

STUDI

Unfolding the Cocharelli* Codex:
some preliminary observations about the text,
with a theory about the order of the fragments

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ABSTRACT: The so-called ‘Cocharelli codex’ is an early fourteenth-century manuscript, considered one of the most astonishing products of medieval Italian illumination art. Unfortunately, only 27 leaves of it survive today. The extant folios are housed in three different libraries: 25 ff. in London, British Library, MSS. Add. 27695, Add. 28441, Eg. 3127, Eg. 3781; 1 f. in Florence, Museo del Bargello, MS. inv. 2065; and 1 f. in Cleveland, Museum of Art, Wade Fund, MS. n. 1953.152. This manuscript belonged to the wealthy merchant Genoese family of the Cocharelli, and the text (a treatise on the virtues and vices) was written by one of its members for the education of his sons. Many details included in the examples used to explain each vice concern historical events dealing with Genoa and the Latin East (Acre and Cyprus). At the beginning of his work, the anonymous author tells us that he took many of the anecdotes contained in his treatise from the memoirs of his grandfather Pellegrino Cocharelli. The presence of Pellegrino in Acre, Cyprus and Genoa is witnessed by a series of notarial deeds drawn up between the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth century, and this evidence allows to hypothesize that he personally witnessed some of the historical events described in the treatise. The unique style of the miniatures of the Cocharelli codex has been studied in detail, but little has been done for what concerns the text, that is still unpublished. The aim of the present paper is to try to reconstruct the exact order of the fragments (that are today pell-mell bound), to give a general overview on the structure and sources of the treatise, as well as to offer some considerations on the connections between the text and the miniatures.

KEYWORDS: Medieval Latin literature – Moral treatises – History of Genoa – History of the Latin East – Medieval Italian miniature

* I here use the more commonly widespread ancient spelling of the family’s name (rather than the modern spelling ‘Cocarelli’).

[...] the order of the Temple had been created by greed, and greed had destroyed it, and that was that.
Umberto Eco, *Foucault's Pendulum*

1. *The Cocharelli Family and their Books*

The Cocharelli family is linked to the medieval history of Genoa and the Latin East of the late thirteenth-/early fourteenth-century, as well as to the survival of two manuscripts closely related to its name.¹

The first is the well-known Cocharelli codex; a richly illuminated fragmentary manuscript, containing a Latin treatise possibly composed before 1324 by an unspecified member of this family.

The second is a codex transmitting a French translation and a commentary of Boethius's *De Consolatione philosophiae*. This translation, written in Outremer French, was made by an almost unknown author called Pierre de Paris, and it is found in the unique MS Lat. 4788, preserved in the Vatican Library. The scribe, 'maistre Ogier', explicitly transcribed the text for his patron Johan Coqueriau (Giovanni Cocharelli), and dated the transcription 20 September 1309.²

The presence of this wealthy Genoese merchant family from Provence is evidenced by the mention of its members' names in some contemporary charts and notarial deeds of Provence, Genoa and the Latin East, dating from the second half of the thirteenth century to 1363, when they changed their name into 'de Franchi'.³

I will briefly evoke here only the members of the Cocharelli family that deal with the subject of the present research: Pellegrino Cocharelli, active between 1269 and 1307 in the Latin East (Acre and Cyprus), Genoa and Northern French fairs, and his son Giovanni, whose activity is documented between 1291 and 1309, and who is very possibly the patron of the French manuscript of Boethius.⁴

The aim of the following pages is to focus on the text transmitted by the Cocharelli codex in order to establish the correct sequence of its sur-

¹ On the genealogy of the Cocharelli family see Fabbri 1999, pp. 318-320, and 2013, pp. 95-96; Marcenaro 2015a, p. 8; and the first paragraph of Concina [in press].

² On this translation, and on the only extant manuscript, see: Thomas 1917; Babbi 2007; Concina 2014; Concina 2016; Concina [in press].

³ Fabbri 2011, p. 289.

⁴ See Fabbri 2013, pp. 95-96 and p. 102, note 5; Concina [in press].

viving pages and give a preliminary overview of the structure and main features of the work itself as well as the connection between the text and the illustrations.

2. *The Cocharelli Codex*

The Cocharelli codex contains the text of a treatise on the virtues and the vices.⁵ It has not been preserved as a complete manuscript, but as 27 fragmentary leaves, pell-mell bound in six different volumes, housed between London, Florence and Cleveland, Ohio. Furthermore, some leaves have been cut following the shape of the illuminations, with the result that only small portions of the text survive on the ‘verso’.

The work was probably composed between 1314 and 1324:⁶ the text states that the king of Cyprus Henry II of Lusignan (*d.* 1324) is still alive,⁷

⁵ Bloomfield - Guyot *et al.* 1979, p. 492 (n. 5694), and Newhauser - Bejczy 2008, p. 323 (n. 5694).

⁶ This dating was first suggested by the *British Museum Catalogue of Additions* 1967, p. 317.

⁷ London, British Library, MS Egerton 3127, f. 2rb: «de quibus solum euasit unus, qui uocatur Enricus, qui nunc dominatur regnum predictum». I here (and henceforth) transcribe the text using Italics to expand the abbreviations; words within square brackets [] indicate a reconstructed reading; three suspensions dots within square brackets [...] indicate that I have chosen not to transcribe the rest of a preserved passage; dots within angle brackets <...> mean that the text is preserved but that it is unreadable; dots without brackets indicate that the text is not preserved; words within angle brackets < > indicate a doubtful reading; round brackets () are used to expunge. Since we are in the presence of the only witness, I have not altered in anyway the text of the manuscript (apart from correcting obvious scribal errors), even where it contains what could be perceived as odd orthographical, syntactical or morphological elements (or mistakes) when compared with classical Latin grammar. I discuss where necessary the idiosyncrasies of the text in the footnotes. It should be said that the *scripta* of the Cocharelli bears the common phonetical and graphic characteristics of medieval Latin written in Italy at the beginning of the fourteenth century (I consider only the passages transcribed in the present essay): the spelling *e* for the diphthongs *ae*, *oe*; *y* for *i* (*dyu*, *dyutissime*, *dyaboli*, *ymmo*); *-ci-* for *-ti-* (*disposicionem*, *diuiciarum*, *gencium*, *nuncium*, *parcium*, *scienciis*, *spacium*, *sufficiencia*, *tercium*, *tocius*, *uiciatur*, *uicium*); *qu-* for *c-* (*quardinalibus*); *c-* for *qu-* (*comodo* for *quomodo*, *condam* for *quondam*, *consecuntur*); single consonants for double ones (*acceserunt*, *anullauit*, *turim*), and viceversa (*dupplicem*, *ennarrabo*, *ipssa*, *mellius*, *occulus*, *seccus*); confusion in pretonic and posttonic voyels (*difinitio* for *definitio*); epenthesis of *r* (*tregras*); metathesis of *r* (*strupabant*); assibilation of *sc* (*enitessit*). Morphology of names and verbs is arbitrary, and declensions are not often respected. With regard to synthax, it is possible to observe the use of the conjunctions *quod*, *quia* after verbs of saying; the substitution of the construction acc. + infinitive with *quod* and the finite form of the verb; *quod* + indicative instead of *ut* + subjunctive; use of the prep. + toponym after verbs of movement; or the use of *sibi* instead of *ei*.

while the last datable historical fact mentioned by the treatise is the death of Philip the Fair in 1314.⁸ According to Robert Gibbs, the manuscript should have been copied right after, and «art-historically 1325/35 is also its natural dating, allowing for its completion and for some of the more modern aspects of its early *Trecento* dress».⁹

Over the last century, researchers have mainly focused on the stunning iconography of the codex, which has captured art historians' attention.¹⁰ The illuminations of the Cocharelli represent a wide range of subjects inspired not only by the traditional iconography on vices and virtues, but also by contemporary historical events and every-day life, as well as by the natural world, of which a great variety of specimens is reproduced (bee-

⁸ The leaf containing the account of the suppression of the Templars, due to the cupidity of the king of France, is fragmentary; the ending lines of this section suggest that Philip the Fair will be punished by perishing during a hunt (an opinion that was very common at the time): «Accidit tamen Dei iudicio quod rex predictus iuerat ad uenandum ad quoddam nemus suum qui, uoleus » (London, BL, MS Add. 27695, f. 7rb). The hunting scene connected to this passage is depicted, together with the execution of the Masters of the Templars, at the bottom of MS Add. 27695, f. 6v. On the sources of Philip IV's death see Funck-Brentano 1884.

⁹ Gibbs 1999, p. 271, and Gibbs 2002, demonstrates that the dating to the end of the fourteenth century proposed by Pächt 1950, p. 22 (and accepted by Rogers 1989), must be rejected.

¹⁰ Mentions of the manuscript (or simply illustrations taken from it) are to be found in many volumes devoted to book history, to illumination, to different aspects of the Medieval era, or in catalogues of exhibitions: Toesca 1912, p. 411, note 4; Diringier 1958, pp. 316-317; Evans (ed.) 1966, pp. 263-264, and 266; Klingender 1971, pp. 478-479, and fig. 295; Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales, an Illustrated Edition*, pp. 76, 100, 114, 155, 212; Sievernich - Budde (ed.) 1989, pp. 626-627; Lucco 1992, p. 515; Backhouse 1997, p. 135; Steel - Guldentrops - Beullens (ed.) 1999, p. 376; Bell 2001, pp. 52-53; Mezzalana 2001, pp. 42-46; Higgs 2003, pp. 52-53; Paolozzi Strozzi (ed.) 2004, p. 226; Morrison 2007, p. 54; Scott 2007, pl. 51, 54; Di Fabio - Melli - Pessa (ed.) 2016, p. 29. For more specific surveys on the Cocharelli's miniatures see Flower 1934; Pächt 1950 (pp. 21-25 in particular); Crombie 1952; Chelazzi Dini - Ciardi Duprè 1973 (especially pp. 374-375, and pl. I-III); Yapp 1981, pp. 54, 158 (pl. 40); Rogers 1989; Gibbs 1999; Bitsch 2014; Hutchinson 1974; Marcenaro 2015a and 2015b; Dunlop 2016. We owe the most detailed and accurate analysis of the iconography of this MS to Francesca Fabbri 1999, 2004, 2011, 2013 and [in press]. The illuminated leaves of the Cocharelli have been reproduced in print and exhibited several times, some of them are now available on the online Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts of the British Library: <<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8334>> (MS Add. 27695, ff. 1r, 2v, 3r, 4r, 5v detail, 8r, 13r, 14r); <<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8333>> (MS Add. 28841, ff. 4v, 5v, 6v); <<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8328>> (MS Egerton 3781, f. 1r/v); <<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8329>> (MS Egerton 3127, ff. 1r/v, 2r/v); and on the website of the Cleveland Museum of Art: <<http://www.clevelandart.org/art/1953.152>>, [last access: 30/08/2016].

bles, butterflies, moths, shells, birds, plants, etc.). All these subjects are skilfully painted on small-format vellum leaves: *ca* 153/170x96/99 mm. However, as far as I know, little or no attention has been paid to the text,¹¹ copied on two columns (writing area: *ca* 128x90 mm; single column writing area: *ca* 128x40 mm), by an accurate Italian Gothic hand that does not exceed the height of 1,5/2 mm. The Latin work transmitted by the Cocharelli manuscript survived only in this extraordinary copy made for the same family by whom it was written and whence it derives its name. The text, as I will show in the following article, is as important and peculiar as the illuminations that accompany it, especially for the «historical matter in those passages [...] which derive from the author's grandfather», as already stated by Flower.¹² In most cases, Cocharelli's Latin text sheds greater light on the understanding and on the exact meaning of the miniatures.

It is worth remembering that the transcription of the manuscript is not always simple, because of the artefact's small format and of the poor conditions of several leaves (some are rubbed or heavily stained). Moreover, as already stated, difficulties arise from the fact that the fragments are out of order and preserved in three different libraries.

In order to get a clear idea of the state and place of preservation of the Cocharelli leaves, it may be useful to look at the synopsis given below:¹³

¹¹ I read on the web that in 2009 Roza Passos Faunce was completing a PhD thesis on the Cocharelli (*From father to son: interpreting the text and illustration of an early fourteenth century Latin compilation on the virtues and vices*) under the supervision of Prof. Margaret Manion and of Prof. Rodney Thompson. I have tried to contact her by email, to no avail. A transcription of the passage relating the fall of Tripoli was among the autograph documents of the Count of Riant (see Vogüé 1893, p. 13), and has been reproduced by Röhrich (1894, pp. 58-59) in his essay on the fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. A transcription of MS Add. 28841, f. 6r, has been published in the collection of *facsimilia* issued by the Palaeographical Society, see Bond - Thompson (ed.) 1873-1883, vol. 3, pl. 149-150.

¹² Flower 1934, p. 128.

¹³ The leaves housed at the British Library are described in: *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de M. N. Yemeniz*, pp. 9-10, and XXXVII-XLIV (Add. 27695); *Catalogue of the celebrated library of Baron Seymour Kirkup*, p. 97, n. 2170 (Add. 28841); *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the years 1854-1875*, vol. 2, pp. 346 (Add. 27695), and p. 565 (Add. 28841); *British Museum Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts 1931-1935*, p. 317 (Eg. 3127); *British Library Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts, New Series 1966-1970*, vol. 1, n. Eg. 3781. The Bargello leaf is described in Rogers 1989, and the Cleveland leaf in *The International Style. The Arts in Europe around 1400*, pp. 74-75 (and pl. LXIV). A reconstruction of the way the fragments have been acquired by the different institutions in which they are preserved today is provided in Fabbri 2011, p. 289 and Nicolini 2016.

Library	Shelfmark	n° of folios
London, British Library	MS Additional 27695	15
London, British Library	MS Additional 28441	7
London, British Library	MS Egerton 3127	2
London, British Library	MS Egerton 3781	1
Firenze, Museo Nazionale del Bargello	MS inv. 2065 Carrand	1
Cleveland, Museum of Art, Wade Fund	MS n. 1953.152	1

Obviously, due to its state, the Cocharelli doesn't always transmit a continuous text, and the order in which its leaves are bound in the British Library's volumes does not correspond very often to the original sequence in which they should have originally been. To explain the process of reconstruction of the text's sequence in an understandable way, it is first necessary to offer some remarks on the structure and on the contents of the work. This would enable us to posit a theory about the sequence of the leaves that should be given to the surviving folios.

3. *The Treatise on the Vices*

I will first examine the section containing the treatise on the vices, since it is the one that is best preserved with 20 of the extant 27 folios. I will then proceed to analyse the remaining seven leaves. As for the numbering, I follow the order of the folios according to the different volumes in which they have been subsequently bound, even if it is not the correct order.

The part of the treatise with the text devoted to the seven deadly sins is introduced by a Prologue. This section is contained in ff. 1-9 and ff. 11-15 of MS Add. 27695, in the first leaf of MS Add. 28841, in the only leaf of MS Egerton 3781, in the two folios composing MS Egerton 3127, and in the single leaves of Cleveland and of the Museo del Bargello respectively.

3.1. *The Prologue and its historical clues*

In the general Prologue to the treatise on the vices the author explains his intentions by stating that:

*Sicut ostensum est ab antiquis philosophis in scienciis primitiuis,*¹⁴ *ex notione unius*

¹⁴ The term *scientiis primitiuis* seems to have been used to indicate the elementary studies' *curriculum*, focussing on the seven liberal arts (see Sullivan 1997, p. 196, note 31).

contrarii alterius *congnitio* clarius enitessit. Idcirco, *quia* de quatuor uirtutibus cardinalibus seu principalibus aliqua uel *quedam* dicere ordinauit, ut eorum doctrina clarior patefiat, de uiciis septem, que capitalia seu principalia appellantur, uolo in isto presenti opus¹⁵ claro¹⁶ pertractare, et uniuscuiusque ipsorum ponam descriptionem suam et ipsum in suas species diuidam [...].

(MS Add. 27695, f. 1ra)

Having already given an account on the four cardinal virtues, the author's stated purpose is to treat of the seven deadly sins since, as shown by the wisdom of ancient philosophers, something is better learned by knowing its opposite. He adds, furthermore, that he will write about the seven deadly sins and describe them and order them according to their different species. The structure appears to closely follow the Thomistic one, since it places virtues before vices (and not the contrary) and introduces the idea of opposing a vice to each virtue ('contrarium') in a way that echoes Aquinas's *Summa Theologiae*.¹⁷ The last section of the passage quoted above displays some similarities to a work on the vices and virtues ascribed to the Dominican Paul of Hungary († 1240), written possibly in Bologna around 1220/21.¹⁸ These similarities are frequently manifest in the order, number, and description of the vices' subspecies (see § 3.3.a).

¹⁵ *opus*: instead of the sing. abl. *opere*.

¹⁶ *claro*: instead of the adv. *clare*.

¹⁷ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* (ed. Caramello), I-II, qq. 61ss. The order virtues/vices is, for example, adopted by the ancient printed editions (while the MSS have the order vices/virtues) of the *Summa de virtutibus et uitiis* (ca 1230/40) by Guillelmus Peraldus. Peraldus's text enjoyed great success during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, especially in Italy, and exists in more than four hundred manuscripts (Dondaine 1948; Verweij 2006), but is still waiting for a complete modern critical edition; some digitisations of incunables and ancient editions are available online: ed. Venice, Paganinus de Paganinis, 20 Dec. 1497: <<http://bildsuche.digitalesammlungen.de/index.html?c=viewer&lv=1&bandnummer=bsb00053999&pimage=00053999&suchbegriff=&l=it>>; ed. [Lyons], Nicolaus de Benedictis, 28 Nov. 1500: <<http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0007/bsb00072566/images/>>; ed. Paris, L. Boullenger, 1648, t. I: <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5765745w>>; t. II: <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k57658865>> [last access: 30/08/2016]. For a more detailed bibliography see Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes (IRHT-CNRS), *Notice de Summa de uitiis et virtutibus, Guillelmus Peraldus (1200?-1271)*, in Pascale Bourgain, Francesco Siri, Dominique Stutzmann, *FAMA: Œuvres latines médiévales à succès*, 2016 <<http://fama.irht.cnrs.fr/oeuvre/267481>> [last access: 30/08/2016].

¹⁸ Compare, for example, our passage from the Prologue to the beginning of the chapter *De uitiis principalibus* by Paul of Hungary: «Verum quia supra [...] fecimus mentionem de uitiis et virtutibus tractandis. idcirco tractatum subiciemus de ipsis. ponendo principalia uitia, descriptiones eorum. et que ex ipsis oriuntur. et species cuiuslibet uitii capitalis. VII. enim dicuntur capitalia uitia. sive principalia» (Paulus Hungarus, *Summa de poenitentia*, ed. Tosti, p. 202).

The author continues by stating that to these descriptions of the vices he will add some examples that were narrated to him by his grandfather, the late Pellegrino Cocharelli:

[...] *exempla que notificata mihi et mee memorie comendata fuerunt ab auo meo, domino Pelegrino Cocharello condam. Que omnia, sicut et predicta que in antedicto opere recitauī, facio et feci principaliter pro mei instructione et natorum meorum, et specialiter pro Johanino nato meo, ut ipse sibi a predictis uiciis precaueat et a dampnis et periculis que ad predicta uicia consequuntur.*
(MS Add. 27695, f. 1rb)

As often pointed out by scholars, the author (who, unfortunately, never identifies himself), is the grandson of Pellegrino Cocharelli, and explicitly says that he wrote the work not only for his own instruction, but also for the education of his sons and in particular his young son John ('Johanninus') in order to teach him how to avoid sins and their consequences.

The circumstances in which the writer had the chance to hear his grandfather's examples are best explained at the beginning of the first chapter on Pride. The passage is hard to read (the folio is heavily spotted) and has been transcribed with the aid of an ultraviolet lamp and a magnifying glass:

Accidit enim quod tempore illo quo Acchon ciuitas, que in regione Usirie exiterat situata, antequam Solidanus ipsam cap[er]et et uastaret, quod auus meus condam predictae ciuitatis erat habitator et ciuis. <Qui, sicut> sapiens et <discretus>, cognoscens quod ciuitas predicta esset inept[e a dominis et] a rectoribus gubernata et sibi <erat> quod propter <ma>lum regnum debet illa ciuitas desolareri, proposuit se ad aliam patriam permutare. Audiens enim Ianuensium famam esse magnam <.....> ciuitatis opes et gentium disposicionem, et <locum> esse dominabilem et securum, spacium uite sue ordinauit in Ianuam¹⁹ terminare. Venit ergo Ianua²⁰ cum familia sua tota et diuiciarum copia magna, que sibi et tote familie sue pro uita erant <sufficiencia> competenter, ipse enim in ciuitatem Ianue dyu perseuerauit et uixit. Post

Paul of Hungary's booklet on the vices and virtues constitutes the second part of the *Rationes poenitentiae*, and is not transmitted by all of the almost one hundred MSS containing the first part, but only by MSS of the so-called 'D-group' (because they contain references to the *Decretum Gratiani* that are absent from MSS of other groups). On this author and his work see Weisweiler 1930 and 1936; Mandonnet 1935; Johnson 2006.

¹⁹ In late medieval texts the use of a prep. + toponym is current, as well as the alternation of the accusative and the ablative after the prep. 'in' with verbs of movement (this happens frequently also in the *Annali Genovesi*, see Giusti 1941, p. 344).

²⁰ Instead of the accusative.

tamen magnum <tempus, uolens corrigere> natum <suum quidam> nomine Johannes, me audiente, sibi protulit ista uerba: – Filii karissime, dubitatione²¹ mihi aduenit, sicut illi²² qui ex proposito uolet euitare siluam et in ipsa ingressus est [...].

(MS Add. 27695, f. 3ra)

This information is partly substantiated by what we can deduce from contemporary documents, that is that Pellegrino had a son called Giovanni (the patron of the Boethius's MS), who lived in Acre and who, in an unspecified moment prior to the fall of the city in 1291, decided to move to Genoa with his family, bringing with him his large fortune. The text does not say anything about Cocharelli's commercial activities in Cyprus, but we have to assume that they continued their trades, moving the Eastern branch of their 'firm' to this island, as emerges from Lamberto of Sambuceto's Cypriot notarial deeds.²³

3.2. *The Structure of the Treatise on the Vices: text, sources, and illustrations*

As has already been noted,²⁴ the sequence in which the seven principle vices are presented follows the order that can be found in Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job*, with some common modifications especially with regard to the labelling of sins.²⁵

Each section is devoted to a vice and opens with a full-page miniature and with a title written in gold or in silver ink. All but one of these titles have survived, as shown in the list below:

MS/folio	Title
MS Add. 27695, f. 1r	I<.....> septem uicia propter que plurimum falitur atque decipitur omnis homo et <.....> uirtutibus quardinalibus fuerit <.....> uirtutes quatuor cardinales

²¹ For *dubitatio*.

²² For *ille*.

²³ See bibliography at note 1.

²⁴ Fabbri 1999, p. 306.

²⁵ Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Job* (ed. Adriaen), xxxi, xlv (pp. 1610-1613). On the works and treatises concerning vices (and virtues) in the Middle Ages see Bloomfield 1952; Tuve 1963 and 1964; Wenzel 1968; Bloomfield - Guyot *et al.* 1979 (and its *Supplement* Newhauser-Bejczy 2008); Casagrande - Vecchio 1987 and 2000; Newhauser 1993, and Newhauser (ed.) 2007.

de *quibus* libellum *quandam*²⁶ facere ordinaui, [ut] <earum>
dotrina mellius et clarius patefiat.

- MS Add. 27695, f. 1v Capitulum primum de superbia et speciebus eius et de difini(ni)tione uniuscuiusque specierum eius, unde ipsa dicitur primitus est dicendum.
- MS Add. 27695, f. 3v Capitulum secundum de ira et speciebus eius, et unde ipsa dicitur et comodo una specierum ab alia distinguitur.
- MS Add. 27695, f. 4r Capitulum tertium de inuidia et speciebus eius.
- MS n. 1953.152, f. 1r Capitulum quartum de accidia et speciebus eius, <et> unde ipsa dicitur et quomodo conspectum ab alia distingatur.

[The title of chapter V (Greed) is missing]

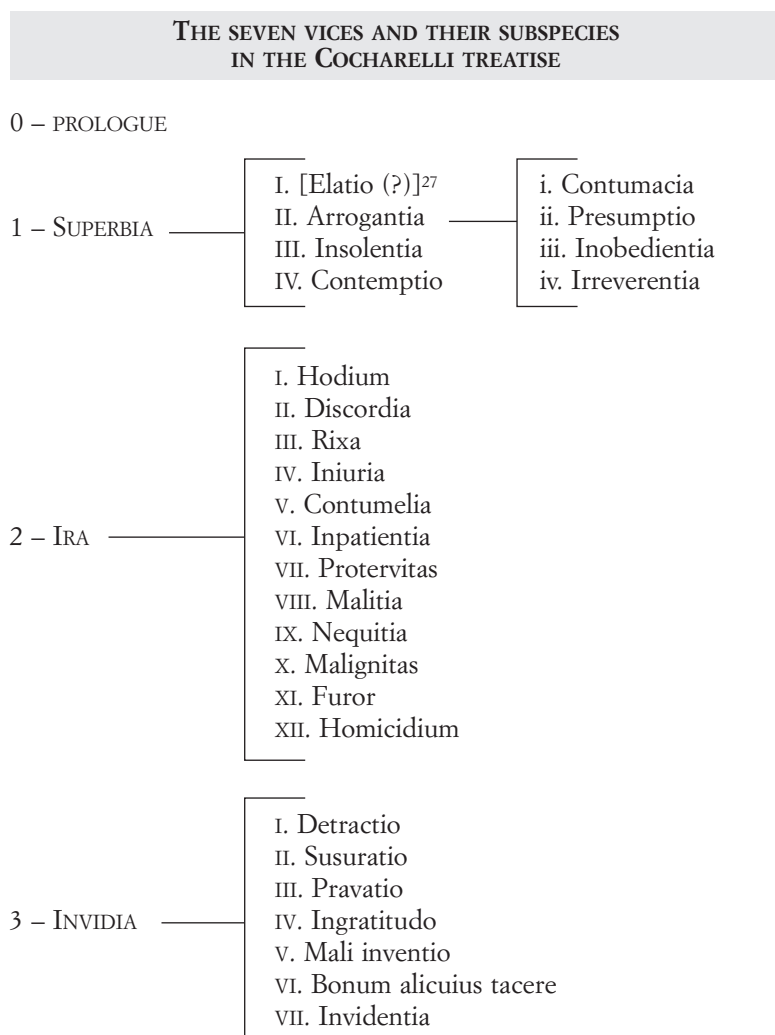
- MS Add. 27695, f. 13r CAPITULUM VI DE GULA E[T] SPECIEBUS EIUS.
- MS Add. 27695, f. 14r CAPITVLVM VI[I] DE LVSVRIA E SPECIEBUS EIUS.

The heading at f. 1r of MS Add. 27695 corresponds to the general opening title of the treatise on the seven vices, while the following ones give the title of six of the seven sections dedicated to the explanation of the vices. It must be noted that the style of the lettering of chapters I-IV, written in gold and in a Gothic minuscule hand, is different from the one used for the titles opening chapters on Gluttony and Lust (in silver ink and in capitals). The last title presents what has to be considered a scribal error, since it is numbered chapter VI, just as the previous one. It is clear from the structure of the text that the chapter devoted to Lust should stand at the end of the treatise on the vices, not only because this order would then correspond to the Gregorian heptad, but also because, even if many leaves are missing, chapters I-IV are numbered and, in some cases, the titles are headed by the closing lines of the previous chapter. This also happens for the beginning of the chapter on Gluttony, where the text above the title belongs to the last part of the section devoted to Greed, in which one of the subspecies of this sin (*Ludus*, ‘gambling’) is mentioned: «aliis pateret in exemplum et sic per ea que dicta sunt patet quod ludus est

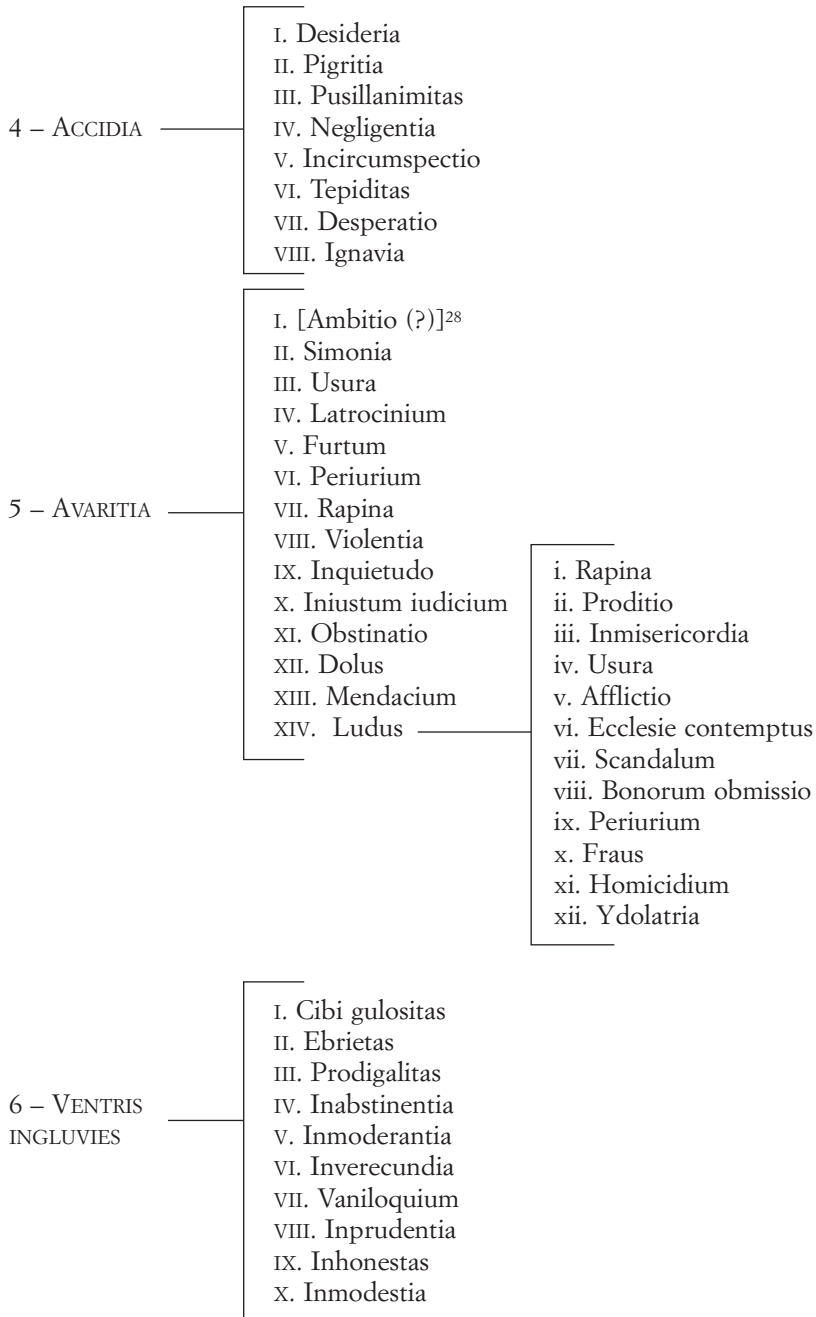
²⁶ Instead of the masc. acc. *quendam*.

fugiendus a quolibet sapiente» (MS Add. 27695, f. 13r). Consequently, the order of the vices in the Cocharelli treatise is as follows: 1) Pride; 2) Wrath; 3) Envy; 4) Sloth; 5) Greed; 6) Gluttony; 7) Lust.

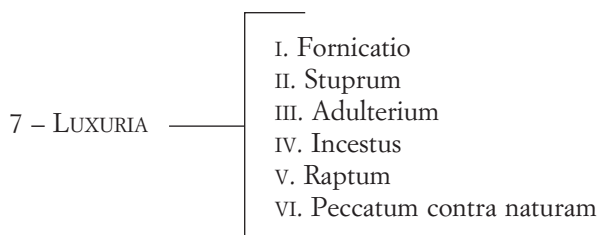
The ‘trees’ of their different subspecies are shown in the scheme:



²⁷ MS Add. 27695, f. 2r, the passage is illegible.



²⁸ The folio with the beginning of this chapter is missing.



3.3 *Inside Chapters' structure: the case of Envy*

3.3.a *Envy: general description*

It is noteworthy that each section devoted to a vice is organized according to a theoretical definition of it, followed by a list of its species and, eventually, of its further sub-species, all described in detail and often tied with (or followed by) a list of moral precepts and teachings. This scheme too can be traced back to Gregory the Great. The theory is followed by practice: after the section containing the general description of the vice stands a text reporting one or more of the tales narrated by Pellegrino to his sons.

The general definition of each vice shapes the whole structure of the treatise and derives from one of the most popular medieval sources on the subject: the *Summa de vitiis et virtutibus* by Guido Faba.²⁹ In fact, the author of the Cocharelli draws the basic scheme concerning each vice almost literally from the *Summa*, as exemplified by a passage at the very beginning of the text of the third chapter concerning Envy:

MS Add. 27695, f. 4va

Guido Faba
Summa de vitiis et virtutibus

Inuidia est egritudo [animi ex] felicitate alterius proueniens, nocens nat[ur]aliter inuidenti.

Inuidia est egritudo animi ex felicitate alterius proueniens, naturaliter nocens inuidenti; uel sic Inuidia est adustio mentis de prosperitate bonorum.³⁰
[...]

EXORDIA ET CONTINUATIONES INUIDIE

Inuidus de alterius melioratione affligitur, quia praeue mentis neque nec<u>quam oculus uiuiatur.

1 Inuidus de alterius melioratione affligitur, quia praeue mentis nequam oculus uiuiatur. 1' Jnde est quod delictum correctio subsequatur ne digna pena feriat transgressorem.

²⁹ On this author and his works, see Bausi 1995.

³⁰ Guido Faba, *Summa de vitiis et virtutibus* (ed. Pini), p. 62.

Inuidi debent perpendere quod multe neccessitatis noscuntur miserie subiace[re].

Inuidia sibi mendax proprii honoris exigit, quia medulitus extuatur animam suam perdet.

Inuidia dyaboli mortem intulit quam Christi misericordia effugauit.

2 Inuidi debent perpendere quod multe cecitatis noscuntur miserie subiacer. 2' Rogamus itaque tuam dilectionem ut hoc prospecto ne de alieno prefectu doleas uel de proximi letitia contabescas.

[...]

5 Inuidia sibi mendax liuoris proprii penas exigit, quia medulitus extuat et animam suam perdit. 5' Hanc siquidem homo cum prudentia superet, quod fieri melius nunquam potest quam si uirtutibus et glorie seruiatur.

6 Inuidia diaboli mortem intulit quam Christi misericordia effugauit. 6' Jnde est quod membra diaboli eius in hoc malitiam imitantur, quam nos qui sumus de scola Domini fugiamus.³¹

This structure, in which the main features of a sin and its description derive from Faba's *Summa*, is constant throughout the section devoted to the vices, even if with some additions, adjustments and variants to the original. The description of Envy is followed by the description of the sub-vices ensuing from it, a detail also contained in Faba's treatise. Thus, on this occasion, the closest source seems to be the treatise on the vices by Paul of Hungary already mentioned above. The author of the Cocharelli draws in fact almost literally from Paul of Hungary's text and attaches the passage given below straight after Faba's one (given above):

MS Add. 27695, f. 4va/b

**Paulus Hungarus
De vitiis principalibus**

Inuidia <est dolor <qui ex> alterius felicitate nascitur. Unde inuidus proprie dicitur qui de prosperitatem proximi sui dolet. Inuidus enim dupplicem passionem implicat in se ipso. Cognoscit enim se esse talem qualem non uellet esse, uel uidet alium esse meliorem ipso quod ex dolore magno <nullo modo> potest pati quia similis aut maior illo esse potest. Sonat enim nomen inuidi quasi se ipsum non uidens. Noscit enim aliorum bona et in suis propriis excecatur. Unde sub isto uicio alia multa uicia continentur.

Inuidia est dolor ex aliqua felicitate nascens. animum torquens. Inuidus autem dicitur. qui alterius felicitate torquetur. et sic inducitur in dupplicem passionem animi. aut quod ipse alium esse non vult. aut videns alium meliorem esse. dolet se non esse consimilem. unde inuidia dicitur ab inuidere. quia ille qui inuidet alii. bona videre non potest. Dividitur autem in has species.

³¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 72-74.

Primum <est detractio.	detractioem.
Secundum est susuratio.	susurrium.
Tercium est prauatio.	depravationem.
Quartum est ingratitude.	ingritudinem.
Quintum est mali inuentio.	mali inventionem.
Sextum est bonum alicuius tacere et <comprimere>.	boni compressionem.
Septimum est inuidencia. ³²	inuidentiam.
Detractio ³³ est alicui famam, <honorem>, pecuniam et omnes alias uirtutes maligne et indebite denigrare [...].	Detractio est bonitatem aliorum denigrare.
Sussurratio est inter amicos malitiose discordiam seminare [...].	Susurrium est inter amicos discordiam seminare.
Prauitas est tacere bona proximi et rememorari ³⁴ mala [...].	Depravatio est bona alterius inuere. vel mala memorare. ³⁵

³² Compare also with Guido Faba, *Summa de uitiis et uirtutibus* (ed. Pini), p. 59: «De inuidia odium, susuratio, detractio, exultatio in aduersis proximi, afflictio autem in prosperis nascitur».

³³ *Betractio* for *Detractio* in the MS (due to an error of the scribe who painted the initials).

³⁴ Instead of *rememorare* (with the common confusion between active and passive forms of the verb).

³⁵ Paulus Hungarus, *Summa de poenitentia* (ed. Tosti), p. 203. An even more compelling example of the debt of Cocharelli's text to Paul of Hungary can be found in the chapter on Lust, where a series of maxims (deriving in their turn from Alain of Lille's *Liber de planctu naturae*) related to this sin is transcribed *in toto*, see MS Add. 27695, f. 15va: «Luxuria est incontinentia corporis ex pruritu libidinis nascens. Potest enim dici de luxuria quod ipsa est langor incolumis, grata molestia, pondus leue, saciata fames, ebria scitis, tristitia leta, dulce malum, mala dulcedo, quies <..... 2 ll. illegible>, mobile manens, infirmus mutabilis [*sic!*], paradisis tristis, carcer amenus, yems uerna, prudens stulticia, audax timor, diues egestas, gloria uilis, inobps copia, discordia concors, concors pugna, furor blandus, dulce nephas. [...] Alanus enim in Claudiano suo aitur [...].»; and compare it to: «Luxuria est incontinentia corporis. ex pruritu libidinis nascens. Hec est. Languor incolumis. Grata caribdis. Pondus leue. In satiata fames. Sacies esauriens. Ebria sitis. Tristities leta. Dulce malum. Mala dulcedo. Quies egra. Labor gratus. Pena leuis. Lues delitiosa. Nox lucida. Lux tenebrosa. Mors uivens. Vita moriens. Malum suave. Pena iocosa. Facinus pium. Ludus instabilis. Lusio stabilis. Robur infirmans. Firmum mobile. firma mouens. Infernus mulcebris. Paradisis tristis. Carcer amenus. Hyemps uerna. Prudens stultitia. Audax timor. Dives egestas. Vilis gula. Inops copia. Discors concordia. Concors pugna. Furor blandus. Dulce nephas. [...] De hoc Alanus uir litteratissimus in suo ait Ante claudiano [...].» (Paulus Hungarus, *Summa de poenitentia*, ed. Tosti, pp. 206-207). See also Alanus de Insulis, *Liber de planctu naturae*: «Est amor, et mistus cum ratione furor | Naufragium dulce, pondus leue, grata Charybdis, | Incolumis languor, et satiata fames. | Esuries satiens, sitis ebria, falsa uoluptas, | Tristities laeta, gaudia plena malis. | Dulce malum, mala dulcedo, sibi dulcor amarus, | Cujus odor sapidus, insipidusque sapor. | Tempestas grata, nox lucida, lux tenebrosa, | Mors uivens, moriens uita, suave malum. | Peccatum ueniae, uenialis culpa, jocosa, | Poena, pium facinus, imo, suave scelus. | Instabilis ludus, stabilis delusio,

3.3.b *Examples of Envy: the fall of Tripoli (1289)*

Once the list of the species of Envy is given, this further division is carefully explained point by point. The general section devoted to Envy ends with the promise that it will be followed by the *exempla* once narrated by Pellegrino Cocharelli to his sons while the author was listening too:

[...] *propter inuidiam ciuitates et regna plurima sunt deserta. Unde, fili mi, uolo tibi dicere que auus me[u]s condam, ut nati sui sibi ab inuidia precauerent, me audiente, [de] diuersis uicibus³⁶ eisdem tradidit in exemplum.*
(MS Add. 27695 f. 4vb).

In the last sentence, by stating that envy causes many cities and kingdoms to fall and be ruined, the author introduces the main theme of the historical accounts that will be narrated in subsequent leaves, namely the destruction of two cities of the Crusader Kingdom by Mamluks Turks: Tripoli, which fell in 1289 under the attack of the army of the sultan Qalāwūn (MS Add. 27695, f. 5v), and Acre, which was destroyed in the spring of 1291 by Al-Ashraf's army (MS inv. 2065 C). Each of the two accounts is illustrated, on the side of the folio opposite to the text, by two full-page miniatures, both showing the siege of a city. There is little doubt that here, as in the majority of the leaves containing the treatise on the vices, the account given in the text is strictly related to the illustration that can be found on the other side of the same leaf.

The first *exemplum* of Envy (MS Add. 27695, f. 5v) starts with the narration concerning Bohemond VII, count of Tripoli and prince of Antioch (1261-1287), and his envious mother, Sibyl of Armenia. These two historical figures are never mentioned by their proper names but are easily recognisable by the events in which they are involved. The account is rich in details and most of these details match rather perfectly with what we know from other historical sources on this period of the Outremer history. The Cocharelli treatise says in fact that Bohemond dies without heirs, and

robur | Infirmum, firmum mobile, firma mouens. | Insiapiens ratio, demens prudentia, tristis | Prosperitas, risus flebilis, aegra quies. | Mulcebris infernus, tristis paradisi, amoenus | Carcer, hiems uerna, uer hiemale, malum. | Mentis atrox tinea, quam regis purpura sentit, | Sed nec mendici praeterit illa togam» (in *PL*, 210, 455a-b). For the quote from the *Anticlaudianus* see Alano di Lilla, *Anticlaudianus*, in Id., *Viaggio della saggezza* (ed. Chiurco), Book II, vv. 122-124 (pp. 124-125).

³⁶ For *uiciis*.

that, after his death, his wife (Marguerite de Brienne-Beaumont), will find her way back to Europe. The text goes on by affirming that Sibyl of Armenia provoked the anger of the citizens and soldiers of Tripoli by deciding to appoint the bishop Bartholomew of Tortosa regent. Sibyl's choice is explained by her love for the bishop, described as a handsome man ('homo pulcerrimus').³⁷ This last detail is absent from other sources, possibly as a result of it being the author's (or Pellegrino's) invention. The text ends by explaining that the consequent disagreement aroused in the principality of Tripoli allowed the sultan to attack and destroy the city. In this last part, historical facts are simplified and there is no mention of the subsequent events even if closely bound to the Genoese interests in Outremer. In fact, the author evokes neither the setting of a sovereign commune led by Bartolomeo Embriaco nor the retirement of princess Sibyl in Armenia nor the problems caused by the arrival of the legitimate heir of Bohemond VII (his sister Lucy) in the Latin East.³⁸ It is therefore interesting to note that in the miniature related to this passage, we find not only a lively depiction of the siege and of the battle held in Tripoli in March 1289, but also a series of iconographical elements closely related to the narrative, that are mentioned by other contemporary as well as later sources. The illustration of MS Add. 27695 (f. 5r; *Fig. 1*), shows, for instance, in the lower part the Saracens passing, a narrow isthmus, connecting the city to a small peninsula. The depiction must be linked to the passage transcribed on the other side of the same leaf: «adcsit quod mare arruit desiccando per totum usque in insulam ciuitatis, taliter quod saraceni, cum toto exforcio, acceserunt super eam per terram et ipsam uiolenter ceperunt».³⁹

This is very similar to what we know, for instance, from the *Annales de Terre Sainte*:

³⁷ On the political and social disapproval of the westerner on the great families of Outremer see Runciman 1960, pp. 22-25.

³⁸ See Röhrich 1898, pp. 997-1003; Runciman 1951-1954, vol. 3, pp. 403-407; Praver 1969-1970, vol. 2, pp. 527-537; Irwin 1985.

³⁹ On this passage Röhrich 1894, p. 11, note 2, observes: «Nach dem Text in unserer Beilage sei das Meer zwischen dem Hafen und der Stadt so seicht gewesen, dass es dem Vordringen der Feinde keine Schwierigkeiten bot». The misunderstanding is possibly due to the imperfect transcription used by Röhrich, which reads: «mare arruit delictando per totum usque in insulam ciuitatis», when the MS clearly reads *desiccando* (the same passage is quoted also in Röhrich 1898, p. 1000, note 8).

A. M et CC et LXXXIX, ou mois de Mars, asega Tripple le soudan Dalfin et fu prise par force d'engiens et d'assaus le darrain jour d'avril; et se recuellirent les gens en l'isle de S. Thoumas en vaissiaus et passerent à no li Sarrasin en l'isle et les misent tous à l'espée.⁴⁰



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Fig. 1. MS Add. 27695, f. 5r (*The siege of Tripoli*).

⁴⁰ *Annales de Terre Sainte* (ed. Röhrich - Raynaud), p. 460 (this detail is contained only in one of the two MSS of the *Annals*, the MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 6447, dated to the fifteenth century).

See also the Arab historian Abu l-Fidā':

In the sea, a short distance from Tripoli, there is a small island with a church on it called the Church of Saint Thomas. It is separated from the city by the harbour. When Tripoli was taken a great many Franks fled with their women to the island and the church. The Muslim troops flung themselves into the sea and swam with their horses to the island, where they killed all the men and took the women, children and possessions. After the looting I went by boat to this island, and found it heaped with putrefying corpses; it was impossible to land there because of the stench.⁴¹

On this basis, we must identify the small island with the church ('insulam ciuitatis') on the low right side of the miniature with the one of St Thomas named in the passages quoted above. Thus, there are discrepancies between the description given by these sources and the Cocharelli treatise. The latter seems to refer to a sea withdrawal ('mare arruit desiccando per totum') that allowed the Saracens to reach the island while Abu l-Fidā' and the *Annales* say that the Muslims swam to the island. This detail is faithfully represented in the illustration, showing a portion of dry land between the island and the mainland. Here the idea of a sudden disappearance of the water is given by ships and fugitives trying to cross over to the island and still sailing or swimming on a sandy surface, depicted in light brown. I have not been able to find any information on possible low tide events along Lebanese coasts (or Tripoli's offshore islands), consequently we must assume that this particular aspect of Pellegrino's account too must for the moment be considered unreliable and based on second-hand or fictionalized information of historical facts.

Furthermore, in the middle of the scene of the same miniature, in the interior of the main palace of the city, we can observe a richly dressed female figure giving her hand to a male figure dressed as a bishop. Thanks to what we learn from the text, we are allowed to recognize in these two characters Sibyl of Armenia and the bishop Bartholomew of Tortosa, whose ambiguous *liaison*, according to the author, will lead to the disorders that will cause Tripoli's ruin.

⁴¹ Gabrieli (ed.) 1969, p. 342. This information is absent from the majority of the main Western sources relating the fall of Tripoli, see *Chronique d'Amadi* (ed. Mas Latrie), p. 218; *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro* (ed. Minervini), §§ 239-242 (pp. 197-198); Giovanni Villani, *Nuova Cronica* (ed. Sansone - Curà Curà), VIII, cxxix, p. 351; Jacopo Doria, *Annales Ianuenses* (ed. Imperiale), pp. 94-96; Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis* (ed. Bongars), p. 230.

Finally, the text of MS Add. 27695, helps us reconstruct a part of the sequence of the folios of the Cocharelli, since, in the last lines of the second column, it announces what follows:

[...] *quod de principatu propter inuidiam accidit, idem uel peius accidit de ciuitate quadam uicina illius principatus, que Achon ciuitas est uocata, propter idem scelus. Erat enim ciuitas ista in regione Surie quasi secur[um]⁴² regnum, et illud quod de ipsa propter inuidiam accidit uobis plenissime ennarrabo. (f. 5vb)*

3.3.c *Examples of Envy: the fall of Acre (1291)*

The second example of Envy, dealing this time with the city of Acre, is contained in the only leaf preserved at the Museo del Bargello in Florence, coming from the Carrand's collection. The illustration of this folio has been a bone contention between scholars. The Bargello's leaf too has on the side opposite the text a full-page miniature, depicting the siege of a city (*Fig. 2*). The doubts stem from the exact identification of this city, for which the names of Genoa, Acre, Tripoli and Alexandria of Egypt⁴³ have been put forward. Apart from the possibility of recognizing or not in the illustration of the Bargello folio a precise topography of either Genoa or another city (a problem that falls outside the remit of this essay), it seems quite clear that, whatever had been his concrete source of inspiration, the artist, having possibly never seen the city and relying solely on second-hand accounts, meant to represent the siege and the fall of Acre. This is confirmed not only by some iconographical details, but also by the text itself, which contains an account of the fall of the city.⁴⁴ I will start by con-

⁴² The reading is obscure, the scribe seems to have written *secur* without the sign of abbreviation on *r* for *-rum*.

⁴³ Rogers 1989, pp. 321-322, hypothesize that the miniature depicts the Storming of Alexandria in 1365, which would be «30 years too late» for the dating of the manuscript, as stated in Gibbs 1999, p. 274.

⁴⁴ The account of the fall of Acre is transmitted by many sources: *Chronique d'Amadi* (ed. Mas Latrie), pp. 218-226; *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro* (ed. Minervini), §§ 261-263 (pp. 214-218); *Excidium urbis Aconis*, in *Excidii Aconis Gestorum Collectio* (ed. Huygens), pp. 49-50; Florio Bustron, *Chronique de l'île de Chypre* (ed. Mas Latrie), pp. 118-128; Giovanni Villani, *Nuova Cronica* (ed. Sansone - Curà Curà), VIII, cxlv, pp. 362-363; Jacopo Doria, *Annales Ianuenses* (ed. Imperiale), pp. 93-94; Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis* (ed. Bongars), pp. 230-231. See also Röhricht 1898, pp. 1005-1032; Grousset 1934-1936, vol. 3, pp. 746-763; Runciman 1951-1954, vol. 3, pp. 410-423, and 1969, pp. 595-598; Richard 1953, pp.

sidering the text of the Bargello's folio, which (in the original complete manuscript) must have been placed after f. 5 of MS Add. 27695, thus forming a sort of dyptic with the miniature and the text regarding Tripoli. In order to cast away all doubt, it may be useful to give here the complete transcription of the text transmitted by this folio (Fig. 3) that remains interrupted at the end of the second column, but which is completed by the fragment preserved in Cleveland:⁴⁵

Audiui enim ab auo meo, qui predictae patrie erat ciuis, quod Achone due religiosorum domus ad quas quasi pertinebat regimen tocuis ciuitatis, ita quod illud quod ipsos⁴⁶ preceptum erat, id totum penitus erat factum. Erant enim antedicti Templi et Sancti Iohannis fratres, qui ex inuidia dyutissime in discordiam permanserunt. Erat enim scelus ipsorum inuidia magna: bonum enim alterius ipsorum partis, alteri parti erat maxima pena, propter quod illa ciuitas ad tantum deuenit quod ciues et mercatores ius suum libere non poterant obtinere, ymmo malandrini et gentium interfeciores de ipsis habebant maximam potestatem, sicut consuetum est in qualibet ciuitate que non regitur sicut debet. Et quia rectores istius ciuitatis predictae intellexerunt et audiuerunt destructionem tocuis Tripolis ciuitatis principatus, miserunt ambaxatores ad papam et ad reges ad quos christianorum regimen pertinebat, quod ipsi uel ciuitas predicta in isto casu deberet omnimode adiuuari, et quod non paterentur christianorum fieri talem dampnum. Quare papa et reges predicti, deliberato consilio, predictis rectoribus maximam gencium copiam transmiserunt, ut magis secure possent ciuitatem predictam absque periculo custodire. Quodlibet uero ciuitatis pars parcium ex illis gentibus qui uenerant pro ipsorum defensione, ut melius potuit, partem ipsorum sibi propriauit, quapropter isti tales multa scelera comitebant, quia ipsi depredabant mercatores, interficiebant homines, strupabant mulieres et multa alia faciebant que erant non licita neque iusta.⁴⁷ Erant enim in ciuitate predicta sarraceni multi qui,

333-345; Prawer 1969-1970, vol. 2, pp. 539-557; Stickel 1975, pp. 1-88. A new book devoted to the fall of the Crusader Kingdom (with a chapter concerning the loss of Acre) is in press: Antonio Musarra, *Acri 1291. La caduta degli stati crociati*, Bologna, il Mulino.

⁴⁵ The chapter on Envy is probably to be considered complete, because after the last lines of the *exemplum* relating the fall of Acre, we find the title of Chapter IV (announcing the vice of *Accidia*), accompanied by its elegant illustration, representing a group of sumptuously dressed ladies playing dices.

⁴⁶ The meaning is 'everything that was commanded by them, was done entirely', even if one would have expected an ablative or *ab*+ablative (*ab ipsis/ipsis preceptum erat*) instead of the pl. acc. *ipsos*.

⁴⁷ The first part of the sentence (from the beginning to *sibi propriauit*) sounds entangled. The use of *Quodlibet* (there are no doubts about the transcription, compare to Fig. 3, column 1, line 25) is not clear (the indefinite adjective and pronoun remains here unconnected), and *ut* is added by the scribe in the line-spacing. We can infer that the form *quodlibet* could be a mistake for *quaelibet* (the use of the neuter form with a feminine noun is recorded in Stotz 1996-

*propter tregas*⁴⁸ *et confitentes quod ciuitas in iustitia permaneret, in predicta ciuitate sua mercimonia aportabant. Isti tamen qui de nouo uenerant, ipsos interficiebant. Fiebat enim omnia propter inuidiam et discordiam illorum qui debebant regere ciuitatem. Volebat enim una parcium partem aliam, sibi scandalum imponendo, totaliter annullare. Cum tamen soldanus sciuisset omnia supradicta, uidelicet quod sub tregra <et>*⁴⁹ *malo modo essent sui homines interfecti, misit predictis rectoribus ambaxatores seu nuncios suos, ut ipse melius et clarius posset de predictis intellegere ueritatem. Quibus predictae ciuitatis rectores breuiter responderunt, sicut est religiosorum consuetudo qui, proferentes uerba dulcia, ut plurimum nequissima operantur, dicentes nunciis seu ambaxatoribus antedictis quod isti qui de nouo uenerant non erant sub eorum dominio neque super ipsos habebant aliquam proprietatem: – Ite cum Deo et facite quod potestis.*

Redeuntes autem predicti nuncii ad soldanum, sibi retulerunt omnia antedicta. Soldanus uero iratus conuocauit suarum gentium numerum infinitum et predictam ciuitatem inuasit, destruxit ipsam, neque aliquis christianus et sarraceni paucissimi ipsam postea habitauit, quod satis omnibus patet palam. Quod autem inter illos duos ordines qui predictae ciuitatis erant rectores esset inuidia et discordia antedicta patuit in processu: procurauit enim una parcium et fecit tantum quod alia penitus annullauit. Dicebant enim fratres Sancti Iohannis quod fratres Templi erant pessimi christiani, et per ipsorum opera fides nostra erat malignissime usurpata. De quibus Deus, cui omnia patent, nouit cl[MS n. 1953.152, f. 1r]rissime ueritatem: quia forsitan ista omnia ex inuidia erant dicta. Ergo, fili mi Iohanine, a tali uicio tibi caue, quia propter tale uicium citius homo quam ciuitas uel regnum posset incidere in ruinam.

Here the main cause of the downfall of the most important city of the Crusader Kingdom is ascribed to the envy and the quarrels between the Templars and the Hospitallers.⁵⁰ To blame the cupidity and the outstanding power of the military orders for 1291's defeat appears to be a common

2004, vol. 4, § 71.4) and that we must connect it to the noun *pars* (*quaelibet pars*). In this case the translation would go: 'Of those who came in their defence, each of the two factions of the city brought to its own side a part of them as best as they could, wherefore they committed many crimes, since they robbed merchants, killed men, raped women, and did many other things that were neither permitted, nor just' (Niermeyer 1984, p. 880 records *quilibet* = 'cha-cun, each s. XII'). Lexical choices seem here odd and confused (as the repetitions *pars, partium, partem*), and it is not possible to exclude for this passage a scribal error.

⁴⁸ *tregas* in the MS, with the second *r* expunged by the scribe.

⁴⁹ A spot obscures a letter.

⁵⁰ Cardini 1996, p. 139: «in Europa la voce pubblica – della quale sono testimoni anche scrittori come Gualtier Map e Rutebeuf – era che gli Ordini militari fossero impari al loro compito e avessero ormai abbandonato nella pratica la loro missione per condurre una vita comoda e ricca in Occidente».

theme of the time, exploited especially by chronicles and texts written straight after the loss of the city.⁵¹ The fact was perceived in the West as a political and military disaster. The author recalls in his narrative the arrival in Acre of the Italian crusaders sent to the Latin East by the pope Nicholas IV as well as their attack on Muslims in Acre's marketplace that broke the truce agreed with the sultan and offered the Saracens the opportunity to wage war against the city.⁵² The Cocharelli's account shares the popular negative opinion on Acre and on the causes of its ruin. Several authors, in fact, describe the city as «a den of vice, a contemporary Sodom» and its citizens as «criminals, drunkards, jugglers, and conjurers collected from all over Christendom».⁵³

⁵¹ See Stickel 1975, pp. 89-95; Siberry 1985, pp. 70-95; Schein 1991, pp. 110-139; Coli 1996; Manetti 1996.

⁵² An analysis of the reasons of the *casus belli* that provoked the attack of the Mamluk Turks against Acre is provided by Stickel 1975, pp. 25-36 (for a survey on the Arab sources on the episode it is interesting to consult also Little 1986, in partic. pp. 165-166). It is interesting here to remember (and to compare them to our text) also the accounts given by Bernard Gui (in his *Flores chronicorum*, 1306-1315), and Francesco Pipino da Bologna (*Chronicon*, first half of the fourteenth century). Bernardus Guidonis, *Flores chronicorum*, p. 709: «Anno Domini M. CC. XCI. a captione civitatis Tripolitanae fere biennio jam elapso, in festo sanctae Potentianae virginis, XIII. kalendas Junii, Achon civitas capitur a Sarracenis, captis et occisis ibidem plus quam triginta millibus personarum utriusque sexus. Causa autem prodicionis ejusdem fuisse fertur multitudo dominorum et diversitas nationum ibidem, quae faciebant contrarietatem voluntatum. Tradunt etiam aliam causam exitisse transfretationem quorundam fatuorum; quia Nicolaus papa crucem fecerat praedicari, et euntes in Achon injuriabantur Sarracenis qui cum mercimoniis in Achon veniebant. Unde provocatus soldanus venit cum magno exercitu, et cepit violenter ac destruxit civitatem, et extirpavit omnes Christianos de terra»; Franciscus Pipinus, *Chronicon* (ed. Muratori), p. 733: «Acon urbs Syriae Phoenicis Anno Christi MCCXCI [...] eversa est funditus, occisis & captis ibidem plusquam triginta millibus personis utriusque sexus. Causam autem prodicionis hanc ajunt fuisse. Confluxerant in ea urbe multi pseudo-Christiani cruce-signati, proposita venia peccatorum. Hi foedis operibus in Civitate ipsa, ut prius, intenti, coelum non animum mutant, quotidie in lupanaribus & tabernis degebant, & venientes Acon Sarracenos cum mercimoniis offendebant. Ad eam urbem quum Soldanus Aegypti legatos misisset, & peracto negotio abirent, eos hujusmodi Christiani insequuti sunt, eosque captos spoliantes interfecerunt, & demum Acon reversi sunt. Quo comeperto a Soldano, denuntiavit his, qui in Acon urbe praeerant, ut aut malefactores sibi tradant, aut juste perimant. Hoc esse aequius visum est omnibus incolis. Cruce-signati numero multi huic obstiterunt, non se Sarracenos timere jactantes; propter quod Soldanus Aegypti tantum congregavit exercitum, quod campum, qui per sex milia passuum patet in urbis conspectu, implevit castris [...]».

⁵³ Schein 1991, p. 129.



Fig. 2. Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, MS inv. 2065 C (The fall of Acre).

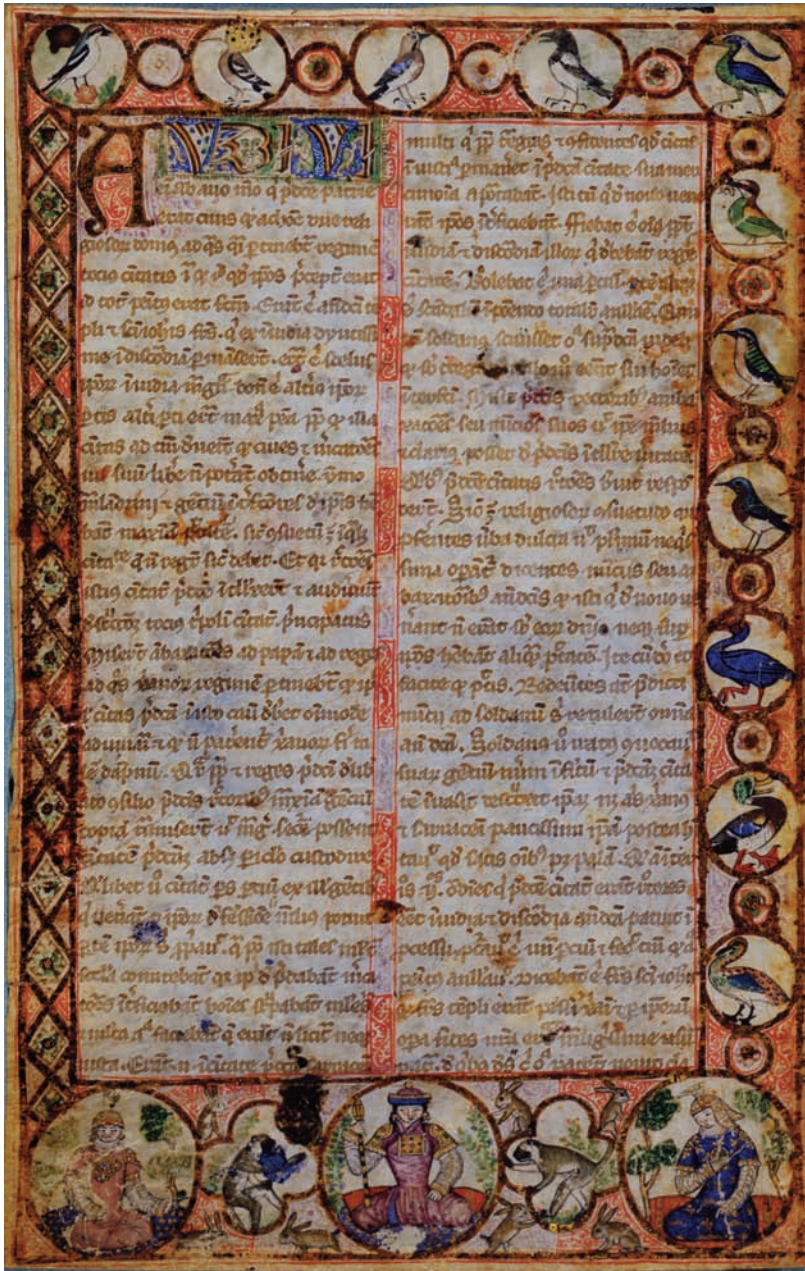


Fig. 3. Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, MS inv. 2065 C (*The fall of Acre*: text).



Fig. 4. Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, MS inv. 2065 C (detail: on the left St George killing the dragon; on the right the winged lion of St Mark with a nimbus).



Fig. 5. Venice, Basilica di San Marco, mosaic of the NE pendentive of the dome above the choir (*The six-winged lion of St Mark rising from the water, 12/13th century*).

The text clearly shows that the illustration depicts its contents. Thus, I will add a few iconographical notes in order to prove still further that the city represented in the Bargello's folio is Acre, as already suggested by Francesca Fabbri, and not Genoa, as proposed by Mario Marcenaro.⁵⁴

In the upper part of the scene, the Mamluk sultan is depicted in the act of receiving his ambassadors (as narrated in Pellegrino's account) while his army (bearing flags with a Lion rampant, the 'Baybars' lion)⁵⁵ is struggling under the city's walls, faced on the right side by the Hospitallers (with a white cross on a black shield) and on the left side by the Templars (with a red cross on their white super-tunics and flags). It is worth noting that, in the centre of the city, the façades of two buildings bear, respectively, the image of St George killing the dragon (on the left), and the winged lion of St Mark seen from the front (as far as I know this second detail has never been noticed; see *Fig. 4*, to be compared, for the lion, to *Fig. 5*).⁵⁶ Mario Marcenaro raised objections about the city being Acre. According to him, it should be Genoa, primarily because, from what we know from two of the most important ancient maps of Acre (those by Pietro Vesconte and Paolino Veneto, *ca* 1320),⁵⁷ in our miniature the second range of Acre's walls (the outer one)⁵⁸ as well as the chain «protecting the harbour from the intrusion of enemy ships» are absent.⁵⁹ This lack of detail, however, is likely best explained by the fact that the artist had not

⁵⁴ For the identification of the city with Acre see Fabbri 1999, pp. 314-316, note 36 and Fabbri 2011, pp. 292-293, and p. 306, note 26. Marcenaro 2009, pp. 201-202, and 2015a, 2015b, identifies the city as Genoa; the same opinion is held by Besta 1998, p. 316. Gibbs has demonstrated that the miniature definitely does not depict the storming of Alexandria (see note 43 above).

⁵⁵ Marcenaro 2015, pp. 9-10.

⁵⁶ St George and the lion of St Mark are depicted within two (central and right) of the three loggias of a building situated in the central part of the city; the third loggia on left has only a background painted in red. It is possible that a third symbol was meant to be painted on it (Pisa's white cross on a red ground?).

⁵⁷ The first map of Acre was possibly drawn by the well-known Genoese cartographer in order to illustrate Marino Sanudo's *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis*, while the second (that does not derive from Vesconte's one) is to be found in the *Universal Chronicle* by Paolino Veneto, and it is also datable to the beginning of the fourteenth-century. For further bibliography on this subject see Jacoby 1979; Ferri Piccaluga 1996, pp. 32-37. A summary of the archaeological survey of the Old City of Acre made by Kesten in 1962 is given in Pierotti 1998, pp. 62-63. A study of the maps of Acre (with many plates) from the Middle Ages to modern times can be found in Dichter 1973.

⁵⁸ See Kedar 1997; Jacoby 2005, pp. 99-103.

⁵⁹ Jacoby 1979, p. 13.

personally seen Acre and that his aim was to give a sort of symbolic and summarized image of the city, for example by depicting the symbols of Venice (the lion) and Genoa (St George) in a similar way to how they are depicted in ancient maps, that is with the Genoese quarters standing on the West of the Venetians ones (see *Fig. 6* and *7*) and as if they were viewed from the sea. This is an odd detail, which confirms that what we have here is a distorted (or later) vision of historical events. It is well known that the Genoese ceased to have their own quarters in Acre from 1258, that is when they were expelled from this city and moved to Tyre during the so-called war of St Sabas (1256-1270).⁶⁰ The Master of the Cocharelli perhaps wished to represent the eternal antagonism between the two great maritime powers.

With regard to the absence of other military orders from the illustration (as, for instance, the Teutonic Knights), we must infer that, since the miniature is strictly bound to the text, they were not only left out because they played a minor role during the siege, but also because no mention of them is made by Cocharelli's account.

I am convinced that both the evidence given by the narrative, and the presence of the lion of St Mark in the miniature (that lead safely to exclude Genoa), are sufficient clues to prove that the siege painted on the Bargello's folio is, undoubtedly, the one held at Acre in 1291.

3.4 *The order of the leaves on the Vices*

As shown above, some of the features identified in the Cocharelli treatise, such as its general structure or the way that the *exempla* are organized, allow us to reconstruct the sequence of the leaves on the vices, according to the titles, contents, text, and miniatures.

The treatise *de vitiis* should be ordered according to the scheme outlined below, in which I summarize also the contents of each folio and give a plan of the illustrations (lost sections are marked in grey):

Manuscript	Text	Illustrations
1 Add. 27695 1r	<i>Prologue</i> to the Treatise on Vices.	Half-page: the three Cocharelli generations (possibly the author,

⁶⁰ On this conflict see Runciman 1951-1954, vol. 3, pp. 281-286, and the monograph Musarra 2009; on the monastery of St Sabas see Jacoby 1993, pp. 83-88.

- | | | | |
|---|------------|---------------------|--|
| | | | his son John, and his grandfather Pellegrino Cocharelli). ⁶¹ |
| | 1v | Ch. I Pride: Title. | Full-page: the Fall of the Rebel Angels. ⁶² |
| 2 | Add. 27695 | 2r | Ch. I Pride: general description. |
| | | 2v | – |
| | | | Border: roundels with symbolic illustrations of Pride; scenes with animals fighting in the line-ends. A goldfinch represented in the quadrilobes in the lower border of the page. |
| | | | Full-page: the three Cocharelli standing on a rich decorated ground. ⁶³ |
| 3 | Add. 27695 | 3r | Ch. I Examples of Pride: this sin is the cause of the ruin of cities and people. |
| | | 3v | Ch. I Pride: ending lines.
Ch. II Wrath: Title. |
| | | | Border: symbolic scenes related to Pride in the roundels. |
| | | | Full-page: representation of Wrath, with three standing figures on a ground decorated with heraldic eagles and rampant lions; in the roundels of the border, symbolic animals connected to Wrath (lion, bear, cheetah, etc.) and its opposite (giraffe, unicorn, zebra, goat, etc.); in the lower border knights fighting and, in the middle, a lady on a horse; an elephant and an ox (indicating patience) in the quadrilobes. ⁶⁴ |
| 4 | Add. 28841 | 1r | Ch. II Wrath: general description. |
| | | | Border: animals fighting in the margins, and within roundels and quadrilobes; different species of birds in some |

⁶¹ Fabbri 2011, p. 290, and fig. 1.

⁶² *Ibidem*, pp. 293-294, and fig. 7.

⁶³ *Ibidem*, p. 290, and fig. 2.

⁶⁴ Morrison 2007, p. 54 (n. 42); Fabbri 2011, p. 294, and fig. 8.

- roundels (goose, quail, peacock, etc.).⁶⁵
- 1v Ch. II Wrath: general description (incomplete). Half-page and border: a natural landscape with a river, trees, men, and different species of goats and sheep occupying the space of the second column and the lower part of the writing area; symbolic depictions of courtly love in the roundels of the border; in the lower margin, within quadrilobes, a dog and bees, symbols of fidelity.⁶⁶

[Part of Wrath's general description; Examples of Wrath (missing)]

- 5 Add. 27695 4r Ch. III Envy: Title. Full-page: representation of Envy, with three standing men on a decorated ground; symbolic animals and scenes in the border (monstrous creatures, a men mastering a bear, a wild boar and a wolf in the lower margin; a pelican and an ostrich in the quadrilobes, symbolizing generosity and strength of the mind).⁶⁷
- 4v Ch. III Envy: general description. Border: symbolic illustrations related to Envy in the roundels and quadrilobes.
- 6 Add. 27695 5r – Full-page: the fall of Tripoli (see *Fig. 1*).⁶⁸
- 5v Ch. III Examples of Envy: account of the fall of Tripoli. Border: symbolic depictions dealing with this sin within roundels and quadrilobes, possibly representing Templar knights. At the

⁶⁵ Crombie 1952, p. 186; Fabbri 2011, p. 299, and fig. 12.

⁶⁶ Fabbri 2011, p. 291, and fig. 3.

⁶⁷ Yapp 1981, pp. 160-161 (pl. 41); Fabbri 2011, pp. 294, 298, and fig. 9.

⁶⁸ Fabbri 1999, pp. 312-313; and 2011, pp. 292-93, and fig. 5.

- foot of the page, three knights riding a horse within roundels, and crested porcupines in the quadrilobes;⁶⁹ animals fighting in the line-ending of the second column.
- 7 Bargello 1r – Full-page: the fall of Acre (see inv. 2065 C 1v Ch. III Examples of Envy: account of the fall of Acre. Border: symbolic depictions dealing with this sin in the roundels and quadrilobes of the border (different species of birds; hares, monkeys, and oriental characters, see *Fig. 3*).
- 8 Cleveland 1r Ch. III Envy: ending lines. Full-page: Sloth, represented as a group of ladies playing dices around a polygonal gaming table.⁷¹ n. 1953.152 Ch. IV Sloth: Title. Border: characters dressed in different fashions; a cardinal and two bishops represented in the roundels at the bottom of the page; different types of animals in the line-ends; within the first column, a larger illustration shows a man with a sword in his hand falling from an eagle's nest.
- 1v Ch. IV Sloth: general description (incomplete).
- [Ch. IV Examples of Sloth (missing)]
[Ch. v Greed: Title and beginning of the general description (missing)]
- 9 Add. 27695 6r Ch. v Greed: general description (the beginning of the text is missing). Border: bishops, monks and priests depicted in the roundels and quadrilobes; animals chasing one each other (or fighting) in the line-ends.

⁶⁹ Fabbri 1999, p. 309, note 19, and p. 314; and 2011, p. 298.

⁷⁰ Fabbri 1999, pp. 314-315, and fig. 3; and 2011, pp. 292-293, and fig. 6.

⁷¹ Fabbri 2011, p. 294-296, and fig. 10.

	6v	–		Full-page: the execution of the Masters of the Templars and the death of Philip IV of France during a hunt in the lower part of the page. ⁷²
10	Add. 27695	7r	Ch. v Examples of Greed: the cupidity of Philip the Fair caused the execution of the Templars; fragment of the account of Philip's IV death (incomplete).	Border (fragment): the cathedral of San Lorenzo at Genoa. ⁷³
		7v	–	Fragment: pawn broking. ⁷⁴
11	Egerton 3127	1r	Ch. v Examples of Greed: Genoese pawnbrokers.	Border: ivy, butterflies and moths (in the roundels at the bottom of the page: a <i>Macroglossum stellatarum</i> , a moth of the Noctuidae's family, a <i>Pyrgus malvae</i> , a wasp of the Sceliphron's genus). ⁷⁵
		1v	Ch. v Examples of Greed: Genoese pawnbrokers.	Border: hunting and hawking scene in the lower part of the page. On the top carrion-eaters animals, and different species of birds in the margins. ⁷⁶
12	Add. 27695	8r	Full-page illustration on two levels, with a quote from Exodus XXII, 22 written in gold in a lunette on black ground on the upper left side. ⁷⁷	Full-page: the interior of a Genoese bank counting house with coffers, in the lower part, customers and account books (the text here refers to Genoa's leading chiefs, stealing public money

⁷² Fabbri 1999, p. 312, and fig. 2.

⁷³ *Ibidem*, pp. 316-317, and fig. 4; and 2011, pp. 291-292, and fig. 4.

⁷⁴ Fabbri 1999, p. 317.

⁷⁵ Bitsch 2014, pp. 64-65.

⁷⁶ Yapp 1981, pp. 158-159 (pl. 40), for the identification of the different species of birds depicted in this illustration; Fabbri 2011, p. 291.

⁷⁷ «Deus dicit a Moixes: *quod* uni [*instead of* quantum uobis] dico hom[i]nibus, dico uiduis et pupillis: non nocebitis, et si illeseritis eos uociferabuntur a me; et irascitur furor meus *contra* uos, et percuciam uos gradio et erunt usor[es] *uestre* uidue et filii *uestri* pupilli», with the rhotacism *gradio* for *gladio*; this phenomenon is witnessed in various Italian dialects (Rohlf's 1966-1969, §185) and is very frequent in Anonimo Genovese's poems (see Giusti 1941, p. 345).

- at the expense of the poorest inhabitants of the city, i.e. widows and orphans).
- 8v Ch. v Examples of Greed: the ‘raptores palaci’ (i.e. the leading chiefs of Genoa accumulating public money, and exploiting the difficult situation of widows and orphans). Border: ivy, bees and moths.
- 13 Add. 27695 9r Ch. v Examples of Greed (text continues from f. 8v). Border: ivy, butterflies and moths.
9v Ch. v Examples of Greed: Full-page: Betrayal, with three standing man (one of them with a drawn sword) on richly decorated ground, within ivy border, with, in the lower part, the depiction of the legend of the whale thought to be an island by sailors, and the elephant and the ostrich, symbolizing Strength and Wisdom.⁷⁸
- 14 Egerton 3127 2r Ch. v Examples of Greed: account of the betrayals and murders in the Kingdom of Cyprus. A series of violent murders depicted in the border; different types of terrestrial arthropods in the line-ends.⁷⁹
2v Ch. v Examples of Greed: account of the betrayals and murders in the Kingdom of Cyprus. Border: ivy, grasshopper and other types of flying insects (in the roundels at the bottom of the page: a grasshopper of the *Tettigoniidae* family, a cricket of *Oedipoda*’s genus, an insect of the *Tipula*’s genus, a specimen belonging to the *Oedipoda*’s genus).⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Fabbri 2011, p. 298, and fig. 11.

⁷⁹ Fabbri 1999, p. 307; and 2011, p. 297; Bitsch 2014, pp. 63-64.

⁸⁰ Bitsch 2014, p. 65.

- 15 Egerton 3781 1v Ch. v Examples of Greed: account of the betrayals of the kingdom of Cyprus. Border: ivy and different types of insects (in the roundels at the bottom of the page: three specimens of the *Oedipoda*'s, and one of the *Tipula*'s genus).⁸¹
- 1r Ch. v Examples of Greed: the betrayals and murders of the Kingdom of Cyprus, ending with a series of warnings of the author to his son. The lower part of the page is illustrated by a group of richly dressed male and female figures around a fountain.
- 16 Add. 27695 11r Ch. v Greed: description of lie and false flattery. Border: butterflies, moths, dragonflies, and a snail, decorated with branches of green leaves; different types of insects and a snail in the line-ends.⁸²
- 11v – Full-page illustration on two levels, with figures representing subspecies of greed: lie, and false flattery.
- 17 Add. 27695 12r – (fragment of 55x100 mm.) Fragment: a group of male figures playing dices around an hexagonal gaming table.
- 12v Ch. v Examples of Greed (gambling): the man who lost his wife at gambling (fragment). Border: ground of green leaves with a grasshopper, a butterfly, a cricket, a ladybug, and a shield bug (*Eurydema ventralis*?).
- 18 Add. 27695 13r Ch. v Greed (gambling): ending lines. Ch. vi Gluttony: Title. Full-page: representation of Gluttony, showing a Tartar chieftain and his court.⁸³
- 13v Ch. vi Gluttony: general description. The Garden of Paradise in the lower page, and, in the right margin, the murder of Abel.⁸⁴

⁸¹ *Ibidem*.

⁸² Fabbri 2011, p. 299.

⁸³ *Ibidem*, pp. 296-297.

⁸⁴ Fabbri 1999, pp. 307-308.

[Ch. VI Gluttony: missing at least one folio, with the description of the subspecies of this vice]

- 19 Add. 27695 14r – Full-page: illustration of Gluttony, with men immoderately drinking in a tavern interior.⁸⁵
- 14v Ch. VI Examples of Gluttony: a rich and spoiled Genoese young man who looses all his fortune because of gluttony. Hunting scenes in the lower part of the page: two figures on their horses, one of them holding a hawk; in the lower border men hunting a boar; an insect in the line-ending.
- 20 Add. 27695 15r Ch. VII Lust: Title. Full-page illustration (possibly unachieved, and partially erased and spoiled), showing a bed under a pavilion, with male and female figures on and near it.
- 15v Ch. VII Lust: general description (incomplete). Border decorated with green vegetal motives and bird cages; in the lower part a lady feeds caged birds, while below a fowler catches birds with his nets.⁸⁶

[The rest of the text on Lust is missing, as well as the final section of the Treatise]

The scheme shows that the surviving text is more consistent than it appears at the first glance. Chapters I (Pride) and III (Envy) are possibly complete; chapters II (Wrath) and IV (Sloth) preserve part of the general description of each sin, but none of the *exempla*. Chapter V (Greed) should have originally been one of the longest (it often happens in moral literature that this vice occupies a more extended portion of the work than the others),⁸⁷ but, unfortunately, the very beginning with the full-

⁸⁵ Fabbri 2011, p. 297.

⁸⁶ Fabbri 1999, p. 308, and fig. 5; Fabbri 2011, p. 297.

⁸⁷ Something similar happens in the fourteenth-century *Tratao de li VII peccai mortai* in Genoese vernacular: «la dilatazione del peccato della quinta testa, l'avarizia, che occupa numerose pagine del codice, scendendo a trattare dell'usura, distinta in “sette maynere”, della

page miniature and part of the text with general description is missing, we only have the second part of it as well as some passages of the *exempla*. Chapter VI (Gluttony) is fragmentary too, it lacks part of the general description (the vice's subspecies) and possibly other *exempla* in addition to the only preserved one.⁸⁸ The last chapter (VII Lust) is today preserved only by one folio, with part of the general description. The *exempla* of Lust as well as the conclusion of the whole work (if there was one) are lost.

4. *The Treatise on the Virtues*

The remaining fragments (MS Add. 27695, f. 10, and MS Add. 28841, ff. 2-7), present greater problems because they transmit a shorter portion of text. As a result, the precise structure and contents are hard to trace. With the exception of f. 10 of the MS Add. 27695, the miniatures that we find in the margins of the six leaves of MS Add. 28841 are not related to the text,⁸⁹ but «are decorated with a strewn pattern freely composed of an astonishing variety of zoological specimens. [...] these pictures are no longer mediaeval fabulations, but schematized and greatly simplified life-impressions».⁹⁰ Furthermore, the text transmitted by these leaves cannot directly be connected to a recognizable structure of a treatise on the cardinal virtues, but contain what seems to be a long digression (perhaps a sort of *exemplum*?) consisting of a text in rhythmical verses where moral precepts are interwoven with an historical account concerning mostly the Genoese Corrado Doria, at the time when he was admiral to the king of Sicily, Frederick III of Aragon. Thus, we must assume that this text too was introduced by a Prologue and that it preceded the treatise on the vices. As we will see, it is therefore impossible to say whether the fragment preserved by f. 10 of MS 27695 was originally to be found after or before ff. 2-7 of MS 28841.

rapina, del sacrilegio, della simonia e soprattutto della “merchancia”, anch’essa ovviamente divisa in sette “maynere”. [...] Precetti morali, dunque, ma calati nel vivere quotidiano delle piazze e dei mercati [...]» (Marini 1997, pp. 231-232).

⁸⁸ The *exemplum* related to Gluttony must have been the last in this chapter since it ends here, as elsewhere, with a sentence which opens with a warning from the author to his son: «Ergo filii Ianine, caue tibi a uicio gule [...]» (MS Add. 27695, f. 14vb).

⁸⁹ As happens, for instance, also in some leaves of the section on the vices (MSS Egerton 3127, f. 2v and Egerton 2781, f. 1v).

⁹⁰ Pächt 1950, p. 21.

4.1. *MS Add. 27695, f. 10v: text and sources*

The folio 10 of MS Add. 27695 consists of a small fragment, a cut of parchment of 114x55 mm., bearing on the recto a miniature showing a procession of men holding a flag with St George and the dragon on a red ground; the man at the beginning of the line has in his hands a cartouche on which we read: «Ite maledicti in | ignum [*sic!*] eternum | iusticia precipitur». The first part of this sentence is a quote from the Gospel of Matthew (25,42) and clearly refers to the judgement of God towards the sinful ('Depart from me, you cursed, into the everlasting fire') and, as a result, to the virtue of Justice (as we can also infer from the second part of the sentence, 'justice is set'). This is confirmed by the fragmentary text preserved on the verso of the leaf, consisting in thirty-two lines of the first column. Once again, we are in the presence of a composite passage, this time mixing Faba's definitions of Justice with an excerpt taken from the sixth-century Martin of Braga's *Formula vitae honestae* (known also under the title *De quattuor virtutibus cardinalibus*), a work very popular in the Middle Ages (even if often erroneously ascribed to Seneca),⁹¹ and translated in several vernacular tongues. I give below the complete transcription of the fragment, indicating in parallel its sources:

Sources	
MS Add 27695, f. 10va (ll. 1-32)	Guido Faba <i>Summa de vitiis et virtutibus</i>
<i>qui ius suum <unicuique> tribuent pro rebus temporalibus, sepe inter homines iniusticia et inuidia nasceretur.</i>	3 Nisi adesset iusticia que unicuique ius suum tribuit pro rebus temporalibus, sepe inter homines seditio et iniuria oriretur. ⁹²
<i>Rectores in manu stateram teneant ut iuste seuiant et cum expedit misericordiam non relinquunt.</i>	4 Rectores in manu stateram teneant ut iuste seuiant et cum expedit misericordiam non relinquunt. ⁹³
<i>Rogo ut iustum iudicium semper proferatur dicendo de uultu tuo domine iudicium meum (tui)⁹⁴ oculi tui uideant</i>	1' Jnde est quod uos rogo et conforto et uestre dilectioni suadeo ut iustum semper iudicium proferatis dicentes de

⁹¹ See Bejczy 2011, pp. 55-56.

⁹² Guido Faba, *Summa de vitiis et virtutibus* (ed. Pini), p. 92.

⁹³ *Ibidem*.

⁹⁴ The scribe possibly anticipates *tui*, writing it twice, and omits something (*prodeat et?*).

equitates.

uultu tuo Domine iudicium meum
prodeat et oculi tui uideant equitatem.⁹⁵

Deum pre oculis habere debemus in om-
nibus iudiciis atque factis.

2' Rogamus itaque tuam discretionem ut
Deum pre oculis habere debeas in om-
nibus iudiciis atque factis.⁹⁶

Illum imitari debemus qui iudex est ius-
tus, fortis et potens, tractabilis, pacificus
et benignus qui cuilibet secundum opera
que facit tribuet in futurum.

3' Proinde est quod illum imitari
debemus qui iudex iustus est, fortis et
paciens, tractabilis, pacificus et be-
nignus qui cuilibet secundum opera que
fecerit tribuet in futurum.⁹⁷

Apud quem nulla personarum exceptio,
ita iudicare tenemini paruulum sicut mag-
num, sciendo quod mensura qua messi
erimus eadem <...>⁹⁸ remetietur nobis, cum
de talento credito teneamur reddere ra-
tionem.

4' Quare cum apud Dominum nulla sit
acceptio personarum, ita iudicare tene-
mini paruulum sicut magnum, sciendo
quod quali mensura messi fuerimus ea-
dem remetietur nobis, cum et de talento
credito teneamur reddere rationem.⁹⁹

Si hodie iustus erigitur, sed impius cum
suo semine dispergitur.

5 Si cadit iustus erigitur, set impius cum
suo semine dispergetur.¹⁰⁰

Iusticia appellari non poterit quam amore
uel timore aliquis uiolabit.

6 Iusticia appellari non poterit quam
amore uel timore aliquis uiolabit.¹⁰¹

Martinus Bracarenis
Formula vite honeste

Iusticia est tacita nature conuentio in adi-
utorium multorum inuenta. Iusticia non
nostra constitutio animi, sed diuina lex est
et uinculum societatis humane. Qui hanc
igitur sectari desiderat, time Dominum

Quid est autem iustitia nisi naturae tacita
conuentio in adiutorium multorum in-
uenta?¹⁰² Et quid est iustitia nisi nostra
constitutio, sed diuina lex, et uinculum
societatis humane? [...] Quisquis ergo

⁹⁵ *Ibidem.*

⁹⁶ *Ibidem.*

⁹⁷ *Ibidem.*

⁹⁸ A word is illegible.

⁹⁹ *Ibidem.*

¹⁰⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 93.

¹⁰¹ *Ibidem.*

¹⁰² For this definition of Justice see Kuttner 1976, pp. 79-94; Bejczy 2011, p. 56, and note 212.

prius *et* ama, ut ametur ab eo. Amabilis eris Deo, si *in* hoc illum immitaueris, ut uelis *omnibus* prodesse, *et* nulli nocere. Iustus ut sis, *non solum* [non] nocebis, *sed etiam* nocentem prohibebis.

hanc sectari desideras, time prius deum et ama deum, ut ameris a deo. Amabis enim deum, si illum in hoc imitaberis, ut velis omnibus prodesse, nulli nocere et tunc te iustum virum appellabunt omnes, sequentur, venerabuntur et diligent. Iustus enim ut sis, non solum non nocebis, *sed etiam* nocentes prohibebis.¹⁰³

Around the text, it is still possible to see some traces of the illustrations crowding the margins (left, and lower): an army of knights with helmets, and shields with a black heraldic eagle. The space between the columns is decorated by an elegant motif of white flowers and light green leaves, very similar in style, as we shall see, to those that are used in the MS Add. 28841, ff. 2-7.

As a matter of fact, it is impossible to know if the order of the virtues followed Faba's (where Justice stands at the first place) or Paul of Hungary's (where justice occupies the second position), or if it relied on other sources.¹⁰⁴

4.2. MS Add. 28841, ff. 2-7: structure, text and sources

From an artistic point of view ff. 2-7 of MS Add. 28841 are puzzling and astonishing. Their miniatures represent the natural world with the precision we would expect from a seventeenth-century naturalist, and seem to be in a way somewhat anachronistic, since they spread from the hand of an anonymous artist, illustrating a fourteenth-century moral treatise. As stated by Crombie, «in the verse treatise the illustrations are all in the borders, which are not contained in a formal frame. Sprays with leaves and fruit, and sometimes grass and water, stray between the lines across the whole width of the column. Interspersed throughout are paintings of insects, arachnids, marine invertebrates, reptiles, and mammals».¹⁰⁵ The insects painted on the Cocharelli manuscript have been studied by Colette Bitsch, who has been able to identify not only the order, but also very

¹⁰³ Martinus Bracarensis, *Formula Vitae Honestae* (ed. Barlow), p. 246.

¹⁰⁴ On the basis of what we know about Cocharelli's treatise on the virtues, it is impossible to compare it to the schemes of current classification given in Bejczy 2011, pp. 291-296.

¹⁰⁵ Crombie 1952, p. 187.

often the family to which many of them belong. On the basis of the results of her survey, the same scholar inferred that, in ordering the different species of vertebrates and invertebrates creatures on the pages, the master of the Cocharelli «a été guidé par une lecture approfondie de l'*Histoire des animaux* d'Aristote dont les observations sont réperables dans la diversité animale que l'artiste illustre en se conformant fidèlement au maître grec». ¹⁰⁶ We have here, as already said, a kind of iconographical apparatus that remains unrelated to the text, a sort of atlas of the natural world destined to the young 'Johanninus' Cocharelli.

The *mise en page* slightly differs from the one we are used in the treatise on the vices: the text is still copied on two columns, but here, at the beginning of each line, we find an initial in gold indicating that this part of the work is in verses (see *Fig. 8*). ¹⁰⁷ The only exception is to be found in the second column of f. 4v, where, at line 24, a golden initial within a frame decorated in blue marks the return to the prose up to the end of the page, that is line 37 (*Fig. 9*). The majority of this fragment is therefore taken over by a text in verses, mostly rhythmical (but several times also regular) hexameters, with the exception of some quotes deriving from a work in elegiac couplets (see § 4.2.a).

Nevertheless, irregularities in versification cause some problems, and, until now, the only survey that we have on Cocharelli's verse-section are the few remarks made in 1905 by Wilhelm Meyer in his collection of studies devoted to medieval Latin rhythmical prosody. Meyer analyses the 66 verses transcribed in the *facsimilia* published by the Palaeographical Society, observing what follows:

In der Palaeographical Society (1. Serie 1873-1883) sind als Tafel 149 und 150 zwei Seiten eines fragmentes im Britischen Museum (Additional mss. 27695) veröffentlicht: 'Fragments of a Latin treatise of the Vices, by one of the family of Cocharelli of Genoa. Written in the latter part of the 14th century and illustrated with miniature richly coloured'. Veröffentlicht sind 66 Zeilen. Jede zählt 13-17 Silben. Von den 66 Zeilen schliessen 58 mit — — — —. Im Anfang lässt sich stets eine Halbzeile von 5-7 Silben abscheiden, welche oft durch Interpunktion gekennzeichnet wird.

Barchis suis iussit· illum denuo | fácere capi.
Ut in Siciliam | postquam revérsi fuérunt.

¹⁰⁶ Bitsch 2014, p. 69.

¹⁰⁷ Verses occupy in most cases one line, and the end of each verse is marked by a final dot; sometimes, when a verse is too long, it ends on the following line.

Sic dominus domine· o rex Frederice attēde.
 O Frederice magne | intellexi | dícere núnquam.

Die 8 mangelhaften Zeilenschlüsse enden alle zu $\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow$ (regi nunciavit, subiunxit nuper, in cella stabat).¹⁰⁸

The tendency to insert one or more hexameters, or rhythmical verses in historical chronicles in prose was not unusual: one of the authors of the *Annales Ianuenses*, Obertus Cancellarius (half of the thirteenth century), used to «frammezzare alla prosa esametri dattilici [...] e versi ritmici per rendere varia e piacente l'opera sua e per accrescere efficacia al racconto o imprimere maggiormente nella memoria dei lettori la data e l'epilogo dei fatti principali da lui narrati, come fecero altri cronisti dei secoli anteriori e suoi contemporanei (es. Liutprando di Cremona e Fulcherio di Chartres)». ¹⁰⁹ The habit of writing historical Latin epic on contemporary events was a well-established tradition in Italy during the age of the communes and dates back to the early Middle Ages. ¹¹⁰ However, the metrical structure of Cocharelli's verse-section deserves further investigation. ¹¹¹

The transcription of the text transmitted by ff. 2-7 of MS Add. 28841, shows that, even if the folios are bound incorrectly, they preserve a continuous section of the work (see § 4.3) belonging to the same quire of six folios or to a continuous part of a larger quire. According to its contents, the verse-section can be roughly divided into two parts.

4.2.a *The verse-section: the virtues of God and Christ*

The first part of the verse-section preserved by MS Add. 28841, ff. 2-7 occupies the recto and the verso of f. 3, the recto of f. 5, and lines 1-20 of the

¹⁰⁸ Meyer 1905-1936, vol. 1, pp. 235-236.

¹⁰⁹ Giusti 1941, p. 338. For Oberto's verses see *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e dei suoi continuatori* (ed. Belgrano), vol. 1, pp. 172, 189, 219, 241. It is vital to remember that three of the Latin poems by the Anonimo Genovese are in hexameters (with irregularities), see Anonimo Genovese, *Rime e ritmi latini*, Nicolas (ed.), IV, V, XXXI.

¹¹⁰ See Chiri 1939.

¹¹¹ Professor Francesco Stella has kindly scanned for me selected passages of the text with the softwares *Pede Certo* (<www.pedecerto.eu>; Università degli Studi di Udine-Università Ca' Foscari, Venezia © 2007 – *Musisque Deoque*. 2011 *Pedecerto* [last access: 30/08/2016]) and *Collatinus* (<www.collatinus.org>, © Yves Ouwrad, avec la collaboration de Philippe Verkerk [last access: 30/08/2016]). The result of the enquiry, to be considered only as a preliminary check, reveal a number of metrical irregularities that are too high to be produced by scribal errors.

first column of f. 5v. Here the text lists the virtues of God and the Christ, and alternates them with the moral sentences and teachings that are part of Pellegrino Cocharelli's legacy («*Prudens Pelegrinus Cocarellus cognomine dictus*, | *Nos docuit clare fatuos euitare debere*», MS Add 28841, f. 3vb).

This trend can be observed, for instance, in the following passage:

*Secunda*¹¹² *uero sapientia sit honorandus,*
Subtilitate sua qui mirabilia fecit,
Celo et in terra impossibilia queque.
Tercia uero quidem quia bonus est diligendus.
 [...]
 Qui amorem suum uoluit ostendere nobis,
Subiciendo cruci pro humano genere nostro.
 [...]
 Cum uenit in mundo magnalia quoque contempsit,
In totum spernens cum regibus associari.
Sed cum simplicis, qui grosso modo uiuebant,
Ut piscatores, bonitatem suam ostensit.
Ad formicam vade viam eius considerando:
Ne fame pereat estate colligit granum.
Sic faciat homo, ne cadat plenus peccato.
 (MS Add. 28841, f. 3ra)

The habit of associating general moral virtues, such as happens here with *sapientia* and *bonitas*, with God, but also almost always with Christ, is commonplace in the Later Middle Ages.¹¹³ From the passage above we can infer that Cocharelli's treatise on the virtues must have shared the widespread system of subdivision and splitting of the four cardinal virtues (*prudentia*, *temperantia*, *fortitudo*, *iustitia*, that appear in varying order in medieval texts) into additional moral virtues, forming a scheme (or a tree) similar to the one conceived for the vices.

The example drawn from the life of the Christ is glossed by the sentence: «*Ad formicam vade viam eius considerando*», that is a quote from the Book of Proverbs, 6,6: «*Vade ad formicam o piger et considera vias eius et disce sapientiam*» to be interpreted as a warning to avoid sloth, as well as a clear exhortation to be wise. This biblical quote allows us to note

¹¹² The MS has *Cecunda*, due to an error of the scribe who painted the golden initial.

¹¹³ Bejczy 2011, pp. 278-280.

that this section too is, in many ways, a pastiche borrowing its materials from heterogeneous sources. One of the most quoted works (among those detected at the present state of my research), are the *Carmina moralia* of Jacopo da Benevento. This text, written in elegiac couplets, and dated to the mid-thirteenth century, is a collection of moral teachings of a father to his son.¹¹⁴ The author of the Cocharelli draws at least seven verses from the *Carmina moralia*, and disseminates them throughout his text, sometimes combining them with excerpts deriving from other *auctoritates*, as, for instance, an hexameter taken from the well-known Gautier de Châtillon's *Alexandreis* (ca 1170-1180).

This can be summarized by observing the following passage and its models:

Sources

MS Add. 28841, f. 2vb

Iudas sit exemplum et lucrum¹¹⁵ ductus amore,
Tradendo Christum morte perhenne per(t)it.
Dum fueris iuuenis, studeas acquirere tibi.
Non tamen iniuste: turpia lucra fuge.
[...]

Jacopo da Benevento *Carmina moralia*

Juda sit exemplum, qui, luci ductus amore,
tradendo Christum morte perenne perit.¹¹⁶
Cum fueris iuuenis, studeas acquirere, fili.
Non tamen iniuste: turpia verba fuge,
[...].¹¹⁷

Galterius de Castellione *Alexandreis*

Legalitas sola est animum que(m) moribus ornat. Nobilitas sola est animum que moribus ornat.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ This text has been the object of two critical editions, the first is the 1936's inedited MA Dissertation by Anna Martoriello (directed by Ezio Franceschini at the University of Padua), that I have not been able to consult; the second is: Jacopo da Benevento, *Carmina moralia* (ed. Altamura), published in 1954, which contains many imperfections and mistakes, as noticed in Franceschini 1954. On this author and his work see Martoriello 1939.

¹¹⁵ Instead of the genitive *lucri*.

¹¹⁶ Jacopo da Benevento, *Carmina moralia* (ed. Altamura), vv. 103-104.

¹¹⁷ *Ibidem*, vv. 150-152.

¹¹⁸ Galterius de Castellione, *Alexandreis* (ed. Colker), I, v. 104.



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Fig. 8. London, British Library, MS Add. 28841, f. 5v (verse-section): the initials in gold at the beginning of each line indicate the beginning of each verse.



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Fig. 9. London, British Library, MS Add. 28841, f. 4v: in the middle of the second column (line 24), the initial on blue ground marks the return to the prose.

The replacement of the original syntagms *turpia verba* and *Nobilitas sola*, with *turpia lucra* and *Legalitas sola*, allows us to hypothesize that there is a strong desire to stress those virtues that are directed towards the common good of public life, and to juxtapose them to the figures of the ‘raptores palacii’, the rulers stealing money for themselves, as well as increasing their *turpia lucra* against the law (*legalitas*) described in the treatise on the vices.¹¹⁹

4.2.b *The verse-section: the moral epic in praise of Corrado Doria*

The second and longer part of the preserved verse-section is occupied by an account focusing on Corrado Doria, the well-known Captain of the people and Admiral of Genoa who performed an important political and military role in Italian history from the last decades of the thirteenth century to the beginning of the fourteenth century. His father, Oberto, successfully led the Genoese fleet against the Pisans in 1284 at the battle of the Meloria while Corrado himself took and destroyed the ‘Porto Pisano’ in 1290. He resigned in 1297 from his charge of Captain of the people and went to Sicily where the king Frederick III of Aragon appointed him Admiral of his fleet. Corrado Doria took part in the last acts of the Angevin-Aragonese war of the Sicilian Vespers (1295-1302) and possibly remained at Frederick III’s court until his death (*ca* 1321/23).¹²⁰

Here, Cocharelli’s account is structured as a sort of short moral epic, written in praise of Corrado Doria and of his son Pietro. In fact, the text evokes some important political and military events, as well as a few anecdotes in which those two personalities play a leading role. Their moral goodness is often underlined with encomiastic tones. Corrado is said to be wise, just and good («[...] iudex iustus, legalis atque benignus | Comune[m] proprium¹²¹ deffendens et amans ut natum», Add. 28841, f. 5vb), prudent («Prudens Conradus sic ore proprio dixit [...]», Add.

¹¹⁹ In addition, it is to be noted that in the narrative of the verse-section concerning Corrado Doria, the Genoese admiral is referred to with the adjective *legalis* (see § 4.2.b).

¹²⁰ For further bibliography on Corrado Doria see Göbbels 1992; on the War of the Sicilian Vespers see Amari 1969; Tramontana 1993; Mirto 2002; and the rich four-volumes collection of studies, dealing with different aspects related to this conflict, *La società mediterranea all’epoca del Vespro* 1983-1984. An historical survey of Sicily during the reign of Frederick III is offered by Backman 1995. For the relationship between this king and the maritime republics of Genoa and Pisa see Giunta 1984.

¹²¹ The MS reads *propruum*, but the second ‘u’ is expunged by the scribe.

28841, f. 7ra), patient as Job in adversities («Ut Iob paciens, *omnia patienter ferendo*», Add. 28841, f. 6va), as liberal as Alexander the Great («Largitate sua ut *Alexander agebat*», Add. 28841, f. 5vb), and, according to Pellegrino, he is the best of the contemporary rulers («De Cocharellis vir nobilis, *nomine dictus | Pelegrinus, dixit tres reges corone uidit: | Digniore[m] ullum esse regem sicut Conradum*», Add. 28841, f. 5vb).

Once again, beyond the author's moralizing tone, what strikes one is the description of historical facts. This section contains, for example, an account of the naval battle of Ponza, held in 1300 between the Sicilian fleet led by Corrado Doria and Charles II of Anjou's one, led by Ruggero Lauria. During this battle, the Sicilians were defeated; Doria was taken as prisoner and released only later. The text also evokes some events of Genoa's history, such as the riots and urban combats of 1305-1309 or the arrival of the emperor Henry VII of Luxembourg in Genoa in 1311 after having been crowned king of Italy in Milan and having received the oath of fealty from Lombard communes.¹²² The anonymous author fictionalizes and dramatizes historical facts by inserting many direct speeches into his narrative and by manipulating them in order to let appear Corrado Doria and his son as perfect heroes and champions of virtue. In this case, he seems to be even better informed about some details than he was in the historical accounts inserted in the treatise on the vices. It is possible to summarize this attitude by two prominent examples: the first related to the battle of Ponza; the second related to the circumstances of the death of Pietro Doria.

It is well-known that during the naval combat of Ponza Corrado Doria's fleet was outnumbered by Ruggero Lauria's one, and that the situation got even worse when a dozen of Apulian galleys, with another seven Guelf galleys of the Grimaldi Genoese family (who were long-standing enemies of the Doria), joined the Angevin forces.¹²³ On 14 June 1300 twenty Sicilian galleys were captured, including Doria's flagship, and Corrado was taken as a prisoner.¹²⁴ It is interesting to note that, with regard to the battle of Ponza, Cocharelli's verses contain the same details we know

¹²² For a survey of Henry VII's political activity in Italy see Bowsky 1960 (in part. pp. 132-153 for his policy towards the Genoese commune). For the situation of Genoa during these years see Assini 1988a.

¹²³ A survey of the role of Genoa in the Angevin-Aragonese conflict can be found in Assini 1988b.

¹²⁴ On this battle see Amari 1842, pp. 263-265, and 1969, vol. 2, pp. 247-250; Caro 1974-1975, vol. 2, p. 265; De Stefano 1956², pp. 111-112; Galasso 1992.

from other sources, such as, for instance, the fact that Lauria's fleet was joined by Grimaldi's galleys (even if here they are counted as six and not as seven as recorded in other texts):¹²⁵ «Sex de Grimaldis galee *super iungentes* | Ceperunt eum [...]» (Add. 28841, f. 5vb). Corrado Doria's imprisonment is followed by a vivid dialogue with the king Charles II of Anjou, who unsuccessfully tries to convince him to betray king Frederick III and side against the Aragonese. Doria's refusal gives the author occasion to insert in his work a series of praises concerning loyalty and justice.

The second example is even more significant. It contains the account of Pietro Doria's death. This description perfectly matches with the only other known source on this episode: the *Memoriale de gestis civium Astensium et plurium aliorum* by Guglielmo Ventura (1250-1326 ca). In the summer of 1308 Opizzino Spinola of Lucoli proclaimed himself the only captain of Genoa by deposing and imprisoning Bernabò Doria, who was his co-ruler in the traditional diarchy established for the government of the city. Following this *coup d'état*, many leaders of the Ghibelline families of the Doria (including Corrado and his son Pietro) and Spinola of San Luca, as well as of the Guelf families of the Grimaldi and Fieschi, were forced to flee the city. In June 1309 those families exiled set aside their old differences and joined forces to defeat Opizzino and his army at Sestri Ponente, forcing him to take shelter in the castle of Gavi.¹²⁶ On the same day, the Guelf and Ghibelline exiles entered Genoa, apparently without great losses. Nevertheless, Ventura, in chapter XVIII of his chronicle, entitled *Divisio Ianuensium*, records that Corrado's son, Pietro Doria, was killed by an arrow at the entrance of the city, beside Vacca's gate:¹²⁷

Opecinus Spinola haec audiens venit ad Sextrum cum maiori quantitate militum et peditum, quam forenses praedicti essent, et praeliantes simul afflictus est Opecinus, et fugit in Gavim, et ex gentibus suis mortui fuerunt ibi plusquam ducenti, inter quos mortui fuerunt potestas Ianuae et Ansaldus Balbus de Castello. **Eadem hora forenses praedicti Ianuam intraverunt, et non fuit qui eis resisteret, salvo quod Petrinus filius Corradi Auriae ex uno quadrello mortuus fuit ad Portam Vacharum.**¹²⁸

¹²⁵ According to the fifteenth-century historian Niccolò Speciale, Grimaldi's ships were seven, see Nicolaus Specialis, *Historia Sicula* (ed. Gregorio), pp. 428-432.

¹²⁶ A detailed analysis of this chapter of the Genoese history can be found in Gorla 1962; some information can also be found in Pavoni 2008, pp. 50-51 (and note 20).

¹²⁷ The gate (also known as the 'Porta di Santa Fede') is still standing; it was built in the twelfth century, but has since been modified several times (Cervetto 1903).

¹²⁸ Guillelmus Ventura, *Memoriale de gestis civium Astensium*, col. 726; see also Gorla 1962, p. 278, note 89 for the list of the ancient sources on this subject.

The same information can be found in Cocharelli's treatise, just after the description of the attack of the exiles against Opizzino, and his escape to Gavi:

Aurie cum Spinollis, Bozani et Guersi stantes¹²⁹
 Extra ciuitatem, uenerunt cum exercito magno.
 Vir *prefatus* sciens, Oppecinus di Luculo dictus,
 Contra inimicos exiuit ut uigorosus,
 Cum gente sua *que* sequebatur tunc eum.
 Qui, cum fuisset per proditores deceptus,¹³⁰
 In Gaudum castrum cum fuga se recollegit.
 Tunc dominus Petrus quoscumque antecedebat
 Ianuam accedens; stans seccus¹³¹ turim de Uachis,
 Ore aperto dixit: — Reddatis uos, turriani,
 Oppeci[n]us fugit et salui eritis mecum!
 Viseram propriam manibus leuando in altum,
 Inpedimento graui, quarello fuit percussus.
 [...]
 Sed Deo placuit quod vixit tempore paruo.
 (MS Add. 28841, f. 6rb-6va)

According to Axel Gorja,¹³² the fact is not recorded elsewhere except

¹²⁹ The text refers to some of the exiled families. The Doria and the Spinola are well known, but no other source mentions for this episode the family names *Bozani* and *Guersi*. *Guersi* is possibly to be referred to the 'Guerci' (recorded in *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as *Guercius*, *Guersius*, *Guersus*, *Guercius*, *Guercio*), a well-known Guelph Genoese family mentioned several times also in the *Annali Genovesi* (ed. Imperiale), vol. 4, pp. LXXII-LXXV and 65-72). The name *Bozanus* is quoted in a document dated 2 October 1317, drawn up between Corrado Doria and the commune of Genoa (*I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, 1/8, n. 1256), but seems less widespread.

¹³⁰ Opizzino's betrayal is mentioned also in the *Continuatio* of Jacopo of Varazze's *Chronicle*: «Illi vero de Auria cum pluribus nobiles tam spinullis quam aliis etiam popularibus quibus non placebat dominium domini opicini exiverunt de Janua et in sasello preparauerunt exercitum et vertebant versus Januam. MCCCVIII die X iunii dictus dominus opizinus exiens de Janua obviam eis inuenit se inter aliquos proditores et ideo fuge se se misit et reduxit se in Gaviu. Dicti de Auria cum aliquibus de spinullis grimaldis et aliis multos populares destruentes Januam intraverunt et ordibaverunt statum gubernatorum quod statum comune appellauerunt» (*Continuazione della Cronaca di Jacopo da Varagine*, ed. Promis, p. 501). The detail is not recorded in other ancient sources on this episode, such as *Georgii et Iohannis Stellae Annales Genuenses* (ed. Petti Balbi), p. 75 or Giovanni Villani, *Nuova Cronica* (ed. Sansone - Curà), IX, cxiv, p. 465.

¹³¹ For *seccus*, prep. 'by, beside, near'.

¹³² Gorja 1962, p. 279, and note 91.

from Ventura's chronicle. Therefore, in this case, our treatise happens to be an important source on this particular event and confirms what was found in the reliable *Memoriale de gestis civium Astensium*.

Cocharelli's text relates other information about Pietro Doria, stating that he was appointed Admiral of Sicily after the battle of Ponza and his father's release, and describes a naval battle of his fleet against the Saracens. We know little about Pietro Doria, and, as far as I know, these last details are not mentioned in the essays devoted to this topic. What we learn from the deeds of the Aragonese court is that in 1306, Pietro appears as a witness in a document drawn up in Messina between Frederick III and Ferdinand of Majorca,¹³³ and that, in the same year, while in Sicily, he was planning to attack Genoa. Therefore, in the end, the project was not brought to a successful conclusion.¹³⁴ Nothing is said in the collections of deeds or in chronicles about his role as an admiral of the Sicilian fleet. Nevertheless, it is certain that he was connected, as was his father, to the Aragonese court of Frederick III. A further analysis based on the comparison between the details about Pietro Doria contained in the treatise and extant documentary evidence might shed more light on this hitherto unknown member of the Doria family and on some points of the medieval history of Genoa and Sicily.

After the passage relating Pietro's death and his father's grief, the verses turn back to Corrado by narrating a few more anecdotes about him, followed by praises and moral teachings, and ending with a final encomium to the Admiral stressing his wisdom and justice in the government of the commune.

The last part of the extant fragment skips back to the prose and focuses chiefly on the virtues that are necessary to a good ruler. Further evidence of this attitude is given by an insertion drawn from the *Secretum secretorum*, the encyclopaedic Pseudo-Aristotelian treatise composed in Arabic in the tenth century¹³⁵ and then translated into Latin and into many West-

¹³³ Ramon Muntaner - Bernat Desclot, *Cronache catalane* (ed. Moisè), p. 1165 («Ego Petrus Aurie, filius magnifici domini Conradi Aurie, regii amirati, testor [...]»).

¹³⁴ Goria 1962, p. 259, note 15, mentions a letter written from Barcelona by Berenguer de Entença to the Aragonese king in which Berenguer reports that Pietro is preparing the attack: «Encara signific, senyor, a la vostra senyoria que misser Peri d'Oria, fill de misser Corral, almiral de Sicília, ab misser Pelegri de Paci avien armades a Massina .vi. galeas per venir e entrar en Genoba [...]» (the letter is edited in *Diplomatari de l'Orient Català*, ed. Rubió i Lluch, p. 32, n. XXVII).

¹³⁵ On the origins of the Arabic tenth-century version that served as a model for Latin translations see Grignaschi 1976 and 1982.

ern vernaculars.¹³⁶ This work, conceived as a collection of letters written by Aristotle for the guidance of his pupil Alexander the Great, was one of the most important didactic treatises of the late Middle Ages and had great influence on other texts, mainly those belonging to the mirror-for-princes genre.

The quote is taken from the chapter entitled *De regis sapientia*:

MS Add. 28841, f. 4vb

Pseudo-Aristotelis
Secretum secretorum

Decet regiam maiestatem obtemperare se in legibus institutis¹³⁷ et non in ficta apparenzia sed in facti euidencia, ut omnes congnoſcant ipſum timere dominum, et ſic ad plenum dici poteſt de predicto domino [...]. Audiui a maioribus meis quod eſt dominus ſapiens et iuſtus et timens dominum uerbo et opere ſemper ſubiciens ſe et regnum ſuum diuine legi, ex quo dig¹³⁸

Dico iterum illud, quod ſapientes philoſophi et diuinitus loquentes dixerunt, quod uidelicet in primis **deceat regiam maiestatem obtemperare se legibus constitutis non in ficta apparenzia sed in facti euidencia, ut cognoscant omnes ipsum timere dominum** excelsum et eſſe ſubiectum ſumme potentie. Tunc enim ſolent homines reuereri et timere regem, quando uident ipſum timere et reuereri dominum.¹³⁹

As ſtated by Bejczy, in his important ſurvey *The Cardinal Virtues in the Middle Ages*: «the political relevance of the cardinal virtues receives even ſtronger emphasis in a number of late medieval treatiſes which employ the

¹³⁶ There are two main medieval Latin translations of the *Secretum*, deriving from two different Arabic verſions (both coming from the ſame archetype): the firſt, called the ‘ſhort verſion’, was made by Johannes Hiſpalenſis in the mid-twelfth century (published by Suchier in 1883, and by Brinkmann in 1914); the ſecond one, the ‘long verſion’, was made by Philippus Tripolitanus, poſſibly in the firſt half of the thirteenth century (two modern editions: *Secretum secretorum*, ed. Steele, 1920, with the Latin verſion reuiſed by Roger Bacon in 1269; and Hiltgart von Hürnheim, *Mittelhochdeuſche Proſaüberſetzung des «Secretum secretorum»*, ed. Möller, 1963, with the Latin text accompanying its 1282’s Old High German translation by Hiltgart von Hürnheim). The different Latin verſions are transmitted by more than 600 MSS (ſee Förſter 1889, pp. 3-18 and 71-75, and Wurms, pp. 22-126). On the European reception of the *Secretum secretorum* ſee Williams 2003 and 2004. For the translation of the treatiſe in the different Romance languages ſee the detailed eſſay Zamuner 2005.

¹³⁷ This part of the folio is heavily rubbed, ſo the tranſcription of the word *institutis* is doubtful.

¹³⁸ This is the laſt word of f. 4v, the text of the fragment ends here.

¹³⁹ Hiltgart von Hürnheim, *Mittelhochdeuſche Proſaüberſetzung des «Secretum secretorum»* (ed. Möller), p. 32.

scheme in the context of secular government», and «the scheme of the cardinal virtues not only served as a structuring principle for political tracts and collections of exempla, but also, as in the twelfth century, for exegetical writings». ¹⁴⁰

The anonymous author of the Cocharelli exploits here a very popular scheme and expands his grandfather's historical narrative by adding excerpts from not only the Bible. He also borrows from influential works, such as the *Alexandreis* and the *Secretum secretorum*, in order to teach correct behaviour and moral standards to the young addressee for whom the whole work is conceived. It is fair to consider that the treatise on the virtues was intended not only to teach to 'Johanninus' general moral and religious precepts, but also to guide him along his life as a citizen of the Genoese commune. The vivid examples of sin given in the treatise on the vices, describing the bad behaviour of the Genoeses as well as that of many kings and rulers, would have worked together with the corresponding remedial virtues of this section.

Finally, while it is clear that the whole fragment under analysis is part of the treatise on the virtues, it is difficult to determine which section it belonged exactly and whether it is meant to refer to a specific virtue. As a matter of fact, the verses mention some of the cardinal virtues (i.e. Justice, Prudence) alongside general moral virtues (*sapientia, bonitas*). Accordingly, it is unfortunately impossible for the moment to determine whether the 'moral epic' in verses is to be considered as an *exemplum* connected to the description of a specific cardinal virtue (or of one of its subspecies), or if it was conceived as a section of the conclusion (or of the prologue) of the treatise on the virtues, summarizing key concepts on the topic.

4.3 *The order of ff. 2-7 of MS Add. 28841*

As shown above ff. 2-7 are today incorrectly bound. Nevertheless, they preserve a continuous section of text belonging to the same quire. In this case too, I will start by providing a scheme with the right order, as well as a description of the contents and of the illustrations of each folio:¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ Bejczy 2011, p. 138 and 141.

¹⁴¹ For a general overview on ff. 2-7 of MS Add. 28841 see Fabbri 2011, pp. 299-303.

	MS Add. 28841	Text	Illustrations
1	3r	(The beginning is missing) Enumeration of the virtues of God and of Christ, followed by a collection of moral precepts and sentences.	Border: on the top a city closed by walls and cannibals eating a corpse; different types of mammals depicted in the rest of the page (lion, bear, camel, giraffe, ox, boar, elephant, leopard, etc.), different types of reptiles in the line-ends. Decorated by grass, sprays of foliage, and spikes throughout.
2	3v	Collection of moral precepts and sentences.	Border: sea horses, different types of shells, turtles; snails in the line-ends. Decorated throughout by sprays of foliage with multi-coloured flowers (pink, yellow, red and black; <i>Fig. 10</i>).
3	5r	Collection of moral precepts and sentences.	Border: molluscs, crabs, shells, a shrimp, a prawn and two big shells (<i>Charonia tritonis</i>) at the bottom of the page, everything on a blue ground; a lobster in the line-ends (<i>Fig. 10</i>). ¹⁴²
4	5v	5va, ll. 1-30: Collection of moral precepts and sentences. 5va, l. 31-5vb: Beginning of the historical account: praise of Corrado Doria, and description of how he was captured by king Charles II of Anjou's fleet during the naval battle of Ponza.	Border: two different views of a cicada (<i>Cicada orni</i>), two grasshoppers at the bottom of the page (<i>Acrida bicolor mediterranea</i>) surrounded by red flowers. Decorated throughout by watermelon plants with their yellow flowers and green leaves extending between the lines (<i>Fig. 8</i>). ¹⁴³
5	2r	Charles II of Anjou tries to convince Corrado Doria to	Border: two stag beetles at the bottom of the page, a cricket, and

¹⁴² Crombie 1952, p. 185.

¹⁴³ Chelazzi Dini - Ciardi Dupré [1972], p. 374, pl. 1; Fabbri 1999, p. 309 and fig. 1; Bitsch 2014, pp. 61-62, and fig. 6.

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| | | betray his king, Frederick III of Aragon; Corrado refuses. Charles is tempted to sentence Corrado to death, but decides to listen to the advice of one of his men and to spare Corrado's life if he swears not to attack him again. | Border: two stag beetles at the bottom of the page, a cricket, and other kinds of insects. Decorated throughout by plants of green pumpkins, extending their leaves in the line-ends and between the lines of the text. |
| 6 | 2v | Direct speech: Corrado Doria refuses to swear.
List of moral precepts exalting poverty. | Border: two large green caterpillars (one in the top and one in the bottom of the page), snails, shells, and insects. Decorated by sprays of foliage with light blue flowers, or with red berries, extending through the line-ends. |
| 7 | 7r | Charles II of Anjou insists in asking for Corrado's loyalty and wants him and his men to swear they will never attack him again. Corrado refuses, causing Charles of Anjou to get angry. Charles, nevertheless, in the end, suggests that Corrado swear only for himself. Before answering, Corrado asks six days' time to think about it and asks for the advice of his king, Frederick III of Aragon.
Corrado is released, and his son, Pietro Doria, is designated as the new admiral of the Sicilian fleet.
Praise of Pietro Doria and description of a naval battle held by the Sicilian fleet against the saracens. | Border: a large grasshopper at the bottom of the page (<i>Saga pedo</i>) and two different views (from the side and from above) of the same insect (possibly a <i>Trichodes apiarius</i>). Decorated by sprays of foliage with red or with black berries, extending throughout the columns. ¹⁴⁴ |

¹⁴⁴ Chelazzi Dini - Ciardi Dupré [1972], p. 374, and pl. II.

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| 8 | 7v | <p>Naval battle led by Pietro Doria: direct speech of the admiral encouraging his men before the clash.</p> | <p>Border: a grasshopper (<i>Ephippiger</i>) and a spider at the bottom of the page. Ladybird larvae; spiders with moths; a lizard; a centipede; a scorpion. Decorated by sprays of foliage with red berries, extending in the line-ends.¹⁴⁵</p> |
| 9 | 6r | <p>After the battle, Pietro Doria returns to Sicily, where he is accused of having betrayed the king.
Speech by Pietro Doria to the king of Sicily: he defends himself by refuting the false accusation and is praised by everyone.</p> | <p>Border: a large spider viewed from above (<i>Araneus diadematus?</i>), a spider viewed from the side and a mantis at the bottom of the page. Different types of spiders, a fly trapped in a web, horseflies, a centipede. Different types of small insects in the line-ends. Decorated by sprays of foliage with pink flowers, or with purple flowers (possibly <i>Lathyratus odoratus</i>) extending in the line-ends.¹⁴⁶</p> |
| 10 | 6v | <p>Account of the death of Pietro Doria in Genoa, during the attack led to recover the city from Opizzino Spinola of Lucoli. Mourning of Corrado Doria for the murder of his son.</p> | <p>Border: two hares and two moths (an <i>Acherontia atropos</i>, and a <i>Zygaena</i>), surrounded by different types of flowers (red, blue, and light purple) at the bottom of the page. A caterpillar, a green grasshopper, a bedbug (<i>Carcoporis Mediterraneus</i>). Decorated by vines with green grapes, extending throughout the columns (<i>Fig. 11</i>).¹⁴⁷</p> |
| 11 | 4r | <p>Account of more Corrado Doria's noble exploits and new praise of him.
Moral precepts and invective against the corruption of Ge-</p> | <p>Border: at the bottom of the page a grasshopper (gen. <i>Pholidoptera?</i>), a peacock moth (<i>Saturnia pyri</i>), and an unidentified butterfly. A caterpillar (possibly a <i>Lasio-</i></p> |

¹⁴⁵ Crombie 1952, p. 186.

¹⁴⁶ Chelazzi Dini - Ciardi Dupré [1972], p. 374, and pl. III.

¹⁴⁷ Bitsch 2014, p. 61.

- noese citizens. *campa quecus*), a bumble bee (*Bombus ruderatus?*), a dragon-fly, a Psychid moth (?), a wasp (gen. *Crabro*), an Ichneumonid wasp (gen. *Gravenhorstia*), a carpet beetle (*Attagenus pelli*); in the line-ends an Ichneumonid wasp and a parasite (*Filodottera Cinerea*). Decorated by vines with red grapes extending throughout the columns (*Fig. 11*).¹⁴⁸
- 12 4v Praise of Corrado Doria. Arrival of the emperor Henry VII of Luxembourg in Genoa. Corrado addresses the emperor and tells him to beware of the Genoese magnates. Praise of Corrado and *laudatio temporis acti*. End of the section in verses and return to the prose: moral precepts for good government. Border: at the bottom of the page a flying rhinoceros beetle (*Oryctes nasicornis*), and three moths (two of which are *Utetheisa Pulchella*), surrounded by yellow flowers; in the upper margin a side view of two rhinoceros beetles (male and female), standing one in front of the other; unidentified insects and a *Noctonecta maculata* in the other margins; a ladybug (?), and a black and yellow shield bug (*Erydema ventralis?*) in the line-ends. Decorated by plants with red or blue flowers, extending between the columns and in the line-ends (*Fig. 9*).¹⁴⁹

Thanks to the summary given above, it is possible to add a note to the iconography of the fragment. In fact, in many cases, the right order restores some correspondences between the illustrations of two pages facing each other: sometimes they could be read as small diptychs, because they are joined by the similarity of the subjects depicted on them – for instance, f. 3v and f. 5r are dominated by a marine inspiration, with shells, molluscs,

¹⁴⁸ Crombie 1952, p. 185; Fabbri 1999, p. 309, note 19.

¹⁴⁹ Hutchinson 1974, pp. 160-161, and fig. 1; Bitsch 2014, pp. 61-62.

crustaceans and sea creatures (*Fig. 10*); f. 7v and f. 6r are connected by the representation of spiders, while f. 6v and f. 4v must be associated with the decorations of their background of red or white vines with grapes (*Fig. 11*). Accordingly, it may be useful in the future to re-examine the illustrations of this section, in order to try to find out more specific matches in the iconographical programme conceived by the Master of the Cocharelli in ff. 2-7 of MS Add. 28841.



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Fig. 10. London, British Library, MS Add. 28841, from the left: f. 3v and f. 5r shown in the right order, as they should have appeared in the complete original MS. They share the same ‘marine’ motifs with shells and sea creatures.



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Fig. 11. London, British Library, MS Add. 28841, from the left: f. 6v and f. 4r shown in the right order, as they should have appeared in the complete original MS. They share a similar decoration of the background, with vines white (6v) and red (4r).

5. Preliminary Conclusions

The Cocharelli treatise was probably composed in the first decades of the Trecento, a period that is often considered the starting point of the cultural and political crisis that will affect Genoa, especially from the mid of the fourteenth century. The causes are civil wars and external conflicts, the end of the diarchy and the settlement of a doge for the government of the city, foreign rulers, and the bubonic plague.¹⁵⁰ According to some scholars this decline also coincides with the disappearance of the remark-

¹⁵⁰ See Epstein 1996, pp. 188-227, and Kedar 1976.

able intellectual and literary life that characterized the Duecento.¹⁵¹ It is no longer the century of the Genoese troubadours, of Jacopo da Varazze's *Legenda aurea*, of Jacopo Doria's *Annals*, of the *Liber sancti passagii* by Galvano of Levanto, of Giovanni Balbi's *Catholicon*, of the Latin and vernacular poems by the Anonimo Genovese, and of the rich intellectual life that promoted the development of science, medicine, cartography, as well as the valuable activity of the *scriptoria*.¹⁵² The works produced in Genoa during the fourteenth century are mainly vernacular translations of religious, moral and didactical texts, which, although noteworthy for their language and as testament of a cultural change, can hardly be compared to those of the previous age.¹⁵³

The composition of the Cocharelli treatise must be located in this period of transition, that is a difficult time characterised by civil strifes. It is clear that our writer is aware of the inheritance coming from the previous century. The widespread and deep-rooted medieval attitude towards moral literature,¹⁵⁴ which fits so well with the rising merchant class,¹⁵⁵ is interwoven with the legacy of the civic chroniclers writing annalistic history (Caffaro, Doria, etc.), the learned tradition established in Genoa by the schools of the mendicant orders (Dominicans and Franciscans),¹⁵⁶ and the historical epic in verses, as for instance, the elegant Latin hexameters written by the notary Ursone of Sestri to celebrate the admiral Lamba Doria and his victory against the fleet of the emperor Frederick II (1241).¹⁵⁷ The choice of writing in Latin and not in vernacular seems to go

¹⁵¹ Toso 1995, p. 86; Petti Balbi 1984, pp. 138-139.

¹⁵² See Petti Balbi 1984. For the circulation and production of books in Genoa in medieval times see Petti Balbi 1978 and 2000; Malfatto 2016. It is worth remembering here the activity of the so-called Pisan-Genoese workshop, settled in Genoa's prisons, where, after the battle of the Meloria, Pisan prisoners were employed as scribes (see at least Benedetti 1990; Cigni 1993, 2006, 2010 and 2013; Fabbri 2012 and 2016; Andreose 2015; Zinelli 2015; Cambi 2016). It was here that, in 1298, Marco Polo and Rustichello of Pisa conceived and wrote the *Devisement dou monde*, the celebrated *Book of the Marvels of the World* (see *Il manoscritto della Bibliothèque nationale de France fr. 1116*, ed. Eusebi). On the Genoese troubadours and their cultural context see Bampa 2015.

¹⁵³ Marini 1997 offers an analysis of thirteenth-century Genoese vernacular literature.

¹⁵⁴ A useful general overview on medieval didactical and moral literature can be found in Segre 1968.

¹⁵⁵ Marini 1997, pp. 229-241.

¹⁵⁶ On the Genoese medieval education system see Petti Balbi 1979.

¹⁵⁷ Ursone's poem is edited in the *Historia Patriae Monumenta* (Urso Notarius, *Ursonis notarii De victoria quam genuenses ex Friderico II retulerunt anno christiano M.CC.XLII Carmen*, ed. Vallaurius; Id., *Vittoria de' genovesi sopra l'Imperatore Federico II*, ed. Graziani); on Genoa's medieval Latin literature see Giusti 1941 (in partic. pp. 333-335 for Ursone's work).

against the general trend of the period, which tended to translate or write didactical and moral prose in Italian. This attitude might be regarded as a manifestation of the desire to share the language used in what was still considered the highest and most valued literary tradition.

The peculiarity of Cocharelli's text resides in the fact that what seems to be just another treatise on the virtues and the vices also happens to be not only what the title declares, but also a sort of family narrative offering the young 'Johanninus' several insights into the main episodes of recent Genoese and of Mediterranean history. In the extant copy of the treatise, text and images often work together as a small atlas destined to spark the imagination of the pupil and provide him the basic moral, civil and intellectual knowledge necessary for a member of a wealthy family of the merchant class. In addition to this, the sections containing illustrations that are not directly connected to the text (animals and insects), can be understood not just as decoration, but as a handbook on the natural world.

However, with regard to the author itself, the portrait that can be traced in light of this preliminary survey is that he received a good education (exceeding the one usually foreseen for merchants) and that he owned his own library or, more likely, had access to a good school library, therefore allowing him to consult a relevant number of moral authors and works: Martin of Braga, Boethius,¹⁵⁸ Paul of Hungary, Gautier de Châtillon, Jacopo da Benevento, Guido Faba, the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum secretorum*, and the hymnodic tradition.¹⁵⁹ One must also assume that some of the sentences and the quotes included in the text of this treatise could have been drawn from the moral florilegia and moral concordances with the Bible that were commonplace in the Middle Ages.

¹⁵⁸ Boethius is quoted in MS Add. 27695, f. 14vb (ch. VI on Gluttony): «Quia, teste Boecio, natura cuiuslibet hominis de modicis est contenta» (see Boethius, *Consolatio philosophiae*, ed. Bieler, II, pr. 5: «Paucis enim minimisque natura contenta est»); this was a very popular sentence in medieval florilegia; something very similar can be found also in St Thomas's passages about fast, in his commentary to Peter Lombard's *Sententiae*: «quia modicis natura contenta est», Thomas Aquinas, *In quattuor libros sententiarum* (ed. Busa), IV, ds 15, qu3, ar1b, ra3 (p. 511).

¹⁵⁹ The ending lines of ch. V (Greed; MS Add. 27695, f. 9rb-9v), give the complete text of the hymn *De malitia temporum*, with some interesting variations to let it fit to the context: «Totus mundus est submersus | Et in mari quasi mersus | in profundo uicis [for uicii]; | Et uirtutes religantur | Super omnes honorantur | Thyranantes inpii. | Repelluntur ut raptores | Veritatis amatores, | qui a malis abstinent. | Adulantes et loquentes, | Detractores et mendaces | Principatum obtinent. | Honorantur maculati, | Inerentes falsitati, | et presumunt in curiis, | Maior locus illis datur, | Et sic urbs nostra desolatur | illorum consiliis» (to be compared to *Pia Dictamina. Reimgebete und Leselieder des Mittelalters*, ed. Dreves, n. 318, p. 361).

With regard to the historical tales, the situation seems slightly different. In this case it is impossible to retrieve one or more sources that match perfectly the narrative, as is instead the case for the moral section. It is possible that the sources were re-elaborated to the point that they became no longer recognisable, but, in my opinion, a better explanation could be that the author tells the truth: the examples inserted in the treatise derive from Pellegrino's (first or second-hand) memories.¹⁶⁰ In addition, if we consider historical references, we can glimpse a family gravitating towards the Ghibelline party, the Doria and the Aragoneses.¹⁶¹

What I have tried to trace here is simply a general overview and to outline several questions waiting to be answered. In light of the new evidences that I hope to have at least partly uncovered, this work deserves further investigation: especially vis-a-vis the genealogy of the Cocharelli family (in order to see whether it is possible to identify the author and to set out the contours of his cultural horizons), the language, the prosody, the relation between the miniatures and the treatise, and the treatment of the historical data.¹⁶² All these questions could help us prepare a complete edition of this text that has lied neglected for centuries, in someway hidden behind the magnificence of its illustrations.

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¹⁶⁰ Diaries and Books of Memories written in vulgar were not unusual in the fourteenth century, see Cardini 1978, pp. 510-512.

¹⁶¹ I don't know if there is a direct link with the same branch of the Cocharelli family to which the treatise's author belonged, but a 'Mahiot de Cocarell' appears, for example, in the documents of the Aragonese court of the late fourteenth century, see *Diplomatari de l'Orient Català* (ed. Rubió i Lluch), pp. 449, 575, 613, 626.

¹⁶² The 2018's monographic section of «Medioevi» will be edited by Francesca Fabbri and by myself, and will host a collection of essays by different scholars devoted to the study of Cocharelli's text and miniatures.

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