

**1533 volume by Giovanni Battista and Teofilo Folengo:
*Dialogi, quos Pomiliones vocat; Varium poema; Ianus***

Transcription and draft translation (version October 12, 2021) by Ann E Mullaney

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Pomiliones	Pomiliones (Big Dwarves) ¹
[Title page]	Title page
{page 1} {p. A}	{page 1} {p. A}
IOAN. BAPTI. Chrysogoni Folengii Mantuani Anachoritae Dialogi, quos Pomiliones vocat.	By Giovanni Battista Crysogono Folengo, Mantuan Anchorite: <i>Dialogues, which he calls Dwarves/ Short Pieces.</i>
THEOPHILI Folengii Mantuani Anachoritae Varium poema, et IANUS.	Teofilo Folengo, Mantuan Anchorite, <i>Diverse Poems and Janus.</i>
{page 2} {p. A i v} [Dedication]	{page 2} {p. A i v} Dedication
Cum enim varios ad amicos hosce meos destinassem Pomilios, decrevi tandem, Alberice eruditissime, cum ob multas egregias tui animi dotes, tum quod semper mihi visus es dignus, in quo uno maxime, ego totus collocarer, eos omnes in te uno conquirere. Ferreus quidem est, qui perinde, atque ego facio, non te amat, id est plus quam proprium caput, aut Cor. Porro debilius forsan, quam quod emunctissimum	Although indeed I had designated these Dwarves of mine for various friends, I decided at last, most erudite Albericus, not only on account of the many distinguished endowments of your character (<i>animi</i>), but also because you always seemed worthy to me, as the one most of all in whom I could wholly be placed/ collocated, to settle all these on you alone. Unbending is anyone who does not love you just as I do, that is, more than my own

¹ The *Dialogi, quos Pomiliones vocat* (*Dialogues which he calls Dwarves/ Short Pieces*) is the first of three works published as one volume, dated 1533. The prose pieces in the *Pomiliones* are authored by Giovanni Battista Folengo (1490-1559), perhaps with some input from his brother Teofilo Folengo (1491-1544), who wrote the accompanying two works: *Varium poema*, a collection of 68 poems, and *Janus*, a narrative poem. For more about the text please see my Additional Notes to the *Varium poema*. Page numbers are given first in standard Arabic numerals, and then in the format used for incunabula (quire, folio, recto/ verso). In 2013, Cynthia Hornbeck, then a graduate student in the Classics Department of the University of Minnesota, helped me revise the transcription and my first draft; remaining errors are mine.

tuum iudicium expetere censeatur, videbitur munus. Quid putas? Pomiliones sunt: et hi quidem in tyrrheni litore reperti. Verum a Conaro exituri erant, Sed vetuit Vulcani rabies, ac furor. Vale, et me, ut facis, dilige.	head or Heart. ² Perhaps hereafter the gift will seem more meager than what may be reckoned to aspire to your extremely snooty judgment. What do you think? They are Dwarves/ Short Pieces and they were indeed found on the Tyrrhenian shore. In truth, they were about to emerge from Conaro, but the rage and fury of Vulcan prevented this. Farewell, and hold me dear, as you do. ³
{page 3} {p. A ii} Preamble	{page 3} {p. A ii} Preamble
PROHOEMIUM	Preamble
CHRYSOGONUS, THEOPHILUS	Chrysogonus, Theophilus
[CHRYSOGONUS:] Agedum ò Theophile postquam infamibus vix tandem superatis Acrocerauniis, hasce quietissimas nacti sumus sedes, antiqua obliviscamur tempora, atque orbi universo commonstremus, necque ignavia neque socordia, sed melioris vitae studio, te a principum consuetudine, me a pyraei negociis desivisse.	[Chrysogonus:] All right then, O Teofilo, after the notorious Acroceraunians [Thunderstruck peaks] were scarcely surpassed, we lighted upon these very peaceful abodes: let us forget past times, and together let us make known to the whole world, and not with idleness or lethargy, but with zeal for a better life, that we have desisted – you from your intimacy with princes, I from my fiery/ funereal activities. ⁴
THE. Sine, te quaeso, etiam num sum lassus e navi, atque admodum nauseo.	Theophilus: Stop, I beg you, I am still really worn out from the ship and feel quite sea-sick.

² The Latin word for dwarf used in the title is *pomilio*, *pomilionis*, M/F, whereas here and again on p. 153, the form *Pomilios* appears, from a later variant *pumilius*, *i*, M. The Albericus of the dedication remains unidentified.

³ Conaro: Monte Conero is a coastal promontory, full of grottoes and caves, found just south of Ancona, le Marche, on the Adriatic Sea. It was the site of a Benedictine monastery, and housed hermits from other orders as well.

⁴ Chrysogonus mentions Teofilo's *consuetudine* (familiarity, intimacy) with princes: this may refer to his intimate relationship with Federico Gonzaga (see *Varium poema* 33, *Janus passim*), and/or his work as tutor for the Orsini family; the word *consuetudine* is used a dozen times in the *Pomiliones*. The adjective *pyraei* appears to be formed from *pyra*, *-ae*, a funeral pile, pyre; used for sacrifices to infernal deities, *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (hereafter OLD); Chrysogonus refers to his work on altars and seems to imply something sexual – perhaps in contrast to Teofilo's familiarity with princes, and see below, p. 4.

CH. Age, hoc stomachi, quidquid est obdormiscamus. Somno enim aiunt facile sedari nauseam.	Chrysogonus: Come on, this stomach thing, whatever it is, let's sleep on it. For they say that nausea can easily be calmed by sleep.
TH. Scilicet perfractis malis, ab orisque extrema convulsa anchora, quis nisi demens in rimosa dormit navi? Portum, quippe nondum passis, ut dicitur, velis subivimus. Evigilandum igitur esse censeo, ne, ut nos Christus Jesus admonet, in tentationes prolabamur.	Theophilus: Of course with the masts already broken, and the last anchor wrenched from the shores, who if not a crazy person sleeps on a cracked ship? To be sure, we have not yet passed into port with sails spread, as they say. Therefore I reckon one should be vigilant, lest, as Jesus Christ cautions us, we slip into temptations.
CH. Nihil potius. Nanque animo sub perturbationum mole laboranti, nihil infelicius accidere potest, quam si in miseriis positus, obstupescat omnino. Etenim bilioso consoporato veretro somnus forsan mederi potest: at animus contra, laborando, vigilando, agendo, sese a foedis commotionibus vendicando, beneque consulendo, sanior fit, et ad divina percipienda capax magis. sed metaphoraeparendum fuit.	Chrysogonus: Nothing is more important. For the soul laboring under the burden of perturbations, nothing more unfortunate can happen than if, put in miseries, it would become utterly stunned. And indeed perhaps sleep can heal a bilious befuddled organ, but the soul [animus], on the contrary, by laboring, by being vigilant, by acting, by avenging itself from foul commotions and by deliberating well, becomes healthier and more capable of securing divine things. But this should have appeared as metaphor.*
THE. Eam tandem esse veram illius hominis gloriam	Theophilus: This ultimately I consider to be the real fame and glory of that man,
{page 4} {p. A ii v} Preamble	{page 4} {p. A ii v} Preamble
ac laudem existimo ò Chrysogone, qui, cum iniuriarum meminerit, despuat virus illico, nec sinat in praecordiis morbum insenescere. Sed praeterita, sive bona, sive mala extiterint, oblivisci posse penitus, esset hoc quidem ab homine mentem tolli, atque animum a sede removeri. Habeat ergo	O Chrysogono, who, whenever he is aware of injuries, immediately spits out the venom, lest he allow the disease to grow old in his diaphragm. But past things whether good or bad existed, to be able to thoroughly forget, this would indeed take the mind from a man, and remove his soul from its seat. ⁵ Therefore, let that halting [man/

⁵ The words *animus* (mind, soul) and *mens* (mind, reason) are used over and over in this volume (and by many other writers of the era) to designate the phallus, see for example, "Age dum ó hospes, post quam incaluere animi, penitiora, si lubet, rimemur mysteria" (Come now, O guest, after our souls have heated up, if it is pleasing, let us probe the more inward mysteries), p. 75, and "ó sacer animorum coetus" (O sacred intercourse of souls), p. 139; and pp. 26, 43, and 141. To understand this volume it is necessary to be familiar with the sexual terminology used extensively in Italy from 1450-1550; very helpful are the four volumes of analysis by Jean Toscan, *Le carnaval du langage: le lexique érotique des poètes de l'équivoque de Burchiello à*

<p>claudus ille nostram, cum suis male conciliatis chaonibus pauperiem, depredeatur, expilet, grassetur, ut suus inhumanus est mos, in hospites: nobis certe alio est, scilicet ut ait Silius, grassandum ad clara periclis. Itaque, ut mones, ad quaevis, ut facilis mea est natura, sive aedendum, sive reponendum sit aliquid, praesto sum.</p>	<p>thing] with his wickedly procured Chaonians have our poverty, let him plunder, rob and make advances on his guests, as is his inhumane custom: for us, certainly, it is another matter, one may know, as Silius said, “we must advance toward famous deeds by means of risks.”⁶ Therefore, as you advise, I’m ready to do whatever you want, as my nature is easy, whether something is to be published or set aside.</p>
<p>CH. Tantum abest ut Baldum repetas. Iam plus nimio, mihi crede, eius generis lusum est musis.</p>	<p>Chrysogonus: Far be it that you repeat the <i>Baldus</i>. [Something] of this sort is now, believe me, very greatly mocked by the Muses.</p>
<p>TH. Sic ingenii ferociae tum, cum vix licuit, consulendum fuit, studio videlicet ignobilis oci. Disputet tamen. proinde crassas illas Hamadryadas oilm* [olim] iam submovi limine. Atque deinceps, Dispeream si aliud quam Christum carmine dicam. Et tu?</p>	<p>Theophilus: Thus at the time of innate unruliness, when it was barely allowed, the pursuit of a clearly ignoble leisure should have been dealt with. It still makes [me] ashamed. So then in the past I drove off those crass Wood-nymphs from the threshold. And hereafter, may I perish if I should speak of anything other than Christ in verse. And you?</p>
<p>CH. Egone? Is sum, me novi quidem, quem plus lachrymae, quam calamus, solari debeant. Placent, fateor, peritorum libri. Placet identidem, cum ab aris superest ocium, scribere aliquid, non quod mihi, ut ait Secundus, aeternam pariat gloriam, et splendorem: sed quod inani me, nescio quo, dum per Apologias vagatur stilus, pascat solatio. Mirum quam turpiter obsolescant mortalium ingenia, nisi quotidie a nobis</p>	<p>Chrysogonus: Me? I am one, indeed I know myself, whom tears would need to console more than a reed pen. Books of experts are pleasing, I admit. Likewise it is pleasing, when leisure from the altars remains, to write something, not so that it may produce eternal glory and grandeur for me, as Secundus said, but because while the pen wanders through the Apologies, I don't know why, it feeds me with hollow comfort.⁷ It is amazing how shamefully the talents of mortals</p>

Marino (Lille: Presses Universitaires, 1981); see also *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*, J.N. Adams (Baltimore, John Hopkins, 1982).

⁶ *Silius*: Silius Italicus (c.25-c.103), *Punica* 1.570. *Chaonians*: a tribe of early Greeks; Chaonia was in the area around the Acroceraunian mountains mentioned above; *claudus* (halting, wavering), is used to designate the phallus, see the address to, “Claude informis,” p. 150; for poverty as sexual desire, and the notion of risk see Toscan, pp. 1025 and 332-4. *Baldus*, epic poem by Teofilo Folengo.

⁷ *Secundus*: Pliny, Gaius Plinius Secundus (23-79CE), known for his scientific writings, and pithy moralisms including the oft-quoted: “true glory consists in doing what deserves to be written, in writing what deserves to be read” (source?); here perhaps there is also a reference to *Natural History*, 2.18: *Deus est mortali iuvare mortalem, et haec ad aeternam gloriam via* (to help a mortal is to be a god, and this is the path to eternal glory).

<p>expoliantur, atque a rubigine, assidua reparentur exercitatione. Attamen, ut ut facta sunt, tua ad aedenda modo futura sint incitamenta, prodeant. Verum nollem, quod ad orationis filum</p>	<p>may fall into disuse, if they are not furbished daily by us, and renewed from rust by assiduous exercise. However, as soon as they are finished let your [poems] be published, but only if they are going to be provocative. In truth, I wouldn't want the reader</p>
<p>{page 5} {p. A iii} Preamble</p>	<p>{page 5} {p. A iii} Preamble</p>
<p>attinet, non nihil lectorem moveri. nam aliud est meditata, assiduaque lucubratione elaborata aedere, aliud vero simplici modo dicendi, ut se res habet, ad amicos scribere subita, ac parum examinata.</p>	<p>to be moved at all/ not at all* by what pertains to the thread of the discourse. For it is one thing to publish [works] meditated and elaborated with assiduous nocturnal study, another matter indeed to write hasty things and little scrutinized, in a simple spoken style for friends, as they take place.</p>
<p>Propterea mihi accidit, quod plerisque graecis maxime, in hoc scribendi genere accidisse legimus: quibus eo visus est dialogus suavius suo posse progredi lepore, ac sale, quo fuit pressius, familiaris, et variis quibusdam intertextus Enthymematis, exaratus. Ex quo sit, ut in iis meis Pomilionibus virtutum magis encomia, et nuda interdum elogia vitiorum, quam diffinitiones, sint enarrata. Quamobrem qui purgatori sunt nare facile odorare poterunt, hinc solitudinum, illinc coenobiorum, addo et politicam quandam potius Ethicam, aut Paraenesim, seu malit, quod magis placet, mediam appellare Comoediam: quam exacta rerum Axiomata contineri.</p>	<p>So it happened to me, what we read to have happened especially to many Greeks in this manner of writing: for them, the dialogue seems to be able to proceed more smoothly with its own charm and wit, the more it was urgent and intimate, and interwoven with various Questionable Premises, tilled. Therefore, let it be that in these <i>Pomiliones</i> of mine, encomia of virtues and occasionally naked praise of vices are narrated rather than definitions. On account of which, those who are more cleaned out will be able to smell easily with the nostril, here something of solitudes, there something of monasteries, and I add a certain political something, or rather Ethical, or Paranetic, or if one prefers because it is more pleasing to call it middle Comedy, than to be confined to the exact Axioms of matters.⁸</p>
<p>Et rursus quia saepe, etiam nunc, fit contentio inter discipulos domini, quis eorum maior sit in regno coelorum, additum est de unico ad beatitudinem studio, et itinere. Atque subinde in calce admonentur hi, qui ad nova, nesciunt quae, excitanda propensiores sunt, quam ut vetera collapsa, alioqui sancta,</p>	<p>And again because often, even now, controversy takes place among the disciples of the lord, [as to] who among them may be greater in the kingdom of heaven, something has been added concerning the one devotion and route to beatitude. And accordingly in the end these people are chided, who are more inclined to stir up new things, they</p>

⁸ *Paraenesis*: exhortation to continue in, or to abstain from, a way of life.

<p>ac laude digna instaurent. Quid? candidus lector opinetur velim ó Theophile, nostras hasce musas a Massensium Minerva, non ab illa de Iovis vettice [sic, vertice], quod aiunt, decussa, profectas esse.</p>	<p>don't know which, than to restore old, collapsed things that are sacred to someone and worthy of praise. What? I would like the lucid reader to imagine these Muses of ours, O Teofilo, to have set out from Minerva of the Massensians [from Massa Lubrense], not having been shaken off that one* from the pinnacle of Jove, as they say.⁹</p>
<p>Caeterum nulla nobis quaestio cum nimium nasutis, ac stomachosis. Sed tamen antequam nostra oia in amicorum manus pervenire contingat, diligentissime a nobis putanda sunt, atque adeo ad me-</p>	<p>Anyway, [there's] no question about us, since [we are] excessively nose-y/ satirical and stomachy/ bilious. But still, before it happens that our leisure-works come into the hands of friends, they ought to be thought through most diligently by us, and even expunged again</p>
<p>{page 6} {p. A iii v} Prohemium</p>	<p>{page 6} {p. A iii v} Preamble</p>
<p>-liorem cultum repurganda, ut eo minus displiceant, quo noverit amicus lector, haud quaquam nobis defuisse vel studium, vel labor, licet defuerit tum librorum copia, tum censor is, quem non pigeat aliorum scripta disquirere.</p>	<p>for improved refinement, so that the less they displease, the more the friendly reader might recognize that we hardly ever lacked zeal or effort, although sometimes a supply of books was lacking, at other times that censor whom it did not disgust to probe the writings of others.*</p>
<p>THE. Quid censor? nihil fallacius, crede mihi, eorum iudicio, qui huius generis laudem sibi arrogant: et qui se potius illorum numero haberi volunt, quorum iudicio extinctus est Socrates, quam ut veri sint, candidique iudices in alienam immortalitatem, quae, ingeniorum industria maxime, comparari solet. Vis apte atque ornate ea quae dicenda sunt, dicere? lege prius optimos authores, et tuum postea tu solummodo, cum scribis, iudicium consule, atque ingenium.</p>	<p>Theophilus: What censor? Nothing is more deceptive, believe me, than the judgment of those who lay claim to praise of this sort for themselves, and who would rather be held in the ranks of those by whose verdict Socrates was executed, than of those who are true and lucid judges of another's immortality, which is usually established above all by the industriousness of talented people. Do you wish to say suitably and prettily what must be said? First read excellent authors, and afterwards when you write, consider only your own judgment and talent.</p>
<p>Tu enim liberorum tuorum parens es, caeteri alieni. Quod si tamen exterorum arbitrio meus subiiciendus est foetus, ac veluti informis ursus aliena limula effigiandus, diligentio-rem te, hac in solitudine praesertim, inveni adhuc neminem.</p>	<p>For you are the parent of your children, the others belong to someone else. But yet if my offspring is to be subjected to the authority of outsiders, and is to be shaped with another's little file as if it were a formless bear, thus far I've</p>

⁹ *Massensi* used often for Massenzio, the part of the Sorrentine peninsula now known as Massa [Lubrense]; *vettice* (F) for *vertice* (M)?

	found no one more meticulous than you, especially in this seclusion. ¹⁰
CHR. Quin immo tu alterum, ut ait Mitio terentianus, ego item alterum: curemus aequam uterque, partem. Illud vero inhumanum prorsus Demeae. Quando, inquit, tuum non curo, non cura meum. Porro licet meum in versibus iuxta soleat esse iudicium, et gustus, uti sus ad Amaracum, aut ad fides Coccyx: tuos tamen libenter audiam, et si non propter aliam honestiorem causam, at saltem ut salubriter ociemur.	Chrysogonus: On the contrary why don't you [take care of] one [work], as Terentian Micio says, I likewise the other: let us both care an equal share. ¹¹ That truly utterly inhumane [notion] of Demea: "Since I don't care about yours" he says, "don't care about mine." Hereafter, let my judgment and taste in verse get used to being close together, as a pig to Marjoram or a Cuckoo/ Coccyx to the lyre/ faith: still I shall willingly hear yours, and if for no other more honorable reason, so that at least we might spend our leisure in a wholesome manner.
honestandam igitur nostram hanc esse solitudinem arbitror, partim sanctissimis animi cogitationibus, quarum quidem accessu a caeteris semoti cupiditatibus,	Therefore I think this solitude of ours is to be honored partly by extremely holy deliberations of the soul (<i>animi</i>), indeed, removed from other passions by the onset of these [deliberations],
{page 7} {p. A iiiii} Prohemium [ends]	{page 7} {p. A iiiii} Preamble end
facilius abducamur a sensibus, id est consuescamus mori: partim Musarum numeris abste metricis, a me vero solutioribus decorandum, Sed, ut tandem exordium fiat, meos age iam Monogrammos excipe.	let us be carried more easily by our senses, that is, let us get used to the routine, some [writings] to be adorned by you with the metrical feet of the Muses, [some] by me though with freer [styles]; but, so that at last there may be a beginning, go on now, accept my Monograms/ sketches.
Epistle to Niccolò Morosini	Epistle to Niccolò Morosini

¹⁰ Reference to a story from the brief *Life of Virgil* by Suetonius, in which the poet is said to have edited his text assiduously, like a mother bear licking her baby cub into shape.

¹¹ Terence, *Adelphi*, 1.2: Micio and Demea are brothers who each raise a child of Demea, here the "children" are the literary works of the Folengo brothers, Teofilo's *Varium poema* and *Janus* in verse, Giovanni Battista's *Pomiliones* in prose.

<p>AD R. NICOLAUM MAUROCEnum Venetum, Anachoritam. Chrysogo. Folengius Anachorita. S. D.</p>	<p>To Reverend Niccolò Morosini, Venetian, Anchorite: Chrysogonus Folengo, Anchorite, sends greetings.¹³</p>
<p>Simul atque huius precarii recessus, gravissime Nicolae, montem musarum profecto coelestium domicilium ascendi, mirum quam blande arriserint omnia: sed nil tantum, quantum altae molis dirutae nobilissima vestigia, reliquiae scilicet monachorum tam silentes olim incolentium sedes. Discrutior animi, fateor, si quando has eversiones pererrans, antiqua ex ruinis conicio aedificia. Frugi forsitan hic erat penus: Illic triclinium. Castissima hinc sita erant dormitoria, illinc vestiaria cubicula. Eximii etiamnum podii perfractae ab uno latere extant columnellae miro simplicitatis artificio elaboratae: ab alio Cryptoporticus, humo, veterique haedera, ac Buxo oppleta. Quid de informibus aris loquar? Quid de conclavium solitudine? Quid de coelesti, in quo virtutum ludi, Sphaeristerio ab imis pene convulso fundamentis? Nobilissimum heu cecidit Ilium.* Adhuc enim saxa ipsa prae se ferunt antiquam monachorum sanctitatem. Flent pumices. Illachrymant bases. Et non nihil culminis tigna cum</p>	<p>[My] very serious/ weighty Niccolò, as soon as I climbed the mountain of the Muses, surely the domicile of the gods, of this precarious retreat/ prayed for recess, it is remarkable how pleasantly all things smiled: but nothing so much as the very noble traces of the lofty demolished structure, which is to say, the remains of the monks formerly inhabiting such silent dwellings. I am tortured in my soul, I confess, whenever wandering among these overturned [walls], I conjecture ancient buildings from the ruins.¹⁴ Here, perhaps, was the storeroom (<i>penus</i>) for the crop/ honest man, over there the triclinium. On this side were situated the extremely chaste dormitories, on that the bedchamber wardrobes. Even now the slender pillars of remarkable balconies stand broken through on one side, elaborated with the admirable skill of simplicity; on the other side [is] a Cryptoportico overrun with dirt, old ivy and Boxwood. What shall I say about the shapeless altars? What about the solitude of the dining halls? What about the heavenly Sphaeristerium (Ball-playing area) in which [there were] games of manliness, convulsed almost (<i>pene</i>) from the bottom of the foundation. Most noble Troy has fallen, alas.¹⁵ For the rocks themselves still display</p>

¹³ Niccolò Morosini, was a fellow monk and church authority and apparently a close friend of the Folengo brothers, see below, p. 32, and *Varium poema*, 53 and 60.

¹⁴ Chrysogonus imagines the former structures of this isolated retreat, now in ruins, reminiscent of *Aeneid*, 2.29-30, a link reinforced by the interjection below, “Nobilissimum heu cecidit Ilium” (Most noble Troy has fallen, alas): this phrase was used by burlesque poets because “ilium” means groin.

¹⁵ Playful words abound in this section, some printed with uppercase letters in the original text perhaps to emphasize their ludic aspect: *Cryptoportico* (grotto or crypt), and *Sphaeristerio* (ball-playing area) recall sexual areas; *Buxo* (boxwood) is synonymous with flute, and see note on “Ilium” above. Some words can trace their sexual connotations back to Classical Latin: *ara* for orifice, *bases* for buttocks; additional code words for buttocks are piled on: rocks, stones,

	the venerable sanctity of monks.* The pumice stones weep. The pedestals shed tears. And not a little are the roof beams,
{page 8} {p. A iiiii v} Epistola; De profundis	{page 8} {p. A iiiii v} Epistle end; De profundis
ipso caementitio pulvere, sui Benedicti lamentantur absentiam. Lamentamur et nos, nitrososque, quod solum datur, dissaviamur parietes. Caeterum cum nocte quadam in desolato templo, ut meus est mos, nescio quid altius cogitarem, quantum scilicet mortalibus vetustas afferre soleat oblivionis, et exitii: occurrit animo omni aevo ac vetustate perniciosior rerum labes. haereticum dico. Testis enim est Germania: cuius ampla, et numerosa iam solo aequata sunt Monasteria. Pauca loquor. Tota enim labat Europa: et fere orbis cunctis nutat. Hoc mecum igitur dum reputo, frigidiusculas hasce, et queribundass [sic], pro rei christianae incolumitate preculas exprimere libuit: nimirum cui neque vitulus, neque agnus in stabulo mihi est, turturis saltem pullus, et is implumis, non desit. Vale. Christi spiritus tecum. In surrentinis hortis. Calen. August.	with limey debris itself, bewailing the absence of their Benedict. ¹⁶ And we too bewail, and we eagerly kiss the salty walls, the only thing offered us. However that may be, one night when in the desolate temple, as is my custom, I don't know what I might ponder more profoundly, that is, how much old age may regularly bring forgetfulness and obliteration to mortals: a rather pernicious stain of things occurs to the soul/ mind in every era and old age.* I am saying a heretical thing. Germany is in fact a witness (<i>testis</i>): whose large and numerous Monasteries are now leveled to the ground. I say [too] little: In fact, all Europe sinks: and nearly the entire world gives way. Therefore while I reflect with myself on this, it has been pleasing to express these little prayers, a bit frostier and plaintive, for the safekeeping of Christianity; indubitably I have neither a calf nor lamb in my stable; at the least don't let a turtle-dove chick be lacking, and this unfeathered. Fare well. The spirit of Christ [be] with you. In the Sorrentine gardens, the first of August.
De profundis	De profundis [page 8; p. A iiiii v]

walls. Both *penus* and *pene* (Italian, penis) appear. The image of limey debris (*caementitio pulvere*, p. 8) is suggestive: see *Varium poema* Additional Notes: <https://verbalmask.hcommons.org/teofilo-folengo/>.

¹⁶ Benedict of Nursia (now Norcia, Umbria), c. 480–547, founder of communities of monks, initially near Rome later spreading throughout the world; famous for his “Rule of St. Benedict” which explains how monks should live well-balanced lives centered on Christ, and how transgressing monks are to be punished. Giovanni Battista and Teofilo Folengo and others of their siblings were Benedictine monks.

DEI ECCLESIAM AB HAERETICIS circumventam, Chrysogonus anachorita: sub titulo Psalmi centesimi vigesimi noni, Deo Commendat.	Chrysogonus the anchorite, commends to God the church of God assailed by heretics: under the rubric of Psalm 129. ¹⁷
DE PROFUNDIS aerumnarum calamitatibus, populus tuus pater pientissime, atque idem iustissime arbiter, ad te incircumscriptum totius pietatis pelagum suspirans clamat. Is est enim quem syncerissimus ille tuus, inscrutabili celsitudini aequalis filius, multorum transfugarum vix residuum, in unum congegissit fasciculum: fasciculum inquam amarissimi fellis,	OUT OF THE PROFOUND calamities of woes, your people, most pious father and likewise most fair judge, call sighing to you, uncircumscribed sea of all piety. Indeed it is he, that extremely sincere son of yours, equal to the most inscrutable height, of many deserters, barely remaining, collected into one small wad: a small wad, I say, of bitterest gall,
{page 9} {p. A v} De profundis	{page 9} {p. A v} De profundis
et insuavius absinthii. Erubescimus enim, confundimurque suspicere. Quo quidem ausu, corda, haud cor unum, multimoda	and more sour than [a wad of] absinth (wormwood). ¹⁸ In fact we blush, and are disconcerted to look up. Indeed, with what

¹⁷ Psalm 129 (130): [1] De profundis clamavi ad te Domine; [2] Domine exaudi vocem meam. fiant aures tuae intendentes in vocem deprecationis meae. [3] si iniquitates observabis Domine, Domine quis sustinebit? [4] quia apud te propitiatio est propter legem tuam sustinui te, Domine. Sustinuit anima mea in verbum eius: [5] speravit anima mea in Domino. [6] a custodia matutina usque ad noctem, speret Israel in Domino. [7] quia apud Dominum misericordia et copiosa apud eum redemptio. [8] et ipse redimet Israel ex omnibus iniquitatibus eius. ([1] Out of the depths I have cried to thee, O Lord: [2] Lord, hear my voice. Let thy ears be attentive to the voice of my supplication. [3] If thou, O Lord, wilt mark iniquities: Lord, who shall stand it? [4] For with thee there is merciful forgiveness: and by reason of thy law, I have waited* for thee, O Lord. My soul hath relied on his word: [5] my soul hath hoped in the Lord. [6] From the morning watch even until night, let Israel hope in the Lord. [7] Because with the Lord there is mercy: and with him plentiful redemption. [8] And he shall redeem Israel from all his/ its* iniquities.) Jerome's Latin translation (the Vulgate) will be quoted throughout my translation, often from the Clementine version of 1582; the English translations will come from various sources, mostly the Douay Rheims (1609) and King James (1611), although sometimes a more modern version is used for clarity. In 1540, Giovanni Battista Folengo began publishing vast volumes of multifarious biblical commentary, including this piece: see Bibliography, www.folengo.com.

¹⁸ The emphatic repetition of *fasciculum* (followed by the coy *erubescimus*, we blush) implies that the word is in code, to be read perhaps as composed of *fasci* (from the Italian verb *fasciare*, used by burlesque writers as meaning to introduce the phallus into coverings) and *culum*, buttocks, anus: see below, p. 105, and *Varium poema* 11.33, and Toscan, Glossary p. 1693. Heart (Latin *cor*, *cordis*; Italian, *cuore*) stood for phallus.

<p>flagitiorum labe impura, ad te purissimum illibatissimumque sanctitatis fontem, aliquando excitabimus? qua fronte? qua impudentia? En hostes acclamantes quotidie adversus nos, et adversus Christum tuum, insultant cuneatim. Ubi est deus tuus ò insulse grex? Ubi pastor? Ubi dux? Hinc sunt nobis panes lachrymae die, ac nocte dum tam acerbe oblatrant. ecquid cerbereas inter fauces, ovis pavida respondeat? Facti sumus elingues, quorum in ore non sunt redargutiones. Confusi igitur, diraque acerbitate intus affecti, obmutescimus. ò bone pastor qui tuas ab haedis cognoscis, ac sevocas oves, usquequo oblivisceris nos in finem? Usquequo avertis faciem tuam?</p>	<p>daring, will we rouse at length our various hearts, not just one heart, with the impure stain of shameful acts, toward you, an extremely pure and extremely intact fountain of sanctity? With what effrontery? with what impudence? Behold the enemy crying out against us every day, and against your Christ, they leap at us in wedge formation. Where is your god, O stupid flock? Where is your shepherd? Where is your leader? Henceforth [our] tears are [like] bread to us by day, and all night long they bark so harshly: in the jaws of Cerberus, what could a frightened sheep [possibly] respond? We have been made speechless, in whose mouths there are no refutations. Confused, therefore, and afflicted within by dire bitterness, we become silent. O good shepherd, [you] who recognize your sheep and call [them] away from the goats, to what extent will you forget us in the end? How far do you turn your face away?</p>
<p>Peccavimus. Et quis nos ab inexorabili irae tuae saeveritate abscondet: tutabiturque? Te percutiente quis sanabit? Itaque de insupportabilium anxietatum PROFUNDIS hinc inde conglomeratis malis, miseriisque, clamamus ad te domine. De profundis rerum mortem intentantium pessimarum, ad te vitam nostram: spem nostram: sydus nostris tenebrarum profundis gratissimum, earumve salutiferum illustratorem, in pulvere et cicilio* [cilicio] positi confugimus. Quot si quidem sunt vitia, tot sunt profunda, ò vere insomnis custos salva nos perimus. Extincta est fides, spes facta est expes, Amor insuper confusionis diploide circum amictus, offuscatur, atque alget. Veh nobis quod a mandatis tuis declinavimus. Quo enim a facie tua, cu-</p>	<p>We have sinned. And who will hide us and protect us from the relentless severity of your anger? With you striking [us] who will heal [us]? Therefore, OUT OF THE DEPTHS of unbearable anxieties, with evils and miseries heaped here and there we call to you, Lord. Out of the depths of the nastiest things threatening death, we take refuge in you, our life, our hope, most pleasing star from the depths of our shadows, or rather their healing enlighteners, placed in dust and hair-cloth.¹⁹ If indeed there are as many vices, as there are depths, O truly sleepless guards, save us, we perish. Faith is extinguished, hope is rendered hopeless, Love above, a double cloak of confusion around, becomes dark and cold.²⁰ Woe to us because we have turned aside from your commandments. Why indeed will we flee from your face,</p>

¹⁹ *Cicilio*: for *cilicio*: *cilicium*, -ii: goat's hair cloth, originating from Cilicia.

²⁰ Cf. Psalm 108.29: "Let mine adversaries be clothed with shame; and let them cover themselves with their own confusion, as with a mantle"; cf. Dante *Inf.* 23. 67.

{page 10} {p. A v v} De profundis	{page 10} {p. A v v} De profundis
<p>ius sicut tenebrae sunt, ira et lumen, fugiemus? Ne quaeso pater, cuius miserationis non est numerus, spiritus tuus maneat super nos in aeternum, quia caro sumus. Ne obsecro nobis miserearis, ut discamus facere iusticiam. Sed exaudi voces nostras: voces gemebundas. Quin immo in Rama ululatus, moestificaque supplicia. FIANT AURES TUAE intendentes in vocem deprecationum nostrarum. Licet enim, (tu scis domine secretorum inspector, qui sunt) hi tuam ad pietatem sanctumque cultum obtorpeant, licet huius tuae semifractae, ac rimosae naviculae, velum voraci, diroque Aquilonis flamine, explicare satagant: licet sua, non quae Iesu Christi unigeniti tui, quaerant: atque ob id, quot mala sacris in aedibus recrudescant, quis haud sciat?</p>	<p>whose anger and light are like shadows?^{21*} I implore you, Father, of whose mercy there is no tally, do not let your spirit remain above us in eternity, because we are flesh.^{22*} Now I implore you to have pity on us, that we may learn to practice justice.²³ But hear our voices, voices moaning. So that there not be howling in Ramah, and grievous sufferings. LET THY EARS BE attentive to the voice of our supplications. For granted that (you know lord, inspector of [our] secrets, what they are) these [people] become unresponsive to your piety and holy cult, although they may have their hands full to unfold the sail of this cracked and half-broken little ship of yours with a voracious and dire blast of the North-wind/ Eagle; although they strive for their own [little ship], not that of Jesus Christ, your only son, and on account of this how many evil [things] are breaking out again in sacred buildings; who would not understand?</p>
<p>Sunt tamen quorum mentes in te, tantis in procellarum nimbis devolutae, ut valent figuntur: nec nisi in te tutam a fluctibus stationem esse advertunt. horum igitur licet paucorum, devota fidei, et pietatis studia, placatus despice: et illos in curribus, et in equis ferocientes disice. Quid contra Israellem, si tu pro Israele? Quid dicam? prope est, ut fores constringant. instant. oppugnant. et nisi propugnes, expugnabunt. Ah rabidae leonae tantum iam demum virus comescite. Iam quaeso vos, obtestorque, rapacissimas in sinum unguas convertite. Resipiscite invicem: atque alta vicissim deponite supercilia, Totum siquidem aedificium, eo periculosius labat, quo bases</p>	<p>Still there are some whose minds, having tumbled down from so many storm clouds, are fixed on you so that they prevail: not unless they turn toward you is there a safe landing from the breakers.* Therefore look down calmly on the devout pursuits of faith and piety, although [only] of these few; and destroy both those in chariots and those rampaging on horses. Who might be against Israel if you are for Israel? What should I say? [The time] is near, that they should squeeze tight the gates. They are looming. They attack. And if you do not defend, they will conquer. Oh, rabid lionesses, now at last restrain such venom. I beseech you now and I implore you, turn [those] very rapacious claws of yours back into [your own*] belly/ bosom. Return to your senses/</p>

²¹ Cf. Psalm 138.12, “sicut tenebrae eius, ita et lumen eius” where the idea seems to be that God is both darkness and light; note that the biblical text has *ita* not *ira* as here.

²² Cf. Genesis 6.3: “My Spirit shall not always strive/ contend with man, for that he also is flesh.”

²³ Cf. 2 Kings 1.14.

<p>pertinacius compage dissolvuntur. Esto ò aequissime arbiter, nulla est in nobis sanitas: artus aegro sub capite perlan-</p>	<p>repent reciprocally, and lay aside in turn your profound haughtiness. Since the more dangerously this whole structure teeters the more resolutely the foundations are unloosened from the framework. Let it be, O most fair judge, there is no sanity in us, organs languish beneath the infirm head,</p>
<p>{page 11} {p. A vi} De profundis</p>	<p>{page 11} {p. A vi} De profundis</p>
<p>guent, sit an, sive a membris caeteris, sive a corde. morbi origo nescio. hoc tamen scio: quod SI INIQUITATES OBSERVAVERIS. Nemo sustinebit. Quis enim si misericordiae iudicium superexaltaveris, sufferet? Quis ad hoc fortis? quis potis est? Ubi insuper Adam? Ubi vir ille secundum cor tuum David? Ubi Solomon? Ubi denique Petrus, si ultrici vindictae mortalium servas facinora? Omnes quippe peccavere, et egent gloria tua.²⁴ Gratis ve homo tuus factus est filius? afflictus? irrisus? ac crudeli ligno affixus? Qui nobis haec proderunt? una postremo salus erit nullam sperare salutem? nemo ne salvus? Ergo tu mendax. Absit pientissime Pater, tua a plebe immanis haec impietas, fidesque profana. Scimus enim, QUIA APUD TE propitiatio est.</p>	<p>whether it be from the other limbs/ members or from the heart, I do not know the origin of the disease. Yet this I do know: that IF THOU WILT MARK INIQUITIES, no one will withstand. For who will endure if you elevate the judgment of mercy? Who is strong enough for this? Who is capable? Who is above Adam? Where is that man favorable to your heart, David? Where is Solomon? Where lastly is Peter, if you preserve the crimes of mortals for vengeful punishment? All have sinned and they lack your glory. Hasn't your son freely been made man? Beaten? Mocked? And affixed to the cruel wood/ cross? Which of us will these things benefit? Will the one salvation at last be to hope for no salvation? Is no one saved? Therefore you are lying. [O] most pious Father, let this tremendous irreverence and profane faith be far from your people. For we know, BECAUSE WITH YOU there is forgiveness.</p>
<p>Tuus quidem unigenitus, immitissima clavorum vulnera coram te denudans adstat: necnon crudele lateris, ex quo tantus mortalibus emanavit dulcor, foramen detegens, pro tota eius plebe propitiatur. Is est enim, quem tu clementissime domine, propitiationem posuisti in sanguine ipsius. Ille ille [sic] est, qui propitiatur omnibus iniquitatibus nostris: qui sanat omnes infirmitates nostras. Id est super arcam propitiatorium illud aureum, ex quo Mosis filii secundum repromissionem, etiam nunc</p>	<p>Indeed your only son stands before you revealing the extremely harsh wounds of the nails, and even uncovering the hole in his side cruelly [made], from which so much sweetness emanated for mortals, he is atoning for all his people. For it is he, most merciful lord, in whose blood you placed forgiveness. It is that one/ he, who is atoning for all our iniquities, who heals all our infirmities. It is that golden thing over the ark of atonements, from which the sons of Moses even now thirstily drink up the divine oracles of your majesty, according to the agreement; and</p>

<p>divina tuae maiestatis oracula sitibunde hauriunt: et de cuius plenitudine nos quoque omnes accipimus. Timeamus ne filio tuo apud te propitiante? propitiante eius matre? propitiante innumerabilium coelicolarum conventu? quorum meritis, ac suffragiis, si pro' dolor, ceciderimus non colli-</p>	<p>whose plenitude all of us also receive. Should we be afraid of your forgiving son [who is] with you? Of his forgiving mother? Forgiving an assembly of innumerable heaven-dwellers? By whose merits and votes if, because of pain, we have fallen,</p>
<p>{page 12} {p. A vi v} De profundis</p>	<p>{page 12} {p. A vi v} De profundis</p>
<p>demur, quia tu domine manuum suppones. Ideo propter legem tuam sustinuimus te. SUSTINUERUNT. inquam animae nostrae in verbo tuo: speraverunt animae nostrae in te ò domine. O exoptabilem legem. O verbum omni gladio ancipiti penetrabilius. quam suave iugum: quam leve onus: sub quo etiam indomitae Tygres: cruentae incurvantur Phocae. hoc est enim salubre tum patientiae, tum amoris praeceptum. quo qui, ut par est, bene utitur, sustinet quidem in spe: et spes non confundit, propter spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis. litur non diffidat, sed A CUSTODIA MATUTINA usque ad noctem, speret Israel in domino. Tu qui implesti desiderium tuum ex ipsis, si laeta prosperitatis aura arriserit, si gaudium, et exultationem obtinueris, matutinam adesse custodiam reris, O quam tum leve est sperare in domino: et ponere in domino deo cor tuum.</p>	<p>we will not be battered, because you, Lord, are placing your hands beneath us. For that reason, on account of your law we have withstood you. They have withstood. I say, our souls (<i>animae</i>) in your word, our souls (<i>animae</i>) hoped in you O lord.²⁵ O longed for law. O word more penetrable/ piercing than every double-edged (double-headed) sword. What a sweet yoke, what a light burden, under which even untamed Tigers, bloodthirsty Seadogs/ Sharks are made to bend. For this is a wholesome lesson in both patience and love. Whereby who uses it well, as is fair, indeed withstands in hope and hope does not bewilder [him/ it] on account of the Holy Spirit who is given to us. Therefore, let it not despair, but FROM THE MORNING WATCH even until night, may Israel hope in the Lord. You who fulfilled your desire from these, if a happy breeze of good fortune should smile, if you should obtain joy, and exultation, think the morning watch is arriving. O how easy then it is to hope in the lord, and to place your heart in the lord god.</p>
<p>Sed quid si inopinata Boreae feritas supervenerit? quid si Auster nostram flatu adverso, domunculam concusserit? En dicimus noctem instare, conquerimurque involvisse diem nimbos, ac noctem coelum humidam abstulisse. Adversae siquidem res obductae sunt tenebris multis. Quid enim? desperandum ne est? haudquaquam. Sed in</p>	<p>But what if an unexpected ferocity from Boreas should come over you? What if the South-wind should strike our little house with a hostile blowing? Behold we say night presses in and we complain that clouds have enveloped the day and humid night has taken away the sky. Supposing there are adverse things covered over by many shadows.* What then? Must one despair? Not at</p>

²⁵ The expression *animae nostrae in verbo tuo* (our souls in your word) calls attention to the code meanings of phallus for *anima* and anus for *parola* (word, here *verbum*).

<p>domino a custodia matutina usque ad noctem speret Israel. Indoctus quippe nauta, nisi sedato freto, clavum agere non novit: sed peritus cautus, prudensque ligni magister, quicquid inclemens Notus, procellosusve Aphricus intorserint, sapientiae clypeo repercutit, vanumque reddit. post nubes igitur sperandus est sol. Ve-</p>	<p>all. But in the Lord from the morning watch even until night, let Israel hope. For in fact, if not on a calm sea, the unskilled sailor does not know how to conduct the tiller/ drive in the nail, but the expert master of the ship, cautious and prudent, whatever the inclement South-wind, or the Southwest wind might throw at you, he strikes [it] with the shield of wisdom and returns [it] empty.²⁶ Therefore after the clouds, one must hope for the sun.</p>
<p>{page 13} {p. A vii} De profundis</p>	<p>{page 13} {p. A vii} De profundis</p>
<p>niet profecto dominus: et non tardabit: qui et dividet lucem a tenebris: confusoque, et effuso passim Nembrotico ausu, disperdet illos dominus deus noster. Tunc enim ex tot cordibus, ex tot linguis, ex tot haeresibus, fiet cor unum, lingua una, cultus unus.</p> <p>QUIA APUD DOMINUM misericordia, et copiosa apud eum redemptio. Redemptio misericordiam consequitur. Ipse est misericordia, ipse est copiosa redemptio. Ipse est inquam qui miseretur, et commodat: qui et propitiatur. Sed quid ego pulvis, et bulla? ad illum ne tuum altissimum aeternum, atque inaccessibilem maiestatis montem accedam? Non accedam pollutus ne peream de via iusta. Quis non paveret? Miserebor, inquis, cui voluero: indurabo quem voluero. Idcirco ad Pharium regem dixisti ò Domine.</p>	<p>The lord shall surely come, and he will not delay, and then he shall divide the light from the darkness, and merged and flowing with the courage of Nimrod, our lord god will lay waste to them. For then from so many hearts, from so many tongues, and so many heresies, there shall be one heart, one tongue, one cult.</p> <p>BECAUSE WITH THE LORD there is mercy: and with him plentiful redemption. Redemption obtains mercy. He himself is mercy, he is plentiful redemption. He is, I say, the one who shows mercy, and obliges: who is forgiving. What am I but dust and bubble? Shall I approach this, your most high, eternal, and inaccessible mountain of majesty? Let me not approach sullied, lest I perish from the right path.²⁷ Who would not be frightened? I will show compassion, you say, to him whom I will want/ roll; I will make hard the one whom I will want/ roll. You spoke on that account to the king of Pharos, O lord.²⁸</p>
<p>Posui te, ut ostendam in te fortitudinem meam: et narretur nomen meum in omni terra, adhuc retines populum meum, et non</p>	<p>I set you up, so that I might show my fortitude in you, and [so that] my name would be declared throughout all the land; still you keep my people,</p>

²⁶ *inclemens Notus*: inclement South-wind, but also ‘a rough acquaintance.’

²⁷ Cf. Psalm 2.11-12: Serve the Lord with fear, with trembling; kiss his feet lest he be angry, and you be lost from the right path (*ne pereatis de via iusta*); for his wrath is quickly kindled.

²⁸ The verb form *voluero* is the first person future perfect indicative of both *volo, velle* (to wish, prefer, be willing) and *volvo, volve* (to roll, cause to roll, envelop).

vis eum dimittere? O' rem infandam. percutit dominus, et induratur servus. flagellat deus, et non veretur homo, insultat, reluctatur: et perinde, ac si adamantina cordis duritie dei benignitatem, ac patientiam expugnare credat, insurgit demens. Sed mentita est iniquitas sibi [sic no period] Nam paulopost, quam fortis sis, atque omnipotens, et sua, et suorum pernicie sensit miser. Legimus enim quod Interfecisti exercitum aegyptiorum: et subvertisti, rotas curruunt [sic for currunt]:* ferebanturque in profundum. Et liberasti in die illa populum Israel de manu aegyptiorum, Sic, et nunc, hisce in novissimis diebus, ò clementissime, liberare potes Israel ex	and do not wish to let them go? O unspeakable thing. The lord strikes and the servant is hardened. God scourges, and man does not revere, he scoffs and resists, and in the same way, as if he might think to plunder the patience and benevolence of god with unyielding hardness of heart, he rises up, demented. 'But iniquity hath lied to itself.' ²⁹ For shortly after, however strong you may be and omnipotent, the wretched man felt both his own destruction and theirs. For we have read that you destroyed the army of the Egyptians, and you overturned them, the wheels rush and they are carried into the deep. And you liberated on that day the Israelite people from the hand of the Egyptians, So, even now, in these newest days, O most clement [lord], you can liberate Israel from
{page 14} {p. A vii v} De profundis end	{page 14} {p. A vii v} De profundis end
omnibus iniquitatibus eius, non quod Israel iniquus sit: sed quod iniqua ab iniquis patiatur. de quorum interitu quamprimum ducentur funera.	all of its injustices, not because Israel is unjust, but because it may suffer unjust things by those [who are] unjust. Concerning whose extinction let funerals be led as soon as possible.
Pomilio 1	Pomilio 1 (page 14; p. A vii v)
De lege animi et membrorum. ad Lucianum Monachum Amicum.	On the law of the soul and of limbs/ members. To Luciano Monk [and] Friend/ Devoted Monk.
PHILEREMUS.	Phileremus.
Phileremus. Euthymius. Isidorus	Phileremus, Euthymius, Isidorus.
Nonis februarii, dies qui est mihi natalis, Luciane doctissime, me in puteolano litore deambulantem, Euthymius, et Isidorus convenere. hic ex Italis: ille ex Hispanis	[Phileremus:] On February 5, which is the day of my birth, most learned Luciano, while I was walking on the Puteolian shore, Euthymius and

²⁹ Cf. Psalm 26/ 27.11-14: "Deliver me not over to the will of them that trouble me; for unjust witnesses have risen up against me; and iniquity hath lied to itself...Expect the Lord, do manfully, and let thy heart take courage."

<p>anachoritis. Ambo enim boni, Aones ambo, et cantare pares, et respondere parati. dissimiles tamen natura: Euthymius tranquillioris, Isidorus ardentioris erat ingenii. quandoquidem Iovem alteri, alteri, Saturnum favisse in partu, aiebant Astrologi. mihi autem stellarum quae* [quae] fuerit praesens in puerperio, fatentur nescire.</p>	<p>Isidorus converged.³⁰ The latter from the Italian, and the former from the Spanish anchorites. Both indeed are good, both Aonian, and both equally prepared to sing and to respond.³¹ Still they [were] dissimilar in nature: Euthymius was of a calmer disposition (<i>ingenii</i>) and Isidorus of a more ardent one, since the Astrologers claimed at their births Jupiter favored one and Saturn the other. However, which of the stars was present at my delivery, they admit they don't know.</p>
<p>Ego vero, salvis illorum horoscopis, dico fuisse Hyadas, licet non suo tempore, nimirum homini ad ventos, et pluvias experiundas nato. Mirabar inquam o amici, unde Trigla tam festiviter haereret hamo: quin conchae ipse* [ipsae] praeter naturam haerent, ac suas sponte proferrent lachrymas, Videte, vos quaeso, quomodo etiam instante lunae deliquio, spondylos habeant per pingues. vestrum scilicet una mecum sensere adventum etiam maris ferae.</p>	<p>But I say, with due regard to those horoscopes, that the Hyades were there, although not in their season, for a man born indubitably to experience the winds and rains.³² I used to marvel, O friends, I said, at how the Latchet/ [fan-finned] Gurnard would cling so gaily to the hook, that the mollusk-shells themselves would gape more than is natural, and produce tears spontaneously; Look, I beg you, how even now with the approaching eclipse of the moon, the [Latchet/ Gurnard] may spend time among fertile mollusks.^{33*} To be sure even now along with me the wild beasts of the sea felt your coming.</p>
<p>EUT. de amicis semper o Philereme, ut tua est modestia, et sentis, et loqueris. Sed tua quomodo</p>	<p>Euthymius: O Phileremus, you always empathize and speak about your friends, in keeping with your modesty.</p>
<p>{page 15} {p. A viii} Pomilio 1</p>	<p>{page 15} {p. A viii} Pomilio 1</p>
<p>se habet aetas in hoc aestuoso litore, et piratarum latibulo?</p>	<p>But how goes your time (<i>aetas</i>) on this sweltering shore, and in this den of pirates?</p>

³⁰ Puteoli (here *puteolano litore*) was a Roman coastal town west of Naples, now called Pozzuoli, famous in ancient times for its sands used in making cement.

³¹ Aonia is a region in Northern Greece where Mount Helicon home of the Muses was situated, associated with ancient Boeotia which in turn was associated with homosexuality, cf. *Varium poema* 4.14; "and both equally prepared to sing and to respond" perhaps meant to imply, or reinforce, that Euthymius and Isidorus are versatile homosexuals, see also p. 4 and pp. 32-3 for Chaonian and note at *Chaos* p. 202; R 345 regarding Euboea.

³² The cluster of Hyades appears in the constellation Taurus, hence in the spring, named for the sisters of Hyas (Greek mythology) who bring rain (Ovid, *Fasti*, 5. 169).

³³ Trigla (gurnard): fish of the Triglidae family, having large fanlike pectoral fins and a large armored head.

<p>PHI. Raro propter assiduas hyemis tempestates, hasce nostras adeunt ripas Piratae, et si adeunt, non hybernant. De reliquo, nihil iam sub coelo esse, quod me admodum moveat, iam tandem sentio senex, praeter unum me, quem mecum quodcumque terrarum peragro, gravem, molestum, atque adeo inplacabilem hostem gero. Hoc enim natura dissidio* praeditos esse voluit mortales omnes deus, ut secum ipsi certent, degladienturque sedulo. Nec morbo: nec senio: nec assiduo, quod aiunt, pulsu tussedinis, unquam moneri: atque tantum affligi possunt, quin secum malint rixas, quam pacem, et concordiam. Nullum profecto belli genus cum illo, quod in se experitur homo, et patitur, aequiparandum. Atque eo saepius saevire, ac late magis vagari solet, quo quis animum a conflictu studiosius avocare nititur, et laborat.</p>	<p>Phileremus: Rarely, on account of our incessant winter storms, do Pirates come to these banks of ours, and if they do come, they don't stay the winter. About the rest, there is nothing now under heaven that could move me fully; now an old man at last I perceive one in addition to me, whom I carry with me whatever lands I travel, oppressive, troublesome, and even an implacable enemy. For god wished all mortals to be provided with this split in nature, so that they themselves would fight with him, and struggle painstakingly. Not by disease, not by old age, not by the persistent pulse, as they say, of a cough, can they ever be cautioned, and they can only be broken so that they don't prefer quarrels with him, to peace and harmony. Surely no type of war with that one/ [God] is going to rival what man attempts against himself, and submits to. And the more often one is accustomed to raging and the more widely to roaming, the more keenly one strives and labors to summon his soul away from the clash.</p>
<p>Et, ut verum dicam, in hoc meo deformato, ut videtis, corpusculo, atrocius plerumque, quam cum robustioris eram aetatis, turbas fieri sentio, dum consilio voluntas: voluntati ratio: rationi voluptas, susque deque alterum alteri repugnat, et contradicit. Ex quo tanta plerumque excitatur contentio, quanta vix, salvis mercibus, a me tolerari possit. Et demum non est qui se tuto explicare queat, nisi habeatur deus praesens et tutelarior. Sed mihi videor impudens, qui ventis spiritum cupiam, ut dicitur, inspirare. Vos enim doctiores, nec falsus sum, sanctiores estis, quam ut a me erudiri debeatis. Quantum itaque de iis vos melius.</p>	<p>And, to tell the truth, in this deformed little body of mine, as you see, for the most part more terribly than when I was of a more robust age (<i>aetatis</i>), I feel disturbances arise, while desire [fights] with deliberation, reason with desire, pleasure with reason, up and down, one opposes and contradicts the other. From which as much tension is generally stirred up as can scarcely be tolerated by me without breaking the merchandise. And lastly there is no one who would be able to extricate himself safely, if god were not kept propitious and protecting. But I seem impudent to myself, I who would like to blow my breath at the winds, as one says. For you are too learned, and too holy to be instructed by me, and I am not lying. And so how much better you are about these things.</p>
<p>EUT. Vere nos melius ò Philereme, qui continuo in acie</p>	<p>Euthymius: Truly we are better, O Phileremus, [we] who</p>
<p>{page 16} {p. A viii v} Pomilio 1</p>	<p>{page 16} {p. A viii v} Pomilio 1</p>

<p>versamur: stare non audeo dicere. Tu vero maxima cum auctoritate exauctoratus iam es. Quod si dicas aequalem ferme et tibi, et nobis aetatem esse: proinde debere etiam in nobis, quae in te est eandem esse animi firmitatem, vel robur: falleris, quandoquidem statarium militem, ac suum fortiter servantem, ordinem, alium esse ab illo ducimus, qui nec perseveranter stat, nec firmiter suum tutatur locum, ut nos, qui nuper ex acie egressi, audito vix classico, cecinimus receptui: languidam scilicet esse causantes aetatem, imbecillam, deciduamque.</p>	<p>are constantly turned about/ engaged in battle: I dare not say standing. But you are already discharged with the highest authorization. Because if you should say that both you and I are nearly the same age (<i>aetatem</i>), likewise the same firmness or robustness of character (<i>animi</i>) ought to be in me that is in you, you will be wrong, seeing that we consider a soldier, standing firm and bravely preserving his own rank, to be different from another who does not stand steadfastly, or guard his own position, so that we who have recently left the battle line, have sounded a retreat right after the trumpeter was heard, pleading naturally that our age (<i>aetatem</i>) is feeble and hanging down.</p>
<p>Ex qua re sit, ut qui forsitan aliquid laude dignum, dum florebat aetas, gessimus, modo tardiores ob senectutem facti, vel illud quidem prius cum Gloria actum, turpe et inglorium reddimus. nec parum ideo distare arbitror eam, quam armis, vi, et instrumentis bellicis, constare scimus militiam, ab ista nostra, qua corde, animo, sensuque, et infinitis animae affectionibus, uti gregariis copiis, conflagimus. Illis enim aetate iam ingravescentibus, aut morbo aliquo affectis facile datur ocium, et quies, nec sine laude: unde emeriti appellantur.</p>	<p>It may be therefore that perhaps we who have done something worthy of praise, while the prime of life (<i>aetas</i>) flourished, presently made slower on account of old age, we [now] render shameful and inglorious even what was earlier done with glory. And so I don't think that army, which we know to stand firmly with arms and force and instruments of war, differs at all from this [army] of ours, in which we fight with heart, courage and feeling, and with infinite affections of the soul, like common troops. For to those already growing heavy from age, or afflicted with illness, a bit of leisure is readily given, not without commendation, whence they are called "emeriti"/ honorably retired.</p>
<p>Nobis vero neque ocium, neque pax neque ulla datur causaria, dum hic vivitur, emissio. Semper enim in acie standum est, semperque aut quominus, aut eminus res agenda. neque ulla in aetatibus consideratio: quod si aliqua, in hoc sit oportet, quod senex hostem fortius quam iuvenis urgere debet. nisi sit quod Isidorus clarius videat.</p>	<p>For us, however, neither leisure nor peace nor any medical discharge is given as long as this [person] is living. For one must always stand in battle formation, and the thing is to be done either from [close range] or long range.³⁴ Nor is there any consideration in regard to ages (<i>aetatibus</i>), because if in any way it is right, it may be in this, that an old man should press the enemy more bravely than a young man. Unless it may be that Isidorus sees more clearly.</p>

³⁴ Cf. Cicero, *De senectute* 1.19; reading *quominus* as *comminus*.

<p>ISID. Quid oro clarius cerni potest, quam cum veritas ipsa sese nudam exhibet? Puto enim quae abs te dicta sunt ò Euthymi, huiusmodi esse. Senes propterea debere, atque etiam</p>	<p>Isidorus: What, I pray, can be seen more clearly, than when that very truth exhibits itself naked? For I think the things said by you, O Euthymius, are of this sort. For this reason, old men ought to</p>
<p>{page 17} {p. B} Pomilio 1</p>	<p>{page 17} {p. B} Pomilio 1</p>
<p>posse vigilantius instare prelio, quod armis iis magis, et artibus, quae ad animorum iurgia sedanda sunt apta, stipati, ac fulti esse videantur, quam iuvenes. quod qui dicit, optime quidem tecum sentire existimo. Atqui provectoris aetatis militem, ab istis, in quibus tela, ac faces exercentur, copiis removeri, atque a sacramento absolvi, nemo est qui grave ferat: praesertim cum ea, quibus miles in acie uti debet, subsidia desunt, nempe corporis robur, sanguis, succus: quae omnia adeo convenire militi dicimus, ut absque horum praesidio, neque gloriam, neque laudem unquam assequi possit.</p>	<p>be able to stand in battle more alertly, because [they are] greater in those weapons and skills/limbs, which are suitable for settling disputes of the soul, and seem to be [more] filled up and bolstered than young people.* I think whoever says that, indeed feels best with you.* But a soldier of a more advanced age (<i>aetatis</i>) to be removed from those troops/ throngs among whom weapons and torches are wielded, and freed from his oath, there is no one who would take him seriously; especially when those aids which a soldier must use in battle are lacking – naturally, bodily strength, blood and sap, to be sure – all of which we say so converge for a soldier, that without the support of these, he can never obtain glory or praise.</p>
<p>Sed secus in nostra militia. Siquidem illam inertem, turpemque esse ducimus senectutem, quae cum ex longo rerum usu, et consuetudine, illis ipsis rebus, quae adolescentioribus, propter inconstantis vitae aetatem non suppetunt, munita esse deberet, hanc ipsam inermem, et prorsus nudam in acie oblanguescere spectamus. Nec constantioris tamen aetatis virum laudamus, nisi adsit necessarius armorum usus. multo minus senem. Quis enim non multo magis a senectute, quam a florenti aetate requirit prudentiam? temperantiam? sapientiani* [sic, for sapientiam?].</p>	<p>But [it is] otherwise in our organization/soldiery.³⁵ If in fact we consider old age to be that ineffectual and shameful [age], which – when from long practice and familiarity of things, from those very things which are not available to those more adolescent because of their stage (<i>aetatem</i>) of inconsistent life (<i>vitae</i>) – should be protected, this same vulnerable and utterly naked [age] we observe to languish in battle.* And yet we [don't] praise a man of a more resolute age (<i>aetatis</i>) unless the use of arms should appear necessary. Much less an old man. For who would not require prudence, temperance, wisdom, to a much greater extent from old age than from a burgeoning age (<i>aetate</i>)?</p>
<p>Sunt haec quidem arma senilia: quibus non modo non orbari: sed etiam ornari solet senectus. Nam qui a Caecilio stulti vocantur</p>	<p>Indeed these are the geriatric weapons: old age is usually not only not bereft of these but adorned with them. For [those] who are termed old foolish</p>

³⁵The adverb *secus* (otherwise) often sounds as though it is being used as the noun *secus* (sex).

<p>senes: de credulis, obliviosis, dissolutisque dicere censet Cato. quae quidem vitia non senectuti ascribi possunt, sed inertii, ignavae, somniculosaeque senectuti. ut socordia, ut inconstantia, magis est adolescentum*, quam senum: sic deliratio seni-</p>	<p>men by Caecilius: Cato recommends they be called credulous, forgetful and careless. Which faults/ vices indeed cannot be ascribed to old age, but to a lethargic, idle, drowsy, old age.³⁶ Just as apathy and inconstancy/ fickleness are greater in young men than in old, thus senile delirium</p>
<p>{page 18} {p. B i v} Pomilio 1</p>	<p>{page 18} {p. B i v} Pomilio 1</p>
<p>lis non omnium est, sed senum levium: quo circa persuaderi facile possum, ut quemadmodum in senectute vigere magis debet, et vis, et animus, quam in tenerioribus annis, eodem fere modo, vel facilius, et minus laboriosus aevo consumptis, sed mente praeditis, patere debet ad victoriam accessus, et via, quam illis ipsis, quorum pectora variis adhuc cupiditatum flammis exaestuant, obnoxiaque sunt. Turpe igitur illud cuiusdam nostri ordinis senis, qui cum ex eo quaereretur, cur tam licenter ignaviae, ac somno deserviret, quia senex sum inquit.</p>	<p>is not part of all [old people], but of capricious old people, wherefore I am easily able to be convinced, that just as both strength and spirit ought to flourish more in old age, than in the more tender years, almost in the same way, an even easier and less laborious approach and path to victory should lie open to those exhausted by life but endowed with mind than for those very men, whose breasts are still seething with diverse flames of desire, and are exposed to danger. Therefore that [response] of a certain old man of our order is shameful, who, when it was asked of him, why he would devote himself so freely to laziness and sleep, said, "because I'm old."³⁷</p>
<p>O praeclaram senectutem quae et si in iuvenum caetibus, vel celeritatem Herculis, vel robur Milonis admiratur, suis tamen et ipsa gaudet muneribus, ratione scilicet integra, mente vegeta, animo perspicaci: quarum rerum stipata satellitio, nihil minus desiderat, quam* lubricae aetatis adoloscentiam. Quod quidem genus senectutis perfectissimum in phileremo nostro abunde esse gaudemus, et quod, ut scis ò Euthymi, gratulari huic saeculo nostro soliti sumus.</p>	<p>O noble old age which, even if in the encounters of youths, marvels at the speed of Hercules, or the strength of Milo, still rejoices in its own gifts, namely in its sound reasoning, vigorous mind (<i>mente</i>), penetrating spirit (<i>animo</i>): with a coterie crammed full of such things, it desires nothing less than the adolescence of a smooth/ slippery age (<i>aetatis</i>).^{38*} Because indeed we rejoice that the most perfect kind of old age is abundant in our Phileremus, and because, as you know, O Euthymius, we are accustomed to applaud this era of ours on this account.</p>

³⁶ A lost play of Caecilius is quoted and expounded on by Cicero in *De senectute*, 1.36, and also in *De amicitia*, 99.

³⁷ Laziness and sleep, *ignavia* and *somnus*, appear to be code words for sexual activity.

³⁸ Seems to playfully recall Cicero, "Quid enim est iucundius senectute stipata studiis iuventutis?" (What is more gratifying than an old age surrounded by the eagerness of youth?), *De senectute* 1.9.28; note again the use of *animus*, *mens* and *aetas* for phallus.

<p>EUTH. Sic gaudemus ò Isidore, ut nec a moerore liberi simus, divinantes fore, extincto Phileremo, unde discamus neminem. Alii quaerent Baias, atque ipsos luculli hortos: meae delitiae, mea amoenitas, mea apricatio sit, ubi ubi terrarum fuerit phileremus.</p>	<p>Euthymius: Thus we rejoice, O Isidorus, not that we may be free from grief, prophesying that once Phileremus is dead there will be no one from whom we may learn. Others seek Baia, and those gardens of Lucullus: let my pleasures, my delight, my basking [in the sun] be wherever on the earth Phileremus may be.³⁹</p>
<p>ISID. Litoreas nostri temporis anachoritae, ut longa vitae fallant fastidia, legant conchas. ex iuncis canistra, ex vimine panariola, ex Hibisco sportulas contexant: mihi (quandoquidem sua cuique* est sententia) summa erit oblectatio ab aurea phileremi pendere bucca, meliflua cum sua me pascit oratione. Quis Nestorem</p>	<p>Isidorus: Seaside anchorites of our times, so that they might drive away the prolonged frustrations of life, gather shells. They weave wicker baskets from rushes, breadbaskets from twigs, and little hampers/ gift baskets from Marsh-mallow (reeds), for me (since to each his own opinion) the supreme delight will be to hang from the golden mouth of Phileremus: he feeds me with his mellifluous eloquence. Who would want Nestor?</p>
<p>{page 19} {p. B ii} Pomilio 1</p>	<p>{page 19} {p. B ii} Pomilio 1</p>
<p>desideret?</p>	
<p>EU[T]H. Neque ego, cum aliis, tantum mirabor irrequietos syderum gyros, solis item, lunaeque radios, quantum Phileremi mores, atque altissimas animi contemplationes.</p>	<p>Euthymius: I will not admire, with others, only the restless turning of the stars, but also the rays of the sun and moon, as much as the mores of Phileremus and the most lofty contemplations of the soul.</p>
<p>ISI. Laudabunt alii claram Rhodon, aut Mytilenem*, aut, ut nunc passim omnes, Caesarem, Caesareasve ad istrum copias. Ego si quid* rudis, aut agrestis valet calamus.</p>	<p>Isidorus: Others will praise noble Rhodes, or Mytilene, or, as now everyone everywhere: Caesar, or Caesar’s troops at Istria/ on the Danube.⁴⁰ I [will give praise] if there is something coarse, or the rustic pen is strong.</p>
<p>PH. Ah, videte ò viri optimi, quomodo etiam* amicitia laudes suos habeant excessus. Utinam dignus essem vestra laude: Sed cum primis meo nomine, quo vos me tam lepide adornastis. Sed ut ego etiam* vobiscum aliquantisper insaniam: Tu Euthymi,</p>	<p>Phileremus: Ah, do you see, O excellent men, in what way even praises based on friendship have their excesses.* If only I were worthy of your praise: but especially of my name, with which you have so cleverly adorned me.* But so that I too may act crazy with you for a while: You,</p>

³⁹ Gardens of Lucullus: luxurious gardens in Rome, laid out in grand “Persian” style by Lucius Licinius Lucullus about 60 BCE, now forming the gardens of the Villa Borghese. Baiae (today Baia) was a fashionable seaside resort on the Bay of Naples, known for its sulfur springs.

⁴⁰ “Laudabunt alii claram Rhodon aut Mytilenen” opening line of Horace, Ode 1.7.

<p>honorate, docte, ornatē. Isidorus, clarius, ardentius, et magis poetice. Sed ad me redeo, quem sextum iam, et octogesimum annum agere scitis. Quamvis enim pleraque illa quae* solent ferventioris aetatis viros, ad varias animi appetentias incitare, atque in dies magis stimulis agitare, pene in hoc cadavere sint extincta: tamen audeam ne (nec cupio quidem) liberum me fateri omnino, cum Paulus dicat bonum ab sese alienum esse?</p>	<p>Euthymius, honored, learned, respected. Isidorus, more illustrious, more ardent, and more poetic. But I come back to me whom you know to already be in my sixth and eightieth year.⁴¹ For although the greatest part of those things that usually goad men of a more passionate age to various longings of the soul (<i>animi</i>), and agitate [them] by day with prods, in this cadaver these [things] may be nearly [<i>pene</i>] extinct; nevertheless I would verily dare declare myself altogether free (I do not even desire to be), since Paul declares goodness to be alien from himself?^{42*}</p>
<p>Scio inquit, quia non habitat in me, hoc est in carne mea, bonum. Sed condelector legi dei, secundum interiorem hominem. Ex quo pulchre duplicem in homine vim esse demonstravit, et hanc variam, et dissidii plenam, quas leges vocat. Altera est, qua ad bonum, pulchrorum, honestum provocamur. altera, qua ad malum, turpe, inhonestum. illam mentis legem vocant, hanc membrorum. Cum iis enim nasci hominem et cum iis insensescere, non est qui negare queat. Prima quippe illa, de cuius persuasione ad rationi parendum, atque illis ipsis rebus quae* ad bene perfecteque vivendum spectant, excitamur, in nobis dominatur.</p>	<p>For I know, he says, that no good thing dwells in me, that is, in my flesh. I am delighted with the law of god, according to the inward man. From this he has beautifully demonstrated there is a double force in man, and this variable and full of disputes, which he calls laws. There is one [law] by which we are called forth to the good, the beautiful, and the honorable. Another [law] by which [we are called forth] to what is evil, shameful, dishonorable. They call the first, the law of the mind, and the second, the law of the limbs/ members. For with man is born and with these he grows old, no one can deny [this]. Naturally that first law is dominant in us, by whose persuasion we are stimulated toward obeying reason, even in those very matters that pertain to living well and perfectly.</p>
<p>{page 20} {p. B ii v} Pomilio 1</p>	<p>{page 20} {p. B ii v} Pomilio 1</p>

⁴¹ The awkwardness of the expression and the extreme age (86) indicate likely coding: *agere* (to act) on the *an(n)um* (anus), reinforced by a common designation for sodomy (*sextum*, 6) and by (*octogesimum*, 80) for “coit a tergo,” Toscan, pp. 966-76.

⁴² This sentence and next two: Paul, Romans, 7.18-22, “18. For I know that there dwelleth not in me, that is to say, in my flesh, that which is good... 19. For the good which I will, I do not; but the evil which I will not, that I do... 22. For I am delighted with the law of God, according to the inward man: 23. But I see another law in my limbs/ members, fighting against the law of my mind.” The notion of goodness coming from outside a human may touch on the topic of imputed righteousness, part of the justification by faith issue hotly debated in the sixteenth century.

<p>Altera iacet, et servit. quae si senserit, ut est procax vel paululum hominem flecti, et mollia amplecti, mirum quanta cum audacia, imperium sibi vendicat, quin ex turpi ancilla, sit domina turpior. Cum duabus igitur diversis, ac repugnantibus legibus, factus est homo, ut ipse mundus ex luce, et tenebris. docte quidem Coelius. Si anima inquit superaverit (haec est prima lex) quae ex deo oritur, immortalis erit, et in perpetua luce versabitur. Si autem corpus (haec alia, scilicet orbis tenebrae) vicerit animam, ditionique subiecerit, in sempiternis esse tenebris necesse erit, atque in morte. Proinde enitendum est, atque in delectu vigilantissime elaborandum, utram regnare malumus. non parum referre puto, utri dum tenera est aetas, parendum censeas.</p>	<p>The other [law] lies down and serves. Which if it should sense, brazen as it is, a man being bent even a little, and embracing pliable/ pathetic things, it is amazing with what boldness it claims power for itself: so that from a shameful maid it might become a more shameful mistress. Therefore man has been made with two different and opposing laws, as the world itself [has been made] from light and darkness. Indeed Coelius learnedly [wrote]: If the soul, he said, which originates from god, should survive (this is the first law), it will be immortal and will turn about in perpetual light.⁴³ However, if the body (this the second, that is, the darkness of the orb) conquers the soul, and subjects it to its authority, it will have to exist in eternal darkness and death. So then we will have to struggle, and in choosing which one we want to rule, will have to take pains very vigilantly. I don't think it matters much, which one you deem should be obeyed, as long as [your] age is young/ tender.</p>
<p>Ea enim quam tum, cum aetas, iam est ad deliberandum idonea, tibi elegeris, tecum senescit, et tuas post mortem comitatur actiones. Antequam enim lex fiat, et te devinciat, ac liget, unde dicta est lex, vis est naturalis, et semen quoddam mortalium animis ingeneratum, quod iccirco deus homini dedit, ut habeat quo se se prudenter exerceat, atque a caeteris animantibus longe semotus, ratione, ac mente utatur.</p>	<p>For that [law] which then, when [your] age (<i>aetas</i>) is already suitable for deliberating, you'll choose for yourself, it grows old with you and accompanies your actions after [your] death. For before it may become law, and bind you and tie you, whence it is called law, it is a natural/ physical force, even a kind of seed (<i>semen</i>) implanted in the souls (<i>animis</i>) of mortals, which on that account god gave to man, so that he would have that with which to cultivate himself wisely, and far distanced from other creatures, he would make use of reason and the mind (<i>mente</i>).⁴⁴</p>
<p>quod si porro illud aliud quo ad appetendum aliquid, vel conservandae vitae causa, vel propagandae prolis gratia movemur, romanis se imperio accommodaverit, id legem est a natura insitam, et hanc bonam esse fatemur, et cui parendum esse, natura ipsa censuit.</p>	<p>Because if hereafter that other thing, by which we are moved toward desiring something, either for the cause of preserving life or for the sake of begetting offspring, accommodates itself to the authority of the Romans, we confess that it is a law introduced by nature, and that this law is</p>

⁴³ Lactantius: Lucius Coelius/ Cecilius Firmianus Lactantius (c. 250–c. 325), prolific author, the “Christian Cicero” who became an advisor to the Roman Emperor, Constantine I.

⁴⁴ Word play on *liget* and *lex*.

Neque quemqua tam barbarum, ac ferum esse opinor, cui non sit persuasum naturam, et ipsius	good, which nature herself determines must be obeyed. Nor, I think, is there anyone so barbarous and fierce, as to be unable to be persuaded that nature,
{page 21} {p. B iii} Pomilio 1	{page 21} {p. B iii} Pomilio 1
naturae legem bonam esse, sanctam, et nisi nostra depravasset malitia, incorruptam. Sed si paulatim ut nostra est fragilitas, amplecti noxia, libidinosa sectari, caduca amare, atque in turpibus se immergere homo coeperit, me miserum, quas strages dabit damna* ista subdititia. Tunc enim lex data a natura ad conservandas rerum substantias, fit rerum exitium, et calamitas. Hoc est quod quaerebatur Paulus (fingebat enim se miserum, ut miseris suppetias ferret) inventum esse mandatum quod erat ad vitam, id esse ad mortem. Melius igitur Paulus quam illi, qui dicunt haec naturae incitamenta, ad perniciem esse homini data. natura inquit sumus filii irae.	and the law of nature herself, is good, holy, and, unless distorted by our malice, untainted. But if gradually, as is our frailty, man should begin to embrace misdeeds, to pursue libidinous acts, to love ephemeral [things] and to immerse himself in base things, oh poor me, what devastation he will pay [for] these spurious injuries. For then the law given by nature for preserving the substances of things, might become the ruin and disaster of things. ⁴⁵ This is what Paul was complaining about (for he was pretending that he was wretched so that he might bring help to the wretched), that the mandate that was invented for life, was the one for death. Therefore better Paul than those, who say that these incitements of nature were given to mankind for their ruin. They say, by nature we are the children of wrath. ⁴⁶
Optime quidem dictum, sed prave a quibusdam intelligi solitum. Ira haec (nisi secus commententur patres) non furor, non excandescencia, non ardor animi, non irascentia, sed ordinem illum intelligi oportet, ex quo mortalium neminem natura, vel ex naturae viribus, ad consequendam beatitudinem quam deus ipse summe iustus, ex se, nec ulo [ullo*] nostro enitente merito largitur, fortem* esse videmus, homini* enim ab aeterno bono exilium, vocat iram homo. nec fallitur omnino.	Indeed it has been very well said, but usually understood wrongly by some.* This wrath (unless our leaders argue otherwise), not frenzy, not burning rage, not the ardor of the soul, not resentment, but that order should be understood according to which we see no one of human nature strong, or rather [no one] with natural strength for achieving supreme happiness which god, himself just, very generously bestows from himself, not because of any striving merit of our own – indeed man calls wrath the exile of man from eternal good.* ⁴⁷ Nor is he entirely wrong.

⁴⁵ Here the word for law, *lex*, may be code for phallus; cf. *Varium poema* 9.27-8: *certa.../ Lege*.

⁴⁶ *Ira*, often translated as wrath, is the same word seen elsewhere in this volume for sexual ardor, and is the subject of *Varium poema* 9 and 47; and in this regard, note above: *damna ... subdititia*: the harm done (with libidinous acts) is not real.

⁴⁷ Because the syntax here seems particularly strained, *nec ulo nostro* may be code for *...culo nostro* or simply an error, *ulo* for *ullo*; *enitente* (cf. p. 25, 36, 141), like *nitere* (*Varium poema* 64.1) and *nitores* (VP 4.39), can mean exerting effort in sexual activity.

<p>Neque ego aliud esse existimo, et quae in coelis sunt, et quae in terris opinamur bona, praeterquam iram, malum, metum, crucem, nisi adsit deus, et ille maiestatis aspectus, ac visio, in quam* ipsi etiam coelestes spiritus cupiunt prospicere, et cum prospiciunt non saturantur, et si saturantur, adhuc absque fastidio, cupidi sunt. Sed unde digressi sumus revertamur, dico igitur cum Paulo, legem bonam esse, naturam bonam, mandatum</p>	<p>Nor do I think anything else exists, both those things that are in heaven and those on earth which we deem good, except wrath, evil, fear, torment, unless god be present and the appearance and vision of majesty, on which even now these celestial spirits themselves desire to look, and when they look, are not satisfied, and if they are satisfied, and thus far without disgust, they are passionate.* But, let us turn back from where we digressed, I agree with Paul therefore: law is good, nature is good, the commandment is good.</p>
<p>{page 22} {p. B iii v} Pomilio 1</p>	<p>{page 22} {p. B iii v} Pomilio 1</p>
<p>bonum. Sed ex hominis vitio, et ordine perverso, omnia haec vitiata esse. Quocirca pura et nitida remanente rationis lege, sed membrorum legis servitio nudata, dum illa quae sursum sunt quaerit, non quae super terram, haec vero terrenis ac noxiis dum oblectatur bonis, crudelis illa excitatur pugna, de qua Paulus lamentabatur legem mentis a membrorum lege impugnari, et ad inhonesta trahi, etiam ipso reluctantante et reclamante.</p>	<p>But as a result of man’s vice and of perverted order, all these things are debased. On account of which, with the law of reason remaining pure and bright, but stripped of the servitude of the law of limbs, as long as that [law] seeks those things which are on high, not those things on earth, so long this [law] is delighted with earthly but harmful goods, aroused by that savage battle, about which Paul lamented that the law of the mind was assaulted by the law of the members/limbs, and dragged toward dishonorable things, even though he himself was reluctant and crying out in protest.</p>
<p>Infelix homo, quis me liberabit de corpore mortis huius? Quae quidem naturae debilitas a prava hominum consuetudine exorta, adeo plenum iam sibi vendicavit animi imperium, ut vel ipsum natura caelestem, ac divinum, in malis cupiditatibus hallucinari, et misere ad meliora cogit connivere. Bonum quippe homo ex prima legis natura, et cupit, et amat, et vult. Sed ex inveteratis in turpi, et inhonesto moribus, perinde contraria et perdita vult, et amplectitur: ut natura ipsa hominis ad appetenda scelera, nata esse videatur.</p>	<p>“Unhappy man, who will free me from the body of this death?”⁴⁸ Indeed, that weakness of nature, sprung forth from the depraved intercourse of men, has claimed for itself such full power of the soul, or rather nature compels celestial and divine [power] itself to fantasize about wicked lusts, and wretchedly to overlook better things. Naturally a man desires and loves and wishes the good from the first nature of law. But from inveterate habits into a shameful and degrading [thing], in the same manner he wants incompatible and degenerate [things], and embraces [them]; so</p>

⁴⁸ Paul, Romans, 7.24.

	that man's very nature would seem born to long for wicked deeds.*
<p>Vis igitur illa sublimis libera, et ad quaevis suimet, summum secum habens dominium, dum incaute vitiorum laqueis irretitur, lex fit, et ea, quae iam malum, atque saluti calamitosum et lethale, non potest non velle, et agere. Quod facunde in Paulo legimus. Non quod volo bonum (ecce vis animi) hoc ago. Sed quod odi malum, (ecce corruptae legis necessitas) hoc facio. Memini me in hoc Tyrreno nostro, vidisse navem onerariam, adeo ventis, ac fluctibus impelli, ut neque Navarchi prudentia*, neque solertes nautorum discursus, neque fida anchorarum tenacitas prodesse potuerit*[corrected in errata]</p>	<p>Therefore that exalted unrestrained force, and having supreme dominium over itself for whatever [it wants] of its own, until it is heedlessly entangled in snares of vice, becomes law, and it is not able to not desire and do a thing [that is] even now wicked and ruinous for its salvation.* Which we read eloquently [expressed] in Paul: Not because I want the good (behold the force of the mind) I urge this. But because I hate the bad, (behold the stipulation of a corrupt law) I do this. ⁴⁹ I remember that I saw in this Tyrrhenian [sea] of ours a ship weighed down, forced by winds and waves to such a degree, that neither the foresight of the captain, nor the adroit dashing about of the sailors, nor the trusted tenacity of the anchors could help [the ship]</p>
{page 23} {p. B iiiii} Pomilio 1	{page 23} {p. B iiiii} Pomilio 1
<p>quominus in ipso portus limine collisa, naufragium fecerit. dicetis ne naufragium passus, consulto atque ex animo, an reluctantes adisse scopulos? Identidem ferme in vita hominis cursus. quod licet reclamet ratio, reluctetur mens, refragetur animus, acta tamen a iam antiquatis cupiditatum Euris natura, et videns, et nolens, in procurrentibus vitiorum haeret saxis, atque ipsis getulis syrtibus perniciosiores exhaurit undas. quam quidem luctationem doctissime pinxit Paulus, cum dixit. Iam non operor illud, sed quod habitat in me peccatum.</p>	<p>from being battered in the very entrance to the port, and it went down. Will you indicate whether the shipwreck went toward permissive or reluctant shoals, with deliberation and as a result of feelings? The course/ progression is nearly the same in the life of a man, because although reason cries out in protest, the mind resists, and the soul (<i>animus</i>) opposes, still nature is driven by the already ancient East winds of desire, both considering and not wanting, it clings to the rocks of vice jutting out, and drinks up waves more pernicious than the Gaetolian quicksands themselves.⁵⁰ Indeed Paul depicted the struggle as learnedly as possible when he said, "Now I do not perform that, but that sin dwelleth in me."⁵¹</p>
<p>Considerare, vos quaeso, quomodo duo, ut sic dicam, homines in uno homine sint, ac</p>	<p>I beg you to consider, in what way two, as I might say thus, men, may be in one man, and clash</p>

⁴⁹ Paul, Romans, 7.15.

⁵⁰ Formation of quicksand found off the northern coast of Africa in the gulf of Syrtes, near Gaetulia, mentioned by Virgil, *Aeneid*. 5. 51.

⁵¹ Paul, Romans, 7.17.

<p>vicissim confligant. quorum quidem alterum internum in anima, alterum externum in membris dici libeat. hic cupiditatibus obnoxius, et propter legem animi corruptam, ad vitia pronus. Ille honesti semina nonnulla retinens, ad honesta, et salutaria ut valet, nititur. Sed, nescio quo pacto, terra coelum. Corpus animam. magnetem ferrum, trahant, cum trahi debeant.</p>	<p>together in turn. Indeed it may be pleasing to say one of them is internal in the heart/ soul (<i>anima</i>), and the other external in the limbs/ members. The latter is subservient to lusts, and on account of the corrupt law of the soul (<i>animi</i>), prone to vice. The former retaining some sparks/ seeds (<i>semina</i>) of the upright/ honorable, strives for the upright/ honorable and the beneficial while it is able.* But I don't know by what agreement they attract, the earth the sky, the body the soul, iron, a magnet, although they ought [rather] to be attracted.</p>
<p>Prudenter quod utique repetit Paulus. Non quod volo inquit, bonum, hoc facio: sed quod nolo malum, hoc ago. quamvis hanc indissolubilem plane esse quaestionem existimet Cyprianus: ac dubius quaerat, quo magistro, quoque exemplo fiat, ut homo natura rationalis, ac divina portione praeditus, ab ipsis statim pubescentibus annis, ad malum moveatur, imbuaturque. Cur, inquit, in negata, et vetita nititur? Cur illicitis delectatur? Sed et quod dicitur spiritum a corpore impugnari: et rursum a spiritu</p>	<p>Which Paul wisely repeats without fail: Not because I want the good, he says, I do this, but because I don't want the bad, I urge this.⁵² Although Cyprian deems this question utterly unsolvable, and uncertain he questions from what teacher and from what precedent it comes that man, rational by nature and endowed with a divine part, immediately from the pubescent years, is moved to wickedness and imbued [in it].⁵³ Why, he says, does he struggle against what is denied and forbidden? Why is he delighted with the illicit? But both because the spirit is said to be assaulted by the body, and the body in turn [assaulted] by the spirit,</p>
<p>{page 24} {p. B iiii v} Pomilio 1</p>	<p>{page 24} {p. B iiii v} Pomilio 1</p>
<p>corpus, improprie dici arbitratur, sed vitia ab ipsa anima nasci: atque in anima sine dubio gigni. huic enim, haud corpori, datum esse arbitrium, scientiamque, qua possit inter bonum, et malum habere delectum. Corpore ait, utitur anima aequae, uti solet malleo, aut incude faber: in quo formare* omnium turpitudinum Idola, ac infelicissima* voluptatum simulachra fabricare, solita est. Itaque haud quaquam a corpore moveri</p>	<p>it is considered to be said improperly, but in fact vices originate from the soul itself, and without doubt are born in the soul. For judgment is given to this [soul] -- by no means to the body -- and knowledge, with which it might be able to maintain the distinction between good and bad. The soul uses the body, he says, just as a smith typically uses a hammer or an anvil, in which Idols of every baseness are usually formed, and most unblessed images of pleasure are made. So, the</p>

⁵² Paul, Romans 7.19.

⁵³ Cyprian (c. 200-258) was a lawyer in Northern Africa, who later became a Christian scholar, bishop and writer; he wrote on the unity of the church, on lapsed Christians, on virginity, etc.

<p>affectus, et appetentias, sed ab anima: quae per miserabilem corporis officinam quicquid affectat, et agit, et perficit.</p>	<p>emotions are not moved at all by the body and the appetites, but by the soul, which through the miserable office of the body lays claim to something and acts and finishes [it].</p>
<p>Ex qua quidem asseveratione concludi potest, eam illam quam opinamur esse inter animam, et corpus controversiam [corrected in errata], inesse in anima tantummodo, quae secum rixetur, et cum proprio arbitrio rem agat, seipsam laniet, discerptetque [sic]: et cui solum denique peccatum imputari soleat. Mens inquit sui desyderii veneno facta ebria, corpus contumeliis applicat, et iunctis complexibus, ambo in mortiferas suavitates lapsi, obdormiunt. Cunque evigilaverint, sero poenitentiam adducit confusio: et inquinamentorum horror faedatae menti occurrit.</p>	<p>From this affirmation, one can indeed conclude, how that which we think is a debate between the soul and the body, is only within the soul which is quarreling with itself, and when it acts with its own will, it tears and rends itself; and in the end sin should normally be charged only to it. The mind, he says, made drunk with the poison of its own desire, adapts the body to abuses, and having been joined in embraces, having lapsed into death-dealing gratifications, they both fall asleep. When they wake up, too late, shame leads to regret, and the horror of [its] contaminations occurs to the defiled mind.</p>
<p>Docte haec igitur Cipryanus, ut cetera. Hec habui o' amici quae de duarum legum repugnantia, et conflictu dicerem: quae quidem, nisi a vobis provocatus nec dixissem, nec inter hamos occupatus, in poenitentia versare animo, ausus essem. Alta enim haec et intellectu difficilia vix inter aras, et sacra, syncere tractari possunt. multo minus, cum levandi animi causa, nunc per saxa parvos ludentes videre Echinus, nunc ab alto grandiores sese arena saburrantes praedicere tempestates, nos delectat. Puteolis.</p>	<p>Accordingly, [St.] Cyprian [argues] these things learnedly, as [he does] others. I had [things], O friends, which I could have said about the contradiction and conflict of the two laws, which indeed, if not provoked by you I would not have said; nor, once engaged among the barbs, would I have dared to turn my mind to penance/repentance.* For these matters, lofty and difficult for the intellect, can scarcely be treated sincerely among altars and sacred things. Much less when, for the sake of raising our spirits, it delights us to see the little Sea Urchins, now playing among the rocks, now growing bigger, filling themselves with sand/ ballast to predict storms from above.⁵⁴ Puteoli (Pozzuoli).</p>
<p>{page 25} {p. B v}</p>	<p>{page 25} {p. B v}</p>
<p>Pomilio 2</p>	<p>Pomilio 2</p>
<p>De vita solitudinis, et Coenobii. Utra melior ad Nicodemum fratrem.</p>	<p>On the life of hermitages and Monasteries: which is better. To [my] brother Nicodemo.</p>

⁵⁴ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 18.87 (127).

Phileremus, Angelus.	Phileremus, Angelus.
<p>Angelus orientinus, Nicodeme carissime, adolescens quidem modestissimus, et satis literatus, instantibus servatoris mundi natalibus, ad me venit. Huius enim pater cum viveret, mihi admodum familiaris fuit. Potissimum in Fragusiorum* academia, illo et amico, et praeceptore usus sum non gravate. Ad tam celebre quidem musarum templum, undique terrarum, si qui erant in literis excellentissimi, tum virtute ipsa contenti, tum premio invitati, perinde confluere soliti erant, atque ex graecia quondam ad lycium Platonis: sive ex Italia ad Pythagoram, Crotonam.</p>	<p>[Phileremus:] Angelo Orientino, dearest Nicodemo, a most modest adolescent indeed and sufficiently literary, came to me when the birth of the world’s savior was approaching.⁵⁵ For his father, while he lived, was quite intimate with me. Principally in the academy of the Fragusi*, I enjoyed that man both as friend and teacher, not unwillingly.⁵⁶ Indeed at such a famous temple of the muses, from all over the country, if there were any men most excellent in letters, both secure in virtue itself and attracted by reward, they used to gather together, just as they once used to [gather] from Greece at the lyceum of Plato’s, or from Italy at the Pythagorean [Academy] in Crotone.⁵⁷</p>
<p>Angelus igitur haud immemor paternae pietatis, antiquam, ut sua ferebat aetas erga patris amicos, necessitudinem conservabat. Sed, nescio qua causa, familiarius mecum, quam cum caeteris.* nondum tamen me in massensi agro convenerat. O felicem aio diem ex quo in filii vultu, respicio familiarem meum Leontium: quo nemo in lyguria melior natus est, nemo pietate praestantior. heu romanam ingluviem, qua tam iocunda privatus sum consuetudine. quam maxima profecto vi tibi enitendum est, ó Angele, quemadmodum vultu, et caeteris corporis liniamentis, patrem ad amicos restituis: eosdem sane</p>	<p>Angelo, therefore not at all unmindful of his father’s kindness, as his age advanced, maintained a time-honored connection/compulsion toward his father’s friends. But, I don’t know why, he was more friendly with me than with others. He had not yet met me in the field of Massenzio.⁵⁸ O, what a happy day, I say, on which in his son’s face, I see again my friend Leontius: no one in Liguria is better born than he, no one more excellent in kindness. Alas for Roman gluttony, by which I have been deprived of such a delightful intimacy.⁵⁹ Surely you ought to be striving with the greatest might, O Angelo, just as you restore your father to your friends with your face, and other contours of your body, you might be able to offer reasonably</p>
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⁵⁵ Angelo was perhaps named or nicknamed Oriental – he is called this throughout the volume.

⁵⁶ Fragusiorum academia: NOTE needed. [Fragusi in Calabria, part of the Byzantine religious complexes?]

⁵⁷ Plato’s Academy was founded around 387 BCE (and Aristotle’s Lyceum around 335 BCE). Pythagoras founded his school at Croton c. 530 BCE: Croton was a thriving city in Calabria.

⁵⁸ Massenzio Massa Lubrense, on the coast west of Sorrento, where the hermitage San Pietro in Crapola was located, about 25K south of Naples.

⁵⁹ Roman gluttony took the narrator’s friend Leontius away from him: more biographical information on Angelo and his father has not yet come to light.

mores, eandemque integritatem praestare ut possis.	the same character and the same integrity.*
ANG. Si verum illud est, quod dicunt philosophi, ex simili scilicet simile gigni, non multum mihi elaborandum erit, ut consequar: sin minus: enitar tamen pro viribus.	Angelus: If that is true, what the philosophers say, namely [that] like is born from like, I will not have to take great pains, to attain [this], but if not, still I will strive for strength.
PHIL. Ut bonae es indolis, et respondes, et agis. Sed quo tibi est cursus? cursum dico, quia te succinctum, ac impense anhelantem video.	Phileremus: As you are of a good disposition, you both answer and act. But where are you racing? A race, I say, because I see you cinched up and panting exceedingly.
ANG. Ad te, recta. Caeterum quod me anhelantem cernis: quomodo secus in hisce tuis viis inviis: et inaccessibleibus? Dispeream nisi magis sit pervius Caucasus, aut Atlas, quam haec tua Massa. Integrum enim ex surrentinis Cryptis ad te consumsi diem, dum totum hunc, horsum, sursum, perrepto montem.	Angelus: Straight to you. As for the rest, that you see me panting, how could it be otherwise in these impassable passageways and inaccessible accesses of yours? I'll be damned if the Caucasus, or the Atlas is not more traversable than this Massa of yours. For I have consumed an entire day while I creep up this whole mountain, way up from the Sorrentine Crypts.
PHIL. Tantum ne laborem ob unum edentulum, cadaverosum ve senem? quid est te quaeso?	Phileremus: So much toil on behalf of one toothless, cadaverous old man? What is it, I beg you?
ANG. Dicam. Aliquot adololcentuli* [sic, for adolescentuli] in meis lavaniensibus hortis, ociandi causa, coiveramus: ubi liberius, et absque interpellatoribus, de rebus liberalibus loqui possemus. Hinc nonnullae ingenuis animis non indignae quaestiones exortae: ex quibus ultima ferme fuit huiusmodi. an viro illi qui cuperet liberam procul a rebus publicis: curisque domesticis vitam agere: apertam solitudinum magis, an septam illam quam claustralem vocant, conducere arbitraremur.	Angelus: I will tell [you]. We had come together, a few young people [and I] in my gardens in Laviano, for the purpose of leisure, where we could speak about liberal matters more freely and away from those who would interrupt us. ⁶⁰ From this several inquiries not undeserving arose in our frank minds, the last of these [inquiries], was just about of this sort: Whether for that man who desired to conduct an unencumbered life far from public matters and domestic concerns, we would think an open [life] of solitude better than that confined one which they call cloistered.
Unus, et alter consumptus est dies* [errata]: et adhuc lis iacet intercisa, dum alii aliud censent. Ego ad hanc potius, qua secum vivitur, absque curis. Fontanus (nam uni ex meis aequalibus id est no-	One and another day were consumed, and the quarrel still lies cut off, while some think one thing, others another.* I'm more for this, where one lives by oneself, without cares.* Fontanus (for this is the name of one of my cohorts),

⁶⁰ Laviano, a small settlement in Campania; *interpellator*: one who interrupts and intrudes; one who initiates a law suit.

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men) ad alteram illam, quae multitudine, et freventia* [errata: “pro ferventia, frequentia”] gaudet. Madius, id nomen alteri, ad neutram, his potissimum diebus: in quibus ait, sacra omnia polluta esse. Tamen id mihi ratum fore putant, quod fuerit a te diffinitum. nec falluntur. Rem habes.	for that other, which rejoices in a multitude and abundance [of persons]. Madius, this is the name of another, [opts] for neither, especially in these days, in which, he says, all sacred things are violated. Nevertheless they suppose that what has been defined by you, will be believed by me.* Nor are they mistaken. You have the case.
PHIL. difficillimam licet ó Angele, rem expetere videaris, in cuius nimirum diffinitione a priscis authoribus non parum est desudatum, et a nonnullis quoque erratum: tamen hoc forte integrum iure suo, aetas, et longa [corrected in errata], nec sine capitis periculo, rerum experientia, mihi tribuere potest. Et hoc, et illud, nec sine proborum laude, ac malorum invidia, a carcere ad calcem decurri stadium.	Phileremus: Although you seem to ask about an extremely difficult case, whose definition was sweated over not a little by the ancient authors, and mistaken by quite a few, nevertheless, perhaps my age and long experience of things, not without mortal danger, can allot this unbiased position to me according to its own law. Both this and that stadium I have run through from starting gate to finish, not without the praise of good people and the envy of the wicked.
Verum velle mortales omnes sub una dumtaxat vivendi lege (de Evangelii lege non loquor modo: alias forsán) restringi: id propterea esset, ac si bos cum Tygri: aut cum Camello equus, eodem sub iugo restim ducere cogentur. quod quidem adeo contra naturam esse videtur, ut in Hebraeorum etiam lege cautum fuerit, ne quis cum bove et asino simul, terram araret. Tamen est animus, si non alitem in summo malo: at saltem vincula, posse attingere: quamvis, antequam de hac re sumam exordium, sciam te natum ad tecum vivendum, tuisque bonis, quae* multa sunt, scilicet teipso fruendum.	To be sure as long as all mortals wish to be bound under one law of living (I am not speaking about the law of the Gospel now, perhaps elsewhere); it could be for this reason, even if they are forced to pull the same rope beneath a yoke – the ox with the tiger, or the horse with a camel. Because indeed truly it seems to be contrary to nature, so that there was even a provision in the law of the Hebrews, that no one should plow the land with an ox and an ass at the same time. ⁶¹ Still, the soul [animus] can touch, if not a bird at the top of a pole, at any rate its fetters, although, before I may take up the exordium of this matter, I would know you were born to live by yourself, and to enjoy by yourself, which are of course many. ⁶²
Tu nursine pater, quem olim hasce pertritas ruinas (ah dolor quae tam saeva aetas tam	You, Nursine Father, whom they say once lived in these trampled ruins (ah, the anguish – what era

⁶¹ Deuteronomy, 22.10: “non arabis in bove simul et asino;” cf. Pulci, *Morgante*, 18.129.4-5: “io aro... e coll’asino e col bue,” where plowing with both animals is understood to mean having sexual experiences of different sorts.

⁶² The soul in chains: *Vinculum*: “1.b (said of the body, regarded as imprisoning the spirit),” Oxford Latin Dictionary.

<p>pulchras deformavit aedes?) habitasse dicunt, unde exordiar? Tu ó dive, et eremi, et Coenobii qui singula-</p>	<p>so cruel disfigured buildings so beautiful?), where shall I begin? You, O saint, you who</p>
<p>{page 28} {p. B vi v} Pomilio 2</p>	<p>{page 28} {p. B vi v} Pomilio 2</p>
<p>rem, ac discretione precipuam sanxisti legem, atque eandem, tum vita, tum disciplinis ad bene beatissimeque vivendum pertinentibus exornasti, errabimus si hanc*? melius illam fortassis. Excute te quaeso, ó inexhaustae lucis cognitor, et particeps, obscuras caligines, noctes dissiice* [disiice], atque palentes* disrumpe tenebras. Cor titubat. Animis* nutat. Ratio labat. caecutit intellectus. Mens mutit. Os demum mussat sine te ó pater. Principio ó Angele fili, dubitandum non est, hanc quam vocamus claustralem vivendi normam, tutius peragi, et melius adolescentium mores, ac vitam institui (modo pristina non desit synceritas) in bonorum virorum coetibus, quam in isto incerto, inaequalique quamquam durissimo, vivendi modo.</p>	<p>ordained with discrimination a singular and special law of both the hermitage and the monastery, and this same [law] you elaborated both with your life, and with instructions pertinent for living well and most blessedly, will we err this way? Maybe that [life] is better. O knower of the unexhausted* light, and partaker, shake off, I beg you, the dark mists, dispel the nights, scatter the wandering shadows. The heart stutters. The soul wavers.⁶³ Reason falters. The intellect is blind. The mind mutters. In the end, without you, the mouth mutters, O father. In the beginning, O Angelo, my son, one should not be hesitant: this, which we call a cloistered order of living, is carried out more safely, and the behavior of adolescents and life too is better established (if only pristine sincerity not be lacking) in the social intercourse of good men, than in that indefinite and inconstant yet extremely hard way of living.</p>
<p>Illa tutior, doctior, amabilior. haec perfecta magis, magis simplex, magis aspera. Ab illa cultum, ab ista neglectum. Illic vivitur, hic utcunque victitatur. Cubile durius, habitusque vilior, ac negligentior. Nulla enim magis olim expetenda fuit vita, quam ista, in qua, nascente vix fidei planta, maiorem immodum aegypti, Syriae, atque Indiae floruerunt solitudines. Cuius quidem instituti fuere principes, Paulus, Antonius, et Hilarion, qui visi sunt in Thebaidis saltibus, sub Constantino, acerbissimam, atque impendio sanctissimam, vivere vitam.</p>	<p>That [life in the monastery] is safer, more learned, more pleasant. This [life in the hermitage] is more perfect, simpler, harsher. By that [one is] refined, by this, neglected. There one lives, here, one subsists somehow. A harder bed, a shoddier habit and more neglected. For in the past there was no life more sought after than that, in which, with the seedling of faith scarcely born, hermitages rather flourished in the greater part of Egypt, Syria [the Middle East] and India.* Indeed there were leaders of that institution: Paul (the Hermit), Anthony (the Great), and Hilarion, who were seen to live an extremely harsh and an extremely holy life in the narrow passages of Thebes, under Constantine.</p>
<p>Ex quorum officina, Pion [Serapion] ille eximius prodiit, qui sororem aegrotantem,</p>	<p>Out of the workshop of these [Hermit-Saints], the venerable Serapion himself came forth, who</p>

⁶³ Text has *animis* where one expects the nominative *animus*; perhaps a typographical error.

rogatus vix semel adiit, sed clausis oculis. Exemplum profecto posteris, et continentiae et saeveritatis, mirabile. Complures deinceps etiam	having been asked, scarcely visited his ailing sister once, though with his eyes closed. ⁶⁴ An example, surely, for his descendants, remarkable both in restraint and severity. Thereafter, many even of
{page 29} {p. B vii} Pomilio 2	{page 29} {p. B vii} Pomilio 2
regii sanguinis extitere eius generis disciplinae vel mordicus cultores. Qui quidem adeo perfectissimam in sylvis, et speluncis degere vitam, ut nihil in coelitibus invidere viderentur, preterquam quod corpore gravati, hebetiores animi sensus, secum ferrent. Et hi, anachoritae (nos eremitas appellamus) nomen suo iure, ac merito sibi vendicavere, vel hac potissimum appellatione, excelsam et sublimem vivendi viam demonstrantes. Secedebant igitur a caeterorum hominum consuetudine, quibus iam cum diis* [errata corrects diis to deo] foedus erat, et amicitia.	royal blood proved to be supporters (<i>cultores</i>) of this manner of discipline, actually doggedly. Who indeed led such an extremely perfect life in the woods and caves, that they seemed to envy nothing of the heaven-dwellers, except that, weighed down by the body, their souls would carry with them the more dulled senses.* And these [men], claimed for themselves the name of anchorite (we call ourselves hermits), in its own right and justly, actually demonstrating expressly by this designation, a lofty and sublime manner of living. They withdrew therefore from the society of the rest of men, with whom there was already a pact and a friendship with god. ⁶⁵
O Beatum tum dixerim fuisse terrarum orbem, cui non magis decori fuit sol ipse, ex cuius beneficio, sata, arbores, plantae, et caeterae animantes recreantur, et vitam sumunt, quam fuit anachoritarum splendor, et fax: de cuius radiis mortalium mentes, et vigorem, et lumen, et vitam denique in tenebris versantem recuperaverunt. Unde quaeso melius continentiae exemplum, scilicet etiam alicui charitatem cum nostro periculo non esse praestandam, sumi potest, quam ab Elia illo tercentum virginum custode?	Oh, I could say that the orb of earth was Blissful then, the sun itself was no greater than it in beauty, from whose favor, sown [seeds], trees, plants, and other living creatures are restored and take up life, which was the splendor and torch of the anchorites, by whose rays the minds of mortals have finally recuperated their vigor, their light and their lives turning about in the shadows.* So, I ask, from where can a better model of abstinence be taken up – to be sure, even affection for someone must not be tendered with our peril – than from Elijah, that guardian of three hundred virgins?
Si beate, sancteque vivendi summam aves, lege alterius Macharii epistolam, nusquam eruditioem requires. Porro est qui ante actorum facinorum adeo gravatus pondere,	If you desire the best of living happily and blessedly, read the letter of the Pseudo-Macarius,

⁶⁴ St. Serapion (fl. ca. 330 to 360), bishop of Thmuis (Tell el-Timai) in the Nile Delta and a prominent opponent of Arianism, here criticized for masking coldness toward others as piety.

⁶⁵ In the errata, p. 221, *cum diis* (with the gods) is corrected to *cum deo* (with god); the plural form though is used throughout the text, see pp. 33, 63, 82 etc.

<p>vix se se a laqueo temperat? non hoc egit aethiops Moses, qui cum aliquandiu in latrociniis vixisset, conversus tamen ad meliorem vitae frugem, quinque et septuaginta annis, in vastis Eremis sanctissime vitam</p>	<p>you will ask for nothing more erudite.⁶⁶ Furthermore, is there anyone hitherto so weighed down by the weight of crimes enacted, [that] he scarcely keeps himself from the noose?* The Ethiopian Moses did not do this, who, although he had lived for a while in the dens of thieves, nevertheless converted to better “fruits” of life, for seventy-five years and finished his life in a desert Hermitage, most blessedly.</p>
<p>{page 30} {p. B vii v} Pomilio 2</p>	<p>{page 30} {p. B vii v} Pomilio 2</p>
<p>finivit. Caeterum, ne ad unum omnes.* commemorem, cuius vis disciplinae exemplum si quaeris, Eremos adi. nusquam enim certius. nusquam salubrius.</p>	<p>As for the rest, surely all to one [end]. I would mention, if you are seeking an example of whatever discipline you wish, visit the Hermitages.* Nowhere is [the example] more firm, nowhere more wholesome.</p>
<p>ANG. Non nihil quidem primum mihi animi ardorem reaccendisti ó Philereme. Sed multo ardentius incitasses, si novam, ut aiunt, haud antiquam narrasses fabulam. Ego si cupiam anachoritarum aggredi instituta, num mihi exsuscitandus est Paulus, vel Serapion? Num Macharii, quorum ductu, rei tuto insistam? Tu forsán, ut tua est aetas, in hoc biduo, quo tecum esse decrevi, excedes e vita. Cui proinde me? ad quem? quo? quando? quomodo?</p>	<p>Angelus: Indeed, O Phileremus, you have rekindled the first passion of my soul not a little. But you would have excited [it] much more ardently, if you had recited a new, as they say, and not at all an ancient story. If I should want to be admitted to the institutions of the anchorites, is Paul to be rekindled by me, or Serapion? Or of Macarius, couldn't I press on with the thing safely by the guidance of those?* You, perhaps, given your age, in this two-day [span], in which I resolved to be with you, will pass from [this] life. So then for whom am I?* To whom [shall I turn]? Where? When? In what way?</p>
<p>PH. Iam dixi ó Angele, securius, addo et decentius, adolescentes in Claustriis posse institui, quam in Eremis, qui modo nulli sunt, potissimum in hac nostra Italia. In Hispania forsitan crebriores, in monte illo non tantum vineis, ac oleis foelicissimo, quantum viris sanctis. Nos vero, heu, numeri sumus, nati consummere* fruges. Neque habitus, neque vitae filium, cum illis comparandum. Ego ne</p>	<p>Phileremus: I have already said, O Angelo, adolescents can be established in Cloisters more securely, and I add, more decently, than in hermitages, [of which] presently there are none, especially in this Italy of ours. In Spain perhaps they are more abundant, on that mountain, not so very fertile in vines and olives trees as in holy men. We are, alas, of [such a] number, born to</p>

⁶⁶ Macarius (c. 300-391), an Egyptian Christian monk and hermit: having learned the rules of monastic life from St. Anthony (c. 251-356), mentioned above, he founded a monastery; Macarius is known for homilies and a long letter, sometimes referred to as the Great Letter of Pseudo-Macarius, which discusses among other things, the purging of passion.*

<p>Anachorita, et non potius Analecta? Sic mei coloris sunt fere omnes. Qua propter velle in Italiae recessibus alterum videre Dorotheum,* vel Zozimum, perinde est ac si de rupe hac stactem, aut ex Corylo illa, quam pendere e saxo vides, Smaragdos coneris decerpere.</p>	<p>consume grain.⁶⁷ Neither a habit nor a thread of life is to be compared with these. Am I not an Anchorite and not rather an Analect?⁶⁸ Thus almost all are of my color. For this reason, to wish to see another Dorothy or Zozimus, in the retreats of Italy, is as if you might try to cull myrrh oil from this cliff, or emeralds from that hazel tree, which you see hanging from that rock.⁶⁹</p>
<p>ANG. homini enim argumento, ut mea fert opinio, res possent coenobiorum recenseri. In illis enim neque Basilius, neque Franciscus, et musca, quod aiunt, alba. quod si Eremita fervor desiisse tibi videtur, nec ultra so-</p>	<p>Angelus: For with a man's reason, according to my opinion, monastic matters could be examined.* For in these, there is neither a Basil nor a Francis, nor, as they say, a white fly.⁷⁰ And if the fervor of the Hermitage seems to you to have ceased, and to no longer emit the usual flames,</p>
<p>{page 31} {p. B viii} Pomilio 2</p>	<p>{page 31} {p. B viii} Pomilio 2</p>
<p>litas flammam emmittere*: identidem et Coenobia deferbuere, ac pristinos extinxere ignes.</p>	<p>so too the monasteries likewise have cooled off and extinguished their earlier fires.</p>
<p>PH. non infitior ó Angele. Extant tamen, si rem exacte ponderes, in iis transactae lucis vapor quidam, non prorsus extinctus. At in illis et vapor, et odor, et umbra etiam* intantum elanguit, et evaporavit, ut si quis excellentiorem illius vitae modum assequi est cupidus, aut solus antro aliquo inclusus sibi vivat oportet, aut de terris decedat omnino. Quid in pluribus te moror?</p>	<p>Phileremus: I do not deny this, O Angelo. Still [fires] exist, in these [monasteries], if you weigh the matter carefully, a certain vapor of light discharged, not entirely extinct. But in these a vapor and an odor and a shadow is actually losing vigor and evaporating to such an extent, that if anyone is eager to follow the more illustrious mode of that life, it behooves him to either live alone closed up in some cave by himself, or to withdraw altogether from earth. Why do I delay you in more [talk]?</p>
<p>Audi, te obsecro, mucosum hunc senem, cui neque mentiri, neque (quod prudentem virum Nigidius decere dixit) mendatium fingere, mos unquam fuit. Tempore quo</p>	<p>Listen, I implore you, to this phlegmy old man, for whom it was ever the custom not to lie, nor (what Nigidius said befits the wise man) to make up a</p>

⁶⁷ Cf. Horace, *Epistles* 1.2: *Nos numerus sumus et fruges consumere nati* (We are numerous and born to consume produce).

⁶⁸ Analect: name given to one who collects food scraps; cf. analecta – a collection of sayings and literary works.

⁶⁹ St. Dorothy (died c. 311), a Christian martyr from Cappodocia (sometimes confused with Dorothea of Alexandria, died c. 320); perhaps Zosimus, a Christian martyr who was executed in Spoleto, Umbria, Italy, during the reign of Emperor Trajan, or Zozimus, Pope, 417-8.*

⁷⁰ St. Basil (330-379) established guidelines for monastic life based on community life, liturgical prayer and manual labor; he cared for the poor as did St. Francis (1181-1226); a white fly seems to mean something rare.

<p>excisis ferme florentinorum rebus, Orangius gallus copiarum caesarearum imperator, in acie occubuit, profectus sum Romam: ubi tacto vix Petri limine (nam Romae, absente pont.* [pontifice] non est diu immorandum, tunc enim cum Caesare Bononiae erat) in Umbriam reversus sum.</p>	<p>falsehood.⁷¹ At that time, when almost cut off from Florentine affairs, the [Prince of] Orange, the French leader of Caesar's troops, lay dead in battle, I set out for Rome.⁷² Where, having scarcely touched the threshold of Peter (for with the Pope absent, it was no longer necessary to stay in Rome, for at that time he was with Caesar [Charles V] in Bologna), I returned to Umbria.</p>
<p>Ubi mons est, vix extra spoletinorum urbis moenia, positus, amaenissimus quidem, ac fructuum in primis felix, et densus. In hoc caellulae non illepidae fabrefactae, per intervalla situ discretae. Nec mora peragratis de more omnibus, vix unum atque alterum, quem caellae ocia magis, quam urbis negotia delectarent, videre contigit.</p>	<p>There is a mountain there, placed right outside the walls of the city of Spoleto, indeed very pleasant and above all, dense and fertile in fruits. On this [mountain], small cells have been constructed, not gracelessly, separated at intervals in the structure. Having scoured all of these without delay, according to [my] custom, one right after the other, it came to pass that I saw someone whom leisure activities of the cell delighted more than business activities of the city.</p>
<p>Omnes enim alioqui viri boni, simplices, et literarum ignari sunt, rudes, inculti, et quorum studium, ante omnia est, ne aliquo egeant. Mox illinc ad Picaentes me contuli. Ubi illud est maris superi tam celebre promontorium. Conarum</p>	<p>Apart from this, all were good men, simple, and ignorant of letters, coarse, uncultured, and whose objective, above all, is that they lack nothing. Then from there I brought myself to Picentia.⁷³ Where there is that very famous promontory of the high sea. The [promontory] of Conaro</p>
<p>{page 32} {p. B viii v} Pomilio 2</p>	<p>{page 32} {p. B viii v} Pomilio 2</p>
<p>dico. In cuius tergo fere, ut in umbriae luco (monti enim id nomen est) idem caellularum</p>	<p>I mean.⁷⁴ Almost on the back of this, as on the Luco in Umbria (for this is the name of the</p>

⁷¹ Publius Nigidius Figulus (c. 98-45 BCE), scholar, praetor, Pythagorean, friend of Cicero. Source of quote not found.

⁷² Philibert de Châlon, Prince D'Orange (1502-1530) served Emperor Charles V (1500-1558) as commander in Italy. He took part in the Sack of Rome (1527) and was killed during the final stages of the siege of Florence (1530).

⁷³ Picaentes*: Picentia was a Roman town located on left bank of the river Picentino SE of Salerno.

⁷⁴ On Monte Conero, a group of hermits known as *gonzagiti* (supported by Francesco Gonzaga) came to inhabit the top of the mount, and fought with the Benedictines who were situated beneath them, even to the point of rolling rocks down on their fellow hermit monks, and see note on Conero p. 2. Monte Luco (Monteluco) a mountain in Umbria, was home to hermit monks from the 4th century on, and over the centuries housed many famous monks, including St

<p>decor, iidem mores, eadem vita: hoc excepto. quod in luco summa simplicitas, et satis ampla in hospites charitas: in conaro nulla neque simplicitas neque charitas, et aequae vicissim dente ac morsu confligunt (cum venia mei mauroceni sit detectum) ut Cynicos dicas. Applausus illum sequitur, qui alteri sagacius imponit. Irrisio, qui laesus tacet.</p>	<p>mountain) there is the same splendor of cells, the same customs, the same life: with this exception: that on [Monte] Luco, there is the greatest simplicity, and ample enough charity toward guests: on Conero, there is neither simplicity nor charity, and they fight each other tooth and nail (may this be revealed with the permission of my Morosini) so that you might call them Cynics.⁷⁵ Approval follows that man, who imposed [order] more wisely on the former [Monte Luco]. Derision (follows) one who, offended, keeps silent.</p>
<p>dicam? stomachor. dicam tamen, et si mihi dicam grandem impingat claudus. quicquid scelerum, quicquid latrociniorum, quae multa sunt, quicquid turpitudinum, quicquid rerum earum, quae vir bonus honestatis gratia, nunquam proferre solet, quod vi et astu, in nemorosis illis secessibus exerceri solet: id totum claudio ipsi, atque Epirotae illius gnaton, acceptum referri, et posse, et deberi.</p>	<p>Shall I speak? I seethe with rage. Yet I will speak, even if the hesitant/ lame man may strike me down full-grown [as I am]. Whatever crimes, whatever robberies, which are many, whatever indecencies, whatever of these things a good man, for the sake of his honor, usually never mentions, what with force and cunning is normally practiced in those woody retreats, all of it can and ought to be reported as pleasing to the lame man himself and his parasite from Epirus.⁷⁶</p>
<p>Sciunt illae sublimes, moli eminentes in colle aedes. Sciunt montis iliceta, Scit multo magis sacellum Magdalenae dicatum, quas turbas, quasque commotiones, unius molossae* donatio conciverit. Centum vidisses ad unam ossam cerberos.</p>	<p>They know – those eminent, lofty temples on the hill-top of the rock mass. The holm oaks of the mountain know, the little chapel of Magdalena knows to a much greater extent, what disturbances, what commotion, the gift of one little old Molossian woman (<i>aniculae</i>) provoked. It is as though you might see a hundred Cerberuses at one bone.</p>
<p>Heu fuge crudeles terras, fuge litus avarum. tunc mihi visus est dicere nescio quis divum.</p>	<p>Ah, flee this cruel land, flee this mean shore. Then it seemed to me that a god spoke. Nevertheless I</p>

Bernardino da Siena, St. Bonaventura and St. Anthony of Padua; the name Luco is believed to derive from Latin *lucus*, sacred grove.

⁷⁵ Morosini: see note p. 7. Word play with Cynics meaning dog-like, the word was believed to derive from Greek *kynikos*, supposedly from the sneering sarcasm of this group of philosophers.

⁷⁶ Reference to the parasite Gnatho of Epirus, from Terence's play, *The Eunuch*; Epirus is a mountainous region in Northwest Greece, "It comprises the land of the ancient Molossians and Thesprotians and a small part of the land of the Chaonians," Wikipedia. The word *claudus* (here, lame, hesitant man) is sometimes used for phallus (cf. above, p. 4: "Habeat ergo claudus ille nostram, cum suis male conciliatis chaonibus pauperiem"); it begins a series of words with sexual connotations: *iliceta*, holm oak grove as a location for homosexual activity, cf. *Varium poema* 39.10; *sacellum*, small shrine, used for anus, below, p. 148 and 153; and *aniculae*, diminutive of *anus*, old woman, composed of *ani* and *culo*.

<p>In montem tamen (a qua sorte misera detentus) complures consumpsi dies. Non vacat Angele, angustias animi enarrare: quas tum passus sum, cum res montis, aut melius rerum reliquias ab Arpiis vindicare satago. quid? Res ipsas plane perdidit: meque ipsum prope. Lis quaedam erat de rastris et ligonibus inter quendam dementem Dalmatam, et caninum quendam</p>	<p>spent many days on the mountain (detained by some miserable fate). There isn't time for narrating the anguish of the soul, Angelo, which I suffered then, at the time when I had my hands full defending the affairs of the mountain, or rather remnants of the affairs, from the Harpies.* What? I lost these affairs/ cases utterly, and nearly lost myself.* There was a certain dispute about rakes and hoes between a certain demented Dalmatian and a mongrel</p>
<p>{page 33} {p. C} Pomilio 2</p>	<p>{page 33} {p. C} Pomilio 2</p>
<p>Chaonium, anachoritas ambos, utriusque partis perfidiosus alius instigator, barbatulus quidam etiam ipse anachorita, et anachoritarum senior, et pater: ut interim illum tam pio exornem titulo. Iudex vero ipse corruptissimus. Quid ageret homo novus: hospes: et ad animi tranquillitatem natus, inter tot vappas? Invisus igitur omnibus cessi: et cum meo Paulo, Damasci catenas aufugi* nudus. Porro in Samnio huiusmodi instituti alios: alios in Campania: In Gallia alios: in Iyuria: Insubria: In Emilia: Alios item alias passim per oras Italiae palantes vidi.</p>	<p>Chaonian, both Anchorites; the one a treacherous instigator of both sides, a little bearded fellow, himself also an Anchorite, and an elder father of the Anchorites, while at the same time that one was decorated with quite a pious title.* However, the judge himself was extremely corrupt. What could a new man do: a stranger and born to the tranquility of the soul, amid such good-for-nothings? Hated by everyone therefore, I withdrew: along with my Paul – naked I fled the chains of Damascus.⁷⁷ Next, in Samnium there were others of this sort of institution, others in Campania, others in France, others in Liguria, in Insubria, in Emilia, and again I saw others wandering elsewhere, here and there along the coasts of Italy.⁷⁸</p>
<p>Emoriar unum mihi, in tam ampla hominum farragine, cui rem tuto committere posses, si videre licuit. Huiusmodi farinae ferme sunt omnes Italiae silvicolae De hispanis vero multo ab iis diversa narrantur. faxit deus ut vera sint. Interim non verebor montem illum: super omnes montes excelsos, ut ait Esaias, erectum dicere: atque nemora illa excelsiora, super omnes quercus Bassan.*</p>	<p>May I perish if it were possible to see one man, in such an ample mish-mash of men, to whom you could have entrusted a thing safely.* Of this sort of stuff, are almost all of the forest-dwellers in Italy; about the Spanish, however – very different things are said regarding them. God grant that they be true. Meanwhile I will not dread that mountain erected, as Isaiah asserts, above all high</p>

⁷⁷ Cf. Paul, Acts, 9.25 and 2 Cor. 11.33.

⁷⁸ Samnium was a South-central region in the Appenines; Insubria is the region around Milan.

	mountains, to declare Bashan [to be] above all the oaks, even those higher groves.* ⁷⁹
Sed iam ab istis nostris, si diis placet, anachoritis, qui de his qui* sobrie vivunt dicere soliti sunt, aut bibant, aut abeant, discedentes: ad illud aliud quaestionis genus revertamur, quo quaeri solet, an Eremis potiora sint Coenobia.	But now departing from these anchorites of ours, if it is pleasing to the gods, who are accustomed to say about these [men] who live soberly, either let them drink or let them go away: let us return to that other sort of question, which is usually asked, whether the Monasteries are better than the Hermitages.
Et quia de Eremis satis iam est dictum: nunc de claustris dicendum erit. Ab antiquis igitur graecis accepimus (ab ea enim gente is coenobiorum usus exortus est) duas potissimum rationes exitisse, quibus viri sancti permoti, tam celebrem terrarum orbi, vivendi modum tradidere. Altera fuit, quod salubrius mortali-	And because there has already been enough said about the Hermitages, now we shall speak of the cloisters. So, from the ancient Greeks, we have learned (for the practice of monasteries arose from that people) that there existed two reasons above all, for which holy men were moved to hand down that way of living so celebrated in the world/ sphere of lands. One was, that it seemed
{page 34} {p. C i v} Pomilio 2	{page 34} {p. C i v} Pomilio 2
bus tunc fore visum est, his maxime qui* cuperent, longe a rebus domesticis semoti, divinae philosophiae inservire, si in proborum caetibus, et disciplinis instruerentur: quam si in duris, ac informibus solitudinum institutis pervagarentur. Altera quo purius in virtutum palaestra, Evangelii scilicet, sese exercere possent. Primus enim istiusmodi sacrae legis author fuit in graecia Basilius Cappadox, cuius familia in Europa iam pene abolita est: post hunc, in Italia Benedictus, qui si quid in terris suorum habet, in coelo quamplurimum.	at that time that it would be healthier for mortals, especially for these men who desired to be devoted to sacred philosophy, far removed from domestic matters, if they should be instructed in the social intercourse of proper men and in their training/ disciplines, rather than if they were to wander about in hard and formless institutions of the hermitages. Another [reason was that] they could train themselves more innocently in the gymnasium of virtues, that is, of the Gospels.* For the first author of this way of sacred law in Greece was Basil of Cappadocia, whose religious community in Europe has now been nearly abolished; after him, in Italy, Benedict, who if he has something of his own [works*] on earth, [he has] much more in heaven.* ⁸⁰
Uterque tamen sanctissimus. Et quos, tum ob mirabilem vitae perfectionem: tum ob huius	Yet each is extremely blessed. And due both to their wonderful perfection of life and to their

⁷⁹ Isaiah, 2.12: “et super omnes cedros Libani sublimes et erectas et super omnes quercus Basan” ([God’s majesty will come down on everyone who is proud ...] and upon all the tall and lofty cedars of Libanus, and upon all the oaks of Basan); and cf. Nahun 1.4.

⁸⁰ Basil, see note above, p. 30; Benedict, note p. 8.

<p>generis instituti, et disciplinae inventum, merito inter divos, grata posteritas retulit. Mirum quanta cum felicitate, et numero, brevi utriusque ordinis viri coaluerint. Ex quibus multi doctrina insignes: complures sanctitate. Horum ergo vigilantia, ac qua maxime praediti erant morum gratia et mansuetudine, non conventus, non coenobia: sed longe verius legiones, et exercitus monachorum una adeo coivere, ut de illis vere illud dici posset: quod in omnem terram exiverit sonus eorum: atque illorum odor late sanctitatis profusus, aliis vitae ad vitam, ut ait Paulus: aliis mortis ad mortem extiterit.</p>	<p>invention of this sort of institute and discipline, grateful posterity has rightly restored them among the saints. It is wondrous with what happiness and number, in a short time men of both orders have united. And many of these men are renowned for learning, many for holiness. Therefore with their vigilance, and especially on account of the moral fiber and gentleness with which they were endowed, not convents, not monasteries, but much more accurately, legions and armies of monks came together as one to such an extent, that about these it can truly be said, that in all the land their sound went forth, and the odor of their saintliness was spread far and wide; for some it proved to be the life of life, as Paul said, for others the death of death.⁸¹</p>
<p>Erecta est igitur, duce spiritu sancto, coelestis quaedam in terris virtutum schola. diversi erant: nimirum hic graecus, ille apher, alter italus, disciplinarum preceptores, unus tamen omnium finis, beatitudo scilicet. Multi ascetae, at unus pater deus ipse, tantae salubris machi-</p>	<p>They erected, therefore, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, a sort of school of heavenly virtues on earth. The teachers of the disciplines were diverse: undoubtedly this one was Greek, that one African, another Italian, yet all of them had one goal, namely, beatitude/ supreme happiness. Many ascetics, but one god the father himself, creator of such a wholesome</p>
<p>{page 35} {p. C ii} Pomilio 2</p>	<p>{page 35} {p. C ii} Pomilio 2</p>
<p>nae fabricator. Idem Augustinus ante Benedictum, postea Franciscus egere. Caeteri appendices. Ad hanc itaque perfectionis disciplinam, innumerabilis cuiuscumque aetatis (ut dixi) multitudo, et olim confluxerat, et nunc confluit: sed nunc minor, rara, et frigidiuscula, ut frigida est nostri aevi conditio. desiit enim numerus: desiit et animorum fervor. desiit doctrina. desiit sanctitas. desiit simplicitas, remedium vel unicum, et si non ad sublevanda prostrata</p>	<p>machine. Augustine before Benedict, and afterwards Francis did the same thing. The others were adjuncts/ hangers-on. So, to this discipline of perfection, the innumerable multitude of whatever age (<i>aetatis</i>) (as I said), earlier had flowed together, and flows now, but now flows less, scarce and a little cool, as the condition of our age is cool. For the numerical strength has ceased, even the fervor or souls has ceased. Doctrine has ceased. Sanctity has ceased. Simplicity has ceased, rather there is a single</p>

⁸¹ Paul, 2 Corinthians, 2.16: *quia Christi bonus odor sumus Deo in his qui salvi fiunt et in his qui pereunt/ aliis quidem odor mortis in mortem aliis autem odor vitae in vitam et ad haec quis tam idoneus* (For we are to God the aroma of Christ among those who are being saved and those who are perishing. To the one we are the smell of death unto death; and to the other the smell of life unto life).

<p>omnino et instauranda eversa: at saltem ad conservandas in statu reliquas.</p>	<p>remedy, even if it is not for raising up what has been laid prostrate and restoring what has been overthrown, but at least for preserving the remnants <i>in statu</i>.</p>
<p>Nobiscum tamen bene agitur: simul ac rem non stirpitus evulsam esse videmus. Quo circa aequae a me es admonendus ó Angele, ac solet navigaturus a naufragium passo. Carbasa forsán. Malos. Transtra. oras. anchorasque, et caetera huius generis nautica, ad cursum resarcis. Ego syrteis: scopulosque commemoro: non ut te a navigatione deterream, sed ut cautius naviges. Clamo igitur a litore (sicca in rupe residens, salsos adhuc revomo de pectore fluctus.) Cautus sis: neque plus nimio sis audax.</p>	<p>Yet with us it goes well, as soon as we see the thing has not been pulled out by the roots. On account of which you must rightly be cautioned by me, O Angelo, and too as someone about to set sail usually is by one who has suffered a shipwreck. Linen [sails] perhaps. Masts. Cross beams/ rowers' seats. Hawsers/ towing ropes. And anchors and other nautical things of this sort you are mending for the voyage. I am in the quicksand, and I am mindful of the reefs, not so that I might frighten you away from navigation, but so that you might sail cautiously. Therefore I cry out from the shore (staying on the dry bluff, until I vomit up salty waves from my breast). Be cautious: and do not be too bold.</p>
<p>dubiis ne crede procellis. Stultus enim nauta a prudente, hoc interest: quod ille aut superfluo metu perterritus, etiam sub udo non solvit: aut temere, cum caeteri portum tenent, ipse navigat. Is vero et ventorum et tempestatum naturae sese prudentissime accommodat. quo circa aut raro, aut nunquam naufragatur. Proinde in huiusmodi coenobiorum scholis, alios Platonicos, alios stoicos, alios item pythagoraeos,</p>	<p>Do not trust uncertain storms. For this is what distinguishes the foolish sailor from the wise, that the former, either utterly terrified by excessive fear, does not weigh anchor even when it's calm, or, when others stay in port, rashly sails. The latter however, adapts himself wisely to the nature of the winds and storms. On this account, he is rarely or never shipwrecked. Likewise in these sorts of monastic schools, it comes to pass that one sees some Platonists, some Stoics, some Pythagoreans too,</p>
<p>{page 36} {p. C ii v} Pomilio 2</p>	<p>{page 36} {p. C ii v} Pomilio 2</p>
<p>atque alios etiam Aristippicos videre contingit, hunc scilicet simplicem, et sua sibi negocia curantem, illum versipellem, et suas, et aliorum causas invertentem: hic abstinet, ille suum haudquamque* defraudat genium. alter ob suas, et caeterorum culpas illachrymat, alter ne nomen quidem,</p>	<p>and others, even [followers of] Aristippus – evidently this simple fellow, caring both for his own business affairs and for himself, and that turncoat, inverting his own positions and those of others: this one abstains, that one hardly denies himself his inclination.⁸² One, on account of his guilt and that of others, cries, another does not</p>

⁸² Famous schools of thought; Aristippus, c. 435-c. 356 BCE, student of Socrates, known for systematic philosophical hedonism, he taught a goal of adaption to life's circumstances.

lachrymarum novit. Tacet alius etiam lacessitus iniuria, quietusque vel imperiosissimis obtemperans animis: Alius vero immeritos laedit, lacessit, mordet, et qui cum si res serio agenda sit, statim ad parietem sese dare Nepam videas.	even know the word for tears. Yet another keeps silent even when beset by injury, and [remains] calm or even submissive to very imperious souls; another, however, hurts, provokes, bites the unworthy ones, and there are those who when, if the thing is to be done seriously, you would see give themselves immediately to the wall [like a] Crab. ⁸³
Ad summum, ne singillatim omnes citem, multos videre poteris apertos, ingenuos, iustos, bonos patres denique, sed multos etiam vitricos, et hos versutos, obscuros, veteratores, vel qui etiam ad tyrannidem aspirent, atque altius quam ad prima sui teatri [sic, theatri] subsellia se natos esse dicant, ut nuper in meorum nigrorum iniuria egere quidam.	To conclude, let me not invoke them all one by one: you will be able to see many open, frank, fair, and lastly, good, fathers, but also many step-fathers, and these shifty, shady old hands, or even those who aspire to tyranny, and who may claim themselves born higher than the first seats in their theater, as recently certain men made an assault of my black [seats]. ^{84*}
ANG. non eo, per sacra quibus imbuor.	Angelus: For that reason, I am not initiated in sacred things by these [men].*
PH. non recte sentis, quinimmo haec eadem ab ipsis illorum primoribus audies. siquidem, ne de caeteris dicam, In Benedicti lege cautum est, ut dura, et aspera praedicantur.	Phileremus: You do not understand correctly, but truly you will hear these same things from their leaders themselves. If indeed I may not speak about the others, in the rule of Benedict there is a stipulation that the hard and the harsh are to be praised.
ANG. putabam cautionem esse de ieiuniis, et caeteris istius generis vexationibus.	Angelus: I thought this provision was for fasting and for other vexations of this sort.
PH. Et haec dura sunt, ed duriora illa. Tamen et haec et illa animis optime institutis, et divinitus ad hanc palaestram vocatis, fiunt suavia, molliaque, et expetibilia: secus, si aut rei egestate, ut non pauci, aut animi inconstantia, ut nonnulli, coactus accedas. Splendescit enim, crede mihi, inter iniurias virtus. Plus dicam. Virtutem haudquaquam appellari posse (sit actio quantumvis iusta) nisi renitentem,	Phileremus: And these things are hard and those harder. Still both these and those become – for souls (<i>animis</i>) very well established and divinely called to this gymnasium – sweet, supple and desirable; otherwise (<i>secus</i>) if you are lacking in the thing, as are not a few, or from unpredictability of the soul (<i>animi</i>), as some, you may approach forced.* For virtue flourishes, believe me, amid injuries. I will say more. [It] can hardly be called virtue (no matter how just the

⁸³ Cf. Plautus, *Casina*, 2.8.7-9: the slave Chalinus says he will flatten himself against the wall (to avoid detection, adding “I will imitate a crab.”

⁸⁴ Although in Teofilo Folengo’s writings the color black is often associated with Benedictines who wore black, here *meorum nigrorum* could be anatomical, see “colored” above, p. 30; and Toscan, op. cit. p. 852-7.

	action be) unless you move toward the enemy resisting
{page 37} {p. C iii} Pomilio 2	{page 37} {p. C iii} Pomilio 2
ac reluctantem hostem admoveris. Apte igitur illud, ut fere omnia, Senecae. Bonum virum ait, deus in delitiis non habet. Experitur, indurat, sibi illum praeparat, ne absque adversario scilicet marcescat virtus. An nescis Angele, prospera in plebem, et in vilia ingenia devenire? An te latet periculi, et laboris avidam esse virtutem, et non quod patitur, sed quo tendit cogitare? Unde enim scire potes quantum coelestis aggressus sis itineris, quod arduum quidem est, arctum, et difficile, si inter fortunae plausus senescis, nec aliquando vacat considerare virtutis occasionem, esse calamitatem?	and struggling. Therefore that [saying] of Seneca is apt, as [are] almost all [his sayings]. ⁸⁵ He said, “God does not consider a man good in pleasures. He tests him, hardens [him], and prepares [him] for himself; lest without an adversary, to be sure, virtue may wither.” Don’t you know, Angelo, that in common folk fortunate traits (<i>ingenia</i>) become unfortunate? Does it escape your notice that manliness/ virtue is eager for danger (<i>periculo</i>) and hard work, and not because it suffers but because it strives to cogitate.* Indeed from this, you may understand however much of the heavenly journey you have undertaken, which indeed is arduous, narrow and difficult if you grow feeble amid the applause of fortune, and there is not even time to consider the opportunity of manliness to be a misfortune.*
Aude ergo dum tener es, et ad capescendum virtutis bonum, es flexilis, et tractabilis. Postremo (ut aliquid interim dicacitatis senibus dones) superum ne potest esse cui suum non sit inferum? Quando* vocabis lucem, extincto tenebrarum nomine? orientem ne appellaveris, nisi contra obieceris occasum? Molle ne absque duro? Sic et virtuti sua adversantur contraria, quae sunt caduca, terrena, mortalia, cum illa sit stabilis, coelestis, aeterna. Illi, inquam, lux haeret, vita, iustitia: his Tenebrae, Mors, iniustitia.	So, act boldly while you are young, and are flexible and amenable to grasping the good of virtue. Finally (so that for the moment you grant old men some sarcasm), can there be an above if there is no below? What* will you call light, [when] the name of darkness has become extinct? Would you call it the rising if you did not oppose [to it] the setting? [Would there be] soft without hard? And thus too its contraries are opposed to virtue, which are fleeting, earthly, mortal, since [virtue] is stable, celestial, eternal. To that, I say, light, life, justice clings; to these, Darkness, Death, injustice.
Utrumvis igitur elige, nam utrunque quemadmodum ubique terrarum, sic in	Therefore, choose whichever you wish, for on both sides just as anywhere on earth, so it is

⁸⁵ Seneca, *On Providence*, 1.6, and 2.4: “Idem tibi de deo liqueat: bonum virum in deliciis non habet, experitur indurat, sibi illum parat... Marcet sine adversario virtus.” ([reflect that our children please us by their modesty, but slave-boys by their forwardness:] Be assured that the same is true of God. He does not make a spoiled pet of a good man; he tests him, hardens him, and fits him for his own service... Without an adversary, prowess shrivels.”) Translated by John W. Basore. The Loeb Classical Library. London: W. Heinemann, 1928-1935.

<p>coenobiis vel insignius forsan invenitur esse. Nanque exploratissimum habuere sapientiores, neminem esse sive Europam, sive utranque pererres Asiam, tam scelestum, tam turpem, tamque execrabilem, quam is est, qui in coenobiis flagitiose vivit. Neque item esse iustioem quemquam melioremque illo, qui licet sub adversitatum malleo ingemiscat, ac in angustiarum</p>	<p>found to be in monasteries, actually perhaps more conspicuously [there]. For in fact, wiser men consider it utterly proven, whether you roam throughout Europe or Asia, that there is no one so wicked, so shameful, so detestable, as one who lives shamefully in monasteries. Nor likewise is there anyone more just or better than he, who, although he may groan under the hammer of adversities and on the anvil</p>
<p>{page 38} {p. C iii v} Pomilio 2</p>	<p>{page 38} {p. C iii v} Pomilio 2</p>
<p>incude diu, et saepe molestiarum forcipe versetur, excelsum tamen prae se fert animum, atque cum Paulo sese laudabili iactat Encomio, non posse scilicet se a charitate Christi excidi, sive rugiat aether, sive saeviat mundus, sive perterrefaciat daemon. Atque de huiusmodi monacho dixere patres quod facile ab erratis resurgat, cum difficile fuerit lapsus. Quietius aiunt vivit ac tutius moritur. Et de iis hactenus ò Angele. Quid in me cogitabundus? Quae adhuc te coquit cura?</p>	<p>of dire straits for a long time, and may often be turned over and over by the tongs of annoyances, nevertheless, he carries his elevated soul before him, and with Paul, boasts of himself as laudible in an Encomium, although to be sure [he] cannot cut himself off from Christ's love, even if the ether should bellow, the world should rage, the devil should terrify utterly.⁸⁶ And about a monk of this sort, the fathers said that he could easily rise again from errors, since he had lapsed with difficulty. They say he lives more peacefully and dies more safely. And so much for these [things], O Angelo: What should be thought regarding me?* What concern still simmers in you?</p>
<p>ANG. Cuperem ó Philereme, eam coenobiorum vitam esse, ut et frequentia interdum uti, et interdum a caetu hominum tanquam in portum me in solitudinem recipere liceret, et rursum a solitudine ad homines, et illos quidem eruditos, a quibus ea discerem, quorum praesidio, duae illae res quae plerisque langorem afferre solent, ocium scilicet et solitudo, mihi vigilantiam, et mentis acumen postea in recessibus praestare possent. Quod quidem antiquos coenobiorum cultores factitasse cum a maioribus natu audivi, tum ipse etiam legi.</p>	<p>Angelus: I would like that to be the life of monasteries, O Phileremus, even as a crowd is enjoyed now and then, and now and then, it would be allowed to receive me back from social intercourse into solitude as though into port, and from solitude back again to men, and those indeed erudite men, from whom I may learn those things, with whose help, those two things which usually bring lethargy to a good many, namely leisure and solitude, and afterwards they can vouch for my vigilance and keenness of mind (<i>mentis</i>) in the retreats. Because indeed I've not only heard that ancient worshippers (<i>cultores</i>) of the monasteries frequently practiced with those elder in birth, but I myself have even read this.</p>

⁸⁶ The expression *prae se ferre* means to bear before one, to display, to profess; in this text it sometimes conveys a concrete image of carrying before one, here, an elevated soul (phallus).

<p>PH. rem profecto te dignam expetis, gravemque, venustam, atque adeo pene divinam, et necessariam. Sed tamen in coenobiis probe constitutis sua etiam inesse ocia, ac deserta, scias velim. Tantum abest ut vir coenobii sit alter Mercurius, aut Momus: atque idem sit monachus in claustro, quod aiunt peripatetici esse animam in membris. Quod quidem vitium tantum abesse debet a quiescentium vita, quantum aliud maxime. sufficere plane debet suum cuique vel templorum, vel xenodochiorum mur-</p>	<p>Phileremus: Surely you desire a thing for* yourself, [that is] worthy and weighty, attractive and even almost (<i>pene</i>) divine and urgent. But nevertheless, in properly established monasteries, I would like you to know, [life*] has its leisures and deserts.* It is quite far from the case that a man of the monastery should be another Mercury, or a Momus, and that a monk in a cloister may be the same, because the Peripatetics say the soul is in the limbs/ <i>membres</i>.⁸⁷ Because indeed vice ought to be further away from the life of quiet people than anything else.* For whom the rumble and racket of his temples and guest-houses should utterly suffice.*</p>
<p>{page 39} {p. C iiiii} Pomilio 2</p>	<p>{page 39} {p. C iiiii} Pomilio 2</p>
<p>mur, et strepitus. At summum semper et sempiternum in cubiculis dormitoriis suum habere debet torum quies, et pax. qua concessa, non erit, in iuvenilibus annis praesertim, quod quaerantur deserta. haec senum sunt, non levium, ut multos novimus, sed eorum tantum, quorum iam occalluit pectus ad quosvis rerum eventus exterarum: Sed et qui in virtutum palaestra diutius exerciti, se satis iam sibi sufficere videntur (nam vir iustus omnia iudicat) ut soli, absque alieno adminiculo, cum hoste congredi aperte valeant.</p>	<p>But the greastest calm and everlasting peace of [conjugal] beds should always and forever dwell in dormitory bedrooms.* If that is conceded, it will not be [the case], especially in the youthful years, that deserts are sought. These are things of old men, not of simple ones, like many we know, but only of those whose breasts are now hardened to any sort of occurrences of strange things, but also those trained longer in the gymnasium of virtues/ manliness seem now to be sufficient enough unto themselves (for a just man judges all things) so that alone, and away from the aid (<i>adminiculo</i>) of another, they are strong enough to come to grips openly with the enemy.</p>
<p>Quod certe animi robur in excellentissimis coenobiorum Olympiis, non in theatris, et solis marmoreis, et minus inter feras, adepti sunt, deo opt. max. atque IESU Christo vero, et unico tutelari nostro, et servatore benignissimo suppetias ferente, non love atabyrio, ac labradeo daemonum</p>	<p>Because certainly souls gain solidity in the most excellent Olympic heights of the monasteries, not in theaters or on marble thrones, and less among wild beasts: with god the best and greatest and Jesus Christ our true and unique savior and most kind redeemer bringing them help, not with Jove Atabyrios, and Labradeus the foulest of demons.⁸⁸</p>

⁸⁷ NOTE needed: significance of Mercury, Momus.

⁸⁸ Atabyrios, a name for Zeus from a temple dedicated to him on Mount Atabyris (Attavyros) on the island of Rhodes, where brazen bulls roared when something extraordinary was happening; Labradeus (also Labrandeus) is another name for Zeus, from a temple dedicated to him at

spurcissimo. Sat sit Angele quod dictum est Caetera alias. Massae. Quarto nonas Septemb.	Let what has been said suffice, Angelo, the rest [to come] subsequently. Massa [Lubrense]. September 2.
{page 40} {p. C iiiii v} Pomilio 3	{page 40} {p. C iiiii v} Pomilio 3 ⁸⁹
Pomilio 3	Pomilio 3
EPITAPHIUM EXCELLEN. AVALI. IMP. CAE. Ad victoriam columniam.	Epitaph of the illustrious Avalos of the Emperor Caesar [Charles V]. To Victoria Colonna. ⁹⁰
Chrysogonus. Victoria. Theophilus.	Chrysogonus. Victoria. Theophilus. ⁹¹
Ab Inarime ó Chrysogone?	[Theophilus:] From Ischia, O Chrysogono? ⁹²
CH. Ab inarime secundo flatu.	Chrysogonus: From Ischia with a favorable wind.
TH. Quid illic agitur? Quibus se se oblectant lusibus Thespiades? Quibus Minerva?	Theophilus: What's going on there? With what games are the Thespiades amusing themselves? ⁹³ With what [games] is Minerva [amusing herself]?

Labranda (now Western Coast of Turkey), which features the god holding a *labrys*, the two-headed axe also know as the *bipennis*; in some accounts Atabyrio and Labradeo were brothers.

⁸⁹ Cynthia Hornbeck assisted in the draft translation and notes of Pomilio 3, and bravely tackled the epitaphs with the triple acrostics.

⁹⁰ Already famous in her own day and friend to many important artists and dignitaries, including Michelangelo and Reginald Pole, Vittoria Colonna is now generally considered the greatest female poet of the Italian Renaissance. Born in 1490 to the powerful Colonna family, she was betrothed as a child to Fernando (Ferrante) D'Avalos, Marquis of Pescara (1490-1525) a Spanish nobleman and military leader born in Naples, whom she married in 1509. After his death she made a name for herself as a poet, an intellectual, both a Catholic and Protestant reformer, and most of all with a "public image of unimpeachable chastity and piety," as Abigail Brundin put it, (www.lib.uchicago.edu/efts/IWW/BIOS/A0011.html). D'Avalos was a military leader who fought for Spain and the Hapsburg empire against the French, dying of typhus (or consumption) after being wounded in the Battle of Pavia in 1525. Here, Vittoria Colonna and the deceased D'Avalos play a role in the unfolding tragi-comedy of the *Pomiliones*, in which sexual freedom is championed and hypocrisy scorned; the incessant use of superlatives throughout highlights the intent to mock.

⁹¹ For improved readability in English Victoria rather than Vittoria will be used.

⁹² Inarime: a name used by Vergil and others for the island of Ischia, 30 K West of Naples.

⁹³ Thespiades: the fifty daughters Thespius -- Hercules is believed to have sired sons with each of these; Thespieae is a town in Boeotia (Greece), beneath Mount Helicon, home to the Muses.

CH. ab Inarime inquam venio, non ab Helicone, aut Tritonide.	Chrysogonus: I'm saying that I've come from Ischia, not from Helicon or Tritonis. ⁹⁴
TH. Dicam clarius. vidisti victoriam?	Theophilus: Let me speak more clearly. Did you see Victoria?
CH. Quid ni?	Chrysogonus: Why not?
TH. Qualis tibi visa est?	Theophilus: How did she seem to you?
CH. Seria profecto, non ut vos vestris venalibus elegis confingitis, fabulosa.	Chrysogonus: Serious, of course, not as you all make believe with your venal elegies – fabulous.
TH. Qui?	Theophilus: Who?
CH. Ego ó Theophile ab animo, haudquaquam ab ore, pulchritudinem, quemadmodum de Socrate in suo Alcibiade legimus, metiri soleo. In Victoriae enim pectore alii colorem mirentur niveum: ego potius fidem integram, omni ebore candidiorem. Radiant mortales, aiunt, in fronte oculi: sed multo ardentius et mens, et animus.	Chrysogonus: I, O Teofilo, am accustomed to measure beauty by the soul, not at all by the face, just as we read about Socrates with regard to his Alcibiades. That is, let others admire the snow-white color of Victoria's breast: I [marvel] instead at her integral faith, whiter than any ivory. They say human eyes radiate in the face: but the mind and soul [radiate] much more ardently.
Cum enim ó Theophile proximis praeteritis novi anni natalibus, apud amicos quosdam meos, viros sane graves, et eruditos caenarem, lauto quidem symposio, sed lautiori honestarum rerum sermone, res est producta, ad concubium usque. Ego, ut tarda mea est natura, ad caeterorum voces intentus, dormitabundus tacebam. Interim vero de victoria colum-	Indeed when with the recent passing of New Year's [Day], O Teofilo, I was dining at the home of some friends of mine, men quite serious and erudite, at a truly elegant banquet, but with even more elegant conversation about honorable matters, the event was drawn out right up until bedtime. I remained silent, as my nature is deliberate, intent on the voices of the others, about to nod off. But meanwhile there was mention of
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nia sit mentio, vel ea admodum mihi nova, atque insolens. Aiebant enim deserta Papho, ac Cypro, Inarimem petiisse Venerem. Illuc Musas, illuc nymphas. illuc etiam glaucas, cum sua Tethy* [Tethys] Nereides ad Delii cortinam convenisse. Quin Orpheum. Arionem. ac Mnemosynem ipsam ad decimam orbis accessisse musam.	Victoria Colonna, this was actually quite new to me, and unusual. For they were saying that having abandoned Paphos and Cyprus, Venus had sought Ischia. There, the Muses, there, the nymphs, there, even the gray-eyed Nereids/ Sea nymphs with their Tethys, had converged at the Delphic cauldron. ⁹⁵ Yes, Orpheus, Arion, even

⁹⁴ Tritonis: a large freshwater lake in northern Africa (modern Libya), associated with the goddess Athena (Minerva).

⁹⁵ Tethys was a sea goddess, both wife and sister to Oceanus, and mother of sea nymphs.

	Mnemosyne herself approached the world's tenth Muse. ⁹⁶
Inter haec comatulus quidam a conchiliatis peristromatis de improviso exiliens, Victoriae, et Avali laudes, nescio quas, aethrusca lyra concinere est orsus. ó nugivendulos nostrorum temporum poetas, aio.	In the middle of all this, some well-coiffed man leaping up suddenly from a bed-covering of shells, began to sing I don't know what praises of Victoria and Avalos, with an Etruscan lyre. O, what nonsense-sellers, the poets of our times, I say!
TH. Dic sodes, quid?	Theophilus: Please say it, what?
CH. Heri prospero Austro, insulam adnavigavi: et, ut verum fatear, visus sum mihi prudentissimam adiisse mulierem, sed mortalem: non deam immortalem, ut vos vestris iactatis scazontibus, Choliambisque. salve aio Victoria Christi ancilla.	Chrysogonus: Yesterday with a favorable South-wind, I sailed to the island; and as I truly confess, it seemed to me to have approached an extremely wise woman, but mortal, not an immortal goddess, as you [poets] throw about with your scazons and your choriamb. ⁹⁷ I said, "Greetings, Victoria, handmaid of Christ."
TH. Quid hac ancillari appellatione sublimius?	Theophilus: What is more sublime than this designation of ancillary.
CH. Quid vestris mentitis titulis insulsius? Quid vestra Danae, aut lunone imbecillius? Eo ne christianorum processit vecordia, ut vanam illam appellent deam, quam iccirco admirari, summaque cum veneratione prosequi, est aequum, quod ab omni vanitatis nota, liberam eam esse videmus?	Chrysogonus: What's more tasteless than your insincere titles? What is more imbecilic than your Danaë, or Juno? Has the madness of Christians proceeded so far that they would call her a vain goddess, [she] who is to be admired on that account, and pursued with the utmost veneration – is it fair, because we see that she is free from every mark of vanity?*
Quid adhuc ad immortalem nominis gloriam deesse censemus, nisi ut ad victoriae cineres huiusmodi ponamus tumulum? Hic musarum, nympharumque iacent, et Veneres, et lepores. Quid oro dicent posterī? unam scilicet Hamadryadum, extinctam esse. Caeterum de Christiana pietate, nihil.	Why do we still think a name lacks some immortal glory unless we put a tombstone of this sort upon Victoria's ashes? "Here lie the Loves and graces of the Muses and nymphs." What, I pray, will future generations say? Of course, that one of the Hamadryads was deceased. As for the rest, about her Christian devotion, nothing.

⁹⁶ Orpheus and Arion were musician poets of Greek legend who enjoyed popularity in Renaissance times; Mnemosyne (Memory) mated with Zeus to produce the nine Muses; the tenth Muse traditionally is the Greek poet Sappho of Lesbos (c. 625-570 BCE).

⁹⁷ "Scazon and Choliamb are different names for the same metrical form, an eleven-syllable iambic line sometimes called 'limping iambs' ... used for writing light, humorous, irreverent poetry," Cynthia Hornbeck.

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TH. quid illa quaeso, ad tuam salutationem?	Theophilus: What did she [make] of your greeting, I wonder?
CHR. Venustissime erubuit. Interim, ut iam ipsam loquentem audias, ex aniculis una, quid sibi vult ait iste intonsus, obstipo capite, pythagoraeus? Illa, ut sua est in Christi servos humanitas, Apagesis inquit, insana. deinde ad me conversa, immortales tibi habeo gratias ait, ó quisquis es qui tam saeverum prae te fers vultum, et ut referre possim, faxit deus bonorum omnium dator, simul ac me tam honorato, quod amicorum adhuc nullus attigit, adornasti titulo. Sed quid meos tam truci aspectu, despectas pedes?*	Chrysogonus: She blushed most charmingly. Meanwhile, so that you may now hear her speaking herself, according to one of the little old ladies she said, “What does he want for himself, that unshorn Pythagorean with a bowed/ bent head?” She, as is her humanity toward the servants of Christ, utters “Be off, crazy woman!” Next having turned to me, she says, “I give immortal thanks to you, O whoever you are who display such a stern face, and so that I might repay [you], god, the giver of all good things has made it that you decorated me with a title [<i>ancilla</i> , handmaid] so honored that at the same time none of my friends has yet achieved it.* But why are you looking down at my feet with such a grim look?”
CH. crepidam illam teretem a sutore illo, Intelligis ò doctissima?	Chrysogonus: That well-turned sandal by that shoemaker: do you understand, O most learned one? ⁹⁸
VIC. ad ingenium facile redit Democritus.	Victoria: Democritus responds easily to natural talent (<i>ingenium</i>). ^{*99}
CHR. Quem ó castissima libellum tam bellum istum versas manu?	Chrysogonus: What pretty little book, O most chaste lady, do you keep turning over in your hand?
VIC. epistolarum est mei familiaris Pauli volumen.	Victoria: It is a volume of my friend Paul’s letters.
CHR. ó bene res se habet. Iam ex his quae a nostratibus Epigrammatariis audivi, conceperam animo, te minime in purissimis cubiculis atratam sedere, et tuum extinctum Adonidem, una cum Ezechielis mulieribus	Chrysogonus: Oh, how nice. Now, according to these [things] that I heard from our Epigrammarians, in my mind I had imagined you not at all likely to be seated in extremely chaste chambers, wearing black, and lamenting your

⁹⁸ NOTE: reference to sandal is unclear to me. One might think of Momus, the Greek god who personified satire and mockery) who, unable to find anything to criticize in Venus (Aphrodite) herself, criticized her sandal; or of the quote attributed to Apelles, reported by Pliny as, “ne supra crepidam sutor iudicaret,” the gist of which is that a cobbler should not presume to know more than shoes, *Natural History* 35.85.

⁹⁹ Democritus (c. 460-c. 370 BCE), Greek philosopher known for scientific inquiry, called the Scoffer, often depicted laughing with his head thrown back.

lamentari: sed in montibus potius, et sylvis, veluti alteram palladem armillatam venari sedulo, aut ad pellucidum fontem aliquem cum Naiadum choris, arguto te oblectare plectro. quid? omnia, in hac insula, fabularum plena.	deceased Adonis, together with Ezekiel's women, but rather hunting busily in the mountains and woods, just like any other bracelet-wearing Minerva, or amusing yourself with a cunning plectrum at some translucent spring with a chorus of Naiads. What? Everything on this island is full of fables.
VIC. irrides. olim forsan cum meus (ah crudele fatum) dulcissimus in terris vivebat coniunx, fas fuit iocosa aliquantisper sectari: modo autem, meo sublato sole, cuius memoriam cum recolo tota exanimor, nihil amplius admitti lu-	Victoria: You mock me. Once, perhaps, when my (ah, cruel fate!) sweetest spouse was still living on earth, it was lawful to playfully pursue [game] for a while: now, though, with my sun taken away, when I remember him I become completely disheartened (<i>exanimor</i>), it is pleasing to let in nothing more,
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bet, nisi seria, et ea quidem quae me a falsis, incertisque vulgi rumoribus, et plausibus vindicare queant. Quae autem de me scribunt indocti, doctique poemata passim, alii videant. Ego vero meo me, ut dicitur, pede metiri soleo.	except serious things, and indeed those [things] that are able to vindicate me from the crowd's false and uncertain rumors and their applause. However, what poems the uneducated, and here and there the educated/ learned, write about me, let others consider. I, however, am accustomed to measure myself, as one says, by my own foot.
CHR. Melioribus sane titulis tui amantissimus est usus Avalus de te, ó illustrissima.	Chrysogonus: Your extremely loving Avalos used considerably better labels with regard to you, O most illustrious [lady].
VIC. quid oro?	Victoria: What, I ask?
CH. Memini enim me illum in Insubria, iam Phthisi ex longo bellorum labore contracta, pergravatum, circumstantibus amicis dixisse, se se laetum ob multa bene actae vitae gesta, extremum expectare diem: sed ob id unum maxime, quod se sciret uxorem relinquere sapientissimam, atque eandem pudicissimam: et cui sicut ipse, sic sibi illa, tori fidem inviolatissimam praestiterit. Haec ferme ultima fuere tui Avali verba.	Chrysogonus: Well, I remember that in Insubria/ Milan, having already contracted consumption from the long toil of wars, very seriously, he said to some friends who were standing around him that he was happy to await his last day on account of the many deeds of a life well spent, but on account of that one thing above all: that he knew he was leaving behind an extremely wise and also extremely chaste wife, and for whom just as he himself, so she for him, had managed to achieve an extremely untarnished fidelity of the bed. These were almost the last words of your Avalos.

VIC. Et tu etiam meum Avalum agentem animam vidisti?	Victoria: And you even saw my Avalos breathe his last breath/ driving his soul?
CHR. Vidi equidem, dixique novissima verba. Tunc enim forte cum Ptolemaeo viro sane gravissimo, atque inter meae patriae cives eruditissimo, aegrotantis assidebam lectulo. Alii me inquit scio, post meam mortem appellabunt Herculem. alii Hectorem. Alii vel scutum, vel ensem patriae.	Chrysogonus: Indeed I did see [him], and I told [him] the very latest news. In fact, as luck would have it then, I was sitting next to the sick man's bed with Ptolemeo, quite an extremely serious man and among the citizens of my nation, extremely erudite. ¹⁰⁰ "I know some will call me Hercules after my death," he said, "others, Hector. Others, either the shield or the sword of the nation." ¹⁰¹
Alii item et Bellonae, et Martis filium. Sed erit etiam, quod pluris facio, qui me syncerum praedicet christianum. Illos enim titulos, licet ingenio, virtuteque, et viribus acquisitos, hoc negato, perinde amo, atque si me statuum mutam, non hominem fuisse dicerent.	Others again the son of Bellona and Mars. But still there will be one who will proclaim me what I value more: a sincere Christian. Indeed those titles, although acquired through talent, virtue, and manly strength, having been denied this, I like as much as if they would say I had been a dumb statue, not a man.
Tu Christe pater omnium pientissime, atque idem gestorum omnium aequissime arbiter: postquam bonus etiam in suo unusquisque extremo vitae termino pavere	You, Christ, most pious father of all things, and also most fair judge of all deeds: since every good man is said to be terrified at his final frontier of life,

¹⁰⁰ Ptolemeo: Perhaps Pompeo Colonna (1479-1532), see note to *Varium poema*, 14; a man who is extremely serious and extremely erudite would in code be an accomplished sodomite; the term *eruditus* (learned, skilled; superlative *eruditissimus*) used often in this text, is synonymous with *doctus*, Italian *dotto*, for which see Toscan, p. 1690 (glossary); the term *gravis* (grave, heavy) we see paired with *eruditus* directly above, where Chrysogono is dining with friends, "viro sane graves et eruditos" (with men quite serious and erudite), p. 40; on p. 38, *gravis* is posited as a desirable quality in a thing, "Surely you desire a thing for yourself, [that is] worthy and weighty (*gravem*), attractive and even almost (*pene*) divine and urgent" – cf. *VP* 21.7, *VP* 23.7, 12, and Toscan p. 996.

¹⁰¹ In the narrator's portrait of the dying Avalos, the soldier acknowledges his deeds, but also seems to acknowledge his reputation as a multi-faceted lover, active and passive: [manly] Hector and [effeminate] Hercules, the sword (phallus) and the shield (anus), son of both the god and the goddess of War. Avalos here acknowledges that his titles were acquired through the use of his phallus: in Italian code the words for talent, virtue, and manly strength were used often for phallus; the soul (*animus*) he asks Christ to take up is vile, dirty, wandering, all adjectives used to describe sodomy. This theme is reinforced throughout Pomilio 3, for example when the narrator has Vittoria Colonna express her joy at hearing her deceased husband remembered for his *fides* (faith; phallus) and *charitas* (charity; anus), p. 47, and in the final epitaph for Avalos, where again he is declared victorious by dint of his spirit, mind and talent (*animi, mente, ingenio*), p. 51.

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dicitur, hanc vilem, sordidam, et plusquam dici potest, vagabundam, tuam tamen, suscipe animam. Atque iis devotissime dictis, cum iam ultimo destitueretur suspirio. Vale, inquit, ó mea Victoria. Felices igitur vos ambos dixerim quos fides integra, puraque benevolentia, etiam* defuncto altero, coniunctissimos tenet.	take up this vile, dirty, and more than one can say, vagabond soul, yours nonetheless." And having spoken these words most devotedly when already he was being forsaken by his last gasp, he said "O my Victoria, farewell." Therefore I might call both of you happy, whom intact faith and pure benevolence hold joined very closely, even with one [of you] dead.
VICT. Sed felitius* cum meo Avalo est actum. Is enim immortalis, beatusque iam factus, cunctas fortissime exanclavit miserias, nec ulla iam ultra, ut nos afficitur molestia. Caeteri enim, ut sua unumquemque trahit benevolentia, mei Avali canant Trophaea, et triumphos, ego autem tam fidelis corculi amantissimum erga me animum, interim quod ad eadem cum ipso asciscor bona, et voce, et calamo contestabor fidem.	Victoria: But with my Avalos it has ended more fortunately.* For he, now made immortal and blessed, has bravely endured all woes, and now is no longer affected by troubles as are we. Indeed, let others, as their* benevolence draws each of them, sing the Trophies and triumphs of my Avalos; I, however, [will sing] of a sweetheart so faithful, his soul extremely loving toward me. ¹⁰² Meantime, insofar as I am admitted to the same good things with him, I will demonstrate my faith with both voice and pen.
Quin etiam in hoc solitario scopulo, ad omnem alium amorem degam scopulus. Ille quidem meos primos habuit amores, habeat et extremos: quos plane uti iusta quaedam sacris eius cineribus debita, quotidie libo. Tantum abest, ut meum suavium Philosomatium fuisse solummodo dicam, quandoquidem cum in caeteris, tum in uxore maxime, illa quae prae se ferrent*, veram hominis formam ac dignitatem, se se amare solitus erat dicere. Quis unquam dicat, hoc quod oculis subiectum esse cernimus, hominem esse, et non potius hominis receptaculum?	In fact on this solitary rock, I will live on as a rock toward all other love. Indeed, he had my first passions, let him have my last too, which daily I pour out utterly as some sort of funeral rites with his ashes.* It's far from the case that I might say he was merely my sweet Philosomatus (Bodily-lover), since he used to say that he loved not only in others but especially in his wife, those things which display themselves, the true form and dignity of a man.* Who could ever say, that what we perceive with our eyes to be the subject, is a man, and not rather a receptacle (<i>receptaculum</i>) of a man?

¹⁰² The phrase "ut sua unumquemque trahit benevolentia" seems to be a paraphrase of Vergil's oft-quoted, *Trahit sua quemque voluptas* (Each to his own desire), *Eclogues* 2.65, but here there is the addition of *unum* (*unus*, code for anus, see note p. 23; cf. *Varium poema*, 62.61-8) and the substitution of *benevolentia* for *voluptas*; Teofilo Folengo used Vergil's phrase in the 1521 *Dialogus Philomusi*, 25 and at the end of the Cipadense *Baldus* (c.1535).

<p>sanctissimum igitur illud dilecti coniugis, de vera hominis effigie dictum, cum illius qualitatem ac figuram, non ex lineamentis vasculi quo continetur, sed ex factis, et moribus pervideri posse aiebat. Quod licet oris decor, venu-</p>	<p>That most holy saying therefore of my beloved spouse, about the true image of a man, when he used to say he was able to truly see the quality and shape of that [image/ man] not from the contours of the vessel (<i>vasculi</i>) in which it/ he is contained, but from its/ his deeds and character.* Because although the splendor and loveliness of a face,</p>
<p>{page 45} {p. C vii} Pomilio 3</p>	<p>{page 45} {p. C vii} Pomilio 3</p>
<p>stasque vel a natura ipsa concessa, vel ab arte copiosior facta, viris soleat maximam erga uxores, amoris gratiam conciliare, at multo ardentio rem vim, et energiam excitare posse iudico eam ipsam, quam dixi in corpore, velut in pixide, latere formam, et figuram. Quae quidem eo pulchrius a castis introspectitur oculis, quo tum is qui intuetur, primo amoris genere a Platone posito, pulchrum scilicet cum videt, ad divinorum contemplationem cor sublevans, in aspiciendo utitur, tum ille, cuius pulchritudinem miramur, ab altera Venere quae sit absque matre generata, ut in Symposio a Platone est celebratum, se probis vitae institutis exortum ostendit.</p>	<p>whether granted by nature herself or made more ample by art, usually attracts the greatest favor of love from men toward their wives; but I judge that very [loveliness] which I have said hides its form and figure in the body, just as in a box, to be able to excite a much more ardent force and energy. Indeed, the more prettily it is seen within by chaste eyes, the more both the person who is inspecting, with the first sort of love posited by Plato, namely when he sees something beautiful lifting his heart to contemplation of the divine, while gazing he enjoys [it], and that one, at whose beauty we marvel, which might have been created from another Venus away from/ without his mother, as is celebrated by Plato in his <i>Symposium</i>, shows that he has sprung from the proper practices of life.*</p>
<p>Porro autem (ut ab alienis me subtraham) neque me illa sublimia sacri Epithalamii mysteria fugiunt, cum sponsam lego a sole decoloratam, sed tamen ut Solomonis pellem, formosam: modo illius genas, genarum Turturis similitudinem habentes, modo mali punici. Rursus illius capilli, caprarum gregi, dentes, tonsorum: sed et labia coccineis vittis comparantur.</p>	<p>Yet furthermore (so that I might withdraw myself from the others) lest those sublime mysteries of the sacred Epithalamium escape me, when I choose a bride discolored by the sun, but nevertheless like the skin of Solomon, attractive: her cheeks sometimes having the likeness of the cheeks of a turtledove, sometimes of a pomegranate.¹⁰³ In turn, her hair [is like] a herd of goatsesses, her teeth, [like goats/ sheep] shorn: but even her lips are comparable to scarlet ribbons.</p>

¹⁰³ Somewhat mangled quotes from the beginning verses of the Song of Solomon 4, which continue in the following sentences.

<p>Quid tandem? nunc collum sponsae, davidicae turris: nunc hinnulorum capellae symbolum secum ferunt ubera. Quarum certe rerum Elogia de pulchritudine corporum perinde intelligi arbitror, uti si ad animi decorem, vel Topatii, vel Adamantis torquem applicare velis. Iam et si in corporeis lineamentis inesse pulchri aliquid videtur, apta scilicet membrorum figura, cum coloris suavitate, ut a Cic. diffinitur, illud ipsum tamen turpissimum, ac plane foedissimum esse dixerim, verus</p>	<p>What, then? Now my bride's neck is the tower of David, now her teats carry with them the mark of a goat's foals. Certainly I imagine eulogies of these things about bodily beauty to be understood in the same way as if you wished to apply a necklace of either topaz or diamonds to the soul's splendor. And now if some beauty should seem to be present in the body's contours, namely a fitting shape of limbs/ <i>membres</i>, with a sweetness of color, as defined by Cicero, still I would say that it would be most shameful and simply most appalling, if true</p>
<p>{page 46} {p. C vii v} Pomilio 3</p>	<p>{page 46} {p. C vii v} Pomilio 3</p>
<p>si absit ab animo, et decor, et vigor: si quidem illud ab isto pendere, et vim sumere, satis constat. Pro inde speciosissimus ille forma prae filiis hominum Pharisaeae inquit caece, munda prius quod intus est calicis, ut fiat quod deforis est, mundum. Vide quaeso, ò optime, quemadmodum exoticorum etiam de pulchritudine opiniones adeo nostrae adstipulentur, ut Menander dicat rem esse suavissimam, pulchritudinem, sapiens si adsit mens, atque animus incolumis.</p>	<p>splendor and vigor were both absent from the soul: in that it is fairly well known it hangs from that [soul of yours], and takes up strength [from it].¹⁰⁴ Therefore that one, extremely handsome in form, [speaking] before the children of men, said, 'Blind Pharisee, cleanse first what is within the chalice, so that what is outside might be clean too.'¹⁰⁵ See, I beg you, O excellent one, just as foreigners' opinions, even about beauty support ours, so that Menander says beauty is the sweetest thing, if a wise mind is present, and an unimpaired soul.*</p>
<p>Probe itaque illud, et libere, ut caetera Dyogenis, in quemdam corporis pulchritudinem pravis moribus dehonstantem, ó quam bona inquit domus, sed malus hospes. Sed quorsum haec forsán</p>	<p>Therefore that [maxim] properly and freely [spoken], as others of Diogenes, regarding a certain corporal beauty dishonored by vile habits: 'O how good the house is, he said, but the host is bad.' But perhaps you will say, why do you</p>

¹⁰⁴ Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, 4.13.31: Et ut corporis est quaedam apta figura membrorum cum coloris quadam suavitate eaque dicitur pulchritudo, sic in animo... (And as what is called beauty arises from an exact proportion of the limbs, together with a certain sweetness of complexion, so the beauty of the mind). Translation C.D. Yonge, New York, Harper, 1877: <http://thriceholy.net>.

¹⁰⁵ Matthew 23:25-7: Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full of extortion and excess... for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness."

dices, quam quae mulierem deceant, longiora narras?	narrate these things longer than what befits a woman?
Ad summam igitur istuc dixisse volo, ut immensum illud gloriae iubar, et munus meo ab Avalo verissimis virtutum dotibus comparatum, id omne ab animi excellentia consyderare me credas: neque me tantum oris dignitate, quae pene in illo divina fuit commoveri, neque maritalibus taedis peruri, ut nonnulli suis aliqui eruditissimis, et ab amore profectis, scribere solent versibus, quantum perfectissimis in re christiana ritibus: qui quidem, extincto meo sydere, adeo in me perlanguere, ut nihil iam, ob id unum praesertim, praeter illum desyderare videar.	In conclusion therefore, I want to have said this, so that you believe me to consider it all from an excellence of spirit, that immense radiance of glory, and gift from my Avalos to be comparable to the most genuine endowments of virtue, and that I am not so much moved by the dignity of his face, which scarcely (<i>pene</i>) was divine in him, nor [am I] consumed by matrimonial fires, as more than a few are accustomed to write in their verses, extremely erudite and proceeding from love, as much as by the extremely perfect rites of Christianity, which indeed, with my star extinguished, have grown so faint in me that I seem to desire nothing now, especially on account of that one [thing], except for that.*
Hunc enim absentem quero: amo, exosculator, ac castissimus desuavior lachrymis: nec me unquam arbitror, et si tota liquescerem, par pari in amore, meo Avalo posse referre. Cum enim (parcas velim: nam amatrix natura dicacula est) il-	Indeed I lament that he is absent: I love, I kiss tenderly, and most chastely I caress with tears, and I don't imagine myself, even if I should dissolve all at once, ever able to even the score with my Avalos in love. Indeed when (I would like you to be patient with me, for a lover is naturally witty)
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lius egregias audio celebrari victorias: non possum, fateor, summo non affici gaudio, sed multo iocundius, cum in deum primum, deinde in Caesarem, deinceps in mortales omnes, atque in me tandem unam omnium desolatissimam, vel abste nostri studiosissimo* [studiosissimo], vel a tui similimis narratur et fides, et charitas.	I hear that his outstanding 'victories' are being celebrated: I cannot, I confess, not be affected by the utmost joy, but I am much happier, when first in god, then in Caesar, thereafter in all mortals, and lastly in me alone most desolate of all, either by you, who are most fond of us, or by those like you, his faith and charity are recounted.
CH. Vellem existimares ó eximia, non solum mulieres sed et viros etiam dicaces, vituperari solitos: nanque illum a Solomone sapientem dici video, qui sua moderatur labia. Insaniae aiebat Bias indicium est, multiloquentia. Sed de imperitis, huiusmodi Biantis apophthegma iactari puto. alioqui	Chrysogonus: I wish you would consider, O extraordinary [lady], not only women but men too witty, used to finding fault: for I know that man who held his lips in check was called wise by Solomon. Bias used to say that verbosity was

quomodo non vituperanda in sacris authoribus diffusissimum dicendi genus?	proof of insanity. ¹⁰⁶ But concerning the inexperienced, I think that this saying of Bias's is bandied about. ¹⁰⁷ Otherwise, how would [verbosity] not be blameworthy in sacred authors, [their] extremely diffuse style of expression?*
Quis facundior, atque in scribendo ex graecis copiosior, vel Chrysostomo, vel Adamantio? Ex latinis, vel Hieronymo vel Augustino? Nunquam fuit, apud antiquos praesertim, non laudata plena, cum eruditione copia, sive a viro, sive a muliere profecta fuerit oratio.	Who among Greek authors is more elegant, and more copious in writing than Chrysostomus or Adamantius? ¹⁰⁸ Among Latin authors, than Jerome, or Augustine? There has never been, especially among the ancients, a full oration with copious erudition that wasn't praised, whether it came from a man or a woman.
Praeterea quis suavior animi conceptus cum illo aequiparandus, cum is qui loquitur ab eruditione, a Virtute* ab amore demum auspicatur orationem? Ut tu nuper ò Victoria, cuius sermonis adeo oblectatus sum, tum copia, tum lepore: ut post hac* [hanc], lacones omnes licet doctissimos, negligam.	Moreover, what has been conceived [to be] more gratifying to the spirit compared with that, when he who speaks, ceremoniously begins his oration from erudition, from Virtue, lastly from love?* As you recently [said], O Victoria, by whose conversation I am so delighted, in both quantity and cleverness: so that after this, I will ignore those who are Spartan/ laconic, although they are extremely learned.
VICTO. ut maximae es modestiae loqueris ò vir dei, meo scilicet consulens pudori, et famae.	Victoria: You will speak as you are of the greatest modesty, O man of god, that is to say, paying attention to my propriety and reputation.
CHRI. Sed ad Avalum nostrum revertamur quem nostri temporis vates, Mavortium appellant. Mallem	Chrysogonus: But let us return to our Avalos, whom the bards of our time call Mavortius/ Mars-like. I would prefer [that]
{page 48} {p. C viii v} Pomilio 3	{page 48} {p. C viii v} Pomilio 3
Christianum aliquem imperatorem, et illum quidem optimum, cui comparandus esset	they had chosen some Christian commander, and indeed the best to whom Avalos could have been

¹⁰⁶ Bias of Priene was one of the "Seven Sages," a group of Greek philosophers who lived and wrote during the 6th century BCE.

¹⁰⁷ The Greek word for saying appears below spelled more properly *Apophthegma*, p. 91, so here *apophthegma*, with tau for theta, may be a typographical error.

¹⁰⁸ St. John Chrysostomus (347-407), Greek church father famous for his eloquent homilies, hence his nickname "golden-mouthed." Origen Adamantius (c. 184-c. 253) was a prolific theologian who also wrote homilies, and who was excommunicated posthumously because of his beliefs in such notions as the transmigration of souls and universal reconciliation; another Adamantius, was a 4th century theologian also known as Pseudo-Origen; and see below, p. 70.

<p>Avalus elegissent: ne dum illi fortitudinem tribuunt, auferant pietatem: quam sane dux ipse comprimis amavit, ac feliciter est assecutus.</p>	<p>compared: not only [that] they attribute bravery to him, let them not do away with piety, which to be sure the leader himself whom you clasp truly loved and happily achieved.^{109*}</p>
<p>Rarum certe quoddam est, iuncta cum fortitudine probitas. habuit tamen perfectissime et hanc, et illam noster Avalus: ex qua immortalem, et apud hostes ipsos etiam, in terris adeptus est gloriam, et splendorem, apud deum vero bonorum omnium cumulum perfectissimum, beatitudinem scilicet, quae est, ut a Paulo accepimus, revelatio gloriae magni dei.</p>	<p>Certainly it is a rare thing, uprightness joined with fortitude. Nevertheless that Avalos of ours had both this [trait] and that most perfectly; as a result, he got immortal glory on earth, and grandeur, and even with the enemy themselves, but with god, he got the most perfect consummation of all good, that is to say, beatitude, which is, as we learn from Paul, a revelation of the glory of almighty god.¹¹⁰</p>
<p>A quo quidem, quicquid roboris, quicquid animi, quicquid disciplinae militaris, quae maxima extitit: quicquid virtutis, quicquid suavitatis, quicquid prudentiae tandem, in elegantissimo tuo viro fuit, et originem, et incrementum habuit. Verum enim vero dubito ne dum satis nunquam laudati laudes commemoro, lessum paulatim, monodiamque per aulam exoriri sentiam.</p>	<p>From which indeed, whatever strength, whatever spirit (<i>animi</i>), whatever military discipline, which proved to be most notable, whatever virtue, whatever charm, and lastly whatever good sense was in your extremely discriminating husband: he had both the origin/ lineage and the increase/ development/ offshoot. But I truly doubt I can ever recall praises enough for this praised man, gradually I will feel a wailing and a monody/ dirge arise throughout the courtyard.</p>
<p>Asserventur itaque quietissima tui Avali ossa, donec ad immortalitatem cum tuis ó Victoria, felicissime excitentur. Interim autem si lubet, homini notetur tumulus, exastico. In quo prima, media, atque extrema consyderentur elementa.</p>	<p>So the bones of your Avalos are kept very quiet, until they might be most happily awakened to immortality along with yours, Victoria. But in the meantime, if it is pleasing, let a little mound be marked out for your husband, with a sestet/ hexasticon, in which the first, middle, and last elements might be reflected upon.¹¹¹</p>
<p>Avalus heroas terRis qui reddidit ortU Vinceret ut semper iuncta Est Victoria, que* sI Aucta viri rebus bene Gestis, iam dea nostram hanC Longe odit vitam, quid Ni? cum coniuge caelo esT Victores cumulant sit Ambo sydera, et ambO Sub pedibus viva hec, exTincta ille ossa, tuentur.</p>	<p>Avalos, a hero on earth who has returned from the east, could conquer so that Victoria was always joined to him, and if* augmented by her husband's well done deeds, already for a long time now the goddess hates this life of ours, why wouldn't she? When she is in heaven with her spouse, may the stars enhance both victors and</p>

¹⁰⁹ Leader, *dux*, is used for phallus here and again shortly (p. 50), and elsewhere in the volume, for example, *Varium poema* 37, and *Janus* 74, 82.

¹¹⁰ Paul, Titus 2.13.

¹¹¹ The acrostics are marked with upper case letters at the beginning middle and end of each line, to spell out AVALUS REGNAT VICTOR (Avalus reigns victorious).

	watch [them] both, she, alive at [his]* feet, and he with his bones extinguished.
{page 49} {p. D} Pomilio 3	{page 49} {p. D} Pomilio 3
Vides ó Ingeniossima* [Ingeniosissima], ingeniosi poetae EXCELLEN? poetice forsitan lusit nimium. Sed in seriis etiam rebus non nihil aliquando delicatiori nasutorum consuetudini obtemperandum est.	Do you see, O most ingenious [lady], the hexasticon of the ingenious poet? Perhaps he played a little too poetically. But even in serious matters one must at times comply somewhat with the more indulgent practices of the 'nosey'/ satirical.
VIC. Nisi vererer tuam censuram ò stoice, elaboratissimum quidem Epitaphium dicerem e pegasea ungula decussum, adeo ingeniosum visum est, lepidum, et dignum sane quod* mei Victoriavali tumulo scalpro incidatur adamantino.	Victoria: If I did not fear your censure, O stoic, I would indeed say that this most elaborate epitaph has been shaken from the hoof of Pegasus, it seemed so ingenious, clever, and truly worthy of being engraved with a steel-hard scalpel on the tomb of my Victoriavalus.
CH. neque pegasum: neque, quod sciam, hippocrenem adiit unquam Theophilus: Sed lucrinum. quid sibi vult nomen victoriavali?	Chrysogonus: Teofilo has never approached either Pegasus, as far as I know, or the Hippocrene, but [Lake] Lucrine. ¹¹² What does this name "Victoriavalus" mean?
VICT. Victoriavalum, meum Avalum vocare libuit, simulatque Epitaphium audiui, vel ea romane, ac iure, quo graeci, cleantem, phreanthem, appellavere. Quid mussas? non apte quidem compositum esse?	Victoria: Victoriavalus, my Avalos liked to call [us], and I heard him make up an Epitaph at the same time, or rather that 'Romanly' and rightly, which* the Greeks called Cleanthes, Phreantes. ¹¹³ Why are you hesitating? Isn't it indeed aptly composed?
CH. non hoc.	Chrysogonus: Not this.
VIC. quid igitur?	Victoria: What, then.
CH. quidquid est dicam: subita enim, ac parum meditata a prudentibus raro proferri solent. Audi itaque quomodo cum hoc tuo	Chrysogonus: I will say what it is, for rash [words] and little considered are rarely put forth by prudent people. Listen, therefore, how even this

¹¹² Pegasus the winged horse of Greek mythology; Hippocrene, the fountain formed by the foot of Pegasus on Mount Helicon, sacred to the Muses; Lake Lucrine is a small lake near the Gulf of Naples, lying next to the larger and more famous Lake Avernus, entrance to the underworld; Toscan explains how the the locations sacred to the Muses came to be associated by writers with sodomy, pp. 1495-1500; maybe a distinction is being made here that requires decoding.

¹¹³ Cleanthes (c. 330-c. 230) was a Stoic philosopher, who supported his studies (under Crates, and Zeno, both cited below) by carrying water at night, so he was called Phreantes (well-water collector): the double name seems to stand for something or someone going in two directions, like the moniker Victoriavalus. [Cf. Fruge Cleanthea, with Cleanthian fruit, i. e. doctrine, Horace *Ars. poet.* 341.]

formato nomine, pium etiam tui viri bustum, exornari queat. Maiora igitur adverte elementa.	pious grave-mound of your husband may be adorned with this created name of yours. Pay attention, therefore, to the larger/ uppercase elements. ¹¹⁴
Victoriosissimum Imperatorem Caesareum Terrenarum Omnium Rerum Instauratorem Avalum, Victoria Amantissima Legitimaque Uxor Sepelivit.	Victoria the most loving and legitimate wife buried Avalus, the most victorious commander, renewer of all Caesar's earthly affairs.
{page 50} {p. D i v} Pomilio 3	{page 50} {p. D i v} Pomilio 3
VICTO. Quantum maximas possum vobis ago gratias, etiam mei Avali nomine, qui nos ambos hodie tam honoratis extulistis encomiis.	Victoria: I thank you as much as I can, in the name of my Avalos too, [you] who today have extolled us both with such honored encomia.
CH. hoc totum referendum unde emanavit.	Chrysogonus: All this must be restored from where it emanated.
VICT. a deo?	Victoria: From god?
CH. Sic aio.	Chrysogonus: That's what I mean.
VICT. ò vos beatos qui nostis rerum origines, atque originum authorem. Quotus enim quisque est, qui illo in deum affectus sit cultu, et amore, ut non plus fato, aut naturae, id quidquid est, quo a belvis se se distare sciat, acceptum referre velit, quam ipso summe maximo? Quid habes, inquit, meus Paulus, quod non accepisti?	Victoria: O blessed are you who know the origins of things and the author of the origins. For is there anyone who, moved by that worship and love toward god, when no longer due to fate or nature, whatever it is, would know he stands apart from the beasts, who would like to pay back what has been received, as consummately as possible.* 'What do you have,' he said, my Paul, 'that you have not received?' ¹¹⁵
CHR. Vale viduarum specimen.	Chrysogonus: Farewell, exemplar of widows.
VIC. Et tu anachoritarum archetype.	Victoria: And you, archetype of anchorites.

¹¹⁴ Refers to the acrostics which follow, spelling out VICTORIAVALUS.

¹¹⁵ Paul, Corinthians, 1.4.7.

CH. Sed ut ego etiam cum Theophilo aliquid, mea manu, Avali sepulchro minus poeticum affigam, sume ò anus quae me nuper appellasti pythagoraeum, atque caera angulis addita, Mausoleo appone.	Chrysogonus: But so that with Teofilo I too may affix something less poetic by my hand to the sepulchur of Avalos, take [it] up – O old woman (<i>sume ò anus</i>), who recently called me a Pythagorean – and with wax attached to the corners, put it on the Mausoleum.
Armorum decus hic terRorque invisitur, heus tU Vota ducum referas dux Et veterane potenti. At qui tanta animi bene Gesta examinat, isthaeC Laurum, thus phaleras fraeNa ignes, armaque temniT. Verum hic applaudit niveA quod* mente, quod* aequO Straverit ingenio phlegeThontis cornua victoR.	Here one watches over the splendor and terror of weapons, you there, leader, bring back the vows and the old ways of leaders to the powerful. ¹¹⁶ But whoever examines well such great deeds of the soul (<i>animi</i>), scorns those [things of yours]: laurel [wreaths], frankincense, ornaments, bridles, fires and arms. However this man applauds because with a white mind (<i>mente</i>), because with an impartial natural disposition (<i>ingenio</i>), the victor layed low the horns of Phlegethon. ¹¹⁷
{page 51} {p. D ii} Epistle to Anchorites	{page 51} {p. D ii} Epistle to Anchorites
Epistle to Anchorites	Epistle to Anchorites
EPISTOLA SANCTISS. ANACHORITIS in Hispaniae recessibus, ac oceani litore degentibus. Chrysogonus anachorita. S.P.D.	Epistle to the most holy anchorites spending time in the retreats of Spain, and on the ocean shore. Chrysogonus, the anchorite, sends many greetings.
Olim patres magnus ille vates Elias impiissime lezabelis iusiurandum veritus, in asperas profugit solitudines, ubi sub una iuniperum conquestus dei prophetas iri perditos, amarissime flevit. Altaria inquit tua destruxerunt: Prophetas occiderunt: et derelictus sum solus. Vereor enim patres ut si tanti viri personam mihi effingere velim,	Once upon a time, fathers, that great prophet Elijah having feared the curse of Jezebel most irreverently fled into the harsh wilderness, where under one of the juniper trees, bewailing [that] the prophets of god were going to be ruined, he cried most bitterly. ¹¹⁸ They destroyed your altars, he said. They killed your Prophets, and I have been abandoned alone. For I am afraid, fathers,

¹¹⁶Acrostics: AVALUS REGNAT VICTOR; for *dux* (leader), see note p. 48; bringing back the old ways is advocated also in Teofilo Folengo's *Chaos del Triperuno*, "Quanto meglio farai non dipartirti/ Dal primo nostro rito e modi antiqui (How much better you'd do not to depart from our first rite and ancient ways), *Chaos*, 1527, p. 37 (R 205).

¹¹⁷Acrostics: AVALUS REGNAT VICTOR, again, and there is a third version in *Varium poema*, 45. Phlegethon is the God and river of fire in the underworld.*

¹¹⁸Elijah and Jezebel, 1 Kings 19.4 (3 Kings 19.2-4, Clementine) and elsewhere in Kings.

<p>impudens dicar: ex nostris etiam* nonnullos extitisse lego cum magnis parva, et ut aiunt, cum Elephento muscam conferre qui tentavere: patiar et ego aliquantisper cum illis in hoc genere* impudentiae peccare, ac illudi quoque: atque interim sub una mei surrenti olea conquerar, et clamabo ad deum altissimum.</p>	<p>as though wishing to portray for myself the character of so great a man, I would be called shameless; I gather/ read that there are even some of us who have tried to compare small [things] with great, and as they say, a fly with an elephant: let me also suffer to sin for a while with them in this sort of shamelessness, and be toyed with as well, and meanwhile I will bewail under one of my Sorrentine olive trees, and will call out to god the highest.¹¹⁹</p>
<p>Quin lamentabor solitudinum deserta nulla iam esse: periisse eremi nomen, et me miserum post tam perditam meorum ignaviam, superesse et vivere: quamvis huiuscemodi in luctu vitam, mortem libentius appellaverim paululum spirantem, quam* vitam integram. Sed optime cum mundo iam agi scire possumus, postquam ab aurae tenuis sibilo vox prodiit, quosdam sunt* etiamnum validos in hispaniae finibus latitare viros, quorum genua non sunt incurvata ante Baalamum: et quos nundum attigit Acabi furor. Tantum igitur utrique hesperiae decus gratulari non dubitaverim. Vestrae quod licet occidua sit, ortum tamen ipsum, et fulgore, et claritate superare videtur:</p>	<p>In fact I will lament that now there are no deserted [places] of the deserts/ wilderness: that the name of hermitage has perished, and poor me, after so much degenerate idleness of my own people, to have survived and lived, although life in this sort of grief, I would rather call a death barely breathing, than a whole life. But when we are able to know how best to behave in the world, after a slight voice/ sound issues from the hissing of a breeze; there are even now some powerful men hiding in the territories of Spain, whose knees have not been bent before Balaam, and whom the wrath of Ahab has not yet touched.¹²⁰ Therefore I would not hesitate to rejoice in such an honor from either Western/ setting [area].*¹²¹ Because although that [Western area*] of yours may be setting, nevertheless it appears to surpass the sunrise itself both in brightness and distinction:</p>
<p>{page 52} {p. D ii v} Epistle to Anchorites</p>	<p>{page 52} {p. D ii v} Epistle to Anchorites</p>
<p>Nostrae autem, quia quae nunc aegrescit, et in dies magis denascitur, ad vestrae nomen, atque exemplum, reviviscet aliquando, et pristinos reaccendet ignes. Preterea aestate proxime quae abiit, cum in leborino quodam secessu, Mileti essem, quidam senex</p>	<p>Ours, however, because it now grows weak, and by day dwindles more, at the name and example of yours, it revives at length and rekindles its former fires. Besides during the next summer that [referent?]* went away, when in a certain Liburian retreat, I was at Miletus, a certain elderly</p>

¹¹⁹ Cf. Desiderius Erasmus: Preface to the *The Praise of Folly (Moriae Encomium)*, 1509.

¹²⁰ 1 Kings 21.

¹²¹ *Hesperia, -ae*, a western land: can refer to Italy (from Greece) or Spain (from Italy) or a mythical Western region.

<p>hispanus, vir sane eruditus, et, ut mihi videbatur, sacerdos minime superstitiosus, mihi fuit obviam. quem plane apparatu, non regio, ut olim, a Massanissa Scipio est acceptus, sed illo quo in eremis usi sunt patres nostri acceptum, nihil mihi potius fuit, quam* de hispaniarum coenobiis percuntari: illi, quam* me de recessibus italis.</p>	<p>Spanish man, quite an erudite man, and, as it seemed to me, a priest not superstitious in the least, came to meet me.*¹²² Obviously, he was not received with regal pomp, as once Scipio was received by Massanissa, but [was received] as customary with our fathers in the hermitage; nothing was more important to me, than to ask him about the Spanish monasteries, or to him, than to ask me about Italian retreats / hermitages.¹²³</p>
<p>Multis itaque verbis ultro, citroque habitis, ille et alter ferme consumptus est dies. Postea vero, ad sui ordinis viros, Neapolim profectus est, pactione prius* hac inter nos firmata. Ut cum primum idoneos nacti fuisset tabellarios, huiusmodi sermones inter nos habitos, transmittere curarem: Ego ad vos, Ille ad suos, existimans, credo, se sui instituti viris admodum, ut ipse aiebat, laxis, fore ut iniiceret scrupum.</p>	<p>And so with many words having been considered back and forth, this and that day and another were almost consumed. In fact afterwards, he set out for Naples, to the men of his order, with this agreement earlier signed between us – that as soon as we had found suitable couriers, we would arrange to send these sorts of conversations held between us in this way: thinking, I believe, that I [would send them] to you, he to his own [people], as he himself was saying, that he was going to instill a scruple/ conscience in the unduly lax men of his own institution.*</p>
<p>A me autem cur simile exegerit, non video: nisi forte praesenserit vir acer, et acutus, me minus malum, minusque indoctum evasurum, simul ac vestras sanctissimas, ac eruditissimas, accepero litteras. Parvi igitur Theolepto homini sane et vita, et doctrina insigni, tum ob multa, tum vel potissime ob memoratam proxime rationem. Quid quaeso mihi magis expedire putem, quam* ab illis ipsis viris, qui Christi sensum calent institui, atque impendio erudiri? quod ut agatis, per sacra vestra nemora, per silentes ripas, per</p>	<p>But I don't see why he would demand from me a similar thing, unless perhaps he, a vigorous and sharp man, perceived beforehand I would turn out to be less wicked, and less unlearned, as soon as I would receive your extremely holy and extremely erudite letters. Therefore, I submitted to Theoleptus, a man quite famous for both his life and his learning, both on account of many [things] and especially on account of the most recently remembered reckoning of nature. What, I ask, might I think would be more beneficial for me, than to be instructed and, for a price, educated by these very men, who would summon Christ's feeling? I ask you, I beg you, and I</p>

¹²² *Leborinus campus*, also called Liburia, a district in Campania, north of Naples (now Terra di Lavoro). Miletus: reference not yet clear: there is a small town of Mileto in Southern Calabria, where there was the monastery for Greek Basilian monks; the town is named after Miletus, a Greek city (in present day Western Turkey) that sent colonists to Italy.

¹²³ Cf. Cicero, Scipio's Dream.

	beseech you again and again, that you do this by your sacred woods, by your silent banks,
{page 53} {p. D iii} Epistle to Anchorites end	{page 53} {p. D ii v} Epistle to Anchorites end
coelites omnes, per deum tandem benignissimum nostrum, qui in vobis anachoritici* nominis pene obsoleti, vim adhuc vegetam, lumenque vividum conservat, vos iterum, atque iterum rogo, obscecro* [sic, obsecro], obtestorque. Valete in Christo Iesu, quem multis modis a me offensum: vestris mihi precibus* reconciliari posco: atque oro. Idibus novemb.* Surrenti.	by all the gods, finally by means of our extremely kind god, who in you, of the almost (<i>pene</i>) obsolete name of anchorites, preserves a still vigorous force and spirited light. Fare thee well in Jesus Christ, who has been violated by me in many ways, I request and I pray to be reconciled by your prayers. Ides of November, Sorrento.
Pomilio 4	Pomilio 4 (page 53; p. D ii v)
UNAM ESSE AD BEATITUDINEM VIAM.	There being one path to beatitude.
Phileremus. Misoponus. Theoleptus.	Phileremus. Misoponus. Theoleptus.
THEOLEPTUS.	Theoleptus:
Quantum me tuae sortis miseret ò senex. ut video, nemora, et solitudines prope nihil scientiae afferunt solitariis. Quid adhuc ac si puer esses, aut anus, hasce ligneas, vel ex succino, et ammoniaco, submurmuras oratiunculas? Non displicent quidem perones etiam decies resarciti: placet p. 53* [errata corrects atrrita] vestis: placent incompti in barba cani. Sed, ut cum venia tua dicam, displicet ignoratio.	How sorry I feel for your lot, O elder. As I see it, the woods and wilderness bring almost no knowledge to hermits. Why are you still muttering these little prayers of wood, or rather of succinic acid and ammonium, as if you were a boy or an old woman (<i>anus</i>)? ¹²⁴ Boots patched even ten times are indeed not displeasing, worn clothing is pleasing, uncombed grey hairs in a beard are pleasing. But, as I would say with your permission, ignorance is displeasing.
PHI. Mirabar fateor, et ex equorum strepitu, et ex armorum fulgore, urbis latrunculatorem adventare putabam. Sed, ut video Sacer es: cui autem* coelestium non coniiicio, nisi lutosum exuas pallium. At hi qui sunt?	Phileremus: I confess I was amazed: both from the noise of horses, and from the flash of arms, I thought a judge of brigands from the city was approaching. But, as I see/ understand, you are a Priest, however I won't guess [you are] of the heaven-

¹²⁴ Perhaps relevant: both succinic acid and ammonium occur as white salts, associated in the burlesque code with sperm and seminal residue, as seen above, *nitrosos (parietes)*, p. 8, and *salsos... fluctus*, p. 35.

	<p>dwellers, if you don't take off that muddy cloak.* But who are these [people]?</p>
<p>THEO. Centurio urbanus. vix enim aliter, in campania tutum est iter.</p>	<p>Theoleptus: An urban centurion. For scarcely otherwise, is a journey in Campania/ the country, safe.</p>
<p>PHI. Heus bona verba precor: Vulturnum trangressus* [sic, transgressus] es, ne time. leborinus enim is est ager. omnium tutissi-</p>	<p>Phileremus: Hey, I pray for good words: you have crossed the [river] Volturmo, fear not. For this is the Leborian field.¹²⁵ The safest of all,</p>
{page 54} {p. D iii v} Pomilio 4	{page 54} {p. D iii v} Pomilio 4
<p>mus: et qui viros alit humanissimos, ac hospitum amantissimos.</p>	<p>and which nourishes extremely cultured/ human men, and the most affectionate of hosts.</p>
<p>TH. Faxit deus ut repuerascas primo/ prae*, et tuae edentulae reviviscant gingivulae, adeo me hodie ingenti liberasti solitudine. Vos abite milites vobis postea relaturus, modo habeo gratias: nam in portu navigo. abierunt.</p>	<p>Theoleptus: God will make it so that you will become a boy again and your toothless gums will come back to life; today you have truly freed me from an immense solitude. You soldiers, go away, afterwards I will report to you,* I am thankful now, for I am navigating into port. They went away.</p>
<p>PH. bene actum est. Tu pusio procure, et meridiana fac ut parentur refrigeria: Cucumeres, Cepas, cum Portulaca, audin? et si vacat, Lactuca cum Thrialli, et Nasturtio, fac addas.</p>	<p>Phileremus: Well done. You, boy, run ahead and make [sure] the noon repast is prepared: Cucumbers, Onions, with Purslane, you hear?¹²⁶ And if available, make sure you add Lettuce and Thryallis (gold-shower) and Nasturtium / Watercress.</p>
<p>TH. Papè cum Nasturtio. acutiorem enim vim habet quam* ut, instante canicula [errata from cannicula*], vesci debeas.</p>	<p>Theoleptus: Oh my, with Nasturtium/ Watercress.¹²⁷ Indeed it has too sharp a bite for you to eat it during the hot months.*</p>
<p>PH. tua erit lactuca, meum nasturtium: nam si me aspicias, omnium ciborum homo sum.</p>	<p>Phileremus: The lettuce will be yours, the nasturtium mine: for if you look at me, I am a</p>

¹²⁵ For Leborian see above, p. 52; the Volturmo is an important river about 40 K North of Naples.

¹²⁶ For similar images of produce see *Varium poema*, 10. *Commendat hortulum Quirino* (He commends his little garden to Quirinus) and Additional Notes; confer *Priapeia* 51. Note that the odd edibles and plants begin with uppercase letters; potissime; lettuce is associated with the female orifice, cf. Molza, *Capitolo in lode dell'insalata*.

¹²⁷ *Papè*: here and on p. 63, the final letter carries a grave accent, è, and on p. 82, acute, é; the word appears to be a rendering of Latin *papae*, from Greek (*papai*), an interjection of anger or surprise, and is identical except for the accent mark to forms of *papa*, pope; for lengthly discussions of the word as used by Dante, see Wikipedia or Treccani, "Papè Satan."

Nasturtium: related to *Brassica* (p. 127) and *Cresson* (p. 133).

<p>Dici non potest, ò hospes, quantum hodie lucis, ex adventu tuo, me assecuturum sperem. Quam censes in me esse posse veritatis cognitionem, nimirum homine a teneris inter feras, procul a sacris ritibus, proculque a templis, habitante? hinc enim abest disciplinarum cultus. abest peritorum frequentia. et librorum delitiae, hoc uno excepto, quem ut vides, vix iunco vinctum teneo, adeo dissolutus est: hanc nostram perhorret solitudinem.</p>	<p>man of all foods.¹²⁸ It cannot be said, O guest, how much light today, because of your visit, I hope will follow me.* What understanding of truth do you reckon you can find in me, a man undoubtedly living among beasts from a tender [age], far from sacred rites, far from temples? For the cultivation of studies is lacking, the company of experts is lacking. And the delights of books, with this one exception, which you see, I scarcely hold bound with a rush (reed), it is so loose: it trembles at this solitude of ours.</p>
<p>TH. ò te beatum, cui tota integra est dies, et liber animus, ad quodvis* agendum. O vitam solitariorum vere absque curarum salebris, et terrenarum cupiditatum pedicis, ad coeli iter expeditissimam. hoc enim* a gemmatis nostris, et marmoreis distant tectis sylvarum secreta, quod a speculi concavitate, convexitas.* haec quidem integram, ac rectam: illa mutilam, et resupinam ostendit hominis imaginem, optime profecto illud iactat vulgus Platonis. quamdiu, inquit, mortalis sine deo erit, tamdiu laboriosam, miseramque vitam ducet. Principio enim, ut Paulo altius res nostras* repetam, ex rerum exter-</p>	<p>Theoleptus: Oh, lucky you, who have the whole day, and a free mind (<i>animus</i>), to do whatever you want. O life of hermits and truly far from the ruts of cares, and from the shackles of earthly lusts, [a life] most expeditious for heaven's road. For in this way, the secret places of the woods differ from our bejeweled and marble houses, like convexity differs from the concavity of a mirror. The latter shows a man's image whole and proper, the former mutilated and lying on his back. Certainly the common people rightly throw about that [idea] of Plato's: As long as a mortal is without god, he says, so long will he lead a laborious and miserable life.¹²⁹ For to start with, so that I may return to our affairs with Paul more deeply, from the inadequacy</p>
<p>{page 55} {p. D iiiii} Pomilio 4</p>	<p>{page 55} {p. D iiiii} Pomilio 4</p>
<p>-narum inopia, et internarum lautitia, tunc dico cum nudam virtutem prisci, personatae praetulerunt: atque omne in adipiscendis rebus qui/ quae* animi sunt, non agri, studium fuit: nostra florebat respublica ex qua mirabiles erupere fructus, viri scilicet* perfectissimi: et in omnibus qui ad veram, germanamque summi dei spectant pietatem exercitatissimi. Tunc enim.</p>	<p>of external things, and the lavishness of internal [things], I say back when the ancients preferred naked virtue to masked [virtue], and there was every eagerness for obtaining the things which are of the soul, not of the land: our republic was flourishing, from which remarkable fruits burst forth, namely, extremely perfect men, and who, extremely well-trained in all things, observe the</p>

¹²⁸ Sounds a bit like Terence: "homo sum: humani nil a me alienum puto" from *Heauton Timorumenos*, Act 1.77.

¹²⁹ Plato, NOTE?

	true and genuine piety of god the highest. Back then indeed.
PH. Amice si lubet a recta parumper secedamus. Et, dum solis ardor fiat mitior, aut sub orno illa umbrosa: aut, quod malim, in meo agello plantarum omnium feracissimo, animos mutuus consolemur colloquiis. Multi enim in eo sunt mei laboris fructus: Sed cum primis iam nunc pruna maturescunt ordearia: et claudiana poma. Coccimelum una cum praecocibus* melimelis, iam mitiis nihil pendimus.	Phileremus: Friend, if it is pleasing, let us withdraw for a while from the proper [path]. And, until the ardor of the sun may become milder, either under the shady elm, or, what I would prefer, in my little field, extremely fertile in all sorts of plants, let us console our souls (<i>animos</i>) with mutual colloquies. ¹³⁰ For there are many fruits of my labor in there. But already now especially the harvest plums are maturing, and the Claudian (crab) apples. And let us take a measure of plums at the same time with the unripe honey-apples, let us care nothing for [those] already ripe.*
TH. Vah quam varia hortensia. Vide quanto ornamento sint hisce acetariis, etiam* haec bulbatia, et intubatia. Sed quos video tui habitus viros?	Theoleptus: Oh my, such varied produce! See what great adornment these seasoned salads have, and even these bulbs and endive plants. ¹³¹ But what men of your habit do I see?
PH. sunt comites, et solamen meae senectutis. cum his enim meis paucis simmystis, ardentius vigiliis psalmis, hymnis, et canticis spiritualibus*, ut monet Paulus, invigilo, et nostra* inter nos solamur taedia, quam* plerumque solitariis afferre solet solitudo. heus geminos afferte ó viri tripodas, illos inquam quos nuper e' [ex]* Zizimo tempestate diruto, edolavimus.	Phileremus: They are the companions and comfort of my old age. For with these few co-initiates [of sacred rites], quite ardently I keep watch with vigils, psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs, as Paul teaches, and among ourselves we relieve each other of our boredom, which for the most part solitude usually brings to hermits. ¹³² Hey, bring forth the twin tripods, O men, I mean those that we have hewed out recently from Zizimo pulled down by the storm.* ¹³³
TH. Hui tam graves quaeso? Sedete et vos viri optimi.	Theoleptus: Well, such heavy ones, I ask? And you excellent men, be seated too.
PH. Quid est amabo Misopone quod [qd'] praeter* Tripodes attulisti?	Phileremus: What is it, please, Misoponus, that you have brought besides the Tripods?*

¹³⁰ Adams identified *agellus* (little field, diminutive of *ager*) as one of the agrarian words used in Latin for anus, p. 84; and see below where it continues to be used thus, pp. 60, 71, 87.

¹³¹ Note: *bulbatia** seems to mean things shaped like bulbs.

¹³² Paul, Ephesians 5.19.

¹³³ Tripods in coded language, may refer to male genitalia; Zizimo reference unclear to me: Zizimo, also known as Cem Sultan (1459–1495), was a well-known pretender to the Ottoman empire, who died in Capua fighting to conquer Naples under command of Charles VIII of France. In the 1490s, a book was written about his life in Latin.

MISO. nostrae vitae canones: quos casu, in risco, dum aliud quaero, repperi.	Misoponus: The canons of our life, which by chance, I discovered in a chest while I was looking for something.
PH. oh per belle actum est. Ex his enim dicendi aliquid, quod* [qd'] ad rem nostram faciat, materiam sumito, o' Misopone. Tuarum quippe partium erit, capitum dumtaxat titulos appellare: nos autem	Phileremus: Oh, nicely done.* Indeed from these, take up the matter for saying something which will do for our affair, O Misoponus.* By all means, it will be [among] your duties to call out the headings of the sections, but both of us
{page 56} {p. D iiii v} Pomilio 4	{page 56} {p. D iiii v} Pomilio 4
ambo, alternis versibus, veluti ut quondam pastores in bucolicis, suos deplorabant amores, aliquid tum ad Eremum, tum ad Caenobium, quod attineat, enarrabimus.	will describe with alternating verses, just as shepherds once lamented their loves in eclogues, something that pertains both to the Hermitage and to the Monastery.
TH. nihil quidem magis opto. Sed gratius esset si tu solus.	Theoleptus: Indeed I wish for nothing more. But it would be more pleasing if it were you alone.
PH. Ego ne solus? suaviores enim, nescio qua arte, duplicatae fistulae formant concentus.	Phileremus: Me alone? Indeed double pipes form, with I don't know what art, more agreeable harmonies.
TH. ut vis. Ego ut indoctor: ad sacros confessus ineptior, utar Laconismo.	Theoleptus: As you wish. I, as one having admitted to [being] rather unlearned and foolish toward sacred [rites], will use Laconism. ¹³⁴
MISO. Exordium esto ab ab [sic] amore.	Misoponus: Let the beginning be from love.
PHILEREMUS.	Phileremus.
Quantum excellit Abies inter Viburna: tantum inter caeteras virtutes caput extollit charitas. Haec enim virtus illa est, quae sive linguae cessabunt, sive scientia destruetur, nunquam excidet. Vir quidem ille qui deum per se cum primis, proximum deinde ex animo diligit, is in deo manet, et deus in illo, quae est vera beatitudo. Unde filius ad patrem orans, sicut inquit, ego et tu unum sumus, sic isti unum nobiscum sint. Quid felicius, quam amore sequestro, nobis integrum fore, deos fieri?	As much as the Fir excels among Viburnums, just so among the other virtues, charitas raises its head. For this virtue is that which, even if tongues should cease or learning be destroyed, will never pass away. Indeed that man who loves god for himself foremost, then next from his soul, he remains in god, and god in him, which is true beatitudo. Whence the son praying to the father, says, as it were, you and I are one, so let these [men] be one with us. What is more fortunate than with love as intermediary, for the gods to

¹³⁴ Laconism: something that is said in few words but is full of meaning, Encarta; refers to the ancient Spartan manner of sparse speech and Spartans, in code, are homosexual males.

<p>Non forum, non rostra, non clamosi iudices, sed amor, huiuscemodi licitatur mercem.</p>	<p>become whole/ integral with us. Not the forum, not the rostra, not clamoring judges, but love bids for this sort of merchandise.*</p>
<p>Videte igitur ó socii quid salutis afferant, vel ligones, vel rastra, mutua neglecta dilectione, et benevolentia, cum virtutes etiam altissimae animi, absque hac, vanae existimentur, ac umbratiles. Examinandae sunt itaque mentis affectiones, ne nos fallat hostis. quid? Ipsa quoque negligenda est salus, si fieri potest. [errata corrected punctuation from “?”] quam is tantus, quo caelestis [coelestis] naturae participes efficimur, ledatur amor. Nostris enim diebus</p>	<p>See therefore, O companions, what they convey of salvation, either hoes or rakes, with mutual neglected delight and benevolence, although even the loftiest virtues of the soul (<i>animi</i>), without this, would be considered empty, and shrouded in shadows.¹³⁵ Affections of the mind (<i>mentis</i>) are therefore to be examined, lest the enemy/ devil deceive us. What? Salvation itself will also have to be neglected/ ignored, if it can be. As great as that love is, by which we are made participants in divine nature, it gets injured. For in our days</p>
<p>{page 57} {p. D v} Pomilio 4</p>	<p>{page 57} {p. D v} Pomilio 4</p>
<p>vidimus quosdam in occandis glebis, et serendis hortulis adeo, intendisse animum, ut mirum immodum excandescerent in illos, qui secus, altius scilicet, et beatius, in optimis vite studiis, quibus cum ipsa versatur charitas, operam navarent. Errabant igitur, ac in bonarum actionum delectu faedissime hallucinabantur. Sic, vel apud eos qui prae se ferunt omnifariam vitae perfectionem, confusa est pietatis opinio. Sed quisquis ille est, cui sal istiusmodi, quo caetera condiuntur caelitus dona, defuerit: amanter rogandus erit: eradendus etiam a caeterorum conventu, nisi resipuerit. Quid enim cum ecclesia dei illi, cui non placet amor Is, qui deus est? dixi ó MISOPONE.</p>	<p>we have seen some while hoeing clumps, and even while planting little gardens, to have strained the soul (<i>animum</i>), so that it is indeed a wonder they would shine forth among those who – more deeply to be sure, and more happily, in excellent efforts with the grapevine, when charitas itself moves about with them – would otherwise do their best. They were wavering therefore, and in the selection of good actions, were fantasizing basely. Thus, even among those who display perfection of life in every way, the concept of piety is muddled. But whoever he is, who has salt/ wit of that kind, by which other gifts are divinely seasoned, he may have failed: lovingly he will be sent for; if he will not repent/ revive, he is to be expunged from the convent/ coming together of the rest. What then, with a church of that god, whom This love, who is a god, does not please?* I have spoken, O Misoponus.</p>
<p>MISOPONUS Alter subsequitur titulus de Castimonia.</p>	<p>Misoponus: A second section follows about Chastity.</p>

¹³⁵ *ligones... rastra*: hoes, rakes and similar tools have long been attested as phalli.

THEOLEPTUS.	Theoleptus: (monologue).
<p>Illud profecto quod est inter odorata Balsama Cirthacum, vel inter unguenta, Megalium: hoc in virtutum odorem est Castitas. Haec est enim voluntas dei sanctificatio nostra, aiebat Paulus: siquidem non nos vocavit deus in immunditiam, sed in sanctificationem. servanda est igitur caro ab obscaenis*, sed multo magis cor, dei utique templum. Ex eo enim bona, et mala, originem habent. Proinde quia fere semper ex usu ipso consuetudinis, occasio sumitur peccandi, cum saepe alias, tum vel maxime in huiusmodi genere delicti: per antiquos patres admonemur, huic morbo antidotum esse, si non expectetur vulnus, alioqui immedicabilis, cum turbis, ac frequentia</p>	<p>To be sure, what Cirthacum is among the fragrant Balsams, or among the unguents, Megallium, among the perfumes of virtues, this is Chastity. For this holiness of ours is the will of god, Paul said, since indeed god does not call us to uncleanliness but to holiness. The flesh therefore is to be kept from obscene things, but much more so the heart, without doubt the temple of god. For from it, both good things and bad have their origin. So then, because almost always from the very practice of familiarity, an opportunity for sinning is taken up, if frequently in some other way, then especially in this sort of crime; we are reminded by the ancient fathers, there is an antidote for this disease, if a wound, generally untreatable, is not hoped for, when we take pleasure in multitudes</p>
{page 58} {p. D v v} Pomilio 4	{page 58} {p. D v v} Pomilio 4
<p>hominum delectamur. succurrendum itaque esse tanto periculo, fuga, et illa quam citissima. Quam ob rem danda est opera, ne quis ex nostris facile se se turbis ingerat, quibusdam potissimum stans diebus, quos vulgo partim sacros, partim martios appellant. In iis enim quotannis ad nos, religionis causa, perinde ab omnibus ferme itur, atque ad Emporia solent ob nundinas. Ex quo amplissimus mulierum numerus. Vereor nonnihilo, an, ex sacris aedibus, fiant bonae deae pro Clodio latibula. sed heus tu qui intra mysteriorum cortinas, deum in silentio quaeris, hoc omni belva perniciosius fuge animal.</p>	<p>and an abundance of men.* So, help should be given for such danger, by flight, and that as quickly as possible. For this reason, care should be taken that none of us throw himself heedlessly into the multitude, above all on certain fixed days, which some in the crowd call holy [days], others Martial (Victory) holidays. For on these days every year it comes to pass, because of religion, just as almost everyone is accustomed to go to market towns on market days, [they come] to us. Hence a very large number of women. I fear in some measure, that from sacred buildings they may become hiding places of the Bona Dea for Clodius.¹³⁶ But you there, who seek god in silence between the curtains of the mysteries, flee this animal, more pernicious than every wild beast.</p>
An nescis homo fragilis, quod oculi sunt in amore duces? an te latet solo aspectu	Don't you know man is fragile, that eyes are the leaders in love? Does it escape your notice that

¹³⁶ Publius Clodius Pulcher was believed to have attended a Bona Dea ritual in women's clothing: put on trial in 62 BCE, he was adamantly prosecuted by Cicero, but acquitted.

transigi posse adulterium? Siquis igitur tam procax fuerit, ut eius generis veneficii sponte occasiones nanciscatur acriter puniri debeat: dignum enim eum esse mulcta, qui ultro casum quaereret, dixere patres. At inter nos maturioris, tum aetatis, tum prudentiae deligi solent viri, qui securius tantam multitudinem, et verbo, et aliquo itineris solatio, vel pascunt vel solantur. Caeteri vero suo sibi fruuntur ocio, et quiete. Sed iam excessi laconismum.	adultery can be transacted by only a look? Therefore if anyone were so brash, that he would deliberately find occasions for this sort of sorcery, he should be punished harshly; for he deserves to be fined, who seeks to know beyond death, the fathers said. But among us, men are usually chosen of both a more mature age and wisdom, who with a word and some solace for the journey either feed or relieve such a multitude more confidently. The rest though, enjoy their leisure and their calm by themselves. But now I exceed laconism.
MISO. laudabilis prorsus excessus.	Misoponus: By all means a laudable excess.
Tertius erit de obedientia titulus.	The third section will be <i>On obedience</i> .
PHILEREMUS.	Phileremus: (monologue).
Scimus, aiebat Paulus, quoniam quaecunque lex loquitur, his qui in lege sunt loquitur. legem hanc esse Evangelii, arbitrator: cui qui obtemperat, deo obtemperat. Et si quid in undis maris, praeeminet decumana, eodem modo	Paul said, "We know that what things soever the law speaketh, it speaketh to them who are in the law." ¹³⁷ I think this is the law of the Gospel: who submits to it, submits to god. If, in the waves of the sea the decumana [gate] is prominent, obedience towers in the same way
{page 59} {p. D vi} Pomilio 4	{page 59} {p. D vi} Pomilio 4
in politicis virtutibus assurgit obedientia. Quae quidem eo perfectior, quo magis evangelio coniunctior. Et, ut audacter dicam, quicquid ultra est, errare existimo, ac turpiter labi. Quod si nos latet, quid sit Evangelium. Bonum est nuntium. Nonne bonum est nuntium aiebat, Chrysostomus, cum et remissio peccatorum, et vita aeterna promittitur? Totis igitur, ut aiunt, nervis, Evangelio parendum est in primis: et illis ipsis deinde quos ipsa sancta lex approbat: inter quos summus Pon.* primas tenet.	with regard to political virtues. Indeed the more perfect something is, the more [closely] it is conjoined to the gospel. And, as I may say boldly, whatever is extra I judge to err, and shamefully to slip out. Even if it is hidden from us, what the Gospel is. It is good news. Isn't it good news, Chrysostomus said, when both the remission of sins and eternal life are promised? Therefore, with all our sinews, as they say, the Gospel is to be obeyed first, and then by those themselves whom this holy law endorses; among these the high Pontiff holds the first [praises*].

¹³⁷ Paul, Romans 3.19

<p>Porro autem si quid etiam alicui ex nostris tribuendum est, in his solummodo, quae ad mores spectant, obtemperandum: sed nec in illis omnino, si ab Evangelio disideant. [sic] Tantum abest ut alta vitae instituta, et ingenua animi exercitia, ob immodestos quorundam mechanicos usus, et nullius momenti apparatus, ab instituto avocentur. hoc enim ad servilia: illud ad ingenua attinet ingenia. Consyderandum semper est, an hortorum an animorum cultores asciscat Eremus.</p>	<p>Yet furthermore, if something is to be bestowed on anyone of us, it is to be obeyed only in these [things]* that look toward morals; but not in those at all, if they are at variance with the Gospel. It is far from the case that the lofty practices of life and the natural/ frank exercises of the soul (animi), on account of some men's immodest acrobatic practices, and [their] equipment of no importance, may distract from the practice. For this pertains to slavish talents, that to inborn [talents]. It must always be considered, whether the Hermitage admits cultivators of gardens or of souls.¹³⁸</p>
<p>Excelsae quippe, ac supramundanae ars haec est vitae, non agriculturae, et stercorationis. nam laborem corporis, ac defatigationem membrorum parum utilem esse, aiebat Paulus pietatem vero animi, omnibus conducere. Sed quam esse pietatem censemus o hospes? dei certe cultum, qui in adytis animorum ponitur, in spiritu scilicet et veritate. Et de obedientia plusquam satis.</p>	<p>As you see, this is the art of the exalted life, beyond this world, not of agriculture and of laying manure. For the labor of the body, and the exhaustion of the limbs are of very little use, Paul said, but the piety of the soul is truly of advantage to all. But, what do we think piety is, O guest? Cultivation of god, certainly, who is placed in the inner chambers of souls, in the spirit, that is, and in truth. And about obedience, that is more than enough.</p>
<p>MISOPONUS</p>	<p>Misoponus.</p>
<p>Si capitum ordo servandus est, quartum erit an fas sit illi qui istiusmodi nostri semel candidatus instituti, se se</p>	<p>If the order of the sections is to be preserved, the fourth will be whether it is lawful for that person who, once a candidate of this sort of institution of ours,</p>
<p>{page 60} {p. D vi v} Pomilio 4</p>	<p>{page 60} {p. D vi v} Pomilio 4</p>
<p>christo* abiuratum esse fatetur, domos, aut agros, et huius generis alia, quibus certam teneant spem victus, possidere.</p>	<p>confesses himself to be abjured of Christ, to possess buildings, or estates, and other things of this sort, with which they may keep the hope of provisions.</p>

¹³⁸ Terminology: possible code meanings: *cultores*, cultivators of sodomy (see *Varium poema* 51. *De Sacello divo Ioan. Baptistae dicato*; *hortorum*: of gardens, orifices; *animorum* of souls, phalluses.

THEOLEPTUS.	Theoleptus: (monologue)
<p>Coniectare non possum quid in mentem venerit legum huiusmodi nostrarum conditoribus, qui cum formam vivendi eius generis hominibus traderent, quorum mores et vita, quo longius ab apostolorum orbita disiuncta esse, eo minus tam sublimi titulo digne esse iudicantur, eisdem ipsis, non modo predia, et agros: sed munitissima quoque municipia, et colonias, habere permittant. Iam et illud sacro illi christianorum caetui peculiare fuisse, omnium scilicet bona, ex domorum, et variae suppellectilis venditionibus conflata, in mutuos omnium usus accommodasse, Lucae acta referunt. quod autem trituras, et armenta curarent, nusquam lego.</p>	<p>I cannot conjecture what came to mind [regarding] these sorts of laws of ours from the founders, who, when they bequeathed to men the form of this sort of living, whose customs and life, the further they are disjoined from the sphere of the apostles, the less they are judged to be worthy of such a sublime title, for they permitted these people themselves, to have not only farms and fields, but also extremely well fortified towns and estates. And already there was that [thing] with the exceptional sacred coming together of Christians, namely the goods of everyone, forged from the sales of homes and various furnishings, were applied for the mutual uses of everyone, the Acts of Luke report.¹³⁹ But how they dealt with threshings (harvests) and cattle, I read no where.</p>
<p>Quod quidem et Philo iudaeus in libro quem de vita Theoretica adtitulavit, commemorat. Renuntiabant, inquit, cunctis facultatibus suis, quibus intererat, qui se ad huiusmodi philosophiam dabant. Tum deinde omnes etiam vitae solitudines* procul abiicientes, egressi extra urbem, in hortulis, vel exiguis agellis degebant, refugientes imparis propositi consortia. non cibus illhuc, non potus apportabatur: sed divina solummodo eloquia. Et post multa, loquens de eorum ardentissimo in deum affectu, sic ait. Ab ortu autem diei usque ad vesperam, omne eis spatium studiorum exercitiis ducebatur, quibus ad divinam</p>	<p>Which indeed Philo Judaeus recalls in a book that he titled <i>On the Theoretical Life</i>.¹⁴⁰ Those who devoted themselves to philosophy of this sort renounced, he said, with all their resources, to those whom it concerned (i.e. their kin).¹⁴¹ Then next, throwing off all the cares of life far away, having gone out beyond the city, they spent their time in little gardens or in small little fields, fleeing fellowship of an inferior mode of life. No food is brought there, no drink, but only divine eloquence. And after much [eloquence], speaking about their extremely ardent affection for god, he (Philo Judaeus) says thus: While from the beginning of the day until evening, every interval of pursuits is guided by these exercises, by which</p>

¹³⁹ Acts, 4.32-7.

¹⁴⁰ Philo Judaeus of Alexandria (20 BCE-50 CE), in an essay on The Contemplative Life, wrote about adherents of a desert sect, called Therapeutae; here the mention of “de vita Theoretica” could be a jab at the fictional quality of the account.

¹⁴¹ This and the following sentence from Eusebius (c. 260-c. 340), *Church History*: Book 2, chap. 17.5; *hortulus*: a small garden; area used by a philosopher as a place for teaching, and by extension, the philosophical system itself.

{page 61} {p. D vii} Pomilio 4	{page 61} {p. D vii} Pomilio 4
philosophiam per sacras litteras imbuebantur. Aurea profecto institutio, qua verae pietatis culmen est erectum. Docte igitur illud a Cipryano omnium doctissimo. Christus, inquit, pauper, discipulos divites aspernatur pauper mater: pauper filius: inops hospitium, iis qui in forma huius scholae in Ecclesia militant, praebet efficax documentum. Ad haec non video quomodo illam animorum aequalitatem, quam in ipsis antiquis patribus fuisse legimus, ut par est, servari possit, cum et deo summo, et Diti simul mereas. felicissimum crede mihi opulentiae genus est, in hac parte inopem effici. Et de hac re hactenus.	they are steeped in divine philosophy through sacred letters. A golden practice certainly, in which the pinnacle of true piety has been erected. Therefore learnedly it is said by Cyprian, the most learned of all. ¹⁴² He says, Christ, a pauper, spurned wealthy disciples: poor mother, poor son; lacking hospitality, for those who perform service in Church in the pattern of this school, he offers an effective proof. I don't see how that equality of souls, which we read to have existed in these ancient fathers, as is fair, can be preserved, when you serve both god the greatest and at the same time, Dis/ God of the Underworld/ wealth). *Believe me, that type of opulence is extremely successful in producing poverty in that part.* And so much for this matter. ¹⁴³
MISOPONUS	Misoponus:
Iam quintam sibi vendicat sedem, solitudo.	Now solitude claims the fifth seat for itself.
PHILEREMUS.	Phileremus:
Solitudo, ò vir optime, perinde solitariorum animos afficere solet, uti edulia stomachum, nam quod saepe uni noxium est, et lethale, id alteri prodesse videmus: quam ob rem, suo se quisque pede metiatur, ut est proverbium. Scio quidem scriptum esse, sapientem nunquam solum esse. Scio et illud, neminem esse cui non satius sit cum quolibet esse, quam* secum. proinde quid infelicius? quod bestiis tam simile quam solitarium solum est?	Solitude, O excellent man, usually affects the souls of hermits just as the stomach [usually] enjoys edibles.* For what often is harmful to one, and lethal, we see benefit another, for which reason, each person should measure his own foot, as is the proverb. Indeed, I know it has been written: a wise man is never alone. And I know that, there is no one who is not more satisfied with whomever you wish, than with himself. So then what is more unfortunate? What is as similar to beasts as a lonely hermit?
An solum illum censemus, qui solus sicca secum spaciatur arena, vel qui trunco aliquo	Do we think that he is alone, who walks alone on the dry ground by himself, or he who, enclosed by

¹⁴² Cyprian, see note to p. 23.

¹⁴³ Seems to mean that if you engage in both active and passive sex (deus = phallus, Dis/ inferno = anus), this type of abundance (= sex) produces great poverty (= sexual desire) in that area.

<p>inclusus, animo ipso caelum metitur? Vestigat? intelligit? complectitur? habet enim secum omnes qui sunt, et fuerunt boni: et animum liberum quocumque vult, profert, et transfert, et quod corpore</p>	<p>some tree trunk, measures heaven with his very soul? Does he track [it] down? Does he understand [it]? Does he embrace [it].* For he has with himself all who are and were good, and he brings forth and transfers his free soul wherever he wants, and what he is not</p>
<p>{page 62} {p. D vii v} Pomilio 4</p>	<p>{page 62} {p. D vii v} Pomilio 4</p>
<p>non potest, animo complectitur. Verum in his assuefacienda est mens, et intellectus, quae hominem solum nunquam sinunt esse. et vere is solus est, licet in frequentia versetur hominum, qui cum deus non est, hoc est optimae animae cogitationes, et de quo illud merito canitur elogium. Unus homo, nullus homo. Crates enim (ut interim inter lilia carduos spargamus) cum vidisset adolemcentem secreto ambulantiem, heus inquit puer, cave ne cum homine malo loquaris. Mirabili profecto documento ostendit Crates, hominem posse cum homine malo loqui, etiam si solus sit.</p>	<p>able [to do] with his body, he embraces with his soul.* But yet the mind and the intellect ought to become accustomed to these [things], which permit a man to never be alone. And he really is alone, although he may dwell/ move about in an abundance of men, whereby when god is not there, this is – cogitations of an excellent soul/ mind, and about whom that elegy is rightly sung.^{144*} A man alone is no man. For Crates (so that at the same time we may spread thistles among lilies), when he saw an adolescent strolling by himself, “hey, boy,” he said, “beware lest you speak with an evil man.”¹⁴⁵ Surely Crates shows with a remarkable proof that one is able to speak with a bad man, even if one is alone.</p>
<p>Vidi enim quosdam mei nominis viros, vel in texendis cistellis, et coaxandis sportulis: vel in decorandis hortis, transferendis que plantis, omnes horas profudisse. At si forte iuncorum, virgultorumque ob inopiam, vel ventus, vel imber fecisset ocium, deus bone, quantas oscitationes? Non sic quidem turbo, tam crebris agitatur vorticibus, et giris, ut eorum animus, quibus demptis manuum artificiis, nihil operandi reliquum est. quantum me miseret istiusmodi gentis.</p>	<p>For I saw some men of my name squandering all [their] time*, whether in weaving baskets, and joining together hampers or in beautifying gardens and transferring plants. And if perhaps on account of a paucity of rushes or twigs, wind or a storm had created leisure, good god, how many yawns/ gaping holes? Indeed a whirlwind is not thus so agitated by dense vortices and gyrations, as the soul of these [hermits], for whom, once the hand crafts have been taken away, there is nothing left they can do.* How sorry I feel for these sorts of people.</p>
<p>MISO. Manibus iam olim tetigi, cum essem in monte Conaro, in Piceno, quae nunc recitata sunt a te, ó Philereme. Et quia de solitudine</p>	<p>Misoponus: When I was on Monte Conero in Piceno long ago, I already touched with my hands, what [things] have now been recited by you, O</p>

¹⁴⁴ Syntax unclear to me.

¹⁴⁵ Quote from a letter of Seneca concerning the dangers of communing with one’s self, *Moral Epistles*, 10.1; Crates (c. 365-c. 285 BCE), Cynic philosopher, taught Zeno.

in quinta sede dictum est, in sexta de hospitalitate dicendum erit.	Phileremus. And because solitude/ the hermitage has been discussed in the fifth seat, in the sixth hospitality will have to be discussed.
THEOLEPTUS.	Theoleptus:
Mirum quantum in hac parte homo homini sit deus. Unde scis, ait Ambrosius, an cum recipis hominem, deum recipias? Sed hoc, ó praeclare, gratius erit beneficium, si fue-	It is a wonder how in this area, man is a god to man. How do you know, said Ambrose, whether when you take in a man, you take in a god. ¹⁴⁶ But this, O illustrious one, will be a more pleasing favor,
{page 63} {p. D viii} Pomilio 4	{page 63} {p. D viii} Pomilio 4
rit promiscue collatum. Item ne hospitii iura obliviscamur, cum millies alias inculcat Paulus, sed tum libentius cum ait.* per hospitalitatem placuerunt quidam angelis, hoc est hac humanitate affectis. Placuerunt et haec benignitatis officia barbaris etiam, et exoticis: adeo Ut Homerus diceret, et hospites omnes, et pauperes a deo esse. quicquid enim quod fratrem adiuvat, et beneficio levat, egeris: dummodo ex animo feceris, deum promeritus es. quo habito, mirum si sit aliud quod desideres, aut quaeras.	if it is conferred generally/ indiscriminately. Likewise, let us not forget the rights of hospitality, not only* when* Paul instills a thousand others, but also when he speaks more gladly. ¹⁴⁷ * For some have gratified angels through hospitality, that is, treated with this humanity. And these duties of kindness also gratified barbarians and exotics/ foreigners. So as Homer would say, all guests and paupers are from god.* For whatever you have done that helps a brother, and alleviates with a favor, as long as you have done it from your soul (<i>animo</i>), you are as deserving as a god. Where I stay, it is a wonder if there is anything else that you would desire or seek.*
At nescio qua mortalium caecitate sit factum. dicam? Ut a pace: ut a iustitia: ut a charitate: ut a parsimonia horrent plerique, etiam sacri capitis viri, sic ab hoc humanitatis fonte turpiter dilabuntur. Quotus quisque est, qui magis ex animo, erga hospites, quam erga sordidos sui agri villicos, et gregis opiliones, comoveatur? sed de his plusquam satis.	But I don't know with what blindness of mortals it might be done. Shall I speak? As from peace, as justice, as from love, as from temperance, many people shudder and even the holy men of the capital/ Rome, thus from the fount of humanity they shamefully slip away.* How frequently it is [the case that] someone may be moved to a greater extent from the soul (<i>animo</i>) toward guests, rather than toward the dirty farmworkers of his own field, and the shepherds of his flocks.

¹⁴⁶ St. Ambrose, c. 340-397, Father of the Church. NOTE: reference.

¹⁴⁷ Paul, Hebrews 13.2, "Be not forgetful to entertain strangers: for thereby some have entertained angels unawares."

	But that is more than enough about these [matters].
MISO. Adest puer cum Eremitiis delitiis.	Misoponus: A boy approaches with the delights of the Hermitage.
PH. tam onustus? ut lubet, et quidvis sume ó Theolepte.	Phileremus: So laden? as it pleases [you], and take what you want, O Theoleptus.
TH. sat sit cum frigidae cyatho, Vinaciolae racemus. hem quam suavis. quam tenax. quam caereus.	Theoleptus: A cluster of wine grapes might be enough with a cup of cold Vinaciola.* My, how sweet. How tenacious, how supple.*
PH. Et si nostra haec ociosa regio inter caeteras Italiae, habeat vinorum palmam: tamen ex longa eremi consuetudine, Abstemii sumus. quod quidem an apud vos.	Phileremus: And if this peaceful region of ours may get the prize for wines among the others in Italy, nevertheless from a long intimacy of the hermitage, we are Abstemious. Whether indeed that [may be so] among you.*
TH. papè apud nos. nimium enim ex fontium usu lassescunt* stomachi: et abest noctu somnus. quam ob rem non desunt, et est diis gratia, vel Chia, vel Pompeiana, vel Lucensia etiam nigra, si qui sunt qui alba horreant: vel Geminianensibus quoque abundamus, quae oenophoris transferuntur. En toto me prolui Cri-	Theoleptus: Oh my, among us. For from too much use of the fountains, stomachs grow weary. And sleep is absent at night. For this reason, and it is thanks to the gods, they are not lacking for either Chia* or Pompeiana or even black Lucensia; if there are those who would shudder at white, we are also even overflowing with [wines] from [San] Gimignano (Vernaccia), which are transferred in wine-baskets. ¹⁴⁸ I have washed myself out totally with the
{page 64} {p. D viii v} Pomilio 4	{page 64} {p. D viii v} Pomilio 4 end
stallo. nunquam enim suavius bibi.	crystal [cup].* I have never drunk anything sweeter.
PHI. ah facete, est dictum.	Phileremus: Ah, that is said wittily.
TH. Qui sic?	Theoleptus: How so?
PH. in mentem venit rex Darius cum illam tam foedam humi pronus, hausit aquam, dicens quod tu modo.	Phileremus: King Darius comes to mind when prone on the ground he drank such filthy water, saying what you just [said]. ¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ Chia could refer to Chianti wine: "In 1398, records note that the earliest incarnation of Chianti was as a white wine," Wikipedia; Pompeian was also a white; Lucensia was a dark wine perhaps from Lugo (Lucus), Galicia in Northwester Spain.

¹⁴⁹ Note: Darius while fleeing from Alexander was reputed to have drunk water fouled by corpses, which he found sweet. Source?

TH. legisse memini. Sed quando placet, ó optime, ablatis amphoris, intermissum revocemus sermonem.	Theoleptus: I remember having read [that]. But when it is pleasing, O excellent [friend], with the amphorae carried off, let us recall our interrupted conversation.
PH. haec puer tolle impedimenta. Tu Misopone canistrum apta, ne effluant fruges.	Phileremus: Boy, take away these impediments/ this mess. You, Misoponus, prepare the wicker basket, so the grain doesn't blow away.
Pomilio 5 (page 64; p. D viii v)	Pomilio 5 (page 64; p. D viii v)
PHILEREMUS. MISO. THEO.	Phileremus, Misoponus, Theoleptus.
Multe* sunt res ò amice, quibus mens hominis natura inconstans, et vagabunda, nodari: ac sanctis quibusdam loris, et manicis astringi, cohiberique solet. Sed efficacius semper mihi visum est, atque tenatius vinculum illud, quod ex frequenti, et iugi bonarum retum/ rerum* collatione, atque usu, connectitur. hoc enim remedio usi sunt patres in eremis ad fraenandam animorum vivacitatem, adolescentium maxime, utpote ad petulantiam magis, et ad varias appetentias, proclivorum.	[Phileremus:] Many are the things, O friend, with which the mind of man, inconstant and vagabond by nature, is usually perplexed/ knotted, and bound tightly and held back by some kind of holy reins and manacles. But that bond has always seemed more effective to me and more tenacious, which is joined from frequent and continual placing together and enjoyment of good things. ^{150*} For the fathers in the hermitages have used this remedy to rein in the vivacity of souls (<i>animorum</i>), especially of [those] reaching manhood, as you might expect, of those more inclined toward wantonness and various appetites.
Ex quo quidem studio, tanta in illorum actionibus conflata* fuit vel constantia, vel doctrina, ut parum fuerint desyderandae stoicorum scholae, si ad arduam, bene, perfecteque vivendi, regulam aliquis se se accinxisset. de primis autem ecclesiarum institutis quid refert ratiocinari: cum tam sublimis, pura, atque ardens in eremis cerneretur conversatio, ut illos vere apostolicarum actionum simias exitisse, fama nusquam non celebris fuerit. Tantus erat fervor, et in excellentissimis	Indeed because of that zeal, so much steadfastness, or rather doctrine, was aroused in their actions, that the stoics' schools were little to be envied, if someone had girded himself well and perfectly for an arduous standard of living. But what good is it to reason about the first arrangements of the churches: when such sublime, pure and ardent intimacy was discerned in the hermitages, so that they truly existed as apes/ imitators of apostolic activities, nowhere was [their] fame not celebrated.* There was such great fervor, and in really outstanding

¹⁵⁰ The words for nets, *retum*, could be the correct reading, especially with its burlesque meanings of orifices, but it closely resembles the more expected term *rerum*; *usu* and (in the next sentence) *usi* are parts of *utor*, and can be translated use, make use of, enjoy.

{page 65} {p. E} Pomilio 5 end	{page 65} {p. E} Pomilio 5 end
contemplationibus, et amor, et disciplina. Sed de istiusmodi semideis nefas sit*, et religio, immundo ore laudes commemorare. sat sit* igitur cum lachrymis, et a longe illorum mores admirari potius, quam velle sequi. Itaque ut sanctissime admones, interruptos repetamus sermones: et ut caeperamus alterna fastidia alternis, ut sic dicam, calamis, ac tibiis, levemus.	contemplations, both love and discipline. But about demi-gods of that sort, it would be a sin, and taboo/ religion to recall their praises with an unclean mouth. Let it be enough therefore to admire their customs with tears and from a distance rather than to wish to follow [them]. And so as you counsel most piously, let us return to our interrupted conversation, so that the mutual frustrations we had taken hold of by turns, let us, I might say thus, alleviate [them], with reed-pens and reed-pipes.*
MISOP. In septimo lex datur de aegrotis.	Misoponus: In the seventh [section] the statute is given regarding the sick.
Pomilio 6	Pomilio 6 (page 65; p. E)
PHILEREMUS.	Phileremus:
Nullum enim maius solatium christiano ultimam agenti animam praestari potest (modo medicamentarium non desit subsidium) quam illud quo etiam vita defuncti reviviscunt, verbi scilicet dei. At non omnium est huius sanctissimi pabuli synceritatem ministrare. Propinandum est igitur aegroto, atque extremum suspiranti, veritatis edulium: non fabulae aut neniae. Centies quidem inculcanda sunt haec. fide nos salvari. salutem dari gratuito. pretio magno comparatum esse hominem. a christi vulneribus vulnera nostra curari.	For no greater solace can be offered to the Christian breathing his last breath (if only the relief of medicines is not lacking) than that with which even those having finished life revive, namely [that solace] of the word of god. ¹⁵¹ Yet it is not for everyone to supply the sincerity of this extremely holy sustenance. Therefore by someone sick and sighing his last [breath] the foodstuff of truth must be drunk down, not fables or incantations.* Indeed these [truths*] are to be driven home a hundred times. We are to be saved by faith. Salvation freely given. Man bought at a great price. Our wounds healed by the wounds of Christ.
deum factum hominem, et eum ipsum advocatum, ac iudicem: fratrem demum, benignissimumque propitiatorem. Quod pectus tam ferreum, et triste, quod non emollescat his auditis: et potissimum si surdis, ob fatum propinquum, auribus	God made man, and he himself [made] mediator and judge, a brother, lastly, and extremely kind propitiator. What breast is so unyielding and harsh that it would not soften at hearing these [things], and especially if, on account of impending doom, one impresses [them] on deaf

<p>imprimatur, mortem nos a malis abducere: et eandem aerumnarum esse requiem, haud cruciatum? Caeterum si contingat anxium ab humanis discedere, summa ei cum religione praestentur in-*</p>	<p>ears: death leads us away from evils, and this same [death] is a respite from calamities; [it is] by no means suffering. However that may be, if an anxious [breast]* should happen to withdraw from human affairs, with a great religion, rites of the dead would be presented to it/ him</p>
<p>{page 66} {p. E i v} Pomilio 6</p>	<p>{page 66} {p. E i v} Pomilio 6</p>
<p>feriae, et mystica parentalia, ut est laudabilis in ecclesia dei, consuetudo. Tantum abest ut Praefica Monodiam, aut lessum canat.</p>	<p>and sacred mysteries for relatives, as is the laudable tradition in the church of god.¹⁵² It is far from the case that a hired Mourner would sing a Dirge/ Solo, or a lament. ¹⁵³</p>
<p>THE. Mira narras: et nova. ad memoriam potius in primis, ultimum parturienti spiritum, adducunt, an testamentariae sint sub pulvino tabulae. an obsignati codicilli: vel petenda haereditas sit donationis iure, an in legatis fideicommisso censeatur robur. ó impiissimam vivorum in morientes, pietatem. Sed ó stultissimam testatoris moram. Nostri aut melius. quamquam nec ipsi quidem integre.</p>	<p>Theoleptus: You talk of wondrous things, and new. First of all, they lead to the recollection rather, of someone giving birth to his last breath – whether there were testamentary documents beneath the pillow; or signed codicils; or if the inheritance is to be sought with the law of legacy; or if with regards to the legates for the bequest it is to be considered a position of strength.* O such impious piety of the living in relation to the dying. But oh what a foolish delay of the testator. Or better yet, of us. Although indeed not wholly for itself/ although indeed not wholly we ourselves.**</p>
<p>Cupeperem* [cuperem] enim syncerius. Aliquid certe est contra patrum decreta, sola aliquando itum esse cubitum interula: vel crepidas, aut soccos sumptuosiores gestasse aliquem. Sed ponderosius esse arbitror, si eorum recordetur aeger potius, quae spem afferant: et fiduciam, quam metum, ac desperationem.</p>	<p>I would have liked to be more sincere. Certainly it is somewhat opposed to the decrees of [our] fathers: going to bed sometimes with only undergarments, or someoneone having worn sandals, or more sumptuous slippers.* But I think it more dignified, if a sick person were to keep in mind those things which produce hope and trust, rather than fear and despair. *</p>
<p>PHI. Et haec non contemnenda sunt* ó Theolepte. verum an magis morienti expediant ea ipsa, quae tu dicis: vel quae ego supra memoravi, iudicent sapientiores. nunc ad reliqua. ò Misopone.</p>	<p>Phileremus: And these things ought not to be disdained, O Theoleptus. But whether these very things which you speak of are more profitable for the dying [person], or rather those which I have</p>

¹⁵² For funeral rites after the “death” of orgasm, see above, p. 14, and *Janus* v. 57.

¹⁵³ Many church authorities had preached and legislated against hired (female) mourners and their wailing dirges, notably John Chrysostom in the 6th cent.

	recalled above; let those who are wiser decide. Now on to the rest. O Misoponus.
MISOPONUS. A datore legis admonemur, crebro confessionem fieri, sacerdoti.	Misoponus: We are advised by the giver of the law, that confession should be made repeatedly to a priest.*
THEOLEPTUS. Et Crebro inter nos Exomolegesis sit sacerdoti, Sed prius deo. de hoc enim laudabili, atque utili confessionis usu, habemus patrum decreta cum alias, tum maxime in distinctionibus de poenitentia. Quae quidem et si dissentire invicem vi-	Theoleptus: And among us priests, let there repeatedly be Exomolegesis, but first to god. ¹⁵⁴ For about this praiseworthy thing, and about the useful practice of a confession, we have the decrees of our fathers not only elsewhere but also especially in the classifications of penance. And which indeed even if they should seem to mutually disagree on these things,
{page 67} {p. E ii} Pomilio 6	{page 67} {p. E ii} Pomilio 6
deantur, tamen condonandum esse aliquid graecis, et in eorum opinionibus, ac ritibus connivendum, semper opinati sunt patres. Ea enim gens a nostris nonnihil discrepasse semper visa est. Quapropter ne oberretur, et ne qua nova subrepat doctrina, caute id servandum est, quod a multis animis iam inter christianos consenuit, et maxime in re tam utili ac necessaria. nemo vos inanibus seducat verbis, aiebat Paulus. Est enim lex: Si peccaverit, inquit, unum aliquid de istis, pronunciet peccatum, quod peccavit.	still the fathers have always been of the opinion [that] the Greeks ought to be pardoned to an extent and allowances made for their opinions and rites. For that people has always seemed to differ from us somewhat. On account of this, lest a mistake be made and some new doctrine insinuate itself, one must carefully be on guard, because already among Christians it has fallen into disuse by many souls, and especially in regard to a thing so useful and necessary.* Let no one seduce you with hollow words, Paul used to say. For it is the law: if one has sinned, he said, let him announce one of those [sins] that he has sinned.
PHILE. In omnibus profecto, fortissimo occurrendum est obice, atque ariete, illi novo monstro germanico.	Phileremus: Surely in all things that new Germanic monster must be met with an extremely strong bolt and battering ram.
THEOL. quid agendum?	Theoleptus: What is to be done?
PHILE. doctiores videant. quantum ad nos: assidue, rogandus est deus, ne ab Oceani litore, et Reni ripa, ad nos usque advolet, tam pernitiouse dulcis, olor.	Phileremus: Let the more learned see to it. As for us, god is to be assiduously implored, lest from the Ocean shore, and the bank of the Reno, the odor/ swan so dangerously sweet should fly to us.

¹⁵⁴ Exomolegesis is a process of reconciliation which in the Early church included a public confession of sins.

THEOL. Mirum nisi iam in Italia struxerit nidos.	Theoleptus: It is a wonder it hasn't already destroyed nests in Italy.
PHIL. valeat et ipse, et qui cum ipsa alite, tam periculose garriunt. Ad rem nostram.	Phileremus: And may it prevail, as well as those who chatter so dangerously with this winged monster. [Back] to our issue.
MISOPONUS. Iam tandem perventum est ad totius laboris nostri metam, et terminum, orationem scilicet ó Philereme.	Misoponus: Now at last the goal of all our labor has been reached, and the terminus, namely, oration, O Phileremus. ¹⁵⁵
PHILEREMUS. Vah istuc enim est, quo dies nostri pauci, et mali: nostrae insomnes noctes: nostrae lucubrationes: nostrae abstinentiae: nostra suspiria, nostri sudores, tot deniquae [sic] istius mi-	Phileremus: Ah, for it is in that direction, where our days, few and corrupt, gaze; our sleepless nights; our lucubrations, our abstinences, our sighs, our perspirations, finally, so many
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serabiles vitae, et clavi, et cruces prospectant. Qui nempe alium sibi sui cursus finem statuerit sive in claustris, sive in eremis versetur, tota errat via, et absurdissimum committit soloecismum. Quis unquam tam necessarium solitariorum taedio, et inediae pabulum, laudandi modus erit? quid? Tam integer, absque hoc membro, sylvicola esse potest, uti columna sine base, aut navis sine temone, poloque ammisso.	miseries of this life, and nails and crosses.* There is one, to be sure, who has established for himself another goal of his course/ career, whether it takes place in cloisters or in hermitages, he/ it strays from the path all together, and commits an extremely absurd solecism. What manner of praising will there ever be for so much tedium of inevitable solitudes and abstinence of food? What? A forest-dweller can be as whole without this member/ limb, as a column without a base, or a ship without a rudder, and the [North] Pole gone.
An vero in ligonibus, vel in ritibus multo costo redolentibus, melius quam in libris, et in ocio, tam suavis inveniatur liquor, et Ambrosia, quam nemo nisi dii, et filii excelsi omnes degustare possunt, videant hi, quibus agiliores sunt manus ad Sarcula, atque ad Irpices, ac in contractandis Impluviis aureis, quam animus, atque mens ad ea quibus	But whether in hoes or in rites redolent with costus/ Kuth root, better than in books, and in leisure, such a gratifying liquor may be found, and Ambrosia, which no one except the gods and all the noble sons can taste, let these consider, whose hands are more nimble on the light Mattocks, and on Harrows, and in handling golden basins, than the soul and the mind and

¹⁵⁵ *meta* (goal) for orgasm, Adams p. 144; (*terminus*: a metaphorical designation for penis, p. 77).

delectatur deus, qui spiritus est, et in spiritu adoratur.	those things with which god is delighted, who is the spirit and is venerated in the spirit ¹⁵⁶ .
O ter, et eo amplius felix vir ille, qui prorsus in deum conversus, ac in flagrantissimum eius amorem, ardentissimo transformatus affectu, totus ardet, totusque flammeus effectus, illud, laetissimo cruciatu, encomium de se concinere praesumit, Defecit cor meum, et caro mea ò deus. Huc quaeso nostri recessus, nostra nemora, nostra silentia ó Misopone.	O thrice fortunate and more is the man, who, utterly converted into god and in his extremely passionate love transformed by extremely ardent affection, burns entirely and has been made all fiery, that one, [by] most joyful torture, presumes to sing an encomium about itself, “my heart falters, and my flesh, O god.”* ¹⁵⁷ Here, I seek our retreats, our forests, our silences, O Misoponus.*
MISOPONUS. Nae merito post suavissimum orationis nectar, eiusdem suavitatis poculum subiunxit noster Moses, an videlicet Convictores sacra vacare	Misoponus: In truth, deservedly after the extremely sweet nectar of prayer, our Moses added a drink of this same sweetness, one may see whether the companions [in victory] ought to be freed from
{page 69} {p. E iii} Pomilio 6	{page 69} {p. E iii} Pomilio 6
debeant lectione.	a sacred reading.*
THEOLEPTUS. Quid de sanctarum rerum lectione sentiat Paulus, facile est coniecturam fieri, cum ex scriptis eius ad diversas orbis regiones epistolis, tum vel potissimum, ex ea quae est ad Thimoteum prima. Omnis inquit scriptura divinitus inspirata, utilis est ad docendum, vel arguendum, ad corripiendum, ad erudiendum in iustitia: ut perfectus sit homo dei ad omne opus bonum instructus. demum ò vos mei ordinis Mystae, qui tam inconsyderate vilissima quaeque divino litterarum ocio praeponitis (heu horas male	Theoleptus: What Paul might feel about a reading of sacred things, it is easy for an inference to be made, not only from his letters written to various regions of the world, but actually particularly from that one, which is his first [letter] to Timothy. ¹⁵⁸ Every scripture, he says, is divinely inspired, useful for teaching, for arguing, for reproaching, for instructing in justice; so that the perfect man of God may be trained for every good work. Lastly, O Initiates of my order, you who so inconsiderately prefer the most vile [things] to the divine leisure of letters (alas, badly ordered

¹⁵⁶ *costus*: Roman *costus* (perhaps *Saussurea lappa*) was used as an incense and perfume ingredient.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Psalm 84: “concupiscit, et deficit anima mea in atria Domini: Cor meum, et caro mea exultaverunt in Deum vivum,” (My souls longeth and fainteth in the courts of the Lord. My heart and my flesh have rejoiced in the living God).

¹⁵⁸ Paul, 2 Timothy 3.16-7.

collocatas) quae rogo vita, ut ait Hieronymus, esse potest* sine scientia scripturarum?	hours), what life, I ask, can there be, as Jerome said, without the knowledge of scriptures? ¹⁵⁹
Ec quid vos latet, ignorantiam scripturarum, ignorantiam esse Christi? Iccirco vel legendum, vel audiendum aliquid semper est: nedum cum cibum sumis. Illo enim mortali, putido, ac nauseoso, mortale, putidum, nauseumque* corpus saturatur edulio. Hoc immortalis, odorifero, ac felici, impletur animus, et mens, portio utique nostri melior. Sed pars haec comptior est, quam quae nostris ornari debeat verbis.	And does it escape your notice [that] ignorance of scriptures is ignorance of Christ?* Therefore, there is always something to be read, or to be heard, more so when you take in food.* For the mortal, decaying, nauseating body is sated with mortal, decaying and nauseating food. The soul (<i>animus</i>) and the mind (<i>mens</i>) are filled with that [which is] immortal, odoriferous and happy, without doubt the better portion of us. But this part is more well-ordered, than that which ought to be adorned with our words.
MISOPONUS. Iam ad spatii calcem properat canon, in quo quaeri debet, an promiscue cibis, ac ieiuniis, debeamus uti, an cum delectu.	Misoponus: Already the canon rushes to the goal-line of the race course, in which* it ought to be asked, whether we should make use of foods indiscriminately, and fasts, or with the choice [between these two].*
PHILEREMUS. Vera profecto libertas christiani, cui mundo, et puro nihil sordidum in esculentis esse potest. Et licet sit iudeorum mos, observare dies, men-	Phileremus: Surely a Christian's true liberty, for whom, [being] clean and pure, there can be nothing sordid in [his] comestibles.* And granted it is the custom of the Jews to observe days,
{page 70} {p. E iii v} Pomilio 6	{page 70} {p. E iii} Pomilio 6
ses, et annos. Tamen sunt et Christianis sua tempora, quibus parsimoniae, ac abstinentiae vacent, aetas scilicet tota: quae quidem universa, Christi passionibus unita esse debet. Est sane inquit Adamantius, libertas christiano per omne tempus ieiunandi, non observantiae superstitione, sed virtute continentiae. ieiuna ait, ab omni peccato, nullum sumens cibum malitiae. Et	months and years.* And yet, even Christians have their times, in which they are free from temperance and abstinence, namely their whole life, indeed which ought to be universal, and united by the passion of Christ.* Certainly, says Adamantius, for a Christian there is freedom of fasting throughout all seasons, not for the observance of a superstition, but for the virtue of restraint. Fast, he says, from all sin, taking in no

¹⁵⁹ Jerome (c. 347-420), Letter 30, to Paula, (in *Letters to Eusebius*), 7." ...quae enim alia potest esse vita sine scientia scripturarum, per quas etiam ipse Christus agnoscitur, qui est vita credentium?" ("what other life could there be without knowledge of scriptures through which even Christ is known, who is the life of believers").

hoc est verum, germanum, et evangelicum ieiunium.	food of wickedness. And this is the true, authentic and evangelical fast.
Abstinere autem a cibis quos deus creavit, ut sentit Paulus, ad percipiendum cum gratiarum actione fidelibus, et hoc facere cum crucifixoribus Christi, acceptum esse non potest. Iam quod bis in aebdomada* praeter quadragesimae tempus, quod quidem divinitus asserit esse mandatum, etiam suis temporibus abstinerent Christiani, meminit iis verbis. habemus inquit quadragesimae dies ieiuniis consecratos, habemus quartam et sextam septimanae, quibus solemniter ieiunamus. hactenus Origenes.	However, to abstain from food which god created, as Paul feels, in order to perceive with the faithful the action of gratitude, and to do this with the cross-bearers of Christ, cannot have been accepted.* Now that twice a week beyond the time of Lent, which indeed he claims to have been mandated divinely, even Christians abstain in their seasons,* he remembers these words. We have, he says, forty days consecrated to fasting, we have a fourth and sixth week, in which we solemnly fast. Up until now, Origen. ¹⁶⁰
Non ieiunium igitur, non abstinentia, non nuditas, non villosae subuculae, non ex, aere subligacula, non quicquid male afficit corpus, virtus est, sed virtutem consequitur. Quapropter hasce carnis afflictiones, ad salutem animae conferre, ne hilum quidem dixerim, nisi adsit animus illibatus [errata corrects ilsibatus*], et mens pura. Vin optime ac sanctissime a corporeis abstinere? Temperato te prius ab his quibus animus foedatur, et sordidus sit. alioqui ieiunium tuum, ieiunium est iudeorum. illud necessarium, hoc honestum.	Not fasting therefore, not abstinence, not nudity, not hair undershirts, not loincloths of bronze, not anything [that] affects the body badly, is a virtue, but it obtains virtue. On account of these afflictions of the flesh, to contribute to the salvation of the soul, indeed I would not have said anything at all, if an undiminished soul were not present and a pure mind. Do you wish to abstain in the best and holiest way from corporeal [things]? Restrain yourself first from these things by which the soul is made foul and is sordid. Otherwise, your fasting, is the fasting of Jews: that [fasting] is compulsory, this honorable.
TH. ò te beatum Phileremum, cui tam divina rerum coelestium sup-	Theoleptus: Oh, lucky you, Phileremus, to whom divine knowledge of celestial things suggests itself
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petit cognitio.	to such an extent.
MISO. vix tandem sensit stupidus.	Misoponus: At long last he feels stupid.
TH. Quid etiamnum senex in bois detineor? vix tandem sensi stipes? vix tandem? nondum novam secundo cinxeram tunicam, quod* sensi in lacte esse pilum, et nisi pudor me. Sed occurrit comicum illud. Sile. Caela [Cela]. Tace. Tege. occulta. Mussa. Sed musca haec	Theoleptus: Why am I being held back even now [like] an old man in stocks? At long last I felt the small offerings/ stakes? At long last? I had not yet cinched on a new tunic for the second time when I felt [my] javelin to be in milk, and not without

¹⁶⁰ NOTE: Origen (Admantius)

muscarium aliquando exedet: modo deus aspiret, et dexter sit.*	me [being] ashamed. ¹⁶¹ But that comical thing happened. Keep silent. Keep secret. Be quiet. Hide. Conceal. Keep mum. But this fly will eat from the fly-trap for once, if only god may inspire [me] and be favorable.
PH. oh hic te volebam. annulus annulum* nectit. Inter caetera ò praeclare, quae mihi semper visa sunt intellectu difficilia, nutus dei est, hoc est, ut mihi persuadeo, quod ait Paulus, Voluntas dei sancta.	Phileremus: Oh, this [is what] I wanted from you. A ring (<i>annulus</i>) binds a ring (<i>annulum</i>). O illustrious one amid the others, those things which always seemed to me difficult to understand, this is, so I convince myself, the will of god, because Paul said, the will of god is sacred.
MIS. Ardua profecto res est, et quae annum expetat, non horam, quae, ut videtis, reliqua est ad solis interitum,	Misoponus: Certainly it is an arduous thing, and which aspires to the year (<i>annum</i>), not the hour, which, as you see, has been abandoned at the death of the sun.*
PH. Probe mones.	Phileremus: You advise rightly.
TH. Valete viri optimi: vos, ut vestra est facilitas, si quid favoris, et gratiae in vobis coelitus est, tantillum hunc homontionem fovete precibus.	Theoleptus: Farewell, good men: cherish, as is your propensity, if there is any heavenly favor and grace in you, this small little homunculus with your prayers.
PH. Velis, nolis [errata corrects from vellis nollis], amabo, in hoc agello pernoctandum erit.	Phileremus: Whether you wish to or not, please, the night is to be spent in this little field. ¹⁶²
TH. mihi ne?	Theoleptus: By me?
PH. tibi inquam, ut usque mane loquamur de coelestibus.	Phileremus: By you, I say, so that we may speak of celestial matters until morning.
TH. non possum.	Theoleptus: I cannot.
PH. ah sine te exorem.	Phileremus: Ah, allow me to beseech you.
TH. Ego ne in portis? non fatiam.*	Theoleptus: Me, in the gates? I will not do [it].
MI. Age Theolepte.	Misoponus: Go on, Theoleptus.
PH. Age quaeso: ne tam obfirma te ò bone.	Phileremus: Go on I beg [you], don't make yourself so inflexible, O good man.*
TH. Quid istic? vim hoc quidem est afferre.	Theoleptus: What is that [of yours]? Indeed this is to exert force.*
PH. vis est, sed amoris.	Phileremus: It is force, but of love.

¹⁶¹ Perhaps relevant: Benedictines were given two tunics, so that they could wear one while the other was being washed; the expression to feel "in lacte esse pilum" sounds as though it means a penis (*pilum*, spear) with sperm (lacte, milk).

¹⁶² *agello* (little field): see note p. 55.

TH. Iam video non licere, ut coeperam pertendere: ut olim non licuit Chremeti* terentiano.	Theoleptus: I see now that it is not allowed that I had begun to press on, as once it was not permitted for Terentian Chremes. ¹⁶³
PH. facis ut te decet. Misopone est ne querellarum nostrarum finis?	Phileremus: You do as suits you. Misoponus, is this the end of our quarrels?
MISO. quando vultis, et si adhuc parum quid, quasi canonum occipitium maneat intactum. Titulus	Misoponus: When you [both] wish, and if that [is] still too little, as though the occiput of the canon might remain intact.** The title
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est de laudibus deo per choros celebrandis.	is "concerning the praises of god to be sung by choirs."*
THEOLEPTUS. Et hanc, si meam sententiam quaeritis, unam esse de actionibus puto, quae ad salutem promerendam, nihil propemodum faciat, nisi chorus ille charitum , quas theologicas vocamus, comes sit, ac in canentium choris diversetur. Tantum adsit cor, et mens. alioqui quid vocalis ille, et flaccidus psalmophagorum* [transposition of psalmographorum?] stridor conferre potest? Psallendum est igitur, una cum voce, et animo, et affectu: quin, ut nostri admonent, gravi, integro, rotundoque concentu, ac metro, non concise, ut fit.*	Theoleptus: And this, if you wish my opinion, is one of the actions, I think, which would do just about nothing for meriting salvation, unless that choir of graces/ loves we call theological, might be a partner, and may be distracted in choruses of singing.* Such a great heart and mind would be present. Otherwise what can that vocal and flaccid hissing of 'psalm-eaters'/ psalmists convey? Therefore, the psalm must be sung, with voice, and soul and affection together so that it may be as our [men] advise, with a serious, whole, round harmony and measure, not hastily, as happens.
Tantum abesse debet, ut tota in eiusmodi pectoris defatigatione licet sacra, conteratur aetas. Accelleranda sunt quidem omnia, quae ab alto cordis silentio, et sanctarum literarum lectione, et studio, nos avocare possunt. Felix noster ordo si vigilantius. Si ardentius. si studiosus. si constantius bona animi, quam ista corporea, honorata alioqui studia: curarent. Sed eo res adiit: ut iuveni licet impudico: licet facinoroso: licet infraeni, errata omnia condonentur, modo, ad	It ought to be far from the case, that a whole lifetime/ the whole age is worn out in all this kind of sacred exhaustion of the breast. Indeed all things are to be accelerated, which can distract us from the deep silence of the heart, and from the reading of sacred letters, and study. Our order is successful if it is more vigilant. If more ardent. If zealous. If they take care of the goods of the soul more steadfastly than those corporeal pursuits, honored elsewhere.* But the matter reached the point that all the mistakes of a youth, although

¹⁶³ In Terence's play *Heautontimorumenos* (*The Self-Tormenter*), Syrus says to Chremes, "Immo aliis si licet, tibi non licet" (On the contrary, [even] if it is fitting for others, it is not fitting for you), Act 4.2, l. 797; the Medieval version of this maxim was, "Quod licet Iovi, non licet bovi" (what befits Jove does not befit the ox).

divinum quod aiunt officium, sit impiger. Adeo res animi antiquata est: ac praepostere vivitur.	shameless, although criminal and unrestrained, are forgiven, as long as he is eager, as they say, for divine office.
MISOPONUS. Duo adhuc extant in canone tituli. quorum alter esto de divino Evangelio praedicando.	Misoponus: There are still two headings in the canon/ chapter. Let one of these be for preaching about the holy gospel.
PHILEREMUS. Cupimus enim, ait apostolus, ut in hac parte segnes non efficiamur [errata corrects from afficiamur]. verum imitatores illorum qui fide, et patientia promissiones haereditabunt.	Phileremus: For we are eager, says the apostle, that in this area we not be made/ sluggish. But in fact imitators of those who with faith and patience will inherit guarantees.
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hi [added in errata] sunt, nisi fallor, qui caste, syncere, et sine hominum metu*, ut est christiana libertas, Evangelium, non ineptias ex suggestu praedicant. Ite, inquit christus, praedicate evangelium. nullus quidem in ecclesia dei ad consequendam resipiscentiam, efficiator* [efficatior*] ritus, nullaque sanctior consuetudo. Sed quos putas concipiat mentis algores auditor, cum me sentiat evangelii loco de antiquis Dedali plumis: aut Icarus caera concionari: sed nec sine risu, dicteria intertexere?	These are [those] who, if I am not mistaken, chastely, sincerely, and without fear of men/ humans, as is Christian liberty, preach the Gospel, not absurdities from a platform. Go, Christ said, preach the gospel. Indeed [there is] no more efficacious rite in the church of god for obtaining repentance, and no holier a practice. But what shivers of the mind do you think the hearer starts to feel, whenever in place of the gospel he might hear me preaching about the ancient plumes of Daedalus, or the wax of Icarus, but not without a laugh, weaving in jokes?*
Argumentum plane ingens, me Evangelium, contra pauli doctrinam, erubescere. nolli ait erubescere evangelium, idest testimonium Domini nostri Iesu christi. Itaque vanis, et plus quam harrundineis ommissis gerris emulemur, ut idem ait, charismata meliora. Finis enim ad quem tua se debet accingere declamatio, est persuasio ad caelestium amorem, scilicet ut auditor accendatur. Inardescat. resipiscat. Soli deo fidat, sibi ipse displiceat, eiulet, ingemiscat, et demum totus caelestem depereat vitam. Tantum non sit nobis quaestus pietas, et auribus magis,	An utterly momentous proof: the Gospel, contrary to Paul's doctrine, makes me blush. ¹⁶⁴ Do not blush at the Gospel, he said, it is the testimony of our Lord Jesus Christ. And so let us emulate the better [spiritual] gifts, more than empty wicker baskets set aside, as the same [Paul] said. ¹⁶⁵ For the goal toward which your oratorical theme ought to prepare is the persuasion to heavenly love, namely that the listener be enflamed. That he burn. That he come to repent. That he trust in God alone, that he be dissatisfied with himself, that he howl, that he moan, and lastly that he completely love celestial

¹⁶⁴ Paul, 2 Timothy 1.8.

¹⁶⁵ Paul, 1 Corinthians 12.31.

quam animis haudquaquam placere efflagitemus.	life.* Let piety not be only profit for us, and let us insist that by no means it please our ears more than our souls. ¹⁶⁶
MISOPONUS. Ultimus sit de praesule titulus, ne longius vos proveham.	Misoponus: Let the section about the bishop/ <i>praesule</i> be the last, lest I carry you along further. ¹⁶⁷
THEOLEPTUS. Dicam de praesule. Sed dicam prius. fuere Troes. Multifarie enim, ò amici, humanarum rerum ordo vulnerari contingit: sed duobus potissimum telis confodi omnino: altero, cum ille qui primum locum tenet, nimium saevere, et summo	Theoleptus: I will speak about the Praesule. But I will say first: they were Trojans. ¹⁶⁸ For in many ways, O friends, the order of human things turns out to be damaged, but to be breached principally by two weapons: by the one, when he who holds the prime place too aggressively and with the maximum,
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quod aiunt, iure, peccantes invehitur. Altero, cum flaccide nimis perlanguescit, et turpiter connivet. utrumque vituperabile. Modus igitur cum in omnibus: tum cum de alicuius salute tractandum est, servari debet. Tantum ille qui iudicat ab omni mentis perturbatione, atque aegritudine animi vacet, ac liber sit. Cum quiete enim, et tranquillitate, quicquid vir bonus agit, perfici debet. Nam corpus tetragonum, ut a doctis accepimus, quoquo ieceris iuste, ac aequis lateribus conquiescit. Habetis brevibus, ut opinor, boni iudicis faciem, et formam.	as they say, [penalty] of the law, attacks sinners. By the other, when flaccidly he/ it becomes too languid, and shamefully lies dormant. Both blameworthy. Therefore, if in all things measure ought to be observed, then surely [it ought to be observed] when the salvation of someone must be dealt with/ handled. To such an extent, [that] he who judges should be lacking every disturbance of the mind and affliction of the soul, and should be free. For whatever a good man does with calm and tranquility, ought to be finished. For the four-sided/ stubborn body, as we learn from the well-informed, wherever you have justly thrown it, rests on equal sides. [There] you have, in brief, as I see it, the appearance and form of a good judge.
PHI. pulchre o optime. Sed et hoc etiam commonefacere opereprecium erit, ne quis ex subditis audeat, alter alterum cum pendunt poenas, defendere: aut mutuas confusiones, acerbis in iudicem morsibus,	Phileremus: Oh beautifully [done], excellent [man]. But even this too will be worthwhile to call to mind: lest any of those subordinates should dare, when they pay the penalty one to another, to defend or to cover up mutual confusions with

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Paul, 1 Timothy 6.5-6

¹⁶⁷ The term *Praesule* initially referred to the head of the priesthood of the Salii, who would leap out ahead of the others in processions; later it came to mean, patron, priest and bishop.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. "...Fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium..." *Aeneid*, 2.325, and cf. above, p. 7, note, *Aeneid*, 2.29-30.

obtegere. levis namque hoc animi est: ne dicam maligni, ac seditiosi: ex quo oritur illa tam effera multorum capitum hydra: murmurationem dico. de re nulla magis, ait Augusti. deum offendisse iudaeorum populus dicitur, quam murmurando. Quid? nonne foedius labitur christianus? nonne turpius Anachorita? nonne vix cum venia Monachus?	harsh bites/ attacks against the judge. For this matter of the soul is fickle, lest I say spiteful, seditious: from which that very cruel hydra of many heads arises, I mean murmuring. From nothing more, says Augustine, the people of the Jews are said to have offended god, than murmuring. ¹⁶⁹ What? Doesn't a Christian slip [astray] more foully? Doesn't an Anchorite [slip] more shamefully? Doesn't a Monk [slip] almost with permission?*
Heu nos, qui sub villosa pallio, et tonsura, deum ludimus. Quam satius nobis esset, vel cum asello, clitellas lignatum circumvehere, vel in piscosi mei Mintii ripa tribulos legere, quam dei familiam tam irrequieta lingua, et furiosis moribus confundere. quod si videris aliquem sub correctionis lima expoliri, ne saevias oro, ne murmures, ne obloquaris. quicquid enim in poena dignos saevitur, pium est, et amanter advectum. Sed iam	Alas for us who, under a shaggy cloak and tonsure, mock god. How much more satisfying it would be for us, either with a little ass, to carry around saddle bags of firewood, or to collect horned thistles/ <i>tribulus</i> on the bank of my fishy Mincio, than to confound the servants of god with such a restless tongue and frantic habits. ¹⁷⁰ Because if you should see anyone being polished under a correcting file, do not, I beg [you], get angry, do not roar, do not reproach. For whatever is vented against those worthy of punishment, is righteous and lovingly conveyed.
{page 75} {p. E vi} Pomilio 6 end	{page 75} {p. E vi} Pomilio 6 end
statuendus est finis hisce nostris quaestibus* [quaestibus]. Age dum ó hospes, post quam incaluere animi, penitiora, si lubet, rimemur mysteria: ita tamen ne obruamur a gloria, ut cautum est in lege.	But now an end should be set for these gainful occupations of ours. Go on then, O guest, after our souls have warmed up, if it is pleasing, let us probe the deeper mysteries; yet so that we not be overwhelmed by glory, as stipulated in the law.
MIS. Nae, ut scis ó Philereme, sub prima noctis hora, tepentes stant austri, nobis etiam ipsis hic natis, exiciales, nedum exteris. Ideo, ut cum venia loquar, succedamus tectis.	Misoponus: Verily, as you know, O Phileremus, during the first hour of the night, the warming South-winds remain deadly, even for us born here, not to mention, for foreigners. Therefore, so that I may speak with [your] indulgence, let us withdraw to shelter.
PHIL. honeste mones.	Phileremus: You advise honorably.

¹⁶⁹ Augustine, *Tractates on the Gospel of John*, Tract. 26.11; already in the Old Testament people were said to have displeased God with their murmuring, for example in *Exodus* 16.

¹⁷⁰ Tribulus is a spiny plant which forms a horned head, often seen with double horns: see images of *Tribulus terrestris bicornutus* and cf. the weapon head, caltrop.

THE. Vah quam munda pauperies, quamque elegans. Deus bone, quam texturam video? Sunt ne saligna, an ulmea viminia?	Theoleptus: Ah, what refined poverty, and how elegant. Good god, what sort of webbing do I see? Are these willow withes or elm twigs?
PHIL. sunt iunci grandiores corylis immixti, qui si Asphalto inungantur, pene in murum praedurescunt lateritium. At quid mussas amabo?	Phileremus: There are larger rushes of hazel birch mixed in, which if smeared with Asphalt/ Asphaltum (tar), almost (<i>pene</i>) grow hard into a brick wall. ¹⁷¹ And what are you muttering, please?
THEO. Iam coeperam servatori pensitare horas.	Theoleptus: I had already started to ponder the hours of the savior.
PHIE. [sic] Optime. Interim nos aliud.	Phileremus: Great. At the same time we [will ponder] something else.*
Pomilio 7 (page 75; p. E vi)	Pomilio 7 (page 75; p. E vi)
PHILERE. MISOP. THEOLEP.	Phileremus, Misoponus, Theoleptus.
Adeundus est Theoleptus o Misopone. Iam suam, credo, ut nos nostram, persolvit pensionem. Salve Theolepte.	[Phileremus:] Theoleptus is about to arrive, O Misoponus. He has already paid his reparation, I think, as we ours. Greetings, Theoleptus.
THE. Et vos viri Humanissimi.	Theoleptus: And to you, Most Human Men.
PHILE. perorasti?	Phileremus: You have finished your speech?
THE. vix.	Theoleptus: Hardly.
PHIL. quid agemus ne, absque linea, subrepat concubium.	Phileremus: What shall we do, without a line [on a gameboard/ sundial*], so that bedtime doesn't creep up?*
MISO. Ne expectes ò amice, tabellas lusorias. Non hic bissenno numeratur tessera puncto: nec, Calculus hic gemino discolor hosti perit.	Misoponus: Don't expect gaming tables, O friend. Here there is no die numbered with a double-six dot [face], nor has a differently-colored pebble perished here from a twin enemy. ¹⁷²

¹⁷¹ The substance *Asphaltus* is the viscous liquid called bitumen in the United States; Asphaltitis is the Roman name for the Dead Sea, where Sodom and Gomorrah were located, Genesis 14.10; in ancient times this area produced tar used for sealing ships. Bricks and walls in burlesque code might represent buttocks.

¹⁷² Reference is to a Roman game of drafts called *ludus latruncularum*, or simply *latrones*, in which two enemy pieces were set on either side of an opponent's piece to capture it. The gaming terminology is perhaps being adapted to burlesque code: for example, *bissenno* like *bisesto* (66) represents two men together, *alveolus* and *latrunculos* mean game board and game pieces, but *alveolus* (*alvus*) also meant a hollow body cavity, and *latrunculos* could be *latro*, a plunderer, and *culus*, butt.

THE. Vah. locundius distico lusum est, quam si mille in alveolo protuses* [protruses] latrunculos.	Theoleptus: Hah. It is more fun to play with a couplet than if you push a thousand game pieces on a game board. ¹⁷³
PHI. Videsis Misopone, quo modo cupiens te minime studiosum ostentare fritilli: lascivi tamen poetae, audin?	Phileremus: Don't you see, Misoponus, how in desiring now to show yourself not at all devoted to a dice-box, still [you show yourself devoted to] a lustful poet; do you hear [me]?*
MIS. sunt studia	Misoponus: They are pursuits
{page 76} {p. E vi v} Pomilio 7	{page 76} {p. E vi v} Pomilio 7
quibus iam olim pueri usi sumus.	which once we enjoyed already as boys.
PH. adeo a teneris quidquid imbibitur durat.	Phileremus: Precisely: whatever is absorbed from a tender age, endures. ¹⁷⁴
TH. facete. Sed age, ne non solvendo sis, uti hi solent, qui facile fumum vendunt, ò Philereme.	Theoleptus: You're witty. But come on, lest you are about to not be paid/ released, as these [people] usually are, who readily sell smoke, O Phileremus.*
PH. non detracto fidem. Pacienti igitur animo, accipite. Inter caetera ó optime quae, ut dixi, captu difficilia visa sunt, id esse iudico, quod a Paulo dictum esse legimus, quae sit inquit voluntas dei sancta. Cum enim ad aliquid agendum, laude dignum, seu animo, seu manibus accedere deliberamus, oriri solet subito in mente dubitatio, nescio quae, an actio quae agere intendimus, perfectissima sit. an alia perfectior, quae secundum dei voluntatem incohanda sit, inveniatur: qui quidem deus, cum summe perfectus sit, perfectissima amat, atque a suis exigit.	Phileremus: I don't disparage faith. Therefore, accept/ learn with a patient mind (<i>animo</i>). Among the [things] remaining, O excellent [man], are those, as I have said, that seem difficult to grasp: I judge that to be what we read to have been said by Paul, that is, he says, the holy will of God. ¹⁷⁵ Indeed when we deliberate whether to approach something worthy of praise, to be done with the soul/ intellect (<i>animo</i>) or with our hands, an uncertainty often arises suddenly in the mind, I don't know of what sort, whether the action which we intend to do is utterly perfect. Or if another, more perfect, which could be begun according to the will of God, may be found: a god who indeed, since he is consummately perfect, loves the most perfect things, and demands [them] from his [people].

¹⁷³ The text reads *protuses* perhaps for *protruses*, from *protrudo*, *protrudere*, to push forward.

¹⁷⁴ The passive verb *imbibitur*, praised as witty and followed by *durat* (endures, gets hard), could be translated as "is sucked."

¹⁷⁵ Paul, perhaps 1 Thessalonians 4.3, "For this is the will of God, your sanctification; that you should abstain from fornication"; cf. Romans 12.2.

<p>Ex qua dubitatione fit saepe numero, ut operatio ipsa alioqui bona, et recto incohata animo, languescere incipiat, dum in dubio collocatur. Quo circa videmus probum aliquem virum, ac eruditum, in deligendo vitae modo plerunque caecutire, et, modo hunc, modo illum* dum anceps prorsus delibat, in dubio senescere. Illud oratoris eximii dicet aliquis, in rei pub. administratione occupatus, et clamabit.</p>	<p>From this uncertainty, it very often happens, that the operation itself otherwise good and begun with an upright mind (<i>animo</i>), begins to languish, while it is placed in doubt. On account of this we see a decent and erudite man, in selecting a way of life generally to be blind, and now this way now that, while hesitant, he diminishes utterly and, in doubt, grows weak. Let someone engaged in public administration say that of an extraordinary orator, and he will cry out.*</p>
<p>O conditiones miseras administrandarum civitatum, in quibus diligentia plena simultatum est: negligentia vituperationum: ubi severitas periculosa: liberalitas ingrata: sermo insidiosus: assentatio perniosa: iracundiae occultae. blanditiae apertae. Rideat orbis, ut est facilis ad ridenda aequa, nihil pendo. Mutandum est institutum, ó Caenobia to-</p>	<p>Oh, the miserable conditions of civil administration, in which diligence is full of enmities, negligence [full of] vituperations, where harshness is dangerous, kindness unappreciated, conversation insidious, compliance pernicious, resentments hidden, caresses open. Let the world laugh, as it is easy for reasonable things to be laughed at, I care not. The institution ought to be changed, O [you] Monasteries</p>
<p>{page 77} {p. E vii} Pomilio 7</p>	<p>{page 77} {p. E vii} Pomilio 7</p>
<p>tius eruditionis, ac pacis domicilia. detonso igitur supercilio: vah quanta intus videt quae foris non viderat. Videt inquam illius vitae (hominem infirmi iudicii describo) cuius sibi perfectissimam deliniaverat imaginem, crustam esse, atque umbram. quin posito, quam prius fuerat, in confractoribus cogitationum scopulis, illa Antonii aegyptii fuga saepenumero succurrit. fugiamus hinc ait, non est hic locus quietis. Itaque ad eremum intenditur animus.</p>	<p>of all erudition, and you domiciles of peace. So then, with a shorn brow: alas, how much one sees on the inside that one had not seen from the outside. I mean one sees of that life (I am describing a man of feeble judgment) an extremely perfect image which one had sketched for oneself, to be a veneer and a shadow. But that with having been placed on more broken rocks of meditations than he had been before, that flight of the Egyptian Antony very often came to his aid.^{176*} Let us flee from here, he said, this is not a place of rest. Therefore, the mind (<i>animus</i>) is stretched/ extends to the hermitage/ hermit.*</p>
<p>Tunc saxa horrida, mollia: siccissimae arenae, prata vernantia: Speluncae, saltus, vastitas solitudinis, omnia grata, et amaena videntur esse prae iis, quae in claustris visa sunt monstrosa, et parum sibi constantia.</p>	<p>Then bristly rocks, pliant [objects], extremely dry shores, greening meadows: caves, narrow passages, the vastness/ emptiness of the wilderness, everything seems to be agreeable and lovely before these [men*], which in the cloister</p>

¹⁷⁶ St Anthony the Great, as above, pp. 28-9; but the image here is not clear to me.

Inconsyderatum igitur aggressus iter, in insolitum, atque asperum immigrat montem. Ubi si solus est, cum taedio, et inedia rem habet, si socii sunt, adeo istiusmodi instituti maior pars morosa, et patinis intenta esse cernitur, ut nihil foedius. quid agat miser? Remigrabit? ad antiquum, ut dicitur, remeabit praesepe?	seemed monstrous and too little steadfast for them.* So having set out on an ill-advised journey, he relocates onto an unusual and harsh mountain. Where if he is alone, he keeps the thing/ place with boredom and fasting; if there are companions, of that kind of institution ytuly the majority is seen to be hard to please, and intent on platters [receptacles, i.e. food*], so that nothing is more revolting.* What can a poor man do? Will he move back? Will he go back to his ancient crib, as one says?
Conarus mons testis est. Testis Balduinectus de iis quae sub illius auspicio, turpissime peraguntur. Censes ne ó amice maiestatis illius divinae oculum, tam tetra latere? putasne illum tantas in bono viro animi conflictationes amare, an secus, quod quidem magis verisimile est? Sed ad meliora nostra connivet aliquando deus, qui paternum, ut ait Seneca, habet adversus bonos viros animum: ut fortius, pene in nostras prolapsi manus, calamitatibus resistamus. Ecce inquit, dignum spectaculum ad quod respiciat in-	[Monte] Conaro is a witness (<i>testis</i>). [Monte] Balduina is a witness (<i>testis</i>) of those things that under its auspices were concluded most shamefully. ¹⁷⁷ Don't you think, friend, the eye of that divine majesty lurks in such foul [places]? Don't you suppose that it either loves such struggles of the soul (<i>animi</i>) in a good man, or in a different way (<i>secus</i>), because indeed it appears more truthful?* But for our better [interests], god sometimes lies dormant, he who has, as Seneca says, a paternal mind (<i>animum</i>) toward good men. ¹⁷⁸ So that more boldly, having almost (<i>pene</i>) slipped out into our hands, let us resist downfalls. Behold, he said, a worthy spectacle at which
{page 78} {p. E vii v} Pomilio 7	{page 78} {p. E vii v} Pomilio 7
tentus operi suo deus, Vir fortis cum mala fortuna, compositus.	god may look back intent upon his work: a brave Man, composed when [there is] misfortune.*
MISO. Ne me aspicias Theolepte.	Misoponus: Don't look at me, Theoleptus.
TH. de perfectissimo rerum statu Phileremum disputare existimo.	Theoleptus: I think Phileremus [is] to debate about the extremely perfect state of things.

¹⁷⁷ Possible reference: Balduina was the highest hill in Rome, NW of the Vatican, now Monte Mario; site of brickworks, used in constructing St. Peter's Basilica; the Wikipedia site for Balduina states that the name originated from Baldovino Ciochi del Monte (1485-1556), who owned vast terrain on the mount and whose brother would become Pope Julius III. The vocabulary in the section appears to be full of code words beginning with *testis* (witness; testicle) and continuing down to *pene in nostras prolapsi manus*.

¹⁷⁸ Seneca, *De Providentia* 2.6.

<p>PH. Iam dixi. alioqui nimium forsitan atrox, ac parum aequus censor esse religiosorum, in communem vitae consuetudinem viderer, maxime. Placet, fateor, mediocritas, ut nunc est usus: sed longe libentius, quae ad altissima exeunt vitae instituta, et amplector, et veneror [errata corrects from venenor]. Quis vetat hosce nostros vivendi mores, cum aucta omnia senescant, et ad mortem properent, a primis aliquando patrum defecisse vestigiis, dicere? quod si moleste auditur, causemur saltem tempora. Illa quidem perfecta, nostra imperfecta. Tunc labor: inedia: virtus. nunc ocium, luxus, vicium. fallor, an sic est? Ehodum ò Theolepte, quid animo versas?</p>	<p>Phileremus: I've already spoken. Perhaps I may seem in some respects too cruel and an insufficiently fair censor of the religious/ clergy particularly in [this] shared intimacy of life. Moderation is pleasing, I admit, as is now the practice, but much more willingly, I embrace and I venerate those [practices] that go forth toward the loftiest practices of life.* What prevents these customs of ours for living, since all things that have been exalted grow weak and hasten toward death, from saying that the first vestiges of our fathers have at length run short/ come to nothing.¹⁷⁹ But if it is heard in a vexing manner, let us accuse the times in all events. Those [times] were indeed perfect, ours are imperfect. Then it was work, fasting, virtue; now it is leisure, luxury, vice. Am I wrong, or is it so? Hey there, Theoleptus, what are you turning over in/ with your soul?</p>
<p>TH. dicam, ut subita dici solent. Principio cum vir sapiens, cui iam propter diuturnam cum vitiis, pugnam, et nonnunquam victoriam, arrogans, et effraenis variarum rerum appetitio, cedere occoepit, consultat animo, an in deligendo reliquae vitae modo, hoc vel illud ingrediendum sit iter. antequam deliberet, ac propositum omnino stabiliat, figatque (multarum enim horarum res haec est) complura consideranda esse existimat, sed cum primis an utile futurum sit, quod inchoare intendit, si utile an honestum, quamquam ne illud utile esse videri potest, quod honestum idem non sit: nam ubi turpitudine, ibi utilitatem esse non posse, est censendum. Atque si honestum utilitati non re-</p>	<p>Theoleptus: I will tell you, as impromptu things are usually to be spoken. In the beginning when a wise man, for whom on account of a long fight with vice, and on occasion, a victory, arrogantly and with an unrestrained appetite for various things begins to yield, he deliberates in his mind/ with his soul (<i>animo</i>), whether in choosing presently about the rest of his life, this road or that should be undertaken. Before he may decide, and make wholly firm the proposed [path], and establish [it] (for this is a matter of many hours), he thinks [that] a number of things must be considered, but among the most important is whether what he intends to get started will be useful; if it is useful, whether it is honorable – although a thing cannot be seen to be useful, which is not likewise honorable, for where there is turpitude, one must reckon there cannot be utility. And if an honorable [thing] does not disagree with utility, whether</p>
<p>{page 79} {p. E viii} Pomilio 7</p>	<p>{page 79} {p. E viii} Pomilio 7</p>

¹⁷⁹ Cf. below, p. 94.

<p>pugnat, an ipsius naturae conveniat, si gloriae, si pudori, si multis, an sibi soli denique conducere videatur: siquidem ad colendum commune bonum magis, quam proprium, nos esse natos credimus: in quo quidem divinae partis igniculus quidam in nobis elucet maxime. Sed omnibus iis postpositis, de illo si placet videamus: qui et si caetera pleraque quae supra memoravi, satis sibi favere opinatur, parum tamen pensi habuit, cum de viribus, et conditione propriae naturae deliberandum fuit. nam quid aliud est bellare cum gigantibus quam naturae repugnare?</p>	<p>it may agree with nature itself, if with glory and decency, or lastly whether it is seen to be profitable for many or for itself alone.* Accordingly, we believe ourselves to have been born more for cultivating the common good, than [our] own, in which indeed a certain little fire of the divine part shines forth expressly within us. But all these things having been put aside, let us see about that one, whether it is pleasing, and who, even if he thinks the many other things which I have mentioned above support him enough, nevertheless considered it too little weighed, when the strength and condition of his nature was considered.* For what else is it to wage war against giants, than to fight against nature?</p>
<p>Argute igitur a Plutarcho illud, [sic] oportet inquit unumquemquam ad suam ipsius naturam accomodare: neque ad alterius vitae rationem cogere: etiam si sint alia meliora ut ait Cicero tamen nos nostrae regulae naturae metiamur. Accidit ergo quod vir bonus, alioqui caeteris in rebus, vel prudens, vel cautus, cum ad excellentiora anhelat, atque animum dirigit, humiliora non considerans, hoc est se esse hominem, a caepto plerunque retrocedit, et in iis peccat quae facillime insipientissimus quisque caveret, et ab se se abigeret.</p>	<p>So that [was put] cleverly by Plutarch: It is necessary, he said, for each and every one to adapt to his own nature, and not to force on [himself] the plan of another life.¹⁸⁰ Even if there are other better plans, as Cicero says, still we should measure ourselves by the standards of our own nature.¹⁸¹ Now, it happened that a man [who is] good generally in other things, wise even or careful, when he pants for more excellent things, and directs his soul, not considering more humble things, that is, that he himself is a man, often falls back from what was begun, and sins in those things which the most foolish person would have easily avoided and would have driven away from himself.¹⁸²</p>
<p>Ex quo nascitur illa tam tristis animi deiectio, ac desperatio: ut ea etiam quae per se</p>	<p>From where such sad down-casting and hopelessness of the soul originates, so that even</p>

¹⁸⁰ Plutarch, *Life of Cicero*, 5.1, in which he reports that a Pythian priestess told Cicero to make his own nature his guide for living, not the opinion of the multitude.

¹⁸¹ Ref. to Cicero, *De Officiis* 1.110.

¹⁸² The phrase, "hoc est se esse hominem" is reminiscent of the *Commentary on Aristotle's Metaphysics* by Thomas Aquinas, Book 4.7, 336-9, cf. "And if *being a man* and *not being a man* are to be one, they must signify one thing." Translated by John Rowan, 1961, <http://dhspriority.org/thomas/Metaphysics.htm>.

<p>lucent, ac in triviis versantur, obfusca, et inaccessa esse videantur. Perturbationes quidem multae sunt (quis negat?) in curandis rebus domesticis, domi. Sunt molestiae coniugii, sunt filii haud raro inutiles, aut stulti saepe, sunt sexcenta alia tranquillitatem animi perturbantia. At contra, quis vel mediocriter sui compos est, qui non advertat,</p>	<p>these things which emit light by themselves and dwell in crossroads, seem darkened and inaccessible. Indeed there are many disturbances (who denies this?) regarding attending to domestic matters, at home. There are spousal troubles, there are children not seldom worthless, or often stupid; there are six hundred other disturbances of the soul. But conversely, anyone who is even moderately in possession of himself, who would not turn around</p>
<p>{page 80} {p. E viii v} Pomilio 7</p>	<p>{page 80} {p. E viii v} Pomilio 7</p>
<p>rebus iam maxime seriis, ad extremum usque prolapsis, satius esse, atque honoratius cuiusvis homines instituti, inter domesticos mores, et eiusdem patriae cives consenescere, quam ad poenitentiam saepe tam diversorum hominum, et plerumque ignobilium multitudinem sine delectu confugere: inter quos, qui incolumem a turbis agit vitam, beatus [sic, missing period*] Quidam ex nostris, vir sane multae doctrinae, ac experientiae, solitus est dicere, nostri ordinis viros olim parum profecisse reputatos, nisi ad optimam, et summam vitae perfectionem etiam brevi convolassent.</p>	<p>when things are already especially serious, right up to when they have slipped out, men of whatever institute you like, more satisfactorily and more honorably grow old/ weak together amid domestic customs and citizens of the same country, than frequently having recourse to regretting so much a multitude of diverse and generally unexceptional men without distinction, among whom one leads a life unharmed by the crowds, happy.* A certain one of ours, by all means a man of ample learning and experience, is wont to say, men of our order were once thought to have accomplished too little, if they did not rush together, even though briefly, to the highest and most excellent perfection of life.</p>
<p>nunc vero satis quodammodo facere, ut a probro insigni caveant. adeo tantae molis robur evulsum est, et emasculatum. adeo inquam eviratus est sancte on, et in nefandae (malum) Dalidae sinu soporatur miser.</p>	<p>But now it is enough to do it in a certain way, so that they are on guard against conspicuous disgrace. The strength of so great a mass [of people*] is thus torn out and emasculated. Thus, I say, Samson is deprived of virility, and the wretch is put to sleep on the breast of impious (wicked) Delilah.*</p>
<p>PHIL. Inter nos id accidit, ó bone, quod inter nautam, et militem saepe accidere videmus. Is dum maris nauseam comminiscitur: ille armorum bella: Alter suos nimbos: suos aethesios suasque tempestates: alter acies, balistas, et horrendas tormentorum machinas contra connumerat. Eodem fere* modo inter nos lachrymabilis, seu magis,</p>	<p>Phileremus: Among us it happens, O good man, what we often see happen between a sailor and a soldier. While this one alleges seasickness, that one armed warfare. One his rainstorms, the other his seasonal winds and his storms, another in reply counts up battle lines, catapults and the horrendous machines of tortures. In nearly the same way there is something tear-jerking among</p>

quam Thebais ipsa, lachrymabilior recitatur tragoedia, tanto atrocior, quanto in totius orbis theatro: et circumspectantibus omnibus, peragitur.	us now, or rather a tragedy is recited, more tear-jerking than Theban tragedy itself, much more frightening as it is carried on in the theatre of the whole world, and with everyone watching all around.
Videsis num aliud in conviviis popularibus, ludibrio, et risu dignius existimetur, quam sacrorum candidatos mordere? Quae scommata in principum aulis hoc nomine vacant? quis, pro dei fidem: ex sordidioribus etiam cupedinariis preteruntem* [praetereuntem?] monachum	Do you see anything thought to be more worthy of mocking and laughter in popular gatherings, than candidates of sacred rites carping?* What jeers in the halls of princes lack this cause for complaint?* Who, for the faith of god, because of even smuttier and more delectable witticisms, does not reproach a monk passing by
{page 81} {p. F} Pomilio 7	{page 81} {p. F} Pomilio 7
dicteriis non incessit, ac quasi manu impingit? Porro, quod hominum genus iam usque ad latrinas turpe, tam vile, tam infame, tam inglorium reputatur, quam hi sunt, qui barba, ac pulla obsoleti veste anachoriticam mentiuntur vitam. Vidi quosdam mei nominis viros, in cuiusdam principis domo, popinariam exercere: quosdam in hispanorum exercitu calones: quosdam lixas: alios item apud Episcopum quendam in Piceno parasitos, ac assentatores gnatonicos, etiam usque ad lenoniam impudentiam prostitutos. Vis uno verbo tandem rei summam? Emptores: Venditores: licitatores. me habes.	and, as if with a hand, strike [him]?* Furthermore, because the human race is now thought to be as shameful even as latrines, as vile, as disreputable and as inglorious as these men are, who simulate the Anchorite life, with a shabby un-dyed wool tunic and a beard. I have seen some men of my name, in the house of a certain prince, practicing cooking, [and] some [as] soldiers' servants in the Spanish army, some [as] camp followers, others, parasites at the home of a certain Bishop of Piceno, and Gnatho-like yes-men, even those who were prostitutes to a pimp's shamelessness. ¹⁸³ Do you want the substance of the thing in a word? Buyers. Sellers. Bidders. You have [it from] me.*
TH. horret animus cum haec audio. Ecquae* igitur vita censenda erit ab bene, beateque vivendum idonea, et tota sibi ipsi similis, ac consentiens? Si cives spectas, eorundem oppressionibus, et gravissimis vectigalibus, nil iam auditur inclementius: tam late regnat in principibus nostris, seu necessitas, seu crudelitas appellanda sit. Si magistratus. Quis quaeso, ex afris etiam servis, sua non obit munera, et liberius, et magis ingenue?	Theoleptus: My mind shudders when I hear these things. And so what life therefore will be reckoned suitable for living well and happily, [a life] entirely resembling itself, and harmonious?* If you consider the citizens, with oppressions and extremely heavy taxes of their own, nothing now is heard to be less merciful, whether it should be called necessity or cruelty, it reigns so far and wide in our princes.* If [you consider] the magistrates. Who, I ask, does not attend to his payoffs even from African slaves, both rather

¹⁸³ Gnatho, the quintessential parasite from Terence's *Eunuchus*.

Claustra prorsus corrupta sunt. Eremitae destitutae.	freely and more frankly. The cloisters are utterly corrupt. Hermitages abandoned.*
De immensa vero sacerdotum multitudine, parum abest quin dicam partem eorum quam maximam adeo vel ignaviae, vel luxui, vel, quod forsitan minus tollerabile est, tum inscitiae, tum ignorantiae obnoxiam, ut nihil ab opilionum vita (bonos semper excipio) eorum vita distare videatur. Ad haec, si qui boni sunt, sunt quidem multi, tanta iam decimarum mole atteruntur, quod vix vivere liceat. Pontifex item ipse maximus, beatissimae ne appellationis nomen	But about the immense multitude of priests, I could almost say that the greatest part of them is guilty to such an extent of laziness or luxury, or, what is perhaps less tolerable – of both inexperience and ignorance, that nothing seems to separate a shepherds' life (I exclude the good ones) from their life. To these things, if there are any good men, there are indeed many, they are now being worn down by so great a mass of tithings, that they are barely allowed to live. Likewise is the Supreme Pope himself capable of sustaining the name of the most blessed title,
{page 82} {p. F i v} Pomilio 7	{page 82} {p. F i v} Pomilio 7
sustinere est potis, in tot bellorum fragoribus, ac insidiarum damnis? quid minus beatum tali beatitudine, quae nunquam, ne unguem quidem latum, ab aerumnis vacat? Scite itaque Cic. possunt ne inquit, esse beati angores? sollicitudines? diurni, et nocturni metus? vita insidiarum, periculorumque plenissima? Ex quo, ut aliquid per excelsum dicam, tam sublimes titulos, mortalium nemini, sed solis coelitibus convenire, intelligi potest. Propterea si daretur optio ò Philereme, quam ex supramemoratis, obsecro?	in so many clashes of wars, and treacherous injuries?* What is less blessed than such blessedness, which is never free, not even a nail's breadth, from calamities. Do you know therefore, Cicero said, can there be happy anxieties? [Happy] concerns? Daily and nightly terrors? A life extremely full of traps and dangers? From which it can be understood, so that I may say something by way of the exalted, such lofty titles are suitable to no mortals, but to the gods alone. Therefore, if a choice were given, O Phileremus, I beseech [you], which of those mentioned above [would you choose]?*
PH. hem quam?	Phileremus: How's that?
TH. Civilem ne?	Theoleptus: Public/ Civilian?
PH. Minime.	Phileremus: Not in the least.
THE. Praetor forsitan, aut Censor placet?	Theoleptus: Perhaps praetor is satisfying, or Censor?
PH. Nec hoc.	Phileremus: Not this.
TH. Rex?	Theoleptus: King?
PHI. ludis operam.	Phileremus: A job for sport.
TH. quid tandem? Papa?	Theoleptus: What then? Pope?
PH. Papé tam vastam sedem, nec nisi diis concessam me ne?	Phileremus: Oh my/ Pope? not unless such a vast* seat is permitted me by the gods.*

<p>TH. Sed quid, si ad Episcopatum voceris, ut olim ab intimis solitudinum visceribus, nostri evocabant anachoritas, quemadmodum suos ab aratro, et scamno romani, imperatores?</p>	<p>Theoleptus: But what if you are called to the Bishopric/ Episcopate, as once our men called forth Anchorites from the deep bowels of solitude just as Romans called emperors from the plow and the plow-ridge?</p>
<p>PHI. dicam ingenue: Altior quidem gradus est, quam* quem merita hominum aequare possint: Tamen si concedis Episcopos omnes eiusdem esse farinae, cum Episcopo civitas, cui nomen a cubito est: Malo, si diis placet, ex spinis sertum cum Iesu meo, quam mitram gestare capite. Et ne te in supervacaneis morer, Taedet harum quotidianarum formarum, ut verbis utar illius adolescentis terentiani. Verum enim vero, et si Respub. Christiana, veluti quaedam diluvii arca, variis, ac diversis intercisa cubiculis, diaetisque, esse videatur, in unum tamen cubitum, ac culmen, et id quidem per acutum fa-</p>	<p>Phileremus: I will speak frankly: indeed the position is loftier, than what the merits of men would be able to equal. Yet if you grant that all Bishops are of the same stuff, [and] along with the Bishop the community, whose name is from “cubit”; I prefer, if it pleases the gods, to wear a crown of thorns on my head with my Jesus, rather than a miter.¹⁸⁴ And lest I delay you in superfluous things, these everyday shapes are boring, to use the words of that Terentian adolescent.¹⁸⁵ But, indeed, in truth, even if the Christian Republic should seem to be like some ark of the flood, partitioned into different cubicles (bedrooms) and living rooms, in one cubit however, and also one peak, and it will be fitting that this indeed be both sharply tapered</p>
<p>{page 83} {p. F ii} Pomilio 7</p>	<p>{page 83} {p. F ii} Pomilio 7</p>
<p>stigiari, et perfici consentaneum erit: ut una sit columba sine macula, et ruga. Numquam enim mihi persuadere potui ò optime, aliam esse viam perveniendi ad bravium illud, ab uno, ut ait Paulus, adipiscendum, praeter unam, et hanc solam, et unicam.</p>	<p>and perfected, so that there would be one dove without stain, and [without] a wrinkle. I have never been able to persuade myself, O great man, that there is another way of coming to obtaining that reward, from one, as Paul says, except one, and this one [path] distinctive and unique.*</p>
<p>TH. Evangelicam?</p>	<p>Theoleptus: The Evangelical [path]?</p>
<p>PH. eam dico. a qua si pilum, ut dicitur, exorbitare contingat, de bravio actum. Vana igitur illa, ac superstitiosa opinio, qua vulgo aiunt, diverso itinere Romam peti. Nunquam memini legisse Romam coeli rationem, et</p>	<p>Phileremus: That [one], I say. From which, as one says, if it happens that a javelin deviates from the path, it is driven from the reward. Therefore that opinion is false and superstitious by which they generally say, Rome is to be sought by a different</p>

¹⁸⁴ Note: Perhaps Ancona, since Pliny mentions that it is situated at the flexing of the elbow, “Ancona... in ipso flectentis se orae cubito,” *Natural History* 3.111; Pope Clement VII annexed Ancona to the Pontifical States under the pretext of a Turkish invasion, and sent in Papal troops September 19, 1532.

¹⁸⁵ Terence, *Eunuchus*, Act II sc. 4, “Taedet quotidianarum harum formarum.”

<p>umbram, secum ferre: alio cognomine Petrus in suis epistolis illam vocat: quod quidem an tantae urbi conveniat, iudicent alii.</p>	<p>route. I never remember having read [that] Rome carries with it the method and shadow of heaven. Peter, in his epistles, calls her (i.e. Rome) by another name: let others judge whether indeed it may be fitting for such a great city.¹⁸⁶</p>
<p>Neque tamen negandum esse puto, sive Romam, sive Tarentum proficiscaris, uno et altero itinere posse provehi: at ad coelum, coelique bona, unicus ac singularis patet trames. non est enim eadem ratio cum corporeis passibus, et animorum motibus, et affectibus. Varia quippe sunt, non eo inficias, coelitus dona: quibus uti quibusdam gradibus ad deum patet accessus.</p>	<p>Nor do I think it should be denied, whether you set out for Rome or Taranto, [that] is possible to be borne along on one and the other route, but [if you set out for] heaven, and the good things of heaven, a singular and unique passageway lies open. For the method is not the same with corporal steps, and with the motions and emotions of souls. Obviously they are different, therefore may you not taint gifts from heaven: by which access to God lies open, with certain steps to be used/ enjoyed.</p>
<p>Sed eandem melius animadvertere est rationem huiusmodi perinde inesse muneribus, atque solet in recta, quam circum ornet plantarum decor, et arborum, camporumque, ac virentium collium varietas, et pictura. Trames idem, et unus est: Sed varie ornatus. Igitur, ut concludam, Sive Arabs sit: Sive Scythia: sive etiam ab ultimis Thulae finibus convena, ad beatudinem unico currendum est cursu, et eo velocissimo, ne gravi interim dicam: Siquidem iter est quod cursores,</p>	<p>But it is better to observe the same method to be present equally in gifts of this sort, and also usually in the right [path], than the splendor of plants and trees and fields adorning all around, and the variety and picture of green hills.* The pathway is one and the same, but adorned differently. Therefore to conclude, whether one may be an Arab or Scythian, or even a refugee from the furthest corners (<i>ultima Thule</i>), one must rush to blissfulness in one direction, and in that direction extremely quickly, though let me not say painfully, since it is a route that invites racers</p>
<p>{page 84} {p. F ii v} Pomilio 7</p>	<p>{page 84} {p. F ii v} Pomilio 7</p>
<p>et hos sane desultores invitat. Tardos autem et testudineos neutiquam admittit. Tantum abest, ut in via resupini oscitemus: ac melitensi rosa farto pulvino cubantes, indecoctam ignavi despuamus salivam. Non Claudii: non morbo aliquo affecti, qui in triviis: ac sepibus, victum obsonant, a stadio</p>	<p>and those [who are] quite fickle. And yet by no means does it admit slow tortoises. It is so far [from the case] that in the path we gape lying on our backs and resting on a pillow stuffed with Maltese rose [petals], that sluggish, we spit out over-ripe saliva.¹⁸⁷ Neither the Lame (<i>Claudi</i>), nor those affected by any disease, who in the</p>

¹⁸⁶ Perhaps a reference to Hebrews 8.5, *qui exemplari, et umbrae deserviunt caelestium* (unto the copy and shadow of heavenly things). Could be referring to 1 Peter 5.13, where Peter may equate Rome and Babylon..

¹⁸⁷ Cf. "pulvinus erat perlucidus Melitensis rosa fartus," Cicero, *In Verrem*, 2.5.11.

<p>exploduntur: modo pro viribus nitantur, et velocissimi habebuntur. nam in huius generis olympiis, haudquaquam corporeis contenditur membris sed corde nitido, atque a terrenarum sordium labe repurgato.</p>	<p>crossroads and hedges, acquire provisions, are driven off the race course: if only they might strive/ struggle according to [their] abilities, and they will be considered extremely fast.* For in this sort of Olympics, one competes not at all with corporal limbs but with a heart gleaming and purged (again) from the stain of earthly filth.</p>
<p>Sed unde defluxit, redeat sermo. Ais enim in re esse quod omnium omnes alterius alter, fastidiunt statum (ex quo saepenumero cernitur proteus) quod in actionum delectu, nulla omnino habeatur naturae ratio: et propriae caducitatis respectus. quod si haberetur, melius satis, cum quid factu sit opus, consultamus animo, nobiscum ageretur.</p>	<p>But let the conversation return from where it has flowed away. For you say that in actuality all scorn the status/ position of all, one of another, (among whom very often one sees Proteus), because in the choice of actions, no reason may be attributed wholly to nature, and the contemplation of one's own mortality/ unsteadiness. Because if it could have been attributed, since what is needed to be done, we consider in our mind (<i>animo</i>), would have been done far better by us.**</p>
<p>TH. sic aio.</p>	<p>Theoleptus: So I say.</p>
<p>PH. At ego secus.</p>	<p>Phileremus: And I otherwise (<i>secus</i>).</p>
<p>TH. qui?</p>	<p>Theoleptus: How so?</p>
<p>PH. quod nulla prorsus (de absolutissima rerum conditione loquor) admittenda sit propriae virtutis consyderatio, et naturae deciduae amor tam delicatus: ut nonnulli faciunt, quibus animi minus, quam stomachi vitium displicet. Alioqui neque forti animo, neque perseveranti consilio, id de quo agimus, ad perfectam metam, finemque* optimum perduceretur: Ex quo necesse esset oriri derisionem: infamiam: exibilationem: et poenam tandem. hoc solum aveo, ut in eligenda via minime hallucinemur, ac caeci simus.</p>	<p>Phileremus: That utterly no consideration for one's own virtue/ excellence must be allowed (I am speaking about the most perfect condition of things) and such a delicate love of ephemeral nature, as some practice, for whom a vice of the mind (<i>animi</i>) displeases less than [that] of a stomach. Otherwise neither by a strong mind (<i>animo</i>) nor by persevering resolve, could that about which we act, have been guided toward a perfect goal and an optimal outcome. So from this it would have been necessary for derision to arise, dishonor, hissing ejection and finally punishment. I desire only this: that in choosing a path, we should wander dazzled very little and be blind.*</p>
<p>TH. hoc esset, meo quidem iudicio, equum per se concitatum, et praecipitem, absque fraeno, disruptisque habenis, impelli.</p>	<p>Theoleptus: Indeed this would be, in my opinion, to set in motion a horse driven by itself and precipitous, without a bit, the reins broken.</p>
<p>PH. Quinimmo eodem,</p>	<p>Phileremus: But truly, in the same way</p>
<p>{page 85} {p. F iii} Pomilio 7</p>	<p>{page 85} {p. F iii} Pomilio 7</p>

<p>ut dixi, modo, sunt cives qui ob patriam, ob liberos: ob ipsosque suos cives, vitam cum opus fuerit libentissime exponunt: ac sine tanta animi molitie, mortem oppetunt constantissime. quo, quid in sua republica gloriosius, civis agere possit, non video. O miserabilem civitatem, quam cum cives rebus tantummodo intenti domesticis: tum privati commodi dumtaxat rationem habentes, indefensam relinquunt [sic]: et quantum in se est, desolatam reddunt. Quo circa non est quod dicas ò Thelepte [sic], in re tam seria maxime, magnanimitatem equum esse effraenem.</p>	<p>as I said, there are citizens who, for the sake of their homeland, for their children, for their fellow citizens, willingly expose their lives whenever it has been necessary, and without much tenderness of heart (<i>animi</i>), they meet death very steadfastly. Therefore, I don't see what a citizen could do more gloriously for his country. O wretched state, which, when citizens are intent not only on domestic matters but also on having regard merely for private profit, they leave [it] defenseless, and however much is in them, they return desolate/ empty.¹⁸⁸ Therefore you couldn't say, O Theoleptus, particularly in such a serious matter, that magnanimity is an unbridled horse.</p>
<p>Quid bono cive tunc visum est dignius quam Deciorum mors? Quis terror tam horridus, cum illo terrifico. Q. Curtii hiatu comparandus? Scilicet quod illi pro republica illa, quam cives optime meriti totiens sensere ingratisimam, egere: nos pro Christo, ac deo nostro, qui nos potius (ah pudor) ingratisimos, et plusquam dici potest, in ipsius benignitatem immanissimos, ad se advocat, invitat, provocat, ac in donis profusissimus illectit* [illiciti] non feremus? Consideranda est, inquit mortalium conditio. Concedo, si ipse suam ipsius considerabit tunc, cum in similitudine carnis peccati, habitu inventus est, ut homo.*</p>	<p>What then seems more worthy to a good citizen than the death of the Decii?¹⁸⁹ What terror so horrible compared with that awe-inspiring gaping of Quintus Curtius?^{190*} Namely what they did on behalf of that republic, which well deserving citizens so many times felt was most unappreciative: on behalf of Christ, and our god, we who are more ungrateful (ah, the shame) and, more than can be said, most monstrous toward his kindness: he calls to him, he invites [us], provokes, and with illicit* gifts he entices us most lavishly, and will we not receive? The mortal condition, they say, must be considered. I concede, if he will consider his own [condition] then, when in the likeness of sinful flesh, in habit he is found as a man.¹⁹¹</p>

¹⁸⁸ Lucretius, in *De rerum natura*, 2.184-209, explains his notion of “quantum in se est” (as far as it [is able] by itself), later expounded upon by Newton.

¹⁸⁹ Publius Decius Mus, as consul sacrificed himself ritually in battle, 340 BCE; his son, Publius Decius Mus, also died heroically in battle, 295 BCE.

¹⁹⁰ Quintus Curtius Rufus, Roman historian, flourished c. 40-80, his only surviving work is part of a History of Alexander the Great, published many times in the Renaissance era; specific reference needed.* [cf. Q.C., V, 4, 18: “They sank into kind of pits that engulfed them and when fellow soldiers tried to pull them out, they dragged their rescuers in more often than they were pulled out,” “Quelques réflexions sur la connaissance des reliefs et processus alpins chez les Romain” by Delphine Acolat, p. 75-84, Journal of Alpine Research, 2007, <https://doi.org/10.4000/rga.31>]

¹⁹¹ Paul, Romans 8.3, “in similitudinem carnis peccati” (in the likeness of sinful flesh) ; then a snippet, altered, from Paul, Philipians, 2.7: “But [Jesus] emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men, and in habit found as a man” (...et habitu inventus

<p>O ridenda mortalium consilia. Ille, ille inquam, qui propter nos homines, et propter nostram salutem descendit de coelis, et homo factus est, atque idem, in quo neque species, neque decor visus est, et cuius livore sanati sumus a nobis modum, et mensuram in amore exigit? Quid saevius vel a Dolopum saevitia expectari potuit, quam* cruoris flumina ad martyrium pedes</p>	<p>O laughable plans of mortals. That man, that man, I say, who for us humans, and for our salvation came down from heaven, and was made man, and likewise, in whom neither appearance nor beauty was seen, and by whose “lividity” we are healed, asks from us a method and measure in love.* What more savage could be expected even from the savageness of the Dolopians, than rivers of gore gushing forth at the feet of martyrs.^{192*}</p>
<p>{page 86} {p. F iii v} Pomilio 7</p>	<p>{page 86} {p. F iii v} Pomilio 7</p>
<p>exundantia. Et, ut caeteros postponam, quae maior despicientia? quae animosior tormentorum contemptio, cum illa Egnatii aequiparanda? Dignior crede mihi, noster est deus, quam ut modus tam mollis in eius servitute requiri debeat. quid in multis te moror? An te latet, quam* caro, mundus, sensus denique omnes: et quicquid extra nos est, ne interim de interioribus animae affectionibus loquar, deo rebelle est ac contumax: nec potest, nec vult, ut ait Paulus, dei legi subiici?</p>	<p>And, so that I might set aside all the rest, what disregard is greater?* What contempt of torments is more courageous, or comparable to those of Ignatius?¹⁹³ Our god is worthier, believe me, than that such a soft manner should be requested in his slavery.* Why do I delay you in so many [words]? Don’t you know, how the flesh, the world, and then all the senses, and whatever is outside of us, and let me not speak of the interior affections of the soul, is rebellious to god and also obstinate, and cannot, nor will not, as Paul says, submit to the law of God.¹⁹⁴</p>
<p>O pessimum consultorem, si in re tam seria, vitream tuam, prae fracte quidem nimis, conditionem consulis: nec extra te exire, ac supra vires, tantillum saltem, incohare aliquando audeas. Fortior enim es, ó homo, si nescis, quam ipsa sit natura, et caeduae naturae conditio. quod si crebro in votorum varietate, aut inconstantia peccatur, in vitae delectu error est, non in naturae infirmitate et defectu. Aliud est, si iam incanuit habitus. Multifarie igitur, ut dictum fuit, Iter hoc ad</p>	<p>O abominable adviser, if in such a serious matter, you consider your fragile/ glassy condition, too abruptly certainly, nor would you ever dare to begin to go outside yourself, and beyond your strength, even a little. For you are stronger, O man, if you don’t know, than nature herself and the condition of ephemeral nature. Because if one sins in a copious variety of desires, or in inconstancy, the error is in the choice of life, not in the infirmity and failing of nature. It is another thing if the habit has already grown hoary.</p>

ut homo). Alludes perhaps as well to *habitus* theory – how a person can through training grow accustomed to making moral choices – discussed by Aristotle and Aquinas.

¹⁹² Dolopians: Tribe from Thessaly that sided with the Persians against the Greeks in 480 BCE.

¹⁹³ Ignatius of Antioch, 1st century Christian writer and martyr.

¹⁹⁴ Whereas “the world, the flesh and the devil” are the three standard enemies of the soul, here replacing the devil are “all the senses”; cf. Jeremiah 5.23: “... factum est cor contumax et rebelle.” Submission to the law of God: see Paul, Romans, 8.3, and 13.

<p>beatitudinem ornatum esse constat: at ita, ut unum, et unicum sit, et singulare.</p>	<p>Therefore multifariously, as it was said, this Road to beatitude is understood to be adorned, but yet let it be one and unique and singular.</p>
<p>TH. prorsus ita esse etiam hyoscyamo vescentes, non negarent: licet nos aliter esse dicamus. Asserimus enim tot esse tramites, quibus ad illum tuum unicum viae modum pervenire possit, quot sunt in conviventia populari, vesteque et ritu varietates. quamobrem ferunt vulgo hunc aliam divum: aliam illum suis proscriptis viam.</p>	<p>Theoleptus: So, in fact, [that] they are actually feeding on henbane, they would not deny, although we would say it is otherwise. For we claim that there are as many pathways, by which one may come to that one kind of path, as there are varieties of dress and rites in a communal association. For which reason they generally speak of one path to this god, another, to that [god], to have been proscribed/ forbidden to his people.</p>
<p>PHI. absurdus iam nihil asseri potest, nec rei Christianae adversantius. Querebatur Paulus in</p>	<p>Phileremus: Nothing now more absurd can be asserted, nor more opposed to Christianity. Paul was complaining</p>
<p>{page 87} {p. F iiiii} Pomilio 7</p>	<p>{page 87} {p. F iiiii} Pomilio 7</p>
<p>hoc genere dissidii peccare Corinthos: nam inter illos erant, qui Pauli partes: qui Petri: qui Apollo profiterentur. Ex quo membratim discindebatur Christus, id est Ecclesia, quod est pacis, et concordiae domicilium. ad quod quidem (ut iam idem millies inculcem) uno curritur viae conatu. Nam quemadmodum in via fessis, huic Platani, illi salicis magis arridet umbra. Is ornum: alter fagum laudat. Alius item in una, eademque via vel Ulmo, vel ilice delectatur: eodem ferme venit usu, in hoc de quo disputamus cursu. Via vel stadium, Evangelium est, quod est unum.</p>	<p>that the Corinthians were sinning in this sort of discord, for among them there were those who were declaring sides, some for Paul, some for Peter and some for Apollo. For that reason, Christ was being torn limb from limb, that is, the Church, which is the house of peace and harmony. To which indeed (so that I may now drive home the same [point] a thousand times) with a single <i>conatus</i> one moves quickly in the path. For just as with those [who are] weary in the road, for this one, the shade of a Plane tree is pleasing, for that one, [the shade of] a willow is more [pleasing]. This one praises an ash, that one a beech. Another likewise is delighted in one and the same road by an Elm or by an oak.* It comes to nearly the same practice, in this passage about which we are debating. Path or race course, it is the Gospel, which is one.</p>
<p>Viator, homo: qui inter caeteras creaturas, cursor qui est unus. finis cursus, deus: qui est unus. decor stadii, virtutes variae. nanque, ut docet Paulus, multi sunt domini: multi Pedagogi, deus autem unus est. quid? In digitis exempla habemus. In hoc meo agello</p>	<p>Man, traveler, who among the other creatures, is a racer, who is unique. The end of the race, [is] god, who is unique. The splendor of the race course, the various virtues. For, as Paul teaches, many are the lords, many are the Pedagogues,</p>

<p>sunt per quincuncem distinctae varii generis arbores. sunt mala medica. Sunt Cydonia. Sunt Apia. sunt Claudiana. Sunt Rubentia, quae nos rosea vocamus. quis neget tam varium pomorum decorem, in uno eodemque agello esse situm?</p>	<p>while god is one.¹⁹⁵ What? We have examples at our fingertips. In this little field of mine there are trees of five distinct types. There are curative fruits/ lemons. There are Cydonian (Cretan) quince. [Bee-loving] Wild Celery. There are Claudian [apples]. There are Reddening [fruits], which we call rose-colored.* Who would deny that such a diverse adornment of fruits can be located in one and the same field?</p>
<p>Porro autem nihil aliud quam ignorantia, et a recta digressio, variam illam, et multiformem sectarum Chimaeram, inter philosophos disseminavit: ex quibus Stoici, sapientum iudicio, praecellunt: quorum princeps Zeno. dissidet tamen et ipse a semetipso in multis. poterat forsitan concedi philosophis (ut multa alia absurda) quod unusquisque quam profiteretur disciplinam, eam prae-</p>	<p>Yet furthermore, nothing other than ignorance, and a digression from the right [path] disseminated that changing and multi-shaped Chimaera of sects among philosophers; among whom the Stoics, whose master is Zeno, are preeminent in the judgment of the wise. Yet he even quarrels with himself in many things. Perhaps it could have been conceded to philosophers (as many other absurd things [have been]) because that discipline each one was professing, that same one, he would recommend,</p>
<p>{page 88} {p. F iiiii v} Pomilio 7</p>	<p>{page 88} {p. F iiiii v} Pomilio 7</p>
<p>dicaret: extolleret, mordicus etiam teneret, ac in eius nomen sanctissime iuraret. Poterant quidem quia diversae scholae, diversas excudebant doctrinas. melius forsitan dicerem errores. At Christi doctrina una est: quae unanimes, et unius disciplinae asciscit discipulos. Unus deus. Una doctrina. Una Ecclesia. Unum iter. Sacrum unum. Libatio una. Altare unum. Amor denique unus. Ego sum, inquit, via, veritas, et vita.</p>	<p>extol, would even tenaciously uphold, and would swear most piously in its name. Indeed, because schools were able to be different, they forged different doctrines. Perhaps it would be better for me to say errors. But the doctrine of Christ is one, and it admits unanimous disciples of one discipline. One god. One doctrine. One Church. One road/ path. One sacrifice/ sacred vessel. One libation. One altar. Lastly one love. I am, he said, the way the truth and the life.¹⁹⁶</p>
<p>MI. nollem ó philereme, ut, dum tam parum naturae necessitatibus tribuis, ipsi naturae, et cum primis hospitii commodo iniurius dicereris. Iam intempesta nox est: et hospes noster etiamnum vigilat.</p>	<p>Misoponus: I would not want, Phileremus, that, while you assign too little to nature's necessities, to nature herself, you will also be declared injurious chiefly to the benefit of hospitality.*</p>

¹⁹⁵ Paul writes of pedagogues/ paedagogues or guardians in Galatians 3.20-26; here Pedagogues, may be associated with sodomites, as in the burlesque code, hence the rhetorical *quid?* (What?) to signal this bit of humor.

¹⁹⁶ John, 14.6.

	Already it is the dead of night, and our guest is even now awake/ vigilant.
PH. recte sane mones. nondum enim secundam adesse vigiliam senseram.	Phileremus: You advise quite rightly. For I had not yet realized the second vigil was at hand.
MI. En lumen attulere.	Misoponus: Behold, they've brought light.
PH. I bonis angelis cubitum, ó Theolepte.	Phileremus: Go to sleep with the good angels, O Theoleptus.
TH. Et vos melioribus.	Theoleptus: And you with better.
PHILEREMUS THEOLEP. MISOPO.	PHILEREMUS, THEOLEPTUS, MISOPONUS.
Tam cito experrectus es, nec usque ad gallicinium, Theolepte?	[Phileremus:] Have you awakened so early, that it's not even cock-crow, Theoleptus?
TH. oh Philereme salve, faustus sit, iocundus, hilaris, nec sine fructu, tibi dies iste qui instat.	Theoleptus: Oh, greetings, Phileremus: may this day that approaches, be favorable, pleasant, merry, not without enjoyment for you.
MIS. soli Phileremo?	Misoponus: Only for Phileremus?
TH. tibi quoque dictum puta. nam apud me pene idem est amor solitudinis, et odium laboris.	Theoleptus: Imagine that I have spoken to you as well. For with me, love of solitude is nearly (<i>pene</i>) the same [as] hatred of labor.
PH. faceta interpretatio.	Phileremus: Humorous interpretation.
TH. In hac nocte ó amici illud mihi accidisse sentio, quod aiunt, facile scilicet homines noctu per somnia, id de quo per diu locuti sunt, cogitare, et versare animo: quin saepissime, nescio qua ratione, iocundius: quod	Theoleptus: In this night, O friends, I feel that it has happened to me, what they say, namely that men at night through their dreams readily reflect on and turn over and over in the mind (<i>animo</i>) what they have talked about for a long time, in fact extremely often, more happily, I don't know for what reason, that
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quidem accidere Homero aiebat Ennius, ex more. Illud enim tuum, et singulare ad beatitudinem iter, adeo pectori insedit, ut nihil unquam altius. Qua propter cuperem (parcendum est ó praeclari animo irrequieto) a vobis audire, an usquam sit, et inveniatur istiusmodi via, a qua si quis vel capillum, ut	indeed Ennius used to say happened [to him] with Homer, from habit. ¹⁹⁷ For that singular road of yours, toward beatitude, has sunk into your breast to such a degree, that nothing has ever been deeper. On account of this, I would like (the restless soul, O illustrious men, is to be spared) to hear from you, whether a path of this sort may be found, from

¹⁹⁷ Ennius (c. 239-c. 169 BCE) in his *Annales*, tells of a dream in which Homer tells him that he, Ennius, is the reincarnation of Homer himself.

<p>aiunt, transversum excesserit, non sit spes illud adipiscendi, quo omnes sacra imbuti unda, aspirant.</p>	<p>which if one should go astray even a hair across, as they say, there may not be hope for obtaining it, with which all sacred waters aspire to be wetted.</p>
<p>PH. Dixi iam Evangelii scita esse, quae ipse dator Christus, iugum suave appellat, et onus leve, ne forte Platonis rempub. cui nullus in terris est locus, imagineris.</p>	<p>Phileremus: I have already said [that] there are statutes of the Gospel, which Christ himself the giver, calls ‘the yoke sweet and the burden light’ lest you might imagine Plato’s <i>Republic</i> for which there is no place on earth.¹⁹⁸</p>
<p>TH. non hoc quaero. Sed an sit, qui huic oneri, ut rei dignitas exposcit, summittat cervices. Terret me, fateor, multimoda vivendi hominum ratio, et facies, vel cum primis eorum, qui ut rectius, expeditiusque progrediantur, omnibus quae obstare videntur, vulgo cecidisse visi sunt.</p>	<p>Theoleptus: I’m not asking about this. But whether there may be someone who would submit his neck for this burden, as the dignity of the thing demands. I admit that the multifaceted method of men’s way of living terrifies me, and, even chiefly, the appearance of those, who, so that they may advance more directly and more agilely, with all those things which seem to hinder, have been seen generally/ by the people to have yielded.**</p>
<p>PHI. optimo, et longo usu, purificato, ne fallaris, utendum est iudicio: ne quae dixi ornamenta esse, viam putes vel appellis. Quis unquam Phaleras, aut Ephippias, vel dorsuaria, equum dicat? Sol, Luna, reliquaque sydera decori sunt caelo, haud nomen caeli sibi vendicant. Sed et ipse lunae orbis forsitan neque illos suos pateretur defectus, si perseveranter a Clyptica una non oberraret. Eadem ferme ratione est videre in hac nostra vivendi, ut sic dicam, Poliphormosi. Varias sunt haereses. Varii ritus. Varii mores, at unus debet esse cultus. Una lex. Una pietas. una vivendi regula.</p>	<p>Phileremus: The best judgment, and purified by long use, must be used so that you are not fooled, lest what things I have said to be ornaments, you should think or name the path. Who would ever call fancy Trimmings, or Saddle-blankets or saddlebags a horse?* The Sun, the Moon, and the other stars are the sky’s adornment, they in no way claim for themselves the name of heaven. But perhaps even the moon’s orbit would not suffer those eclipses, if at the same time it were not wandering away resolutely from a single elliptical plane.* By almost the same reason it is possible to see in this our way of living, as I might say thus, Poliphormosi (many-splendored).¹⁹⁹ Various are the divisions/ heresies. Various the rites. Various the customs, but there must be one cult. One law. One charity. One rule for living.</p>
<p>TH. quid censendum cum in sacris vatibus, haud semel vias legimus? ut illud</p>	<p>Theoleptus: What are we to think when we read “paths” (plural) in sacred poets, hardly just once?* As that [verse]</p>

¹⁹⁸ Matthew 11.30.

¹⁹⁹ Sounds like a transposition of polymorphosis, curiously like Freud’s term polymorphic.

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exempli causa. Notas mihi fecisti vias vitae.	for example: "You have made known to me the paths of life." ^{200*}
PH. tunc enim rudi, impollita regnante lege: lege inquam carnis, atque irae, multae erant viae, quae asperas, vates ille, et turbidas appellat in Ninive onere. dominus, inquit, in tempestate, et turbine viae eius: sed quibus haec nostra pacis, ac lucis deliniabatur. Quae quidem si Evangelio, hoc est amoris, et gratiae semitae, minime consentiunt, sed potius negocium faciunt, non vias, sed angiportus libentius dixerim.	Phileremus: For [back] then with a coarse and unpolished law reigning, with a law of the flesh, I say, and of wrath, there were many paths, which that prophet in the Burden of Niniveh calls harsh and turbid. ²⁰¹ The lord's "ways," he says, in a tempest and a whirlwind, but from these, our [path] of peace and light was traced. Which indeed if with the Gospel, that is of love and charming trailways, they don't fit harmoniously at all, but rather make trouble, I would more gladly have called [these] not paths, but narrow lanes.
TH. At consentiant quaeso.	Theoleptus: But I ask that they agree.
PH. Tunc verae ad consequendam beatitudinem viae aequae erant, uti verae fuerunt, aut Zeusis uvae: aut Parrhasii [sic] aves in tabula. Sapienter igitur Paulus. nihil, inquit, ad perfectum adduxit lex.	Phileremus: [Back] then, the paths for obtaining beatitude were true in the same way as the grapes of Zeuxis, or the birds of Parrhasius were real in a painting. ²⁰² Wisely therefore Paul: the law, he says, leads to nothing perfect. ²⁰³
Sed unum plane ex lege, et Evangelio factum esse, Cipryanus tum alias nonnunquam: tum in virginei partus encomio, expressit. Lex ait et Evangelia unita sunt. quod perinde dictum esse existimo, atque si a iugis montium diversis, diversi fluant rivi: qui quidem tandem in unum coeant alveum, atque unum seu Nilum, seu Tygrim, seu amnem alium quempiam similem efficiant. Vin melius adhuc, quod aiunt, rem acu tangere? praecepta legis singula: singulas ne sternunt vias, Vel ne?	But one is to have been made plainly from the law and the Gospel, Cyprian first expressed elsewhere, then in his encomium of the virgin birth. The law and the Gospel are made one. Which I think was said in the same way, as if from different ridges of mountains different streams should flow, which indeed would at last come together in one river bed and would produce one river whether the Nile, or the Tigris, or some other similar river. Do you still prefer to touch the thing with a sharp point [in detail], as they say? The precepts of the law are several, do they lay out several paths, or not?

²⁰⁰ Psalms 15.11.

²⁰¹ Nahum 1.1; the following phrase based in part on Nahum 1.3.

²⁰² Zeuxis and Parrhasius were Greek painters who flourished in the 5th cent. BCE, known for their realistic paintings; a famous anecdote describes a moment in which a painting by Zeuxis of grapes fooled real birds, but then Zeuxis himself was fooled into wanting to draw a curtain painted by Parrhasius; so the paths to beatitude were an illusion.

²⁰³ Paul, Hebrews, 7.19.

<p>TH. puto quod omnia, unam simul: etenim abstinens a furto, occidere hominem potest. Ex quo concedere cogemur, hominis interfectorem, colentem licet aliis in rebus pietatem, posse esse in via. Quae quidem ratio quam* absona sit, ac a veritatis lege exorbitans, sole ipso clarius video.</p>	<p>Theoleptus: I think that all things are simultaneously one, and indeed while abstaining from theft, it is possible to kill a man. For this reason we would be forced to concede that the killer of a man, granted he is honoring piety in other things, is able to be in the path.* That indeed this would be such an unsuitable reason, and one veering from the law of truth, I see more clearly than the sun itself.</p>
<p>PH. Probe. Vel saltem illud viarum assertores, regis perfectissimi-</p>	<p>Phileremus: Good. Or at least protectors of the paths should have examined that of the extremely perfect king and also of the prophet.*</p>
<p>{page 91} {p. F vi} Pomilio 7</p>	<p>{page 91} {p. F vi} Pomilio 7</p>
<p>mi, simul et vatis consyderarent. Viam inquit, mandatorum tuorum cucurri. haudquaquam dixit vir sanctus vias mandatorum: quippe mandatorum via una est, qua ad illum de quo nunc agimus finem pervenitur. nam qui ab uno excesserit, eum ipsum caeterorum reum teneri, doctissime demonstravit Iacobus, cum ait: qui in uno deliquerit, factus est omnium reus.</p>	<p>I have run the path, he said, of your commandments.²⁰⁴ The holy man by no means said the “ways” of your commandments: as you see, the way of the commandments is one, by which one comes to that end about which we are now acting/ debating. For who has gone away from the one, is himself to be held guilty of [all] the rest, the very learned James asserted, when he said, “who shall offend in one, is made guilty of all.”²⁰⁵</p>
<p>Quo quaeso, apertiori Axiomate, mandatorum unionem commostrari potuit? sed ad Regem redeo. coelesti igitur Rex ipse, spiritus omnium illustratoris afflatus numine, scivit unum esse patrem: filium item unum cum patre: atque huius sacratissimae unionis nodum, ipsum esse Paracletum. Ad quam unitatem uno solo, atque unico iri datur itinere, quod est Evangelium, quod unum est.</p>	<p>Therefore, I ask, with a clearer axiom, can the unification of the commandments be made known?* But I return to the king. Therefore, the king of heaven himself, spirit illuminator of all things, breath of divine will, knew the father to be one, the son likewise to be one with the father, and the knot of this extremely sacred union, to be the Holy Spirit himself. One is allowed to go toward this unity by only one unique route, which is the Gospel, which is one.</p>
<p>TH. me nimium urges. Eohdum* altius visum exera*. res est profundior, quam quod ego Acherontius, explicare valeam. dicam tamen</p>	<p>Theoleptus: You press me too much. Well now, exert your sight more deeply. The thing is more profound, than what I, Acheron-like, would be</p>

²⁰⁴ Psalms, 118.32.

²⁰⁵ Play on James 2.10: “For whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all”; and see the expanded commentary on this passage by G. B. Folengo in *Commentaries on the Letters of the Apostles*, 1555, p. 44.

<p>virtutes omnes, quae prius appellavimus ornamenta (sint ut lubet numerosae) item leges omnes. mandat. Iura. Scita. et si quae sunt alia huiusmodi appellationis nomina, in unum id* Apophthegma resolvi: quod a Paulo non minus argute, quam vere, suo Timotheo, tanquam ultimam quandam testamentariam tabellam misit.</p>	<p>capable of explaining. Still, I will speak about all the virtues, which earlier we called ornaments (let them be as numerous as may be pleasing) also all the laws. Mandates. Oaths. Ordinances. And if there are any other names of this sort of terminology, I have resolved it into one Apothegm, which by Paul no less shrewdly than verily, [by] his Timothy, sent out like some final testamentary document.*</p>
<p>Finis, inquit, precepti, est charitas de corde puro, conscientia bona, et fide non ficta. Amor igitur, Evangelii est terminus: quo illud summe necessarium formatur bonum, de quo benignissimus praeceptor Christus Iesus, ad patrem, ut sicut, ait, ego et tu unum sumus, sic isti</p>	<p>“Now the end of [my] instruction,” he says, “is love from a pure heart, from a good conscience, and an unfeigned faith.”²⁰⁶ Love, therefore, is the terminus of the Gospel, by which that essential good is consummately formed, about which Jesus Christ, the kindest teacher, he says to his father, just as you and I are one, thus it is</p>
<p>{page 92} {p. F vi v} Pomilio 7</p>	<p>{page 92} {p. F vi v} Pomilio 7</p>
<p>idest vocati, electi, praedestinatique ad assequendam imaginis dei formam, unum nobiscum sint. Eleganter, et id quidem Cyprianus expressit. Unus deus est, et Christus Iesus, inquit (Ecce finis unus) Ecclesia item una (ecce iter unum). Et plebs in solidam corporis unitatem, concordiae glutino copulata. (Ecce christianorum unitas). Itaque ad hanc viae unice institutionem revocandus est quisquis devius est, sive princeps, sive Civis, sive monachus, sive anachorita sit. Miror equidem unde illa in triviis celebris, exorta sit vulgi opinio, discordiam, benivolentiae** scilicet caritatem, inter nos imperium habere: Inter nos inquam, qui, ut est illud comicum, palliolatim amicti incedimus ludibundi.</p>	<p>those having been called, chosen and predestined to pursue the form of the image of god, let them be one with us.* And indeed Cyprian expressed it elegantly. God is one, and Jesus Christ, he said (Behold one goal/ end), likewise there is one church (behold one route). And the people, having coupled with a bond (<i>glutino copulata</i>) of mutual peace in a solid oneness of body (Behold the oneness of Christians). So then, whoever is deviating must be called back to this practice of the singular path, whether he be a prince, or a citizen, or a monk, or an anchorite. I am perplexed about where that rumor of the common people has arisen, oft-repeated in the crossroads, [that] discord, that is to say, love of benevolence, holds authority among us; among us, I say, who, as is that comic [saying], ‘cloaked in dressing gowns we playfully take steps.’^{207*}</p>
<p>THE. Miraris?</p>	<p>Theoleptus: You are perplexed?</p>

²⁰⁶ Paul, Timothy 1.5.

²⁰⁷ Plautus, *Pseudolus*, 5.1.31-2, “sed palliolatim amictus/ sic haec inaccessi ludibundus.” The joke here is sowing “discord” among the anchorites, is actually a form of kindness; for biblical references see: http://www.openbible.info/topics/sowing_discord.

<p>PHI. quid ni? hoc esset, mea quidem sententia, a caelo solem, ab animanti cor, a mundo deum, quae est unica mortalium beatitudo, tollere. quid censes? neque nictas: neque annuis. suos demum admonet Paulus Thessalonicenses, ut recedant a fratribus ambulantiibus. inordinate.</p>	<p>Phileremus: Why not? This would be, certainly in my opinion, to steal the sun from the sky, the heart from a living creature, god from the world, which is the unique beatitudo of mortals. What do you think? You don't blink, you don't nod. In the end, Paul warns his Thessalonians that they should withdraw from the brothers wandering. In a disorderly way.²⁰⁸</p>
<p>TH. multi iam thessali facti sunt.</p>	<p>Theoleptus: Many now have become Thessalonians.</p>
<p>PH. nec est quo te moveri oporteat ó Theolepte, si is diem a die, ut ait Paulus, ille nullum iudicat diem. Agat quicquid velit homo: modo deum spectet, atque ab eo dependeat, in via ea est, in qua, ut diximus, inest maximus virtutum decor, et ornatus. Qui perpetua carnis abstinencia vivunt, ut quidam faciunt, ex animo, et ad fraenandam appetitionum libidinem, abstineant velim. tantum ne quaerant ad maiorem luxum irritantia: in via sunt. Caeterum nunquam</p>	<p>Phileremus: Nor would it be proper therefore, O Theoleptus, for you to be moved, if he judges from day to day, as Paul says, he judges on no day.²⁰⁹ Let man do what he wishes: if only he might consider god, and depend on him, he is in that path, in which, as we said, there resides the greatest splendor and ornament of virtue.* Those who live in perpetual abstinence of the flesh, as some do, because of the soul and in order to restrain the libido of the appetites, I would like them to abstain [from abstaining].* Only let them merely not seek provocations to greater lust: they are in the path. As for the rest, let them never</p>
<p>{page 93} {p. F vii} Pomilio 7</p>	<p>{page 93} {p. F vii} Pomilio 7</p>
<p>ab Apostoli doctrina avertant mentem. non manducans, inquit, manducantem non iudicet. Et ut de his meam exprimere sententiam liceat: hoc uno excepto, quod nimium opulentiam sectantur, et miraculosa magis quam quod viros mundo defunctos deceat, aedificia erigunt: modus vitae, quies scilicet, solitudo, et silentium, non displicet. quod vero sint morosiores in fovendis corporibus, Crepida, pelle, tomento, et pluma</p>	<p>turn their mind away from the doctrine of the Apostle. The one not eating, he says, let him not judge the one eating.²¹⁰ And allow me to express my opinion about these things, with this one exception, that they pursue too much wealth, and they erect miraculous buildings more than is fitting for men dead to the world; a proper way of life, namely quiet, solitude, and silence is not displeasing.* Since in truth they may be more fastidious in soothing bodies, with a Slipper, with</p>

²⁰⁸ Paul, 2 Thessalonians, 3.6.

²⁰⁹ Paul, Romans, 14.5: where the context regards fasting, and not judging others, "Nam alius iudicat diem inter diem: alius autem iudicat omnem diem: unusquisque in suo sensu abundet" (For one judges between one day and another, and another judges every day: let every man abound in his own sense).

²¹⁰ Paul, Romans, 14.3.

<p>ut vulgo iactitant, non est vulgi, tantae detrahere religioni.</p>	<p>a pelt, with a mattress, and with a feather as they commonly bandy it about, it is not [typical] of the common people to disparage so great a religion.*</p>
<p>Temeritas haec est, et in eorum fortunas oblocutio magis, quam in vitae modum. Politiori suppellectile eminent alterius ordinis viri. nimii et ipsi in struendis caenaculis, larariisque. nec minori elegantia delubra concinnunt. Carnibus et ipsi abstinent, sed non tam arcte ut primi. qui quidem mos magis, ut mea fert opinio, propinquus humanitati videtur esse, quam alter ille: modo nec, ultra, nec citra a praescripto deflectent. Caeteris utuntur cibis promiscue, et absque superstitione.</p>	<p>This is rashness and slander more against their prosperity, than against their way of life. Men of another order stand out with their more refined belongings. And these [men] are excessive in constructing dining rooms and shrines for the gods/ Lares. And they produce temples with no less elegance. And these men abstain from flesh, but not as strictly as the first [monks]. Which indeed seems to be a custom closer to humanity/ human civilization, in my opinion, than the other, if only they will not bend past, nor short of the precept.* They enjoy other foods indiscriminately and without superstition.</p>
<p>Nulla natio aequè largius, aere alieno, rem agit cum principibus. Pax, atque amor, ut nunc est usus. Doctrina haud trivialis, sed inter paucos. Hospitalitas vero satis ampla, et amoris plena. Porro ex morum disciplina, et ex sacris ritibus, tanta afficiuntur, tum reverentia, tum religione spectantes, et si quid in terris divinitatis conspici potest, in his quammaxime arbitrantur posse. Utinam gens illa altera nobilis, saevius usque nunc prima sua, utpote, ab Apostolis profecta, retinisset instituta. nulla enim religio</p>	<p>No nation conducts business with its leaders equally generously under debt.* Peace, and love, as now is the practice. Instruction hardly trivial, but among few [people].* Hospitality certainly sufficiently bounteous, and full of love. Furthermore from the discipline of behaviors and from sacred rights, those observing are affected not only by so much reverence but also by religion, and if anything of divinity is able to be observed on earth, they are thought to have the most influence in these [things].* If only that other noble people had retained more austere until now, their first practices inasmuch as [they were] made by the apostles.* For no religion</p>
<p>{page 94} {p. F vii v} Pomilio 7</p>	<p>{page 94} {p. F vii v} Pomilio 7</p>
<p>antiquior. nulla sanctor. nulla tam copiose de Dei ecclesia benemerita. Ea sane est, quae septem illas sapientiae columnas, ad templum Dei vivi, fidei scilicet fulciendum (modo nervos aliquantisper, dum serviunt tempori, delaxatos acrius intendant) apta est restituere. Mirum quanta cum gravitate, et prudentia, rem ordinis tutentur: nec minori</p>	<p>is older. None is holier. None so richly deserving of the church of God.* It is surely that [religion] which is suited to restoring the seven pillars of wisdom, for propping up the temple of the living God, which is to say of faith (only, while they are serving time, let them stretch their slackened muscles more keenly).²¹¹ It is remarkable with how much gravity and prudence, they protect the</p>

²¹¹ Seven pillars of wisdom: Proverbs 9.1.

<p>interea frugalitate, hoc est temperantia, vitae subsidia sibi ex dimenso impartiant, viri alioqui summae charitatis in amicos, atque profusissimae liberalitatis in hospites.</p>	<p>business of the order, meanwhile not with less frugality, that is temperance, they bestow on themselves the benefits of life according to what has been measured out, men in general of the greatest love toward their friends, and of extremely profuse generosity toward guests.*</p>
<p>Quo circa a Canone illo splendidissimo militari, ac symbolo, titulus huic sacro ordini comparatus. Est tamen (ut sua cuique dicendi est libertas) qui cum stomacho imbricatas plus solito, laciniosasque in illis tunicas, se se videre dicat. Cui ego cum Paulo. Tu quis es qui alienum servum iudicas? Domino suo stat, aut cadit. Verum cuperem et ego quidem istuc, quale quale est, moderatius transigi: et his etiam qui foris sunt cum modestiae, tum [errata corrects tamen] disciplinae exemplo satisfieri.</p>	<p>On account of which from that most splendid military Canon, and symbol, the title to this sacred order is established.²¹² Still there is someone (as each has his own freedom of speech) who may declare that he sees himself with more than usual “stomach” in these shingled and shaggy tunics.* About that I am with Paul, “Who are you to judge the servant of another? He stands with his lord or he falls.”²¹³ But even I would indeed prefer, such as it is, to be performed more moderately, and also by those who are out of doors/ in the forums, to be satisfied by the example of both modesty and discipline.*</p>
<p>Claudicant et alii alterius nominis Mystae prius enim nuda contenti pauperie, ad cursus metam expeditissimi erant, nunc caducarum hereditatum tricis impediti, vix pedem movent. offendit complures excelsus illorum tumor, ob patrum doctrinam, malle ob suam. Vasta vero illa totius orbis gloria, an socculis, vel numellis ambulet, videant hi, quibus curae est eorum auctoritas, Christi ferme per omnem vitam typum gerentis, vestigiis inhaerere. Nulla religio adeo artua-</p>	<p>Even other Initiates of some other name limp, for earlier, content with naked poverty, they were extremely quick to the goal of the course, now hindered by trifles of mortal successions/ toppling possessions, they scarcely move their feet.* An exalted swelling vexes many of them, on account of the doctrine of their fathers, I would rather it be on account of their own [doctrine]. Certainly that vast/ empty ambition of the whole world, whether it struts in slippers or in neck-shackles, let these people see, whose concern is for the authority of those wearing/ wielding the image of Christ for almost their whole life, to adhere to his footsteps.* No religion</p>
<p>{page 95} {p. F viii} Pomilio 7</p>	<p>{page 95} {p. F viii} Pomilio 7</p>

²¹² Note: title of the order?

²¹³ Paul, Romans, 14.4.

<p>tim per regiones concisa, vel ultra columnas Herculeas. Alter et est ordo mihi carissimus, qui simpliciori forsan, et minus tardo progredere studio, quam caeteri supra memorati: nisi belva illa germanica, nuper multos vel ex natu meliores de itinere deturbasset: viros profecto absterse illiusmodi naevo, in quibusvis literarum studiis exercitatissimos: nec non Evangelicae pietatis ardentissimos, etiam usque ad flagra, concionatores: ex quibus fax illa Dei verbi Seripandea iam usque ad indos cognita, rem sacram tutatur, atque a labe illa exicali doctissime vindicat.</p>	<p>has been so divided limb by limb across regions, even beyond the pillars of Hercules.^{214*} Another order is also very dear to me, which perhaps would proceed with a simpler, and less deliberate devotion, than the rest mentioned above, if that Germanic beast had not recently knocked from the route many men better in birth, indeed men with that sort of black mark rubbed away, extremely well trained in whatever literary pursuits you wish, and sermonizers extremely passionate about the Gospels of piety, even right up to the whip, because of whom that Seripandean firebrand of God's word is now known all the way to the Indies, he protects sacredness and defends it most learnedly from deadly disaster.²¹⁵</p>
<p>Complures alii in eadem navigant navi: ut hi qui suo in vestibibus, etiam usque ad vaginas, ac pileos, contenti candore, pededentim citra sudorem proserpunt. Sunt et quibus votum est, ac iusiurandum, non discendi literas, via et haec unica ad omnem errorem. Et qui ignorat, ignorabitur, ait divinum oraculum. Sed nescio an sint in mortalium numero computandi: cum in hac parte, ut in pluribus aliis, a pecude dissimiles simus.</p>	<p>Many others sail in the same ship, as these who, content with whiteness in their clothes, even up to sheaths (<i>vaginas</i>) and felt caps, creep forth step by step short of sweat.²¹⁶ There are even those who have a sacred vow and oath not to learn letters, and this unique path to every error.* And he who does not know, will not be known, said the divine oracle.²¹⁷ But I don't know whether they are to be reckoned in the number of mortals, since in this part, as in many others, we are different from cattle.*</p>
<p>Aiunt enim Cleanthem solitum dicere, homines absque disciplina, et litteris, tantum forma distare a belvis. Non improbat tamen illorum victus manuum artificio conquisitus, et maxime in excutiendis succis a frutice, et</p>	<p>For they say Cleanthes was wont to state [that] men without discipline and letters, are different from beasts in form only.²¹⁸ Nevertheless nourishment hunted up by the skill of their hands is not reproached, and above all of shaking juices</p>

²¹⁴ The Pillars of Hercules were thought to be two rock towers on either side of the Strait of Gibraltar: they were depicted in the emblem of the recently crowned Emperor Charles V, and decorated with the motto PLUS ULTRA ([Go] beyond!), referring to Spain's interests in the New World, his rejoinder to the ancient *Nec plus ultra* warning for sailors having reached the Pillars.

²¹⁵ Referent seems to be Girolamo Seripando (1493-1563) an Augustinian friar, theologian and cardinal (1561), who had a reputation for eloquence: his sermons drew Emperor Charles V. At the Council of Trent, he distinguished himself for peculiar views on original sin and justification.

²¹⁶ Whiteness in the burlesque code refers to female sexuality, as does not needing to sweat.

²¹⁷ Paul, 1 Corinthians 14.38.

²¹⁸ Cleanthes: see note p. 49.

herba. Tantum non adeo impudenter coalescat cupiditas, ut aquarum labor, mortalium libidini potius quam necessitatibus opituletur. Nihil tam sanctum, nihil tam firmum, nihil tam impenetrabile, quo non subrepat aliquando cupiditas,	from a shoot and plant. Passion would coalesce so shamelessly, that the labor of waters would bring relief to the libido of mortals rather than [merely] to their necessities.* Nothing so holy, nothing so firm, nothing so impenetrable, that* passion would not sneak up on it now and then –
{page 96} {p. F viii v} Pomilio 7	{page 96} {p. F viii v} Pomilio 7
quid [added in errata] per odiosa vagor? Num mihi in praesentiarum totius orbis mores pervestigandi sunt? hactenus igitur eluximus. Verum non video cur diutius diferat [sic, differat] deus auferre obrobrium a Syon. Namque quoddam nasci prospicio (nisi vana sint quae vidi Spectra) novae lucis lumen.	why am I meandering through distasteful things? Must I scrutinize the customs of the whole world right now? So up until now we have shone brightly. But I don't see why god should delay any longer to take away reproach from Zion. For I foresee a certain torch (unless those Specters I have seen were false) being born of new light.
TH. Sed verendum, ne vapor ille a saxonibus.	Theoleptus: But awe-inspiring, not that [mere] vapor of the Saxons.
PH. quid cum lampyride lucernarum papilio?	Phileremus: What about a moth of oil lamps with the glow-worm? ²¹⁹
TH. quid? offuscat. obnubilat. Subtrahit etiam saepe radios, vapor improbus.	Theoleptus: What? It darkens. It clouds over. The shameless vapor often even carries off the rays.
PH. Vapor tamen est: quo evaporato, gratior, ne scio quo pacto, lux emicat. lutherum dicis.	Phileremus: Still it is a vapor, once evaporated, I don't know by what manner, a pleasing light shoots forth. You say Luther?*
TH. Lutheros aio.	Theoleptus: I say Luthers/ Lutherans.
PH. numerum times?	Phileremus: Are you afraid of the number [i.e. singular for plural]?*
THE. hau cur non timeam cum inter anus etiam lanam ad lunam trahentes, sit* rumor, nullam in Europa esse rem pub. quae ab hac lue non aegrotet.	Theoleptus: Oh, why wouldn't I be afraid when even among old women (<i>inter anus</i>) drawing wool to the moon there is a rumor [that] there's no nation in Europe which is not sickened by this plague. ²²⁰

²¹⁹ Cf. Pliny, who in his book about poisons and remedies, writes that the the moth seen fluttering about the flames of a lamp is numbered among noxious remedies: *papilio quoque lucernarum luminibus aduolans inter mala medicamenta numeratur*, Book 28, ch. 45.16.

²²⁰ *Inter anus...* among old women drawing wool to the moon: Witches were depicted drawing down the moon with knotted wool; Toscan attributes several sexual meanings to wool (Glossary p. 1709); cf. Teofilo Folengo, "Et lanam bagnasse suam iam dicere possunt" (And now they can say they got their wool wet), with the marginal gloss: Proverbium baricocolae (Saying

PH. heluones forsitan, et Scorta: ut dignum patella habeat operculum.	Phileremus: Gluttons/ Squanderers, perhaps, and [male*] Prostitutes, so that the dish may have a worthy cover.
TH. faxint coelites ne, ut est arrogans, dynastas etiam, atque ipsos templorum suggestus, involvat.	Theoleptus: May the gods grant, as it is presumptuous, [that] it enclose the potentates too, and the very platforms of the temples.
PH. Quid iam oro, in hac tantum accessit vipera, vel doctrinae, vel eruditionis, cui vel mediocriter quidem a natura institutus, morem gerere debeat? Mirum si sit, qui in re tam clare, et certa vacillet, ob unum novum Anaxagoram: cuius sacrilegis ineptiis, et infantiae, Rex ipse in Britannia: ex Italis Augustinus Sinuessa, ambo erudito, ac excellenti ingenio, dum respondere volunt, miro quodam modo illius nomen alioqui inglorium, et depressum exaltavere: adeo a summis viris, etiam cum probro in chartis reponi, laus est, et gloria. Deme te obsecro, a Luthero, mordacem calamum, una cum liberos in romanam sedem	Phileremus: What, I pray now, has the viper added in this so far, of learning or erudition, or for what has it been established indeed adequately by nature, [that] he should comply?*** It would be strange if, in such a clear and certain matter, someone would vacillate, because of one new Anaxagoras, by whose sacrilegious foolishness, even about infancy, the King himself of Britain, Augustine in Sinuessa of Italy, both with an erudite and exceptional character: while they want to respond, in a certain strange way they have exalted his name, otherwise undistinguished and base, so from the greatest men, even when repeated on paper with abuse, there is praise and glory.* ²²¹ Take away from Luther, I beg you, the biting pen, together with the unrestrained jaws against the Roman seat,
{page 97} {p. G} Pomilio 7	{page 97} {p. G} Pomilio 7
morsus, quid audies sibi undecumque simile, et constans? Undique fluit remissus, frigidus, ac somniculosus. Et tamen huius temeritas,	what will you hear about him from every direction the same and persistent?* It flows everywhere casual, cool and drowsy. And yet, the

of the “apricot”/ testicle), Toscolana *Baldus*, 11.154; Boggione and Casalegno categorize *lana* as sperm and cite Ariosto, *OF* 12.39.5-8, *Dizionario storico del lessico erotico italiano* (Varese, Longanesi, 1996), p. 354.

²²¹ Remarks on Luther, here and elsewhere in this work, need to be elucidated by other scholars; in this passage Folengo characterizes Luther’s campaign for infant baptism as part of his *ineptiis*. Sinuessa (now Mondragone), was about 25 kilometers north of Punta Campanella, the setting of many of these dialogues, and was the last coastal town on the Via Appia, before the road turned and headed to Brindisi. Augustine denounced as false the Synod of Sinuessa in which Pope Marcellinus supposedly admitted to making a sacrifice to pagan gods at the behest of the Emperor Diocletian, c. 303. Anaxagoras (c. 510-428 BCE), Greek philosopher who studied both minute particles of life and the cosmos, is credited with the explanation that the moon shines due to reflected light from the sun. Anaxagoras was tried for impiety and for political reasons and, although Pericles defended him, was exiled from Athens.

<p>et stili arrogania [sic, for arrogantia], apud quosdam, etiam magni nominis viros, argutus reputatur nasus, et evangelicus mucro. Quis, ne Maumethes quidem, unquam tanto cum fastu sibi coelestia abiudicavit? Quis tam impudenter carpit peccantes, aut quos peccare imaginatur? Et si aliquando quendam caldiusculum mentis excessum, et mentitam a corporeis separationem ostentare nititur, quis unquam, vel ex iis quorum Thyrsus, ut ait Lucretius, cor est percussum, divina frigidius expressit?</p>	<p>audacity of this man, and the arrogance of [his] stylus/ pen, even in front of certain men, as yet of great name, he is reputed a cunning nose, and an Evangelical tip. Who, not even Mahomet II, ever took it upon himself to pass judgment against heavenly matters with such contempt? ²²² Who attacks sinners so shamelessly, or rather those he imagines to have sinned? Even if now and then, he struggles to show both a certain warm excess/ protuberance of the mind, and a false separation from bodily things, who has ever, even among those, as Lucretius says, whose heart is struck by the Thyrsus, expressed sacred things more coolly?²²³</p>
<p>Legem. Evangelium. Gratiam. Baptismum. Caerimonias. Emoriar nisi millies has merces, temere, et absque occasione, invenias inculcatas. Quem iam fugit ex cetariis quoque minutioribus, et Laniis, evangelio obtemperandum esse? legem abrogatam: ac per christum absolutam? gratiam gratuito condonari? Baptismum necessarium? In Caerimoniis christianam pietatem, sitam non esse? quid aliud obgannit? quamvis nec haec syncere. Unde (malum) in Italia tantus ortus est stupor? unde tanta cum laude, admiratio? Scripsit ne iste novus Zeno Italis, an statuis inanimis? sinat oro, vir Italus, Cimbro Rhetios, Noricos, Helvetios, et huius generis caeteros, ista nova admirari portenta: et sectari. Aiunt Maximilianum ultimum nostris diebus imperatorem, solitum dicere, se uno excepto, omnes illius gentis homines, ferino lacte esse nutritos.</p>	<p>Law. The Gospel. Grace. Baptism. Rituals. May I die a thousand times if you do not find these commodities inculcated rashly, and without grounds. Does it now escape anyone even among the more petty fishermen and the Butchers that the Gospel must be obeyed?²²⁴ The law repealed, and absolved through Christ? [Should] grace be given gratuitously? [Should] Baptism be necessary? Is Christian piety not to be placed among the sacred rites? What else does he snarl about? Although he does not snarl about these things sincerely. From where (sadly) in Italy has so much stupidity arisen? From where admiration with so much praise? Did that new Zeno write to Italians or to inanimate statues? I pray that the Italian hero allow Cimbri, Rheti, Norici, Helvetii and others of this sort to wonder at these new</p>

²²² Mehmed II (1432-1481), Sultan of the Ottoman Empire; after conquering Constantinople in 1453, he declared himself the Caesar of Rome; father of Cem Sultan (Zizimo) cited above, p. 55.

²²³ Lucretius, *De rerum natura*, 1.921, passage in which the Roman poet tells of being doubly struck by the wand of Dionysus: his mind with yearning for renown for obscure thoughts, his heart with love for the Muses.

²²⁴ Perhaps a reference to Cardinal Wolsey (c.1473-1530), a butcher's son who became not just *alter rex* (to Henry VIII), but a cardinal, and came to regret having served his king more diligently than his God.

	portents and hunt them down. ²²⁵ They said that Maximilian, the great/ last emperor of our days, used to say that, with himself the one exception, all men of this tribe, are nourished with feral milk. ²²⁶
THE. non parum enim refert, in Cunis	Theoleptus: For it is of no little importance, with which milk you may be nursed in the Cradle,
{page 98} {p. G i v} Pomilio 7	{page 98} {p. G i v} Pomilio 7
quo alaris lacte: siquidem in mores transit plerunque ipse papillarum haustus.	if indeed this drink from the nipples crosses over into behavior.
PHI. Quam quam nec illud omnino Maximiliani probandum: vellem una secum bonos excepisset germanos, ex quibus cum olim, tum nostra maxime aetate prodiere viri, et egregie docti, et ad rem christianam iuvandam nati qui esse videantur. Sed suis male Cicuratis catulis, Luthero relictis, ad lucem nostram ó Theolepte, cuius auroram iam rutilare praesensi, revertamur.	Phileremus: Although this must not be wholly approved by Maximilian, I would like him to exempt good Germans together with himself, from whom men have come forth both previously but especially in our age, admirably learned, and who seem to be born to help Christianity.* But from his badly tamed pups, forsaken by Luther,* O Theoleptus, let us turn back to our light, whose dawn I have already felt to glow.
THE. hoc expecto.	Theoleptus: I await this.
PHIL. Ex iis enim quae supra memorata sunt, constat abunde, omnes fere seu ignorantia, seu lauticia, seu socordia impeditos, in vinea domini ociari, et stertere. dubitas? Da rursus hominem, te rogo, qui in agone contendens ab omnibus sese temperet, ut hortatur paulus: Is ille erit, quem ad cursum aptum, atque probe institutum esse quaerimus. Putasne civem adeo in bonis moribus informatum cerni posse, ut valeat sine solitudine esse, ut a Paulo cavetur: qui* cum uxor sic vivit, ac si toro viduus esse? Qui utitur hoc mundo tanquam non utens? Eum dixerim omnium sese abstinentem.	Phileremus: For because of those things mentioned above, it is abundantly evident, nearly all, whether encumbered by ignorance, or lavishness or sluggishness, take their leisure in the vineyards of the lord, and snore. Do you doubt [this]? Give back the man, I beg you, who controls himself from everything while struggling in a contest, as Paul urges: he will be that one, whom we seek to be apt for the course, and properly prepared. Do you think a citizen so formed in good habits can be discerned, so that he may prevail without solitude, as is stipulated by Paul: who, when his wife lives thus, is like a widow in

²²⁵ The Cimbri were a Celtic-Germanic tribe who fought the Romans in 113-101 BCE; the Rhaeti, Norici (Bavarians), and Helvetii (Swiss) lived in the area of the Alps:

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Roman_Empire_125.png.

²²⁶ Maximilian I (1459-1519), Holy Roman Emperor, grandfather of Charles V.

	the marriage bed? ^{227*} Who uses this world as though he uses it not? I would say he is refraining from everything.
Quis mihi clericum, aut sacerdotem ostendet, divinas divini Pauli regulas adamussim sectantem? Sit pudicus inquit: non bilinguis: non multo vino deditus: non turpi lucro inihans [sic, for inhians]: habens denique mysterium fidei in conscientia pura. Ecquid de vobis, et nobis dicam ò Theolepte? habentes autem alimenta: et quo tegamur amictum, contenti ne sumus? sectamini inquit, iustitiam: pietatem: Fidem: Cha-	Who will show me a cleric, or a priest, following precisely the rules of St. Paul? Let him be chaste, he says, not hypocritical, not given to a lot of wine, not greedy for filthy lucre, maintaining, to sum up, the mystery of faith in a pure conscience. And what could I say of you, and of us, O Theoleptus? Having provisions now, and a cloak with which we may be covered, are we not content? He said: follow justice, piety, Faith, Charity,
{page 99} {p. G ii} Pomilio 7	{page 99} {p. G ii} Pomilio 7
ritatem: patientiam: mansuetudinem. Praeterea divites compellans, non sublime ait sapere, neque sperare in incerto divitiarum, sed in deo vivo: divites fieri in bonis actionibus, facile tribuere. Cuperem his quosdam meae patriae Cives adesse: eos sane divites, quibus cum usque adeo in syncere agitur, ut sub coloria veste, impluvioque colobio, pullatam religionem subtendere praesumant: scilicet ut absque aperti probri nota, avaritiae deserviant. fucatum sane praetextum, et modis omnibus a bono cive extirpandum, quem Paulus admonet thesaurizare sibi bonum fundamentum in futurum.	patience, mercy. Moreover, charging the wealthy, he says not to have a sense of superiority nor to trust in the uncertainty of riches, but in the living god; to become rich in good deeds, to share willingly. ²²⁸ I would like certain of these citizens of my country to be in attendance, those quite well endowed, with whom when it is done so sincerely, that under multi-colored clothes, under atrium and tunic, they presume to lie underneath a drab religion, that is so that they could devote themselves to avarice without the mark of public disgrace.* A fancy toga/ pretext*, and to be rooted out in every way by a good citizen, whom Paul admonished to store the treasure of a good foundation for himself in the future. ²²⁹
Praeterea cohorresco plane: cum de sublimitate tam excelsi verticis succurrit memoria. Oportet inquit Episcopum irreprehensibilem esse. Quis unquam audeat reprehendere Episcopum castum? sobrium? pudicum? doctum? A quo quaeso melius, ac	Moreover I utterly shudder, when from the sublimity of such a lofty peak memory runs to [my] aid. "It behooveth," it says, "therefore a Bishop to be blameless." ²³⁰ Who would ever dare to reprehend a chaste Bishop? A sober [one]? Modest? Learned? From whom I ask you, can

²²⁷ Cf. Paul, 1 Corinthians 7.32: "And I would have you be without solicitude"; and in the next sentence, 7.31: "And they that used this world as if they used it not."

²²⁸ Paul, 1 Timothy 6.17-18, with some phrases omitted.

²²⁹ Paul, 1 Timothy 6.19.

²³⁰ Paul, 1 Timothy 3.2.

lucidius exire, quando* uti torrens in rivos decurrere potest, ipsa virtutum mater sapientia, quam ab Episcopo?	wisdom herself, the mother of virtues, emerge better and more shining, just as a torrent can rush down in streams, than from a Bishop?*
O vere Mitra, et pileo te dignum dixerim ò Pompeie: si cum hodie ab humanis accersitus: et inter carissimorum lachrymas in pheretrum sublatus, huiusmodi gratiarum floribus, inventus es ornatus. O te beatum, si in hoc salebroso vitae cursu, pulverulentoque curriculo, sic vitam instituisti, ut sacra vita, honorataque Tiara, excelsae fronti decori, atque ornamento extiterit. Iam credo, a corporeis semotus plene videas, quod heri nobiscum, cum hic viveres, ut vir eras naris purgatissimae,	O truly I would say you are worthy of the Miter and the felt hat, O Pompey, if when today, having been summoned from human [affairs] and carried off on a bier amid the tears of your very dearest, you are found to be adorned with flowers of these sorts of graces. O blessed you, if in this rugged course of life, and in [this] dusty race-track, you established [your] life thus, so that it would prove to be a sacred life and distinguished with a Tiara, with beauty and adornment for an eminent brow.* Now I think, you seem entirely removed from corporeal [things, that yesterday with us, while you were alive in this place, as you were a man of an extremely purged nose,
{page 100} {p. G ii v} Pomilio 7	{page 100} {p. G ii v} Pomilio 7
subodorabas, hominem videlicet nullum ad felicia illa beatitudinis bona introduci posse, nisi illum, quem magis labor, inedia, calamitas, atque miseria tandem ipsa, oblectat, quam ocium, luxus, delitiae, et mundi plausus. Quae quidem omnia suos ne dum ammovent sestatores* [sic, sectatores?] a cursu, sed deturbant, perurgentque ac impellunt. Corrupt ergo omnis caro viam suam, atque de spatio deflexit totum genus humanum.	you were sniffing around: clearly no one can be introduced to those fruitful advantages of beatitude, except that one, whom labor, fastings, misfortune and finally wretchedness itself delights more than leisure, lust, pleasures and the world's applause. Indeed all those things not only don't move their followers/ attendants to the course, but thrust [them] down, thoroughly urge [them] on and impel [them]. ²³¹ Therefore flesh corrupts everyone in its path, and turns the whole human race away from the field.*
Quid oro aliud in frondosis his ramis, in quorum umbra resupini stertimus, nisi luxuriosos surculos, et lata folia redundare conspicimus? proinde altissimo illi fundamento, praeter quod nullum aliud poni iubet Paulus, quid a plerisque superstruatur, etiam ipsi capti oculis Talpae viderent. Raro aurum, argentum, gemma. crebrius Fenum,	What else, I pray, are we watching in these leafy branches, in which we snore lying supine in the shade, if not luxurious shoots, and broad leaves teeming? So then on that extremely deep foundation, before which Paul commands nothing else to be laid, what may be built upon by many, even the moles themselves would see with

²³¹ *sestatores* here may be an error for *sectatores*: followers, adherents; *statores*: attendants, took part in ceremonies to Jupiter, cf. the Temple of Jupiter Stator (Jupiter the Stayer) a famous meeting place in the Roman Forum; Adams found that *stator* may mean *mentula* (phallus), p. 252, note to p. 57.

stipula, plumbum. Sed et iniquitas ipsa, apud vatem quendam, visa est sedere super talentum plumbi.	captive eyes. ²³² Seldom gold, silver, jewel. More often hay, straw, lead. But also iniquity itself, in the presence of a certain poet, seemed to sit on a talent of lead.*
Quo circa a recta convulsi, et ob id desides facti, oblanguescimus miseri, nec aliquando ad meliora excitamur. Quid? nec dum spiritus domini fertur super aquas, et adhuc, quod sine singultu dicere non possum, aquae sunt super faciem Abyssi. Denique ut semel cum Esaiae vaticinio finiam. haec est via inquit, ambulate in ea, neque ad dexteram, neque ad sinistram.	Wherefore having been shaken violently from the right [path], and on account of it [the foundation*] made sluggish, wretched, we languish, nor are we ever aroused to better things. What? The spirit of the lord is not yet carried over the waters, and now, something that I cannot say without a gasp: there are waters upon the face of the Abyss. ²³³ Finally so that I may conclude once and for all with the prophecy of Isaiah: this is the path, he said, walk in it, [going] neither to the right nor to the left. ²³⁴
TH. Valete ò viri optimi, si quid deinceps erit, quo vos?	Theoleptus: Fare well, O excellent men, if there will be anything after this, where will you go?
PH. Ubi volueris, obvii erimus.	Phileremus: Wherever you wish, we'll be easy.
TH. Tamen.	Theoleptus: Still.
PH. Minervae, aut ad tuum Tartessum, quem Bromius, quem Pallas amat, navigabimus.	Phileremus: We will sail to Minerva, or to your Tartessos, which Dionysus and Athena love. ²³⁵
TH. Nihil commodius.	Theoleptus: [There's] nothing more agreeable.
{page 101} {p. G iii} Pomilio 8	{page 101} {p. G iii} Pomilio 8
Pomilio 8	Pomilio 8

²³² 1 Corinthians 3.11, and next sentence, 3.12.

²³³ Alteration of Genesis 1.2: "Terra autem erat inanis et vacua, et tenebrae erant super faciem abyssi : et spiritus Dei ferebatur super aquas" (And the earth was *inanis* and empty, and darkness was upon the face of the Abyss, and the spirit of God was carried over the waters).

²³⁴ A slight variation on Isaiah 30.21, "et aures tuae audient verbum post tergum monentis haec via ambulate in ea neque ad dexteram neque ad sinistram."

²³⁵ Tartesso, a port town on the Southern coast of Spain, thought to be a Celtic center of culture and perhaps lost to sea water; Herodotus refers to it as beyond the Pillars of Hercules, mentioned above, p. 95. Bromius is an epithet of Dionysus, meaning noisy.

NON FACILE CREDENDUM esse illis, qui novas prae se ferunt religiones. ad Reverendum Franciscum Calabrem.	Not to be easily believed by those who profess new religions. For the Reverend Francisco Calabro/i. ²³⁶
PHILEREMUS. MISOPONUS.	PHILEREMUS. MISOPONUS.
Audisti ne Misopone?	[Phileremus:] Didn't you hear, Misoponus?
MIS. Perinde atque gratius nunquam. Et si te anxiorum miseret, clarius mecum.	Misoponus: Quite and never more agreeably. And if you should feel sorry for the anxious, more clearly [you should feel sorry] for me.*
PH. de luce illa?	Phileremus: About that light?
MISO. profecto, nam sine sole quis unquam auroram vidit?	Misoponus: Certainly, for without the sun who has ever seen the dawn?
PH. ab aureo enim solis radio, aurescit aer, ex quo auroram dici, arbitrati sunt antiqui. Exorbitaverat plane sol, atque tam longe, ut iterum Phaetontem ascendisse currum, inversa rerum natura demonstrabat. Semiustulatus igitur conquestus est orbis, et suum germanum lumen interversum esse, lamentati sunt coeli. Itaque decusso illegitimo auriga, ad aequam Zodiaci clypticam reversus est sol, atque ita esse praemonstrat nascentis aurorae pellucidum iubar: tenue tamen.	Phileremus: For from the golden ray of the sun, the air becomes gold, from this [dawn] is called Aurora (Golden), the ancients thought. The sun had gone utterly out of its orbit, and so far away, that the inverted nature of things was indicating that Phaethon had mounted the chariot again. ²³⁷ Therefore the half-burnt world was bemoaned, and the skies complained that their real light was inverted. And so, with the illegitimate charioteer shaken off, the sun returned to the level elliptic of the Zodiac, and the translucent radiance of the nascent dawn, although feeble, shows it is so.
MISO. ut mihi videtur, huic tuae heraclidae orationi, est opus Oedipo coniectore, nisi forte christianorum religionem solem appelles, quae sit autem aurora, nondum intelligo.	Misoponus: As it seems to me, for this Heraclidean oration of yours, the riddle-solver Oedipus is needed, unless perhaps you are calling the sun the religion of Christians; what, however, the dawn might be, I don't yet understand. ²³⁸
PH. dixi orbem fere totum a recta detorxisse, hic error solis, ex quo late deflagravit tellus, haec est cupiditatum flamma, ac ignorantiae fumus. Repetiit sol cursum, atque iterum	Phileremus: I said that the world had almost entirely twisted away from the right [path]; this [is] the sun's error, because of which the earth was burnt down far and wide: this is the flame of

²³⁶ Note needed on Franciscum Calabrem/ Francesco Calabro.*

²³⁷ Young Phaethon wants proof that Helios, the sun-god, really is his father, so he insists on driving the chariot of the Sun, pulled by fire-breathing horses. As a result of his inexpert guidance, part of the world is burnt, some kingdoms turn to ash; cf. Dante, *Purgatorio* 4.71-72.

²³⁸ Altered quote from Plautus, *nam isti quidem hercle orationi Oedipo/ opust coniectore, qui Sphingi interpret fuit* (for this speech, by Hercules!, we need Oedipus, who was an interpreter for the Sphinx, as an oracle), *Poenulus (The Puny Punic)*, 444; but with a tangential reference to Heracleides Ponticus (c. 390-322), a Greek philosopher and astronomer attributed with suggestion that the Earth rotates.

suam praemittit hesperum, non novum, ut nonnulli opinantur: sed antiquum renovatum.	desires and the smoke of ignorance. The sun regained its course, and again sends out ahead its evening [star], not a new one, as some think, but the old one renewed.
MISO. Vix.	Misoponus: Barely.
PH. modo vix, et sat est. favet iis cum pri-	Phileremus: Only barely, and it's enough. It favors those, especially the supreme pontiff,
{page 102} {p. G iii v} Pomilio 8	{page 102} {p. G iii} Pomilio 8
mis summus pontifex, ex primoribus per pauci. Caeterum ab orbe in derisum, et exhibilationem, tenes?	very few of the princes. For the rest, do you keep apart from the world/ Rome in derision and hissing rejection?*
Miso: Multa quidem mira, et portentis ferme similia, de novo illo vitae instituto, narrantur. Aiunt enim eis cum mundo nullum esse foedus omnino, nimirum res rara nostri aevi sed totam illorum spem, ac fidutiam*, in deo sitam esse, non agros, non vineas, non domos possident, nec nisi lateritia, aut sagina utuntur suppellectile. Cellulae vix parvi hominis mensuram aequantes, quae quidem non signis, aut tabulis, sed sacris codicibus, et his admodum paucis perornantur. Ex paleis Anacliterium, vel ex pilo asini confartum, tenet gurgustii angulum.	Misoponus: Indeed many wondrous things, and almost like portents, are being told about this new practice of life. For they say that these people have absolutely no pact with the world, without doubt a rare thing for our era, but their entire hope and confidence is placed in god: they possess no fields, no vines, no homes, and except for brick walls and nourishment, they enjoy no belongings. Cells barely equaling the size of a small man, which are not even decorated with banners or paintings, but with sacred codices, and very few of these. A pillow made of chaff, or stuffed with ass-hair holds the corner of the hovel.*
Victus promiscuus, et Cibarius. non horrea, non penum, non stabula. Vestem habent incultam, villosam, mutinensem, et hanc solam, sed vulgo aliquantisper ridiculam. Tegurii limen plerique non exeunt, pauci vero, ob pietatem, vix raro. Victum neque vicatim, neque per domos hostiatim, ut hodie passim caeteri illius ordinis viri, expiscantur: sed divinis tantummodo intenti mysteriis, ab eo cui serviunt, et quem sciunt non posse non praesto esse pollicitationibus, exigunt. Non Carpentio, aut lectica (heu more	Haphazard food, and coarse. No barns, no storehouse, no stables. They have a rough garment, shaggy, from Modena, and only this, but generally somewhat laughable. ²³⁹ Most don't exit the threshold of the little shrine, few actually, on account of piety, barely ever. They don't go angling for food from street to street, nor house to house, offering by offering, as today other men of that order do here and there; but intent only upon divine mysteries, they exact promises from him whom they serve, and whom they know not to be able to not be obliging.* Not in a Carriage or

²³⁹ Note needed: Speculation: *vestem... mutinensem* is unexpected: Modena (*Mutina* in Latin) specialized in expensive cloth, and since people find the garment "ridiculam" perhaps *mutinensem* refers to Mutinus, a Roman Phallic deity, or plays on Modena/moderna.

<p>corruptos) regionatim devehuntur, sed aut vili socculo, aut nudo pede sua habent itinera. Viri alioqui omnibus affabiles, et benigni, atque sine fuco, et Hypocrisi, venerandi.</p>	<p>on a litter are they carried from region to region (alas, those corrupt in habit), but either with a lowly slipper or naked foot they have their journeys. Otherwise, they are men friendly to everyone, kind, and venerable without deception or Hypocrisy.</p>
<p>PH. satis quidem laute, ipsos suo pinxisti colore. sed haec videntur tibi portentis similima? Quid quaeso viro sacris initiato dignius</p>	<p>Phileremus: Indeed you have painted them lavishly with their own color. But do these things seem so like portents to you? What, I ask, can be more worthy for a man initiated into sacred rites</p>
<p>{page 103} {p. G iiiii} Pomilio 8</p>	<p>{page 103} {p. G iiiii} Pomilio 8</p>
<p>esse potest, quam prorsus et mente, et animo in eius benignitatem, qui dat omnibus affluenter, et non improperat, se se prostenerere* [prosternere?], et de illius fide pendere? Proinde ne tibi persuadeas velim, hoc genus vitae novum esse. Annosum est cum ab antiquis Hebraeis, tum a nostris servatum, sed desidia tempororum* desitum est, et antiquatum. lege te rogo Hieronymum ad Nepotianum, lege Ambrosium de fuga saeculi, lege Gregorium ad Anglos, lege Urbani scita ad christianos, et sexcenta alia aliorum decreta, et videbis quanto probro afficiebatur clericus, qui in terris, tunc vel tantillum quidem, habere velet.</p>	<p>than utterly both in mind and spirit to prostrate himself on the kindness of that one who gives abundantly to everyone, and does not reproach, and to depend on/ hang from his faith? Consequently I would like you to not persuade yourself that this sort of life is new. It is old, preserved both by the ancient Hebrews, then by our people, but it has been abandoned and rejected by the indolence of the times. Read, I ask you, Jerome to Nepotian, read Ambrose about the flight from the world, read Gregory to the English, read the statutes of Urban to the Christians, and six hundred other decrees by other men, and you will see with how much abuse the clergyman is afflicted, who, on earth at that time, would have liked to have even so little.²⁴⁰</p>

²⁴⁰ Jerome (mentioned above p. 69) in his oft-cited *Letter to Nepotian*, no. 52, addressed the behavior of monks and condemned lusts of the flesh. Ambrose (above, p. 62), wrote a work titled, *De fuga saeculi (On the Flight from the World)* which admonished all to leave behind the evils of the world, like sandals. Gregory (Pope 590-604) wanted to convert angelic looking English boys from paganism (“*non Angli, sed angeli*”); wrote a letter to Abbot Mellitus reported by Bede (*Ecclesiastical History*) advising converting existing temples into Christian churches. Urban II (chosen Pope in Terracina, in 1088), launched the Crusades, promising remission of sins for Christians involved. Urban was also known for having reinstated Christian rule in Sicilia and Campania after centuries of Muslim rule: he gave his agent, Roger I, special powers to appoint bishops, to collect Church revenues and send them to the papacy, and to judge ecclesiastical questions.

Alioqui aiebat Hieronymus, si aurum, si argentum, si possessiones, si variam suppellectilem, cum istis partibus non dignatur dominus fieri pars nostra, et sors. Hoc enim distat dei sacerdos, ut inquit Adamantius, a Pharaonis sacerdote, quod deus bona sua, suis promittit in coelo. Pharao autem in terris, et in aegypto. non igitur nova sunt commenta, sed reviviscunt qui per desidiam, et ambitionem pene aboliti fuerant mores. Nec multum me movet victus in hisce bonis viris parsimonia: factitarunt et hoc, vel exactius forsan, Apollonius tyaneus. Iarcas Indus, et complures alii apud aegyptios, et apud Iudaeos, Essaei.	In any case Jerome used to say, "if gold, if silver, if possessions, if various belongings, with those parts/ lots, the lord does not deign to become our part/ lot, and our fate." ²⁴¹ For, as Adamantius says, this stands the priest of god apart from the priest of Pharaoh, that god promises his goods to his people in heaven. However Pharaoh is on earth, and in Egypt. These are not therefore new schemes, but in fact habits are coming to life again that had been nearly abolished through indolence and self-interest. And frugality of food in these good men doesn't move me much. [Others] too have frequently practiced this, even perhaps more rigorously: Apollonius of Tyana, Iarcas the Indian, and many others among the Egyptians, and among the Jews, the Essenes. ²⁴²
MISO. dic sodes?	Misoponus: Tell [me], please?
PHILEREMUS. tam singularis ausus, in tam periculosis temporibus, in quibus fere ipsa suspecta est veritas: sed favent coelites. Caeterum quid refert si a mundi theatro explodantur? O si eo modo mihi insanire integrum esset?	Phileremus: Such singular daring, in such dangerous times, in which truth itself is almost suspect, but the gods/ heaven-dwellers support it. What does it matter if the rest are clomped off the theatre of the world? O, would it have been healthy for me to go insane in that way?
{page 104} {p. G iiii v} Pomilio 8	{page 104} {p. G iiii v} Pomilio 8
MISO. quid vetat?	Misoponus: What prevents [your going insane]?
PHIL. hem quid vetat? laxus, discinctus, lusciosus, vetus, vietus tantam ne rem?	Phileremus: Hmm. What prevents it? [Does being] lax, ungirded, weak-eyed, old, shriveled, [prevent] such a great thing?
MISOP. Quid tu his minus?	Misoponus: Why are you less with these [traits]?
PHIL. Ridiculum. videre senem sub cucullo illo fastigiari. non agam. Sed si me audis, ad Gaderam tranemus. Illic enim solitudo	Phileremus: Ridiculous. To see an old man with a point/ tip beneath that monk's hood.* I won't do it. But if you agree with me, let us swim across to

²⁴¹ Jerome, as above, *Letter to Nepotian*, no. 52, section 5 where he addresses the meaning of the word clergy; passage quoted in Gratian's *Decretum*: C. V.

²⁴² Apollonius of Tyana (1st cent. CE) was a famous Greek philosopher and miracle worker from Asia Minor; Pythagoreans were said to abstain from various foods. Iarcas was a wise man with whom Apollonius was reported to have conversed during a trip to India. The Essenes were a Jewish sect that practiced strict abstinence from various worldly goods and acts.

<p>insignior, et quae prae se ferat liberio-rem ad quietem accessum.</p>	<p>Gedera.²⁴³ For there the hermitage is more distinguished, and it might display freer access to calm.</p>
<p>MISO. Millies immutandus est mihi aer, dummodo reperiam,* ubi pascat in meridie, et cubet pacis author. Neque illos admodum audiendos esse arbitror, qui censent eos arguendos, qui facile locum mutant. Ego vero non tam acerbe rem pondero: verum cupio ut omnis levitas ab sit animi. Ex illis ipsis quidem partim ut ventri, partim ut animo vacent, mutant sedes. Hi mentis inconstantia: illi melioris vitae studio, ac desyderio. Alioqui non video cur coelestis sponsa illa, ardentissimo divini amoris oestro concitata dicere debeat: Circuibo civitatem, per vicus, et plateas, ut quaeram quem diligit anima mea. de hortorum plantis forsitan illius generis propositio assumi posset: at animorum irrequieto adipiscendae pacis desyderio, quis fraenum ponat?</p>	<p>Misoponus: A thousand times I must change the air, until I find where the author of peace grazes in midday and sleeps.²⁴⁴ And I don't think that those men must be greatly listened to, who reckon those men must be accused, who readily change location. Certainly I do not ponder the matter too bitterly, but in fact I desire that all fickleness of soul be absent. Because of those very things indeed partly in order to be free from their stomach, partly from their soul, they change seats/ places. These men because of inconstancy of mind, those in pursuit of a better life, and desire. Besides, I do not see why that heavenly bride, spurred on by the most ardent passion of a divine lover, should say, "I will go about the city, through its streets and squares; I will search for the one my heart holds dear."²⁴⁵ About garden plants perhaps a premise of this sort could be assumed: but who would put reins on attaining peace from the unrequited desire of souls (<i>animorum</i>)?</p>
<p>Quid sibi velit, novit vir prudens, illa de christo locorum varietas. Hunc enim modo, in campestri loco legimus prae-euntem turbas: modo docentem in monte modo in horto: modo in Navicula: modo in templo versantem. Caeterum tota res nostra in animo sita est. Neque unquam tam obtusam habui mentem quin sciverim hosce naturae ordines debere animo parere, non impera-</p>	<p>The prudent man knows what he would like for himself: that variety of locations concerning Christ. For first we read about this man going before crowds on an open plain: then teaching on a mountain, then in a garden, then in a small Ship; then turning about in a temple. However that may be, our whole matter is placed in the soul. And I have never had a mind so obtuse that I didn't know that these positions of nature must obey the soul, not command [it].</p>
<p>{page 105} {p. G v} Pomilio 8</p>	<p>{page 105} {p. G v} Pomilio 8</p>

²⁴³ Biblical Gedera is identified with Khirbet Judraya (near Bayt Nattif) not modern Gedera.

²⁴⁴ Mixture of verses from the Song of Solomon, 1.6, "indica mihi quem diligit anima mea ubi pascas ubi cubes in meridie," (Show me, [you] whom my soul loves, where you pasture your flock, where you make it lie down at noon), and Paul, 1 Corinthians 14.33, "non enim est dissensionis Deus sed pacis," (For God is not the author of confusion, but of peace).

²⁴⁵ Song of Solomon 3.2.

re. et quae tandem conditio hominum tam assidue caelum mutat, quam hi qui in claustris optimum vitae institutum profitentur?	And finally, what situation of humans changes the sky as continually as these men who in cloisters profess the best practice of life?
PHI. sic opinor. Eamus itaque. Quid enim dulcius, adde et magis utile mihi fore putas, quam* in salutis agone te socium habere, quem heri tantillum a cunis, ac fasciis, in hunc usque annum patientissime educavi? vagientem sustinui? et ulnis his debilibus confovi? Prae gaudio lachymor* [lachrymor]. Aude igitur fili: et mecum in Evangelio reducendo, ut suum provocat Paulus Timotheum, collabora. Immo magis, ambo cum istis novis vatibus, et praeconibus, collaboremus.	Phileremus: I agree. Therefore, let us go. For what is sweeter, and add in what you think will be more useful for me, than to have you as a companion in [our] struggle for salvation, whom yesterday, scarcely out of the cradle and swaddling [clothes], I have most patiently educated right up to this year? Whom wailing, I hold up? And have cherished in these feeble arms? ²⁴⁶ I'm crying because of joy. Therefore, be brave, son: and collaborate with me in bringing back into the Gospel/ Good News, as Paul called forth his Timothy to do. Rather more, let us both work together with those new priests and heralds (of yours).
Videsis, edentulus sum: ex palatus visco, balat lingua. oculus hebet, ac totus tremo. Tamen vivax adhuc ad cursum est animus. Tantum autem abesse debet ut te juvenum, ac ferocem, in stadio praevertar. Hucusque, ah facinus indignum, misere cum caeteris claudicavimus, in umbraque pugnativimus. nunc viso sole, in tenebris versabimur, et in recta transversi, non viri prorsus, obambulabimus ut Cancer? Eya virtute macte.	You see, I am toothless, having strayed from the glue, my tongue blathers. My eye grows dim and I tremble all over. Nevertheless, my soul is still vigorous for the course. However, it should be far from the case, [that] you, young and fierce, are outstripped by me on the race course. Thus far, oh unworthy crime, we have limped wretchedly with the others, we have fought in shadow. Now with the sun having appeared, we will turn about in darkness, and having crossed over into the right (<i>recta</i>) [path], not with force at all, will we walk up to [someone] [backwards] like a Crab? Ha, well done.
MIS. prae laetitia insanio.	Misoponus: I'm going mad because of joy.
PH. Apagesis inepte.	Phileremus: Go away then, fool.

²⁴⁶ Cf. *Illum glutineis fovent in ulnis* ([they] cherish him in their gluey ams), T. Folengo, *Varium poema*, 53. To Niccolò Morosini.

MISO. sine me pater hosce pedes quos mihi praevious ad beatitudinem offers, dissuaviari.	Misoponus: Allow me, father, to eagerly kiss these feet you offer to me that are leading the way to beatitude.
PHIL. Abi bone vir, num censes, paedicosos artus ad ea que* [quae] sunt animi ex usu fore. Corde enim curritur ac mente, quae* et ipsa suos pedes habet, nimirum affectus, et desyderia. Qui si loti sunt, atque a terrenarum rerum pulvere abstersi, per vates dicuntur in recta stare. At si sordidos, et coeno infectos habeas: erras etiam in	Phileremus: Go away, good man; you don't suppose [my] lousy/ bugged limbs are about to be for those things which are of advantage to the soul (<i>animi</i>). ²⁴⁷ For with the heart one rushes, and the mind, which even has its own feet, evidently emotions and desires. Which, if they have been washed, and wiped off from the dust of earthly things, they are said by bards to stay in the right [path]. But if you have sordid ones, and stained with filth, you go astray even in the
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aperto, et sub sole ipso.	open, and beneath the sun itself.
MISO. plane iam ipsis a primis annis abste, prius quam lac, exhausti quae dicis, et mordicus teneo. Accelerandum esse igitur censeo. Non tamen ab re erit viaticum cum asello concinnate. Dorsuaria, vel Clitellas, ain?	Misoponus: Clearly now from you in my very first years, before milk, I drank up what you are saying, and I hold on tenaciously. Therefore I think it has to be sped up. Still the travel provisions won't be in vain, with a young ass all ready. Back-packs or Pack-saddles, what do you say?
PH. Malim desultorium. Audi. cinctum Gabinum in hippoperis complica.	Phileremus: I would prefer a trampoline. Listen: Roll up a cinched toga in saddle-bags. ²⁴⁸
MISO. Interulas?	Misoponus: Undergarments? ²⁴⁹
PH. et interulas, et flameola* sinas modo, nanque ultra Mergilinam non est mihi nunc iter.	Phileremus: You may now allow both undergarments and small [red] veils/ flame-red things, for in fact my journey now is not beyond Mergellina. ²⁵⁰
MISO. est ne etiam huius nominis insula in Iberia?	Misoponus: Is there not also an island of this name in Iberia/ Spain?

²⁴⁷ The verb *paedico*, or *pedico* is strongly used in Latin for “to have anal intercourse with”; here *paedicosos* is an adjective formed with the suffix *-os* meaning prone to, full of; *pedicae* is shackles (p. 54 and 110); *pedicosos* would mean lousy, full of lice; *paedicosos* may be shielding itself with that meaning.

²⁴⁸ The *cinctus gabinus* is the style of draping the toga that leaves the arms free, from the ancient town of Gabii, then East of Rome, now part of the city.

²⁴⁹ The *interula* was a tunic (usually of linen) worn next to the skin.

²⁵⁰ Mergellina: coastal town west of Naples, so North across the Gulf of Naples from Punta Campanella where these dialogues are situated.

PH. quid Iberia? Mergilinam aio vatis Synceri. Ne igitur quae molior nescias, prius mihi adeundus est senex quidam.	Phileremus: What [do you mean] Iberia? I am saying Mergellina of the poet of Syncerus. ²⁵¹
MIS. Cuias?	Misoponus: From where?
PH. non hoc quaero.	Phileremus: I am not asking about this.
MISO. quid ergo?	Misoponus: What, then?
PH. etiam ipse molitur nescio quid novi.	Phileremus: He too labors at some sort of innovation.
MISO. quid postea?	Misoponus: What after that?
PH. Ex hominis ingenio, ut coniectem quo genio ducatur, quo animo, qua spe, quo fine tandem. Est via sursum ad Pausylipum leva, hinc Bivium, illinc testudinato tecto fanulum, horsum vero cum angiportu, maceries.	Phileremus: From the innate talent/ character (<i>ingenio</i>) of a man, so that I may infer by what inclination it is guided, by what soul (<i>animo</i>), by what hope (<i>spe</i>), finally by what end (<i>fine</i>). There is a road [to the] left, up to Posillipo, from here a fork in the road: on that side a small temple with a four-sided (tortoise-shell like) roof, but on this side, a wall with a narrow lane (<i>angiportu</i>). ²⁵²
MISO. locum teneo, illum adeo desolatum, ac musco tetrum?	Misoponus: I have the place [in mind] – that one so desolate, and foul with moss.
PHIL. illum.	Phileremus: That one.
MISO. Cauponariam iurassem.	Misoponus: I would have sworn it was a boarding house.
PHIL. olim sedes illa, vulgo celebris fuit, et, religionis plena, sed ob quandam aquarum illuviem, quae tectis fere, et fornicibus fundamenta aequavit, prorsus in oblivionem venerat.	Phileremus: Formerly that seat/ place was generally celebrated, and full of devotion/ religion, but, because of the filthiness of the waters, which almost covered [it] and came level to the foundations of the vaults/ brothel, it had come entirely into obscurity.
MISO. Et locum, et senem, et Cathaclismum scio: sed vide ne a praeusto sude crassus, quod aiunt, fumus, [errata corrects sumus to fumus], haud flamma prosiliat.	Misoponus: I know the place, and the old man, and the cataclysm: but see to it that turbid “smoke” as they say, does not gush forth from that stake burnt at the tip, with no flame at all.

²⁵¹ Jacopo Sannazaro (1458-1530) was a well-regarded poet best known for his Italian prose and poetry pastoral romance, *Arcadia*; Sincero (Syncerus) represents the author’s persona in his works. After having accompanied King Ferdinand of Naples into exile in France, Sannazaro returned to Italy and lived out his days at his villa in Mergellina. The new thing Sannazaro set in motion would seem to be prose and poetry that is sensual and suggestive, like the section here titled *Polipus*. Sannazaro and a few of his works receive warm praise in the Toscolana *Baldus*, 25.569-574.

²⁵² Posillipo is a town on the Northern coast of the Gulf of Naples; incidentally the Greek name means respite from worry.

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Pomilio 9	Pomilio 9
PHILERE. SENEX [sic, no punct.] GENIUS.	Phileremus, Old Man, Spirit.
Video senem.	[Phileremus:] I see an old man.
GEN. Quid hoc hominis est? unde iste, ò deus bone, processit Truo.	Spirit: What [sort of] man is this?* O good God, where is that cormorant/ pelican coming from? ²⁵³
PHI. salve vir optime.	Phileremus: Greetings, sir/ excellent man.
SEN. et vos, si Christo placet.	Old Man: And you [two], Christ willing.
GEN. opportuna responsio. atque elegans.	Spirit: Strategic response, and elegant.
SEN. Quid stupes? meum ne pallorem? impexam barbam? Oh si scires. leiuno ter in sabbato.	Old Man: Why are you surprised? Is it my pallor? My uncombed beard? Oh if [only] you knew. I fast three times a week.
GEN. hem uno pharisaeum antevertit puncto.	Spirit: Hmm. He goes ahead of the Pharisee by one point.
SEN. noctu dum stertunt alii, vigilo. Tragaedias lucubro. oh qualem, qualem vitam.	Old Man: I keep vigil at night while others snore. I work on tragedies. Oh what a life, what a life.
GEN. Phileremum lupi videre priorem.	Spirit: The wolves saw Phileremus first.*
PH. Quae nova schola? Primo me ingressu deterruit homo iste. Et tuum pallorem, et tuum leiunium, et tuas vigilias, laudo ò bone, praesertim si pax ad sit animi.	Phileremus: What new school [system*] is this? First, this man frightened me at the entrance. And your pallor, and your fasting, and your vigils, I praise you, O good [man] especially if peace of mind be at hand.*
SEN. Nihil audisti prae his quae agere cupio, modo velint socii.	Old Man: You didn't hear in view of these things what I want to do, if only my friends want to.*
GENI. ó immensam in socios charitatem.	Spirit: Oh, [such] immense love for our friends.
SEN. omnes me honorant, suspiciunt, mirantur, amant, perpaucorum scilicet hominum qui sunt.	Old Man: All men honor me, look up to me, admire and love me, which is to say, of the few men who are [here].
GEN. Immo nullorum, si te amant.	Spirit: Rather of no men, if they love you.
PH. quorsum haec, et quo frigidissimus huius Capularis, se se attollat fumus, nondum intelligo.	Phileremus: I do not yet understand where these are headed, and for what purpose the coldest vapor of this grave raises itself.*

²⁵³ Cf Psalms 101.7: "I am become like a pelican in the wilderness"; refers to a cormorant or figuratively, a large-nosed person.

SEN. Ego iam millies a venetis ad gallos, a gallis item ad Britannos, horsum, sursum cursitavi.	Old Man: I have already run back and forth a thousand times from the Venetians to the French, from the French likewise to the British.
PHILE. Absurdum profecto, nec quod est aequum agis.	Phileremus: Definitely absurd, nor with all that, are you doing what is right.*
SEN. Qui?	Old Man: How so?
PH. Corpus tam crebris desultoriis, attritum.	Phileremus: A body gets worn out from such frequent acrobatics/ vaulters.
SEN. Ieiuniis macerare?	Old Man: You are worn down from fasts?
PH. hoc volebam dicere.	Phileremus: That's what I meant to say.
SEN. Ieiunio ter.	Old Man: I fast three times [per week].
PH. Iam audivi.	Phileremus: As I heard.
SEN. noctu.	Old Man: At night.
PH. et hoc.	Phileremus: Also this.
SEN. ò si socii velent [vellent*].	Old Man: O, if only my friends would wish to.
PH. te	Phileremus: Did you torture yourself
{page 108} {p. G vi v} Pomilio 9	{page 108} {p. G vi v} Pomilio 9
etiam indiscretius excarnificares?	even more ill-advisedly?
SEN. Ego ne? me nosti ante hac?	Old Man: Me? Did you know me before this?
PH. haudquaquam quod sciam.	Phileremus: Not at all, as far as I know.
SEN. neque meos avos?	Old Man: Not my grandparents either?
PHI. neque avos, neque proavos.	Phileremus: Neither your grandparents nor your great grandparents.
SEN. Miror. Cuias es?	Old Man: I am amazed. Where do you come from?
PH. mundanus sum.	Phileremus: I'm a man of the world.
SEN. ò mundane quae conubia inter reges? quas indutias? quanta bella? quas scaenas? quae orchestra per me concinnata?	Old Man: O worldly man, what marriages [are being made] among kings? What truces? How many wars? What shows [are there]? What orchestra seats have been set up for me?
GEN. perbella narratio. ieiuniis commiscet Hymenaeos, ac Tibias.	Spirit: A thoroughly charming narration. He mixes Weddings and Flutes with fasts.
SEN. Tandem huc diverti naufragus.	Old Man: I turned at last to this place a [ship]wreck.
GEN. sine numis.	Spirit: Without money.
PH. In quo pelago sodes?	Phileremus: In which sea, please?

GEN. Et in thyrrheno etiam hoc nostro, ad Baias, et inermem.	Spirit: In the Tyrrhenian and also this one of ours, to Baia, and unarmed. ²⁵⁴
GEN. [sic] ah ah Inarimem.	Spirit: [Spirit again] Hah, hah, Inarimem.
SEN. Cum sol a scorpii caulis, currum ageret diversum.	Old Man: Although the sun, after the prick of a scorpion, would drive the chariot in a different direction.*
GEN. Vah pro chaelis, caulis quid balbutit uter?	Spirit: Ah, instead of claws, whichever tail* splutters.*
SEN. pro' quos ventos vidi, aut melius audivi. plorabant nautae. quibus ego, ut semper impavidus fui, quid plorabundi aio? subito obmutescere.	Old Man: Heavens, I saw those winds, or rather I heard [them]. The sailors were wailing. What could I say to them about wailing, I, who was always fearless? They immediately grew silent.
PH. Et quid dicam, et quid respondeam huic cano puero prorsus me fugit, adeo hisce suis male gratis narrationibus, meum confudit animum. Tibi admodum gratulor ó senex, quod post tam honorifica triumphorum gesta, a superis concessa est corporis requies.	Phileremus: And what could I say, and what could I respond to this white-haired boy who ran straight away from me; actually, with these unwelcome narrations of his, he has confused my mind. I really thank you, O Old Man, because after such honorable deeds of triumph, bodily rest is granted by the gods.
GEN. vin dicam? nulli sanctorum, mentis beatitudinem invideo.	Spirit: You want me to say it? I envy the beatitude of mind of not one of the saints.
GEN. [sic] Quo modo suo se pascit succo Limax.	Spirit [again]: How does a snail feed itself on its own slime?*
PH. Vale ó strenue. Iam plus satis audivi, atque optime, etiam usque ad talarem sudorem, intellexi.	Phileremus: Farewell, O vigorous one. I have already heard more than enough, and I have understood quite well, even all the way to the ankle-length sweat [garment].*
SEN. Quid narrem de instauratione huius desolatae domus? Audistin?	Old Man: What shall I tell of the restoration of this desolate house. Have you heard?
PH. Centies.	Phileremus: A hundred times.
SEN. Cum quadam die.	Old Man: With one day.
PH. Scio.	Phileremus: I know.
SEN. Quidam.	Old Man: One.
PH.	Phileremus:
{page 109} {p. G vii} Pomilio 9 end	{page 109} {p. G vii} Pomilio 9 end
quis nesciat?	Who doesn't know?

²⁵⁴ Play on words with *inermem* (unarmed) and *Inarimen* (Ischia).

SEN. homo subitus, solers, sed.	Old Man: An impulsive man, clever, however.
PH. Iterum vale.	Phileremus: Again, farewell.
SEN. nil agis, usque tenebo.	Old Man: You do nothing, I will still hold up.
PH. Sine.	Phileremus: Stop.
SEN. non sinam, te amabo.	Old Man: I will not stop, please.
PH. ó felicem surdorum conditionem.	Phileremus: O the happy state of the deaf.
SEN. has erexit aedes, dictum. factum.	Old Man: He has erected this house, [no sooner] said [than] done.
GEN. hui. Aphiae ignis.	Spirit: Wow. Aphyen fire. ²⁵⁵
SEN. Affore enim, ut quae olim mutis, caereisque et exanguibus ornata esset stautis, vivos, sanctos, facundosque aleret viros, ut nunc alit.	Old Man: For [the house] is to be adorned, as formerly it was, with mute, wax-pale and bloodless statues, and would have nourished living, holy and eloquent men, as it now nourishes [them].
PH. quot modo?	Phileremus: How many then?
SEN. quot? an te latet unum aliquando, pro centum esse? ut quondam me ad Lyrim, in acie. Audi.	Old Man: How many? Does it escape your notice sometime that there is one instead of a hundred? As once it escaped mine [that they came] to the [river] Lyris, in battle array.* Listen.
PH. non audio.	Phileremus: I don't hear [anything].
GEN. Dii te male perdant, Sambuce.	Spirit: May the gods destroy you, Sambuco. ²⁵⁶
PH. Est profecto aliquid cum naturae repugnandum sit, teipsum vincere: ad trasonicas [sic, Thrasonicas] vero ineptias, faciles admovisse aures, plusquam Herculeum. Mallem, si diis placet, tres totos nauteae cyathos, etiam pissitando bibere, quam iterum tam ventosas sycophantias audire. En aurum quaerebam, sed Carbones, quod aiunt, somniorum in manibus inventi. Ceterum piscator ictus sapiet.	Phileremus: Certainly it is something to conquer yourself whenever something of nature must be opposed, but to have moved ready ears toward your Thrasonical/ boastful trifles, [would have been] more than Herculean.* I would even prefer to drink, if it pleases the gods, three whole ladles of <i>nautea</i> even tasting it, than to hear again such baseless accusations. ²⁵⁷ Behold, I was asking for gold, but, as they say, carbon was found in the specters of dreams.* For the rest, a fisherman [once] stung will have sense.

²⁵⁵ Aphye is the (Greek) name of a small fish (*apua* in Latin), believed to have been generated from sea foam, see Pliny *Natural History*, 31.95 and 32.145; here *aphiae ignis* may refer not only to the seemingly spontaneous generation of these small fry but also to their bioluminescent appearance: see images of whitebait.

²⁵⁶ The Old Man calls Phileremus *Sambuce*: a *sambucus* could be a *harp*-player (a harp made from *sambucus*, the elder tree); Toscan explains *sambuco* in burlesque code as anus.

²⁵⁷ *Nautea* could be a foul tasting herb used by tanners or vomit (*nausea*); *pissitando*: *pissitare*, *gustare* (DuCange), to taste, sip, experience, enjoy; cf. *pitisso/ pytisso*, *pitissare*: to spit out wine after tasting.

Pomilio 10 (page 109; p. G vii)	Pomilio 10 (page 109; p. G vii)
PHI. ACASTUS. VEREDARIUS.	Phileremus, Acastus, a Post-rider/ Courier. ²⁵⁸
<p>QUID Agam? In puteo sum. Vah temerario sortis* quid interest. Adeo ne omnibus licere vetera immutare? nova proferre et quadrata, quod aiunt, rotundis invertere? Quid quaeso aliud esse cogitem hasce vulgo spectabiles, ac insolitas depromi mercaturas, quam nobis ipsis blandiri, et universo ante acto orbi derogare. Scilicet, ut interim de Evangelii synceritate</p>	<p>[Phileremus:] What shall I do? I am in a well/ dungeon. Ah, of what concern is the fate of a rash man?* So, isn't everyone permitted to change old things? To bring forward new things and to turn square [things], as they say, into round? Why else, I ask, would I consider these things to be generally remarkable, and unusual merchandise to be brought forth, than to delude ourselves, and to set aside what has been done earlier by the whole world.* To be sure, even if meanwhile I say nothing regarding the sincerity of the Gospels,</p>
{page 110} {p. G vii v} Pomilio 10	{page 110} {p. G vii v} Pomilio 10
<p>nihil dicam, hic Augustino, vel Basilio: ille Benedicto, aut Francisco, sanctior est. Hi enim prae nobis sciolis, impedio* hallucinati sunt. Insaniam, si tam sancta, summa cum religione calcata vestigia, post hac, ut mea fert aetas, non servo. Atque eo magis, quod iam longissimo rerum usu, et experientia, exploratissimum habeo, eum spiritus ardorem, et sacros apostolos, et caeteros praeclaros homines, ad scribendum illos Evangelium, hos privatas leges, incitasse.</p>	<p>this one is holier than Augustine, or Basil, that one [holier] than Benedict, or Francis. For these [men] compared with us dabblers, are dazzled by power [reading <i>impedio</i> as <i>imperio</i>*].* I will go crazy if I do not preserve such holy vestiges trodden with the utmost respect/ religion, hereafter, as my lifetime permits. And therefore so much the more because now from extremely long custom and experience, I consider that extremely well explored ardor of the spirit to have inspired both the holy apostles and other illustrious men: the former to write the Gospels, and the latter personal laws.</p>
<p>Nec ob aliud, nisi ut securius, ac syncerius, Evangelio obtemperari possit, imaginati sunt patres, et claustra, et muros: et si quid est aliud horum simile. Sensuum enim conditio ea est quam nisi huiusmodi fraenes, et contineas pedicis: mirum quam facile defluat,</p>	<p>Nor for anything else, except that one might obey the Gospel more safely and sincerely, have the [Church] fathers conceived of both cloisters and walls, and if there is anything else similar to these. For this condition of the senses, if you don't restrain it in this way and detain it with</p>

²⁵⁸ NOTE: is Acastus the courier in this dialogue?

et devertat ad ea saepe appetenda, quae ipsi prorsus, ac de diametro, repugnant Evangelio.	shackles, it is amazing how easily it slips away, and often sinks down toward these things to be longed for, which utterly and diametrically oppose the Gospel itself.
ACAS. Magnam affectuum profecto animis vim inesse iudico, simulac video Phileremum, virum quidem optimum, ac gravissimum, secum loqui. nequeo satis mirari, neque coniiicere nisi quicquid est procul, hinc prius quid sit sciscitari. Philereme.	Acastus: Surely I judge there to be a great power of emotions present in souls, as soon as I see Phileremus, indeed an excellent man, and extremely serious, talk to himself. I am unable to wonder sufficiently, or to conjecture [about] whatever is far off, unless to ask questions first what it may be.* Phileremus!
PHIL. Quis me vult?	Phileremus: Who wants me?
ACAS. te salvum a Turcharum triremibus invenire gaudeo.	Acastus: I am delighted to find you safe from the Turkish triremes.
PHI. Oh. Et ego te, ó Acaste, a formiarum, et Terracinae periculis.	Phileremus: Oh. And I you, O Acastus, from the dangers of the Formians and Terracinans. ²⁵⁹
ACAS. Utrunque enim (quod cum Romanorum campanorumve dixerim venia) nostri temporis ignaviae, acceptum referre liceat. Quid tua solitudo? tuta ne est?	Acastus: Either one actually (which I might say, with the permission of Romans or of those from Campania) may be allowed to bring back something learned concerning the faintheartedness of our times.* How's your hermitage? Is it safe?
PHI. Cisternas exhaurire possunt. Caeterum omnia nuda: etiam arae. Iam annus est, quo in hoc sinu no-	Phileremus: They could empty the cisterns. As for the rest, everything is bare, even the altars. Now it is the year, when in this bay of ours,
{page 111} {p. G viii} Pomilio 10	{page 111} {p. G viii} Pomilio 10
stro, perinde tuto spatiantur remigio, ut ludum dicas. Nunc e lucrino solventes: Inarimem cum Prochita infestant: nunc Puteolos depopulantur. Sed nec a Pausilypo collium omnium pulcherrimo se se temperantes, tractu continuo, urbis molem terrent: Vesevumque [sic] radentes, modo Stabias, modo Surrentum, modo Massam idemtidem fatigantes, inter Minervae, et Caprearum buccas, ut lubet, evadunt: Gallumque fidissimum piratis latibulum, preda onusti, repetunt. Sed Romae quid fit?*	they go promenading as if with a harmless rowing, as a pastime, you might say. Now leaving Lake Lucrine, they invade Ischia together with Procida; now they ravage Pozzuoli. But not restraining themselves from the most beautiful of all the hills, Posillipo, in an endless procession, they terrify the throng of the city, and grazing Vesuvius, first bothering Stabiae/ Stabium, then Sorrento, then Massa again and again, then between the jaws, if you will, of Capri and [the promontory of] Minerva they escape; laden with plunder, they

²⁵⁹ Formia and Terracina are coastal towns about half way between Rome and Naples.

	return to Gaul, most trustworthy den of thieves. But how is it in Rome?
ACASTUS. ut olim, et aliquanto suavius, quietiusve: nam Clemens regnat: quin fuis, ac profligatis Turcarum copiis: quod quidem Caesaris prudentia, et militum robore speratur brevi: nihil erit quod Augusti tempora desyderent mortales. Praeterea dici non potest, quantum ad sublevandam rem christianam affectus sit Pontifex.	Acastus: As before, even a bit more pleasant and tranquil, for Clement [VII] is reigning; except that the Turkish troops have not been routed and scattered, which indeed with Caesar's foresight and the soldiers' might, may be hoped for shortly: there will be nothing that mortals lack during the times of Augustus.* Besides, it cannot be said how much the Pontiff has been moved to lift up Christianity (<i>rem christianam</i>).
PHILE. Oh videam, et emoriar.	Phileremus: Oh, let me see [that] and die.
ACAS. Annum vitae exora, nec eo amplius. Interim res sub malleo cuditur.	Acastus: Plead for a year of life, and no more than this. Meanwhile the thing/ [Christianity] is struck under the hammer.
PHILE. quid sodes?	Phileremus: What, please?
ACAS. scilicet frugalitatem ad antiquam, revocanda res est. Caeterum, ut tu te scis, archana in plebem non facile iaciunt principes. Letantur interim omnes, applaudunt: et bene tam pio negocio imprecantur. Videbis (veri si nunquam fallit imago) summum ipsum verticem, non tantum auro et gemmis, quantum sapientia, et qua anteire omnes debet sanctitate, onustum, et gravem. Videbis inquam ad sui regis exemplum, flammea illa lutea, ex ardenti solis ra-	Acastus: To be sure, [Christianity] should harken back to ancient frugality. As for the rest, as you yourself know, princes don't easily boast among the people about arcane matters. In the meantime, all are killed, they applaud, and well they pray for such pious business.* You will see (if the image of truth never deceives) the highest peak itself laden and heavy, not so much with gold and jewels, as with wisdom, and with the sanctity that should precede everything. You will see, I mean, that yellowy flame according to the example of their king, discolored for a while from the burning ray of the sun,
{page 112} {p. G viii v} Pomilio 10	{page 112} {p. G viii v} Pomilio 10
dio aliquantisper decolorari: Alta mitrarum labia, sua sponte demitti: Sacerdotum licentiam fraenari: Claustra lustrari: et tuas denique solitudines, a sentibus, ac spinis affabre expurgari. nova aetas. novus ritus. novus cultus.	the lofty flange of the miters, deposed by their own free will, the license of the priests reined in, the cloisters cleansed, and finally your hermitages skillfully purged from briars and thorns. A new age. A new rite. A new cult.
PH. novus cultus?	Phileremus: A new cult?
ACAS. non novus: sed senium repuerascet: et candidius nive erit in selmon.* Proinde tu, et tecum una omnes, quibus aurea est aetas	Acastus: Not new, but rather senility becoming boyhood again, and it will be whiter than snow on

<p>cordi: in deo exultate adiutori nostro. Ecce innovo omnia dicit dominus.</p>	<p>Selmon.²⁶⁰ So then you, and all who have a golden age in their hearts together with you, exult in god our supporter. Behold, the lord says, I renew all things.</p>
<p>PHI. putasne ò Acaste in illud nos aetatis incidisse, quo vates ille affore dixit, ut nos, ac coelos exaudiat deus. Caeli terram. Terra triticum: et haec omnia Ihezraelem? Quo nomine talem appellabimus aetatem? O Felicem pontificem. O fortunatum Caesarem: quibus ab ipsa mundi infantia, ea servata est temporis facies, et forma, pene quam christus ipse in crucis tabula, suo sibi cruore effigiavit: atque acerbissimo fato mercatus est. Post haec. ait, vocabitur civitas iusti, urbs fidelis.</p>	<p>Phileremus: Do you think, O Acastus, we will meet that [sort] of age in which that poet said it would come to pass, that god would hear us and the heavens; the heavens would hear the earth; the earth the wheat, and all these would hear Jezrahel/ Jezreel.²⁶¹ With what name will we call such an age? O happy Pontiff. O fortunate Caesar, for whom from the very infancy of the world, that appearance of time is preserved, and the form, almost how Christ himself in a painting of the cross, fashioned for himself with his own blood and bought with harshest fate.* After these things, he says it will be called the nation/ state of the just, the faithful city.²⁶²</p>
<p>Interim scio, ex aere militari ab ecclesiarum aerario exculpto, mortalium plerosque angi, discruciarique animo. durent quaeso, et melioribus se servent annis. De summa enim totius orbis, nunc inter duos caesares, armis decernitur. In quem certe belli favor inclinaverit, is procul dubio rex orbis erit. Si noster: quod piis exoptandum est votis: Ecclesiarum damna resarcentur, eversa instaurabuntur, et sata ipsa prae se, suaque sponte, pro ordeo gemmas, et pro tritico dabunt aurum. Si alter ille, quod omen avertat deus. restituentur ruinae, cum ne ipsum</p>	<p>Meanwhile I know [that] from military money extorted by the treasury of churches, most mortals are anguished and tormented in their soul. I ask that they endure and save themselves for better years. In fact as to the most important matter of the whole world, it is now being decided between two Caesars, with armies. Surely, the one to whom the favor of war will bend, he will without doubt be king of the world. If our [side prevails] – which is to be longed for with devout prayers – the damages of the churches will be repaired and things overturned will be restored, and things sown openly, and of their own will, will give jewels instead of barley and gold instead of wheat. If the other [prevails], may god turn away/ forbid the omen. Will the ruins be restored, when not even</p>
<p>{page 113} {p. H} Pomilio 10</p>	<p>{page 113} {p. H} Pomilio 10</p>
<p>quidem ecclesiarum nomen esse patietur? Sacra claudentur Baptisteria: arasque videbis,</p>	<p>the name itself of churches will be allowed to exist? Sacred Baptisteries will be closed, and you</p>

²⁶⁰ Psalms 67.15 (or 68.14); Selmon or Zalmon today is Mount Ebal near the city of Nablus.

²⁶¹ Hosea, 2.21-2.

²⁶² Isaiah 1.26.

<p>harena ipsa litorali minutius proteri. non Crux. non unctio. non his praeciosius Evangelium. O summe, et immortalis pastor tam saevam, et inexorabilem ab ovili tuo, coerce rabiem. Ferunt ò Acaste, hystoriarum scriptores, Neronem unum Romae exoptasse iugulum. Quid vetat me idem de aure, cunctis christianis efflagitare? quis oro, intellectus unitatem et si non illam indoctam Porphyrii: at illam certe doctissimam Pauli, qua omnes hortatur idem sapere, idem intelligere, idem sentire, in dei ecclesia desyderare prohibet?</p>	<p>will see altars crushed more minutely than the very sand on the shore. No Cross, no anointing [of the sick], no Gospel more precious than these.* O highest and immortal pastor drive from your flock such a fierce and relentless frenzy. The writers of histories report, O Acastus, [that] Nero longed for Rome to have a single neck [to sever].²⁶³ What prohibits me from insisntly asking the same thing about the ear of all Christians?* Who, I pray, having understood that unity – even if not that unlearned [unity/ ear]* of Porphyry, but surely that extremely learned [unity/ ear] of Paul, with which he urges all [people] to experience the same thing, to understand the same thing, to feel the same thing – prohibits desiring in the church of god?²⁶⁴</p>
<p>profecto hic blesus, Edentulus, ineptus, ac parvi succi vietus clamaret, et diceret omnibus ea, quae inter cautes plerunque, atque inter quercus melius quam* in aulis, et frequentia perdiscuntur. Ubique fateor etiam in plumis, et Peristromatis, intelligi potest veritas: Tamen nescio quo pacto, clarius illam in solitudinum ripis, atque antris, et pervestigamus, et dispicimus. Sed quid demens impossibilia cupio?</p>	<p>Actually this [man], stammering, toothless, inept and shriveled from little sap would have called out and said these things to everyone, which for the most part are better learned fully amid the cliffs and amid the oak trees than in the courts and with a crowd. I admit that the truth can be understood everywhere in feathers and in quilts, still I don't know by what pact we can investigate and discover it [the truth] more clearly in the cliffs of wilderness/ hermitages* and caves. But why do I madly desire impossible things?</p>
<p>ACA. adi Romam.</p>	<p>Acastus: Go to Rome.</p>
<p>PH. me ne pannosum, pudicum, deformatum, Silicerniumque orbis adire maiestatem?</p>	<p>Phileremus: Me – ragged, chaste, disfigured and skeletal – visit the majesty of the world?^{265*}</p>
<p>ACA. Urbs est ingenua, et ad quaevis obvia, ac facilis. Et gravitatem illam, quam tu maiestatem appellas, senties ad ea quae ad</p>	<p>Acastus: The city is forthright, and as easy as you please, laid-back too. And that gravity which you call majesty, you will feel toward these things</p>

²⁶³ Caligula is reported by Suetonius to have yelled in anger, *Utinam populus Romanus unam cervicem haberet* (I wish you Romans had only one neck), *Lives of the Caesars*, Bk. 4, par. 30.

²⁶⁴ Porphyry of Tyre (c. 234–c. 305) was a Neoplatonic philosopher who wrote among other works, treatises against Christians, and what was to become a standard text on logic.

Phileremus, while reviewing ways of knowing as though based on Aristotle's *On the Soul*, and expounded upon by Thomas Aquinas (and Martin Luther), adds "to desire"; cf. *De Anima* 3.3.

²⁶⁵ In the *Adelphi* (cited above, p. 6), Syrus the slave calls Demea *silicernium* (skeleton) but not to his face: *Adelphi*, 4.2.587; Henry Thomas Riley, 1874, notes it applied to an old man stooping "silices cernit" (he looks at the stones), www.perseus.tufts.edu.

<p>veri cognitionem pertinent, impense auritam. Quin summus ipse Pontifex diligentissime illos qui sancte, ut tu, degunt, et amat, et observat: neque ulla alia in re, tanta afficitur oblectatione, quanta si quis eius vellat aurem, et dicat. Sum-</p>	<p>which pertain to the knowledge of truth, exceedingly long-eared.²⁶⁶ In fact, the Supreme Pontiff himself both loves and heeds very attentively those who spend their time piously, as you [do]; and in no other thing is he affected by as much delight, as if someone would pluck/ pull his ear, and would speak.²⁶⁷</p>
<p>{page 114} {p. H i v} Pomilio 10</p>	<p>{page 114} {p. H i v} Pomilio 10</p>
<p>-mum Pontificem oportere summe esse bonum. summe iustum. summe clementem. atque orbi universo summe salubrem.</p>	<p>It is necessary for the Supreme Pontiff to be supremely good. Supremely just. Supremely merciful. And supremely salutary for the whole world.</p>
<p>PH. Non sum tam parum apud me, ò Acaste, neque adeo tam impudentis audaciae (licet forsitan senilis aetas, hoc suo sibi iure vendicare posset) quod ex me credam prodire posse vel sermonem, vel actionem, quam ob rem tantus princeps ne oculum quidem flectere debeat. Adibo tamen, atque humi pronus, huiusmodi incomptum sumam exordium. Ego Phileremus Christi servus, natu grandis. Mantuae genitus. Ego inquam* sacris ferme ab ipsis meis incunabilis*, initiatus.</p>	<p>Phileremus: I am not so insignificant to myself, O Acastus, nor of such impudent audacity (although perhaps my senile age might have been able to justify this itself with its own law) that I would actually believe myself able to deliver either a sermon or a suit, for which reason such a prince ought not to even turn his eye. Nevertheless, I will go and, prone on the ground, will begin an unpolished exordium of this sort, "I am Phileremus, a servant of Christ, quite elderly. Born in Mantua. I was initiated, I say, into sacred rites almost from my very cradle.</p>
<p>Civilem olim, nunc solitariam agens vitam, non tibi summe Pontifex, sed orbi gratulor universo: qui cum sit iam tandem a noxio excitandus veterno, te authorem, te actorem, te operatorem habeat. Eya tu cui soli in terris, animarum custodia est credita: dum Caesar altum ad Danubium fulminat, atque illo quo vi et armis irrumpendum est, affectat viam: interim ad sponsae ornatum te accingi fac sentiant coelites. videant homines. Indignentur daemones.</p>	<p>Previously leading a civilian life, now a hermit's [life], I give thanks not to you, Supreme Pontiff, but to the whole world, which since now at last it has been aroused from harmful torpor, considers you the author, you the actor, you the performer. Ah, you to whom alone on earth, care of souls is entrusted, while Caesar fulminates on the Upper Danube, and there where one must break into with might and arms, he lays claim to the path, meanwhile make it so that the gods may perceive you to be equipped for a bride. So that humans may see.* So that the daemons may be regarded with indignation.</p>

²⁶⁶ Note: Long-eared, *auritam*.

²⁶⁷ The verb to speak, Italian *dire*, is used by burlesque writers meaning to have sex; ear is often used for anus.

<p>Age iam ó maxime, ex stibio cerussam, ac purpurissum deprome: nam et coelestis sponsa suos habet fucus. et tu, si nescis, Paranympus es. Acque enim in te omnes ambulabundi fixos tenent oculos, atque solent hi, qui ex carceribus, ac repagulis, nunc nunc prorupturi, tubae signum expectant. quo dato, nulla mora, nullusque torpor, quin alter alterum antevertere certet. Et quia tu, ò immense, tecum semper quae te decent, et vis, et agis. Incipe</p>	<p>Come now, O Greatest one, bring out an unguent of white lead paint and of rouge, for even the heavenly bride has her colors/ tricks. ²⁶⁸ And you, if you don't know, are a groomsman. And also indeed all those walking about keep their eyes fixed on you, and these [men] are in the habit, who, about to rush forth immediately from the starting gates and restraints, at another moment, await the signal of the trumpet. Once [that's] given, with no delay, and no torpor, indeed one vies with another to get ahead. And because you, O Immense/ Boundless one, always desire and act on what is seemly for you. Begin</p>
<p>{page 115} {p. H ii} Pomilio 10</p>	<p>{page 115} {p. H ii} Pomilio 10</p>
<p>tamen, ut aliquando videant homines te velle quod potes, et posse quod vis. Accensum quippe lumen quis sub modio abscondit? Tu Candelabrum. Tu lumen. Tu sal. Tu Civitas in monte sita. Velim caveas ò summe, ne oblanguescat flamma ne sal desipiat. ne Civitas in alto posita, discedat misere, atque hiet. Volunt hoc, ne ad unum omnes congeram ordines, et superi, et inferi, id est et dii, et homines. Stat igitur abste, et nutat orbis.</p>	<p>nevertheless, so that men may see before too late [that] you are willing to do what you can, and are able to do what you wish. Of course, who hides a lit light under a bushel?²⁶⁹ You are a candlestick. You are a light. You are salt/ wit. You are a city placed on a mountain. I would like you to beware, O supreme one, lest the flame languish or the salt/ wit lose its taste/ wits. Let not a city placed on high, fall miserably and gape. They want this, lest I pile up all the orders, unto every single one, both those above and those below, that is, both gods and men. Therefore the world stands and wavers on account of you."</p>
<p>ACAS. Quid si modum, ut sua est facilitas, a te?</p>	<p>Acastus: What if only because of you, as is its nature?</p>
<p>PH. dicam tunc. nam tibi tantum ne ocii ab re tua est, ut haec audias? vix credo.</p>	<p>Phileremus: I will speak then. On the other hand, do you have so much leisure from your business, that you may hear these things? I don't think so.</p>
<p>ACAS. et ocium, et voluntatem habeo: Tamen infra Trinundinum, repetenda est mihi Roma: ubi ad hanc palaestram te moror.</p>	<p>Acastus: I have the leisure and the desire. Nevertheless within a three week period, I must return to Rome, where I'll wait for you at this school/ gymnasium.*</p>

²⁶⁸ Notes: *stibium*, antimony, was used in salves and make-up; one expects *fucos* here, m. acc. plur. and not *fucus*.

²⁶⁹ Variation on Matthew 5.15.

PH. nihil iocundius. nam forte in conclavi me ad Pontificem* referente, tu in subsidiis succenturiatus eris, si quid defecero.	Phileremus: Nothing more delightful. For perhaps [after] proposing me for Pope in the conclave, you will be placed in reserve as a substitute, if I shall pass away.
ACAS. faxit deus opt. max. ut exores, quicquid orare paras. Vale interim.	Acastus: May god the best and greatest make it so that you obtain whatever you plan to pray for. In the meantime, fare well.
Et tu. Mergilinae. Pridie. Kalendas Ianuarius.	[Phileremus:] And you. Mergellina, January 4.*
{page 116} {p. H ii v} Polipus	{page 116} {p. H ii v} Polipus
Polipus	Polipus
Ad Angelum orientinum amicum.	To my friend, Angelo Orientino
POLIPUS.	Octopus.
Solventibus e Genuae portu, seu mole: et ad Laevam non longe a terra sinuatim navigantibus, mons quadraginta ferme stadiorum emensus longitudine, horridus quidem, nudus, et asper, ab incolis loci, caput montis dictum offertur: haud aliqua in re admirandus, nisi quod discoloribus naturali quodam coemento congestus lapillulis, Sesquipedale vix saxum exploranti spectandum prebet. Huic enim continuum cum fluctibus est certamen: nam reliquo sedato aequore, is raro conquiescit. Qua praeterea facie in Corsicos, ac Sardiniam, prospectat cavernosus, passimque praeruptus eminet, tum herbarum, tum arborum honore prorsus exutus: a tergo tamen multo frutice felix, et densus.	After weighing anchor from the port of Genova, or rather the wharf, and curving toward the left, sailing not far from land, there is a towering mound measuring nearly forty furlongs in length, quite horrifying, bare and savage, given the name Mound-Head/ Capodimonte* by residents of the place, scarcely remarkable for anything, except that it's heaped with different-colored pebbles in a kind of natural cement, it scarcely offers a stone a foot and a half [around] to be observed by [someone] exploring. Indeed there is a continual struggle with the swells, for although the rest of the sea is serene, that [mound] rarely settles down. Moreover with a cavernous face it gazes out at Corsicans and at Sardinia, and steep here and there, it protrudes, utterly stripped of the dignity of grasses and trees, yet from the back it is fertile and dense with many shrubs.
Efficitur porro in petricosae huius molis latere, ad orientem portus: quem, ut est memoria proditum, antiqui Delphinum dixere, modo sinum accolae: Statio quidem tutos inter liguriae secessus, bene fida carinis. Eo genuensium classes, cum hostibus	Further on a harbor is made to the east, on the side of this rocky mass, which, as it is handed down by tradition, the ancients called the Dolphin, presently neighboring peoples [call it] the bay, indeed [it is] an anchorage amid safe secluded Ligurian retreats, very safe for ships.

<p>cunctis, tum barbaris potissimum formidatae, vi aliqua ventorum impulsae, saepe divertunt. Illo Celoces. Corbitae. Pristes, Triremesque, sese ab alto tutae colligunt. Senes hispidi. Iuventus ferox. agilis bellax. Impigra. laborisque vel durissimi haudquaquam impatiens: Victum tamen, demptis retibus, imploratura. ocio identidem, ac luxui tempestatibus delphi-</p>	<p>There the fleet of the Genovese, dreaded not just by all its enemies, but most especially by foreigners/ barbarians, driven by some force of winds turns away repeatedly: in that place Cutters, Cargo ships, racing vessels, and Triremes, gather themselves together safe from the high seas. Shaggy old ones. A defiant young one, nimble, warlike. Energetic ones, and not at all perturbed by the hardest exertions: defeated nevertheless, with the snares cut away, [others] about to ask for help. In the doldrums again and again, and the dolphin fishermen shut in by storms</p>
<p>{page 117} {p. H iii} Polipus</p>	<p>{page 117} {p. H iii} Polipus</p>
<p>niaci oclusi, facile indulgentes: simulatque tranquillitatem instare praesentiscunt, armatis iterum lembis, partim pisces, partim corallia piscaturi, cuneatim exeunt. Ex quibus uni, eiusmodi sese obtulit fortuna. Quod licet lusum magis, quam* gravitatem, quae virum sylvicolam deceat, prae se ferre videatur: ea tamen animi sententia, a me scribitur, qua illud loco Paroemiae in <i>Symposiacis</i> a Plutarcho refertur. Navigatio inquit, iuxta terram: rursum ambulatio quae fit iuxta mare, iocundissima est. Siquidem et anachoritae suas habent perdices.</p>	<p>readily indulgent/ permissive, and it pretends calmness and they feel it pressing close, for a second time with a fast armed sailboat, about to go fishing, some for fish, some for coral, they move off in a wedge formation. In this way, fortune offers herself to one of these. Because it seems to show [that] although something playful may be more suitable to a forest-dweller than seriousness, nevertheless this feeling of the soul is written by me, while the former is reported in a passage of a proverb in the <i>Symposiacs</i> by Plutarch.²⁷⁰ He says, ‘a boat trip close to land, a walk back that is made close to the sea is most delightful.’ And for that the anchorites have their partridges.²⁷¹</p>
<p>Piscator igitur quidam delphiniacus, Liberide nudior, simul cum filio grandiusculo, cimbam e palo solvens, non procul nassam in profundum demisit. Quae postquam sub undis parumper morata est, multis gravida piscibus, ex trahitur. Dii boni inquit, quam fortunate hodie. Retorque puer dexteram, et</p>	<p>A certain dolphin fisherman, more naked than Liber/ Dionysus, together with his rather big son, untying the skiff from the pole, cast the net into the sea not far off. Which, after it has stayed under water for a short while, weighed down by a lot of fish, is hauled out. Good gods, he says, how lucky [you are] today! Come about to the right</p>

²⁷⁰ NOTE needed for Plutarch’s *Symposiacis*.

²⁷¹ Male partidges, as described by Pliny in his *Natural History*, display homosexual mating (when the females are incubating eggs or otherwise unavailable), Bk. 10, ch. 51.100-101: the meaning here seems to be that the anchorites have “birds” that enable them to enjoy both posterior intercourse (by land) and vaginal (by sea).

<p>laevam remitte. Retorque inquam, et illum ad scopulum applica. Retorquet puer, Remitti, applicat: ac demum cum nassa ambo gratanter exiliunt.</p>	<p>boy, and slacken on the left. Come about, I say, and land on that rock. The boy comes about, slackens and lands, and then they both jump out joyfully with the net.</p>
<p>Occurrit interim cum infanti parvulo applaudens uxor: quae communicato praedae onere, cum viro domum rediit, nassa rupi innixa. Quam subinde ut vicini gallus, escae adhuc fragmentis respersam, casu reperisset, haud diu anceps, intro sese conclusit. Vulpes interim annosam post Myricam latitans, suoapte fidens ingenio, gallum quam* primum subsecuta est. Ingressa igitur captum aggreditur. Ille contra, obstat. haec dente, et astu: ille rostro, et ungula. Nassa autem</p>	<p>Meanwhile his wife runs up cheering, with a little tot, after sharing the load of the booty, she goes back home with her husband, the net leaning on a rock. Right away a cock from the neighboring area had found by chance, still spattered with bits of bait: by no means at all hesitant, it closed it up inside itself.* An old fox hiding behind a tamarisk bush, confident of its own ingenuity, followed the cock as quickly as possible. Having moved forward [the fox] therefore attacks the captive [cock]. The cock stands and fights back. The fox with teeth and cunning, the cock with its beak and claws. However,</p>
<p>{page 118} {p. H iii v} Polipus</p>	<p>{page 118} {p. H iii v} Polipus</p>
<p>tanti iurgii impatiens, diutino nec non agitata* impulsu, e saxo demum in altum, maximo cum fragore devolvitur. Sic quae piscibus nuper foeta, e salo exierat: per aquas postea, cassis duorum tam inexorabilium hostium facta errabunda natat. Crinitus interea Polypus, fortuito non longe venans, hanc ut conspicatur accelerat, ac protensis acceptabulis, caveam cum capitivis* [captivis], ocissime raptat et ianuam ingressus, praedae inhaeret.</p>	<p>intolerant of so much strife, and having been agitated by the impact, the net at last falls down from the rock into the sea, with a great clamor. Thus, what just now [was] teeming with fish had gone forth from the brine, afterwards, emptied of two such relentless enemies, it swims through the waters, having been made to wander. Meanwhile, the tentacled Octopus, by chance hunting not far off, accelerates as soon as it catches sight of this, and with its extended graspers, it very swiftly seizes the basket with the captives, and having approached the entry, it holds fast to its prey.</p>
<p>Piscator inter haec, fortunae lenocinio plectus, ad scopulum nato comitatus, ut rursus nassam deponat revertitur. obstupet primo senex, semota nassa. At puer affixo propensius visu (huic enim aetati cesii modo sunt oculi) sub undis illam ut vidit ludentem: statim solvit, et nassam hamato fune demisso, subnexuit: Exerta itaque venatione mirabile caeteris delphiniacis spectaculum ostensum est.</p>	<p>The fisherman during all this, attracted by the allure of fortune, accompanied to the rocks by his son, as he is turning back again throws out the net. At first the old man is astonished, while the net is far-off. But the boy, readier with piercing eyesight (for at that age then the eyes are grey-blue*), as soon as he saw [it] playing under the water, immediately loosened the net and tied it underneath by a hook lowered from a</p>

	line: so with the chase laid bare, a strange sight is displayed to the other dolphin-hunters.
Caeterum secessui, haud procul sacer collis eminent, quem patres a quadam Cervariorum familia, Cervarium nuncupavere. Cui quidem undequaque arrident oleae. Myrti. Lentisci. Castanaeae. aereaeque cupressus. post haec, vinearum copia non insuavis. Citra. Ficus. et huius generis caetera: Hesperidum utique delitiae. Quandoquidem Heglen, et cum sorore Erethusam meum illum collem habitasse opinantur quidam. Illic enim meus olim amor: mea (heu cum licuit) quies, mea pax: meum silentium.	Moreover, not far at all from the secluded place a holy hillock stood out, which their ancestors called Cervaria* from a certain family of deer-like creatures. On all sides of this, olive trees smile. Myrtles. Mastic trees. Chestnuts. Towering cypresses. Behind these, a not unpleasant abundance of grapevines. Lemon trees. Fig trees. And others of this sort, by all means delights of the Hesperides. ²⁷² Since Aegle and Arethusa with her sister are thought to have inhabited that certain hillock of mine. For my love was once in that place, my (alas, when it was allowed) repose, my peace, my silence.
{page 119} {p. H iiiii} Pomilio 11	{page 119} {p. H iiiii} Pomilio 11
Pomilio 11	Pomilio 11
Aliquando desistendum esse ab incepto. Ad R. Nicolaum arch ep[iscopum] Capuanum.*	Now and then what has been started ought to be stopped. To Reverend Nicolo Archbishop of Capua.
FUNTANUS CHRYSOGONUS	Funtanus, Chrysogono [and Lucianus].
Quo vadis Chrysogone?	[Funtanus:] Where are you going, Chrysogonus?
CH. Vado iterum crucifigi. nam virum bonum semel molestiis affectum, aiunt, non plene sapientis calculum esse assecutum.	Chrysogonus: I am going to be crucified again. For a good man affected once by troubles, they say, has not fully overtaken a wise man's [game] piece.*
FUN. prorsus. si sapiens esset, nec semel, nec iterum affici posset incommodo: Sed ad eius generis iniurias etiam millies repetitas, per inde sese impenetrabilem praeberet, atque solent ad undas immotae rupes, ac sine sensu scopuli. Sic loquuntur hi qui in saeveris porticibus spatiantur.	Funtanus: Absolutely. If he had been wise, neither once nor again could he have been afflicted by discomfort. But toward injuries of this sort even if repeated a thousand times, he would have shown himself just as impenetrable, as unyielding cliffs usually are to waves, and crags without feeling. So say these [men] who move about in austere/ severe porticoes.

²⁷² The Hesperides in mythology are evening nymphs charged with safe-guarding the gardens of Hera; the narrator appears to say that, earlier, when allowed, he had enjoyed their golden fruits.

<p>CH. hoc quidem inter Stoicos, et nostrae professionis viros interesse arbitror: quod illi suum sapientem inanimum ferme, et quasi truncum in cruciatibus esse somniant: nostri autem melius. quippe qui suum eum sapientem autumant, qui et animatus sit, dolorique subiectus, sed ea animi aequabilitate, ac robore, ut ne lineam quidem transversam doloribus cedat, dimoveaturque a iusti viri officio, et statu. Quanto igitur firmiter quam Stoici, Paulus. In omnibus ait, tribulationem patimur, sed non angustiamur. Aporiamur, sed non destituimur.</p>	<p>Chrysogonus: Indeed I think this is the difference between Stoics and men of our profession, that they might dream their wise-man to be almost inanimate and as though a tree trunk in tortures; ours, however, [dream] better. Obviously those who proclaim it their wise-man, even that he may be animated and subject to pain, but with that equanimity of soul (<i>animi</i>), and strength, that he would not yield even a transverse line to pain, and be removed from the service and position of a just man. How much more staunch than the Stoics, is Paul. In all things, he says, we suffer tribulation, but we are not hard pressed.²⁷³ We are uncertain but we are not left in the lurch.</p>
<p>Itaque unico servatoris nostri ictu, quo Simon admonetur eo trahendus quo nollet, omnia stoicorum somnia dissipata sunt. Patitur igitur vir sapiens: afficitur: commoveturque sed tamen abest ut a molestiis tam acerbè vexari existimem quo minus eiusdem possit esse semper coloris, atque animi ut de Socrate legimus, sive in secundis, sive in adversiis* traducenda sit vita. quam quidem animi stabilitatem non minus vere, quam docte</p>	<p>So after a single blow of our savior, by which Simon is persuaded that he must therefore carry what he would rather not, all dreams of the Stoics are dispersed. Hence, the wise man suffers, he is afflicted, and he is moved, but yet it is far from [the case] that I deem [him] to be so harshly vexed by troubles that he may not always be of the same color, and of the [same] soul (<i>animi</i>) as we read about Socrates, whether his life may be passed in favorable or in adverse [conditions]. Indeed Paul demonstrated that stability of soul (<i>animi</i>) in himself no less truthfully than learnedly,</p>
<p>{page 120} {p. H iii v} Pomilio 11</p>	<p>{page 120} {p. H iii v} Pomilio 11</p>
<p>in se demonstravit Paulus, cum, inquit. sive Vivimus, sive morimur domini sumus. Quapropter quo in genere tormentorum: aut in qua orbis regione excrucietur sapiens, haudquaquam referre putat. Eadem enim vultus saeveritate, aequè mollia uti aspera intuebitur: superabitque: sentiet tamen, ac dolore afficietur. Quid quaeso turpius illo qui in molestiis prae fracte quidem nimium dolet? Nescio sane an plus ille detestandus sit qui</p>	<p>when he said, “whether we live or whether we die, we are of the Lord.”²⁷⁴ For this reason in whatever kind of torment, or in whatever region of the orb the wise man is tortured, he thinks it matters not at all. With the same severity of face, he will consider tender [things] as harsh, and he will overcome [them]; nevertheless he will feel and will be afflicted by pain. What, I ask, is more shameful than he who in troubles feels pain really too harshly? I don’t quite know whether a man</p>

²⁷³ Paul, 2 Corinthians 4.8-9.

²⁷⁴ Paul, Romans, 14.8.

<p>crudeliter in alterum desaeuiat, an is qui muliebriter in iniuriis eiulet, atque ingemiscat, ut nuper ex nostris quosdam vidimus adeo confractos an, imout* [errata corrects to animo ut] pene insanirent, Sed, ut opinor, Stoicorum indolentiam ita probas, et asseris, ut nec ab ironia vaces.</p>	<p>should be more detested who cruelly vents his rage on another, or one who howls against injuries in a womanly way, and moans, as just now we have seem some of our [people] so shattered in the soul (<i>animo</i>), that they almost (<i>pene</i>) go crazy. But, as I see it, you endorse and assert the Stoics' freedom from pain, as though you were devoid of irony.</p>
<p>LUC. recte opinaris. Quamobrem hoc modo philosophantibus omissis, magis domestica pertractemus.</p>	<p>Lucanus: [Added character]: You surmise correctly. On account of which in this way, we could better manage domestic [matters] with the philosophizers set aside.</p>
<p>CH. ut vis.</p>	<p>Chrysogonus: As you wish.</p>
<p>LU. mirantur plerique ó Chrysogone, et, nec sine ratione quidem, quaerere solent, quo proposito, quae animi constantia a nonnullis ea quae nuper ab illis ipsis uti vilia, et quamminimi momenti pondus prae se ferrentia* [sic], fuerint abiecta, sint denuo repetita. Aut enim, aiunt, in re ipsa intermissa [sic] turpitudine fuit deprehensa, aut ab illo qui repudiavit, manavit error: aut recte [errata corrects to certe] ab utroque fuit peccatum.</p>	<p>Lucanus: A great many are astounded, O Chrysogonus, and indeed not without reason, who typically inquire, for what purpose, or with what steadfastness of the soul (<i>animi</i>) some men have taken back up for a second time those things which they themselves just cast aside as base, and carrying before them a weight of the slightest importance. For, they say, either in the interrupted affair itself, the disgrace was discovered, or the error flowed from that one who repudiated [it], or rightly it was a sin by both.</p>
<p>Atqui satis amplum stultitiae genus esse arbitrantur, illud ipsum vel sectari, vel amplecti, ex quo scias oriri posse aut turpitudinem, aut damnum: sed miserius, si repetieris, quod iam olim ut turpe abieceris. quin neque a levitatis nota vacare eum, qui et si imprudenter in aliquo haud prorsus recto, ferendo tamen, se se</p>	<p>And yet they think it a rather widespread type of foolishness, that very thing to be either pursued or embraced, from which you would know either shame or injury can arise; but you'd be more wretched, if you were to take back up again what you have already in the past thrown aside as shameful. So that he is not free from a mark of levity, who, even if he has involved himself so unmindfully in something by no means entirely right, to be endured nevertheless,</p>
<p>{page 121} {p. H v} Pomilio 11</p>	<p>{page 121} {p. H v} Pomilio 11</p>
<p>immiscuerit, ab incepto declinat, et rem alioqui ad rectam reducendam lineam, iam in ulnas receptam deserit, atque contemnit. Etenim hunc parvi pensi hominem appellare soliti sumus.</p>	<p>turns aside from what was begun, and in any case in guiding [it] back to the right line, he now abandons the thing he'd received in his arms and disdains [it].* As a matter of fact, we usually call this [one] a man of little substance.*</p>

<p>CH. felix Lacedemoniorum respublica ó Luciane, si in re periculosa et ut videbatur exitialis, ad [ab*] incaepo destitisset Callicratides, et Cleombrotus non tam temere suorum timuisset invidiam, cum tam funesta suorum Civium clade, ex qua Lacedemoniorum opes, ut ait Cicero corruere. omnino itaque a caepo removendus est vir bonus, in re nefaria maxime si fuit exordium [sic, no period] Quid oro in re turpi, vel commodi, vel glorie nancisci* potuit? Errant igitur qui in eiusmodi actionis remissione levitatis infamiam verentur, de qua quidem turpiorem postea, stultitiae scilicet, et temeritatis incurrant, ut illi quos nuper commemoravi.</p>	<p>Chrysogonus: Fortunate [would have been] the republic of the Spartans, O Lucianus, if in a dangerous situation, and deadly, as it seemed, Callicratidas had desisted from what was begun and Cleombrotus had not dreaded the hatred of his men so rashly with such a disastrous slaughter of his [fellow] citizens, because of which, as Cicero said, the power of the Spartans collapsed.²⁷⁵ And so a good man must be removed altogether from what was begun, especially if the beginning was in a nefarious thing. What, I pray, of glory or benefit could be obtained in a shameful thing? Therefore they are wrong who in this sort of letting go of action dread the infamy of levity, about which indeed afterwards they incur the more shameful [infamy], namely of stupidity and temerity, as those men whom I just evoked.</p>
<p>Et haec de re omnino inutili, et turpi sint dicta. Secus vero dicendum de re bona, sed ex qua nasci potest perturbatio aliqua vel molestia (aiunt enim antiqui mala omnia a bono principio originem habere) aliquo tamen modo vel tollerenda, vel ad commodiorem statum perducenda. Siquidem magna pericula virum fortem paululum forsitan movere possunt, parva neutiquam.</p>	<p>And these things may be said about a wholly worthless and shameful thing. However, one should speak differently (<i>secus</i>) about a good thing but [one] from which somehow a perturbation can arise or a woe (for the ancients say that all evils have their origin from a good beginning) in some way nevertheless it must be either lifted up or guided to a more convenient position. If indeed great dangers can perhaps move a strong man a little, small ones by no means.</p>
<p>Verum omnia vir bonus, modo a turpitudine sint libera, in suum trahit colorem: nam quae turpia sunt, ne dum sunt adeunda, sed fugienda omnino, et a sapientum congressu dimovenda. Ex quo videri potest sapientem aliquem a caepo saepenumero subtrahi: non</p>	<p>However a good man, if only all things may be freed from shamefulness, draws [them] into his color, for things which are shameful, are not only not to be added, but to be altogether shunned and dismissed from the intercourse of wise men. From which it can be seen that a wise-man very</p>

²⁷⁵ Cicero *De Officiis*, 1.84: The point addressed is that insistence of personal glory can cause ruinous results for one's country. Callicratidas was a Spartan naval commander in the Peloponnesian War, killed in 406 BCE. Cicero portrays Callicratidas refusing to back down from an impending naval disaster saying effectively, "the Spartans can build another fleet, but cannot retreat without dishonor. Cleombrotus I was a Spartan king who reigned from 380 BCE until his death in 371 BCE at the Battle of Leuctra: he engaged the Theban forces under Epaminondas for fear of being judged badly by his own men and lost his life and Spartan control in the region.

quod ipsa per se sit detestabilis provincia nec is qui deserit appellari queat vel stultus, vel inconstans: sed quia	often is removed from something begun, not because the sphere of duty itself is detestable nor [because] he who gives up could be called either foolish or fickle, but because
{page 122} {p. H v v} Pomilio 11	{page 122} {p. H v v} Pomilio 11
pro tempore eadem ipsa res [errata corrects to quam bonam] bona esse existimat, uti vere est, quibusdam exteris interdum coercetur angustiis, ut vix optimo cuique sit integra in ea ut caepit perseverandi facultas. Recte igitur cedit vir sapiens ad tempus: ne in re illa in qua nihil aliud laborando, quam odium multorum acquiri animadvertit, aetatem omnem invitis (ut aiunt) diis consumpsisse videatur.	for the time being, that very same thing however good he esteems [it] to be, as truly it is, now and then is confined in certain strange narrow straits, so that scarcely for the best [man] and whose skill in persevering in it as he began would hardly be intact.* A wise man therefore rightly yields to time, lest he turn his mind to obtain by laboring with regard to that thing in which there is nothing else than the hatred of many, [lest] he might seem to have consumed his whole life (as they say) with the gods unwilling. ^{276*}
An vero proposui mutatio in bono viro laudanda sit, vel ne, iudicent hi, quibus antiquorum gesta perspecta sunt sapientium. sed stulte profecto ageret nauta, qui semel, atque etiam, maris saevitiam expertus, redditae tranquillitatis occasionem non capesceret: ac navigationem, sedatis undis, non repeteret, udoque fungeretur. lam plus aequo nostrum incruduerat mare: sed nunc venti, ut audio, quievere. Quis igitur reditum ad navigandum prohibet? quis tam saevus? In eadem enim fere sunt culpa, et qui naufragum arcent a litore, et qui navigantem in tranquillo, a libero mari.	Whether truly I have proposed [that] mutation in a good man ought to be praised, or not, these [people] will judge, who have examined the deeds of ancient wise men. But certainly the sailor would have acted foolishly, who, having experienced the fierceness of the sea, once and yet again, would not have seized the occasion of restored tranquility, and return to sailing when the waters had calmed, and discharge his duty in the water.* Already our sea had grown more savage than calm, but now the winds, as I hear, have quieted. Who then prohibits a return to navigating? Who [is] so cruel? For they are almost in the same offense: those who keep a shipwrecked person away from the shore and [those who keep] someone navigating in tranquility away from the open sea.*
Quid si ille, ut iterum virum bonum ab errore vendicemus, qui caepta deserit, meliora interim, quod ad reditum invitent caelites, exequitur? Semper itaque cum viro bono, sive in inchoato perseveret, sive desistat, nusquam non optime agitur. quippe bona	What if that one who quits things begun, so that once again we would reclaim a good man from error, meanwhile accomplishes better things, because the gods would invite [him] to return. And so always with a good man, whether one might persist in something started, or leave off,

²⁷⁶ Emphasis is put on *invitis* (unwilling) making it seem part of the *in-vitium* word play above.

<p>qui* melioribus, meliora optimis solatio mutuo temperare est solitus. iam et frequenter accidit ut ex bonorum virorum consuetudine, et societate ea ipsa reddantur optima, et perfecta, quae ne bona quidem apud nonnullos esse existimabantur. sed infelicissima illorum conditio qui sive ira, sive simultate aliqua moti, honestis sane viris, atque ad decoranda quaevis etiam minus hone-</p>	<p>nothing is ever done not excellently. Naturally, one usually tempers good things with better, better [things] with the best, for mutual solace. It happens often that both from the intimacy/ familiarity of good men, and from that very society, the best and perfect may be restored, which were not even thought by some men to be good. But their condition is extremely unfortunate, those who, motivated either by anger or by some enmity, with quite honorable men, and suitable for adorning whatever thing even less honorable, obstruct the route to that first one interrupted judiciously,</p>
<p>{page 123} {p. H vi} Pomilio 11 end</p>	<p>{page 123} {p. H vi} Pomilio 11 end</p>
<p>sta idoneis, ad primum illud rationabiliter intermissum, iter obstruunt: vel si obstruere pudor vetat, id saepe agunt quod mulieres, quae adulto infanti mammas quidem admovent, sed adeo tristibus infectas succis, ut magis puerum a lacte dimoveant, quam provocent. Invidiae prosus sunt haec, atque iniquitatis indicia. Itaque neque a re ipsa saepe, neque a desertore, sed a causa nescio quae aliunde exorta nascitur illa vulgi opinio, ut levem illum asserant, et inconstantem, qui* tum firmiter, tum sapienter ad rerum* eventus, atque ut tempus postulat, sive perfectio, sive reversio fienda sit, se se accommodat.</p>	<p>or if decency prohibits obstructing, they often do what women [do], who bring their breasts close even to a mature infant, but so infected with wretched liquid, that the more they remove the child from the milk, the more they provoke [the child to want milk]. These are by all means indications of jealousy and unfairness.* And so, often not from the thing itself, nor from the deserter, but from some cause, I don't know what, arisen somewhere else, that opinion of the masses is born, that allege that one to be frivolous and inconstant, who first firmly, then wisely, and as time demands, whether perfection or a reversal may be made, adapts himself/ itself to the outcome of things.</p>
<p>FON. Reclamabunt hostes, et concoctam iam remonent bilem.</p>	<p>Funtanus: [here spelled Fontanus]: The enemies will cry out, and already they are removing ripened bile.</p>
<p>CH. Et hi quoque patientia superandi erunt.</p>	<p>Chrysogonus: And with patience they too will be overcome.</p>
<p>FON. aquas turbarum dabunt.</p>	<p>Funtanus: [Fontanus]: They will give waters of tumults.</p>
<p>CH. Ego ignem illum congestum, quo a Paulo, ad promerendam inimicorum gratiam, provocamur regeram. omnia denique cum Paulo ero omnibus, modo resarciatur inter</p>	<p>Chrysogonus: I will retort: that fire [is] built up, by which according to Paul we are summoned to meriting the grace of our enemies.* Lastly, with Paul, I will be all things to all men, if only Christ</p>

nos Christus amor scilicet et benevolentia illa, quae ab impiorum vita aequae horret, uti a tenebris sol solet. Romae.	might be restored among us, love, that is and that benevolence which shrinks from the life of the wicked just as the sun usually [shrinks] from the shadows. ^{277*} Rome.
Pomilio 12 (page 123; p. H vi)	Pomilio 12 (page 123; p. H vi)
Remigratio	Return
CHRYSOGONUS LUCIANUS. REMIGRATIO	Chrysogonus, Lucianus: Return.
Remigras Chrysogome [sic, Chrysogone]?	[Lucianus:] Are you returning, Chrysogonus?
CH. post quadrimos saltus, ad antiqua remeo stabula, iterum saltans.	Chrysogonus: After four-year leaps, I am coming back to the old stables, leaping again. ²⁷⁸
LUC. oh salvam rem esse arbitror, simulatque saltantem prospitio senem. sed quos saltus ais Paralysis?	Lucianus: Oh, I think it's a safe thing, the moment I see an old man far off leaping. But what leaps do you mean – Palsy?
CH. A Mintio primum, infaustum usque ad Conarum. deinde a Conaro ad imas Apenini radices: deinceps per nivosas pelignorum alpes ab Apenino me felix pelexit Campania. postremo ad Euganeas resilio paludes.	Chrysogonus: The first from the Mincio, an inauspicious one to [Monte] Conaro. Then from Conaro to the deepest roots of the Apennines, after that, favorable Campania enticed me away from the Apennines across the snowy alps of the Paeligni. ²⁷⁹ Finally I leap back to the Euganean marshes.
LU. in mentem venit mysticum illud de dilecto	Lucianus: That mystical nuptial song comes to mind about the beloved,
{page 124} {p. H vi v} Pomilio 12	{page 124} {p. H vi v} Pomilio 12
epithalamium, in quo illum Capreae, cervorumque hinulo* similem esse iurat sponsa, per colles ac montes saltanti.	in which the bride swears that he is like a young goat and a young hart, leaping across hills and mountains. ^{280*}

²⁷⁷ Paul, I Corinthians, 9.22.

²⁷⁸ Given that *saltus* (a leap) and forms of the verb *salto*, *saltare* (to leap; Italian burlesque code: to have sex) are used extensively in this dialogue, perhaps it should be noted that *saltus* also means a narrow passage and rough agrarian land and, according to J.N. Adams, was one of the agrarian words used by Latin writers for *cunnus* (female genitalia) and *culus* (buttocks, anus), op. cit., p. 24, 113; here the comic effect seems to be achieved by the insistent repetition, rather than by specific referents.

²⁷⁹ The Paeligni (Peligni) were an Italic tribe living in what is now the Valle Peligna, Abruzzo.

²⁸⁰ Song of Solomon, 2.8-9; work cited above p. 45, 104.

<p>CH. dilectus enim ille cuius Cincinni rore pleni esse dicuntur, per mystica montium supercilia, atque per humiliores cordium clivos (nam superbus* est) aenigmaticis solet subsilire saltibus, ut quondam in praefinito tempore a patre, caelo egressus, terras has miseras unico invisit saltu: quibus vix tactis, tanquam qui de torrente in via bibit, caelos, iterum, unde nunquam discesserat, repetiit. Qui saltus sive mortalium, sive sint Caelitum cum his comparandi? saltavit et olim Abraam, atque exultavit ut videret diem domini: saltavit et eius frater de sulphurea sodomorum procella ad montem.</p>	<p>Chrysogonus: The beloved, in fact, whose locks they say are full of dew, through the mystic brows of the mountains and through the more humble slopes of hearts (for he is haughty), usually springs up with enigmatic leaps, as formerly in a time determined by the father: after leaving the sky, he visited these wretched lands with a single leap; having scarcely touched these, like one who drinks from a torrent in the path, he sought again the heavens as though he had never left.²⁸¹ What leaps, whether of mortals or of gods, would be comparable to these? Even Abraham leapt once and exulted that he had seen the day of the lord; his brother also leapt from the sulfurous storms of the sodomites to the mountain.²⁸²</p>
<p>Quid dicam de felicissimo Eliae saltu ad nubes? Sed et coram arca testamenti, quamquam planioribus numeris saltavit David. Saltat denique et nunc etiam perfectissimus quisque, cum de virtute in virtutem videtur deus deorum in Syon.</p>	<p>What shall I say of the blessed leap of Elijah into the clouds?²⁸³ But David too leapt before the ark of the covenant, although with simpler melodies.²⁸⁴ Finally, now actually everyone who is extremely perfect leaps, when from virtue to virtue the god of gods is seen in Zion.^{285*}</p>
<p>Quo quidem nomine, aut titulo, saltum illum adornem, quo vir sanctus per foedas molestiarum valles festinans, nunc tumoris colles, nunc altiores Philauctiae montes praetervolans, ad illud sublime perfectionis fastigium iam pervenit, ut cum Paulo se se intermisisse dicat incohationis Christi sermonem, non rursus iaciens fundamentum poenitentiae ab operibus mortuis, et fidei ad Deum: sed pro consuetudine exercitatos habens sensus ad discretionem boni, et mali: perficit sanctificationem in timore domini? ó beatorum mentium huiusmodi excessus. At ò nos</p>	<p>Indeed by what name or title, may I embellish that leap, with which the holy man rushing through the foul valleys of troubles, now flying beyond the swelling hills, now beyond the loftier mountains of Philautia (Self-love), soon reaches that exalted peak of perfection, so that with Paul he would declare himself to have interrupted the word of the beginning of Christ, not laying again the foundation of penitence/ penance from works of the dead, and faith toward God, but for intimacy having senses trained for the discernment of good and bad, he brings about sanctification with regard to fear of the lord?²⁸⁶ O blessed excesses of these sorts of minds. But O</p>

²⁸¹ Psalms 109.7.

²⁸² Cf. Genesis 12-14.

²⁸³ 1 Kings 18.43.

²⁸⁴ 2 Samuel 6.14-21.

²⁸⁵ Psalms 83.8 (or 84.7).

²⁸⁶ Paul, Hebrews, 6.1 and 5.14; final phrase: 2 Corinthians 7.1. The word *consuetudine* (here, custom), is used throughout the text to mean social intercourse, intimacy, etc. starting at p. 3.

infelices. Quid quaeso Luciane nostra conditione mi[-]	unlucky us. What, I ask, is more wretched, Lucianus, than our condition?
{page 125} {p. H vii} Pomilio 12	{page 125} {p. H vii} Pomilio 12
serius? Quid nostro arbitrio infirmius, corruptiusque? Quid tam in belvis detestandum quam in nobis vel ambitio, vel cupiditas? iam et nostrum unicuique sui sunt saltus, vel hi quidem, quibus de Craticula, quod aiunt, in prunas. Huius enim generis fuere olim apud Romanos, Tiberii saltus, et Neronis: apud iudeos Roboami, et Acabi tyrannorum. Sed et illud infelicissimum saltationis genus, qua de fonte in lacunas desilitur, uti quondam imperatorum pessimus Iulianus: sed ante eum, Christi venditor Iudas. nuper ex nostris nonnulli, quorum memoria adhuc est recens.	What is more feeble than our judgment and more corrupt? What is to be detested as much in animals as in us than ambition, or passion? And already for each one of us there are leaps, or even indeed these by which [we go] from the grate, as they say, into the live coals. For there were those of this sort formerly among the Romans, the leapers of Tiberius and of Nero, among the Jews of Roboam, and of the tyrants of Ahab. ²⁸⁷ But even that sort of leaping is unproductive, by which one leaps down from the fountain into gaps, as once Julianus the most wicked of emperors [leapt], but before him, Judas the seller of Christ. ²⁸⁸ In our day not a few of us [have leapt], whose memory as yet is fresh.*
Nimum de alius dico, proinde ad meos saltus redeo. putabam enim (quis non putasset in tam bellis pollicitationum naeniis?) meum fore ultimum in Agathae villa [errata corrects villae] sublimi. Sed nondum Aquilii formulae Caprollam attigerant. Quid doli mali inanimas rupes insimulo? Multi enim Cannii: sed plures Pythii. quid plures aio? Unus inventus est qui fabulam totam de Cymba, de pisce, de scalmo confecit, et perfecit nomina.	I speak too much of other things, thus I am coming back to my leapings. For I was thinking (who would not have thought about such beautiful funeral dirges of promises?) my last [rites] would be in the sublime villa of Sant'Agata.* ²⁸⁹ But the [legal] forms of Aquilius had not yet reached Crapola. ²⁹⁰ What <i>dolo malo</i> (criminal fraud) can I accuse the inanimate cliffs of? Many are [like] Canius, more are like Pythius. ²⁹¹ Why do I say more? One was found

²⁸⁷ Roboam (or Rehoboam) was a 10th century BCE king of the Kingdom of Judah. He was the son of Solomon and a grandson of David; Ahab (Acab) was King of Judah (c. 870-850 BCE), married to Jezebel, mentioned above, p. 51.

²⁸⁸ Julianus bought his way into the position and then managed to stay emperor of Rome for only nine weeks before being killed by his successor in 193.

²⁸⁹ Saint Agatha of the Two Golfs (Salerno and Naples) is still the seat of a Benedictine monastery, located on the Massa Lubrense promontory, mentioned above, p. 25 et passim.

²⁹⁰ Caius Aquilius Gallus (c. 116-44 BCE) Roman jurist, praeter in 66, friend of Cicero, known for his legal decision, *actio de dolo (malo)* which allows defrauded people to be reimbursed.

²⁹¹ Cicero gives a detailed account of an elaborate fraud perpetrated by Pythius on Caius Canius, involving boats, fish etc., in *De Officiis*, 3.14.

	who constructed the whole story of boats, of fish, of oar-pins, and completed the accounts.
Erro iterum. nondum enim stabilis divinae providentiae oculus, de quo immortalium mentium cardo omnis, velit nolit, vegetiores, quam qui desyderari queant, auspicatur motus, raros vasto in gurgite vere nantes despexerat. Quis enim in tam saevo, tetroque procellarum tumultu, propriae se tuto credat cortici.	I am rambling again. For the not yet steady eye of divine providence, from which each pivot of immortal minds, willingly or not, inaugurates more energetic movements than those [that] could be discussed/ desired, looked down on a few men truly swimming in the vast gulf.* For who, in such a cruel and dismal tumult of storms, could believe himself safe in his own bark.
LU. huiusmodi doli mali reos, pollinctores rectius, quam pollicitatores appellaverim. praeterea raro tam dulces gerrulae * carere possunt praestigiis.	Lucianus: In this sort of criminal fraud, I should more properly call the perpetrators undertakers than promise-makers. Besides, rarely can such sweet carriers/wicker-works * be lacking illusions.
CH. se se iactet ut lubet gens illa. Satur sum, nam meus me antiquus manet nidus.	Chrysogonus: Let those people boast as they please. I am content, for my old nest awaits me.*
LUC. Me deseris?	Lucianus: You're abandoning me?
CH.	Chrysogonus:
{page 126} {p. H vii v} Pomilio 12 end	{page 126} {p. H vii v} Pomilio 12 end
Sic opus est: quandoquidem mihi hodie praetervadandus est cum luce Rubicon.	It must be so: since today I have to cross over the Rubicon with the light.
LUC. Vale igitur mi Storax.	Lucianus: Fare well my sweetgum.
CH. Et tu cordialis amicorum pulville. Arimini. Pridie id. Maii.	Chrysogonus: And you, cordial pillow of friends. Rimini, May 14.
Pomilio 13 – Massa (page 126; p. H vii v)	Pomilio 13 – Massa (page 126; p. H vii v)
Ad Magnificum Ioan. anto. Alexandrium amicum.	To Magnificent Giovanni Antonio, Alexandrian friend.
DE NOMINE EREMI CAPROLAE. Et Massae urbis.	On the name of the hermitage of Crapola, and the city of Massa. ²⁹²
CHRYSOGONUS LYSANDER.	Chrysogonus, Lysander. ²⁹³

²⁹² Now called Massa Lubrense, a municipality on the Sorrentine peninsula, see note p. 25.

²⁹³ The name Lysander recalls the famous Spartan who preceded Callicratidas (mentioned above) as commander and later returned to power, as ruler, but it could be unrelated.

<p>Nuper ó Chrysogonus cum Romae in libraria quadam taberna, ego et Iulius noster nescio quid literarum una commentaremur, casu inter nos est dictum in eadem officina tuam esse ad Alarconem, de vallis Siciliana nomine interpretationem. hanc cum primum oblatam legi. et, ut verum dicam, avidissime perlegi. Placuit mehercule mirum immodum: exarsique non mediocriter* [errata corrects repetition of -cri] abste sciscitari, quid sibi velit huius nostrae civitatis nomen. quid Caprollae. Mirum quantis involuta quorundam ambagibus, res in involucro versetur, quae quidem nisi opportuna ferantur suppetiae, interibit omnino.</p>	<p>Lysander: Just now, O Chrysogonus, when in Rome at some bookstore, our Julius and I were discussing together I don't know what writings, by chance something was said between us about your interpretation for Alarcon concerning the name of the Valle Siciliana being in this same shop.*²⁹⁴ As soon as it was brought, I read it and to tell the truth, I read it through very avidly. By Hercules, it is indeed wondrously pleasing, and I burned not a little to ask questions of you: what does the name of this city of ours mean. Why Caprola/ Crapola? It is amazing with how many riddles it has been enveloped by some people, a thing turned over and over in wraps, which indeed unless opportune assistance be brought in, will perish altogether.</p>
<p>CH. Vellem ó Lysander cum Christianus sis, Christianum etiam, si in re aliqua citandus esset testis, testem adhiberes. Quae, inquit Paulus, nobis conventio cum Belial?</p>	<p>Chrysogonus: I would like, O Lysander, since you are Christian, if a witness (<i>testis</i>) were to be summoned in any matter, you would bring in a witness [who was] also Christian. What covenant, says Paul, from us with Belial?²⁹⁵</p>
<p>Ly. aedepol ó Chrysogone de quo teste dicas, plane me latet.</p>	<p>Lysander: By Pollux, O Chrysogonus, what witness (<i>teste</i>) you might be talking about, utterly escapes me.</p>
<p>CHR. Res profecto in tuto est.</p>	<p>Chrysogonus: Surely the matter stands safely.*</p>
<p>Ly. Miror quid narres.</p>	<p>Lysander: I am amazed by what you are saying.</p>
<p>CHR. In</p>	<p>Chrysogonus:</p>
<p>{page 127} {p. H viii} Massa</p>	<p>{page 127} {p. H viii} Massa</p>
<p>conventis plerisque, unum et alterum sufficere aiunt testem, vel hunc mortalem, et bona fide probum: at tu (hui tutius) scelestos nescio quos citasti deos. O indignos nostrorum literatorum mores. Insaniam, si tu</p>	<p>In most agreements, they say one and another witness (<i>testem</i>) are sufficient, even this one mortal and in good faith upright, but you (whee! more safely) mustered I don't know which accursed gods.* O intolerable customs of our</p>

²⁹⁴ Hernando de Alarcon (1466-1540) was a Spanish soldier who fought various wars in Italy: with Fabrizio Colonna, for Charles V, and against the French and Clement VII; Charles V made him Marquis of the Valle Siciliana, in the mountains of Abruzzo, about 40K South of Ascoli Piceno and 40K West of Pescara.

²⁹⁵ A misquotation of a well known phrase from 2 Corinthians 6.15: quae autem conventio Christi ad Belial? (And what concord hath Christ with Belial?).

<p>qui Christianam profiteris Rhetoricen, alioqui candide, et erudite, ne schedulam quidem minimam ad amicos queas scribere, quae centies non sit Castore, et Polluce intertexta.</p>	<p>literature.* I will go crazy, if you, who profess Christian rhetoric, in some respects candidly, and eruditely, aren't even able to write the briefest document to friends, which is not interwoven a hundred times with Castor and Pollux.</p>
<p>Ly. his enim gemmis perornatur [errata corrects pornatur] oratio, salva tamen in suo statu permanente religione.</p>	<p>Lysander: For an oration is embellished with these gems, yet safe in its standing as an enduring religion.*</p>
<p>CH. Vide quid agas? etiamnum gemmas vocas tam detestabiles voces. In re seria licuit forsitan vel Caecilio, vel Senecae suas lacunas accire Stygias, sed Christianum vel ioco quidem, eius generis testes, ac iuratos commiscere deos, minus decere arbitror, quam si vel Brassicam: vel Betam, vel ventrosam quoque citaret Cucurbitam. Insulse igitur Reginaldus noster narnius, qui in Epistola illa sua ad me tam grandi lucerna elucubrata, passim Herculem nusquam Christum nominat.</p>	<p>Chrysogonus: Do you see what you would do? You still term such detestable terms gems. Perhaps in a serious matter Caecilius is permitted, or Seneca to call upon their Stygian pits, but I think it is less proper for a Christian, even in jest, to intermingle witnesses (<i>testes</i>) of this sort and sworn gods, than if he should cite Cabbage, or a Beet, or even a paunchy gourd.²⁹⁶ Therefore foolishly our more experienced Reginald, who in that Epistle of his to me composed by such a great oil-lamp, here and there names Hercules, never Christ.²⁹⁷</p>
<p>Haec pauca tecum amanter o Lysander, quem cupio a triviis vindicare: et quem sciam dente magis amicorum delectari, quam palponum blanditiis, conferre libuit. huiusmodi enim instituti amicos invicem esse decet (de amicitiiis communibus non loquor) ut verum semper, falsum nunquam loquantur: Neque minus quicquam in illis locum habere, quam illud comicum. veritatem scilicet odium parere. Quod quidem a Cic. [Cicerone] quoque fuit animadversum, in suo Lelio. In amicitia,</p>	<p>These few things, O Lysander, it is pleasing to discuss lovingly with you, whom I wish to reclaim from the crossroads, and whom I would know to be delighted more by the biting of friends, than by the compliments of flatterers. For in this sort of practice/ institute, it is fitting that friends take turns (I am not speaking about ordinary/ common friendships) so that they always speak the truth, and never falsehood. Nor does anything have less place in these than that comic [place]. That is, for truth to beget hate. That indeed was also noted by Cicero, in his Laelius.²⁹⁸ In friendship, he says,</p>

²⁹⁶ Caecilius Statius (c. 220 - c. 166 BCE) was born in Gaul-controlled Italy; after serving as a slave in Rome, he later made a living adapting Greek plays for the Roman stage, named above, p. 17. For *Brassicam*, *Betam* (cabbage, beet) see Plautus, *Pseudolus*, 815 and "Botanical metaphors," in Adams, *Latin Sexual Vocabulary*, where they are identified with the penis, p. 26.

²⁹⁷ NOTE: Seeing "Reginaldus" one inevitably thinks of Reginald Pole to whom G.B. Folengo will dedicate his edition of the *Commentaries on the First Epistle of St. John* (1546), but this may be another Reginaldus, described as *narnius*, possibly for "da Narni" [Latin, Narnia] a town in Umbria where the Benedictine Abbey of San Cassiano is situated.

²⁹⁸ Cicero, *De amicitia*, 8.26 (Laelius speaking).

inquit, nihil fictum, nihil simulatum. sed quicquid est, verum, et voluntarium.	there is nothing made up, nothing simulated. But whatever exists, is genuine and voluntary.
{page 128} {p. H viii v} Massa	{page 128} {p. H viii v} Massa
LY. Sic mihi quoque videtur.	Lysander: It seems that way to me too.
CH. ad Caprolam redeo, ut satis tibi faciam, quam tamen Capronam libentius appellaverim: pronam videlicet comam a capite. sic enim hoc nomen interpretantur. Oculos parumper, te quaeso, ab imo hoc clivulo ad summum usque per gradus, montis fastigium sustolle: et circumspice an similius quicquam excogitari possit? Vide, quomodo rigidum illud, et prominens in apice supercilium, quoddam prae se ferat, instar humani vultus, sincipitium.	Chrysogonus: So that I might satisfy you/ make amends, I come back to Caprola, which I would more willingly call Caprona, that is the hair sloping forward from the head. ²⁹⁹ For they interpret this name thus. I ask you, to raise your eyes on high for a little while, from the bottom of this hill to the top, by steps all the way to the peak of the mountain, and look around – whether anything could be conceived [to be] more alike?* Look, how that rigid and prominent brow at the summit, displays a certain side of a head, like a human face.
Ex quo oleae primum: deinde variis contextum arbustis Myrtetum nascens, usque ad aedium aram per molliorem clivum, uti per frontem quandam, decentissimo capillamento difunditur. Ubi item mons paululum in se reflexus sinum efficit, amoenum sane, et apricum: et in quo aedes, ac hortorum decor. atque iterum viridi vestitur olea, inde precipiti derepente hians scopulo, ad cavernosum devolvitur litus. quod quidem hinc inde praeruptum ac sinuosum, horrendos ex repetito fluctuum congressu, latratus excitat. Sunt et qui censeant, inter quos Theophilus noster, non a Capronis, sed a Capreis Tyberii latibulo insula vicina, quasi capreolam dici posse hanc parvam insulam, quam vides, a conspectu litoris, vix stadio disiunctam: Et ex qua monti nomen. Sed sive a Capronis, sive a Capreis	From which first of all the olive trees, next a sprouting Myrtle grove entwined with various shrubs is spread out all the way up to the altar of the shrines along a gentler slope, like a kind of forehead with a really decent head of hair. Where likewise the mountain turned back on itself a little, it makes a hollow, quite lovely, and sunny, in which there are shrines/ dwellings and the splendor of gardens. And once again it is dressed in olive green; then suddenly opening wide from a precipitous rock, it falls down toward a cavernous bank.* Which indeed from here is steep and winding: it stirs up horrendous roarings from the repeated coming together of the surges.* ³⁰⁰ And there are those who think, among whom our Teofilo, [that] not from Caprona, but from Capri, the thieves' den of Tiberius, the island near by, as though this small island could be called a little she-goat, which you see in sight of

²⁹⁹ The word *caprona*, here proposed as a place name, means forelock.

³⁰⁰ The Roman emperor Tiberius (42 BCE-37CE) withdrew to Capri and lived in the grand Villa Jovis constructed high up on the Mountain named for him. Suetonius portrays him as a nasty, depraved sexual deviant, *Life of Tiberius*, 44-6; he reports that people openly punned on the name of the island, Capreae, calling it “Caprineum,” meaning something like old goat’s lair.

<p>nomen sit inditum, nimium Crasse, meo quidem iudicio, profertur a Massensibus. Qui et ipsi suae unde Massae nomen, originem habuerit, ignorant prorsus. Tantum abest ut Massam a massico, unde.</p>	<p>the shore, barely separated by a furlong: and from this the name of the mountain. But whether the name was introduced from Caprona or from Capri, too coarsely, indeed in my opinion, it is derived from the people of Massa. And from where the name of their Massa got its origin, they themselves are utterly uninformed. It is far from the case that Massa is from Massico, from where</p>
<p>{page 129} {p. I} Massa</p>	<p>{page 129} {p. I} Massa³⁰¹</p>
<p>Vina massica sunt dicta, de quibus Maro. Vertunt felicia Baccho massica, derivari existiment. haec enim ora, complexu continuo, Minervae promontorio copulatur: quod sane longissimo maris tractu, a massico seiunctam esse videmus. Arx mondraconis nunc est dicta, nostra autem non arx, sed urbs.</p>	<p>they suppose the vines called Massican derive, about which Maro [wrote], “they overturn the Massican [slopes] fertile with Bacchus (vines).”³⁰² For this shore is physically joined with the promontory of Minerva in a continual embrace, which we see is separated by quite an extremely long stretch of the sea, from [Monte] Massico. Now it is called the Rocca of Mondracone, not however our <i>rocca</i> (castle), but city.</p>
<p>LY. admodum quae dixisti, ne amplius pol dicam, mihi arrisere ò Chrysogone: utri tamen ex interpretationibus assentiar, nondum habeo compertum. Sed tamen ne Lupum, quod aiunt, diutius auribus teneam, utramque pari complectar iure. At ad Massam nostram, tam vicatim concisam, te redire expecto.</p>	<p>Lysander: What you have said greatly pleased me, O Chrysogonus, nor, by Pollux, will I say more: which of these interpretations I will agree with, I still haven’t verified. But yet, lest I should hold the wolf as they say, by the ears for a long time, I shall embrace each [interpretation] as equally right. But I expect you to come back to our Massa, so cut up lane by lane.</p>
<p>CHRI. Miraris? Massa enim suis licet intercisa, atque sic dicam, luxata sit vicis, et iis admodum numerosis: nec muro, nec fossa cingatur: Civitas tamen est nobilis: ac rerum omnium ferax. Aliud est si civitatum nobilitatem, et robur, invallo* [in vallo] magis, et muro, statuendam esse ducas, et non potius in civium ingenio, et fide. quibus quidem praesidiis adeo tua fulta est Massa, ut nec ipsi Neapoli cedere videatur.</p>	<p>Chrysogonus: Do you see? Indeed it is granted to its people that Massa be cut through, and as I might say thus, dislodged by lanes, and these very numerous: it is surrounded neither by wall nor by ditch, still it is a noble community, and also fruitful in all things. It is another thing if you believe that the nobility and strength of such communities must be established more by a rampart, and a wall, and not rather by the natural talent of its citizens, and faith. Indeed your Massa has been so supported by these defenses, that it would not seem to yield to Naples itself.</p>

³⁰¹ The page heading erroneously shows POMILIO X; the following page shows POMILIO XIII.

³⁰² *Aeneid*, 7.725-6.

<p>Viros enim cum primis alit ingeniosos, robustos, et ad tollerandas maris iras audacissimos. Nulla enim gens tam bellax: atque ad propulsandas inimicas classes tam ferox, et impavida. Interroga te rogo, tuos natu grandiores, an in hoc nostro Thyrreno, alicui ex vicinis, fuerit unquam secundus Massensis, sive navali, sive campestri pugna, fuit cum hoste confligendum? Sciunt antiqui reges, quotiens restitutae sint in bello acies</p>	<p>For (Massa) chiefly rears talented men, strong and extremely brave for enduring the rages of the sea.³⁰³ For no people is so warlike, and so ferocious and fearless for repelling hostile navies. Ask your elders, I beg you, whether in this Tyrrhenian [sea] of ours, from any of the neighboring places, was there ever another Massensian,* about to clash with the enemy either in a naval or a land battle. The ancient kings knew, how often battles lines/ troops</p>
<p>{page 130} {p. l i v} Massa</p>	<p>{page 130} {p. l i v} Massa</p>
<p>pene attritae, propter massensium virtutem, ac robur. Massam igitur hanc urbem recte appellendam esse censuit, quisquis ille fuit qui huiusmodi nominis author extitit. A prima enim naturae lingua, Ethymologiam est auspicatus. nimirum quod illa Massa, nos iugum, seu onus grave, dicimus. Sed vereor ne Civitas quae olim grave barbaris, dirum, atrox, et inexorabile posuerit iugum: sibi ipsi nunc facta sit pondus, et molis, vel ipsius Sisyphi saxo, ponderosior, de quo Naso. aut petis, aut urges rediturum Sisypho saxum. Sic tui Massenses, suas sibi volvunt quotidie, urgent, ac repetunt versuras. nunquam vestigialium [errata corrects to Vectigialium]. nunquam foenorum. nunquam pignorum finis, vel modus. quibus quidem oneribus adeo obruuntur, ut nesciam an gravius sub Inarime, Thyphoeus.</p>	<p>nearly (<i>pene</i>) worn out in war, might be restored because of the strength and vigor of the Massensians.* Therefore one thought this city must rightly be designated Massa whoever that author was, who is on record for this sort of name. For from the first language of nature, [he] inaugurated Etymology.* Because evidently that Massa we call a yoke, or a heavy burden. But I am afraid that the state which once would have laid the heavy, frightful, cruel and inexorable yoke on barbarians, now may have been made a burden to itself, and weightier than a millstone, or the rock of Sisyphus himself, about which [see] Naso.³⁰⁴ "Either you pursue or push your stone, Sisyphus, destined to return."³⁰⁵ So, your <i>Massensi</i>* every day, revolve their own line of credit, push and repeat. There is never an end of taxes. never [an end] of usury. Never [an end] of mortgages, or a limit. Indeed they are so overwhelmed by these burdens, that I wouldn't know whether Typhon was more weighed down under Ischia.³⁰⁶</p>

³⁰³ As above, p. 81, *tollero* appears for *tolero*.

³⁰⁴ Called here by his *cognomen* Naso, Ovid mentions Sisyphus in his *Metamorphoses*, 4.460 and at 13.26.

³⁰⁵ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 4.460.

³⁰⁶ Typhon (also called Typhoeus) was a horrifying monster of antiquity, depicted variously, often with coils of vipers for legs, and a hundred dragon heads on either his neck or hands; he was finally vanquished by Zeus, who buried him under Mount Etna in Sicily.

<p>LY. perplacet rei interpretamentum. Sed res ipsa displicet. Adeo ne, ut interim pro patria, mihi liceat aliquantulum subirasci, quotidie vectigalia? [corrected as above] adeo ne exactiones? Adeo ne venditiones, et ea reciprocatione, repetitas, ut nos soli ad instaurandum aerarium pub.* nati esse videamur?</p>	<p>Lysander: Interpreting a thing is very pleasing. But the thing itself is displeasing. So is it possible that in the meantime on behalf of the homeland, I wouldn't be permitted to get a little annoyed: daily taxes? Is it possible there are collections? That sales are repeated, even with that reciprocal action, so that we seem to be born only to restore the public treasury?</p>
<p>CHRI. Meliores profecto desyderandi sunt dies. quos quidem (si mens divinae lucis natura particeps, futura praesentiscere aliquando potest) prope esse video. Nam ad revocandos annos aureos, mirum quantum incaleat tum summus Pontifex, tum Caesar ipse, qui modo ad Danubium robustissimo cum exercitu, rem orbis ac pacem, ab atrocissimo Scythia extricate [errata corrects to exiricare [sic]] satagit.</p>	<p>Chrysogonus: Better days certainly are to be desired. Indeed I know those [days] (if the mind, with nature a partaker of divine light, can ever sense future things) to be near. For instance, for reviving the golden years, it is a wonder how much both the High Pontifex and Caesar himself is impassioned, who just now with a very powerful army near the Danube, works hard to liberate* the state and peace of the world from most cruel Scythia.^{307*}</p>
<p>{page 131} {p. I ii} Pomilio 13 – Massa end</p>	<p>{page 131} {p. I ii} Pomilio 13 – Massa end</p>
<p>Proinde id nobis agendum esse duco, quod solent hi qui in acie, etiam maximo cum saluris* [sic, salutis] discrimine, libenter versantur, ut pace tandem reddita commodius fruuntur. Haec habui quae de Caprollae, et Massae nomine dicerem. Tu Lysander apud me Itym habens, venare leporem. Massae. Idibus Augusti.</p>	<p>So then I believe we ought to do what those who are in battle array [do], even at the most decisive moment of salvation: they willingly turn around, so that at last they might enjoy peace more agreeably restored.* This is what I had to say about the name of Crapola and Massa. You, Lysander, in my view, by holding Itys are hunting the hare/ wit.*³⁰⁸ August 13, Massa.</p>
<p>Epistle to Alarcon (page 131; p. I ii)</p>	<p>Epistle to Alarcon (page 131; p. I ii)</p>

³⁰⁷ With the Siege of Vienna in 1529, forces for Charles V stopped the forces of the Ottoman Empire under Suleiman from advancing further along the Danube; Scythia in ancient times was a collective term for regions of Central Eurasia.

³⁰⁸ Itys is the sacrificial victim in an ancient myth of savage revenge: Philomela is raped, then has her tongue cut out by Tereus, her sister Procne's husband; the two sisters kill and serve the rapist his son, Itys, to eat; when Tereus pursues the sisters in counter-revenge, they pray to be turned into birds, Philomela into a nightingale and Procne a swallow; Ovid, *Met.* 6.424-674. Philomela came to represent a person resisting efforts to silence her voice. And for *leporem* meaning phallus, see *Varium poema*, note at 19.6.

ALARCONI INVICTISSIMO Caesarei Exercitus Imperatori. Chrysogonus Mantuanus Anachorita. S.P.D.	To [Hernando de] Alarcon of the Imperial Army of the Most Victorious Caesar, Chrysogono, Mantuan Anchorite, sends many greetings. ³⁰⁹
Nihil aequae in communi mortalium usu, et consuetudine Illustrissime Alarcon, quod prae se ferat animi inscitiam esse existimo, quam si in quo habitat, quis loci nomen, et nominis rationem, ignoret prorsus. Exactius enim pervestiganda res est: vel saltem, si nimia laboratur vetustate, aliquo succurrendum verisimili, ne exolescat omnino, haud raro quidem tuos illos Tussicinos, cum illic sub vasta Apenini mole, solitariam vitam agerem, interrogare solebam: quid de vallis nomine sentirent. Mussabant omnes etiam natu grandiores: Ego ne cum caeteris? Scripsi igitur ut res altissimo [sic, altissimo], occupata somno disquiri potuit. Cuius quidem narratio: vera ne sit, vel veri proxima, alii iudicent. Tu princeps, ut tua est magnitudo ingenia eiusmodi quae ad tuas, tuique regni laudes procli-	Nothing in the common practice and social intercourse of mortals, most Illustrious Alarcon, do I judge there to be that displays ignorance of mind as much as if one utterly ignores the name of the place in which one lives and the reasoning for the name. For the matter ought to be investigated more accurately, or at least, if pains are taken with extreme antiquity, it ought to be aided by some appearance of truth, lest it fade away altogether; indeed, when I was leading a hermit's life there beneath the vast mass of the Apennines, I used to investigate those Tussicini of yours not rarely at all, what they thought/ felt about the name of the valley. They all hesitated, even those who were older – should I [hesitate] along with the rest? Then I wrote how the matter involved could be investigated from the deepest sleep. Indeed here is its story, whether it is true or close to the truth, let others judge. You, prince, as is your greatness, talents of this sort that incline toward your praises, and [those] of your kingdom,
{page 132} {p. I ii v} Tussicia	{page 132} {p. I ii v} Tussicia
via sunt, ames velim, ac boni consulas. Vale inter caesareos duces facile princeps. Massae. Cal. Dec.	I would like you to love, and to pay attention to a good thing. Go easily among Caesar's leaders, prince. December 1, Massa.
Tussicia (page 132; p. I ii v)	Tussicia (page 132; p. I ii v)
DE NOMINE VALLIS Siciliana, atque oppidi Tussiciae.	On the name of the Valle Siciliana and of the town Tussicia [Tossicia, Abruzzo].

³⁰⁹ Hernando de Alarcon (1466-1540), as noted above (page 126; p. H vii v), was a Spanish soldier who fought various wars in Italy.

THEOPHILUS ET CHRYSOGO.	Theophilus and Chrysogonus
Quid rides Chrysogone?	[Theophilus:] Why are you laughing, Chrysogonus?
CH. Meam rideo dementiam, ne dicam periculum.	Chrysogonus: I am laughing at my dementia, so I don't say at danger.
TH. hem quam lacera est vestis?	Theophilus: Hmm, how come your clothes are torn?
CH. perii, nondum in veste tantam animadverteram stragem: nam dum praeruptum illud vix vi adrepto saxum, manibus excidit cui fidebam virgultum, et preceps in hanc usque planiciem, per densissimos vepres devolutus sum.	Chrysogonus: I'm ruined; I hadn't yet noticed such havoc in my clothing: for while that rock has just broken off with [me] stolen away by force, the branch I was trusting in fell away from my hands, and I rolled down headlong right onto this plain through extremely dense thorn bushes.*
TH. Videsis amabo qualis frons? sunt ne vibices, an lute* notae?	Theophilus: See now please, what's on your forehead? Are they welts or spots of dirt?
CH. Utrunque.	Chrysogonus: Both.
TH. sed quid negotii te ad tantum adegit periculum?	Theophilus: But what business has driven you toward such danger?
CH. periculum? Videsne quam exulceratae sunt manus?	Chrysogonus: Danger? Do you see how my hands are all abraded?
TH. Et claudicas?	Theophilus: And you're limping?
CH. profecto luxatus est pes.	Chrysogonus: Certainly, I sprained my foot.
TH. ridiculum, ignoras ictus.	Theophilus: Ridiculous, you are mistaking the blows.*
CH. ridiculum? nondum sanguis deferbuerat, sed ut dolori aliquid interim tribuam, magna est arbustis illis pendulis habenda gratia: quorum beneficio vivus sum. quod si liberum, ac patens ad ima fuisset iugum, sic me artuatim concisum videres, ut alterum diceres Hippolytum.	Chrysogonus: Ridiculous? My blood had not yet calmed down, but meanwhile, so that I might give some account for my suffering, great thanks should be given for those hanging bushes, by whose favor I am still alive. Because if the ridge had been unimpeded and open to the bottom then you would see me, broken limb by limb, so that you would call me another Hippolytus. ³¹⁰
THE. O' inauditam tragaediam: quid oro cum concleis* maccessae rupes?	Theophilus: O unheard of tragedy, I pray, what's with the spiraling* Macedonian* cliffs?* ³¹¹

³¹⁰ Hippolytus, in the version by Euripides, rebuffs his step-mother Phaedra's advances and is then falsely accused of rape; his enraged father Theseus gets his own father, Poseidon, to send a sea monster to scare Hippolytus's horses, and the young innocent is dashed on the rocks.

³¹¹ Note: Reading *maccessae* as derived from Maceta, a part of Macedonia; could *concleis* be for *cocleis* (from *coclea*, snail), meaning spiraling, winding?

{page 133} {p. I iii} Tussicia	{page 133} {p. I iii} Tussicia
forsitan Heliotropium in Apenini culmine minus amarum invenitur, quam in campis vel Intybum, vel Cresson*.	Perhaps a Sunflower found on the top of the Apennines is less bitter than the chicory or Watercress in the fields. ³¹²
CH. Adde et Cicorium. Sed age iam rem narro. Haud semel ab incolis loci, quam Insulam dicunt (mei enim Uranii est patria) audivi, in quibusdam montis Cornei latebris latitare vatem quendam fatidicum, senem quidem incultum, seminudum, capillo incompto, impexa barba, et glauco, quo de Proteo scribitur lumine: victus, cubile, et habitus ferme, ut olim Anacharsidi Sythico [sic, for Scythico]: Et quem dicunt numine afflatum, futura saepe praedicere: nec minus praeterita, ob longioris aevi intercapedinem, caeteris incognita mortalibus perinde atque praesentia manifestare. Mirum quanta iis auditis, in me istiusmodi videndi miraculum exarserit cupiditas.	Chrysogonus: Add Chicory too. But come now I will tell a tale. Not rarely from the inhabitants of the place, which they call an Island (for it is the land of my Uranii) I have heard, that a certain prophetic bard was hiding in certain lairs of Mount Horn/ Corno, indeed an old man, unrefined, half-naked, with uncombed hair, scraggly beard, and with a blue-grey eye, of the sort which Proteus is written [to have had], his food, bed and clothing were nearly like [that] of Anacharsis the Scythian; and whom they say, infused with divine spirit, often predicted future events, no less that those gone by, unrecognized by other mortals on account of the interval of a longer age, just as if making known present events. ^{313*} It is a wonder after hearing these things how much passion flared up in me for seeing a miracle.
TH. Genius forsitan est loci, aut alius quispiam erraticus daemon.	Theophilus: Perhaps it's the spirit of the place, or some other wandering daemon.
CH. sit ne Genius, an Daemon: homo mihi visus est deo plenus: Et cui menti insidat numem [sic], ex favore cuius, summo ut ipse ait, tutelari similis factus est.	Chrysogonus: Be it a Spirit or a Daemon, the man seemed to me full of god. And in whose mind a divine power settles, because of whose favor, as he himself says, he has been made similar to the highest guardian.*
TH. qualis lingua?	Theophilus: What sort of dialect/ tongue?
CH. ut vis. sed, ut mihi visum est, admodum sicilissat, et cum altius furit atticissat. Dic vates aio, cur ignivomi tui illius montis, nunc silet aestus? An quaeso vorticosus ille Euripus qui ab insula Italiam disternat, natura	Chrysogonus: As you wish. But, it seemed to me that he greatly affected the Sicilian manner, and when he raged more loftily he assumed the Attic manner. Speak, poet, I say, why is the heat of that fire-belching mountain of yours silent now? I ask

³¹² Watercress, see notes above, p. 54 and 127.

³¹³ Anacharsis was an ancient philosopher who came to Athens from Scythia (fl. c. 600 BCE) and earned a reputation for blunt appraisals, such as "Laws are spider-webs, which catch the little flies, but cannot hold the big ones"; his simple mode of living is alluded to below, p. 136.

hiavit, aut casu aliquo subsedit tellus, et irrupit fretum?	whether that vortex-prone Euripus which divides Italy from the island, has gaped because of nature, or has by chance the earth sunk and the sea broken in? ³¹⁴
TH. nodum, ut video, in scirpo quaerebas.	Theophilus: As I see it, you are looking for a knot in a bulrush (i.e. a riddle).
CH. post haec, quanta, ò deus bone, de naturae artificio? de lunae deliquiis? de	Chrysogonus: After these things how many, O good god, about the art of nature? About the eclipses of the moon?
{page 134} {p. I iii v} Tussicia	{page 134} {p. I iii v} Tussicia
sole? de orbibus coeli universis? quanta de elementis? de accessu, et recessu oceani? Et demum quanta de animorum immortalitate apperuit abdita, et vix superis ipsis nota?	about the sun? About the universal orbs of the heavens? How many about the elements? About the ocean's flowing and ebbing? And lastly how many hidden things has he revealed about the immortality of souls, scarcely even known to the heaven-dwellers themselves?
TH. Mira narras, sed quae magis aristotelico quam Christiano convenient vati.	Theophilus: You speak of wondrous things, but which would suit more an Aristotelian than a Christian bard.
CH. Audi te obsecro. Cum haec et fere iis similia disseruisset, pauliper [sic, paulisper] obticuit: deinde novo quodam derepente exagitatus furore, sic orsus est. O' caecas hominum mentes, et Cimeriis ipsis obscuriores, heu quam saepe fallimur futuri nescii, quantunque per inane deludimur. En in manibus creatorem, habemus, et contrectamus, et nihilominus creaturas extrinsecus quaerimus caeci. Adeo ne illud mulierculae cuiusdam in Philosophum quendam dictum, in mortales omnes dici posse consentaneum erit?	Chrysogonus: Listen, I beg you. When he had discussed these things and ones generally similar to them, he was quiet for a little while, then suddenly stirred up by a kind of new frenzy, he began thus: "O blind brains of men, and dimmer than Cimmerians themselves, alas, ignorant of what is to come, how often we are deceived, and how much we are duped through inanity. ³¹⁵ Behold we have the creator in our hands and fondle [it], and nonetheless, unseeing, we seek creatures from the outside. So will that saying by a certain little woman against a certain philosopher, be able to be said appropriately against all mortals?

³¹⁴ Euripus is a narrow sea channel with strong unpredictable currents (based on the Euripus Strait, which separates Euboea in the Aegean Sea from Boeotia on mainland Greece).

³¹⁵ Cimmerians: ancient Indo-European people living north of the Caucasus Mountains driven into Anatolia by the Scythians; they ruled Lydia in (7th cent. BCE); mentioned by Homer as a mythical people living in a land of fog and darkness, at the edge of the world, *Odyssey* 11.14-9.

Ille enim cum nocte quadam, coelo intentus, stellarum motus suspicere moliretur, in foveam imprudens prolapsus est. Cui ancillula, heus inquit ò praeclare, quae in coelis sunt consyderas, et quae sunt in terris non vides? Et ut caeteros ommittam, non erat aliud ò hospes, cognitu dignius, quam aetnae incendium, aut scyllae adlatratus.	For [the Philosopher], when on a certain night, intent on the sky, was attempting to look up at the movement of the stars, heedlessly fell forward into a pit. His little slave girl said, “Listen, O Illustrious one, you consider what is in the sky, and you don’t see what is on earth?” And so that I may omit the rest, there was nothing else, O guest, more worthy of inquiry, than the fire of Etna, or the barking/ raging of Scylla.
Crede mihi ò bone. Bulla est quicquid ab humano intellectu pervestigatur, nisi pia adsit mens, atque animus in Christum omnium servatorem, vel purus, vel humilis. Quod quidem an parum tibi intellexisse visum est, vas illud divinitatis, cum ait, se se nihil aliud profiteri nisi Iesum Christum, et hunc Crucifixum? quid mul-	Believe me, O good man. A [mere] bubble is whatever is investigated by the human intellect, unless a pious mind is present, and the soul is either pure or humble toward Christ, the savior of all. What indeed does that vessel of divinity seem to you to have understood, when he says he professes nothing else except Jesus Christ, and this Crucifix?
{page 135} {p. I iiii} Tussicia	{page 135} {p. I iiii} Tussicia
tis te morer? Tu qui de elementis, ac ventorum causis, nuper tam diligenter percunctatus es, num vides quae quotidie, et manibus tractas, et calcas pedibus? dic oro, cuius partis Italiae es accola? Vallis sicilianae aio sum inquillinus. oppidum inquit? Tussicia inquam. Quis dedit vel Valli, vel oppido nomen? Et cum me haesitantem vidisset. Eya inquit, tu cui satis coelestia vix faciunt, terrarum pene quisquillas ignoras.	Why should I delay you with many things? You who have recently investigated so diligently about the elements and the causes of the winds, in our own time, don’t you see what you treat every day with your hands and tread with your feet? Speak, I pray, of what part of Italy are you an inhabitant? I say I am a resident of the Valle Siciliana. The town? he says. Tussicia, I say. Who gave the name to the valley or town? And since he’d seen me hesitating, “Hey,” he said, “you whom the heavenly bodies are scarcely making satisfied, you are all but (<i>pene</i>) ignoring the remnants of earth.”
THEO. Me tui miseret Chrysogone.	Theophilus: I feel sorry for you, Chrysogono.
CH. qui?	Chrysogonus: Who?
THEO. videor te videre.	Theophilus: I seem to be looking at you.
CHRI. Oh purpurisso, vel Croco tinctum. Hoc semper peculiare fuit ignorationi, erubescencia scilicet, et confusio. Sed ad fabulam. Senex igitur cum me mussantem cerneret, subridens tum vallis, tum oppidi nomen, ac nominis originem hoc modo recensuit.	Chrysogonus: Oh, [me*] tinted with purple or saffron. This has always been from personal ignorance, that is, blushing and shame. But [back] to my story: The old man therefore since he saw me hesitating, amused both at the name of the valley and of the town, and the origin of the name, recounted in this way:

<p>TEMPORE quo extinctis Lestrigonibus, et Cyclopibus. Sicani hispani genere ex fluvio sicori duce siculo, Siciliam tenuere: fuit illius gentis rex quidam, qui ob frequentes Carthaginensium in Siciliae regnum incursiones, cum parum sibi, rebus sui fideret, Neapolitanorum Regem tunc potentissimum, affinitate sibi coniunxit. huic virgo erat, et forma, et moribus spectatissima.</p>	<p>AT THAT TIME the Lestrigonians and Cyclopeans were extinct. Sicilians of the Hispanic Sicilian race from the river Sicoris held Sicily with a Sicilian leader: there was a certain king of this race, who on account of frequent Carthaginian incursions into the kingdom of Sicily, since he trusted little in his men and his own resources, he joined the then most powerful King of the Neapolitans to him with a pact.* This man had a maiden [daughter], most highly regarded in beauty and manners.</p>
<p>Sicano vero filius. Qui cum armis aegre esset idoneus, venationibus, quibus peritissimus erat, maximopere delectabatur. Quid? ut brevibus rem absolvam, nuptui data est virgo regia, iuveni siculo. dos fuit ora illa quae* inter Truen-</p>	<p>To be sure, Sicanus had a son. Who although he was barely adequate with arms, hunting, in which he was extremely skilled, he enjoyed very much. What? So that I may sum up the matter briefly: the royal maiden was given for marriage to the young Sicilian. The dowry was that shore which extends between the river Tronto</p>
<p>{page 136} {p. I iii v} Tussicia</p>	<p>{page 136} {p. I iii v} Tussicia</p>
<p>tum fluvium, et amnem Fiternum protenditur. Hi sunt Vestini. Marrucini. Marsi. Frentani. Peligni. quam oram uno nomine Aprutium vocant. Quod cum nemoribus, ac saltibus celeberrimum esset, Siculo ob venationes studium, et gratissimum erat. Itaque in iis frequens. assiduus, et quasi alter Timon, tum canibus, tum arcu comitatus demorari.</p>	<p>and the stream Aterno. Here there are Vestini, Marrucini, Marsi, Frentani and Paeligni, which region they call with the one name, Abruzzo.*Because it was very renowned with forests and narrow passages, it was very pleasing to the Sicilian on account of his enthusiasm for hunting. Therefore he was frequently in these [places]. Resolute, and almost another Timon, he lingered accompanied by both his dogs and his bow.³¹⁶</p>
<p>THE. Silvestrem profecto Faunum mihi narras, haud regem. Sed quo noctu, vel cursu, vel sudore defaticatus divertebat tantus Rex?</p>	<p>Theophilus: Surely you are telling me about a rustic faun, not a king. But where did such a king turn in at night, weary from either the chase or from sweat.</p>
<p>CHRI. Cubile, inquit senex, tellus erat. amictus Scythicus, Calciamentum solorum callum. Pulmentum fames. Lacte, Caseo, et Carnibus vescebatur. Is quidem cum talis</p>	<p>Chrysogonus: The earth was his bed, the old man said, [he had] a Scythian cloak, his shoes were the callousness of his soles.³¹⁷ Hunger was his food. He fed on milk, cheese and meats. Indeed</p>

³¹⁶ Timon of Athens was famous for his misanthropy and his retreat from society.

³¹⁷ The description of rustic dress here matches a letter (*Epistle 5*), formerly thought to be written by Anacharsis, quoted by Cicero in *Tusculan Disputations*, Bk. 5.90, and see note above, p. 133.

<p>esset, patriae tamen amantissimae perenni deflagrabat desyderio. Eo igitur aliquantisper* agrestis animus demollitus affectu, et ad hoc invitantibus amicis, qui iuveni comites, a patre dati fuerant, decrevit tandem vitam sibi mitiorem comparare. Et hinc brevi ex ferarum lustris, ac humilibus pastorum casis, parva quaedam oppida caeptum est aedificare.</p>	<p>although he devoured such things, he was still burning away from the perennial desire for his most beloved homeland.* Therefore, for some time his rustic disposition enfeebled by emotion, and to this [end], with his friends unwilling, companions of his youth who had been given [him] by his father, he resolved finally to establish a more moderate life for himself. And here, in a short time, from lairs of beasts, and humble shepherds' houses, he began to build certain small towns.</p>
<p>Ex quibus sane omnibus, unum hoc quod ab Apenini radice in planiciem, humili ut vides clivo, porrigitur carius habuit. sed cum de oppidi nomine inter familiares disceptaretur, agite inquit. Vallis a Sicanis meis progenitoribus a Sicori profectis, Sicana dicatur. Tu Sicilia ò Oppidum mihi eris. Ex qua appellatione, orta est vulgi barbaries, ut ex Sicana, Siciliana, et ex duabus dictionibus, tu sicilia, Tussicia sit dicta. At iam occubuit sol. Tibi</p>	<p>To be sure out of all these, this one that, as you see, extends with a low slope from the base of the Apennines out to the plain, he held more dear.* But since it was debated among family members* about the name of the town, he said, Go on. Let the valley be called Sicana from my Sicani progenitors, who set out from Sicoris/ Segre.* You, Sicilia, will be my town. And from this name, the barbarism of the common people has arisen, as Siciliana from Sicana; and from the two words, 'tu Sicilia,' Tussicia is given. And now the sun is setting. For you,</p>
<p>{page 137} {p. I v} Tussicia</p>	<p>{page 137} {p. I v} Tussicia</p>
<p>O fili, ad Tussiciliam erit iter, mihi vero sub montis iugo pernoctandum. Abiit vates. Tunc sonoras inter abietes perfracta, nescio quae, vox est audita. O furor, ò terror. ò vatium insania. Siccine aruspices? Sortilegi? Phytonici? ò mentitum didimaei Apollinis numem [sic, numen]. O Phaebes.* ò Indigestum Calos.</p>	<p>O son, there will be a journey to Tussicia, however, I must spend the night under the ridge of the mountain. The prophet went off. Then an unknown voice was heard through the noisy fir trees broken up. O madness, O panic. O crazy prophet. Are soothsayers like this? Fortune tellers? Pythian oracles, *O lying godhead of Apollo of Didyma. O Phoebus*. O Chaotic Calos/ Kalos [beautiful/ good].*</p>
<p>TH. Dici non potest Chrysogone quantus sit huiusmodi vatium et furor, et impetus.</p>	<p>Theophilus: One cannot say, Chrysogonus, how much rage and fury there is in prophets of this sort.</p>
<p>CHRI. haec enim terrifica prae se ferente nemore, parum abfuit quin tonitrua, atque horrenda immixta grandine fulmina, et terraemotus, subsequuti sint.</p>	<p>Chrysogonus: With him professing these terrifying things in the forest, it was almost as though thunder and horrible lightning mixed with hail and earthquakes should follow.</p>

THE. Si numem [sic] huiusmodi pacificum est, ac coelitus exortum? sint grandines. sint nimbi. sint aeris mugitus, ne hilum quidem facio. Tantum enim abest ut credam futuri aevi praeludia esse, et argumenta.	Theophilus: If a supernatural power of this sort is peaceful, and divinely born?* Let there be hail. Let there be storms. Let there be roaring of the sky, I care not a whit. For it is far from the case that I would believe these to be preludes and proofs of a future era.
CHRI. Elias forsitan est.	Chrysogonus: Perhaps it is Elijah.
THE. dic sodes? quid si antichristus? aiunt enim, et sic est, mortalium iam scelera ad flagitiorum culmem [sic] ascendisse. iam inquam coelum ipsum. tellus. fruges, in ingratum hominem clamant, coram deo. Instant iam signa illa, atque omina a vatibus praedicta, stolidissimo vel asino notissima. pollutus est aer. polluta terra. polluti sentes.* Clamant denique creata omnia ut scriptum est apud Iudaeos. omnes vitae nostrae pessimae. Cedo Chrysogone quae iam vitae conditio est, cui plane antiquorum patrum synceritas arrideat? Ubi in regibus fides? Ubi in principibus foedus? Ubi inter Cives pax? Est ne pietas illa quam in tot	Theophilus: Speak, [will you] please? What if he's the Antichrist? For they say, and it is so, that the evil deeds of mortals have already mounted to a peak of scandals. I say already up to heaven itself. The earth. Crops (<i>fruges</i>), cry out against the ungrateful man, before god. Already the signs loom, and the omens predicted by the prophets, very well known even to a very stupid ass. The air has been polluted. The earth has been polluted. The thorns have been polluted. All created [beings] cry out at last as it is written by the Jews. All the worst things of our life.* Come now, Chrysogonus, what is now the situation of life, at which the purity/ integrity of the ancient fathers would plainly smile? Where is faith in kings? Where is a pact among princes? Where is peace among Citizens? Is that loyalty, which
{page 138} {p. l v v} Tussicia end	{page 138} {p. l v v} Tussicia end
sectis divisam esse videmus? ò rem indignam. Fiat iam oro, ó summe in terris, fiat unus grex, unus custos, una lex. Redeat iam terris regnum, non Saturnium: sed de quo dicitur. Adveniat regnum tuum. Sed iam nox subrepsit. Vin te tollam humeris?	we see to be divided into so many sects? O unworthy thing. I pray now that it may be, O highest one on earth, let there be one flock, one guardian, one law. ³¹⁸ Let the kingdom return to earth, not a Saturnian [reign], but about which it is spoken. ³¹⁹ Let your kingdom come. But night has already crept in. Do you want me to take you up on [my] shoulders?
CHRI. Apagesis. licet enim crus ex lapsu sit Paulo inconstans factum, exossatum tamen	Chrysogonus: Off with you. For although my leg was made a little unstable from the fall,

³¹⁸ *custos*: meaning guard, protector, so one shepherd for the one flock, but seems a bit out of place here, so maybe *unus custos* should be read as meaning also a receptacle, and see *vere insomnis custos*, p. 9.

³¹⁹ Note: Theophilus calls for an earthly kingdom, not a *regnum Saturnium*, which is synonymous with the Golden Age, cf. Vergil's "redeunt Saturnia regna," *Eclogues* 4.6.

non est, at si mavis cum luna emergere coeperit, parthenium cum fibris extirpes velim. Hanc enim aiunt herbam lapsibus affatim utilem esse.	nevertheless it is not de-boned, but if you prefer it will have begun to emerge with the moon – I would like you to pull out the parthenium by the roots with the fibers.* ³²⁰ For they say this herb is sufficiently useful for falls/ lapses.
THEOPHI. Illam quam dicunt Pericli in somnis a Minerva monstratam?	Theophilus: That [herb] they say was shown to Pericles in a dream from Minerva? ³²¹
CHRI. Illam inquam in splanchnoptis lapsu.	Chrysogonus: I mean that one in regard to lapsing of the entrails [splanchnoptosis].*
THEO. faxit deus ut absque Malagmatis, et pastillis conualescas.	Theophilus: May god make it so that you get better without an Emollient and lozenges.
VISUM SUPERUM (page 138; p. I v v)	VISUM SUPERUM (page 138; p. I v v)
Ad pudicissimam Lucretia Scalionam. VISUM SUPERUM.	For the most virtuous Lucrezia Scaglione: A HEAVENLY VISION.
CHRYSOGONUS CUM MATRE.	Chrysogonus with his Mother
Quid Cerno? Sunt ne, an hebet visus? totus cohorresco. homo, Spectrum, homo est. En alter. Lemures credo sunt, aut Lamiae, quae huiusmodi terriculamentis facile, ut dementemus, nostros ludificantur oculos. Non iam Lemures: non Lamiae: non Spectra non Larvae: sed dii sunt, O' qualem lucem? O' odorem suavem. proximus accedam. O' amabiles umbrae, vos per sedes vestras aureas, per niveas stolas, per ardentes oculos, oro, obtestorque ruti-	[Chrysogonus:] What do I perceive? Are they there or is my sight failing? I shudder all over. It's a man, a specter, a man. Look, another. These are malevolent shades, or witches, that with this sort of night terror, easily trick our eyes, as though we were demented. Now they are no longer malevolent shades, or witches, not specters or evil spirits, but gods; O what light? O what a sweet scent. I will draw near. O lovable shades, I pray you, by your golden seats, by your snow-white garments, by your burning eyes, and I implore [you] –
{page 139} {p. I vi} VISUM SUPERUM	{page 139} {p. I vi} VISUM SUPERUM
lantes parumper vestros cohibete radios. Lippus enim tam fulgidas non fert faces. ó sacer animorum coetus. O' felices animae.	hold back your glowing rays a little while. For a person with enflamed eyes cannot bear such blazing torches. O sacred intercourse of minds. O

³²⁰ The flowering plant parthenium (feverfew) occurs in many places as an invasive weed, the name derives from Greek *parthenos* meaning virgin; *fibris*: leaves, fibers; entrails.

³²¹ Plutarch tells of how Athena (Minerva) appeared in a dream and gave Pericles a remedy for healing a gifted worker badly injured in a fall while building the Parthenon, *Life of Pericles*, 13.8.

quod consilium? quod omen vos e coelo ad has nostras tetras avocavit regiones? Ad me ne? non hic virtus. non bonum. non pax. non quies, ó quieti spiritus. heu quid video? Exoculer miser, ne amplius inertem terram: ne saevum mare. ne sydera ipsa. ne me tandem omnium foedissimum intuear. Ad me ne, an ad alium pacatiorem animum?	happy souls. What is your advice? What omen has called you from heaven to these foul regions of ours? [Are you here] for me? In this place there is no virtue, no goodness, no peace, no serenity, O peaceful spirits. Alas, what do I see? Let me be blinded, wretch that I am, let me gaze no more upon the idle earth, or the cruel sea, or the very stars, or even myself, most foul of all. [Are you here] for me or for some more peaceful soul?
MA. ò senex, qui ludricas humanarum rerum ineptias pertesus, huiusmodi pendulos pervagaris secessus, ad te.	Mother: Oh, old man, you who wander around overhanging retreats of this kind, wearied of the playful nonsense of human affairs, for you. ³²²
CHR. Hem mater est.	Chrysogonus: Hmm, it's my mother.
MAT. huc te admove. quid attonitus Labas?	Mother: Get yourself over here. Why do you teeter dazed?
CHRI. Perii mater. ó noctem quid aio Noctem? ò diem faustissimum. ó Concubium meridiana ipsa claritate clarius, splendidiusque. Video ne te mater, an falso deludor simulachro?	Chrysogonus: I am destroyed, mother. O night, why am I saying night, O day most festive. O bedtime brighter than noon light itself, and more splendid. Do I see you, mother, or am I deluded by a false image?
MAT. fili.	Mother: Son.
CH. heus mater. iam tutus sum, postquam pellucida sustentor manu.	Chrysogonus: Hey there, mother. Now I'm safe, since I'm supported by your transparent hand.
MAT. Ades animo, et antiqua tua utere mente. Unde Chrysogone istuc tuum nomen?	Mother: Be present in spirit, and use your former mind. Whence this name of yours, Chrysogono?
CH. Abste mater.	Chrysogonus: From you mother.
M. a me? Neque a me: neque a felicissimo genitore: neque a fonte ipso.	Mother: From me? Neither from me, nor from any very fortunate parent, nor from the fount itself.
CH. cum tractabilem ò mater. nobiscum spirabas auram, primum illud, quo me a cunis vocare libuit, non gravate tuli: simulac vero deposita mortalitate iam coelestis es facta, et nomen, et habitum etiam ipse deposui, a beata scilicet atque aurea matre, ut aureum appellent natum.	Chrysogonus: When, O mother, you were breathing the tangible air with us, that first [name], by which it pleased you to call me from the cradle, I didn't take unwillingly, however, as soon as you were made celestial, having put aside your mortality, I myself set aside both my name and habit, and naturally from a holy and golden mother, they would call a son golden.
MAT. Scio ó Chrysogone tum nominis, tum	Mother: I know, O Chrysogono, the reason and intention

³²² Perhaps *senex* (old man) could be used for priest, cf. Tyndale Bible.

{page 140} {p. I vi v} VISUM	{page 140} {p. I vi v} VISUM
instituti intercepti rationem et consilium.	both of your name and of your interrupted [religious] practice.
CH. non te latet ó mater, nam beata es, quae voluntas, quae mens, quae animi deliberatio, ab ubere fecundae matris (tu prima es) me abstraxit. In Stygias detrudar undas, si aliud in mente habui quam* adipiscendae pacis animum, tranquillitatemque a turbis, amorem item ocii, ac deum tandem, licet ab illis nunc male audiam, quorum interest, ut ipsi dicunt, de orbe ipso iudicium facere.	Chrysogonus: It has not escaped your notice, O mother, for you are a saint, what a will, what an intellect, what deliberation of mind dragged me away from the breast of a fertile mother (you are the first). Let me be thrust down into Stygian waves if I had anything in mind other than the feeling of obtaining peace and tranquility away from the crowds, and too a love of calm, and lastly god, although unfortunatly I now hear from them, whom it concerns, as they say, that he makes a judgment about the world itself.*
quis tantos ferat ausus? quid agam? quid respondeam? Taceam ne? obmutuit profecto innocentissimus agnus ille coram tondente se. Irrauceam penitus, si verbum unum pro me amplius addo.	Who could report such ventures? What shall I do? What shall I respond? Should I keep silent? Surely the most innocent lamb has become mute when facing the one shearing it. Let me become completely hoarse, if I add one word on my behalf.
MAT. Scio filiorum molestias. Scio cruces. Scio et quae vos manent praecia. Quid autem de vobis cogitent alii, ipsi videant. Vos altius corda surrigite, et domesticas, sive praeteritas, sive futuras forti pectore superate iniurias. Is enim vitae labor, via est in coelum. At tu postquam nomen auri visum est arrisise, fac sis aureus. Caeterum quae dicam memoriae trade. Vides in rebus humanis irrequietum motum? vides coelestes globos, quos vos decem esse dicitis, quomodo illorum extimus recto: caeteri retro contrario versantur motu [errata corrects motum]? Tellus etiam, quam vos affirmatis non moveri, et in ea omnia feri* suo motu pondera, suos etiam ipsa habet motus, licet praeter naturam, et per intervalla. Testis fuit olim in hac campania Missenus, nuper tota Lusitania. de Oceano autem quid iam instabilius cerni potest? homo	Mother: I know the troubles of my sons. I know the torments. And I know what rewards await you. But what others think of you, let them see for themselves. Lift your hearts higher, and overcome personal offenses whether past or future with a strong breast. That indeed is the struggle of life, the path into heaven. But you, since the name of gold has been seen to have pleased [you], make it so that you are golden. Place in your memory the rest of what I will say. Do you see the restless movement in human affairs? Do you see celestial orbs which you say are ten in number, how the farthest of them is on the right: the others turn back around in an opposite motion. For the earth, which you claim is not moved, and is carried by its own movement against all those weights, even she has her own movements, although contrary to nature and at intervals. Earlier in this [region of] Campania, Miseno was witness [to an earthquake]; recently,

	all Lusitania. ³²³ Likewise about the ocean, what can be judged more unstable?
{page 141} {p. I vii} VISUM SUPERUM	{page 141} {p. I vii} VISUM SUPERUM
tamen solus et hunc, et illum in motu praevertitur: nam omnia creata quae motui sunt obnoxia, et quae huiusmodi giris, et orbibus agitantur, a naturae lege edocta, pari, et pro rata portione, distincto, atque ordinato moventur actu. At homo vel in suis etiam a natura tributis motibus, exlex est, et ordinis impatiens.	Yet only man exceeds the ocean and the earth in his motion: for all created things which are subject to motion and which are driven about in these sorts of circles and orbits, have been thoroughly taught by the law of nature, with an equal and proportionate ratio, and are moved by a distinct and regulated act. But man, whether in his own motions or those also assigned by nature, is lawless and intolerant of order.
Tu a pessum vergentibus fac caveas, et maxime violenti si qui sunt motus, ut in tellure fit, qui a vobis terraemotus appellantur: qui si magni sunt, hiare Campi campos [errata corrects campos*]. montes discedere. motare turres. ac terrifico quodam impulsu, urbes convelli, et rupes vicissim collidi, visae sunt, et propediem videbuntur.	Make sure you avoid inclining to the bottom, and especially if there are movements that are violent, as happens in the earth, which are called earthquakes by you: if these are big, meadows have been seen to gape open, mountains to disappear, towers to tremble, and with a certain terrifying thrust, cities uprooted and cliffs battered against each other, and before long will be seen [to do so] again.
Magnus enim in foribus iam adest annus: non is qui ex numerosis solstitialibus dependeat: sed qui ex orbiculatis formis, cum citimo terris hemyciclo [sic, no period] Hoc cara lux aget, inseparabilis coitio. Et tunc pax summa, et a motu requies. Tu enitere dignus ut tali censearis saeculo. Sic, ut ego qui te genui, iustitiam cole, et pietatem: quae cum maxima esse debeat in deum, est et aliqua in eorum memoriam qui iam vixere, ac corpora laxati illum incolunt locum, in cuius sinu graves, nec sine spe salutis, culparum, in igne pendant poenas.	For a great age is now arriving on the threshold: not one which would depend on the many [summer] solstices, but one [which would depend] on orbicular forms with the nearest semicircle of the earth. A precious light will drive this, an inseparable coition. And then the greatest peace, and a rest from motion. Strive so that you may be deemed worthy of such an era. Thus, as I who gave birth to you, cultivate justice, and piety – which although it ought to be greatest in god, and is even somewhere in the memory of those who have already lived, and loosened from their bodies inhabit that spot, in whose embrace, not without hope of salvation, for their faults, they pay out oppressive punishments in fire.

³²³ Lusitania (now Portugal) experienced a severe earthquakes in 1531; *testis* means both witness and testicle, cf. *pondera* (weights; testicles) in the previous sentence.

Non nihil enim animae solutae ab oneribus corporis, vivorum pietate, ac carissimorum votis iuvantur, et si non plane semper, aliquo modo tamen a cruciatibus levantur, ut hi qui mecum sunt, qui iam liberi a tortoribus atque a flammis expediti, aevo fruuntur sempiterno.	Indeed, not for nothing are souls, freed from the burdens of the body, helped by the charity of the living and the prayers of those most dear; even if not always completely, still, in some way they are relieved from tortures, as those who are here with me, who, liberated from their tormentors and set free from flames, enjoy eternal life.
CH. Genitor ó mater?	Chrysogonus: Father, O mother?
MAT. Post mortem meam	Mother: After my death
{page 142} {p. I vii v} VISUM	{page 142} {p. I vii v} VISUM
eodem mense rectis e grabato in coelum sublatus est lineis: ubi mecum cum filiis illo, quod in terris expetivimus, bono beatissime fruimur	in the same month he was raised up with the proper linens from his pallet into heaven, where with me and the children in that place, we enjoy most blissfully that good which we sought on earth.
CH. Ultimus forsán minus laete.	Chrysogonus: The youngest perhaps less gladly.
MA. Cumulatius.	Mother: More abundantly.
CHRI. Qui sic? neminem unquam audivi atrocius a delatoribus accusatum, atque capitalius damnatum.	Chrysogonus: How so? I never heard anyone more savagely accused by informants, and more fatally condemned.
MAT. Argumentum sane infirmum, vel quod unico verbo disipari {sic} potest.	Mother: Weak proof to be sure, or that can be dispelled with one word.
CHRI. Quo quaeso?	Chrysogonus: With which, I wonder.
MA. Innocentia.	Mother: Innocence.
CHRI. sic aiunt innocentiam aequè extenuari solitam sub adversis, uti auream sub malleo bracteam. Vellem profecto rem aequius expendissent iudices: nec tam temere improbis auscultassent delatoribus, in virum praesertim optime de religione meritum. Fuere in primis mulieres vel incestae, vel adulterae, vel publicis quoque fornicibus prostitutae. Collusores deinde publici. Aleatores, Ganeones, Heluones, Patici (cohorret animus) Drauci turpissimi, atque huius generis foedissimi alii. Iudices vero quales fuerint praestat praeterire: nec Theramenes quidem, nec Socrates, ò mater, hic a Tyrannis, ille a iudicibus extinctus, nequius occidere. pueri deinceps tum aetate,	Chrysogonus: So they say that innocence is usually diminished under adverse things like gold leaf under a hammer. Certainly I would have liked the judges to have weighed the matter more fairly, and not to have listened so rashly to shameless informants, especially against a man thoroughly in the service of religion. In the beginning there were women either lewd or adulterous, or even prostitutes from public brothels. Then public play-fellows. Gamblers, Drinkers/ Gluttons, Squanderers, Passive male partners (the mind shudders), the most shameful well-hung hunks, and other extremely disgusting men of this sort. However, what the judges were like, it is better to pass over: not even Theramenes or Socrates, O mother, the latter slain by tyrants, the former by

<p>tum ratione imbecilliores, quam quos honeste, praetoria gravitas admittere videatur: Quae omnia utpote ius omne, fas, forum, publica commoda, civilemque iustitiam subvertentia, de aliquo referre, aut alicui diem dicere neutiquam asciscunt leges. Ausculta, inquit sapiens ille, quae loquatur alius vicissim de alio, dans operam, ut noris, et qui sunt qui loquun-</p>	<p>judges, died more pointlessly. Next, boys more feeble as to age and reasoning than those whom official dignity would seem to honorably admit: all these things, as one might expect, every law, decree, court of justice, public interest, and the subversion of civil justice, to report on someone, or to fix a day [in court] for someone, the laws by no means ordain. Listen, the wise man says, to what one may say in turn about another, paying attention, as you have learned, both as to who these people are who are talking</p>
<p>{page 143} {p. I viii} VISUM SUPERUM</p>	<p>{page 143} {p. I viii} VISUM SUPERUM</p>
<p>tur, et de quibus loquantur.</p>	<p>and about whom they are talking.</p>
<p>MAT. Videant alii ò Chrysogone. filius enim, ut rem breviter expediam, idem ipse e suo exit corpore, qui e meo, id est Innocentissimus. Sed quid de alio illo qui adhuc vivit? Quas calamitates patitur? In quibus adversis traducit vitam?</p>	<p>Mother: Let them see, O Chrysogono. For my son, as I might explain the matter in short, is leaving his body the same way he left mine, that is, [he is] completely innocent. But what about that other one who is still living? What disasters is he suffering? Against what adverse matters does he lead his life?</p>
<p>CHR. nec minus, ut audio, iniuste.</p>	<p>Chrysogonus: No less, as I hear it, unfairly.</p>
<p>MAT. Iniuste?</p>	<p>Mother: Unfairly?</p>
<p>CHRI. Vellem in primis mihi dicerent, an latentibus, an manifestis, ut talem virum insectarentur assecuti sunt coniecturis.* Si ex primo/ exprimo*, nego hasce boni viri esse partes, a secretis rerum causis auspicari fidem. Quid oro tam a bono viro alienum esse potest, quam rem obstrusam, et dubiam, pro certa? reconditam pro aperta proferre? Utrum hoc sit deterius aut prava rectis affirmare, aut elinguem esse omnino, videant hi, quorum adeo in dubiis certa statuere mos est, ut in certissimis quoque faedissime caecutiant, et lusciosi sint. hostes inquirunt sunt.</p>	<p>Chrysogonus: First of all, I would like them to tell me whether with hidden or open conjectures they have pursued such a man in order to harass him. If I declare [that] faith takes auspices from the secret causes of things, I deny these to be the duties of a good man. What, I pray, could be so foreign to a good man, than [to present] a thing compulsory and dubious as certain? To bring forward something hidden away as open/ public? Let these men see whether this is worse: to assert perversities with proper words, or to be altogether speechless, [these men] whose custom it has been up until now to establish certainties from doubts, as they may also be hideously blinded with regard to very certain things, and may be myopic too. There are enemies, they say.*</p>

<p>Quid audio? Sunt ne hostes in templo pacis? Sint etiam. Et hoc quidem boni viri nomen adimit: siquidem sine vitio nunquam cohaerere solent et boni viri, et hostis nomen. Si in peccata porro, ut dicunt, invehuntur: num dubia tandem quo fiant animo inter peccata censenda erunt? Quod ius quaeso seu humanum, seu divinum hoc a quoquam exigit? Cuius senatus assensu [assensu]? Quorum patrum autoritate huiusmodi lex sancita? Castiganda sunt quidem peccata, sed ab illis ipsis quorum interest. perplexa autem, et media, diligentissime an-</p>	<p>What do I hear? Are there enemies in the harmonious temple/ church of peace? Yes, there may be. And indeed this robs the name of a good man, even supposing good men and the name of enemy usually never come together without vice. If moreover they are drawn into sin, as they say: shouldn't questions concerning sins ultimately be judged by the spirit in which they are committed? What law, I ask, whether human or divine, requires this of anyone? With the approval of what legislature? This sort of law is sanctioned by the authority of which senators? Certainly, sins should be punished, but by those themselves of whom it is a concern. These are, however, complicated matters and public; they should be very diligently</p>
<p>{page 144} {p. I viii v} VISUM</p>	<p>{page 144} {p. I viii v} VISUM</p>
<p>tequam ad lora perveniatur, disquirenda, plectenda etiam pro meritis, sed legum, non linguarum multa. Malum profecto virus linguae cum ab omni mortalium genere funditus sustollendum, tum diligentius ab illis ipsis viris, qui propterea sese muris cingunt, quo facilius caelestem profiteantur vitam, et fiant dii.</p>	<p>investigated, before one comes to the whip: beaten indeed as one deserves but according to laws, not [according] to tongues/ rumors. Certainly the evil venom of tongues ought to be completely removed not only from every kind of mortal, but even more diligently from those very men who, because of these things, surround themselves with walls, so that they may more easily profess the heavenly life, and become gods.</p>
<p>Quonam autem casu sit actum, non facile dixerim, ut quemadmodum plerisque in actionibus recte factis, ab illis vincuntur caeteri: Ita a plerisque in hoc laudis genere quo lingua temperati simus, longe secedunt, et superantur. Atqui vos absentes intuens appello. Si aliqua in sententiis vestris pervulgandis, deprehensa fuerit ignoratio, excusabilis forsitan error: et dignus cui facile praestetur venia.</p>	<p>However, to what extent this may have been done unintentionally, I couldn't easily say, just as with the majority of well-executed lawsuits, the others are won by these men; so, with the majority in regard to this sort of renown where we may be restrained by speech/a tongue, they withdraw far away and are overcome. And yet, considering you absent ones, I call you [to court]. If somehow by making your thoughts public, your lack of knowledge would be revealed, perhaps the fault would be excusable, the person to whom pardon was extended would readily be deserving [of it].*</p>

<p>Sed in apertis delictis, ut est in obtrectatoribus, in delatoribus, in adulatoribus maxime, paululum connivere, atque ob linguarum metum de recta deiici, ac labefactari, quae digna expiatio? quae religio vos vestro pulcherrimo gradu, quo nunc statis, non indignos reddet?</p>	<p>But in the case of exposed crimes, while it is to be overlooked a bit in the case of detractors, and of informants, and especially of flatterers, and yet to be thrown down from the right path because of a dread of tongues, and to be undermined – what worthy atonement is there? What religious order will not restore you, not unworthy, to the most illustrious position from where you now stand?*</p>
<p>Sed ob signatam istam omittamus partem, et ad illam quae apertioribus patere dicunt indicium, revertamur. Quaero iterum an in illius viri defectione quicquam tum cerni potuit, ex quo libidinosi consilii, contaminatae mentis, apertum demonstrari quiverit argumentum? affirmant. quod quaeso? An quia villosa, colloriamque* veste indutus ad Alpes accivit Venerem? An quia de toga ad Cilicium translatus, puellas illexit? Num ideo repetundarum</p>	<p>But let us dismiss this issue of sealed [testimony], and return to what they say to be well known with more open evidence. I ask again whether one could then discern anything with regard to a defect in this man, or whether public proof could be demonstrated of his libidinous plans or his contaminated mind. They say yes. What [proof], I ask? Because he dressed in a shaggy, multi-colored garment, he summons Venus to the Alps? Because he'd shifted from a toga to a hairshirt he enticed girls?</p>
<p>{page 145} {p. K} VISUM SUPERUM [text has INFERUM]</p>	<p>{page 145} {p. K} VISUM SUPERUM³²⁴</p>
<p>factus est reus, quia nudum eum frigidus, et egentem voluntarium conspexit Apeninus? num quia ab ocio ad Eremita labores se transtulit cupidiam* praetendit: laesa maiestatis culpam prae se tulit? Quis illum vidit unquam in Emporiis, multo minus in floralibus, ac Dionysiis diversantem?</p>	<p>So therefore he has been made guilty of recovering extorted money, because a frigid Apennine man catches sight of him nude and voluntarily poor?*. Because he transferred himself from leisure to the labors of a Hermitage/ Hermit, one accuses him of passion; he bears before him the guilt of lese majesty?*. Who has ever seen him in the market place, much less twirling around with the Dionysians in the Floralia?</p>
<p>Porro non ut transfuga, aut fugitivus, clam dominum, servus: libere, et palam, ex senatus decreto almae urbis: omnibus videntibus, in libera civitate, emancipante* summo Pon [Pontifice*]. a quo quidem libertate donatus, raso calvus capite, pileum</p>	<p>Moreover, not as a deserter, or a fugitive slave unbeknownst to his master, but freely, and out in the open by decree of the senate of his native city: with everyone seeing [him], in a free country, with the high pontifex emancipating [him]. By whom indeed he was rewarded with freedom, his head shaved bald, having obtained</p>

³²⁴ The text shows the heading INFERUM on pages 145 and 147 (p. K and Kii), although the section titled VISUM INFERUM does not start until page 148 (K ii v).

<p>adeptus est, de pluma, quod aiunt, ad malleos descendit.</p>	<p>the felt cap [of a freed slave], with respect to which they say, "he stoops from feathers to hammers."*</p>
<p>Quae charitas? Quae modestia? tot iustis acclamantibus rationibus, illos solos reclamare? Unde quaeso orta est suspitio, aut potius sermo ille? Convasavit, dicunt, nescio quid.</p>	<p>What charity? What temperance? With so many just reasons approving [this], these men alone shout objections? From what, I ask, did the suspicion arise, or rather the rumor? He packed*, they say, I don't know what.</p>
<p>Quis dicat hoc nisi illi, aut illorum similimi? Ille enim qui per sexenium [sic], cuncto spectante orbe, et coelo ipso teste, res illorum tam fideli opera, etiam ipsis concedentibus, et ut est ordinatissima ratiocinationum suarum series, et contrectavit, et auxit, nescio quae abrasit?</p>	<p>Who says this, if not those [people] or [those] similar to them? In fact he, who for six years, with the whole world watching, and with heaven itself as witness, handled their affairs with such devoted service, and increased [them], while they themselves were consenting, even as the sequence of their own calculations was very well-ordered, and extorted/ extracted what?</p>
<p>Quae tandem? Evulsit a postibus horrea? Corinthios calices, aut surrentina vasa suffuratus est? Denudavit divos, ut quondam Esculapium Dionysius? Fregit ne aerarium, an obfirmavit? Abduxit ne iterum Cacus Herculeos, retroversis vestigiis, in Aventinum boves? Scilicet emisse, aedificasse, recuperasse, ab aere alieno, atque a nefandissimis versuris res sacras liberasse, scelus fuit, et capitalis noxa. O' diras amicorum iniurias. O' impudentiam praedi-</p>	<p>What then? Did he pull down storerooms by the doorposts? Did he steal Corinthian chalices or Sorrentine vessels? Did he expose the gods, as Dionysius once [exposed] Asclepius? Did he break into the treasury or did he secure it? Did Cacus lead Hercules' cattle away to Mount Aventine a second time with hoof prints going backwards? Of course, to have gained, to have built up, to have recuperated from debt, and to have freed sacred things from the most abominable loans, was a crime, and [deserving] of capital punishment. O, such dire assaults on friends. O what shamelessness to be warned against.</p>
<p>{page 146} {p. K i v} VISUM SUPERUM</p>	<p>{page 146} {p. K i v} VISUM SUPERUM</p>
<p>cendam. Vide, mater ut istos vir graecus Aristophanes, verus tamen author, adumbrat homines, agresti illos appellans ferocia, ore temerario, infraeni, prodigo, fuitiles item, loquaces, ac quadam verborum congerie profusos. Quam prudens sane visus est mihi Momus, qui ob fenestram in hominis pectore non fabrefactam, indignanter tulit. quae si esset, introspiceret, credo, mundus ipse universus, an tantillus illius scelesti rei</p>	<p>Look, mother, how Aristophanes, a Greek man, yet a decent author, represents these men, naming them with an uncouth savagery, with a rash, unbridled and lavish mouth, calling them trifling, too, prattling, and, with a certain heap of words, extravagant.* How very wise Momus seemed to me, who speaks irately of a window not having been devised for men's breasts. If there were a window, this whole world would inspect I believe, whether the soul of that wicked</p>

animus, tam foedus esset, tanque ut illi iactant per trivium, vel turpis, vel incestus: et cui vos rabulae* meri, maxima cum religionis iniuria, imponere non desistitis.	criminal is as small, as obscene as those men in the crossroads allege, or as shameful or lewd, and on whom you mere rabble-rousers do not cease to impose with the greatest religious injustice.*
quippe rationibus qui imbelles estis, livore (malum) et lingua rem agitis. Siccine sanctissimi Evangelii mens? Qualia, qualia in vobis paterent monstra. Verum quid ago? nosti omnia ò mater. Quo me quamquam* [quamque*] iustus impulit furor? Excessus fateor, ò beata, si leviter ob innocentiae defensionem, par pari obtrectatoribus reddidisse, excessus fuit.	Naturally you who aren't bellicose in your reasoning conduct the matter with [livid] spite (wicked) and tongue/ rumor. Is this the intention of the most Holy Gospel? What monsters might be exposed in you? But what can I do? You know all, O mother. Yet where and how far has righteous rage driven me? I confess that I am excessive, O blessed one, if to have delivered a defense of innocence gently, to have squared accounts with the critics, was excessive.
haec interposui Mater, non tam ut pro fratre dixisse videar (pessime enim secum ageretur, si parum tibi esset sine defensione purgatus) quam ut quosdam nimis acerbi animi, et ieiuni admonerem id quod semper, cum in sacrarum rerum administratione versaretur, caverit. Tu mater, ut tua est facilitas, veniam, si nimius fui, dones velim.	I included these things, mother, not so that I would seem to have spoken on my brother's behalf (in fact he would have behaved himself badly, if he were excused by you without defense) but so that I could warn certain people of too harsh and barren a mind that, although one may be twirling about in the administration of sacred matters, one should take precautions. You, mother, as is your nature, I wish you would pardon me, if I was extreme.
M. Mallem moderatius. nundum enim crucifixus es mundo, et tibi mundus. Porro haec quam cogitabundo intueris animo, Feliciane Scaglione est.	Mother: I would prefer you were more restrained. For you have not yet been crucified by the world, and the world is yours. Hereafter, you will consider this matter with as thoughtful a mind as possible; Feliciane Scaglione is here.
CH. E vita hac misera, scabra, putida feliciane Lucretiae filia?	Chrysoygonus: Away from this wretched, rotten, stinking life; Feliciane the daughter of Lucretia? ³²⁵
M. Ea est.	Mother: It is she.
CH. ó te bea-	Chrysoygonus: O blessed you.
{page 147} {p. K ii} VISUM SUPERUM [text has INFERUM]	{page 147} {p. K ii} VISUM SUPERUM ³²⁶

³²⁵ Feliciane Carafa della Stadera, daughter of a neapolitan woman famous for her beauty: Lucretia Scaglione. Lucretia was the wife of Paolo Carafa and was reputed to have been the lover of several famous men, including Charles de Lannoy, Prince Philibert d'Orange, Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, and the husband of her good friend, Vittoria Colonna; the sentence does not show punctuation between *putida* and *feliciane* (and note lower case initial letter).

³²⁶ Text has INFERUM, see note above.

tam. Sed qualis mors?	But what sort of death?
FEL. partus.	Feliciana: A birth.
CH. Superestne?	Chrysogonus: Did it survive?
FEL. Et me, et patientiae meam uno fere simul ictu perculit amara mors.	Feliciana: With a single blow bitter death struck down both myself and my newborn baby at almost exactly the same moment.
CHR. displicet. At iam felix es feliciana.	Chrysogonus: I'm sorry. And now Feliciana is happy. ³²⁷
FEL. Sum: quod cum a viscerum torminibus vix mei compos devexarer, fore addubitavi: proinde miram illam, horrendam, terrificam, purgatoriamque nacta sum legem.	Feliciana: I am, because since I was being ripped apart from torments of my viscera, scarcely in control of myself, I doubted I would continue to exist: so then, I met with that wondrous, horrible, terrifying purgatorial law. ³²⁸
CHR. Adeo etiam summo in discrimine, de Dei fide non est haesitandum. Tam cito ne ab illis foedis, tetris, queribundis, lachrymosisve laribus te liberam video? tam cite?	Chrysogonus: And indeed in the last judgment, one should not hesitate about faith in God. Do I see you so quickly free from those disgusting, foul, plaintive and weeping Lares/ hearth gods? So swiftly?
FEL. citae carissimorum fuere preces.	Feliciana: The prayers of my loved ones were swift.
CH. Quid interim suavissima mater Lucretia? Quid vir dulcissimus Raimundus? Moerent ne?	Chrysogonus: In the meantime, what about [your] very agreeable mother Lucretia? What about your very pleasant husband, Raimond? Are they grieving?
FEL. plus nimio. iis dicas velim, me iam felicem, beatam, aeternam, immortalemque factam: a lachrymis cessabunt credo. Discessit mater cum illo coelestium animarum caetu. Ego Pavore solutus sum. Minervae.	Feliciana: Most excessively. I would like you to say to them that I am now happy, blessed, eternal and have been made immortal: I believe they will cease from their tears. My mother has withdrawn with that assembly/ intercourse of celestial souls. I have been released from panic. Minerva. [Written in Punta Campanello near Sorrento.]
{page 148} {p. K ii v} VISUM INFERUM	{page 148} {p. c} VISUM INFERUM

³²⁷ Play on *feliciana* (again lower case) and *felix*; this word play seems to signal irony, the following inquiries about Feliciana's mother and husband, Raimondo Orsini, Count of Pacentro, appear to be in bad faith: note the many superlatives. History tells us that after Feliciana's death in childbirth, Raimondo married her sister; Luigi Tansillo (1510-1568) refers to this as a scandal kept quiet, in a *Capitolo, Per non uscir de l'uso antico e buono*, 210-227.

³²⁸ Cynthia Hornbeck references Dante's *Purgatory*, where Cato explains that one cannot hold onto earthly love (as for a spouse) but must love only God, *Purg.* 1.78-90.

VISUM INFERUM Ad Ludovicum fratrem.	INFERNAL VISION, for our brother Ludovico.
CHRYSOGONUS. SPIRITUS.	CHRYSOGONUS. SPIRIT.
<p>Exi male Daemon. quid Luride? O' faciem illiberalem. Quid ringis? Exi belva cum hisce tuis deformatis spectris. heu unde tam terrifica nunquam alias audita tonitrua? Ruunt ne tegulae? flagrant ne tecta? An pavor me falsa imaginari? O vastos hiatus. O horribiles flatus. heu fulgur illud sulphureum totas detrivit aras. Siste te tandem ó anguis inuno [in + uno] sive tauro, sive lupo, ut nihil moror.</p> <p>Quid tam varias simulat species? omnia transformas quid te in miracula rerum? O Monstrum immane, ingens, torvum, concitum, efferatum. Vide quomodo etiam effingit inanima? Unde mons iste tam altus tam superbus? Tam in tam parvo sacello proruptus? Unus est. en duo. En iam tres sunt. Trinus factus est mons: Mons inquam ferrarius, flammeus, cinefactus. Audi sceleste spiritus. Audi truculente daemon, non me: sed vim illam omnipotentissimam. horrisonos iam tandem cohibe cathenarum strepitus.</p>	<p>[Chrysogonus:] Go away, evil Demon. What, lurid thing? Such an ignoble shape/ greedy face! What are you snarling at?³²⁹ Away beast, with these warped apparitions of yours. Alas, from what, this terrifying thunder never heard elsewhere? Is the roof caving in? Is the house on fire? Or is fright causing me to imagine false things? O vast crevices! O horrid splutters! Alas, that sulfurous lightning has ground down all the altars. O stop, at last, you serpent united with bull or wolf, as I care not.³³⁰ Why do you pretend to be such a variety of species? Why do you transform yourself into all wondrous things? O immense, huge, pitiless, excited, savage Monster. See how it represents inanimate things as well? From what, this mountain so tall and proud? Has it gushed forth so much into such a little niche? It is one. Look, two! Now look, three! The mountain has become tri-partite: the mountain, I say, iron hard, fiery red, turned to ash. Listen, accursed spirit. Listen, ferocious demon, not to me, but to that most omnipotent force. Now at last curtail the horrid-sounding racket of those chains.</p>
<p>SP. Quid me ruinose paries, appellas daemonem? hominis spiritus fui. In padi arena, ossa. Sed quid tecum ago periphrasi? Is eram.</p>	<p>Spirit: Why do you, ruinous part/ partition**, call me demon? I was the spirit of a man. My bones are in the Po valley. But why am I using circumlocution with you? This was I.</p>
CH. Miseresco.	Chrysogonus: I'm sorry.

³²⁹ With the verb *ringis*, Minos, Dante's underworld judge, is invoked (named shortly below, p. 150), and with him Dante's moving story of passionate illicit lovers, *Inferno* 5; Vergil's Minos also is invoked. Readers may recall that when Minos first appears the shades of infants (cf. Feliciano's newborn directly above, p. 147) and those wrongly condemned to death are crying out, *Aeneid* 6.426-433; the theme of judging, involving those accused in error and those accused of lust, is developed in this dialogue and throughout the *Pomiliones*.

³³⁰ *anguis inuno* (serpent united) may be code for phallus *in ano*, and see pp. 23, 87, 91; cf. for formation *invallo*, p. 129.

SP. Mei? non abnuo, si ego aliorum, dum licuit, miserorum. ad pios semper affectus fui impius, lapideus aeneusque Misericorditer enim mecum tunc agitur	Spirit: For me? I do not deny whether I was among other wretches, as long as it was allowed. Toward my reverent friends I have always been irreverent – stony and brazen; for then I am treated) mercifully
{page 149} {p. K iii} INFERUM	{page 149} {p. K iii} INFERUM
cum saevius a diris discerpor. In inferno regno, ah iudicis impietatem, ah crudelem legem, ah fatum inexorabile. nullum nomen nisi insuave, ingratum dirum, crudele.	when I am being torn apart more savagely by dreadful things. In the infernal kingdom, ah, the irreverence of the judge, ah cruel law, ah, inexorable fate. No name if not harsh, ingrate, frightful, cruel.
CH. Et si ò queribunde spiritus, qui tam impudenter in aequissimam Dei iustitiam inveheris, nulla inter umbras tartareas, pietatis argumenta esse possint: nos tamen in huiusmodi immeritos manes, ut tu es, afficimur humanitate. Quid frendis dolosa imago? quid foedos, olidos, putidos, fumososque irructas halitus?	Chrysogonus: Even though, O plaintive spirit, you who are borne so impudently into God's most impartial justice, there can be no evidence of mercy among Tartarean shades, nevertheless we are moved with compassion, as are you, toward undeserving shades of this sort. Why are you gnashing your teeth, cunning apparition? Why are you belching forth filthy, stinking, rotten and murky vapor?
SP. fumosos, putidos, olidos, foedosque cum vixi, contexi animos.	Spirit: Whenever I was alive, I thickly covered murky, rotten, stinking, filthy characters (<i>animos</i>).
CH. quo tectorio?	Chrysogonus: With what plaster?
SP. quasi non noris. Quis unquam melius meam novit caliditatem quam tu? Quis fictos risus profusius risit? Quis Crocodilli lachrymas, nasutius detestatus est? Sed ad Elephantem nihil mus poterat. Vin meos huc sistam Minoios collegas?	Spirit: As if you don't know. Who has ever known my fervor [craftiness] better than you? Who has "laughed" more profusely with fictitious "laughter"? Who more "nosey"/ satirical has cursed crocodile tears? But the mouse could do nothing to the elephant. Do you want me to stop my Minoan colleagues here?
CH. etiamnum, ut olim, ò insignem pervicaciam. figuris rem agis? Quid sancta sceleste, tetragonismo dedecoras Lithostrata.	Chrysogonus: Even now, as before – such remarkable doggedness. Are you doing it with shapes? Why, wicked thing, are you befouling the holy mosaics with circles inscribed in squares? ³³¹
SP. neque me in hoc ignoras.	Spirit: Not even in this are you unfamiliar with me.
CH. Tua scilicet mihi fuit cordi Catapteomantia, qua usus es, cum Saga illa,	Chrysogonus: Naturally, your catoptromancy [divination with mirrors] has been on my mind, which you enjoyed, with

³³¹ Tetragonism, sometimes translated stubbornness, is literally a circle inscribed in a square; cf. Dante, *Par.* 17.23-4.*

per nervulos, per venulas, perque minimos etiam pedum digitulos, tuas praesagibat fortunas. Sed nulla de Angina divinatio.	that Prophetess, who was telling your fortune, by means of your sinews and your little veins and even the smallest little digits of your feet. But there was no divination about your Angina/quinsy.*
SP. En infaustum tetragonismi spectaculum.	Spirit: Behold the unfortunate spectacle of stubbornness [circles in squares].
CH. O infelices animas.	Chrysogonus: Oh unfortunate souls.
SP. Siccine sacra nostra fuere comitia? In tam sacrilegam pedibus est itum sententiam? Ea ne multra, innocuus emulgendus fuit agnus? Et tu lani lupe. Saeveritatis ne titulus, ac iustitiae nomen tanti debebat emi? Scilicet pro nobili illo luteo, atque honorato, quem affectasti, pileo: ar-	Spirit: So our assemblies were sacred? Did one adopt such a sacrilegious thought? Did the innocent lamb have to be milked into that pail? And you wolf, in [sheep's] wool. Did the title of severity and the name of justice have to be bought for so great a price? Of course, instead of that noble and esteemed clay-yellow cap which you aspired to,
{page 150} {p. K iii v} VISUM	{page 150} {p. K iii v} VISUM
dentem, ac edacissimo candentem foco, habe galeam. Sed interim, Timoni integerrimo suo (quid angues quassas indignabunde?) applaudat Ticinum: atque innocentissimum suum alumnum coelo gratuletur.	have the helmet, burning bright hot with a voracious fire. But at the same time, with that extremely vigorous Rudder of his he slaps the Ticino (why do you shake snakes indignantly?): and he should give thanks to heaven that his ward/ student is so very innocent. ³³²
CHRY. quid alter iste nictat Minos? O' naturae artificium.	Chrysogonus: Why does this other Minos wink? O trick of nature.
SP. Nosti hunc? quanta vix nato hoc monstro fuit indicta pernis pestis? quanta labe larido? quanta callo calamitas? hic ille est qui in medio, Lanium suae domus atrio, uti octavum orbis spectaculum, erexerat.	Spirit: Did you know this? What a great plague was brought forth from his thighs, as soon as this monster was born? How great a stain from his lard? How many calamities from his hide? This is the man who had the Butcher erected in the middle of the atrium of his house, like the eighth wonder of the world. ^{333*}
CHR. ó summam opificis aequitatem. Quam* misere distortetur. hem ut lividam lividus adipem depascit Dipsas. Ut foedas foedus	Chrysogonus: O supreme objectivity of the artist. How wretchedly it is distorted. How that envious snake (Dipsas) feeds on fat/ sapwood, livid with

³³² The river Ticino flows through the canton Ticino in southern Switzerland, and continues south toward Pavia, Italy, where it joins the Po; the canton was established as Swiss by battles from 1494-1513; the reference has not yet been clarified; the passage could be an oblique reference to Pope Julius II.

³³³ Minos, as above, the mythological Cretan king who sacrificed Athenian youth to his monstrous Minotaur; note: is the "other Minos" a phallus?

Prester exhaurit extas. ut furit in oculos Cerastes. ut in impexum debacchatur caput Emorrois. ut sordidam tabo frontem lambunt Colubri. Ut viperis horrent crines, longaque torta sibilat cauda Draco.	envy. How the foul horned viper drains the foul bowels. How the horned serpent is mad in its eyes. How the venomous hemorrhoids wildly shakes its uncombed head. ³³⁴ How the serpents lap up the brow filthy with slime. How the locks of hair bristle with vipers and how the dragon hisses with a long, twisted tail.
SP. Quo tu te pessum das gibbose? I in malos ignes strabo attonite: simulac verecondaris, impudentia. saltem deformate animo vixisses recto, ac mente integra.	Spirit: Why do you give yourself to the lowest part, hump-back? Go into wicked fires, you giddy squint-eye: the moment that you feel ashamed, effrontery. Even you who are disfigured could have lived with a proper character/ soul and a sound mind.
CHR. Claude informis.	Chrysogonus: Shapeless cripple.
SP. Sine illum humanissime senex.	Spirit: Suffer that, most refined/ human old man.
CHR. me humanissimum vocas inexaturabilis palpo? dic scelus, parthenopeius ille mollis, languens, subalbus, subcinereusque de sella a vobis deiectus, ad tempus, ut ipse aiebat comitiorum tempore, quas tenet sedes? quas Cathilina ille alter, et diis, et hominibus infestus? ille inquam cuius color exanguis: foedi oculi: modo citus, modo tardus incessus: et in cuius facie, vultuque prorsus vecordia inerat? Quas Raspius?	Chrysogonus: You call me extremely refined/ human, you insatiable flatterer? Do tell, that wicked, effeminate Neapolitan, wilting, whitish and grayish, purged from the magistrate's chair/ toilet seat by you, just in time, when he himself was speaking at the time of the assemblies, what seats did he hold? Which [seats], that second Catiline, dangerous to gods and men? That one, I mean, whose color is bloodless, of a loathsome eye, whose advance is now quick, now slow, and in whose look and expression frenzy was utterly involved. Which seats, Rasper*?
{page 151} {p. K iiiii} INFERUM	{page 151} {p. K iiiii} INFERUM
Quas Turbidus? Sed quid ago impudens? Qua si sperem verum ab ipso mendatio exculpere?	Which ones, Frantic thing? But what am I doing shameless thing [that I am*]? As if I could truly hope to be excised from the lie itself?
SPIRI. Est locus.	Spirit: This is the spot.
CHRY. Iam locum infernis dat manibus.	Chrysogonus: He is already giving a spot to [my] infernal ghost.
SPIRI. Ater tenebrosus, Situ, nitro.	Spirit: Dark, gloomy with neglect and white salt.

³³⁴ The *hemorrhoids*, spelled also *haemorrhoids*, is a venomous snake believed to cause bleeding from all over the body; for similar mention of various serpents see *Janus*, 430-4, and references there to passages in the *Varium poema*.

CHRY. tace bifrons, non credo, beatos enim hos esse non ambigo: periclitandi gratia percuntatus sum.	Chrysogonus: Be quiet, you two-faced thing, I don't believe it, for I don't doubt they are happy, I am delaying for the sake of being asked.*
SPIRI. Vis ne dicam quo devolutus sit, spurius Cornelius, panda fronte vir? per innabilem Acherontis undam. per Radamanthis sceptrum. per virgineos cribros. per stygium canem. per Eumenidum crines fatebor vera.	Spirit: Do you want me to say where he may have fallen down, spurius/ Spurius Cornelius*, a man with a domed forehead? By the un-swimmable waters of Acheron. By the scepter of Rhadamanthys. By the virginal sieves. By the Stygian hound. By the Furies tresses, I will confess truths.*
CHRY. et haec per quae deieras, mentita sunt nomina, ne dicam numina. At ego, per vera coeli bona. per aureas coelitem regiones. per incomprehensibilem lucem illam aeternam, res omnes illustrantem, continentem, conservantemque a te peto, dicas, quae potissimum culpa, te ad infinitos detrussit cruciatus. Ambitio ne, an livor? an cupiditas? an similtas? an fastus? ad simulatio? an dissimulatio? laudis fors an aucupium? an nulla in deum pietas et fides? dic miser, per pura haec, quae tu impurissime demoliri adortus es, baptisteria.	Chrysogonus: And these things by which you swear are pretend names, I wouldn't say numens. But I [swear] by means of the good true things of heaven. By the golden regions of the heaven-dwellers. By that incomprehensible eternal thing elucidating, maintaining and preserving all things, I beg you, do tell, what flaw above all drove you down to infinite tortures? Ambition or spite? Greed/ Passion? Rivalry? Contempt? Simulation? Dissimulation? Perhaps eavesdropping for approval?* Or lack of piety and faith in god? Speak wretch, by these untainted baptisteries, which you so impurely undertook to demolish.
SPIRITUS. heu quid me per hasce detestabiles incantas undas? Execrabilis dies illa. Execrabilis fons. Execrabilis sacerdos, cur me in fasciis etiam reluctantem, tam capitali abluisti labro? heu invisae aras. invisam legem, invisam crucem illam aris impressam. invisam tabellam illam obsignatam. invisae templa. invisae mysteria.	Spiritus: Alas, why do you make spells over me by means of these repugnant waters? That accursed day. That accursed fountain. Accursed priest, why, even though I was reluctant, in swaddling clothes, did you cleanse me, in such a deadly font? Alas, hated altars. Hateful law, that hateful cross pressing on the altars. That hateful signed document.* Hateful churches. Hateful mysteries.
CHRYSOGONUS. Te continue	Chrysogonus: You, nonstop with the foam of latrines:
{page 152} {p. K iii v} VISUM	{page 152} {p. K iii v} VISUM
latrinarum spuma: neque ultra, te iterum, atque iterum per salutaria Christi vulnera, iubeo, cogo, impero, nisi quae volo mutire audeas. Evome incruentale, semiustulate spiritus.	no longer again and again do I order, compel and command you by the beneficial wounds of Christ, unless you would dare mutter* about the things I want. Vomit yourself out, not unmerciful half-burnt spirit.
SP. Pravum iudicium de insonti.	Spirit: Perverse verdict of an innocent [man].

CH. Scilicet unum tantum.	Chrysogonus: Only one, of course.
SP. In reliquis, qui innumeri fuere, forsitan aliqua inerat culpa: in illo solo, necque culpa, neque noxa, ne naevus quidem.	Spirit: Perhaps there was some guilt in the rest, who were innumerable; in that one man alone, [there was] no guilt, no harm and not even a mole.
CH. quis ille? quis bone iudex?	Chrysogonus: Who is he? Who, good [Spirit], is this judge?
SP. non nosti.	Spirit: You don't know.
CH. Cuias?	Chrysogonus: From what country?
SP. Tantumdem.	Spirit: It's all the same.
CH. Familia?	Chrysogonus: [Of what] family?
SP. ab avibus illis in Mincio amne frequentissimis: vel inter claras, ac vetustas illius civitatis, et clara, et nobilis: sed et, qua mihi admodum erat infensa, synceritate insignis. huius itaque pertesus cum virtute gloriam, adeo in modestissimum virum, omnem devomui bilem: ut brevi pro bono, et illo, qui cum facile in tenebris micare potuisses, derepente res sit interversa: ac vulgo facta sit impostura, vel ea, quae omnem punicam superasset perfidiam. Ex quo, persecutione: infamia, exilio, expulsioneque violentissima, optimus quisque, ne dum ipse, affectus est. Tunc mihi quidem visus sum a mundo sustulisse solem, impendio meis tenebris adversantem. Neque adeo multum fuit turbae, illi praesertim, in qua summum, dolo malo, adeptus fueram imperium, mentis sensum perstrinxisse. nam eius generis homines facile in quaevis fucata adduci possunt.	Spirit: From those birds extremely numerous on the river Mincio, among [the river's] famous and long-established communities, [a family] both illustrious and noble, but also, which was very intimidating to me, distinguished by sincerity. Therefore wearied by the glory of that one with virtue,* I vomited out all my bile against a man until then very retiring, so that in a short time for the good, and for him, while you could have easily glittered in the shadows, the affair would suddenly be turned inside out; and it was about to be exposed to the public, or rather to that family, that had surpassed all Punic treachery. As a result therefore, by persecution – infamy, exile and a most violent expulsion – every noble man, not only he himself, was affected. At that time it seemed to me [they'd] taken the sun from the world. ³³⁵ * So truly there was much of the crowd, those especially, against whom, by means of criminal fraud, I had obtained the highest control: to have restricted the mind's perception.* For men of this sort can easily be persuaded by whatever phony [rhetoric] you like.

³³⁵ Cf. Cicero, *On friendship: Solem enim e mundo tollere videntur, qui amicitiam e vita tollunt*, Chap. 13, 47. And see similar attributions of light to Federico Gonzaga in *Varium poema*, 33, and *Janus*, v. 20.

CH. faedissime, si gloriae causa, imperium expetendum fuit, scelus abesse debuit, in quo gloria esse non potuit: sed potius illud tibi Euripidis arrisit, credo: ius scilicet regnandi gratia, violandum esse.	Chrysogonus: Abominable one, if power was to be sought for the sake of glory, the crime in which glory cannot exist had to be absent; but instead that [crime] of Euripides smiled on you, I think: naturally the law for the sake of governing, must be violated. ³³⁶
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SP. nec in aliis rebus pietatem colui. praeterea, ob illud sceleratissimum facinus, hasce miserabiles, quas ab imis Averni ignibus excitavi animas, minoias appellavi. Eo enim confessu, nos simul iudices, et immortalem iusto illi, inter caelites gloriam: et nobis maerorem perpetuum, aeternam mortem, perpetuosque peperimus angores: et Cruciatus. Heu miser ad flammam revocor. Abiit infelix. Ego autem sacellum pedore foedum, luniperi, ac Myrthi bacca, cum lauri folio, lachrymans perlustravi.	Spirit: Nor in other matters did I cultivate charity/kindness. Moreover, on account of that extremely heinous misdeed, these wretched souls, whom I roused from the depths of the fires of Avernus, I called Minoans. In fact with that confession, we are judges also, and for that just man we created immortal glory among the celestial gods, and for ourselves, perpetual lamentation, eternal death and perpetual sufferings and Agony. Alas, wretch, I am called back to the flames. The unfortunate thing went away. I, however, while crying, have thoroughly treated my little niche vile with filth, with juniper and myrtle berries, and a laurel leaf.
Dialogue of Transition (page 153; p. K v)	Dialogue of Transition (page 153; p. K v)
CHRISOGONUS THEOPHILUS	Chrysogonus, Theophilus.
[Chrysogonus:] Atqui iam vereor o Theophile, ne nauseam tibi moveant. deformes hi mei Pomiliones.	[Chrysogonus:] And yet I fear, O Theophilus, that these misshapen <i>Pomiliones</i> of mine may provoke nausea in you.
TH. nauseam? Pomilii? haud mihi unquam videri potuit nanum id esse ingenium, quod tam facile, ut tuum, et supera et infera commovere valuit. Expectabam Pomiliones, dedisti Gigantes, et hos quidem a volumine liberos. Tu modo, ut nostra est conventio, fac	Theophilus: Nausea? The <i>Pomilii</i> ? By no means could wit ever appear to me to be of dwarves that so easily as yours, is strong enough to stir up heaven and hell. I was expecting Dwarves/ Short Pieces and you gave [us] Giants, and these indeed released in a volume. Now as is our agreement, make [sure]

³³⁶ Euripides (c. 480-406 BCE), Athenian playwright and intellectual, judged guilty of decadence which corrupted others, went into exile in a remote cave (with a library); NOTE: could refer to a work of his.*

<p>feras mea. Prodibit enim Musa, rauca certe, et pannosa, et quae parum debeat a caelesti sponso laudari, atque inter Hierusalem filias annumerari. Quoties o Chrysogone decrevi nihil aliud, nisi IESUM christum, et hunc crucifixum amplecti de ipso cogitare: de ipso scribere: atque in ipsum me me totum infundere: sed dum aliis, et iis sane, quibus non parere turpe existimo, satisfieri cupio, a proposito pene recido: ac iterum cogor iam dudum</p>	<p>you report my [works]. For a Muse will go forth raucous, certainly, and ragged, and who should be praised a little by a heavenly groom, and enumerated among the daughters of Jerusalem.* How many times, O Chrysogono, have I resolved to embrace nothing else except Jesus Christ, and this crucifix, to cogitate on him/ it and to write about him/ it, and also to pour my whole self into him/ it; but while I desire for others to be satisfied, and those to be sure whom I think it not shameful to obey, I am cutting back from this way of life, and after all this</p>
<p>{page 154} {p. K v v}</p>	<p>{page 154} {p. K v v}</p>
<p>a limine summotas revocare Musas. Rogatus igitur Paulo ursino, meo discipulo, adolescente quidem elegantissimo, ac a patriis proavis minime degenerante, ut quasdam meas nugas olim apud eum incoeptas absolverem. non potui, fateor, non morem gerere urso tam egregie de me merito. Parvi itaque, ac terminum principio consentaneum subdidi. Profana forsitan tibi, ut tuus est nasus, videbuntur: sed tempori, et puero praesertim tali obsequendum fuit. huiusmodi forsitan illectus studio, sanctiora facilius audiet aliquando. cognovi enim Pauli ingenium, atque institutum. Caeterum num te praeterit quam lepide</p>	<p>time I am once more driven to call back the Muses who've been kept away from the threshold.³³⁷ Then having been asked by Paolo Orsino, my student, indeed a most discriminating adolescent, and not at all inferior to his [paternal] ancestors, that I would finish some of my trifles previously begun at his house. I was unable, I confess, to not comply with a bear/ Orsino so admirably deserving of me. Therefore, I obeyed and supplied an ending consistent with the beginning. Perhaps they will seem profane to you, as is your nose: but for the occasion, and especially for such a boy, one had to yield.* Perhaps enticed by an effort of this sort, he will at length pay attention to sacred things more readily. For I have recognized disposition and intention. Anyway, it doesn't escape your notice how cleverly:</p>
<p>Conducant animo Seria mixta iocis?</p>	<p>"Could serious things mixed with jests be advantageous for the soul/ mind?"</p>

³³⁷ Alternate reading of a *proposito pene recido*: I fall back on the penis put forward.

<p>[The following three pages are found at the end of the volume after the two works by Teofilo Folengo, <i>Varium poema</i> and <i>Janus</i>.]</p>	<p>[The following three pages are found at the end of the volume after the two works by Teofilo Folengo, <i>Varium poema</i> and <i>Janus</i>.]</p>
<p>{page 220} {p. O vi v} Tabula</p>	<p>{page 220} {p. O vi v} Table of Contents</p>
<p>DE PROFUNDIS. POMILIO. De lege animi. et Membrorum. POMILIO. de Vita solitudinis, et caenobii, Utra melior. POMILIO. de Pulchritudine, cui titulus Avalus. POMILIONES. Quattuor. Unam esse ad Beatitudinem viam. POMILIONES. Tres. Non facile credendum esse illis qui novas ostentant religiones. POLIPUS. POMILIO. Aliquando desistendum esse ab incaepo quamvis honesto. POMILIO. Cui Titulus. Remigratio. POMILIO. Cui Titulus. Massa. POMILIO. Cui Titulus. Tussicia. POMILIO. Cui Titulus. Visum superum POMILIO. Cui Titulus. Visum inferum.</p>	<p>DE PROFUNDIS. POMILIO. On the law of the mind. And of limbs/ members. POMILIO. On a life of seclusion and of monasteries (coenobia), which is better. POMILIO. On beauty, whose title is Avalus. POMILIONES. Four. There being one path to beatitude.* POMILIONES. Three [sic, numerical order reversed with above]. Those who display new religions ought not to be easily believed. POLIPUS. Octopus. POMILIO. Sometimes something should be stopped although it came from an honorable beginning. POMILIO. Whose title is Return. POMILIO. Whose title is Massa. POMILIO. Whose title is Tossicia. POMILIO. Whose title is Heavenly vision. POMILIO. Whose title is Infernal vision.</p>
<p>{page 221} {p. O vii} Ioan. Bap. Ad amicos.</p>	<p>{page 221} {p. O vii} Giovanni Battista to his friends.</p>
<p>Non aegre feratis, o optimi, si in huius Libelli Calcographis solita non erit desyderata dormitatio. Antiqua sane illorum est consuetudo, ut a iustissimis etiam exemplaribus facile dilabantur. Quo circa varia quandoque ut ait Plynus, in redormitione inventa sunt somnia. Vix enim Subnotatos lapsus concitatissimo praelo (praeter absurdas incisions, Diphtongos, atque indecentes in Periodis intercapedines, quas coacti omisimus) suffurati sumus. Caeteri vero vel mediocriter experrectis obvii erunt. Vale.</p>	<p>Don't take it badly, O noble [readers], if for the printers of this little book there will not be the customary longed-for snooze. It is their ancient tradition to be sure that they easily fall to pieces from even the most perfect transcripts. Therefore, as Pliny says, occasionally in going back to sleep different dreams are found. For scarcely did we snatch away from the very energetic press the slip-ups noted below (in addition to the absurd phrases, diphthongs and indecent interruptions in the sentences which we were compelled to omit). The rest in fact will be</p>

	obvious to those having been tolerably roused. Farewell.
Errata	Errata
In primo Pomilione pro potue, fac legas potuerit. pro controtroversiam controversiam. IN. II. pro dles, dies. pro ferventia, frequentia. pro long, longa. pro cum diis, cum deo. IN. IIII. pro atrrita, atrita. pro cannicula, canicula. pro si fieri potest? si fieri potest. IN. VI. pro ilsibatus, illibatus. pro vellis nollis, velis nolis. pro afficiamur, efficiamur, pro sunt nisi fallor, hi sunt nisi fallor. IN. VII. pro còcubium, concubium: pro venenor, veneror. pro tamen discipline, tum disciplinae. pro per odiosa vagor, sed quid per odiosa vagor? IN. VII. pro sumus, fumus. IN. XI. pro an, imo, animo. pro aut recte, certe. pro bona esse existimat. quam bonam esse existimat. IN. XII. pro Agathae villae, villa. IN MASSA. pro mediocricriter, mediocriter. pro pornatur, perornatur. pro Vestigalia, vectigalia. pro extricate, exiricare. IN VISO sup. pro versantur motum, motu. Pro hiare campos, Campi.	In the first <i>Pomilio</i> for <i>potue</i> , be sure to read <i>potuerit</i> [p. 22]. For <i>controtroversiam</i> , <i>controversiam</i> [p. 24]. In Pom. 2 for <i>dles</i> , <i>dies</i> [p. 26]. For <i>ferventia</i> , <i>frequentia</i> [p. 27]. For <i>long</i> , <i>longa</i> [p. 27]. For <i>cum diis</i> , <i>cum deo</i> [p. 29]. In Pom. 4. for <i>atrrita</i> , <i>atrita</i> [p. 53]. For <i>cannicula</i> , <i>canicula</i> [p. 54]. For <i>si fieri potest?</i> , <i>si fieri potest</i> . In Pom. 6 for <i>ilsibatus</i> , <i>illibatus</i> . For <i>vellis nollis</i> , <i>velis nolis</i> [p. [p. 71]. For <i>afficiamur</i> , <i>efficiamur</i> [p. 72], for <i>sunt nisi fallor</i> , <i>hi sunt nisi fallor</i> [p. 72]. In Pom. 7 for <i>còcubium</i> , <i>concubium</i> : for <i>venenor</i> , <i>veneror</i> [p. 78]. For <i>tamen discipline</i> , <i>tum disciplinae</i> [p. 94]. For <i>per odiosa vagor</i> , <i>sed quid per odiosa vagor?</i> [p. 96]. In Pom. 7 for <i>sumus</i> , <i>fumus</i> [perhaps Pom. 8. p. 106?]. In Pom. 9 for <i>an</i> , <i>imo</i> , <i>animo</i> [p. 120]. For <i>aut recte</i> , <i>certe</i> [p. 120]. For <i>bona esse existimat</i> , <i>quam bonam esse existimat</i> [p. 122]. In Pom. 12 for <i>Agathae villae</i> , <i>villa</i> [p. 125]. In MASSA for <i>mediocricriter</i> , <i>mediocriter</i> [p. 126]. For <i>pornatur</i> , <i>perornatur</i> [p. 127]. For <i>Vestigalia</i> , <i>vectigalia</i> [p. 130]. for <i>extricate</i> , <i>exiricare</i> [sic, for extricare] [p. 130]. In VISUM SUPERUM for <i>versantur motum</i> , <i>motu</i> [p. 140]. For <i>hiare campos</i> , <i>campi</i> [p. 141].
{page 222} {p. O vii v}	{page 222} {p. O vii v} End page
[End page]	[End page]
In Promontorio Minervae ardente Sirio. MDXXXIII.	On the Minerva promontory, with Sirius burning, 1533.
	[Punta Campanella, in late summer (when the Dog Star is glowing), but most likely in Venice, in 1534.]