus per Moysen quedam esse non solum sancta, sed et sancta sanctorum; et alia non tantum sabbata, sed etiam sabbata sabbatorum.

Expl. Ab eo loco in quo scriptum est: Nardus mea dedit odorem suum [usque ad eum locum in quo ait:] Quia vox tua suavis et forma tua speciosa.

PL, vol. 23: pp. 1117-1129 (S. Eusebii Hieronymi Stridonensis presbyterio interpretatio homiliarum duarum Origenis in Canticum canticorum). The text that Diversi quotes at the end of this epistle stands as the beginning of the second homily in PL.

6. Origenis omelia secunda super Cantica a beato Hieronimo translata (ff. 12r-19v).

Inc. Omnes anime motiones universitatis conditor Deus creavit ad bonum

Expl. Quapropter consurgentes, deprecemur Dominum, ut digni efficiamur sponsi sermone, sapientia Christi Iesu, cui est gloria, et imperium in secula seculorum. Amen. [19v] Origenis super Cantica omelia secunda finita est.

PL, vol. 23: pp. 1129-1144.

7. Epistola Damasi pape ad beatum Hieronimum presbiterum de Osanna. VI (f. 19v).

Inc. praefatio Dilectissimo filio Hieronimo Damasus episcopus in domino salutem. Commentaria cum legerem Graeco Latinoque sermone in Evangeliorum interpretatione a nostris.

Expl. Dilectionis tue est, ut ardenti illi strenuitatis ingenio, abscisis opinionibus, ambiguitatibusque suppositis, quid se habeat apud Hebreos vivo sensu scribas, ut de hoc sicut etiam te de multis tibi cure nostre in Christo Iesu gratias referant.

Diversi brings only the foreword to this epistle.

PL, vol. 22: ep. 19, p. 375.

8. Epistola responsiva sancti Hieronimi ad eundem Damasium papam de Osanna. VII (ff. 19v-21r).

Inc. Multi super hoc sermone diversa finxerunt quibus noster Hylarius in commentariis Mathei ita posuit: *Osanna* Hebraico sermone significatur *redemptio domus David*.

Expl. Sed magis condecet ob veritatem laborare paulisper, et peregrino aurem accomodare sermoni, quam de aliena lingua fictam alibi falsam ferre sententiam.

PL, vol. 22: ep. 20, pp. 375-379; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 54: ep. 20.

9. Epistola beati Hieronimi ad eundem Damasium papam de nomine trium ypostascon. VIII (ff. 21r-22r).

Inc. Quoniam vetusto Oriens inter se populorum furore collisus, indiscissam Domini tunicam, et desuper textam, minutatim per frustra discerpit.

Expl. Simul etiam, cui apud Antiochiam debeam communicare significes: quia Campenses cum Tharsenibus hereticis copulati, nihil aliud ambiunt, quam ut auctoritate communionis vestre fulti, tres ypostasis cum antiquo sensu predicent.

PL, vol. 22: ep. 15, 355-358; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 54: ep. 15.

10. Epistola beati Hieronimi ad eundem papam Damasum cui apud Siriam in fide communicare debeat. VIII (f. 22rv).

Inc. Importuna in evangelio mulier tandem debeat meruit audiri et clauso cum servis hostio media licet nocte, ab amico panes, amicus accepit Deus ipse.

Expl. Noli despiciere animam, pro qua Christus est mortuus.

PL, vol. 22: ep. 16, pp. 358-359; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 54: ep. 16.

11. Pars quaedam cuiusdam scripti beati Hieronimi de Seraphym et calculo forcipe accepto de altari. X (ff. 22v-28r).

Inc. Et factum est in anno quod mortuus est Rex Ocias. Vidi Dominum sedentem super tronum excelsum et elevatum, et plena [erat] domus a maiestate eius et Seraphym stabant in circuitu eius.

Expl. Si tedium sui prolixitate congeminet, et oculorum dolore cruciati, auribus tantum studeamus et lingua.

PL, vol. 22: ep. 18, pp. 361-372 (Epistula ad Damasum, *Sancti Hieronymi de morte Oçie regis et seraphin de calculo in Ysaya propheta*.) The text brought by Diversi is an excerpt from the epistle A Damasum de Seraphim et calculo; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 54: ep. 18a.

12. Item pars alterius cuiusdam scripti eiusdem sancti Hieronimi de eodem loco Ysaie prophete. XI (ff. 28r-29v).

Inc. Septuaginta: Et missum est ad me unus de Seraphin; Aquila et Theodocion, et volavit ad me unum de Seraphin. Quotidie ad nos mittit Seraphyn.

Expl. Et viciose Silvani legitur pro Sylea, cum Silvanum in Apostolorum Actibus non legamus.

PL, vol. 22: ep. 18, pp. 372-375 (The second part of the preceding epistle is quoted by Diversi as a separate epistle); *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 54: ep. 18b.

13. Epistola sancti Hieronimi ad Cromatium, Jovinum et Eusebium. XII (ff. 29v-30v).

Inc. Non debet carta dividere quos amor mutuus copulavit: nec per singulos officia mei sunt partienda sermonis.

Expl. Epistole brevitatis compellit tacere: desiderium vestri cogit loqui. Praeproperus sermo confusa turbatur oratio. Amor ordinem nescit.

PL, vol. 22: ep. 7, pp. 338-341; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 7; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 54: ep. 7.

14. Epistola sancti Augustini exhortatoria de dubiis petendis, ad Volusianum (ff. 30v-31r).

Inc. Domino illustri et merito prestantissimo filio Volusiano, Augustinus episcopus. De salute tua quam et in hoc seculo, et in Christo esse cupio, sancte matris tue votis sum fortasse etiam ipse non impar.

Expl. Nec a onerosum fit presens, quod cum voles sumitur, cum voles ponitur.

PL, vol. 33: ep. 132, pp. 508-509; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 54: ep. 8.

15. Epistola Volusiani responsiva et interrogativa ad sanctum Augustinum episcopum (ff. 31r-32r).

Inc. Domino vere sancto ac merito venerabili presbiteri Augustino episcopo, Volusianus. Petis me, vir probitatis iustitiaeque documentum, ut aliqua ex ambiguis lectionibus perite discenda percunctor.

Expl. Hec superscriptio incolumem venerationem tuam divinitas summa tueratur, domine vere sancte, ac merito venerabilis pater.

PL, vol. 33: ep. 135, pp. 512-514; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 54: ep. 44, pp. 89-92.

16. Epistola Augustini responsiva (ff. 32r-37v).

Inc. Domino illustre et merito insigni et prestantissimo filio Volusiano, Augustinus in Domino salutem. Legi literas tuas in quibus vidi magis cuiusdam dialogi specimen, laudabili brevitatis comprehensum.

Expl. Sanctus frater et coepiscopus meus Possidius prestantiam vestram multum salutatur.

Sancti Augustini ad Volusianum epistola finita est.

PL, vol. 33: ep. 137, pp. 515-525.

17. Epistola sancti Marcellini ad beatum Augustinum (f. 37v-38v).

Inc. Domino nimiumque venerabili et omnibus mihi officiis unice percolendo patri Augustino, Marcellinus. Vir illustris Volusianus beatitudinis tue mihi literas legit.

Expl. Ego vero ad haec omnia promissionis nom immemor sed exactor libros confici deprecor, Ecclesie hoc maxime tempore incredibiliter profuturos.

PL, vol. 33: ep. 136, pp. 514-515.

18. Eximii doctoris Aurelii Augustini epistola ad Marcellinum responsiva, super quibusdam questionibus (f. 38v-44r).

Inc. Domino eximio et merito insigni, carissimo ad desideratissimo filio Marcellino, Augustinus in Domino salutem. Illustri viro et eloquentissimo, nobisque dilectissimo Volusiano, non amplius quam ad illud quod inquirendum putavit respondendum fuit.

Expl. Sis in domino felix, gratia et misericordia eius, domine eximie et merito insignis, carissime ac desiderantissime fili.

PL, vol. 33: ep. 138, pp. 525-535.

19. Sancti Augustini episcopi epistola ad Italicam consolatoria de morte mariti seu coniugis sui (ff. 44r-45v).

Inc. Domine eximie et merito prestantissime, atque in Christi caritate honorande filie Italice, Augustinus episcopus in Domino salutem. Non solum literis tuis, verum etiam ipso referente qui pertulit, comperi multum te flagitare literas meas, credentem quod ex eis consolationem habere plurimam possis.

Expl. Quod certe quantum malum sit intelligentie potius dimitto tue quam longo sermone meliore explicare. [In protectione Domini semper habitet cor tuum, domina eximia et merito praestantissima, atque Christi caritate honoranda filia. Honorabiles tecum nobisque in Domino dilectissimos filios tuos, debito meritis vestris officio resaluta.]

PL, vol. 33: ep. 92, pp. 318-321.

20. Sancti Augustini episcopi doctoris eximii ad Marcellinum epistola solvens quandam dubitationem de inventione aque apud Egiptios in sanguinem converse (ff. 45v-49r).

Inc. Domino eximio et merito insigni multumque carissimo filio Marcellino Augustinus in domino salutem. Epistolam tuam quam per sanctum fratrem et coepiscopum meum Bonifacium accepi, quaesivi, cum rescriberem, nec inveni.

Expl. Si enim tale aliquid in illis literis inveniri negaverit, admonendus est. Si autem assensus (sic!) fuerit, solusta (sic!) questio est.

PL, vol. 33: ep. 143, pp. 585-590.

21. Sancti Augustini episcopi ad beatum Hieronimum epistola recommendicia de dubitationum motiva (ff. 49r-50v).

Inc. Domino dilectissimo et cultu sincerissimo caritatis obsequendo atque amplectendo fratri et compresbitero Hieronimo, Augustinus. Numquam aque quisquam tam facie cuilibet innotuit, quam mihi tuorum in Domino studiorum quieti, leta et vere exercitatio liberalis.

Expl. Video etiam interdum vitia mea; sed hec malo audire a melioribus, ne cum me recte fortasse reprehendere, rursus mihi blandiar, et meticulosam potius mihi videar in me quam iustam tulisse sententiam.

PL, vol. 33: ep. 28, pp. 111-114; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*, ep. 56; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 54: ep. 56.

22. Epistola sancti Augustini ad beatum Hieronimum (ff. 50v-53r).

Inc. Domino dilectissimo et cultu sincerrissimo caritatis observando atque amplectendo fratri et compresbitero Hieronimo Augustinus. Habeo gratiam quod pro subscripta salutatione, plenam mihi epistolam reddidisti, sed breviorum multo quam ex te vellem sumere, tali viro, a qua tempora quantalibet occupet, nullus sermo prolixus est.

Expl. Hunc interea Paulum fratrem nostrum in Christo multum commendo benignitati tue, cuius in nostris regionibus existimationi bonum corum Deo testimonium perhibemus. Sancti Hieronimi epistola ad Augustinum finit.

PL, vol. 33: ep. 40, pp. 154-158; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 67; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 54: ep. 47.

23. Epistola Aurelii Augustini episcopi ad magnum doctorem Hieronimum (f. 53rv).

Inc. Domino carissimo et desideratissimo, et honorando in Christo fratri et compresbitero Hieronimo, Augustinus in Domino salutem. Audivi pervenisse in manus tuas litteras meas, sed quod adhuc rescripta non merui, nequaquam imputaverim dilectioni tue, aliquid procul dubio impedimenti fuit.

Expl. Memor nostri exaudiaris a Domino in omni sancto desiderio, domine carissime et desideratissime, et honorande in Christo frater.

PL, vol. 33: ep. 67, pp. 236-237; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 101; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 55, *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae*, vol. 2, ed. Isidor Hilberg. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1912: ep. 101.

24. Epistola magni doctoris sancti Hieronimi ad Aurelium sanctum Augustinum responsiva (ff. 53v-54r).

Inc. Domino vere sancto ac beatissimo pape Augustino, Hieronimus, in Christo salutem. In ipso perfectionis articulo sancti filii nostri Asterii ippodiaconi, beatitudinis tue ad me literae supervenerunt, quibus satisfacis te contra parvitatem meam librum Romam non misisse.

Expl. Memento mei, sancte et venerabilis papa. Vide quantum te diligam, ut ne provocatus quidem voluerim respondere, nec credam tuum esse quod in altero forte reprehenderem. Frater communis suppliciter te salutatur.

Sancti Hieronimi ad beatum Augustinum finit epistola.

PL, vol. 33: ep. 68, pp. 237-238; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 102; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 55: ep. 102.

25. Epistola eiusdem sancti Hieronimi ad eundem beatum Augustinum (f. 54rv).

Domino vere sancto et beatissimo pape Augustino, Hieronimus, in Christo salutem.

Inc. Anno preterito, per fratrem nostrum Asterium yppodiaconum dignationi tue epistolam miseram, promptum reddens salutationis officium quam tibi arbitror redditam.

Expl. Incolumem te et memorem mei, Christus Deus noster tueatur omnipotens, domine vere sancte et suscipiende papa.

PL, vol. 33: ep. 39: 154; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 103; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 55: ep. 103.

26. Sancti Augustini ad Presidium sacerdotem epistola super literis mittendis sancto Hieronimo (f. 54v).

Inc. Domino beatissimo et merito venerando fratri et consacerdoti Presidio, Augustinus in Domino salute. Sicut presens rogavi sinceritatem tuam, nunc quoque conmono, ut literas meas sancto fratri et conpresbitero nostro Hieronimo mittere non graveris.

Expl. Aut si ego quod non debui, vel quomodo non debui, aliquid scripsi, non ad illum de me, sed ad me, ipsum potius fraterna dilectione mitte sermonem, quo correctus petam ut ignoscat, si meam culpam ipse cognovero.

PL, vol. 33: ep. 74, pp. 250-251; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 111; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 55: ep. 111.

27. Sancti Augustini episcopi ad beatum Hieronimum epistola responsiva (ff. 54v-57v).

Inc. Domini venerando et desideratissimo fratri et conpresbitero Hieronimo, Augustinus in Domino salutem. Quamvis existimem antequam istas sumeres, venisse in manus tuas literas meas, quas per Dei servum filium nostrum Ciprianum dyaconum misi.

Expl. Hoc magnum et triste miraculum est, ex amicitiiis talibus ad has inimicitias pervenisse; letum erit, et multo maius ex inimicitiiis talibus ad pristinam concordiam revertisse.

PL, vol. 33: ep. 73, pp. 245-250; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 110; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 55: ep. 110.

28. Sancti Hieronimi epistola ad beatum Augustinum responsiva et argumentis qui reprehensoria ut certius scribat exhortativa (ff. 57v-59v),

Inc. Domino vere sancto et beatissimo pape Augustino Hieronimus in Christo salutem. Crebras ad me epistulas dirigit, et saepe conpellis ut respondeam

cuidam epistulae tuae, cuius ad me, ut ante iam scripi, per fratrem Sisinnium diaconum exemplaria pervenerant absque subscriptione tua.

Expl. Vale, amice carissime, etate fili, dignitate parens; et hoc a me rogatus observa, ut quicquid mihi scripseris, ad me primum facias pervenire.

Hieronimo epistola finit.

PL, vol. 33: ep. 72, pp. 243-245; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 105; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 55: ep. 105.

29. Epistola sancti Augustini ad gloriosum doctorem Hieronimum (ff. 58v-60r).

Inc. Domino venerabili et desiderabili sancto fratri et compresbitero Hieronimo, Augustinus in Domino salutem. Ex quo cepi ad te scribere aut tua scripta desiderare, numquam mihi melior occurrit occasio, quam ut per Dei servum ac ministrum fidelissimum, mihi que carissimum mea tibi afferetur epistola, qualis est filius noster Cyprianus diaconus.

Expl. Sed obsecro te per Dominum, ne te pigeat ad omnia respondere, et prestare mihi, quantum potueris, presentiam tuam.

PL, vol. 33: ep. 71, pp. 241-243; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 104; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 55: ep. 104.

30. Beati Hieronimi epistola ad sanctum Augustinum super reprehensionibus sue translationis et libro virorum illustrium (f. 60r-67v).

Inc. Domino vere sancto et beatissimo pape Augustino, Hieronimus, in Christo salutem. Tres simul epistulas, immo libellos breves, per diaconum Cyprianum tue dignationis accepi, ut tu nominas, questiones, ut ego sentio reprehensiones meorum opusculorum continentes.

Expl. Mihi sufficit, cum auditore et lectore pauperculo in angulo monasterii susurrare.

PL, vol. 33: ep. 75, pp. 251-263; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 112; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 55: ep. 112.

31. Beatissimi Hieronimi epistola ad sanctum Augustinum episcopum super epistolis invicem mittendis (ff. 67v-68r).

Inc. Domino vere sancto et beatissimo pape Augustino, Hieronimus, in Christo salutem. Cum a sancto fratre nostro [Firmo] sollicite quererem quid ageres, sospitem te letus audivi.

Expl. Si autem amicus, qui me primus gladio petiit, stilo repulsus est, sit humanitatis tue atque iusticie, accusantem reprehendere, non respondentem, in Scripturarum si placet campo, sine nostro invicem dolore laudamus.

PL, vol. 33: ep. 81, p. 275; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 115; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 55: ep. 115.

32. Sancti Augustini episcopi epistola ad beatum Hieronimum responsiva et questionum motiva (ff. 68r-77r).

Inc. Domino dilectissimo, et in Christi visceribus honorando, sancto fratri et compresbitero Hieronimus, Augustinus, in Domino salutem. Iam pridem tue caritati prolixam epistolam misi, respondens illi tue quam per sanctum filium tuum Asterium, nunc iam non solum fratrem, verum et collegam meum, misisse te recolis.

Expl. Illa enim caritas quam tecum habere vellem, profecto maior, est sed melius hec minor quam nulla est.

PL, vol. 33: ep. 82, pp. 275-291; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 116; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 55: ep. 116.

33. Sancti Augustini episcopi epistola ad beatum Hieronimum de origine anime (f. 77r-84r).

Inc. Dominum Deum nostrum qui nos vocavit in suum regnum et gloriam (1 Thess 2:12) et rogavi et rogo ut hoc quod ad te scribo, sancte frater Hieronime, consulens te de his que nescio fructuosum, esse nobis velit.

Expl. Sed antequam sciam quenam earum potius eligenda sit, hoc me non temere sentire profiteor, eam que vera est non adversari robustissime ac fundatissime fidei, qua Christi Ecclesia nec parvulos homines recentissime natos a damnatione credit, nisi per gratiam nominis Christi, quam in suis sacramentis commendavit, posse liberari.

PL, vol. 33: ep. 166, pp. 720-733; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*, ep. 131; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 56, *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae*, vol. 3, ed. Isidor Hilberg. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1918: ep. 131.

34. Item epistola sancti Augustini episcopi ad eundem sanctum doctorem Hieronimum de eo quod scriptum est: Qui totam legem servaverit offendat autem in uno et cetera (ff. 84r-89r).

Inc. Quod ad te scripsi, honorande mihi in Christo fratre Hieronime, querens de anima humana, si nascentibus singulis nove singole nunc usque fiunt, ubi peccati vinculum contrahant, quod per sacramentum gratie Christi etiam in infantibus recenter natis non dubitamus esse solvendum.

Expl. Maxime tamen istam sententiam: Quicumque totam legem servaverit, offendat autem in uno, factus est omnium reus. Si quo alio modo exponi melius posse novit dilectio tua, per Dominum obsecro ut id nobiscum communicare digneris.

PL, vol. 33: ep.167, pp. 733-741; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 132; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 56: ep. 132.

35. Beatissimi Hieronimi epistola ad sanctum Augustinum episcopum de laudibus eius ingenii (f. 89rv).

Inc. Domino vere sancto, et omni affectione mihi venerabili pape Augustino, Hieronimus, in Christo salutem. Virum venerabilem fratrem meum, filium dignationis tue Orosium presbiterum, et sui merito, et te iubente suscepi.

Expl. Et subter: Grandem latini sermonis in illa provincia notariorum patimur penuriam; et idcirco praeceptis tuis parere non possumus, maxime in editione Septuaginta, que asteriscis verubusque distincta est: pleraque enim prioris laboris, ob fraudem cuiusdam amisimus.

PL, vol. 33: ep. 172, pp. 752-753; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 134; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 56: ep. 134.

36. Beati Hieronimi epistola ad sanctum Augustinum episcopum quem laudat quoniam hereticis constanter restitit (ff. 89v-90r).

Inc. Domino sancto ac beatissimo pape Augustino, Hieronimus. Omni quidem tempore beatitudinem tuam eo quo decet honore veneratus sum, et habitantem in te dilexi Dominum Salvatorem, sed nunc, si fieri potest, cumulo aliquid addimus et plena complemus ut absque tui nominis mentione ne unam quidem horam preterire patiamur.

Expl. Incolumem, et mei memorem te Christi Domini clementia tueatur, domine venerande, et beatissime papa. Multi utroque claudicant pede, et ne fractis quidem cervicibus inclinatur, habentes affectum erroris pristini, cum predicandi eandem non habeant libertatem. Sancti fratres qui cum nostra sunt parvitate, precipue sancte et venerabiles filie tue suppliciter te salutant. Fratres tuos, dominum meum Alipium et dominum meum Evodium, ut meo nomine salutes, precor coronam tuam. Capta Ierusalem tenetur a Nabuchodonosor, nec Hieremie vult audire consilia, quin potius Egyptum desiderat, ut moriatur in Tapnes, ibi servitute pereat sempiterna.

PL, vol. 33: ep. 195, p. 891. The text in parentheses of PL is brought as a separate epistle 123: p. 472. *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 141; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 56: ep. 141.

37. Hieronimi epistola ad Alipium et Augustinum episcopos responsiva dubii propositi (f. 90rv).

Inc. Dominis vere sanctis atque omni affectione ac iure venerandis, Alipio et Augustino episcopis, Hieronimus, in Christo salutem. Sanctus Innocentius presbiter, qui huius sermonis est portitor, anno preterito, quasi nequaquam in Affricam reversurus mea, ad dignationem vestram scripta non sumpsit.

Expl. Incolumes vos et memores mei, Christi Domini nostri tueatur clementia, domini vere sancti, atque omnium affectione venerabiles patres.

PL, vol. 33: ep. 202, pp. 927-929; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 143; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 56: ep. 143.

38. Alipius et Augustinus episcopi ad Aurelium episcopum (ff. 90v-91r).

Inc. Domino beatissimo et venerabiliter suscipiendo, sincerissimeque carissimo fratri et consacerdoti pape Aurelio, Alipius et Augustinus, in Domino salutem.

Impletum est gaudio os nostrum et lingua nostra exultatione nuntiantibus literis tuis sanctam cogitationem tuam, adiuvante Domino qui eam inspiravit ad effectum esse perductam.

Expl. Nam et ego quod iussisti non negligo, et de Tyconii septem regulis vel clavibus sicut sepe iam scripsi, cognoscere quid tibi videatur expecto. [Fratrem Hilarinum Hipponensem archiatrum et principalem multum commendamus. Nam de fratre romano quid satagasnovimus, nihilque petendum est nisi ut te pro illo adjuvet Dominus. Amen.]

PL, vol. 33: ep. 41, pp. 158-159.

39. Epistola sancti Augustini ad Longinianum gentilem (f. 91r).

Inc. Longiniano Augustinus salutem. Solere aiunt quemdam veterum dicere, quibus satis persuasum esset ut nihil mallent se esse quam viros bonos, his reliquam facilem esse doctrinam.

Expl. Diligo enim te propter id quod supra dixi, meque abs te diligi non temere existimo; nec ulla de re alia inter eos que se benevole noverunt sermo, fructuosior, vel impenditur, vel reposcitur, vel accipitur, vel recipitur, quem unde boni beatique sumus.

PL, vol. 33: ep. 233, p. 1030.

40. Epistola Longiniani gentilis ad sanctum Augustinum responsiva (ff. 91r-92r).

Inc. Domino venerando, et vere ac merito percolendo, sancto patri Augustino, Longinianus. Beatus sum, et relucens puro tue virtutis lumine admodum illustratus, qui dignum me [divini] tui affaminis honore cumulandum esse duxisti.

Expl. Dei pietate perfruaris, domine pater, ac perpetua sanctitate Deo placeas, quod necesse est.

PL, 33: ep. 234, pp. 1030-1031.

41. Epistola beati Augustini episcopi ad Longinianum responsiva (f. 92rv).

Inc. Longiniano Augustinus. Ceperi fructum scripti mei, rescriptum scilicet benevolentie tue, unde iam video exortum et exorsum inter nos magne hac de re magna disputationis quasi sementum: hoc est quod volebam prius, deinde quod adhuc volo, Deus adjuvabit.

Expl. Onerare te itaque epistola nolui, ut te cito rescribente cetera contexamus.
PL, vol. 33: ep. 235, pp. 1032-1033.

42. Epistola Hieronimi ad Marcellinum et Anapsychiam (ff. 92v-93v).

Inc. Dominis vere sanctis atque omni officiorum caritate venerandis filiis Marcellino et Anapsychie, Hieronimus, in Christo salutem. Tandem ex Affrica vestre literas unanimatis accepi, et non me penitet inpudentie, qua tacentibus vobis epistolas meas frequenter ingessi, ut rescriptum mererer, et vos esse sospites, non aliis nuntiantibus, sed vestro potissimum sermone cognoscerem.

Expl. Incolumes vos et prolixa etate florentes Christus Deus noster tueatur omnipotens, domini vere sancti.

PL, vol. 22: ep. 126, pp. 1085-1087; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 56; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 54: ep. 56.

43. Epistola beati Epiphani episcopi ad Johannem Constantinopolitani (Jerosolymitani) episcopum a beato Hieronimo translata (ff. 93v-98).

Inc. Domino dilectissimo fratri Iohanni episcopo, Epiphanius. Oportebat nos, dilectissime, clericatus honore non abuti in superbiam, sed custodia mandatorum Dei, et observatione diligentissima hoc esse quod dicimur...

Expl. Palladium vero Galatham, qui quondam nobis carus fuit, et nunc misericordia Dei indiget, cave, quia Origenis heresim predicat et docet ne forte aliquos de populo tibi credito ad perversitatem sui inducat erroris.

PL, vol. 22: ep. 51, pp. 516-527; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 51; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 54: ep. 51.

44. Epistola Hieronymi ad Helyodorum episcopum exhortatoria (ff. 98r-101v).

Inc. Quanto amore et studio contenderim, ut pariter in heremo moraremur, conscium mutue caritatis pectus agnoscit.

Expl. Videte corpus, an idem sit, quod dicebatis clam nocte sustulisse discipulos, ut hec tibi frater dicerem: tua me compulit dilectio et ut his interesse contingat, cui nunc labor durus est.

PL, vol. 22: ep. 14, pp. 347-355.

45. Elegans epistola sanctissimi doctoris Hieronimi ad Pamachium de optimo interpretandi genere (ff. 101v-107v).

Inc. Paulus apostolus, presente Agrippa rege, de criminibus responsurus, quod posset intelligere qui auditurus erat, securus de cause victoria statim in principio gratulatur dicens...

Expl. Optoque, si fieri potest, et si adversarii siverint, commentarios potius Scripturarum, quam Demosthenis et Tullii Philippicas tibi sribere.

PL, vol. 22: ep. 57, pp. 568-579; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 57; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 54: ep. 57.

46. Epistola sancti Hieronimi ad Nepotianum presbiterum de vita monachorum (ff. 107v-113v).

Inc. Petis a me, Nepotiane carissime, litteris transmarinis, et crebro petis ut tibi brevi volumine digeram precepta vivendi, et qua ratione is, qui seculi militia derelicta, vel monachus coeperit esse, vel clericus, rectum Christi tramitem teneat, ne ad diversa vitiorum diverticula rapiatur.

Expl. Qui mihi irasci voluerit, prius ipse de se quod talis sit, confitebitur.

PL, vol. 22: ep. 52, pp. 528-540; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 52; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 54: ep. 52.

47. Epistola beati Hieronimi ad Amandum (ff. 113v-115r).

Inc. Domino vere sancto et suscipiendo fratri Amando presbitero, Hieronimus. Brevis epistola longas explanare non valet questiones, et in arctum multa concludens, stringere verbis, quod sensibus dilatatum est.

Expl. Verbi gratia, in Salomone sapientia, in David bonitas, in Iob patientia, in Davide (sic!; al. Daniele) cognitio futurorum, in Petro fides, in Phinees et Paulo zelus, in Joanne virginitas, in ceteris cetera. Cum autem rerum omnium finis advenerit, tunc omnia in omnibus erit, ut singuli sanctorum omnes virtutes habeant, ut sit Christus totus in cunctis.

PL, vol. 22: ep. 55, pp. 560-565.

48. Utrum mulier relicto viro adultero et sodomita et alio per vim accepto, possit absque penitentia communicare Ecclesie, vivente adhuc eo quem prius relinquerat (ff. 115r-116r).

Inc. Reperi junctam epistole et commentariolo tuo brevem cartulam, in qua hec indita ferebantur: Querendum ab eo, id est a me, utrum mulier relicto viro adulterio ed sodomita, et alio per vim accepto, possit absque penitentia communicare ecclesie vivente adhuc eo quem prius relinquerat.

Expl. Putride carnes ferro indigent et cauterio: nec est medicine culpa, sed vulneris, cum crudelitate clementi non parcat medicus, ut parcat, sevit, ut misereatur.

This extract, singled out by Diversi as a separate epistle, is actually part of the previous epistle. PL, vol. 22: ep. 55, pp. 562-564.

49. Epistola sanctissimi doctoris Hieronimi ad Tranquillinum, quomodo Origenem legere debeat (f. 116r).

Inc. Maiora spiritus vincula esse quam corporum, si olim ambigebamus, nunc probavimus: dum et mihi sanctitas tua heret animo et ego tibi Christe amore conjungor.

Expl. Sanctus frater Tacianus diaconus impendio te salutatur.

PL, vol. 22: ep. 62, p. 606.

50. Epistola Pammachii et Oceani ad doctorem Hieronimum (ff. 116r-126v).

Inc. Sanctus aliquis ex fratribus scedulas ad nos cuiusdam detulit, que Origenis volumen quam Periarchon scribitur in latinum sermonem conversum tenerent.

Expl. Purga ergo suspiciones hominum, et convince criminantem, ne si dissimulaveris, consentire videaris.

PL, vol. 22: ep. 83, p. 743 (*Origen Perì archòn*); *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 83; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 55: ep. 83.

51. Epistola sancti Hieronimi ad Pamachium et Oceanum (f. 116v-121r).

Inc. Scedule quas misistis, honorifica me affecere contumelia, sic ingenium predicantes, ut fidei tollerent veritatem.

Expl. Quid autem laboris in transferendis libris Peri archon sustinuierim, vestro iudicio derelinquo, dum et mutare quippiam de Greco, non est vertentis sed evertentis, et eadem ad verbum exprimere, nequaquam eius, qui servare velit eloquii venustatem.

PL, vol. 22: ep. 84, pp. 743-752; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 84; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 55: ep. 84.

52. Epistola sancti Hieronimi ad Avitum de erroribus Origenis in libris Periarchon (ff. 121r-127r).

Inc. Ante annos circiter decem, sanctus vir Pammachius ad me cuiusdam scedulas misit, que Origenis Peri archon interpretata volumina continentur, ymmo viciata.

Expl. Quisquis igitur hos voluerit legere libros, et calciatis pedibus ad terram repomissionis pergere, nec ubi a serpentibus mordeatur, et arcuato vulnere scorpium verberetur, legat prius hunc librum, et antequam ingrediatur viam, que sibi cavenda sint, noverit.

PL, vol. 22: ep. 124, pp. 1059-1072; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 124; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 56: ep. 124.

53. Epistola sancti Hieronimi ad Oceanum de vita clericorum (ff. 127r-129r).

Inc. Sofronius Eusebius Hieronimus Oceano suo salutem. Deprecatus es ut tibi breviter exponerem qualiter clerici debeant victitare in hac vita mortalium.

Expl. Super omnia hoc precepit clericis boni testimonii [Apostolus] fundamenta componere, ut bonorum operum testificatio, casto confirmetur affectu.

PL, vol. 30: ep. 42, pp. 288B-292A; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 342; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: pp. 633.

54. Epistola sancti Hieronimi ad Oceanum de unius uxoris viro (ff. 129r-135r).

Inc. Numquam, fili Oceane, fore putabam ut indulgentia principis calumniam sustineret reorum, et de carcibus exeuntes post sordes ac vestigia catenarum dolerent alios relaxatos.

Expl. Itaque cum opposuerint nobis uxorem ante baptismum, [nos ab eis omnia que post baptismum] precepta sunt, requiramus, pretereunt quod non licet, et obiciunt quod concessum est.

PL, vol. 22: ep. 69, pp. 653-664; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 69; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 54: ep. 69.

55. Epistola sancti Hieronimi ad Evangelum presbiterum quo pacto presbiter et diaconus differant (ff. 135r-136r).

Inc. Legimus in Ysaia: Fatuus fatua loquetur. Audio quemdam in tantam erupisse vecordiam, ut diaconos, presbiteris, id est, episcopis anteferet.

Expl. Et ut sciamus traditiones apostolicas sumptas de Veteri Testamento, quod Aaron et filii eius, atque Levite in templo fuerunt, hoc sibi episcopi et presbiteri et diaconi vindicent in Ecclesia.

PL, vol. 22: ep. 146, pp. 1192-1195; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 146; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 56: ep. 146.

56. Item epistola sancti Hieronimi ad eundem (Evangelum) de Melchisedech (ff. 136r-138v).

Inc. Misisti mihi volumen [anonymon adeospton] et nescio utrum tu de titulo nomen subtraxeris, an ille qui scripsit, ut periculum fugeret disputandi, auctorem noluerit confiteri.

Expl. Ego post longa egrotationem, vix in Quadragesime diebus fabricare [al. feбри carere] potui, et cum alteri me operi prepararem, paucos dies qui supererant in Mathei expositione consumpsi, tantaque aviditate studia ommissa repetivi, ut quod exercitationi lingue profuit, nocuerit corporis valetudini.

PL, vol. 22: ep. 73, pp. 675-681; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 73; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 55: ep. 73.

57. Epistola Paule et Eustochii ad Marcellam exhortatoria de locis sanctis (f. 138v-142v).

Inc. Mensuram caritas non habet, et impacientia nescit modum, et desiderium non sustinet, unde et nos oblite virium nostrarum, et non quod possimus sed quid velimus tantum cogitantes, magistram cupimus docere discipule, et ut est vulgare proverbium: Sus artium repertricem.

Expl. Et tunc comitante Christo, cum per Silo et Bethel et cetera loca, in quibus Ecclesie quasi quedam victoriarum Domini sunt erecta vexilla, ad nostram speluncam redierimus, canemus jugiter, crebro flebimus, indesinenter orabimus, et vulnerate jaculo Salvatoris in comune dicemus: Inveni quem quesivit anima mea, tenebo eum, et non dimittam illum.

PL, vol. 22: ep. 46, pp. 483-492; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 46; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 54: ep. 46.

58. Epistola sancti Hieronimi ad Marcum presbiterum, Chalchide lamentabilis (ff. 142v-143v).

Inc. Decreveram quidem utendum mihi psalmiste voce dicentis: Cum consisterit adversum me peccator obmutui, et humiliatus sum, et silui a bonis (Psalm 38).

Expl. Ceterum ego fidei mee testes habeo aures tuas, et beati fratris Çenobii, quem tecum omnes, qui hic sumus, plurimum salutamus.

PL, vol. 22: ep. 17, pp. 359-361; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 17; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 54: ep. 17.

59. Epistola sancti Hieronimi ad Exuperantium (ff. 143v-144r).

Inc. Inter omnia que mihi sancti fratris Quintilliani amicitie prestiterunt, hoc vel maximum est, quod te mihi ignotum corpore, mente sociavit.

Expl. Et tu igitur eroganda non queras, sed quesita iam tribue, ut fortissimum tyrunculum suum Christus agnoscat, ut letus sibi de longissima regione venienti occurrat pater, ut stolam tribuat, ut donet anulum, ut immolet pro te vitulum saginatum, ut expeditum cum sancto fratre Quintiliano ad nos cito faciat navigare, pulsavit amicitiarum fores: si aperueris nos crebro habebis hospites.

PL, vol. 22: ep. 145, pp. 1191-1192; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 145; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 56: ep. 145.

60. Epistola sancti Hieronimi ad Rusticum, de penitentia (ff. 144r-148v).

Inc. Quod ignotus ad ignotum audeo scribere, sancte ancille Christi Hedibie, et filie mee, coniugis tue, Artemie, ymmo sororis ex coniuge atque conserve, fecit deprecatio.

Expl. Recte enim appellabo animam tuam, filiam anime eius, que sexus nescit diversitatem, quia te quasi parvulum, atque lactentem, et necdum valentem sumere solidos cibos, invitat ad lac infancie, et nutricis tibi alimenta demonstrat, ut possis dicere cum propheta: Erravi sicut ovis perdita, quere servum tuum, quoniam mandata tua non sum oblitus (Psalm 118).

PL, vol. 22: ep. 122, pp. 1038-1046; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 122; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 56: ep. 120.

61. Epistola sancti Hieronimi ad Desiderium (ff. 148v-149r).

Inc. Lecto sermone dignationis tue, quem mihi non opinanti tua benivolentia tribuit, gavisus quidem sum testimonio honesti et eloquentissimi viri, sed in memet reversus, satis dolui, indignum tantis laudibus atque preconio opprimi potius quam levare.

Expl. Quem librum cum a supradictis sumpseris, quidquid de indice minus habueris, paluatim scribi faciam, si volueris.

PL, vol. 22: ep. 47, pp. 492-493; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 47; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 54: ep. 44.

62. Sermo Hieronimi de tribus virtutibus: fortitudine, sapientia et prudentia (ff. 149r-152r).

Inc. Tres quodammodo virtutes Dei assumens de propheta: fortitudinem, sapientiam atque prudentiam, unicuique earum propria opera distribuit.

Expl. Sic igitur ad mundi sapientiam stultificandam, non est opus sapientiam Dei descendere, et cum ea colluctari, que deorsum est sapientia, sed sufficit fatuum Dei: quoniam sapientius est hominibus, et infirmum Dei, fortius et hominibus, et omnia contraria Salvator meus et Dominus assumpsit, ut contrariis dissolvat contraria, et confirmemur ab infirmitate eius, et sapientes efficiamur a fatuo eius, et in hoc introducti possimus ascendere ad sapientiam et virtutem Dei, Christum Iesum, cui est gloria et virtus et imperium in secula seculorum. Amen.

PL, vol. 15: pp. 625-632; vol. 30: ep. 8, pp. 116-122; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 308; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 33.

63. Epistola sancti Hieronimi ad Dardanum, de Terra repromissionis (ff. 152r-155v).

Inc. Queris Dardane, [Christianorum nobilissime, et] nobilium Christianissime, que sit terra repromissionis, quam Iudei redeuntes ex Egipto possederunt, cum a maioribus eorum iam fuerit ante possessa, ac prinde non sit promissa sed reddita.

Expl. Eodem enim tempore, ymmo eodem mihi die, et litere tue reddite sunt, et mee expetite, ut aut tacendum fuerit, aut incompto eloquio respondendum: quorum alterum pudoris, alterum caritatis est.

PL, vol. 22: ep. 129, pp. 1099-1107; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 129; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 56: ep. 129.

64. Epistola sancti Hieronimi ad Lucinium Beticum (al. Boeticum) (ff. 155v-157v).

Inc. Nec opinanti mihi subito litere tue reddite sunt, que quanto insperatae, tanto gaudiorum plene, quiescentem animam suscitaverunt, ut statim amore complecterer, quod oculis ignorabam, et illud mecum tacitus musitarem.

Expl. Et qui non est in homine via eius, et a Domino gressus hominis diriguntur, si forte, quod procul absit, aliquid fuerit impedimenti, queso ut quos caritas iungit, terrarum longitudo non separet, et absente Lucinium nostrum, semper presentem literarum vicissitudine sentiamus.

PL, vol. 22: ep. 71, pp. 668-672; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 71; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 55: ep. 71.

65. Apologeticum sancti Hieronimi ad Pamachium de dictis contra Jovinianum (ff. 157v-167r).

Inc. Quod at te hucusque non scripsi, causa fuit silentium tuum, verebar enim ne si tacenti scriberem, molestum me magis quam offitiosum putares.

Expl. Laçarus recepit mala in vita sua, et dives ille purpuratus, crassus et nitidus, fruitus est carnis bonis dum adviveret, sed diversa post mortem tenent loca:

Miserie deliciis et deliciae misseriis commutantur (Luke 16). In nostro arbitrio est vel Laçarum seque vel divitem.

PL, vol. 22: ep. 48, pp. 493-511; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 49 (48); *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 54: ep. 49 (48).

66. Adversum Helvidium de perpetua virginitate gloriiosissime virginis sancte Marie domine nostre (ff. 167r-176v).

Inc. Nuper rogatus a fratribus, ut adversus libellum cuiusdam Helvidii responderem, facere distuli, non quod difficile fuerit hominem rusticanum et vix primis quoque literis imbutum super veri assertionem convincere, sed ne respondendo dignus fieret, qui vinceretur.

Expl. Illud dico preveniens, glorie mihi fore tua convicia, cum eodem quo Marie detraxisti, ore me laceres, et caninam facundiam servus Domini pariter experiatur et mater.

PL, vol. 23: pp. 183-206.

67. Epistola sancti Hieronimi ad Eustochium de virginitate servanda (ff. 176v-192r).

Inc. Audi filia, et vide et inclina aurem tuam, et obliviscere populum tuum, et domum patris tui, et concupiscet rex decorem tuum (Psalm 45:11).

Expl. Quotiescumque te vana saeculi delectaverit ambitio, quoties in mundo aliquid videris gloriosum, ad paradysum mente transgredere; esse incipe quod futura es, et audies a sponso tuo: Pone me sicut umbraculum in corde tuo, sicut signaculum in brachio tuo (Sg 8, 6), et corpore pariter ac mente munita clamabis et dices: Aque multe non potuerunt extinguere caritatem, et flumina non operient eam (Ibidem).

f. 192, Sancti Hieronimi ad Eustochium de virginitate servanda epistola elegans finita est.

PL, vol. 22: ep. 22, pp. 393-425; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 22; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 54: ep. 22.

68. Gloriosi Hieronimi doctoris contra Jovinianum qui nuptias virginitati equabat. Liber primus incipit (ff. 192r-227r).

Inc. Pauci admodum dies sunt, quod sancti ex urbe Roma fratres cuiusdam Joviniani mihi Commentarios transmiserunt, rogantes ut eorum ineptiis responderem et Epycurum Christianorum, evangelico atque apostolico rigore contererem.

Expl. Pateat quod noxium est, ut possit conteri, cum poterit.

Quatuor Joviniani maledicta, que sanctus Hieronimus antiqui serpentis sibila vocat.

Inc. Dicit virgines, viduas et maritatas, que semel in Christo lote sunt, si non discrepent ceteris operibus, eiusdem esse meriti.

Expl. Vestras ferte paulisper injurias, putate vos cum Christo crucifixas, Phariseorum audire blasphemias.

Argumenta et responsiones Joviniani sequuntur [Jovinianus. Liber Deuteronomii sub Josia repertus in Templo]

Inc. Primo inquit dei sententia est: "Propter quod dimittet homo patrem et matrem suam et adhaerebit uxori suae et erunt duo in carne una" (Gen 2:24; Matt 19:5).

Expl. Non tibi facio, virgo, iniuriam: elegisti pudicitiam propter presentem necessitatem; placuit tibi, ut sis sancta corpore et spiritu; ne superbias: eiusdem Ecclesie membrum es, cuius et nupte sunt.

f. 195, Sanctus Hieronimus primum Joviniani capitulum impugnat

Inc. Nimius fortasse fuerim in expositione propositionum eius, et legenti fastidium fecerim, sed utile ratus sum cuncta molimina ejus, quasi instructam aciem contra me ponere.

Expl. Ego autem non levius malum, sed simplex per se bonum volo.

197v, Secundo declaratur. An uxor sit dimittenda.

Inc. Huc usque primum capitulum disertum est, veniamus ad sequentia.

Expl. Hec idcirco dixi, uti qui nuptias virginitati comparant, sciant saltem tales nuptias digamie et trigamie subiciendas.

f. 198r, An fidelis uxor ab infideli marito debeat discedere an sic permaneant sicut eos invenissem fides.

Expl. Quibus in baptisinate mortuus est Pharaon et universus eius suffocatus est exercitus, cur rursus Egiptum querimus, et post manna, angelorum cibo, allea et cepe et pepones et carnes farias, hoc etiam Pharaon niticas suspiramus.

Inc. Ad superiorum disputationem in qua docuerat fidelem ab infideli non debere discedere, sed permanere in matrimonio sicut eos invenisset fides.

f. 199r, De hoc quod ait apostolus de virginibus autem et cetera.

Inc. Maritorum et continentium disputatione premissa, tandem ad virgines venit et ait.

Expl. Tantum est igitur inter nuptias et virginitatem, quantum inter non peccare, et bene facere, immo ut levius dicam, quantum inter bonum et melius.

f. 202r, De monogamia et digamia

Inc. Finita disputatione coniugiorum et virginitatis, inter utrumque cauto moderamine preceptorum, ut nec ad sinistram, nec ad dexteram diverteret, sed via regia graderetur, et illud impleret: Ne sis iustus multum (Eccl 7:17).

Expl. Non damno digamos, immo nec trigamos, et si dici potest, octogamos: plus aliquid inferam, etiam scortatorem recipio penitentem: Quidquid equaliter licet, equali lance pensandum est.

f. 203v, Hieronimus castitem super operi nuptiarum fuisse prelatam ostendit, principium sumens ab Adam.

Inc. Sed quoniam ad vetus nos trahit Testamentum, et incipiens ab Adam, ad Çachariam et Elisabeth pervenit.

Expl. Simulque si arca plures habuit mansiones et nidulos, et bicamerata, et tricamerata, et diversas bestias, et pro qualitate animalium habitationes quoque vel majores vel minores, estimo quod diversitas illa mansionum prefiguraverit Ecclesie varietatem.

f. 204, De concessione comedendarum carniū

Inc. Quod autem nobis obiciit, in decunda Dei benedictione comedendarum carniū licentiam datam, que in prima concessa non fuerat, sciat quomodo repudium iuxta eloquium Salvatoris ab initio non dabatur.

Expl. Et vinum enim cum carnibus post diluvium dedicatum est.

f. 204v, Inc. Quid loquar de Abraham, ut ipse asserit trigamo, qui signum fidei in circumcissione suscepit?

Expl. Neque enim in Sancta sanctorum inferri poterat argentum.

f. 205r, Quid moror in Moyse cum mihi propositum sit cursim celeriterque dictanti, singula breviter perstringere, et intelligentiae quasdam lineas ducere?

Expl. Nuptiae enim finiuntur in morte, virginitas post mortem incipit coronari.

f. 207r, Sanctus Hieronimus ostendit aliqua Joviniani exempla non esse convenientia.

Inc. Sanson quoque producit in medium, nec decalvatum quondam Domini Nazareum a muliere considerat.

Expl. Tunc ergo salvabitur mulier, si illos genuerit filios, qui virgines permansuri sunt: si quod ipsa perdidit, acquirat in liberis, et damnum radicis et cariem, flore compenset et pomis.

f. 210r, Hieronimus doctor sanctus Salomonis auctores de condicionibus mulierum declarat.

Inc. Supra in transitu, ubi nobis adversarius proposuerat Salomonem multinubum, qui Templum Dei extruxit, strictim responderam, ut per questiones reliquas currerem.

Expl. Si odiosam duxerit, ferri non potest, si amabilem, amor illius inferno, et arenti terre, et incendio comparatur.

f. 211r, Declarantur aliqua dicta in libro Ecclesiasten.

Inc. Veniamus ad Ecclesiasten, de ipso quoque pauca testimonia ponentes.

Expl. Qui servivimus in lege nuptiis, virginitate in Evangelio serviamus.

f. 211v, Declarantur dicta in Cantica canticorum, que virginitatis sacramenta continent.

Inc. Transeo ad Cantica canticorum, et quod adversarius totum putat esse pro nuptiis, virginitatis continere sacramenta monstrabo.

Expl. Non est huius temporis in morem Commentarii omnia de Canticis canticorum virginitatis pandere sacramenta, quia et hec ipsa fastidioso lectori nares contractura non ambigo.

f. 213r, De prophetia Ysaie: Ecce virgo concipit et cetera.

Inc. Loquatur Ysaia spei nostre fideique mysterium: Ecce virgo in utero concipiet et pariet filium, et vocabit nomen eius Emmanuel (Isa 7: 14).

Expl. Si enim illas sera pudicitia post despumatas corporis voluptates erigit contra maritatas, cur non infra perpetuam castitatem esse se noverint?

f. 214r, Respondet aliis dictis.

Inc. Frustra hec loqueris, quia et episcopi et presbiteri et diaconi, unius uxoris viri, et habentes filios ab Apostolo constituuntur.

Expl. Nec dicitur: Si quis episcopatum desiderat, bonum desiderat gradum; sed bonum opus desiderat; quod in maiori ordine constitutus, possit, si velit, occasionem exercendarum habere virtutum.

f. 215r, Inc. Oportet ergo episcopum irreprehensibilem esse, ut nulli vitio mancipatus sit.

Expl. Et gloriosior ille sub vero imperatore Christo, non qui nobilior, sed qui fortior est.

f. 215v, Alteri Joviniani argumento respondet.

Inc. At dices: Si omnes virgines fuerint, quomodo stabit humanum genus?

Expl. Si angelorum nobis similitudo promittitur (inter angelos autem non est sexus diversitas), aut sine sexu erimus, quod angeli sunt; aut certe quod liquido comprobatur, resurgentes in proprio sexu, sexus non fungemur officio.

f. 217r, Sententie apostolorum et castitatis et continentie Christiane ex hic ponuntur.

Inc. Verum quid agimus argumentis, et propositiones adversarii callida cupimus responsione superare?

Expl. Que si conceduntur etiam in Evangelio, aliud est indulgentiam infirmitati tribuere, aliud virtutibus premia polliceri.

f. 218r, Item apostolorum sententie.

Inc. Dicam et ego nuptiatoribus meis, qui post castitatem et diuturnam continentiam subant ad coitum, et pecudum more lasciviunt.

Expl. Canis reversus ad suum vomitum, et sus lota in volutabro luti.

f. 220r, Item altere apostolorum sententie.

Inc. Nolui omnem locum secunde Petri epistole ponere, ne logum facerem, sed tantummodo ostendi Spiritus sancti vaticinio, huius temporis et doctores et heresim prenuntiatam.

Expl. Et quicumque se mundaverit, eum futurum esse vas honorabile, et necessarium in omne opus bonum preparatum.

f. 220r, Gentilium exempla virginitatis

f. 221r, Inc. Satis abundeque Christiane pudicitie et virginitatis Angelice, de divinis libris exempla prebuimus.

Expl. Ac ne nobis Dominum Salvatorem de Virgine procreatum Romana exprobraret potentia, auctores urbis et gentis sue, Ilia virgine et Marte genitos arbitrantur.

f. 222v, *Exempla nuptarum que variis modis digamiam effugerunt.*

Inc. *Hec de virginibus seculi, currens per multiplices historias, et properans sermo perstrinxerit.*

Expl. *Que interrogate cur faceret, ait, sibi semper maritum Servium vivere.*

f. 224r, *An vir sapiens ducat uxorem circa hoc ponuntur Theofrasti sententie.*

Inc. *Sentio in catalogo feminarum multo me plura dixisse, quam exemplorum patitur consuetudo, et a lectore erudito juste posse reprehendi.*

Expl. *Cum legamus Moysen et Samuelem filiis suis alios pretulisse, nec putasse liberos, quos videbant Domino displicere?*

f. 225r, *Ciceronis sententia de uxore et quorundam aliorum exempla quorum uxores impudice fuerunt.*

Inc. *Cicero rogatus ab Hirtio, ut post repudium Terentie, sororem ejus duceret, omnino facere supersedit, dicens non posse se uxori et philosophiae pariter operam dare.*

Expl. *Quod si deorum, ut putat, nomina, vite hominum preiudicant, offendet ergo Statorem Jovem, qui libenter sederit.*

f. 226r, *Aristotilis, Plutarchi et Senece de matrimonio et feminarum amore notande sententie.*

Inc. *Scripserunt Aristotiles et Plutarchus et noster Seneca de matrimonio libros, ex quibus et superiora nunnula sunt, et ista que subiicimus.*

f. 227r, Expl. *Flaminem bimaritum: Hierophantas quoque Atheniensium usque hodie cicuta sorbitione castrari, et postquam in pontificatum fuerint allecti, viros esse desinere.*

Sancti Hieronimi contra Jovinianum liber primus finitur.

LIBER SECUNDUS. (ff. 227r-251r)

f. 227r, *Eiusdem contra Jovinianum secundus liber incipit. Inc.*

Inc. *Secunda propositio est, eos qui fuerunt baptizati, a diabolo non posse tenari.*

Expl. *Frustra enim habemus advocatum Iesum Christum, si peccari non potest.*

f. 228r, *Exemplo probat intentum.*

Inc. *Petrus Apostolus, ad quem dictum fuerat...*

Expl. Et in mente habe, qualiter acceperis, et audieris, et serva, et penitentiam age, et reliqua utique ei dicit qui credit, et baptizatus est, et stans quondam, corruit per delictum.

f. 229v, Sanctus Hieronimus discurrit multa veteris testamenti exempla ad suum propositum.

Inc. Paulisper de Veteri testamento exempla distuleram; quia solent ubicumque contra eos facit, dicere, Lex et prophetae usque ad Joannem (Matt 2).

Expl. Quod sicut priora peccata dimittit, sic in futurum servare non potest, nisi baptizati omni custodia servaverint cor suum.

f. 230v, Hieronimus contra tertiam propositionem procedit ubi dicitur inter abstinentiam ciborum et cum gratiarum actione perceptionem eorum, nullam esse distantiam.

Inc. Tandem pervenimus ad vibos, et tertie questionis nobis opponitur difficultas.

Expl. De ciborum sibi placent abstinentia qui non et supersticio gentilium castum matris Domini observet et mundis (al. et Isidis).

Expl. Nos Paulo credimus intonanti: Esca ventri, et venter escis. Deus autem et hunc et illam destruet (1 Cor 6: 13).

f. 232r, Diversarum gentium varios vivendi modos esse ostendit.

Inc. Hec pauca de scripturis ut congruere nostra cum philosophis doceremus. (Instead of: Haec autem de Scripturis pauca posuimus, ut congruere nostra cum philosophis doceremus.)

Expl. Unde et Comicus: Sine Cerere, inquit, et Libero friget Venus.

f. 233r, Quod per quinque sensus corporis intrant vicia.

Inc. Per quinque sensus, quasi per quasdam fenestras, vitiorum ad animam introitus est.

Expl. Que autem in deliciis est, vivens mortua est (1 Tim 5: 6).

f. 234r, Comparatur sensus corporis et ipsum corpus ad animam.

Inc. Sensus corporum quasi equi sunt, sine ratione currentes, anima vero ina aurigae modum retinet frena currentium.

Expl. Cum ridere voles, Epicuri de grege porcum.

f. 235r, Quare sacietas ventris vitanda sit.

Inc. Sed et ex vilissimis cibus vitanda sacietas est.

Expl. Qui paupertatem apostolorum et crucis duritiam, aut nesciunt, aut contemnunt, imitentur saltem gentilium parcitatem.

f. 236v, Sanctus Hieronimus ad concordio humani generis incipiens abstinentiam laudat.

Inc. Hec de argumentis philosophorum exemplisque disservi.

Expl. Quia obedistis precepto Jonadab patris vestri, non deficiet vir de stirpe Jonadab filii Rechab, stans in conspectu meo cunctis diebus (Jer 35: 8)

f. 238r, Multa hic abstinentie exempla catholica ponuntur.

Inc. In foribus Evangelii, Anna, filia Phanuelis univira inducitur, semperque ieiunans, et Dominum virginem longa castitas longaque ieiunia susceperere.

Expl. Ita per omnia que per emulationem Dei facit diabolus, non religionis nostre superstitio, sed nostra arguitur negligentia, id nolentium facere quod bonum esse, etiam seculo homines non ignorant.

f. 240r, Nunc in sequentibus agitur de quarto sibilo Joviniani qui dixit omnium quesivi baptisma servaverint unam in regno celorum fore remunerationem.

Inc. Quarta propositio, que et extrema est, duos esse ordines, ovium, et hircorum.

Expl. Et quo magis admireris, ab his incipit premium, qui minus in vinea laborarunt.

f. 244r, Sanctus Hieronimus contra hoc sibilium procedit.

Inc. His et huiuscemodi divinarum Scripturarum testimoniis, que ad perver-
sitate[m] sui dogmatis callidus disputator inclinatur, quis non tentetur etiam electorum Dei?

Expl. Non quod mensura Christi diversa sit, sed tantum gratie eius infunditur, quantum valemus haurire.

f. 244v, Ex predictis concludit inconveniens et item arguit contra Jovinianum.

Inc. Frustra igitur oves et hircos, quinque et quinque virgines, Egiptios et Israelitas, et cetera huius (al. huiuscemodi) replicas, quia non est in presenti retributio sed in futuro.

Expl. Ubi nihil est quod intrinsecus lateat, frustra ad intelligentiam mysticam provocamur.

f. 245r, Quod Deus aliter et aliter manet, apud credentes, ostendit, et cetera.

Inc. Si autem Pater et filius mansionem faciunt apud credentes, et ubi Christus hospes est, ibi nihil deesse existimas, puto quod aliter Christus habitaverit in Corinthiis, aliter in Ephesiis.

Expl. Hoc in celis est, hoc in ministerio Dei, ne nos solito more irrideas, atque subsannes, si imperatores posuerimus, et prefectos, et comites, et tribunos, et centuriones, et manipulos et reliquum ordinem militie.

f. 246r, Alias sacre scripture auctoritates quas Jovinianus allegat, perpulchre declarat.

Inc. Illud autem quod ait: Nescitis quia corpora vestra templum est Spiritus Sancti (1 Cor 6, 19): frivolum est, cum Scriptura divina soleat et unum pluraliter, et plura singulariter appellare.

Expl. Ab Adam enim usque ad Moysen, mors super omnes dominata est, etiam super eos qui non peccaverunt, in similitudinem prevaricationis Adam (Rom 5: 14).

f. 247v, Hic ostendit peccatorum non esse idem supplicium ut dicebat Jovinianus.

Inc. De eo autem quod niteris approbare, convicium et homicidium, raca et adulterium, et otiosum sermonem, et impietatem uno supplicio repensari, iam et supra tibi responsum est, et nunc breviter respondebo.

Expl. Iam nostri laboris est, pro diversitate virtutum, diversa nobis premia preparare.

f. 248v, In commune, id est generaliter, respondet sanctus Hieronimus maledictis Joviniani.

Inc. Huc usque per partes ad proposita respondimus.

Expl. Verum iam cepimus terram prospectare de pelago, et post montes gurgitum, et spumosos fluctus, et navim, vel in sublime subrectam, vel in ima precipitem, paulatim fessis et languentibus portus aperitur.

f. 249v, Omnium dictorum contra Jovinianum epilogus. Et contra Epicurum et Jovinianum quasi invectiva et ad urbem Rome ut Jovinianum deserat brevis exhortatio sequitur.

Inc. Diximus de nuptis, viduis, virginibus.

Expl. Adhuc sub regibus, et sub Numa Pompilio facilius maiores tui Pyctagore (sic!) continentiam, quam sub consulibus Epicuri luxuriam susceperunt.

f. 251, Deo gratias sancti Hieronimi contra Jovinianum et Epicurum liber ultimus ad laudem Domini Iesu finitus est. Amen.

PL, vol. 23: pp. 211-282C, 281D-338A; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 252; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 610.

69. Epistola sancti Hieronimi ad matrem et filiam in Gallia commorantes (ff. 251v-255r).

Inc. praefatio. Retulit mihi quidam frater e Gallia, se habere sororem virginem matremque viduam, que in eadem urbe divisim habitarent cellulis.

Expl. Cumque portaveris eum pro viatico, si auditus fuerit, letemur pariter, si autem contemptus fueri, quod et magis reor, ego verba perdiderim, tu itineris longitudinem.

f. 251v, Hic recte incipit epistola ad matrem.

Inc. Primum vos scire cupio soror et filia, me non idcirco scribere, quia aliquid de vobis sinistrum suspicer.

Expl. Quod idcirco dixi ut qui non ignoscit ingenio ignoscat vel tempori.

PL, vol. 22: ep. 117, pp. 953-960; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 117; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 55: ep. 117.

70. Sermo sancti Hieronimi presbiteri ad Paulam et Eustochium de assumptione beate glorioseque virginis Marie matris domini Jesu Christi (ff. 255r-260r).

Inc. Cogitis me, o Paula et Eustochium, ymo caritas Christi me compellit, qui vobis dudum tractatibus loqui consueveram, ut novo loquendi genere, sanctis que vobiscum degunt virginibus Latino utens eloquio, exhortationis gratia, sermonem faciam de assumptione beate et gloriose et semper virginis Marie.

Expl. Unde credimus, ut supra dictum est, quod non hunc tantum diem solemnem ducunt pro eius honore annum, verum continuum etiam et eternum et iucunditatis et leticie ac venerationis obsequio, cum omni colunt tripudio amoris et gaudii. Amen.

Diversi didn't copy the rest of the epistle.

PL, vol. 30: ep. 9, pp. 122-137 (142); *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 309; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 633.

71. De libris adversus Jovinianum et inter prestationem quorundam ad Pama-chium (f. 260rv).

Inc. Cristiani interdum pudoris est, etiam apud amicos tacere, et humilitatem suam magis silentio consolari, quam retractando veteres amicitias, ambitionis crimen incurrere.

Expl. Ecclesiastica interpretatio etiam si habet eloquii venustatem, dissimulare eam debet et fugere, ut non otiosis philosophorum scolis paucisque discipulis, sed universo loquatur hominum generi.

PL, vol. 22: ep. 49, pp. 511-512; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 48 (49); *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 54: ep. 48 (49)

72. Hieronimi sancti ad Paulinum presbiterum de institutione clericorum vel monachorum et divine historie expositionibus diversis (ff. 261-264).

Inc. Bonus homo de bono thesauro cordis profert ea que bona sunt (Matt 12) et ex fructibus eorum arbor cognoscitur (Luke 6: 44).

Expl. Sanctam conservam tuam, et tecum in Domino militantem, per te salutari volo.

PL, vol. 22: ep. 58, pp. 579-586; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 58; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 54: ep. 58.

73. Epistola sancti Hieronimi ad Vigilantium qui adversus Hieronimo volumen ediderat. Sanctus Hieronimus cum mirum in modum reprehendit (ff. 264r-265v).

Inc. Iustum quidem fuerat, nequaquam, tibi literis satisfacere, qui tuis auribus non credidisti, neque eiusdem scedule potes aquiescere, qui vivo sermoni non accomodasti fidem.

Expl. Tribuat tibi Christus ut audias et taceas, ut intelligas et sic loquaris.

PL, vol. 22, ep. 61: 602-606; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*, ep. 61; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 54, ep. 61.

74. Epistola sancti Hieronimi ad Riparium presbiterum de Vigilantio (ff. 265v-267r).

Inc. Acceptis primum literis tuis, non respondere, temeritatis est de his eiusdem rebus interrogas que et proferre et audire sacrilegium esse.

Expl. Omnis arbor que non facit fructum bonum, excidetur, et in ignem mittetur (Matt 3:10).

PL, vol. 22: ep. 109, pp. 906-909.

75. Epistola Hieronimi adversus Vigilantium (ff. 267r-272v).

Inc. Multa in orbe monstra generata sunt: centauros et sirenas, ululas et onocrotalos in Isaia legimus, Job Leviathan et Bethemoth mystico sermone describit (Job 3: 40).

Expl. Quod si Dormitantius in mea rursus maledicta vigilaverit, et eodem ore blasphemo, quo apostolos et martyres lacerat, de me quoque putaverit detrahendum, nequaquam illi brevi lucubratiuncula, sed tota nocte vigilabo, et sociis illius ymmo discipulis vel magistris, qui nisi tumentes uteros viderint feminarum, maritos earum Christi ministerio arbitrantur indignos.

PL, vol. 23: pp. 339-352 (S. Eusebii Hieronymi, Stridonensis presbyteri, contra Vigilantium liber unus).

76. Epistola beati Hieronimi ad Julianum diaconum Aquileie (ff. 272v-273r).

Inc. Antiquus sermo est: Mendaces faciunt, ut nec vera dicentibus credatur: quod mihi ego a te obuirgatus de silentio literarum, accidisse video.

Expl. Quapropter queso ut apostolici memor precepti, quo docet opus nostrum permanere debere, et tibi a Domino premium in illius salute pares, et me de communi in Christo gloria crebris reddas sermonibus letiorem.

PL, vol. 22: ep. 6, pp. 337-338; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 6; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 54: ep. 6.

77. Epistola sancti Hieronimi ad Niceam hipodiamonum Aquileie (f. 273r).

Inc. Turpilius Comicus tractans de vicissitudine literarum: sola, inquit, res est, que homines absentes, presentes facit, nec falsam dedit quamquam in re non vera, sententiam.

Expl. Magnum et in hoc desiderii solamen habeo, si amici litteras, vel indignantis accipiam.

PL, vol. 22: ep. 8, pp. 341-342; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 8; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 54: ep. 8.

78. Simbolum de fide Niceni concilii a beato Hieronimi expositum (ff. 273v-276v).

Inc. Credimus in unum Deum patrem omnipotentem, omnium visibilium et invisibilium creatorem et in unum dominum nostrum Iesum Christum filium eius..

Expl. Huic trinitati credentes vere sancti et beati patriarche prophete et apostoli et martyres et martirii gloriam meruerunt et spem vite eternitatis adepti sint et regnum celorum hereditatione ambigua sunt sortiti.

PL, vol. 30: ep. 17, pp. 176D-181D (Explanatio fidei ad Cyrillum).

79. Epistola beati Hieronimi ad Florentium de ortu amicitie (f. 276v-277r).

Inc. Quantus beatitudinis tue rumor diversa populorum compleverit, hinc poteris estimare, quod ego te an incipio amare, quam nosse.

Expl. Sanctus presbiter Evagrius plurimum te salutatur: et Martinianum fratrem juncto salutamus obsequio, quem ego videre desiderans, catena langoris innector. [Vale in Christo].

PL, vol. 22: ep. 4, pp. 335-336; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 4; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 54: ep. 4.

80. Epistola sancti Hieronimi ad Florentium (ff. 277r-278v).

Inc. In ea mihi parte heremi commoranti, que iuxta Siriam Saracenis iungitur, tue dilectionis scripta perlata sunt.

Expl. Quapropter quia ego in hac solitudine constitutus, non possum agere quod iussisti, rogavi carissimum mihi Evagrium, ut tam tui quam mei causa instanter negocium prosequatur. [Cupio te valere in Christo].

PL, vol. 22: ep. 5, pp. 336-337; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 5; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 54: ep. 5.

81. Epistola beati Hieronimi ad Abigaum (Bigaum) Hispanum de humilitate et patientia (ff. 277v-278r).

Inc. Quanquam mihi multorum sim conscius peccatorum, et quotidie in orationibus flexis genibus loquar: Delicta iuventutis mee, et ignorancias meas ne memineris, [tamen] sciens dictum esse ab Apostolo: Ne inflatus in superbia incidat in iudicium diaboli.

Expl. Sanctos qui nos diligere dignantur, per te oppido salutamus.

PL, vol. 22: ep. 76, pp. 689-690; *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*: ep. 76; *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*: p. 620; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 55: ep. 76.

