Abstract

Friends and enemies of Poggio: studies in Quattrocento humanist literature

D.Phil. thesis submitted by M.C. Davies, Trinity College, Oxford

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This thesis assembles articles on Italian humanists (chiefly Tuscan and Roman) of the fifteenth century. Their origin lay in research into the letters of Poggio (1380-1459) and the context in which they were written. Chapter 1, designed as an introduction to those that follow, examines the nature of Poggio's *epistolario* and suggests ways of presenting it, with reference to a new edition. An appendix describes some unknown manuscripts of the letters. The first part of Chapter 2 publishes an early letter (1416) of Poggio, hitherto assigned to another humanist; the second prints and reconsiders the unpublished remnant of his history of Europe, which death cut short in 1459.

Chapter 3 discusses the invectives aroused by Poggio's closest friend Niccoli, and tries to assess the reality behind the persona of this enigmatic scholar. Emphasis is laid upon the attacks of another of Poggio's friends, Leonardo Bruni, and the defences mounted by Poggio himself. Chapter 4 prints a new letter of Bruni which refers to his feud with Niccoli, and thereafter disinters the figure of the bearer of the letter, the grammarian Mattia Lupi. The next chapter deals with another acquaintance of Bruni, Niccoli and Poggio, the scribe Giovanni Aretino, in an examination of two of Bruni's letters. Evidence of the relations of humanists with Poggio's colleague Giacomo Languschi is brought together in a second section of the chapter, which is completed by three appendices: a letter of Giovanni Aretino, the 'biography' of a manuscript written by him, and a new list of all manuscripts attributable to him.

The last chapter does not directly concern Poggio, but publishes letters between two of his most bitter enemies, Niccolò Perotti and Lorenzo Valla. They date from the period of the protracted polemics exchanged between them and him (1451-54). An effort is made to characterise the scribe of these letters, and to place him in the context of humanist education. New information on Valla and Perotti is also integrated into their biographies.

Friends and Enemies of Poggio:

Studies in Quattrocentro Humanist Literature

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by

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Preface

By permission of the Board of the Faculty of Literae Humaniores, the thesis here presented consists largely of work already published. Chapter 2 appeared in *Rinascimento*, ser. 2, 22 (1982) 153-182, Ch. 3 in *Maistor. Classical, Byzantine and Renaissance Studies for Robert Browning*, Canberra 1984, 269-308, Ch. 4 in *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 33 (1984) 1-21, Ch. 6 in *Rinascimento*, ser. 2, 24 (1984) 125-147. This last chapter incorporates some new material and second thoughts for a reworked Italian version, which is due to be published in *Atti del convegno internazionale su "Lorenzo Valla e l'umanesimo italiano"*, Padua 1986, 94-106. Appendix 2 to Ch. 5 was published under the title 'A note on the history of MS. D'Orville 78' in *Bodleian Library Record* XI.4 (1984) 253-258; and the remainder of Ch. 5 has been submitted for publication to *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et Renaissance*. Chapter 1 is likely to remain unpublished, though some of its content may appear in the commentary on Poggio's letters which I am engaged to produce for the Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento (Florence). Some illustrations of manuscripts discussed in the thesis are appended, preceded by a bibliography with details of works cited in abbreviated form.

All of these pieces have undergone alteration, and I believe improvement, in the process of assuming the form of a thesis. Many of the changes are stylistic, but additions of substance have been made especially to Chapters 3, 4 and 6 in the light of research continued since their publication and of recent bibliography. It is hoped that the result, despite its disparate origins, shows a certain continuity of themes, personnel and treatment, and so forms a reasonably unified dissertation.

I am grateful to the governing bodies of my two colleges, Trinity, Oxford and King's, Cambridge, and to the British Academy and the British School at Rome, for

making grants in aid of research and travel. Individual friends and scholars were thanked for generous assistance in the original articles, and thanks are here renewed to Bruce Barker-Benfield, Anthony Grafton, Lucia Gualdo Rosa, Francesco Lo Monaco, Mariangela Regoliosi, and Silvia Rizzo. I have had expert guidance from my three supervisors in the areas respectively of Latin, Italian history and palaeography: Prof. M.D. Reeve (late of Exeter College, now of Pembroke College, Cambridge), Dr G.A. Holmes (St Catherine's College) and Dr A.C. de la Mare (Bodleian Library). Their advice, criticism and example have helped me to pursue a field of study little cultivated in this 'extremo mundi angulo' (Bruni, *ep.* V.4; see p.74 below). That field, and in particular Poggio's plot within it, were first opened up to me in undergraduate days by Carlotta Dionisotti, who has remained a constant source of encouragement and acute judgement. I have had great profit over the years from the resources of the Warburg Institute library and from the broad learning of one of its guardians, Jill Kraye. If this work were to bear a dedication, it would be dedicated to her and to my patient parents: **uxori optimae, parentibus optimis**.

King's College, Cambridge

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Chapter 1

Introduction: Poggio and his epistolario

The following chapters were conceived independently of one another, for publication at different times and in different places, but they all originated as by-products or offshoots of research into the Florentine humanist Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459), research which continues towards a commentary on his Latin letters. Behind them lies a common concern for Italian humanist epistolography of the fifteenth century and a belief that it is through this type of evidence, lying in the midground between literature and raw archival documents, that we can best grasp the texture of the social and cultural world of humanism. In differing ways these pieces try to illuminate that world by analysis of texts and reconstruction of contexts.

The point of departure in what follows is generally the explication of a particular text (some of them published for the first time) under the controlling guidance of an abundant body of humanist letters. For the period with which we are concerned, the first sixty years of the Quattrocento, several thousand such letters survive, giving unrivalled access to a group of men who saw themselves as rediscovering, and in some immediate sense as inheriting, the culture of antiquity: a rediscovery and an inheritance which inevitably affected their personal relations as well as their literary products. The letters of humanists are typically the vehicle of those relations in literary form and their correspondence accordingly cannot represent unmediated personal experience, though they offer our best chance of recapturing that experience. Interpretation therefore must be cautious. Tone and impact must be judged with an eye on the conventions of the age

and of the individual writer, and on the audience at which he aims. None of the authors here considered was untouched by a rhetorical training, and the pressure of rhetoric exerted itself in a wide variety of treatments, from the inert formulations of a humanist scribe (Ch.5, Appendix 1) to the easy mastery of assured scholars (Ch.6, *ep.* V). Informed interrogation of the material is intended to disinter episodes in the social history of an educational élite, to uncover lines of amity and enmity, to see how these friends and enemies functioned *as* humanists in the wider world and to bring into perspective the achievement of greater luminaries by examination of marginal figures. Figures on the margins, perhaps, but ones who yet formed part of that small society at whose heart lay the *studia humanitatis*: the recovery, study and imitation of classical antiquity, for its own sake and for the lessons that could be drawn from it.

The cast of characters who pass through these pages is not large, for the world of early humanism, at first distinctively Florentine, was itself compact; too compact indeed to contain some strong personalities without the strains documented below. At the centre of Florentine literary life in the opening decades of the fifteenth century was Poggio's closest friend, Niccolò Niccoli (1364-1437), and the study of the invectives he drew down upon himself forms the most substantial chapter of these researches (Ch.3). The deterioration of his relations with Leonardo Bruni, whose translations and treatises laid secure foundations for the revival of ethical and political philosophy in the Renaissance, is presented in detail from contemporary letters, chiefly Poggio's and those of Bruni himself. A letter of Bruni which reflects that crisis is then published (Ch.4) with an account of its scribe, the grammar teacher Mattia Lupi, and his unsuspected contacts with Niccoli and Bruni. Another scribe, this time a professional, Giovanni Aretino, emerges from consideration of some further letters of Bruni (Ch.5). Giovanni's intimate contact with the circle of Niccoli, Bruni and Poggio - of whose reformed humanistic script he was the first professional exponent - is supported by two sorts of evidence, the scanty documents so far known and the clearer memorial of his surviving manuscripts.

Poggio wrote that he had two *patriae*, his native Tuscany under the dominion of Florence, and the court of Rome (not always *at* Rome) in which he spent most of his life, and these papers now spread along that important axis. The skills of which humanists made themselves master - a new effort towards purity in Latin composition, a deeper knowledge of the ancient authorities, an elegant hand - could be exercised at one level in schoolmastering and the copying of manuscripts, or, more ambitiously, in the service of courts, chanceries and universities. As had Bruni before him, Poggio found prestige and security as a papal secretary; the second part of Ch.5 is taken up with tracing the connexions between Giovanni Aretino, Leonardo Bruni, and Poggio's obscure colleague in the secretariate Giacomo Languschi, accompanied by a survey of his literary accomplishments.

A writer of greater renown whose fame was never eclipsed is illustrated by new letters in Ch.6: the Roman Lorenzo Valla, the bane of Poggio's declining years. Antipathy between them dated back at least to the late 1420s when (Valla claimed) he was prevented from entering the college of papal secretaries by Poggio's machinations, though he was eventually to attain that position after Poggio's return to Florence in 1453. Analysis of a manuscript miscellany at Cambridge, and a counterpart at Oxford, sheds light on two distinguished scholars of the rising generation, the friends Valla and Niccolò Perotti, in the period of their intense antagonism towards the aged Poggio, which led to the exchange of invectives surpassing in violence any directed at Niccoli.

It was to some extent this poisonous atmosphere of Rome in the early 1450s which prompted Poggio's return to Florence as Chancellor of the republic, a post in which he again had Bruni as a predecessor. A fruitful retirement soon followed the abandonment of duties for which he had little inclination, to be occupied by historical researches and publications, the last of which is printed and re-assessed in the second part of Ch.2. Alongside it I publish a letter composed early in his career (c.1416) when his prospects of settled employment looked fragile. Pitched closer to Giovanni

Aretino's hyperbolic advertisement of his addressee than to Valla's measured intimacy with Perotti, it shows that unacceptable face of humanism - 'rhetorical and not wholly sincere' - which some take to be typical of the movement. By way of introduction to these contributions to cultural history, and to show by example the more extensive range and value of humanist letters, I offer some general consideration of Poggio's epistolario as the central text around which these excursions are gathered, and some particular observations on ways of presenting it to the modern world.

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'Furono et sono molto acette le sue pistole, per la facilità dello iscrivere, che le faceva sanza ignuna fatica.' So we are informed by Vespasiano da Bisticci in his *Vita di meser Poggio fiorentino*, written towards the end of the fifteenth century, and Vespasiano as a producer and seller of books was in a position to know.[1] Within a more restricted circle, Poggio's letters are still popular and they have shared in the recent revival of interest in humanist epistolography generally.[2] After false starts extending over most of this century, the Latin letters are at last beginning to appear in a critical edition, from the hand of Helene Harth,[3] and it is in the light of this new edition that the interest of Poggio's epistolario will be considered. I preface this consideration with a brief and uncontroversial sketch of his career.[4]

He was born in 1380 at Terranuova in the Arno valley, now called Terranuova Bracciolini in his honour: it is too late now to protest that he was never known by this

[1] *Le Vite*, ed. A. Greco, I, Florence 1970, 539-552 at 545.

[2] For which see L. Gualdo Rosa, 'La pubblicazione degli epistolari umanistici: bilancio e prospettive', *Bull. dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo*, 89 (1980-81) 369-392.

[3] Poggio Bracciolini, *Lettere*. I, *Lettere a Niccolò Niccoli*, II, *Epistolarum familiarium libri*, a cura di H. Harth, Florence 1984. Two more volumes are due to appear to complete the edition.

[4] For Poggio's biography the best guide is Ernst Walser's old but reliable *Poggius Florentinus. Leben und Werke*, Leipzig 1914. The sexcentenary of his birth has provoked three recent works: an exhibition catalogue by R. Fubini and S. Caroti, *Poggio Bracciolini nel VI centenario della nascita*, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence 1980; P. Castelli, *Poggio Bracciolini, un toscano del '400*, Terranuova Bracciolini 1980; and the collection of papers given under the auspices of the Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, *Poggio Bracciolini 1380-1980*, Florence 1982.

surname in his lifetime, and that he seems to have filched it in his 60s from an aristocratic Pistoian family. Poggio son of Guccio gravitated to Florence, some 30 miles away, around the turn of the century and qualified as a notary there in 1402. In his youth, we are told by Vespasiano, he supported himself by copying manuscripts in 'lettera antica', and it is one of Poggio's major claims to our attention that he 'invented', or rather reconstituted from elements of Carolingian script, the new humanistic hand of which our own Roman script is a direct lineal descendant.[5] One of his customers, though in the end a friend as much as a patron - the 'refuge of all scholars', as Poggio called him - was Coluccio Salutati, Chancellor of Florence, and it was with Coluccio's assistance that he found a place, from 1404 onwards, in the court of Rome, initially as a writer of apostolic letters and later as a Secretary. He was, in other words, a papal bureaucrat, involved in the drafting and despatching of pontifical documents, and that was his steady occupation, with brief interludes, for fifty years until he himself became Chancellor of Florence in 1453.

His post at the curia was by no means a sinecure, or even very secure, especially in the early years when there were two or three competing schismatic popes, and frequent alarms and literal excursions when the Romans rebelled against papal government or invasions from external enemies threatened. The Council of Constance from 1414 to 1418 was designed to put an end to the chaos within the church, and after much wrangling it finally elected Martin V as head of the unified Catholic church. Poggio's own master, John XXIII, was deposed by the Council in 1415. It is not clear how Poggio supported himself for the next three years in these precarious circumstances, but he employed his time usefully enough. One of the effects of the Council was the coming together from all over Europe of a great many learned clergy, which created something of an international book market. That was the environment from which Poggio set out on the famous expeditions in search of classical manuscripts,

[5] B.L. Ullman, *The origin and development of humanistic script*, Rome 1960; A.C. de la Mare, *The handwriting of Italian humanists*, I.1, Oxford 1973, 62-84.

bringing to light a good many works that had been more or less unknown to the Middle Ages, Lucretius, some speeches of Cicero, the complete Quintilian and so on.

This activity certainly brought Poggio lasting fame in the long term but it did not help with the immediate problem of finding employment, and when the various papal curias were amalgamated at the end of the Council, he found himself squeezed out of his secretarial position. A probable source of emolument appeared in the shape of the Bishop of Winchester, Henry Beaufort, uncle of Henry V, as he returned to England from the Holy Land. But Poggio's stay in England from 1419 onwards was a gloomy time. He did not take to the climate or the people, and above all the Bishop proved a disappointment, being niggardly and without any great regard for learning. The monasteries of England were largely bare of the classical works he had hoped to turn up and he was obliged to turn to patristic and scholastic authors for reading matter. These dissatisfactions are examined at length in the letters he sent home, passages which prompted Walser to speak of Poggio's religious crisis, but they seem to me the product of simple boredom and depression.

After long negotiations from England he managed to reinsert himself into the Curia and returned to Rome in 1423, soon to become a papal secretary under successively Martin V, Eugenius IV and his friend Tommaso Parentucelli, elected Nicholas V in 1447. The post gave him status, a measure of security and a steady income, but he always regarded it as a form of wage-slavery. Though he could act from time to time on the fringes of public life, as a papal apologist or diplomatic negotiator, his real interests lay elsewhere, as is very plain from the letters: in the rediscovery and assimilation of the classics, primarily Latin classics. Years of study led eventually to Poggio becoming an author in his own right. From the late 1420s he issued a series of dialogues and treatises on questions of practical philosophy, debates, for example, on the vices of avarice and hypocrisy, on the role of Fortune in men's lives, on the definition of nobility. Fifteenth-century questions, then, dressed up in classical

trimmings and a classicising style. In 1436, at the age of 55, he finally turned his back on an irregular youth and married a Florentine girl of 18, one Vaggia Buondelmonti from a rather faded aristocratic family; and promptly wrote a dialogue 'Should an old man take a wife ?'(*An seni uxor ducenda sit*), with a predictable answer.

The years following his marriage were perhaps the most contented of his life. He was now comfortably off, his duties at the Curia were relaxed and he could spend ample time bookishly and uxoriously at his homes in Tuscany with his ever-growing family; his last son (of six legitimate offspring) was born when he was seventy. But the *otium cum dignitate* was not destined to last; the world around him changed for the worse as the friends of his youth died off - Niccoli, Traversari, Bruni, Cencio de' Rustici and Antonio Loschi, all within a single decade - and a new sort of professionalism arose in the *studia humanitatis*, which he viewed with great misgivings. He could not compete in the field of Greek with men like Filelfo, Valla and Tortelli, all of whom became curialists in the 1450s - though he did late in life make some rickety translations, largely the work of George of Trebizond, according to George - and he found their technical philology inhumane.

When the call came from Florence in 1453, with an invitation to follow in the now established tradition of humanist chancellors, it may have been at first a relief to leave the changing Curia. His initial enthusiasm, however, soon cooled as he found that he had become a stranger at home also. The letters of his last years are full of complaints about the continuous party strife of Florence, full too of regret for his true *patria* in Rome. Old age was also overcast by a feud of epic proportions with Lorenzo Valla and Valla's satellites, as well as by the disaster of the fall of Constantinople. A profound melancholy emanates from such works as the invective *In fidei violatores*, a protest against infringements of his tax-immunities, and in the specially grim *De miseria humanae conditionis*, which makes a striking contrast to the treatises on the dignity of man which other humanists of the time were engaged in producing. It seems

that after the first couple of years as Chancellor, Poggio rather neglected his duties in the conduct of the republic's diplomatic correspondence, and after a movement for reform of the office in 1456 he virtually retired from the post, going to live in his villa outside Florence. Here, and for some time before his retirement, he occupied himself with his last major work, the History of Florence, which overlapped with and continued Leonardo Bruni's humanist presentation of the external fortunes of the city. It ends abruptly and appears unfinished, as was a more ambitious European history which survives only in fragments, death catching Poggio at work in October 1459.[6]

Much of the raw material for Poggio's biography lies in the greatest of all his works, the epistolario, some 600 Latin letters of which a large proportion are handed down in the collections which he himself drew up. Alongside those of Leonardo Bruni, they are probably the most popular of all letters in fifteenth-century manuscripts, in collected or selected form. The humanist letter was a very capacious vehicle for self-expression, and in Poggio's case they range from what are in effect little treatises to the equivalent of a modern telephone call, with correspondingly varied degrees of stylistic formality. Towards the more formal end there are items such as descriptions of historic scenes and events, letters given over to the delivery of literary judgement or exhortation to action, letters of consolation, congratulation and recommendation. Such pieces are all more or less highly worked, in some degree designed for the public domain, and it was expected that they would be circulated and admired among friends of the recipient. An example is perhaps Poggio's best known letter, the elaborate description sent to Niccoli in 1416 of the Baths near Zurich. There must have been a good many more letters to Niccoli during the five years of the Council of Constance, but they have not survived, despite Poggio's efforts in the 1430s to recover them for his first collection.

6 For this work see part II of chapter 2. For Poggio's work in and retirement from the Chancellery, new researches are presented by Daniela De Rosa, 'Poggio Bracciolini cancelliere della Repubblica Fiorentina', *Istituto di Storia, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Università di Firenze: Studi e ricerche* II, (1984) 217-250.

The reason for the survival of this letter, I imagine, is that it produced copies in Niccoli's Florentine circle.

Such set pieces are much anthologised and probably contribute to a general impression that they are characteristic of the epistolario. In fact they are rather uncommon; the letters are preponderantly of a private nature, and most interesting where Poggio is least self-conscious, in the unguarded day-to-day exchange of news and views, in the intimate diary or dialogue which represents the real sinews of the *studia humanitatis*. No doubt the line between public and private is sometimes difficult to draw, and 'private' letters on occasion serve public purposes. But such occasions are rare and the assumption of the high style contrasts so strongly with the normal uncongested latinity of the familiar letters that the question of deciding for what audience a particular piece is written is seldom difficult to determine. It is misleading to blur the boundaries between the private, public and official aspects of Poggio's epistolary output, as a recent article seeks to do.[7] This is not to suggest that Poggio had no political views, or that he refrained from ventilating them in letters of all sorts. But the views propounded in letters of a decidedly private character, unclouded by rhetoric, are inevitably more revealing and more valuable as historical documents. The question of how much the letters were reworked for publication will be discussed below.

How exactly have the letters been handed down to us, and what should be done with the result ? Poggio made three separate collections, which are themselves found in different redactions. The first was compiled in 1436 and consists entirely of letters to his closest friend, Niccolò Niccoli, who was to die in the following year. 87 letters now survive, though Poggio failed to recover from Niccoli many that he had written before

[7] H. Harth, 'L'épistolographie humaniste entre professionnalisme et souci littéraire: l'exemple de Poggio Bracciolini' in *La correspondance d'Erasme et l'épistolographie humaniste*, Colloque international tenu en novembre 1983, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Brussels 1985, 135-144. I should deny that 'l'intention d'influencer directement des actions politiques et l'ambition littéraire de l'épistolier privé sont, *dans des cas nombreux*, pratiquement inextricables', p.142 (my italics). I publish in the next chapter an example of a letter clearly intended to influence a politician's actions, but equally clearly written for a wider public audience.

his departure for England, which he thought were 'elegantiores'. This was indeed a great loss, not only of Poggian eloquence but also and more especially of the account of the manuscript discoveries at the time of the Council of Constance which, as he said, they contained.[8] The result is that we have barely a handful of letters, to Niccoli or to anyone else, written before 1420; half of Poggio's life, perhaps the more exciting half, goes virtually unrecorded in the epistolario. The series therefore begins with the glum epistles from London, when he had apparently begun to preserve copies against the likelihood of letters going astray on the long course to Florence. The arrangement thereafter is haphazardly chronological, with much jumping back and forth after brief runs of consecutive letters. No great care seems to have been taken in their ordering - no evidence of artistic structure, in other words - and the collection as a whole had a very small diffusion, surviving now complete in a single manuscript.

This manuscript is Riccardianus 759, which was written by a known scribe of Poggio in the mid-1450s and bears a single annotation in the author's hand.[9] The manuscript carries on in the same hand with the ten books of the second collection, which was completed about 1445. This sylloge contains letters of 1423-44 addressed to friends other than Niccoli, though one sent to the latter did find its way in. It was an extension of a similar collection to friends issued in 1438; the earlier version, however, contained also some short speeches and invectives which Poggio later expunged. It was not at that stage divided into books, but it amounts to about seven of the ten books of the later collection. The definitive 1445 version, which diverges textually very little from the 1438 collection, is most authentically represented by two further manuscripts

[8] In Harth's edition, I p.230, 11 July 1436. The sort of 'more elegant' letter lost will be comparable to the extant letter to Guarino on the discovery of Quintilian, Harth II p.153, dated 16 December 1416. This is inserted in the second collection amid letters of the early 1430s, as though Poggio has just recovered this display piece.

[9] See Harth I.xxv f. for a description, and plate 2 for Poggio's annotation. It is not true that the MS lacks 'della raccolta Niccoli la prima epistola e metà della seconda': the 'first' letter is in fact part of Poggio's second collection (II.5.9), being the dedication to Marescalchi of the Niccoli collection, and it is found in Ricc. 759 at its proper place, fol. 126. At the end of her description, for 'seguono sette libri della seconda raccolta' read 'terza'.

drawn up under Poggio's supervision, besides Ricc. 759: Riccardianus 804, with the second collection only, and Vatican, Ottob. lat. 2251, which is by the same hand as Ricc. 759. Both these manuscripts have small corrections and supplements by Poggio himself, though the editor of the new text does not mention the fact.[10] The editor also distinguishes a Bolognese branch of the tradition distinct from these three Florentine manuscripts, but it rarely has anything to add or correct against them.

The structure of the ten books is generally, though not always precisely, chronological, reflecting presumably the tighter control that Poggio now had over his letter files. A feature of this collection, starting towards the end of it, is the inclusion of a few letters from other people to Poggio. These are selected, of course, to show him in a good light, such as the effusive praise of Florence sent to him by the Duke of Milan, though this prime piece of hypocrisy was no doubt the work of Pier Candido Decembrio, the Duke's secretary and old friend of Poggio.

The letters of others are more prominent in the third collection, which embraces the last fifteen years of his life, 1445-59. Poggio was by this time having to meet fairly frequent requests for copies of the epistolario and his letters from this period sometimes mention its progress as he sorted out what was 'lectione digna', as he put it in 1450 when he had completed the first three books.[11] Various phases in the construction of this corpus can be seen in the extant manuscripts, with the letters now in firm chronological sequence, so far as we can tell, though dates are often lacking towards the end. Following the three books found in the Barcelona codex, Riccardianus 759 soldiers on to expire in 1455 at the end of the seventh book. The same scribe completes

[10] Her descriptions at *Lettere* I.xxvi-xxviii. The statements on p.xxvi about a note of Tortelli and arms of Azzolini in Ricc. 804 are based on a misunderstanding of Dr de la Mare's information, which refers rather to Princeton, Garrett 105. The marginal expansion of the initials C.A., to which Dr Harth refers, to read in both manuscripts *Ciriaci Anconitani* (ep. II.7.13), is in fact in Poggio's hand, like much else in the margins.

[11] 'Coepi quoque secundum epistolarum volumen, cuius tres iam sunt confecti...', to Carlo Brognolo (*ep.* X.8, Tonelli 3.20-21). This stage is very nearly represented by a manuscript unknown to Harth, Barcelona, Bibl. de Catalunya 637, in thirteen books. For its date, c.1451, see the Appendix on manuscripts.

eight books in Ottob. lat. 2251, up to 1456, and a nine book collection is found in a late fifteenth-century manuscript now in Paris, B.N. lat. 14394. A further and last extension has found its way to Prague, Univ. Lib. I.C.3. This gives 19 additional letters from the last year of Poggio's life, but it is nowhere divided into books. It would be worth examining further the additions of these last two manuscripts. I am not myself convinced that they represent Poggio's final wishes for his epistolario, rather than, for example, a posthumous assemblage by his sons. The later books are certainly unrevised by the author, who would not have left in versions for publication the *vos* of the *plurale maiestatis* beside the humanist *tu* when persons of eminence are addressed. Many of the final letters are in fact addressed to prelates of the church, cardinals and papal officers, and they are often almost devoid of content, expressing in tired formulas no more than a desire to keep in touch. It is clear at all events that the last sylloge was never actively published. There is very scarce diffusion of its letters in selections elsewhere and there is no letter of dedication, unlike the two previous collections.[12]

Besides the 'canonical' manuscripts, there is a great mass of excerpts and selections, chiefly from the second collection, as well as certain manuscripts which present what appear to be copies of the original missives, or at least a different version from that transmitted by the definitive redaction. Such versions may be distinguished by an *a tergo* address written out below the letter or by postscripts and other additional matter of obvious authenticity. So for example in the well-known letter to Bruni on the trial and death of Jerome of Prague at Constance, a number of manuscripts give this sentence: 'Quendam precipuum adversarium nunquam nisi canem aut asinum appellavit'. It seems that on reflection Poggio felt that this did not strikingly illustrate Jerome's wit or pungency in debate, and he deleted it from the version finally circulated.[13] The important point, however, about these occasional traces of earlier

[12] See Harth, *Lettere* I.xviii-xix on the circulation of this collection.

[13] *Lettere* II p.159 (apparatus).

versions is how slight the changes are. The example just given is an uncommonly extensive alteration and most changes are no more than inversions of word order and small repairs of style, sometimes of grammar.[14] The great majority of the letters were probably never revised at all. In only one or two instances can we see any evidence of major rewriting. One such case is a letter obviously felt to be important, where Poggio congratulates Francesco Barbaro on his reconciliation of Niccoli and Leonardo Bruni in 1426. Here the first rather breathless version, presumably the one actually sent, is replaced by a more meditated and polished composition in the published collection.[15]

Also a reflection of the originals must be the forty or so letters transmitted entirely independently of the letter collections. These often owe their preservation to interest in the addressee, for instance Barbaro or Bruni, or they may have been copied out by the recipients themselves. Some of them are of such importance that it is difficult to believe that Poggio deliberately left them out of his authorized corpus - he says even in the 1440s that he sometimes failed to keep copies through haste or carelessness. A case in point is a letter to Francesco Pizzolpasso of 1417 which is preserved only in a Harleian manuscript,[16] in which he speaks of his most recent manuscript discoveries, including - *quod triumphi loco est* - seven speeches of Cicero. As for autograph original letters, only three survive, though the text of another is known from an eighteenth-century printing. All four are notes to members of the Medici family, thus accounting for their preservation in archives, and three of the four are in Italian.[17] It is instructive to see the sort of messages Poggio chose to send in *volgare*,

[14] A major shortcoming of the new edition is that it rarely reproduces the variants of the first edition (1438) of the second collection, even though this reflected Poggio's wishes at that point. This is crucial where the sense of the text is entirely altered, perhaps by scribal oversight, in the definitive redaction: e.g. *Lettere* II.1.5 v.125, where the final version runs 'Si aderis, utranvis [vitam] capere licebit; tibi tamen soli, si priorem elegeris'. The redaction of 1438 has *non* for *tamen*, with an improvement of sense. At II.1.9 v.11, for 'mihi verisimile' the earlier version has 'inverisimile', probably rightly.

[15] *Lettere* II pp.74-75, with the 'prima stesura' pp.442-443.

[16] B.L. Harl. 2268 f.70, printed by Wilmanns in *Poggii opera omnia* ed. R. Fubini,IV, Turin 1969, 320-321.

[17] Listed by de la Mare, *The handwriting* 80-81.

which therefore escaped inclusion in the Latin epistolario. To Cosimo he writes in 1436 about an invective just issued by Filelfo against the Medici, and in 1447 he sends news of his negotiations to buy a house in Florence and of the completion of his translation of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*. To Cosimo's son Giovanni he sends a plea for help in the case of a relative accused of manslaughter, as well as a simple Latin letter recommending the person who brought it, these in the 1440s. We can probably assume that there was a mass of evanescent communications of this sort directed to practical and unscholarly persons in Italian, which never entered the epistolario and have not come down to us by other routes.

Turning now to how Poggio's interests, and ours, may be served by a modern presentation of the letters, it seemed best to the nineteenth-century editor, Tommaso Tonelli, to amalgamate the three collections into one continuous chronological sequence, which he then divided into his own books to represent the major stages of Poggio's life.[18] The work was not on the whole badly done, though there are serious omissions, particularly in the two latter volumes which were issued after Tonelli's death. Dr Harth has preferred to follow the layout of the 'canonical' manuscripts, with a volume devoted to each collection. The first two have now appeared and a fourth volume is planned to cover the letters not found in the epistolario proper. This procedure is justified by appeal to the *letterarietà* of the corpus, its status as a literary work of art. There is something to be said on both sides, no doubt, but my view is that the claim of artistic integrity is outweighed by the great historical value of a single sequence in order of composition. I see no clear signs that the order of letters *is* consciously manipulated for artistic effect.[19]

[18] Tonelli's edition, in three volumes, Florence 1832-59, was reprinted in Fubini's *Poggii opera omnia*, tom. III, Turin 1965. Letters not printed by Tonelli were gathered in tom. IV, Turin 1969. As Harth's edition is as yet incomplete, I have referred to Tonelli in the following chapters, generally as Tonelli 1-3, followed by the page number.

[19] The table in which Harth seeks to show the artful arrangement of the first book of the second collection (*Lettere* I.cvi) is not very convincing; the letters, for example, classed as 'epistole di amicizia' have nothing in common, and the distinction apparently drawn between an 'epistola

A small specimen may suffice, two letters to Antonio Beccadelli about the publication of his collection of epigrams, the *Hermaphroditus*. In the first, April 1426, Poggio thanks Beccadelli for sending the book, which he rather strangely finds pleasing for its 'gravitas sententiarum'. In the second he responds to the unnecessary justifications of the work which the author had sent him in July, a letter which is extant in Beccadelli's own letter collection. Now these two letters of Poggio lie together in the manuscripts in inverted order (*Lettere* II.2 *epp.* 5 and 6), for no conceivable literary purpose and to the confusion of the reader. As the corpus develops it does in fact take on an increasing rigidity of chronological sequence, and I do not think we should betray the author's ultimate intentions too much by straightening out the earlier portions. As was said above, there is very little in the way of major textual revision in the letters. They were not dressed up for publication in the way that Petrarch's were, with massive re-arrangement of the original missives and even invention of false letters to fill out a series. Poggio did not shrink from publishing harsh, unretouched criticisms even of powerful friends like Cosimo de' Medici,[20] which could so easily have been deleted. And I know of only one case of conscious suppression, an incoherent attack on Aurispa sent to Niccoli, which Poggio soon came to regret.[21] The letters transmitted outside the epistolario manuscripts are not different in kind from those within it, indeed they often shed further light on their content.

The result of adhering to the unreconstructed order of the canonical manuscripts is to disable historical criticism. It will be difficult to get a clear view of the sequence of events or the development of attitudes. The materials, for instance, for an account of the great feud between Niccoli and Bruni will have to be sought in three separate

filosofica-morale' and an 'epistola moraleggiante' is unreal. The letter to Guarino mentioned in n.8 above appears to have been inserted quite at random when it was rediscovered by the author.

20 *Lettere* II p.61: '[Cosmus] si aliquid haberet eorum studiorum que colimus...'.

21 *Lettere* I pp. 225-229: the attack and subsequent retraction of it.

volumes of the new edition, 1, 2 and 4, that is in the letters to Niccoli, the early letters to friends and letters transmitted outside the corpus. The chief interest of the letters for us must lie in their value as historical documents, not as a literary artefact of dubious design, nor as a model of style, even if that is a good fifteenth-century approach to them. And even the high ideal of the artistic integrity of the epistolario, based on the inappropriate model of Petrarch's letters, is not consistently respected in the new edition.[22]

Most of the letters are not dated by year in the manuscripts, and some are not dated at all. It seems to be an unfortunate effect of the manner of editing - in effect, transcription of the manuscripts - that insufficient care has been given to the problems of strict chronological succession. This can lead to some odd results. In the second collection, Book II letter 7 to Leonardo Bruni is dated 27 September in the manuscripts, and it is securely 1426 from the references it contains to Bruni's recent departure from Rome. II.10, also to Bruni, also dated 27 September ('V. kal. octobris'), is on a completely different matter, fees owing to Poggio for handling some papal census payments. This matter is touched on in several subsequent letters to Bruni and the development of the affair is visible over the course of a year, as it was visible long ago to Walser.[23] Harth, however, has placed II.10 a year too early, in 1426, apparently without noticing that the decision involves Poggio's sending two completely unrelated letters to the same person on the same day. [24] The sequel of II.10, II.11, must go with it into 1427, so relieving the overcrowding of 1426 letters to Bruni, and further relief can be had by taking out of October 1426 letter II.6, which clearly supposes a situation

[22] Starting with the title: Poggio's *Epistolarum libri* attached to the second collection has become *Epistolarum familiarium libri*. Two letters that relate to the Niccoli collection have been silently removed from their place in the second collection to stand in the first; these consecutive (in date and arrangement in the manuscripts) letters are now the first and last in vol. 1. One of the few letters that underwent later elaboration, the description of the coronation of Sigismund made for Niccoli, is given in vol. 1 not in the form that is found in the Niccoli collection but in the reworking of the third collection.

[23] *Poggius* 137 n.3.

[24] She also misrepresents both Walser and Luiso in her brief note on the letter's date: *Lettere* II.68.

before, not after, Bruni's summer visit to Rome as Florentine ambassador. The date in the edition is taken from a Berlin manuscript (Harth's Bo = East Berlin, lat. oct. 431) which so far as I can see *never* gives the right date against the major 'canonical' manuscripts, and should not be trusted here when they are silent.[25]

This nest of letters to Bruni illustrates some of the specific problems of dating, which can be very intricate, at times insoluble. But there is another, self-imposed handicap in that Harth has not accepted that some letters dated by year in the manuscripts are so dated in Florentine style, that is, in the year beginning on 25 March. There is no obvious reason why a Florentine writing mainly, in the early years at least, to Florentines should not use that style, which does not lead to the alleged 'groviglio di contraddizioni'.[26] There are only five cases in the letters to Niccoli where the use of Florentine style may be relevant; in four out of the five at least some of the manuscripts correctly give the date in that style, and in three of those four cases the editor accepts on other grounds their dating of the year, though apparently regarding the manuscripts as simply wrong when they bear a date a year in advance of the common style. Where this matters is in letter 20 to Niccoli. The date given by Ricc. 759, '12 February 1423', is taken to be in the common style, whereas it is actually Florentine style for 12 Feb. 1424. This can be proved by reference to papal documents which set in 1423 the Jubilee which Poggio says has just passed.[27] Putting the letter in its true year has the incidental effect of removing his supposed first communication from Rome, which is thus no longer evidence of his presence there in early 1423; and it provides a more credible sequence for his invitations to Niccoli to visit the city. Caution is needed too in accepting Harth's formulation of the evidence. It sounds impressive that the date 1423

25 Dates proposed by Bo for *epp.* II.4, III.7, III.8, III.11, V.1 are all wrong.

26 *Lettere* I.cxiii.

27 Evidence of the date of this poorly-attested Jubilee is found in W. Brandmüller, *Das Konzil von Pavia-Siena 1423-24*, Münster 1968-74, I.63 n.14.

in Niccoli *ep.* 20 is supported 'da tutta la tradizione manoscritta' [28]. What this entire tradition in fact amounts to is two manuscripts, Ricc. 759 with the date 1423 and Φ without a year. Φ also gives the date of *ep.* 28 correctly in Florentine style, though the fact is not revealed there.

The mention of Φ brings us to another grave weakness of the new edition, the reliability of the manuscript readings reported in the apparatus criticus. Φ is another Berlin manuscript, so denominated from its possession at one time by Sir Thomas Phillipps. It contains 165 letters from the first and second collections, as well as three from outside the canon. This last fact shows at least that it is not simply an extract from the authorized corpus, and indeed its letters generally show a more primitive recension of the text than that presented by the Riccardiani, in such matters as supplying a simple verb or noun rather than a compound, a simple form where a diminutive is later found, the frequent addition of *Iterum vale* after a postscript, later expunged.[29] It looks as if Φ represents a stage, perhaps of the late 1440s, before Poggio had applied the final small polishings to the versions of the 'canonical' manuscripts, a stage which is closer to the original missives.

Now Φ is the only manuscript apart from Ricc. 759 to preserve a large number of letters to Niccoli, 73 in all, while all other manuscripts are drawn upon for no more than seventeen letters.[30] Φ should be accordingly an important witness, and the editor twice assures us that she has sought to register all manuscript readings that diverge from Ricc. 759, her R.[31] This is far from being the case, as a small example will show. Short

28 *Lettere* I.60

29 E.g. Niccoli *epp.* 19, 21, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29.

30 Harth's description of Φ, *Lettere* I.lix-lxii, actually lists 72 letters to Niccoli but item 145 is *ep.* I.55, not as stated II.2.4. Other inaccuracies: item 10 is not II.5.11 but II.5.9 in the edition, owing to the removal of two letters from the second collection noted in n.22 above; 123 is 'primo' not 'secondo poscritto' of II.3.6; 127 starts with Walser pp. 429 on f.159v but f.160 carries on with a mutilated II.9.9 to Pizolpasso, not mentioned in the list. The latest piece in Φ is the oration against Felix V, summer 1447.

31 *Lettere* I.lxxxix and cxi.

extracts of two letters concerning Nicholas of Cusa were printed recently in the *Acta Cusana* from full collations of Φ and R;[32] even in this limited space sixteen variants of Φ given in the *Acta* go unrecorded in the new edition. These are mostly trivial, but they may well represent what Poggio at one stage wrote. One reading of Φ is surely right, when Poggio speaks of the new plays of Plautus found by Cusanus. He lists the four plays of the manuscript that were already known and then says that a further twelve are entirely new. The passage in Φ runs: 'Amphitrio, Asinaria, Aulularia, Captivi duo; duodecim autem ex lucro..' - twelve of them are pure gain. R omits *duo* after *Captivi*, but Poggio elsewhere refers to the play as *Captivi duo* and indeed it goes under that title in his own copy of Plautus.[33] It is much more likely that R omits *duo* through haplography with *duodecim* than that Poggio consciously altered the text when he prepared it for publication. This tiny restoration is symptomatic of the neglect of Φ throughout the edition. In sample collations, there is an average of perhaps three significant divergences (not merely orthographical) which go unreported on every page of the edition. Φ is not a particularly high-grade witness, indeed it is rather careless, but it has a bigger contribution to make, particularly in the letters to Niccoli, than has been allowed, being independent of R and perhaps 10 years older. I add that R itself is frequently misreported, about once or twice a letter to judge from trial passages.[34] Where the dates supplied by Φ differ from those of R, each case will have to be argued on its merits, since scribes are rarely concerned to transmit these details accurately. A glimpse of an earlier redaction may also on occasion aid decision on whether

[32] *Acta Cusana: Quellen zur Lebensgeschichte des Nikolaus von Kues*, ed. E. Meuthen, I.1, Hamburg 1976, 23 no.66, 27 no.73.

[33] The passage is *ep.* I.38 vv.60-61. A marginal note in Poggio's hand in Ricc. 804 (the second collection of letters), fol. 143v mentions this title, also found in his Plautus, Vat. lat. 1629 fol. 50v.

[34] E.g. in the very first letter, Niccoli *ep.* 1: v.5 *Et* not *Ee* (a non-existent form of the pronoun); v.42 *qua* not *quo*, with grammar and sense.

peculiarities of latinity are attributable to Poggio or to scribal error: Φ certainly shows no inclination to rescue his author from error by emendation.[35]

A last matter that needs more attention is Poggio's use of quotations and proverbs, usually but not always classical ones. Humanists use quotations as a badge of belonging, as an index of learning, sometimes with programmatic intent, as well as mere graceful ornament, and they are an important part of the texture of many letters. For us they have the value of showing what was actually read, or what the humanists liked it to be thought they were reading. It is interesting in this connexion that although Poggio was the person who brought Lucretius to light, he seems never to quote or allude to any Lucretian passage. Nor, perhaps more surprisingly, does he ever quote Ovid, and indeed poetry in general outside Vergil and Horace (not the *Odes*) is very sparingly cited. His great favourites are sententious authors like Seneca and Cicero, and above all Terence. Jerome and Augustine also figure prominently, as well as the Bible. Poggio's surviving manuscripts, mostly in Florence and the Vatican library, frequently have striking passages of such authors marked with a *nota* sign, and they turn up in due course in the letters.

It is certainly useful to know when Poggio is quoting or alluding to another author. Where quotations are not explicit (and they often are not), they usually leave a slight bump in his Latin, a ruffling of the surface. It would be of some use at any rate to writers of theses on Poggio. The author of one 'intellectual biography' renders the sentence 'Vellem digne adnumerari inter eos quorum iam menia surgunt' (*ep.* II.5.2 v.39, quoting Vergil) as 'I would properly be numbered among those who climb walls';[36] when Poggio says of virtue, quoting Hesiod, 'Ante eam sudorem dii

35 E.g. at Niccoli *ep.* 43 v.44 Φ preserves *rabulas foraneos* against R's *rabulas francos*, which Tonelli printed. Ranting Frenchmen are not in point here; the *vox nihili* comes from a corruption of *circumforaneum* in Poggio's Vetus Cluniacensis of Cicero, *Clu.* 40, as appears from its surviving congeners, and is confirmed by II.2.11 v.39, *istos foraneos declamatores*.

36 J.D. Folts, 'In search of the "civil life": an intellectual biography of Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459)', Diss. Rochester N.Y. 1976, 223.

posuerunt', a writer on 'the moral basis of Renaissance politics' offers us, 'when the gods rested from their sweating'.[37] But these passages open up further points. The line of Hesiod (*Works and days* 189) has an extensive tradition in Greek, being quoted from Plato to patristic times, but no diffusion in classical Latin literature.[38] Now Poggio was very largely ignorant of Greek at the time of his reference to Hesiod (1425), despite recent claims to the contrary.[39] Here we should have to suppose that he picked it up either from Priscian or from some translated Greek source such as Plato's *Republic* or from those of his contemporaries who knew their Hesiod. Guarino for one uses the saying in his letters, and half a dozen lines of this passage of Hesiod circulate in manuscript in a translation attributed to him.[40] One cannot therefore assume direct acquaintance even with an author explicitly cited - 'Epicurus' is another often mentioned authority, but always from Seneca's letters - and the possibility must be borne in mind that quotations may be borrowed from other humanist or medieval sources.

As for the Vergil quotation, there is in fact a double reference: 'Vellem digne adnumerari inter eos quorum iam menia surgunt, quibus parta quies' runs together allusions to the *fortunati* of *Aen.* I.437 and the *felices* who have found peace in *Aen.* III.495. The first snippet is imprecisely defined by quotation marks in Harth's edition and the second is not referred to its source. The treatment of quotations generally presents another unsatisfactory aspect of the new text. A good many have been missed, some that are identified are unlikely to be, or even incapable of being, real

37 *Ep.* II.1.13 v.53, in the translation of J.W. Oppel, 'The moral basis of Renaissance politics: a study of the humanistic political and social philosophy of P.B. (1380-1459)', Diss. Princeton 1972, 19.

38 There is a truncated allusion to it at the end of Cic. *Fam.* 6.18. Priscian, *Praeexercitamina* 432 K. gives a fuller version.

39 R. Fubini, 'Il "teatro del mondo" nelle prospettive morali e storico-politiche di P.B.', *Poggio Bracciolini 1380-1980* (as n.4 above) 20. At the end of 1425 Poggio began to take Greek lessons with Rinuccio, 'ut aliquid percipiam ab eo que dudum acceperam, que *penitus exciderant*', *ep.* I.48 v.4, but he was still in the dark in 1430: '[litteras grecas] quas iam tanquam in umbra palpans tracto', *ep.* I.80 v.103.

40 Among several manuscripts with the translation, I have seen Vat. Ottob. lat. 1153 fol. 47v.

reminiscences, verse is printed as prose, then again sometimes as verse even where Poggio has garbled the words and destroyed the metre, and the references given are very prone, like the text itself, to misprints. Of the nine quotations marked in Niccoli *ep.* 19, the second seems not to be a direct quotation at all, not at any rate of the passage cited from Matthew, the fifth has a misprint reversing the numbers in the reference, the seventh is referred to the wrong verses of Paul's epistle to the Romans, the eighth is a quotation not of St Ambrose but once more of the Bible. In addition two quotations of Terence are not identified, and one of St Jerome.[41] The detection of quotations, of course, requires some judgement about what exactly a quotation is, within a spectrum ranging from specific and overt reference to the most fleeting echo; properly presented they can restore to us a valuable profile of the author's learning, another task which the shortcomings of this elaborate new edition have left to the future commentator.

Appendix: some more manuscripts of Poggio's letters

I here give some information on three manuscripts of the letter collections which have been overlooked in Harth's census. The first two are virtual twins, and behind them lies an interesting episode in the history of Anglo-Italian intellectual relations in the early nineteenth century.

The second edition of William Shepherd's *Life of Poggio Bracciolini* (Liverpool 1837, first edition Liverpool 1802) benefitted from the labours of Tommaso Tonelli, not only in his publication of the first volume of the epistolario in 1832 but also in his translation, with extensive additions, of Shepherd's *Life*, which appeared at Florence in 1825. Shepherd mentioned in the preface to the new edition that he had been given by Colonel Johnes of Haford, as a consequence of the biography's first appearance, 'a manuscript volume of Letters written by my hero...beautifully written on the finest

[41] *apud seculum prius* v.40 from *Eun.* 246; *ago tibi gratias et quidem ingentes* v.64 alludes to *Eun.* 391-2; *preter victum et vestitum* v.53 quotes Jerome *ep.* 69.9.

vellum. I found that it contained many letters of Poggio which had not been printed.' Later he says that Tonelli consulted 'a manuscript copy of Poggio's letters deposited in the Riccardi library at Florence, of which the volume given to me by Colonel Johnes is a duplicate.'[42] This would naturally lead us to suppose that Shepherd's manuscript was a 'duplicate' of R, Riccardianus 759, but examination of correspondence from Tonelli to Shepherd now in the library of Manchester College, Oxford, brings a different conclusion.

Volume VII of the Shepherd papers has six letters from Tonelli, all but the last in English, relating to the translation of the *Life* and the preparation of the epistolario for publication.[43] In a letter dated from Florence, 5 October 1425, Tonelli has this to say: 'The list of Poggio's inedited letters that are in the manuscript in your possession is another object of my thanks for the trouble you have taken to copy it for me; but I have all the letters that you indicate. I believe that the MS you possess is a copy of Codex 810 of the Riccardi's library in Florence; and my conjecture is founded in the observation that the last letter of your list is also the last of Riccardi's MS, and the series of the other letters proceed exactly in the same order...'(vol. VII p.29, fol.2r-v). Now Riccardianus 810 does not contain letters of Poggio, and a slip of the pen for the well-known collection in Ricc. 804 seems improbable. Tonelli must have meant Ricc. 813, mentioned in the *Inventario e stima della Libreria Riccardiana* of 1810 as *Poggii epistolae*, which has not been noticed by modern scholarship.[44] Shepherd's manuscript has remained equally unknown, but a letter from the secretary of his social club acknowledging receipt of copies of his works on Poggio in various translations

[42] *The life of P.B.* vi-vii, ix.

[43] Shepherd's side of the correspondence is missing; I have looked for it in vain in Florence, and I am obliged to Dr Paolo Viti of the Archivio dello Stato for further investigations, equally without result.

[44] It does not appear in Kristeller's *Iter Italicum* in the entries for the Riccardiana, and so has escaped subsequent attention.

suggested that the manuscript might have fetched up there; and in the Athenaeum, Liverpool, it remains to this day.[45]

These two manuscripts form with Harth's N (Florence, Bibl. Naz., C.S. E 6 2655)[46] a distinct group within the transmission of the first redaction of the second collection, the letters to friends without book division and interspersed with orations. The group is characterized by the omission of the letter to Niccoli in the fifth book[47] and the inclusion at the end of the corpus of Poggio's funeral speech for Lorenzo de' Medici of spring 1440. Common errors also unite these manuscripts against other representatives of the first redaction[48] and the contents suggest that this arrangement has its origin a short while before those versions with the Niccoli letter and without the funeral speech, such as Milan, Ambros. E 115 sup. and Florence, Laur. 47.20, which is dated 19 September 1440. Individual errors, omissions and disturbances of the three manuscripts point to a common parent or ancestor rather than any one being a copy of another.[49] Apart from the peculiarities of this group, they preserve in common with other witnesses of the first redaction a whole layer of text which has been almost completely ignored in the new edition.[50]

I append brief descriptions of these two siblings.

45 The acknowledgment is in vol. VII p.74 of Shepherd's papers, dated 1834. In fact the manuscript (which has no shelf mark) was bought by the Athenaeum at Shepherd's death in 1848. It is not mentioned in Ker's *Medieval manuscripts in British libraries* III, Oxford 1983, nor in Kristeller's *Iter Britannicum*, of which I consulted the typescript deposited at the Warburg Institute.

46 Described in *Lettere* I.xxxvi-xxxvii.

47 *Redegi in parvum volumen*, printed by Harth as Appendix 5 to the Niccoli collection. Damage to the Athenaeum MS in Book V has carried off the passage in question, but the consistency of its textual agreement with N and Ricc. 813 convinces me that it too lacked the letter.

48 E.g. from II.1.5: v.19 incertam *om.*, 20 scio *om.*, 92 singularius] singularis, 106 et[1] *om.*. The layout of the two redactions of the second collection is given in detail by Wilmanns, as reprinted in *Poggii Opera* IV.294-302.

49 E.g. from II.1.5 again: 13 formidant *Ath.* reformidant *cett.*, 18 ex consulto *Ath.* consulto *cett.*; 56 corporum quidem *om. Ricc.*, 60 argumento *Ricc.* augmento *cett.*; 10 etiam *N* et tam *cett.*, 114 cum] dum *N*, *om. cett.*

50 Despite the statement at *Lettere* I.cxi-cxii: 'L'apparato registra quindi integralmente le lezioni della prima redazione della seconda raccolta (β) che s'allontanano dalla versione definitiva del testo'.

Florence, Riccardianus 813.

Cart., s.XV, 292 x 185 mm., ff. II + 240 + II (guard leaves mbr.). Old foliation ff.1-246 goes from '79' to '90' without break in the text, and omits the blank folios 207-210. Large Florentine vine-stem initials at ff.1, 158, 211, 217; gold initial (usually P for Poggius) at the beginning of each letter on alternating green and red backgrounds. Quinternions throughout, with vertical catchwords at end of quires. Watermarks are close to Briquet 5904 (ladder, Florence 1453-59: f.10, 161), B.9127 (letter T within a circle, Rome 1447-52: f.157), B.6306 (trefoil, similar variants at Florence 1452-53 and Rome 1453-54: f.206) and B.6654 (flower, Rome 1452-53: f.31, 43 etc.). This last appears to be the same watermark as is found throughout Ottob. lat. 2251, the second and third letter-collections with Poggian annotations. Binding of eighteenth-century leather. The hand, a neat humanistic cursive, is the same that produced Vat. lat. 1771 for Vespasiano da Bisticci (Florence 1459: Quintilian and Seneca, *Declamations*), according to Dr de la Mare. Contents: 1. ff.1-150v, "Epistole Poggii Florentini v. clar.mi". 2. ff.151-157, "De morte Laurentii Med. ad Carolum Arretinum". 3. ff.158-206, "Liber confabulationum Poggii", i.e. the *Facetiae*. 4. ff.211-240v, Demosthenes, orations, translated by Leonardo Bruni, preceded by the argumenta. *In Ctesiphontem* ends imperfectly at the quire end f.240v. Near the beginning of the *Facetiae* on f.158 there is a marginal addition, 'satisfactum', in Poggio's hand but I see no definite sign of his intervention in the letters.

Liverpool, Athenaeum, s.n.

mbr., s.XV, 275 x 190 mm., f.I + pp.274 + ff.IV (the first two end leaves are from the original binding, followed by two modern paper guard leaves; the pagination is modern, perhaps Shepherd's). Shepherd's book plate is on the inside of the front cover, and a note on f.I reads 'The MSS. notes are W. Shepherd's own handwriting'. Page 1 has a border on three sides of foliage, fauna and putti in green and blue ink with drops of gold, and a large gold initial P with vine stem decoration; also, unidentified arms of two facing rampant lions on a mount of three summits, blue on a gold ground. Quires of quinternions with horizontal catchwords at bottom right-hand corner of quire ends. The quires seem originally to have been numbered (e.g. 5 below catchword p.92) but most numbers have been removed through cropping. Some leaves have been cut out in quires 3, 11, 12, 13 and 15, so that 33 are now wanting of the original 170. This has disturbed the text, with omissions of *epp*. II.2.2-6 and II.5.4-II.6.19 between pp.46-47 and 182-183. The order of letters of Book 6 is itself disturbed, but not through loss of leaves, on pp.187-200, and letters are run into one another without warning, confusion that presumably derives from the exemplar. The binding is nineteenth-century green morocco. The same hand throughout, a good well-spaced formal humanistic script. Contents: 1. pp.1-260, the first redaction of the second letter collection, without title. 2. pp.261-274 "De morte Laurentii de Med. ad Carolum Aretinum". There are a few fifteenth-century contents notes in the margin, concentrated on pp.47-54.

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A stage in the development of the third collection of letters, previously known from mention in the letter to Carlo Brognolo (see n.11 above), is represented by a manuscript in Barcelona, Bibl. de Catalunya 637.[52] This is the only known manuscript with thirteen books of letters, corresponding to the ten books of the second collection and three of the third: the *liber terciusdecimus* with twenty-eight letters in fact ends with seven which in a later phase were placed in Book IV of the corpus.[53] It includes as Bk XIII no.16 the 1450 letter to Brognolo in which Poggio says that he has just completed three books of his new collection, and the succeeding letters, finishing in early 1451, indicate a slight advance on that state of the epistolario. Poggio regretted in the earlier letter that owing to the shortage of scribes he could not supply Brognolo with the *residuum epistolarum mearum quas dicis tuo volumini deesse*.[54] It would be pleasant to show that this very manuscript was the result of Brognolo's desires, with the graceful inclusion of the letter sent to him, but there are no marks of ownership and no sign of Poggio's hand here. The scribe is not known to me, though Dr de la Mare points out a similar (but it seems to me distinct) hand that wrote for Poggio his *De avaritia* and other dialogues in Laur. 47.19 (see figs. 1 and 2). Whoever commissioned this book, which is far from being a de luxe copy, he was primarily interested in the text, as the careful list of contents at the end, with references to the folio on which each letter is

52 It has been fleetingly mentioned in print, first in *Butlletí de la Biblioteca de Catalunya* 3 (1916) 46, and more recently in Biblioteca Central de la Diputación de Barcelona, *Cincuenta años de la antigua Biblioteca de Cataluña*, Barcelona 1968, 143. It was brought to my attention by an entry in the typescript of Kristeller's *Iter Hispanicum*.

53 For the arrangement in books as found in R (Ricc. 759) and its successors, see Wilmanns' table in *Poggii opera* IV.305-314. The last letter of our MS is to the Count of Celano, (Lionello Achrocamur), *Accepi a te duas epistolas*, which should become III.3.7 in the next volume of Harth's edition, printed by Tonelli as *ep.* X.19.

54 Tonelli *ep.* X.7, *Opera* III.3.20. Brognolo had a copy of the first redaction of the second collection, which Poggio tells him he had now altered.

found, seems to indicate. Notwithstanding, the manuscript has little to offer textually, its divergences from R being nearly always for the worse, and the dates sometimes attached seem always to be wrong when they differ from those of the 'canonical' MSS.[55]

> Barcelona, Bibl. de Catalunya 637.
> cart., s.XV, 264 x 198 mm., ff.169, the last four ruled but blank. The pages have been cropped slightly at the top, causing the running titles (*Liber primus* etc.) to partly disappear, and at the side. Quinternions throughout with horizontal catchwords towards the bottom right-hand corner. The end quires have a trefoil watermark very similar to Briquet 6306 (cf. the variant at f.206 of Ricc. 813 noted above, found at Rome and Florence in the early 1450s); earlier quires seem to have a very faint ladder. Book and letter headings in red, simple red initials. Binding of plain white parchment wrappers, not contemporary with the MS. The hand is a rather untidy semi-formal humanistic script, leaving spaces where Greek has been omitted. A later fifteenth-century hand occasionally picks out quotations in the margins with *nota* signs.
> Contents: 1. ff.1-124v: the second letter collection in the usual order, followed by *Liber undecimus* (=III.1) f.125, *duodecimus* (=III.2) f.135v, *terciusdecimus* (=III.3-III.4.7) f.146.
> 2. ff.163-165v: full index of the letters, with addressees and folio numbers.

[55] For example, Tonelli X.11-14 are dated in various months of 1451 in the Barcelona MS, 1450 elsewhere; the latter must be right because in X.11 to Marsuppini Poggio speaks of his seventieth birthday (11 Feb. 1450).

Chapter 2

Poggio as rhetorician and historian: unpublished pieces

Introduction

Nearly all the writings of Poggio Bracciolini, excluding the longer translations from the Greek, have been collected in the four stout volumes of the *Opera omnia* edited by Riccardo Fubini. I here present two substantial pieces, of very differrent character and date, which have escaped the net. The first is a letter - it seems to have been an actual missive rather than an oration - in a genre in which Poggio later became adept, a rhetorical exhortation to a European prince. It dates from what is in effect the outset of his literary career, the years at the Council of Constance in which he made famous discoveries of classical texts. The second work, on the other hand, comes certainly from his very last days in 1459, and appears to be a fragment of a much larger historiographical undertaking, here reconsidered, which death cut short. These *inedita*, a few end-papers for the collected works, show us in turn the hesitant rhetorician writing for display and the mature scholar in the privacy of his study.

I: *A misattributed letter*

A letter of a humanist to the Emperor Sigismund, written probably in 1416 while the Council of Constance was in progress, has hitherto attracted little attention. The letter is known from four manuscripts. In two of them, Oxford, Bodleian Canon. misc.

484, fols. 1ff., and Florence, Riccard. 779, fols. 45ff., no author is given, though it is found in the latter among a group of letters from Gasparino Barzizza.[1] MS Γ V 20 of the Bibl. Civica, Bergamo, is made up of orations and letters of Barzizza, among them our letter, given on p.46 as an oration of his.[2] Against this, Berlin, lat. fol. 667, fols. 14ff., heads the piece 'Poggii Florentini secretarii apostolici' without more ado.[3] This section aims to vindicate Poggio's claim to authorship.

In his still very useful biography of Poggio, Ernst Walser had this to say of the letter: 'Nach Stil und Inhalt zu schliessen, scheint mir der Verfasser Gasparino Barzizza zu sein, nicht Poggio', and it has never recovered from that verdict. Now as to the content, the letter is bare of historical data that might aid attribution: both men were present at Constance at the relevant time and the effusion could be the handiwork of either.[4] Reunification of the church was obviously a prime concern of curialists eager

[1] Canon. misc. 484 is a paper MS of the second half of the fifteenth century, written all in one hand and containing a miscellany of classical and humanist letters; the contents are given in H.O. Coxe, *Catalogus codd. MSS. Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, III, Oxford 1854, cols. 802-807. Watermarks of the paper (Briquet nos. 6272 and 13913) are dated 1464 and 1473. It is closely related in part of its content to the miscellany in Berlin lat. oct. 148, according to L. Bertalot, *Studien zum italienischen und deutschen Humanismus*, Rome 1975, I.124 n.2. A.C. Clark used this MS for the publication of an important letter of Poggio to Francesco Barbaro, known before only in truncated form (*Classical Review*, 13 (1899) 125, now reprinted in *Poggii Opera Omnia*, ed. R. Fubini, IV, Turin 1969, 239). Despite E. Walser's statement to the contrary (*Poggius Florentinus*, Leipzig 1914, 44 n.3), the letter here published is not ascribed to Barzizza in the Canonici MS. Daniela Mazzuconi kindly told me of the circumstances of Riccard. 779 to which I refer. Its contents are briefly catalogued by P.O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, I, London-Leiden 1963, 201.

[2] And accepted as such without discussion by R. Sabbadini, "Lettere e orazioni edite e inedite di Gasparino Barzizza", *Archivio storico lombardo*, 13 (1886) 827 no.18. The Bergamo MS, according to Sabbadini (ibid. 366-367) is an 18th century copy of a 15th century MS, 'piena di grossolani errori...ma contiene una buona raccolta di orazioni e lettere, quasi tutte inedite'. Its attribution has most recently been received by R.G.G. Mercer, *The teaching of Gasparino Barzizza*, London 1979, 102, and G.W. Pigman, 'Notes on Barzizza's correspondence', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 25 (1982) 396.

[3] The MS is now in West Berlin, Staatsbibl. Preussischer Kulturbesitz. It seems to be the earliest, and the best, of the four mentioned by Walser, *loc. cit.* I have not found other MSS with the letter.

[4] Poggio went there in 1414 with John XXIII and stayed throughout the Council, before taking up employment with Bishop Beaufort in England. Barzizza was at Constance at least in July 1416 (see the letter published by C. Colombo, *Quaderni per la storia dell'università di Padova*, 2 (1969) 26-27 from the folios of Ricc. 779 which follow our letter) and Poggio mentions his return from there in December 1417 in the letter to Barbaro mentioned in n.1 above. He presumably went to defend his papal secretaryship, held through procurators since 1414, before the new pope Martin V, for he was reappointed to the post on 28 November 1417: F.C. Uginet, *Le 'Liber Officialium' de Martin V*, Rome 1975, 59. The letter is almost certainly of 1416 (against Walser's 'Spätsommer 1417'): Sigismund left Constance to negotiate the abdication of Benedict XIII in July 1415 and spent the autumn at Perpignan to that end. Military tensions after Agincourt (25 October) 'persuaded Sigismund that he must mediate between France and England before returning to Constance' in January 1417 (C.M.D. Crowder, 'Henry V Sigismund and the Council of Constance', *Historical Studies*, 4 (1963) 102). That is precisely the

for stable employment such as Poggio (or Barzizza), and Sigismund, who had devoted himself to the Council's progress since 1414, must have been the recipient of many such exhortations as this to heal the Schism.[5]

As to the style, however, 'Qui sim ex stilo cognosces', as Poggio said in another connexion.[6] That the letter is not in the manner of Barzizza can only be sensed and not proved; but the positive case, that it is in Poggio's, can be demonstrated in detail. In general, Barzizza's style is stiffer, more Ciceronian, more 'correct', than that of Poggio, for whom the spirit of living Latin meant more than the letter.[7] Barzizza's handling of material closely comparable to our letter may be found among the orations published in Furietti's collection of his works.[8] Regular rhetorical ideas, common to all the humanists, will naturally be found in both contexts, but it is their precise expression in language which concerns us here.

It may be felt that the author is more flowery, and more vapid, than the Poggio we find in his familiar letters. But behind the surface import of the letter, which stresses the urgency of the need to heal the Schism, there is an implied request for employment,

situation alluded to at vv. 103-111 and 120-124 of the text. It follows that the piece was intended to be sent as a letter (cf. v.4 'meis litteris'), not delivered as an oration.

5 One humanist example, from Benedetto da Piglia, is given by L. Bertalot, *Studien* II.305. Detail of Sigismund's involvement with the Council is given in the Constance diary of Cardinal Fillastre (tr. L.R. Loomis, *The Council of Constance*, Columbia 1961: p.258, Sigismund's departure; pp.310-311, his Anglo-French mediation and return. Latin text in H. Finke, *Acta Concilii Constanciensis*, II, Münster 1923). Fillastre's diary is the main source of J. Höllnsteiner's account 'König Sigismund auf dem Konstanzer Konzil', *Mittheil. des Inst. f. österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 41 (1926) 185-200.

6 *Ep.*V.7 ed. Tonelli, *Opera* III.2.31.

7 Sabbadini called Barzizza 'il vero apostolo del ciceronianismo', (*Storia del Ciceronianismo*, Turin 1886, 13, with discussion of his varying approach to that ideal at different stylistic levels, pp.13-17.) G.W. Pigman has recently stressed Barzizza's flexibility in *imitatio* (*Rinascimento* 21 (1981) 124-125), but it remains true that he was more of a Ciceronian than Poggio, whose claims of strict adherence to Cicero in matters of eloquence (e.g. at Tonelli 3.177) are polemical statements with an admixture of wishful thinking. 'Lo stile di Poggio è tutto suo proprio', Sabbadini p.19.

8 G.A. Furietti, *Gasparini Barzizzii et Guiniforti filii opera*, 2 vols., Rome 1723. See in particular nearly-contemporary orations to Filippo Maria Visconti (I.36-39, 59-62), and, in Visconti's name, one welcoming Martin V to Milan on his return from Constance in September 1418 (I.76-79). Here if anywhere one would expect to find close verbal parallels with the Sigismund letter, if that were by Barzizza, but one does not. For speeches and sermons delivered before the Council on the theme of the ending of schism, scholastic rather than humanist in style, see C.G.F. Walchius, *Monimenta Medii Aevi*, I, Göttingen 1758-59, fasc. 2-4.

as will become apparent. The letter recommends its author by showing off his literary powers, and it is not suprising that the easy familiarity of letters to Italian humanist friends is lacking from such a piece.[9] Very similar in tone and tenor, however, are later letters of exhortation to princes such as Alfonso V of Aragon and the Emperor Friedrich III, in both cases pressing for war against the Turks (*Epistolae*, ed. Tonelli, 3.158-165, 3.203-211). I do not scruple to use these much later productions (c.1455) as evidence, since by 1416, at the age of 36, his style of writing and set of thought were already fully formed. The chief difference in those letters is Poggio's enhanced standing in the world, hence less outright flattery of potentates.[10]

Given the loss of nearly all of Poggio's writings of the years till 1420, little formal prose of similar date survives from his hand. Riccardo Fubini restored to Poggio an oration delivered before the Council, 'On the vices of the clergy', probably in 1417; but that is a work of blame not praise - *vituperatio* rather than *laudes* - and shows little verbal resemblance to our piece.[11] The speech in praise of Cardinal Zabarella, however, delivered at Constance shortly after his death on 26 September 1417 (*Opera*, I.252-261), is more directly comparable, and for that reason phrases characteristic of Poggio that are found in both the letter and the funeral speech are given the siglum 'Zab.' in the parallel passages listed below. It may be that the loss of early comparative

[9] Poggio perhaps thought of his own early effort when he wrote to Cardinal Angelotto Foschi in 1431, 'si voluissem his litteris exquisitas quasdam ac multiplices laudes in te congerere, more illorum qui primum apud Pontifices orant, perfacile potuissem; cuivis enim vel parum erudito id esse in promptu potest, qui genera laudandi unde ducantur cognoverit' (Tonelli I.356).

[10] An earlier address to Duke Filippo Maria Visconti, though not an exhortation to action, opens with echoes and variants of the formulae used in the Sigismund letter (Tonelli 2.179ff., dated 1438). Poggio's bitter views about Friedrich III's positively anti-Christian activities in the face of the Turk are set out in the material published in the second part of this article, vv.120-144. Alfonso V too suffered violent abuse in Poggio's private letters. For Sigismund he seems to have retained a qualified admiration, as will be seen. In October 1417, just before the election of Martin V, a letter from Constance to Francesco Pizolpasso makes indirect criticism of the king: 'ambitio (*sc.* Sigismundi) plurimum nocet' (*Opera*, IV.320-321, badly edited by A. Wilmanns). That simply reflects the gap between Poggio's public and private faces. More criticism may be detectable in a remark in the funeral speech for Zabarella: 'In quo (church unity) utinam plures nactus esset imitatores constantie sue; non hic tamdiu hesitaremus, sed loco constituto.'(*Opera*, I.255).

[11] Three parallel passages are noted below from this speech, which is printed in *Opera*, II.15-21, with Fubini's introduction pp.9-11; and in a critical edition by the same editor in *Poggio Bracciolini 1380-1980*, Florence 1982, 93-132. Walser denied that this work too was by Poggio (*Poggius* 420), a denial easily refuted by Fubini.

material accounts for the occasional striking phrase unparalleled, to my knowledge, elsewhere in Poggio's published works.[12] On the other hand, the evidence of the parallels (and I provide only a selection, to spare the reader's patience) seems overwhelmingly to attest Poggio's authorship. Throughout the letter we find the eminent recipient addressed as *tu*, not *vos*, a point on which Poggio elsewhere insists.[13] That, however, would not distinguish him from Barzizza, or indeed from most humanists after Petrarch. What does, is the tell-tale idiosyncrasies of style which remained with Poggio throughout his career, even after Lorenzo Valla's onslaught on his Latinity in the early 1450s. I have in mind especially the items illustrated at vv. 14, 27, 98, 127, 146-147, which together are sufficient to establish the paternity of the piece. Much of the rest is included to show how typical of Poggio in thought and phrasing the leading ideas of the letter are; cumulatively, they positively exhale 'Poggianitas'. Questions of structure and rhythm, which here seem to me likewise characteristic of him, are left aside as they do not admit of easy illustration.

The parallel passages

The citations from Poggio's published works should ideally be looked at in their context, where less obvious manipulations of the illustrated phrases will often be found. For example, the reference to the typically Poggian phrase, v.147 *vere et ex animi sententia*, will lead to a passage in Zabarella's funeral speech (*Opera*, I.258) where the idea of v.146 is put in different words. The references are made to 'T.' = Tonelli's edition of the letters reprinted in *Opera Omnia* III, cited by his volume and page, or to 'O' = *Opera* I, II or IV (the first two containing, inter alia, orations; the last, letters not collected by Tonelli). I place special emphasis on the aspects of Poggio's Latin that

[12] E.g. *rerum cardo*, decoration from Vergil, *Aeneid*, I.672; a quotation from Horace (*Epistolae*, I.2.40) at v.76. Of course many quotations of classical authors in Poggio's epistolario do not recur. Nor do I find him using again *recta lance*, v.101, but that is an easy variation on a common Latin phrase (see *Thes. l. L.* VII.2.2, p.939.23-82).

[13] E.g. Tonelli I.139 to Niccoli.

Valla singled out for attack in his *Antidota in Poggium.* I give from A. Wesseling's critical edition of *Antidotum primum* (Leiden 1978) the book and section number of the relevant points. One reference is to another of Valla's invectives against Poggio, the *Apologus*, printed as an appendix of S. Camporeale's *Lorenzo Valla: umanesimo e teologia* (Florence 1972). A comma between references generally indicates that the quoted phrase is repeated in so many words, while 'cf.' denotes a slightly different wording.

Sigismundo Imperatori	From Poggio's published works
1ff. Etsi vereor invictissime Cesar ne vel parum pudens vel nimium arrogans existimari possim...tamen singularis humanitas tua atque incred-ibilis clementia...me hortantur ut aliqua ad te scribam;	Quamvis superfluum ac pene arrogans videri possit, velle me verbis incitare egregiam animi tui indolem...amor tamen singularis erga te meus coegit ut...prosequar te currentem... T.2.82 Etsi mihi verendum sit ne subeam importuni nomen...tamen tua humanitas et doctrina...mihi scribendi fiduciam prebuerunt... T.2.322 (benivolentia et devotio) cogunt me esse in scribendo impudentem...T.3.170 quoniam impudens esse cepi, aliquid addam quo forsan me nimis existimes arrogantem T.2.325 Quamvis verba mea, Cesar invictissime... O.IV.501
3. in tanta mole agendorum	in tanta mole agendorum O.I.260 Zab.
4. meis litteris interpellare	epistolis...interpellandi sunt (amici) T.2.250
9. sum ullo modo comparandus	qui nullo modo sum... comparandus T.3.186, cf. T.2.52, T.1.263.

11. pro ingeniolo meo	ingenioli mei monumenta T.2.253, ingeniolum meum volui exercere T. 2.10.
12. non quo hortatore aut monitore indigeas	nequaquam vel hortatore vel impulsore egeas T.1.356, hortatore non egeas T.2.186, 2. 291. nullo admonitore nullo cohortatore indiges O.1.290
14. existas (cf. also 99, 124, 149)	Valla, *Antidotum primum*,3.121: Inter 'existunt' et 'sunt' ut vulgus nihil existimas interesse; cf. *ibid.* 132, 178 and often.
15. currentem quoque, ut aiunt,...excitare	currentem, ut aiunt, excitare T.1. 102, cf. T.2.82, 3.34 etc.
18. verus Christi cultor	verus cultor T.1.248, cultor veritatis O.I.253 Zab.
19. affectio atque ingens amor	singularis...affectio atque amor T.2.70 (cf. Valla *ad loc.* (3.194): Milies 'affectione' uteris et nunquam ut Cicero.
27. nedum geri sed ne cogitari quidem	Valla 3.75: Prepostere dictum est, nam sic erat dicendum, 'ita mendosa ut legi Latine non possint nedum intelligi'. *Ibid.* 37, Nam 'nedum' semper in secundo membro habet locum, quemadmodum in Elegantiis docui. Among many examples of Poggio's usage of nedum....ne..quidem, see O.I.254 Zab.
28. dudum	Valla 3.82, 'dudum' pro 'nuper' est positum; cf. *ibid.* 31, 203 and often.
41. sepius obtrectatores reperiantur quam laudatores	...ut (natura omnium) promptior sit ac paratior ad culpandum ea... quam ad laudandum T.2.148
43. Avarus liberalem prodigum vocat	Invenies quosdam qui liberalem prodigum vocent O.IV.434
44. fortem timidus temerarium nominat	nullus (se dicit) temerarium sed fortem O.IV.434
45. magis ex animi sui affectione plerique iudicent quam ex ratione	(Fortuna) diiudicat ac metitur magis ex libidine...quam ex ratione T.2.53, cf. *ibid.* 317, prout quemque animi affectio trahit.

50. boni pariter et mali, summi, infimi, mediocres	boni insimul ac mali T.1.141. summi, infimi, mediocres O.1.256 Zab., O.II.19
Dulce enim nomen est pacis, ut inquit Tullius, res vero... salutaris	(pacem) cuius nomen dulce est, et res ipsa salutaris O.I.290, non ignoras quam suave quam dulce quam salutare sit nomen pacis (cf. Cic. *Phil.* 13.1)
56. tu mihi videris humano generi celitus datus ad pacem ...largiendam	tamquam pacis angelus quidam ad nos celitus demissus esse videaris O.IV.503. Te enim tamquam e celo demissum ad eripiendos populos de tyrannorum faucibus T.2.303
58ff. Quo quid clarius dici, quid fieri magnificentius, quid extimari utilius, quid divinius excogitari potest ?	Quid enim magnificentius, quid bonis acceptius, quid studiis accommodatius, quid communi bono utilius fieri potuisset aut etiam excogitari ? O.I.277, cf. T.2.179. 'extimo' for 'existimo': Valla 3.92
63. recto itinere	recto itinere T.2.149, cf. T.2.89
67. paululum hesitarent	hesitarem paulum T.1.120, 2.88
68. quod Deus avertat	quod Deus avertat O.I.257 Zab., T.I.xv, 2.26, O.IV.321
67ff. ita nonnulli paululum hesitarent si...finis rerum optatus aliquo errore humano e manibus laberetur	ut si forte errore aliquo (prout fert fragilitas nostra) paululum laberetur O.I.251 Zab.
70. eo tibi est amplius elaborandum ut non solum conserves sed etiam augeas hanc de te conceptam extimacionem	Tue sapientie est non solum satisfacere hominum de te concepte opinioni sed augere extimacionem de tua virtute susceptam, neque desis extimacioni quam omnes de te iam conceperunt T.3.164
	non solum conservare...sed etiam augere T.3.80, O.IV.525
	extimacioni hominum de tua virtute ...concepte O.IV.502
72. cum per te solum iacta sint pacis ecclesie fundamenta	Qui cum hec tam ampla ieciseet fundamenta O.I.255 Zab.
83. que ad presens tractantur	que ad presens...tractatur T.2.310 Cf. Valla 3.255: 'ad presens' pro 'in presentiarum' ponis; cf. also T.1.163, 1.265.

84. sperandum sit Deum fautorem	spero Deum fautorem O.IV. 301
92. ut etiam celeritas moram videatur afferre	ut etiam celeritas moram videatur afferre T.1.153, cf. O.IV.290 and often.
Quare perge quesimus ut cepisti	Itaque...perge oro ut cepisti T.3.227
93. omnes tolle moras	Tolle moras et tergiversationes omnes T.1.86
98. quos recensere longum esset	quos longum esset recensere T.1. 28, cf. T.1.267, 1.298, O.1.254 Zab.
101. si recta lance singula pensare voluerimus	si vere estimare pensitareque voluerimus T.3.14
108. ita mentis sum inops	est aliquis adeo mentis inops O.I.256 Zab.
116. ne qua pars vite ab optimi imperatoris officio cessaret	nulla pars vite eius recti viri officio vacavit O.1.274, Nullum tempus ab hoc negotio sibi vacuum dedit O.1.255 Zab.
119. dicam enim quod sentio	dicam quod sentio T.1.23, 1.245
120. suspensis auribus atque animis	suspensis animis T.1.113, cf. T.1. 274
127. quantocius	auribus meis inculcent 'quant-ocius', existimantes sic se loqui pereleganter, Valla *Apologus* p.485; cf. *Antidotum primum* 2. 63-69, 3.70, 3.85
143. Te ducem illis (ceteris), te principem, te cohortatorem prestitisti	prebe te exemplum atque auctorem et ducem ceteris T.3.210, prebens se ducem atque hortatorem omnibus T.2.109
146. Nolo autem...existimes me que loquor vel adulandi vel assentandi causa	non loquor...adulandi gratia sed quod ita ex animo sentiam T.2.103, non loquor assentandi aut adulandi gratia T.2.247, and so frequently: O.I.173, T.1.277, 355, 2.52 etc., especially 2.151.
147. sed vere et ex animi sententia loqui	vere et ex animi sententia loquor O.I.258 Zab. and so very often: T.1.21, 216, 302, 308, 344, 356, 2.36, 48, 89, 149, 181, etc. On this phrase see Valla 3.185.

153. mundo serviens	mundo serviamus T.1.83, cf. 2.91
155. rei fragilis et caduce	caduca sunt et fragilia T.2.309, O.IV.315, cf.T.1.110, O.II.20 and often similarly elsewhere.
156. veram et solidam (gloriam)	vera et solida (dignitas) T.2.40, (laus) O.IV.593, (libertas) T.2. 183
158. alias cum tempus se dabit amplior locus erit de tuis laudibus dicendi	Alias enim de tuis laudibus ac virtutibus scribendi commodius tempus erit O.IV.555; cum tempus se dabit T.1.314, 1.332
162. ad tam sanctum opus	pro tam sancto opere T.2.312, opus est enim sanctum O.II.19

Note on the text

Of the four manuscripts mentioned in the opening paragraph, I have collated Oxford, Bodleian, Canon. misc. 484, fols.1-3v = O (cf. n.1 above) and, from photographs, Berlin, lat. fol. 667, fols. 14-16 = B and Florence, Riccard. 779, fols. 45-47v = F. The eighteenth century Bergamo codex (cf. n.2 above) is a copy, heavily corrupt, of a fifteenth-century MS which derived from the same source as F. Since it nowhere offers a true or even plausible reading against the other MSS, it has been disregarded for the purposes of this edition. B contains *Epistolae et orationes* of some eighteen Italian humanists,[14] and Claudio Griggio's researches have indicated that the miscellany derives in origin from the circle of Guarino in north-east Italy.[15] Our text is written in a chancellery hand which closely resembles Poggio's own *cancelleresca*, the script and contents alike pointing to the late 1430s. It is accordingly close in time and perhaps in milieu to Poggio himself, and indeed it presents a much more careful text

[14] See P.O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum* III, London-Leiden 1983, 484. The MS was previously Phillipps 11907.

[15] C. Griggio, 'Il codice berlinese lat. fol. 667. Nuove lettere di Francesco Barbaro', *Miscellanea di studi in onore di Vittore Branca* III.1, Florence 1983, 133-175.

than the other two MSS. O, a manuscript perhaps forty years younger than B, is closely related to it, but is certainly not a direct copy (e.g. 108 *ita* BF: *iam* O implies a predecessor of O with the reading *tam*), and its independence from B is (not entirely conclusively) suggested by superior readings at 18, 41, 67 - a typically Poggian diminutive - and 95. A second hand of 0 (0^2) adds occasional corrections, sometimes correcting the author rather than the scribe.

F, a large humanist miscellany, is written in a less pronounced Italian chancellery hand of the first half of the fifteenth century. According to Kristeller (cf. n.1 above), the MS was written by several hands, so that the contents he lists cannot establish a *terminus post quem* for whatever portions were written by our scribe. It is carelessly written, but its independence from B is attested by vestiges of the truth at 76, 78, 100 and perhaps 139. In indifferent matters such as word order or *ac/et* variation I have constantly followed B. More manuscript sources of this letter would no doubt clarify, or complicate, stemmatic relations, but they would scarcely bring much improvement to the text itself.

POGGII FLORENTINI SECRETARII APOSTOLICI AD SERENISSIMUM SIGISMONDUM BOEMUM CESAREM, ROMANORUM ET HUNGARIE ETC REGEM

Etsi vereor, invictissime Cesar, ne vel parum pudens vel nimium arrogans extimari possim, qui audeam et sapientissimum Imperatorem et prudentissum Regem in tanta mole agendorum quanta nunc versaris meis litteris interpellare, tamen singularis humanitas tua atque incredibilis clementia, quibus inter omnes mortales excellens, etiam infimi generis homines equo animo audire consuevisti, me hortantur ut aliqua ad te scribam non indigna ut opinor sapientia tua. Licet enim existimem te hec eadem a plurimis iam audisse, quibus neque scientia neque auctoritate sum ullo modo comparandus, tamen arbitratus sum te non moleste laturum si que ad honorem tuum et communem hominum utilitatem spectare videantur, ego quoque pro ingeniolo meo ad ea te paulum cohortabor; non quo tu hortatore aut monitore indigeas, qui, omnium nostre etatis prudentissimus, ita es precipuis animi dotibus a natura institutus ut etiam aliis existas quasi quoddam virtutis incitamentum, sed quia currentem quoque, ut aiunt, acclamationes etiam imperitorum persepe ad celeritatem excitare creduntur.

Titulum om. OF 1 prudens BOF 2 existimari O 3 in *ante* quanta 0^2 11 omnium F 12 tu *om.* 16 etiam] et O

Suadet id mihi primum tum devotio quam ut verus Christi cultor habeo ad ipsius ecclesiae unitatem, tum vero affectio atque ingens amor ad augmentum glorie et laudis tue quam te video ex unitatis ecclesie confectione pene divinam atque immortalem consecuturum. Multa quidem gessisti digna litteris, digna nomine ac fama immortali: domuisti gentes natura feras, moribus barbaras, hostes tuos cum armis viceris etiam pietate et clementia sepenumero devicisti; fuisti longo tempore tamquam scutum fidei adversus infideles quos nisi tua auctoritate tuis viribus comprensisses, profecto magnum in discrimen cuncti fideles venissent. Sed haud scio an ulla res nedum geri sed ne cogitari quidem in rerum natura maior possit illa quam dudum summa omnium gentium laude, summo omnium consensu agere orsus es. Nullum est enim genus hominum, quibus modo sana mens sit, quin hec tua egregia principia in pace ecclesie procuranda, hunc tuum prestantem erga res divinas animum, hos tuos tot et tantos labores quos pro unitate fidelium suscepisti, infinitis laudibus ad celum ferat et digna existimet memoria hominum sempiterna, te unum predicans qui post longa tempora nostrarum calamitatum misertus fueris, tanto fervore, tanto zelo ecclesie pacem querens.

Et quidem plurima de tuis virtutibus volitans it fama per orbem: quidam clementiam tuam laudant, quidam humanitatem, liberalitatem nonnulli; alii magnitudinem animi extollunt, quidam fortitudinem et patientiam laborum. Atqui he ita sunt virtutis partes ut tamen a multis quoque improbentur, et sepius obtrectatores reperiantur quam laudatores. Nam clementiam iracundus odit, humanitatem insolens ac superbus. Avarus liberalem prodigum vocat, magnanimum remissus appellat insanum, fortem timidus temerarium nominat, patientem laborum durum atque agrestem lascivus. Ita fit ut magis ex animi sui affectione plerique iudicent quam ex ratione. At vero pacem largiri ecclesie Dei tam diu variis tempestatibus quassate, et illam in tranquillo statu collocare, gentem Christianam hinc inde dispersam sub unius pastoris disciplinam deducere, tam patens bonum est ut illud boni pariter et mali, summi infimi mediocres, laudare cogantur. Dulce enim nomen est pacis, ut inquit Tullius, res vero ipsa tum iocunda est tum salutaris; quam etiamsi non probent illius hostes, ipsius tamen dignitatem ac decus reverentur. Mihi quidem de te deque hac tua salutifere pacis procuratione cogitanti, ut olim de Cesare Augusto rettulit M. Cicero se in somniis vidisse illum aurea catena dimissum e celo ad res Romani populi dirigendas, ita tu mihi videris humano generi celitus datus ad pacem et quietem universo Christiano populo

37 cf. Verg. *Aen.* 7.104 51 Cic.*Phil.* 13.1 54-55 cf. Suet. *Aug.* 94

18 suadeo F tum] cum *sup.lin.* B *om.* F quam ut *ex* quo ut 0^2 20 tue *post* glorie F 21 te *post* confectione BO, *del.* B 24 longo tempore] sepenumero O 25 adversum F 30 modo] non F 33 et *om.* O 34 predicat F 38 et *post* humanitatem F 41 reperiant BF 46 largiti O 48 Chr. gent. F 51 tum *om.* O est *om.* F 55 se *om.* O

largiendam. Quo quid clarius dici, quid fieri magnificentius, quid extimari utilius, quid divinius excogitari potest ? Hac quidem via plurimi quondam Cesarum dicuntur a gentilibus in deorum numerum relati cum illi posthabita rerum ceterarum cura se totos ad pacem et commoda populorum ad communem salutem hominum contulissent. Quos tu cum recto itinere consequaris, in ea re virtutes tuas exercens qua nulla in terris prestantior potest, universi asserant necesse est te maiorem quam illos adepturum eternitatis famam.

Verum Princeps serenissime, ut hec tua tam magnifica primordia ab omnibus omnium vocibus una mente celebrantur, ita nonnulli paululum hesitarent, si, quod Deus avertat, finis rerum optatus aliquo errore humano e manibus laberetur. Itaque quo maior est hominum de te expectatio, eo tibi est amplius elaborandum ut non solum conserves sed etiam augeas hanc de te conceptam extimacionem. Constans namque est et vera fama: cum per te solum iacta sint pacis ecclesie fundamenta, per eundem te tam nobile edificium consummari et ad finem quem omnes expetunt deduci oportere. In hoc enim vertitur rerum cardo, hic universorum pondus consistit. Nam licet, ut Oratius Flaccus ait, dimidium facti qui cepit habeat, tamen si finis absit incassum principii labor susceptus est. Omnes enim humani actus ad finem tendunt; in eo putamus rerum perfectionem, ad eum respicimus, in illo acquiescimus. Te vero quamvis arbitremur ea mente hoc negotium suscepisse ut quemadmodum egregium decet imperatorem ad finem concupitum deducas, veremur tamen fortuitos rerum casus ac varios fortune dolos pertimescimus quibus preter spem nostram persepe humane res iactantur. Et quamquam eorum que ad presens tractantur sperandum sit Deum fautorem et adiutorem futurum, cum res sue in medium versentur, cum tamen qui hoc procurant homines sint mundi legibus subiecti, in quibus fortuna permagnam sepius habuit potestatem, nonnihil animo commovemur, futuris eventibus qui semper incerti fuerunt suspensi.

Itaque non tantum confectionem rerum desideramus quantum celeritatem conficiendi, tantum quippe existit non solum nostrum sed totius pene orbis ardens unionis desiderium, tanta est dubitatio futurorum, ut etiam celeritas moram videatur afferre. Quare perge, quesumus, ut cepisti et omnes tolle moras - semper nocuit differre paratis - et festina ad tui nominis immortalitatem que in huius solius rei confectione consistit. Omnes enim huius pacis te auctorem prosecutoremque futuris temporibus predicabunt, et animarum suarum salutem a te acceptam referentes, immortale donum sibi abs te condonatum

76 Hor. *Epist.* I.2.40 93 Lucan *Phars.* I.281

60 gentibus F 67 hominum F paulum BF 73 tam *ex* ita O et *om.* O 76 facti] facit O habeat] habere F, *om.* BO 77 laborem susceptum. O 78 eo] eorum BO, eum B *mg.* ad eum respicimus *om.*F 80 ut] et F 82 persepe] per se O 83 res hum. F 86 hab. sep. O 87 futuri O 88 suspensi *om.* O 94 et] En F 95 te huius pacis O prosecutorem persecutoremque BF (-que *om.* F)

existimabunt. Multa priscorum imperatorum, quos recensere longum esset, in ecclesiam Dei singularia merita extitere; multi illam quasi prostratam et abiectam erexerunt; multi pacem ei condonarunt immensis persecutionibus lacerate. Verum tamen si recta lance singula pensare voluerimus, omnia illorum beneficia si in unum conferantur cum hoc tuo preclaro officio, si finis debitus affuerit, nullo modo iudicabimus comparanda. Non enim tanti fuit pacem tunc concedere quanti nunc est restituere ablatam. Nam sicut bona valitudo recuperata ex diutino morbo gratior esse solet quam illa quam nulla egritudo labefactavit, ita nunc iocundior erit multo pax restituta quam antea fuerat non amissa.

Neque tamen, prestantissime Cesar, ita mentis sum inops ut non sciam singula hec que a me dicuntur te animo revolventem et melius et rectius quam me ipsum aut quemvis alium animadvertere; sed cum sit tibi divinitus concessa incredibilis sapientia atque animus generosus, complexus es uno in tempore plurima. Que cum aliis forsan gravia ac difficilia videantur, tu aliorum opinionem rerum conficiendarum magnitudine superare et ad pacem ecclesie Christianorum etiam preclarissimorum principum pacem et concordiam addere voluisti, ne quod tempus vacuum ab egregiis operibus tibi dares, ne qua pars vite ab optimi imperatoris officio cessaret. Qui tuus animus cum sit maxime extollendus (est enim pacis auctor et amator caritatis), non hercule te ausim a tam salutifera materia avocare; sed tamen (dicam enim quod sentio) hanc ecclesie Dei pacem, quam suspensis auribus atque animis mundus expectat, omnibus aliis censeo preferendam. In hac omnium tuarum cogitationum sit caput et fundamentum, ad hanc mentem, ad hanc dirige sensus tuos, huc animum adverte qui propugnator fidei et ecclesie protector existis. Hec te nunc invocat, hec tuum consilium, hec tuum auxilium implorat, per te recreari fessa a diutino morbo cupit. In te pacem suam, in te quietem collocatam videt, quam sibi quantocius largiaris non solum postulat sed exorat. Respice igitur ad eam que parens est tua, ad hanc intende suis laboribus finem imponens. Ad te enim spectat, te unum oculi omnium intuentur, in te confidunt, a te illam exposcunt, tue virtutis opus proprium confitentur.

Quamobrem te omnes exoramus atque obsecramus ut non postpositis sed posthabitis ceteris que es complexus quam primum redire digneris ad hoc tuum opificium absolvendum. Nos quidem ut salvus atque incolumis cito advenias ad hanc pacem optimis inceptam auspiciis in Dei ecclesia statuendam, iunctis in celum manibus deprecamur; quam si nobis, prout firmissima est spes, tua opera condonaris, tunc profecto te inter celicolas referemus, nomen tuum eterna hominum memoria celebrantes. Tunc te dominum Augustum patrem patrie, qui titulus illius fuit, recte poterimus nuncupare. Tua enim erit hec vera

99 ecclesia O 100 ei *om.* BO immensibus O 104 est *om.*F
105 diuturno F 107 ante F 108 ita] iam O 109 animo] omnino F
113 et BO, *del. B qui* ac *sup. lin. add.* 117 cessare O, *corr.* O2 120 hac F 122 fit O 124 hec (2) *om.* F
127 ut citius *ex* quantocius O2, ut *ante* sibi F 134 Nosque O
139 dominum] divum F, *fort. recte*

atque immortalis gloria, tuo numini ascribetur. Nam etsi ceteri tecum senserunt in hoc opus, tu tamen reliquos excitans atque impellens te ducem illis, te principem, te cohortatorem prestitisti ut quantum imperatoris laus distat a milite, tantum tua reliquorum principum laudem antecellat.

Nolo autem, inclite Cesar, existimes me que loquor vel adulandi vel assentandi causa, sed vere et ex animi sententia loqui. Multa Christianorum imperatorum tum dicta tum facta laude digna cognovi. Verum tamen nullum video extitisse cui hec tanta laus ascribi queat, ut Romanam ecclesiam tam longa intercapedine divisam et confractam in statum priorem collocarit. Quin potius aliqui illius malis letati sunt Plures gentilium variis laudibus coluit antiquitas, sed tamen illi in his que erant seculi versabantur, mundo servientes et momentaneis rebus. At tu in Dei cultu, in Dei operibus tua studia posuisti, non corporum, rei fragilis et caduce, sed animarum que sunt perpetue salutem procurans. Illi vanam gloriam sequebantur, tu veram et solidam consequeris. Laus igitur tua tanto illorum laude prestantior quanto res divine humanam imbecillitatem supereminent. Verum alias cum tempus se dabit, amplior locus erit de tuis laudibus dicendi. Hec autem brevibus verbis perstrinxi ut intelligeres id quod tute per te ipsum cognovisti, quantopere tibi enitendum sit, nec enitendum solum sed etiam properandum ad tam sanctum opus, tam acceptum mortalibus, tam Deo carum; quod cum absolveris tum rem maximam omnium que humano consilio et geri et excogitari queant te fecisse homines iudicabunt.

141 atque] et F | 144 distet B, *om.* O | 150 et *om.* BO
153 erunt F | 155 re fragili et caduca F | semper *ante* sunt O
157 laude ill. O | 158 superem. imbec. F | 159 laudibus *ex* virtutibus B | 160 tu te O, *del.* te | 161 cognosti F | neque enim tenendum F | 164 et (1) *om.* O | 165 Amen *post* iudicabunt B

If the question of authorship may be regarded as settled, what gains accrue ? The letter, it must be said, scarcely enhances Poggio's literary reputation - he may have suppressed it for that reason - nor does it lead to any conclusions about Sigismund, the Council of Constance or the Schism. He does not broach the problem which was later to prolong the Council's deliberations, whether reform of the Church should precede or follow the election of a pope, though obviously he favoured the latter course. All that is required, and that urgently, is that Sigismund return to complete his great work. Yet the letter may shed some light on a hitherto obscure episode in Poggio's life. In 1422 there is a series of letters from England to Niccolò Niccoli which makes veiled reference to possible future employment in Hungary, which was being negotiated on behalf of

Poggio by the Florentine merchant Piero Lamberteschi. For this work, in the land where Sigismund had ruled since 1387, Piero had transmitted an offer of 500 florins a year for three years (Poggio wanted 600: see Tonelli 1.71). The crucial passages for interpretation are Tonelli 1.71, 'placet mihi occupatio ad quam [Petrus] me hortatur, et spero me nonnihil effecturum dignum lectione', to be taken with Tonelli 1.80, 'si dabitur otium et tempus describendi gesta illius, aliquid agam quod probabis'. With the new knowledge of Poggio's relations with the king - cf. especially v.158, 'cum tempus se dabit, amplior locus erit de tuis laudibus dicendi' - we may safely assume, what Walser long ago hinted at,[16] that Poggio was being offered the post of Sigismund's official historian, his qualifications for which had been brought into view by this letter. Nothing came of it in the end, and Poggio was delivered from the chilly prospect of 'Sarmatia' by his reacceptance into the Roman Curia. The laudatory history here envisaged was in the event written by Sigismund's court humanist Pier Paolo Vergerio; his *De gestis Sigismundi* is unfortunately now lost.[17]

Later allusions to Sigismund in Poggio's works may be briefly summarised. There is a long set-piece letter to Niccoli on his coronation as Emperor by Eugenius IV in May 1433 (Tonelli 2.15ff.). On the occasion of Sigismund's visit to Rome, Poggio's three natural children were legitimised by imperial licence.[18] Poggio's friend Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini is warned as he sets out on the Hussite crusade in 1431 to be careful

16 *Poggius* 77. Discount therefore P.W.G. Gordan, *Two Renaissance book hunters*, Columbia 1974, 261 n.11: 'the position...involved diplomatic relations with Hungary', and the curious suggestion of P. Castelli, *Poggio Bracciolini, un toscano del '400*, Terranova 1980, 53 n.24: 'il Lamberteschi probabilmente gli offrì un posto di pubblico professore in una delle università italiane'. Recanati in his *Vita Poggii* (Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum scriptores* XX.171) mentions that some writers say that Poggio actually went to Hungary - no doubt mere deduction from the letters of 1422. Poggio's son Jacopo wrote a life of the Florentine Filippo Scolari ('Pippo Spano', d.1426), who was for many years Sigismund's counsellor and general, but he does not mention his father (ed. F. Polidori, *Archivio storico italiano* 4 (1843) 163-184).

17 On the Italianate court of Sigismund at this period, see D. Sinor, *A history of Hungary*, London 1959, 107. Poggio will have known Vergerio at Constance, if not before, but he is never mentioned in extant letters. On Vergerio's long and obscure residence in Hungary after 1418 see L. Smith, *Epistolario di Pier Paolo Vergerio*, Rome 1934, 379 n.1, and *ibid.* p.lix on his *De gestis Sigismundi*. I have not seen J. Huszti, 'P.P. Vergerio és a magyar humanizmus kezdetei',*Filológiai Közlöny*, 1955, 521-533, cited by T. Kardos, *Studi e ricerche umanistiche italo-ungheresi*, Debrecen 1967, 54 n.25.

18 Walser, *Poggius*, 348, Dok. 36.

in his dealings with *noster barbatus* (Tonelli 1.347), and in 1433 Sigismund is regarded as fomenting opposition to the pope at the Council of Basel (Tonelli 2.26). Finally, with balanced hindsight, Poggio came to see the ending of the Great Schism as largely the Emperor's work: 'Maxima pars unitatis Ecclesie Sigismundus Imperator fuit...qui singulos ad unionem hortatus, ex quo magnam laudem est consecutus, et certe nisi is pacis Ecclesie extitisset auctor, in eo concilio unio facta non esset'.[19] These words are taken from the work which Poggio was composing in his last days, to which we now turn.

II: *"Vitae Pontificum"*

The abbé Duchesne published as an appendix to his edition of the *Liber Pontificalis* some fifteenth-century lives of the popes, from Urban VI to Pius II, observing that they appear unfinished and are not properly within the tradition of the continuators of the *Liber*.[20] In 1960 the author of these biographies was shown to be Poggio by Carlo da Capodimonte, with the aid of a fuller version of the text than had previously been known. Duchesne had availed himself only of Rome, Vallicellianus C.25, in which the Poggian lives are preceded by the older series of the *Liber Pontificalis*, while Capodimonte's manuscript, Vat. Ottob. lat. 1863, not only supplied briefer versions of the first two lives but also extensive passages on contemporary European history that had not been integrated into the papal biographies.[21] The differing drafts of the lives of Urban VI and Boniface IX have recently been printed by

[19] *Opera* II.788, vv.15ff., from Duchesne's *Liber Pontificalis.* Sigismund also secures favourable mention, naturally enough, in Poggio's 1455 letter to Emperor Friedrich III: 'Sed eius laboribus et vigiliis est effectum ut unicus Pontifex crearetur, ex quo nomen eius vivet apud posteros immortale' (Tonelli 3.210).

[20] L. Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis*, II, Paris 1892, 546-560, with his introductory remarks pp. l-li. Duchesne's text is reprinted in *Poggii Opera omnia* II.773-793.

[21] C. da Capodimonte, 'Poggio Bracciolini, autore delle anonime "Vitae quorundam pontificum"', *Riv. di storia della chiesa in Italia*, 14 (1960) 27-47. MS Escorial X III 9, of which Duchesne could not get a collation, also has the fuller version; see below under *The text.* The Vatican MS was pointed out to Capodimonte by the late P. Künzle, who hoped at that time to produce a critical edition of the entire history, without further result. For the contents see Künzle's article, 'E.S. Piccolominis Fortsetzung zum *Liber Augustalis* von Benvenuto Rambaldi aus Imola', *La Bibliofilia* 60 (1958) 172 n.3.

Massimo Miglio in his *Storiografia pontificia del Quattrocento*, along with some consideration of Poggio's role as a historian of the popes.[22] To complete this unfortunate piecemeal publication of Poggio's final work, I here offer the historical matter which is appended to the biographies published by Duchesne.

It is evident from the state of the text that has come down to us that Poggio was working on this history when the end came. The latest events mentioned date from mid-1459, and the author died on 30 0ctober of that year.[23] One can also point to the existence of doublets - alternative phrases whose final form had not been settled[24] - and lacunae in the text where research never completed was intended to reveal a name or a fact.[25] The style too is decidedly rough and inchoate: *-que* frequently links sentences, clauses without verbs are thrown together pell-mell, tenses switch randomly between past and historic present; there is much repetition of load-carrying words in close proximity, and readability is sacrificed to a compression achieved by strings of ablative absolute constructions. One topic meanders into another in a sort of stream of

[22] Bologna 1975, pp.8-10 (discussion), 175-177 (text). The discussion earlier formed part of a lecture, *Acta conventus neo-Latini Lovaniensis (Louvain 23-28 August 1971)*, Louvain-München 1973, 411-432. Readers of this original version should beware of a printing error at p.425 n.8, which appears to cite an autograph of Poggio's work, which is in fact an autograph of Antonio Agli's *Vitae Sanctorum.*

[23] Capodimonte p.35 held that 'la conquista di Ceuta da parte di Alfonso V l'Africano, re del Portogallo' (here vv. 144-150) established a terminus before September 1459. But the conquest of Ceuta was accomplished in 1415 by the sons of King John of Portugal, among them Henry the Navigator (cf. B.W. Diffie and G.D. Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese empire 1415-1580*, Oxford 1977, 46-56). A letter of Poggio to Henry (Tonelli 2.281) puts it beyond doubt that it is *Ceuta* that is referred to here - the Moroccan city was held by the Portuguese for over a century before passing into Spanish hands - and therefore that a) Poggio is mistaken in giving the name of the conqueror as Alfonsus and b) Capodimonte is mistaken in using the conquest as evidence of the date of composition. The only alternative, that by 'Urbs Septa' (the regular Latin for Ceuta) Poggio refers in error to the 1458 capture of the Moroccan town of Alcacer by King Alfonso (Diffie-Winius pp.109-110), is ruled out by v.148, *Exinde eam tenuit ad hanc diem urbem*; and that would not bear on the date of the work anyway. The *Vitae* proper close with the arrival of Pius II in Mantua on 27 May 1459, the latest certain date in the entire work (Duchesne II.560 vv.4-5).

[24] E.g. at 153, 209, 264. In these cases the second word or phrase seems to be an afterthought which Poggio would have preferred in a final redaction. I suppose that *haudquaquam* 225 is a relic of a construction that was instantly changed to the present *antequam* clause.

[25] At 95, 114, perhaps 218; cf. Duchesne 555 v.20 for another lacuna. At Tonelli 1.275 (a letter of 14 May 1429), we find Poggio asking Niccoli for the name of a historical personage (Philistos) which he needed to insert in the text of his dialogue *De Avaritia*: 'Addes igitur nomen illud in spacio ubi deest'. Yet certain early MSS of the dialogue still preserve the blank space: H. Harth, 'Niccolò Niccoli als literarischer Zensor', *Rinascimento* 7 (1967) 32.

consciousness. Consider the passage of forty lines or so beginning at v.134. A tirade is launched against the activities of the Emperor Friedrich III, so little worthy of a Christian prince; then, by way of contrast, a very Christian action by 'Alfonso, king of Portugal', the taking of Ceuta from the Moors some forty years before. The false reference to Alfonso of Portugal[26] leads to a description of an earthquake at Naples in the reign of Alfonso of *Aragon* in 1456. Mention of Naples in turn gives rise to extended treatment of the vicissitudes of its history over the previous century.

What these disconnected pieces amount to is a series of notes made by Poggio in the order in which they presented themselves to him as he looked back over the events of his turbulent age. The destination of the finished product is shown by a cancelled page amid the supplementary matter in Ottob. lat. 1863 (f.188v), which deals with Anglo-French history. The contents of this page had already been integrated into the main body of the papal lives, under the account of the pontificate of Boniface IX, 1389-1404 (printed by Duchesne, 550.12-31). And here lies a difficulty.

The English history embraces the reigns of Richard II (1377-1399) and his successor Henry IV (1399-1413); the mad (*in insaniam est conversus*) Charles VI of France reigned until 1422. It looks in fact as though Poggio is at an early stage of composing a history of Europe[27], though naturally with an Italian bias, and that the *Vitae Pontificum* were first elaborated so as to provide a framework for the political history of the European states. Of course, as a papal servant for fifty years Poggio was much better acquainted with pontifical history. It is noteworthy that there is a steady decline in the length of the *Vitae* as printed by Duchesne. From some three pages

[26] Cf. n. 23 above. Other mistakes of fact: 1423 (v.1) was the sixth year of Martin V's pontificate, not 'octavo'. At v.48, Ladislaus, not 'Venceslaus'. The earthquake (v.151) took place in 1456, not 1455. Joanna I of Naples was grand-daughter, not 'filia' of King Robert, v.163. At v.253, the French recovery of Paris in 1436 in fact postdated Joan of Arc's death by five years.

[27] I do not agree, therefore, with Miglio's view that 'il racconto del Bracciolini si pone già dal suo inizio quindi come tentativo di capire come è nato e quali sono le ragioni del Grande Scisma',(*Storiografia pontificia* 9-10). Duchesne p.li is nearer the mark: 'Le schisme est déjà loin de lui; il ne s'y intéresse que faiblement'.

devoted to Urban VI we descend to a mere one-third of a page claimed by Pius II. Notable also that the very short life of Martin V (Duchesne 555-556) bears close resemblance to the 'short life' of Innocent VII (Duchesne 553.27-554.5). A 'long life' of Martin, not in the event completed, would presumably have included much of the material here presented as vv.1-47, and thus resemble the 'long life' of Innocent (Duchesne 552.1-553.26). Composition proceeds by accretion, and we cannot tell where the process would have ended. The perennial problem with any such organizing principle - and it was an imaginative scheme on Poggio's part - is that events in the wider world may not march hand in hand with papal successions. It is not clear for instance how the long section on the history of Naples (vv.163-208) could have been successfully parcelled out among the various pontificates. It may be that the continuous account would have been treated as raw material for chronological slices to be inserted under the appropriate pope. Or the conception may have been changing, and chapters on the nation states were perhaps being designed to supplement the papal core. There are signs that these notes were in the course of elaboration into a full-blown history which would have paralleled and balanced the recently finished *Historiae Florentini populi*: the direct speech given to Henry V before Agincourt (v.220ff.) is a device typical of classical and humanist historiography which contrasts with the dry recital of events elsewhere, and the rubric which introduces Eastern European history, 'Regum historia nunc sequitur digna quae memoriae posteritatis mandetur' (Duchesne 554.9) might have been applied on a much larger scale.[28]

Capodimonte gave extensive *luoghi paralleli* from Poggio's other works, which suffice not only to demonstrate his authorship but also in many cases to identify his sources for the history, that is, very largely his own recollection of the times through

[28] Cf. from the proem to Poggio's Florentine History, 'digna profecto res...quae merito posteritatis memoriae mandetur' (R. Fubini, 'Il proemio inedito alle "Storie Fiorentine"', *Poggio Bracciolini 1380-1980* 134 vv.9-10). Fubini had already contemplated this elaboration in reviewing Capodimonte's article, *Riv. stor. italiana* 75 (1963) 684.

which he had lived, supplemented by his own earlier researches.[29] The reader may find it helpful to have set out a synopsis of the very varied matters of which Poggio treats in these drafts of his history, bearing in mind that much had already been incorporated into the earlier lives as printed by Duchesne. He starts with the intermittent war between Florence and Milan, sketched in very summary fashion in vv.1-38. We move rapidly from its outbreak in 1423, through the temporary peace of 1428 and the Florentine attack on Lucca in the succeeding years,[30] to the Peace of Ferrara of April 1433. Renewed fighting thereafter centres on more leisurely treatment of the famous Florentine victory at Anghiari, 1440.

The next folio in Ottob. lat. 1863, 188v, is, as explained above, cancelled by a diagonal line, presumably in recognition of the fact that its contents had already found their planned home in the *Vitae*. Fol. 189 (vv.39-75) first doubles back to 1426 and the capture of Cyprus by the Egyptian Sultan, Bārsbāy. There follows an account of the campaign of the Polish king Vladislaus III, who ruled at the invitation of the Hungarian estates as Vladislaus I of Hungary 1440-44, against the Turkish drive into Europe, culminating in disaster for the Christians at the battle of Varna 1444, in which the king lost his life (vv.54-64). The death of Poggio's friend, the papal legate Cardinal Cesarini, in the aftermath of the battle is noted without comment. Some comfort is

[29] More source-hunting might be undertaken, but I doubt whether it would reveal close dependence on other authors. In the section on Henry V, for example (vv.209-244), I see little resemblance to two available humanist sources: Pius II's life in *De viris illustribus* (in *Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, I (1843) 40-42) and Tito Livio Frulovisi's long *Vita Henrici V*, ed. T. Hearne, Oxford 1716. Poggio, as a one-time protégé of Henry's uncle, Bishop Beaufort, was well-acquainted with the English history of those times. Both Biondo's *Decades*, complete by the mid-1440s, and Bruni's *Commentaria rerum suo tempore gestarum*, written by 1444, are much more detailed than what survives of Poggio's work and much more centred on Italy. The sections on Florentine and Milanese history in Poggio are in fact dependent on his own *Florentine History*; for the sources of that work, see N. Rubinstein, 'Poggio Bracciolini, cancelliere e storico di Firenze', *Atti e mem. dell'accad. Petrarca di lett., arti e scienze di Arezzo*, n.s. 37 (1958-64) 230-231.

[30] Poggio consistently regarded the Lucca enterprise as an act of aggressive folly, both in contemporary letters to Niccoli and in his considered views in the Florentine *Historiae*, a point worth remembering when excessive Florentine chauvinism is alleged against that work.

drawn from the success of the Hungarian commander John Hunyadi ('Iohannes Vaivoda')[31] in stemming the Turkish tide in Hungary in the years after Varna, vv.65-75.

Vv. 76-91 are taken up with the fall of Constantinople and the reduction of Genoese Pera to Moslem rule in 1453, events which, as we know from his letters, disturbed Poggio greatly. This again is offset by Hunyadi's heroic defence of Belgrade shortly before his death in August 1456 (vv.92-110). It is in the context of continuing Turkish pressure on Europe that Poggio proceeds to sketch the struggle for the Hungarian succession following the election of Hunyadi's son Mathias Corvinus in January 1458; bitter condemnation of Friedrich III ensues for consuming in that struggle resources better employed against the Turk (vv.111- 144).

Still loosely on the theme of the Christian world against the Infidel, the Portuguese capture of Ceuta on the North African coast in 1415 is briefly mentioned (vv.145-151, cf. n.23 above). This is followed incongruously by a report of an earthquake at Naples in 1456 (vv.152-163). Great pools of water afterwards emerged from the ground, a thing unheard of since antiquity, Poggio remarks, with an allusion to Seneca.[32] Mention of Naples turns his mind to the *mutationes* of the Kingdom, and a highly compressed account of a century of Neapolitan history from the death of Robert I in 1343 to Alfonso V's eventual conquest of the city in 1442 takes up vv.164-202. As an afterthought, 202-208, Alfonso's capture by the Genoese in 1435, and his surprising release by Filippo Maria Visconti, then overlord of Genoa, elicits praise of the Duke, who could have obtained over 200,000 florins in ransom for Alfonso and his

[31] *Vaivoda* is really an official title: Hunyadi was Vaivode of Transylvania from 1441, and regent of Hungary from 1446 until his death ten years later. Poggio sent him a laudatory letter in 1448 (Tonelli 2.353-358).

[32] See the unsigned article, 'Il terremoto del 1456' in *Arch. stor. per le province napoletane*, 10 (1885) 346-359.

followers.[33] Without warning we turn to obituary-notice praise of an unnamed Henry V of England (d.1422), an account of an admired stratagem of his at Agincourt (1415), and his siege of Rouen 1418-19 (vv.209-244). Poggio says that he actually met the king there after the fall of the city, a new element of his biography.[34] After Henry's death, we skip a few years till the final turn of English fortunes in the Hundred Years' War: vv.244-255 deal unflamboyantly with the part of Joan of Arc in the eventual expulsion of the English from France (her death at the stake in 1431 is not mentioned), vv.255-267 with the gradual recovery by Charles VII of Normandy and Guienne up to 1453, when only Calais remained to the English. At this point the scribes come to an abrupt halt.

From the snippets and tatters that have descended to us we cannot with certainty reconstruct Poggio's final literary offering as he planned it. It is satisfying to know that his enthusiasm for the writing of history was alive to the end, and instructive to see the process of composition arrested in mid-course, just as an unfinished statue tells us much about its creation which the polished work disguises. By remaining hitherto partly unpublished, the scope and ambition of this history, with Rome at its centre but all Christendom for a stage, have been hidden from view.

The text

Four manuscripts are at present known to contain the *Vitae* in varying degrees of completeness, as described by Capodimonte pp.28-29. The MS used by Duchesne,

[33] Some comparisons: when in 1432 two of his Terranovan farmhands were taken by mercenaries, Poggio was asked to pay 10 florins for the father and 40 for the son, which he thought too much (Tonelli 2.8). He himself was ransomed for 200 papal ducats (much the same as a florin) when he had the misfortune to be captured by Piccinino's troops in 1434: Walser, *Poggius* 157-158, Dok. 41 p.352.

[34] As Capodimonte remarks, pp.38-39. T. Foffano supposed that the visit to Rouen was an otherwise undocumented journey at the end of 1419 or beginning of 1420 (*Ital. med. e uman.* 12 (1969) 123 n.4), but I prefer to think that Poggio refers to a visit in the company of his protector Bishop Beaufort, who is known to have entered the city on 3 March 1419. *Anno post receptam urbem* v.236 will be the slight imprecision of old age, since Rouen fell on 13 January 1419.

Vallicellianus C.25, saec. XVI, has only the *Vitae* proper, without the two brief initial lives published by Miglio or the supplementary material here published. Of the others, the chief witness is Vatican, Ottob. lat. 1863, a miscellany put together by Poggio's one-time colleague in the curia Giovanni Tortelli (d. 1466).[35] This MS alone has Miglio's brief lives. I have taken Capodimonte's word for it that another Ottoboni MS, lat. 751, is a poor copy of it in the *Vitae* and supplement. The fourth MS is Escorial X III 9 = E, written for Antonio Agustín when he was Archbishop of Tarragona, 1576-1586, and therefore some hundred and ten years younger than Ottob. lat. 1863 = O (cf. G. Antolín, *Catálogo de los códices latinos del Escorial*, IV, Madrid 1916, 205).[36] What follows is found on fols. 187v-192 of O, fols. 212v-227 of E.

One would expect Poggio in his eightieth year to have dictated these notes. If so, O cannot be such a copy as it shows clear signs of visually induced errors (e.g. 206 *mittitque*, 246 *postfetantibus*), quite apart from its general, though superficial, corruption. If on the other hand Poggio himself shakily wrote out the text for his own use, that would explain the many places in which both O and E, the latter no doubt through intermediate stages, are afflicted by apparent misunderstanding of their exemplars (e.g. 33, 101, 127, 176). Is E a copy or descendant of O ? In general E follows O fairly closely, usually departing for the worse. Some of its readings, however, e.g. at 16, 71, 101, 209, persuade me that it offers independent witness. If the scribe of E, or a predecessor, could correct 101 *II. melionos* to *ii meliores*, how did he fail to correct many more trivial errors of O ? The true archetype of the tradition[37]

35 See M. Regoliosi, 'Nuove ricerche intorno a Giovanni Tortelli', *Ital. med. e uman.* 12 (1969) 146-8, L. Valla, *De falso credita et ementita donatione Constantini*, hrsg. W. Setz, Weimar 1976, 32. Parts of it are in Tortelli's hand, but not our part. Capodimonte did not know of his ownership of the MS, which places the copying of our text between 1459 and 1466.

36 Agustín, the great legal scholar, compiled an elaborate catalogue of his large library. Our MS appears as 'Biblioteca latina no. 553, Liber recens in charta forma folii', and its contents are fully analysed, though the *Vitae* are not ascribed to an author (*Antonii Augustini Archiepiscopi Tarraconensis opera omnia*, 8 vols., Lucca 1765-1774, at VII.116). A good sketch of Agustín's life and scholarship in F. de Zulueta, *Don Antonio Agustín*, Glasgow 1939.

37 Capodimonte believed that Ottob. lat. 1863 is 'con certezza l'archetipo della tradizione manoscritta', p.28.

seems already to have been a careless piece of work and the notion of a critical edition of these jottings from a writer's notebook may be out of place. I present at any rate fairly full testimony of O (from photographs) and E (from microfilm), that the reader may judge.

I have omitted much orthographical variation and follow the orthography of the earliest MSS of Poggio's letters, as studied by H. Harth for her critical edition of the *epistolario*. In the usual manner, I present my deletions of the manuscripts' readings between square brackets; between angled brackets are enclosed additions to the transmitted text, in many cases purely *exempli gratia*.

DE REBUS GESTIS MEMORABILIBUS

Post Martini in Italiam reditum octavo pontificatus anno MCCCCXXIIIo [fuit] acre bellum inter Philippum Mediolani ducem ac Florentinos ducis culpa excitatum est, in quo, cum per adversam fortunam Florentini inferiores essent, federe societateque cum Venetis inita, fortuna immutata est. Amissa dux Brixia pacem opera Martini cum hostibus fecit, quam cum non servasset iterum bellum est excitatum. Varia sepius fortuna bellum gerentium fuit. Demum Bergamo cum eius territorio Venetis concesso, restitutisque castellis que de Florentinis ceperat, pax firmatur denuo. Bellum inde Lucanum [a] opera quorundam civium perversi animi motum est adversus Paulum Guinisium, qui eam urbem per tyrannidem occupabat. Philippus pertesus pacem, auxilium sub alieno nomine tulit tyranno ex quo, magna clade accepta, Florentinorum exercitus profligatus Pisas propinquam urbem petiit. Renovato postmodum exercitu, cum urbem obsideret auctore Francisco Sfortia, qui in subsidium Lucanorum venerat, pax certo federe cepta est et conclusa, et ab armis cessatum. Civitati libertas

2 Mediolanensem ducem et E 3 dulcis *ante* ducis *del.* O
9 a O: ac E 11 pertesus] per se E 16 cepta est et conclusa] facta est O

permissa. Renovatum deinceps est cum Philippo bellum, in quo cum dux superior videretur, accersitur ex Piceno Franciscus in subsidium Venetorum, qui Brixiam obsidione liberavit. Nicolaus Picininus dux exercitus Philippi in Mugellum cum Eugenius pontifex Florentie esset proficiscitur, quo Florentini Franciscum a Lombardia in eorum subsidium accirent. Profectus inde in Casentinum Franciscus Puppii comes illi adhesit quorum<dam> exulum Florentinorum hortatu. Eo loci aliquandiu commoratus, quoad oppida quedam, que sub Florentinis erant, vi expugnata traderet Francisco, prout inter eos fuerat conventum; inde capto Burgo Sepulcro, Perusiam venit. Prefecti equitum peditumque Florentinorum et simul qui Eugenio parebant, duce Ludovico, qui postea cardinalis est factus, Angliarum, oppidum Burgo IIII miliaribus propinquum, convenere quo prohiberent reditum Nicolai per eorum oras. At is, coactis equitatu peditatuque, magnis itineribus ut de improviso aggrederetur hostes versus Angliarum contendit; quod cum quidam equitum prefectus ex pulvere animadvertisset, hostem adventare clamitans omnes ad capienda arma excitavit. Atrox dimicatio et dubia aliquandiu fuit. Tandem profligatus Nicolaus maiore suorum parte capta, ipse cum paucis Burgum fugit, postridieque in Lombardiam proficiscitur. Ad duo milia equitum capti sunt et pedites ferme omnes et magna pars populi Burgensis qui tanquam ad predam cum Nicolao profecti erant.

Martini tempore rex Egypti, missa in Cyprum cum prefecto classe, cum in insulam descendissent, regem hostibus occurrentem temere cepit. Expoliataque Nicosie urbe maioreque ex parte insula, edificiis incensis, tum hominum tum pecorum preda abacta, in Egyptum rediit. Inde regem pecunia redemptum annis singulis magnam pecunie vim dare coegit; hodieque rex Cypri Soldani est tributarius. Inde classem Rhodum ire iussit. Cum aliquandiu urbem obsedissent, fames et rerum penuria simulque recipiende urbis desperatio abire domum compulit.

Rex Polonie adolescens Venceslaus nomine post obitum Sigismundi imperatoris qui et rex erat Hungarie, regnum Hungarorum vocatus ab eis cepit. Ad reprimendas Teucrorum vires, qui regni provincias infestabant, Eugenius pontifex legatum eo misit Julianum Sancti Angeli cardinalem, virum integerrimum et summe prudentie. Classisque XXII triremium Constantinopolim missa, ut Asiaticos arceret ab transitu. Comparato exercitu XXX milium equitum, rex cum legato, transito Danubio, Teucris occurrerunt. Commissa pugna, Christiani superiores erant, occisisque pluribus equites ad montes transfugerunt; restabat pedestris acies XX milium virorum qui ad tutelam imperatoris eorum deputati erant. Hos rex Polonie cum aggrederetur cum

23 hesit O 26 Burgum Sopulcri O: Burgo Sepulcri E 31 conscendit E 32 expellere E 33 adventare] advenitate *ut vid.* O: *om.* E 39 Martini V E missa *om.* E 41 insule OE 42 pecudum E 46 capiende E 50 Turchorum E *et sic saepe (cf. Tonelli 3.129)* 52 Classis quoque E 56 confugerunt E 58 rex] ex E

parva manu (reliqui enim sparsi per varia loca erant), hostes ex montibus, conspecta Christianorum paucitate, redeuntes in prelium regem aggrediuntur, qui pugnans virili animo interficitur. Reliqui qui a cede superfuerunt, et in iis legatus, diffugerunt. Ita pugne victoria penes Teucros stetit. Legatus in fuga a suis perimitur. Ad duo milia Christianorum in eo certamine perierunt; ex Teucris ad milia viginti.

Missus est haud multo post Iohannes Vaivoda, cum gubernator regni factus esset, vir bello egregius, rei militaris peritia et rebus gestis cum maioribus comparandus; hortatu Christofori episcopi Coronensis, quem pontifex legatum eo miserat, coacto exercitu denuo Teucros aggreditur. Inito prelio multi ex Teucris cadunt, et victoria Iohannes potitus persequendis hostibus incumbebat. Teucer interim, subducta ex prelio suorum parte, castra Hungarorum invadit eaque expugnat; ad que cum Iohannes rediret, cum castra conspexisset capta, fugere compulsus cum maiore exercitus parte evadit. Muniunt castra Hungari curribus, quos circum statuunt muniuntque ut qui intra currus sunt, tanquam in civitate cincta meniis [*sic*], tuti sint ab hostili incursu.

Nicolai tempore civitas Constantinopolis ab Teucris capta est, muris urbis lapidum ictu diffractis; quod incuria Grecorum accidit quibus neque vigilias agere neque civitatem tueri cura erat. Direpta urbs est et cives tum interfecti tum venumdati. Potuisset urbs defendi nisi Grecorum obstitisset avaritia. Plures erant cives abundantes auro atque argento, quorum nemo, ut integram predam servaret hosti, in tutelam patrie nummum voluit impendere; fuerunt plures qui aurum argentumque ad hostem deferrent tanquam illius gratiam ex ea collatione inituri. At ille, que dabantur receptis, in eorum premium stultitie [eorum] capite punivit. Imperatorque Grecus inito cum paucis prelio occubuit. Urbs ab Iudaeis maiore ex parte incolenda traditur. Hec Nicolai pontificatu Christianorum iactura inusta est. Pera quoque, urbs ex opposito Constantinopolis orientem versus parvo intervallo, que ditionis Ianuensium erat sita, capta est; menia eversa, Ianuenses omnes ab ea pulsi. Dueque arces in exitu Hellesponti edificate ne qua navigia ad mare maius et Meotides paludes invito Teucro adire possent.

Estate sequenti Teucer maximis copiis oppidum Belgradum in Hungaria obsedit classemque paratam habuit qua per Danubium ad belli expugnationisque usum necessaria adveherentur. Est enim id oppidum iuxta Danubium, eo loci ubi.....in Danubium influit. Confregerat exteriorem murorum ambitum Teucer ictu lapidum maiorum ex bombardis quas secum advexerat. Ad eius custodiam accesserat vir bello clarus, regni gubernator Vaivoda, cum decem milibus armatorum. Sed disiectis perforatisque menibus, cum hostes ingressi

65 cum *ante* Iohannes OE 68 coactu O 70 ex populo *ante* ex prelio OE, *del.* O 71 eaque] atque E 74 statunt O 78 neque (1) *om.* E 79 tum (1)] cum E 82 ferunt E 85 Imperator quoque E 86 accubuit E 88 urbis O 91 navigia...paludes] ad paludes et mare navigia E Teucro *etiam* E 93 Ungariam E classem quoque E 94 id *om.* E 95 loco E *post* ubi *nullam lac.* E (*addendum fuit* Savus flumen *in lac.*)

magno impetu Christianos insultarent, biduo ferme invalescente pugna, egregie oppidum defensum est. Plurimi ex Teucris occisi et ii meliores Tertio ferme die iterato certamine, Dei nutu superati hostes; cum extra oppidum repulsi forent in fugam vertuntur, in qua magna pars exercitus cesa. Impedimenta omnia cum tentoriis reliquoque bellico apparatu in oppidum deferuntur. Potuit eo die debellari Teucer si Christiani eos persecuti fuissent; sed hominum paucitas - multi enim mortui, plures vulnerati - victoriam impedivit. Hungari magnam laudem sunt consecuti, et eorum dux ore omnium ad celum tollebatur, cuius virtus et prudentia tantum exercitum cum tam paucis superasset et profligasset.

Paulo post tamen Iohannes moritur, duobus filiis superstitibus, quorum alter, percepto regno Hungarie <ab> adolescente parum provido, per aulicorum quorundam invidiam capite truncatur, alter est in carcerem coniectus. Transivit postmodum.....rex cui regnum illud ex hereditate debebatur. Receptus in honore, dum in urbe Praga degeret, despondit regis Francorum filiam in uxorem. Sed postmodum, insidiis regni gubernatoris, indignantis filiam suam ab rege matrimonio oblato contemptam, veneno sublatus interiit. Vaivode filius adolescentior qui in captivitate erat, grandi recepta pecunia dimissus Mathias nomine rex efficitur Hungarie omnium consensu. Pauloque post aliqui ab eo desciscentes ad Federicum imperatorem regnum detulerunt, qua ex re bellum ingens est excitatum. Culpant omnes imperatorem qui cum omnes suas vires contra Teucros assumere debuisset pro Christianorum defensione, ipse sua ambitione populum Christianum in magnum discrimen adduxit, res profecto digna infamia et omnium execratione. Quid enim est alienius a fide probitate religione quam serere et suscipere inimicitias bella discordias inter Christicolas ambitionis cupiditatis avaritie causa? Quid detestabilius quam ea agere per que hostibus fidei facultas et aditus ad pessundandum fidem nostram et subvertendas regiones Teucris conterminas <dentur>? Nullum maius scelus, nullum flagitium, nulla perversitas aut dici aut excogitari <potest> quam auctorem se prebere ut deleatur religio nostra,quam ut anime fidelium pereant aut fiant infideles, que necesse est consequi trium procerum desciscentium a data Mathie fide defectionem. Extinguere aut pacare ceptas discordias boni principis opus fuit et rebus suis esse contentum, non nutrire et errantibus favere perversa cupidine aliena rapiendi regnique illius desolationis. Id laudabile, id honestum, id pacem diligentis, id fidelis principis exercitium debuit esse, <dissidentes> sedare, discordes componere, salutem Christifidelium querere, hostibus Christiani nominis obviam ire, se caput ducem et principem religionis defendende prebere et ceteros suo

101 II. melionos O 103 revertuntur E 106 insequuti E 108 assequuti E 110 et *om.* E 112 precepto regis OE 114 Ladislaus *addendum fuit* 117 indignatus E 118 ablato E contentum OE 119 in *bis* O 121 deficientes E 122 qua...excitatum *om.* E 123 debuissent O 126 et relig. E 127 inimicitius O discordiis OE 129 pessundandam E *fort. recte* 134 mathia O 137 aliena rapiendi aliena E 141 principium O sui *ante* suo O

exemplo ad mutuam pacem et fidei auxilium hortari, non inicere seditionum et bellorum ignem inter Christianos, non serere odia, non appetere aliena.

Alfonsus Portugalie rex, vir magni animi, classem ingentem paravit insciis ceteris cui usui esset futura. Imposito in ea exercitu, litus petens Africe, urbem Septam mari terraque obsedit, Mauritanie rege auxilium ferente. Commisso prelio Portugalensis fusis fugatisque Mauris vi cepit urbem spoliavitque preda militibus concessa. Exinde eam tenuit ad hanc diem urbem, licet magna impensa quam pro illius custodia in sumptus copiarum que urbem tuentur impendi necesse est.

Regnante Alfonso Neapoli a.d. 1455 magnis terremotibus regnum Neapolitanum est disturbatum. Nam [ad] centum amplius civitates atque oppida vicique prostrata cecidere et periere utriusque sexus ad hominum milia sexaginta; pluribus in locis nullus superstes vivens remansit. Que clades admodum est deploranda; maxima enim fuit omnium que apud priora secula leguntur. Civitatis Neapolitane adeo edificia quassata ut domus ferme omnes tignis et trabibus sustententur. Plura religiosorum loca collapsa sunt; plura ex iis que perierunt loca terra absorbuit, in nonnullis aquarum stagna emersere, res profecto mirabilis et antea inaudita preter quam de duabus in litore maris urbibus quas in libris de naturalibus questionibus refert Seneca. Multi id per cometam que paulo antea apparuit denuntiatum ferunt.

Regnum Neapolitanum plures habuit mutationes. Johanna Roberti regis filia mortuo patre regnat; privata ab Urbano sexto pontifice eo quod in scismate Clementi heserat; ab Carolo superata amisso regno pulvino ori apposito suffocatur. Ante obitum Ludovicum Andegavie ducem adoptat in filium. Carolus auxilio pontificis potitus regno paulo post eo a pontifice privatur. Hic duobus liberis susceptis ad Hungaros qui<bus> post mortem Ludovici regis, apud quem educatus fuerat, vocatus in regem erat, profectus, insidiis regine interimitur, relicto Neapoli Ladislao filio impubere cui multis annis a Caietanis victus suppeditatus est. Dux enim Andegavie regnum cum XL milibus hominum ingressus, magnam eius partem in suam ditionem redegerat; in successu rerum vita functus obiit. Ladislaus pulsis Gallicis solus regnat. Ei absque filiis defuncto Johanna soror succedit in regni cura. Regina virum cepit Jacobum comitem Marcie Gallicum, ea conditione ut contentus esset nomine regis, cura regni Johanne promissa. Is preter conventa, cum regimen rerum omnium, exclusa posthabitaque regina, sumpsisset, demum regno pellitur. Nimis enim superbe contumelioseque imperitabat, spretis Italis quorum presidio regnabat. Is domum reversus tandem religionem, seu pudore seu quia ex tam alto fastigio sua ignavia deciderat, ingressus haud multo post moritur. Johanna

142 exortari *ante* hortari *del.* O 147 Mauritani O
148 Portugalense E 149 spoliavitque *bis* O 153 *fortasse* ampliusve 157 legantur OE 161 refer O [Sen. *N.Q.* VI.1]
164 Regnum *ex* Regem *corr.* O2 165 sexto *om.* E
166 Clementis OE 167 pulvinari OE 177 macie *ex* marie O: natione E 178 regis] regno O 182 pudorem O

sola regnat. Ludovicus inde prioris ducis Andegavie nepos regnum intrat magnamque partem ultro se ob domesticas factiones dedentem capit. Quo timore perculsa, Johanna Alfonsum Aragonum regem adoptat in filium; qui Neapolim veniens magno usui regine fuit. Orta deinde dissensione pellitur. Universum regnum defuncto Ludovico regina possidet. Alfonsus parata classe Neapolim revertitur, captam urbem spoliat, rursusque concurrentibus equitum peditumque ducibus urbe eicitur. Classeque Massiliam urbem de improviso petit, qua maiore ex parte direpta abiit. Regina mortua Neapolitani multique regni proceres Renatum Ludovici filium regem creant, tunc apud ducem Burgundie bello captum; ceteri Alfonsum accersunt. Renati uxor cum unico filio regnum petit, adversantibus iis quibus nomen Gallie invisum erat. Alfonsusque cum classe advenit, auxilioque ac factione Fundorum comitis Caietam se dedentem capit. Tum relique vicine urbes per deditionem in potestatem <Alfonsi> cum venissent, Renatum regem qui interim venerat <repudiant> In eius subsidium classis Ianuensis opera ducis Filippi parata cum Caietam peteret, factus obviam cum duodecim onerariis navibus Alfonsus commisso certamine superatur, Neapolim diutius obsessam relinquere urbem compellitur. Ipse post universo regno potitus est. Bellum navale antequam rerum potiretur cum Ianuensibus iis <qui> Filippo duci parebant gessit. Superatus certamine una cum fratribus et pluribus egregiis viris capitur. Deductus Mediolanum magno honore suscipitur, initoque invicem federe multis donis ornatus dimittitur. Magna ea liberalitas Filippi fuit, nam ultra ducenta milia aureorum talium virorum redemptio stetisset.

In hoc rerum florentissimo statu diem suum obiit. Rex fuit magni animi, non minoris consilii, promissa et datam fidem constanter servavit, adeo ut suis verbis staretur que nunquam fuerunt irrita. Persuasum erat multis si diutius vixisset regno Francie fuisse potiturum. Nam plures proceres ad suas partes promissis allexerat, et magnam partem regni possidebat. Vigilantissimus fuit ac diligentissimus ut qui pauca per alios ageret: ipse et belli et pacis munera obibat. Nullas litteras scripsit quas non prius legerat, multa addens, demens nonnulla. Paucis verbis utebatur et iis sententiis gravibus refertis. ...Quando Gallos prostravit duplici stratagemate usus est. Nam cum ei certamen denuntiatum in posterum diem fuisset, advocata suorum contione, cum hortaretur ad victoriam, versus ad sagittarios, 'In hac acie, inquit, maius vobis detrimentum dedecusque quam ceteris est paratum. Decreverunt enim hostes nostri omnibus sagittariis si vicerint manus ambas in perpetuam ignominie notam amputaturos'. Que cum audissent, conclamavere omnes se curaturos ut mortui potius quam vivi in hostium potestatem pervenirent, mortemque eorum [haudquaquam] antequam occumberent multam fore. Quo die bellatum est [et] tempus pluviosum fuerat; relictis castris limo cenoque infectis, retro ad iactum lapidis cessit. Galli pugnandi cupidi ut qui veluti ad certam victoriam

185 ultra OE 188-9 Universum...Alfonsus *om.* E 201 regina] regna O 190 cursusque O: cursimque E 195 quibus] qui O 201 superatorum E obsessum O 202 compulit O: compulitur E 206 mittitque *ante* initoque *del.* O 209 rerum amplissimo statu florentissimo O 218 qua Gallis *post lac.* OE

convenerant, in eum locum successere ut vix firmare vestigia pugnantibus daretur. His artibus ab duce belli peritissimo victoria parta est in qua omnis ferme Francorum nobilitas periit. In Angliam reversus, invadendi rursus regnum Francie curam non intermisit, sed rursus magna comparata classe, cum XXV <milibus> electorum virorum in Normanniam transcendit. Obsessam per octo menses urbem Rotomagum fame ad deditionem compulit. Ferunt in ea obsidione - nam anno post receptam urbem eo profectus ad ipsum egomet audivi - ad tredecim milia inopia cibi interiisse, quorum maior pars puerorum et mulierum fuit qui ex vicinis vicis hostium metu in urbem confugerant. Que res efficit ut quam primum in tanta multitudine annona deficeret. Inde omnes eius provincie civitates partim vi partim desperate auxilio se regi dedidere. Maximam partem regni et ipsam urbem Parisium sue ditionis fecerat nullo ferme adversante. Tum Caroli filiam uxorem cepit, ex qua paulo ante obitum filium genuit successorem regni; eo defuncto aliquandiu sui per eum parta tenuere. Sed fortuna, que rerum humanarum imperium tenet, excitavit ex pascuis puellam quandam virginem de profetantibus, que seu Dei instinctu sive fanatica esset, prefectis Caroli qui parenti defuncto successerat se ultro offerens, belli gerendi se ducem optimo auspicio professa est futuram. Primo eius consilio civitas Aurelianorum obsidione liberata est; tum Anglicos (ad tria milia esse dicebantur) abeuntes cum equitatu omni prosecuta, commisso certamine in fugam vertit. Occisi sunt permulti, neque datum est postea spacium Anglicis se colligendi. Ad multas civitates digressa propter vulgatam tanquam fatidice famam, et ipsam Parisiensem civitatem recepit. Quecunque ea fuerit, victoriarum certe contra Anglicos initium dedit. Rex postea sua virtute Normannia omni hostes pepulit. Ad quattuor milia Anglicorum Constantiensi civitati subsidium ferentes in via oppressit; multis interfectis pauci effugerunt. Inde Aquitaniam aggressus Burdegaliam, caput eius provincie, diutius obsessam ad deditionem compulit, omnique Gallia Anglicos pepulit, adeo ut nihil in regno preter oppidum Calesium teneant. Transierunt deinde Burdegaliam Anglici ad sex hominum milia, sponteque urbem se dedentem recepere, pluraque oppida secuta sunt civitatem. His motus Francorum rex congregato exercitu confestim ad ea loca adiit. Commissoque prelio [interfecto eorum duce] Anglicos occiso eorum duce prostravit. Multi in ea pugna interfecti; civitas in gratiam recepta ingenti pecunia mulctatur. Ita universo regno pax est reddita.

237 sibi E 238 hostium metu *om.* E 239 efficit quam E : efficit ut quam O 240 civitates *om.* E partem in partem E 246 depost fetantibus O: de postfetantibus E 251 nec...spacium postea E 254 fuit E 255 Anglos OE Normanniam OE 257 paucis O 263 motis OE 265 occiso eorum duce *om.* E

Chapter 3

An Emperor without clothes ? Niccolò Niccoli under attack

1. *Introduction*

At the centre of the early Italian Renaissance lies an enigma, in the person of Niccolò Niccoli (1364-1437).[1] In accounts of the Quattrocento he is taken as the chief and most extreme promoter of the classical humanism which came to dominate Italian, and thence European, culture for three hundred years. For his admirer Vespasiano da Bisticci, he was the man who 'revived Greek and Latin letters in Florence', overshadowing in this Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio.[2] If these Florentine writers are today universally known while Niccoli is forgotten by all but specialists, the reason is that they left monuments of their learning and industry. In Niccoli the creative urge was so weak that his extant literary remains amount to three Italian letters, two testaments, a search-list of manuscripts and some plangent tax statements. His ceaseless efforts for the study and dissemination of his type of classicism *à outrance* are apparent from the many Latin letters, around 200 in all, directed to him by the most eminent names of

[1] All research on Niccoli must still use as a starting point Giuseppe Zippel, *Niccolò Niccoli*, Florence 1890, the first work of the great Trentino scholar, now reprinted with revisions in the collection assembled by his son, *Storia e cultura del Rinascimento italiano* ed. Gianni Zippel, Padua 1979, 68-157. Several other papers by Zippel will be referred to, all from the same volume. The facts of Niccoli's life are succinctly set out by A.C. de la Mare, *The handwriting of Italian humanists*, I, Oxford 1973, 44-49. For general orientation, besides the article of Gombrich cited in n.20 below, Georg Voigt is always worth reading; I used the Italian translation (of *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums*), *Il Risorgimento dell'antichità classica*, 3 vols., Florence 1888-97, with the important 'giunte e correzioni' of Zippel in vol. 3. For Niccoli see I.297-306.

[2] 'Vita di Nicolaio Nicoli fiorentino' in *Le vite* ed. A. Greco, II, Florence 1976, 225-242 at 236.

Italian humanism; not a single reply is preserved. As with Cicero's Atticus, we have to estimate the man from the outside.

There are other sources for the reconstruction of Niccoli. Detailed work on his great library, which included such treasures as the 'Medicean' codices of Aeschylus and Tacitus, will in time reveal the extent of his part in the descent and criticism of classical texts. He appears in many a humanist dialogue, generally as a sharp and unconventional figure, a sort of gadfly of the *studia humanitatis*. Several obituaries and biographies, Vespasiano's being the most influential, give us pious and uncritical portraits. Far from reverent, and more than critical, are the invectives against Niccoli which form the subject of this chapter.

Niccoli had a special gift for getting both the best and the worst out of people. Close friends whose studies he had stimulated and supported became bitter enemies, driven to issue character assassinations which stand every item of obituary praise upon its head: he wrote nothing because he was barely literate, his library was assembled as an attempted deception of posterity, his puritanical views masked a monster of depravity, and so on. 'No man was ever written out of reputation but by himself', and Niccoli's reputation was founded on what must have been a genius for *oral* encouragement and inspiration - and sarcastic slander. It is characteristic that he never published any reply to these attacks, nor does he seem even to have contemplated doing so.

Along with the letter and the dialogue, the invective was a favourite form of the fifteenth-century humanists, who carried on in this respect a classical tradition revived by Petrarch. The scale and personal animosity of the attacks steadily increased over the years, as did the particular literary modes in which they were couched. The closely-structured oration along classical lines, the invective proper, existed alongside satirical poems, lengthy 'letters to a friend' and even onslaughts in dialogue form. The

spadework for a full treatment of Renaissance invective remains to be done[3] and this article is designed to cover a small part of the ground. It reviews all the evidence known to me which relates to humanist attacks on Niccoli, overhauls the accepted chronology and suggest some approaches to their tendentious testimony about the man. These attacks come from writers who essentially shared Niccoli's attitude to the classical inheritance. He was also the butt of some important defences of the *volgare* tradition, which require separate treatment and are here only touched on in passing.[4] Problems which seem to me to have been inadequately dealt with in the past, and they are plentiful enough, are given special emphasis; for less arid entertainment the reader may turn to the invectives themselves.

2. *Guarino*

Guarino Guarini was the most famous of humanist educators,[5] and his teaching career began when Niccoli had him brought to Florence in 1410. Regular teaching of Greek had not been given there since the departure of the Byzantine Manuel Chrysoloras in 1400. Guarino, a native of Verona, had the prestige of having studied in Chrysoloras' household in Constantinople for six years, and on his return to Italy Leonardo Bruni was quick to point out to Niccoli the benefit to Florence of securing his services.[6] The Florentine university, or *Studio*, was then in abeyance, the effect of strains in an economy geared to war. Like his master Chrysoloras, Guarino was initially

[3] E.I. Rao promises a history of the genre, *Bartolomeo Facio: Invective in Laurentium Vallam*, Naples 1978, 9; and see P.G. Ricci's interesting remarks, 'La tradizione dell'invettiva tra il medioevo e l'umanesimo', *Lettere italiane* 26 (1974) 405-414.

[4] E.g. those of Cino Rinuccini and Domenico da Prato, for which see the material in A. Wesselofsky, *Il Paradiso degli Alberti*, 3 vols., Bologna 1867, and the criticism of Hans Baron, *The crisis of the early Italian Renaissance*, the first edition of which (2 vols. continuously paginated, Princeton 1955) has the essential documentation lacking from the second single-volume edition of 1966.

[5] The best guide is still R. Sabbadini, *La scuola e gli studi di Guarino Veronese*, Catania 1896, (hereafter *Scuola e studi*), reprinted with Sabbadini's *Vita di Guarino Veronese*, Genoa 1891, in *Guariniana*, ed. R. Sancipriano, Turin 1964. For a recent severe assessment see A.T. Grafton and L. Jardine, 'Humanism and the school of Guarino', *Past and present* 96 (1982) 51-80.

[6] Bruni, *Epistolae* ed. L. Mehus, 2 vols., Florence 1741, epp.III.14 and 15.

hired to teach a small group of the Florentine élite in private. The invitation, we are assured, was the work of Niccoli, as it had been in the case of Chrysoloras.[7] Looking back some thirteen years later, Guarino wrote that scarcely a day dawned during his time in Florence when he was not assailed by abuse and backbiting.[8] We may guess from the context that the chief authors of this vexation were the friends - at that stage - Bruni and Niccoli, and the latter above all. Guarino was a modest and, by humanist standards, patient man. The evidence of the desperation to which he was driven by the hypercritical air of Florence lies in the first humanist invective against Niccoli, his *In auripellem poetam*.[9]

This production takes the form of a letter to a friend, one Biagio Guasconi,[10] and it keeps to the convention of these indirect attacks that the victim is not named. Nevertheless, so distinctive were the traits of the historical Niccoli - or the image of Niccoli - that readers could not have failed to identify him. The charges laid here remain constant, though with varying emphasis, in all later invectives. Briefly, and in Guarino's tumultuous order, they are these: his foul and mordant language, his arrogance, his envy and derision of true scholarship, his own false repute as a sage based on a parade of superficial learning, his search for fame through abuse of others, his lack of patriotism, his passion for insignificant minutiae, his ingratitude to friends, his scandalous liason with his housekeeper, his impiety and ignorance of Latin, his vast

7 Poggio, 'Oratio in funere Nicolai Nicoli', *Poggii Opera omnia* ed. R. Fubini, I, Turin 1964, 272. Niccoli is there associated with Coluccio Salutati, the chancellor of Florence, in persuading Chrysoloras to come to Florence.

8 *Epistolario di Guarino*, ed. R. Sabbadini, 3 vols., Venice 1915-19, I.383, *ep.* 245, vv. 22-24, November 1 1423.

9 'Against the pinchbeck poet' (Italian *orpello*), edited by Sabbadini as *ep.* 17 (I.33-46). I have been unable to find his first publication of it in *Nozze Curcio-Marcellino*, Lonigo 1901.

10 A young studious Florentine, later busy in the service of the republic. On him see R. Sabbadini, *Storia e critica di testi latini*, ed. 2, Padua 1971, 31 n.3; L. Bertalot, *Studien* II.148 n.1, 154; D. Kent, *The rise of the Medici*, Oxford 1978, 319-20, and especially C. Bec, *Cultura e società a Firenze nell'età della Rinascenza*, Rome 1981, 138-143.

unused library, or rather bookshop.[11] Particular motives are said to have overcome Guarino's reluctance to attack his one-time benefactor (the reluctance itself is an obligatory *topos* in accordance with ancient practice, and rarely on show after the opening statement): the abuse he endured for refusing to expel from his class a youth whose progress in Greek Niccoli envied; his arrogant assumption of the right to use Guarino's books as his own; and the withholding of Guarino's stipend, against the terms of a signed and sworn contract (vv. 281-362). Finally Guarino felt obliged to respond when Niccoli put into circulation a letter making direct criticisms of him (vv. 42-43).

The letter to Guasconi is found in two redactions, the second about twice as long as the first. It seems that the initial diatribe against Niccoli aroused interest and applause, inducing Guarino to emend and expand. The date of the redactions is not precisely ascertainable. Sabbadini argued that the deletion from the later version of the passage dealing with Niccoli's refusal to pay the agreed private stipend (vv. 345-62) indicated a date for that version after Guarino's nomination to the public post of Greek lecturer at the newly-reopened Studio;[12] that is, late 1413, with the earlier version placed some months before. One could think of other reasons for deletion, e.g. that Niccoli in the end paid up, and it is not clear that Guarino did in fact lecture at the Studio.[13] Two internal indications of date conflict with one another. In both versions Niccoli is said to have reached his fiftieth year (v.48). Since he was born about 1364, the words suggest 1414. But at line 284, also in both versions, we learn that Niccoli has been 'studying' Greek for fourteen years without progressing beyond the forms of the alphabet. Chrysoloras began teaching at Niccoli's instigation in March 1397, and we

11 Missing here are his irreverence towards the great Florentine writers of the Trecento - perhaps not to be expected from a foreigner like Guarino - and his family quarrels, which Guarino says he will pass over in silence (*ep.*17 v.192).

12 *Epistolario di Guarino*, III.24, commentary on *ep.* 17.

13 He was certainly elected to do so (A. Gherardi, *Statuti della Università e Studio fiorentino*, Florence 1881, 389), but he is not listed among the teachers who drew salary in the academic year 1413-14, the first of the revived Studio; see K. Park, 'The readers at the Florentine Studio', *Rinascimento* 20 (1980) 268.

must assume that Niccoli attended the classes, at least sporadically, from the beginning.[14] The years 1411-14 are unusually barren in Florentine correspondence (no letters of this time from Niccoli's friends Poggio or Traversari, a few from Bruni which do not mention Guarino, and of course none from Niccoli himself), and Guarino's letters are too scanty to help. The more precise figure of fourteen years, which Guarino was in a position to know, seems on balance more reliable than the round figure of fifty, which may well mask uncertainty over Niccoli's exact age. Perhaps vacillation - around 1412 - is safest, since two firmly dated letters of that year attest Guarino's lowness of spirits.[15]

Guarino left Florence in July 1414 with Francesco Barbaro, the Venetian nobleman and humanist whose name will often recur in the following pages, making his way via Bologna to Venice.[16] Relations with Niccoli were certainly not repaired at that stage. It may have been Niccoli's appointment as one of the annual officials of the Studio in May 1414 which convinced him of the unlikelihood of stable employment there.[17] The bad blood between them ended three years later, presumably under the suasions of Barbaro and Traversari, inveterate peacemakers, when Guarino sent Niccoli a letter which amounts to a *redintegratio amoris*.[18] But Niccoli was to cause Guarino further trouble, as we shall see.

This first invective is a poor thing, not to be compared with the artistic productions of a Leonardo Bruni. If its first version was written under the stress of

14 For his attendance see Leonardo Bruni, *Dialogus* 1 of 1401 in *Prosatori latini del Quattrocento*, ed. E. Garin, Milan 1952, 52.

15 *Epp.* 10 and 12 Sabbadini, of May and June. Voigt, *Risorgimento* I.344 n.5, decided on 1411. Sabbadini retreated from 1414 (*Scuola e studi* 19 n.3) to 1413 in the *Epistolario*. The words of Benvenuti's invective (Zippel 168 v.7), 'si latratus tuos expavisset' imply that Guarino stayed for some time after the outbreak of hostilities.

16 Sabbadini, *Scuola e studi* 19; *id. Vita di Guarino Veronese* 22.

17 Gherardi, *Statuti* 191, 22 May 1414.

18 *Ep.*75, Venice, September 1417. Cf. Guarino to Traversari, *ep.*77, with some warm words for Niccoli. The friendship was renewed face to face when Niccoli visited Verona in 1430 (cf. *ep.*980).

emotion, Guarino did little to mend the turbid Latin (e.g. the lumpish sentence vv.62-75) and confused arrangement in the longer redaction, which was much more widely diffused.[19] The laboured sarcasm, the characteristic weakness for puns, the unsteady unfolding of accusations, some of which seem to modern eyes to commend the victim,[20] bear witness to an attack easy to repel, or ignore. Its main interest for us lies in its consistency with the later portraits, and as a token of the incomplete development of humanist invective. It is sometimes said that the humanists modelled these exchanges on the ps.-Sallust/ps.-Cicero *Invectivae*; but I suppose that a greater impetus to the close study of methods and effects came from Poggio's rediscovery in 1417 of Cicero's *In Pisonem*, 'eine Musterinvective'.[21]

3. *Benvenuti*

Niccoli was on chronically bad terms with his five younger brothers. After the death of their father Bartolomeo, a wealthy wool merchant, in the 1380s, their wealth as a family steadily declined.[22] Disputes between the brothers, mostly concerning property, sometimes ended in litigation.[23] It seems that relations reached a new low point in 1419 and that Niccolò was constrained to move from the house that he shared

[19] For the diffusion note the many manuscrpts, doubtless only a portion of the total tradition, on which Sabbadini based his edition. We gather from Sabbadini, *Scuola e studi* 18 n.5, that the long version is far commoner.

[20] E.g. Niccoli's derided explanation of 'de architectura rationes', v.222, his application of numismatic and epigraphic evidence to orthography, vv.172 ff. Cf. on this E.H. Gombrich, 'From the revival of letters to the reform of the arts', *The heritage of Apelles*, London 1976, 93-110 at 98 ff., the best account of Niccoli's significance.

[21] M. Gelzer, *RE*, 2. Reihe, 13 (1939) 950 vv.49-51, 'eine Musterinvective woran man fortan die gesamte Topik dieser Gattung studieren konnte'. For the *In Pisonem* as invective, see R.G.M. Nisbet's lively appendix to his edition (Oxford 1961), 192-97, and the detailed analysis of S. Koster, *Die Invektive in der griechischen und römischen Literatur*, Meisenheim am Glan 1980, 210-281.

[22] A sketch of the family fortunes from the Florentine archives in L. Martines, *The social world of the Florentine humanists*, London 1963, 112-116; for Bartolomeo's death, 160. More detailed archival extracts in Zippel, *Storia e cultura*, 162 n.11, a long note to his edition of Benvenuti's invective.

[23] Martines, *Social world* 115 n.96, cases involving Niccolò in 1406 and 1421. On the former, cf. Bruni's letter to Niccoli in Zippel 141-142 and his *ep.*X.19 Mehus. Giannozzo Manetti's life of Niccoli attributed his poor progress in Greek to the fraternal quarrellings, i.e. already in the 1390s; cf. Baron, *Crisis* 572 n.61.

with one or two of his brothers.[24] Traces of this discord are found in a letter which Poggio, Niccoli's closest correspondent, sent to him from London on 29 January 1420: 'scire cupio...utrum cessaverint fraterna discidia et an cum amicis nostris in gratiam redieris.'[25] The name of Lorenzo di Marco Benvenuti would be unknown to fame had he not become entangled in these 'fraterna discidia'. In the invective against Niccoli that is his sole monument he informs us that he was called in to arbitrate between the brothers, no doubt feeling in the process the lash of Niccolò's tongue.[26] As a public service he takes upon himself the exposure of his new enemy and of his multifarious vices. A distinction is often drawn between these two operations in invectives, as if vices could exist independently of vicious persons.

The invective was published by Zippel, with useful information from the archives on the identity of Lorenzo Benvenuti, a Florentine merchant and holder of political office who died young in the plague of 1423.[27] I wish here to consider two interrelated problems, the date and the authenticity of the piece. In a letter of 31 January 1421 Leonardo Bruni wrote to Poggio (who was still in England) that from having been one of Niccoli's closest friends, Benvenuti had become an implacable enemy.[28] He is therefore presumably among the 'amici nostri' for whose reconciliation with Niccoli

24 In 1430 Niccoli declared to the tax officials that he had been living in the house of Nerone di Nigi for twelve years (Zippel 162 n.11, on 164). In January 1420 Poggio asks Niccoli 'qua in domo habites' (*Opera* IV.273) and we must relate that enquiry to Niccoli's departure from the paternal home, against Zippel, who places it in 1418, or even 1416 in his earlier monograph, 95 n.92.

25 Edited by Wilmanns and reprinted in *Opera* IV.272-273. The letter is dated in the manuscripts 'IIII *Kal.* (omitted by Wilmanns) Febr.'; the year 1420 is fixed by Poggio's reference to the Curia's presence in Florence.

26 Zippel 163 v.9, 'ad sedandas predationum tuarum discordias arbiter sumptus.'

27 *Storia e cultura* 158-178, originally in *Giorn. stor. lett. ital.* 14 (1894) 166-86. I refer only to the new edition for this invective, and for Bruni's. For his political offices see Zippel 172, with the additions of F.P. Luiso, *Studi*,(as n.55 below) 97 n.75. See also Martines' profile, *Social world* 324-325, and especially Baron, 'An informant upon Niccolò Niccoli' in *Crisis* 409-415. For his cultural level, annotations in his Horace, of which Dr A.C. De la Mare told me, would be worth examining (Vat. Pal. lat. 1659 fols. 1-62; see P.O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, II, London-Leiden 1967, 394) Extracts 'ex libris secretorum Hermetis' were made for him in Berlin lat. oct. 150 (*Iter Italicum* III, 1983, 480). Poggio and Niccoli hoped to get their hands on his books when they came up for sale after his death: Poggio *ep.* II.7 in *Opera* III, Tonelli I.98.

28 Bruni *ep.* V.4 Mehus, to be dealt with more closely later.

Poggio hoped a year before. The arbitration of the fraternal feud must have been unsatisfactory to Niccoli and, from the date of Poggio's letter, that will have taken place in the latter half of 1419. Most of Poggio's letters to Niccoli throughout 1420 comment vaguely on his mounting troubles - restraint is advised - but there is no mention of the issue of an invective before *ep.* I.9 of 24 October 1420: 'scripsi ad Nicolam quid mihi videatur de dissensionibus vestris, et de Laurentii invectiva'.[29] Nicola de' Medici, a distant relation of Cosimo, was the recipient of this lost letter, and by chance Bruni alludes to it at the beginning of his *ep.* V.4 as written 'Londiniis II Non. Octobris'.[30]

By 6 October 1420, then, Poggio in London - which would take a bank courier some four weeks to reach - knew of the invective. The writing itself contains one clue as to its date of composition. It ends by suggesting that Niccoli take his much-advertised trip to Greece, 'vel potius ultro Sauromatas'.[31] This project, which never came to fruition, was to have been undertaken in the company of Pedro de Fonseca, the Spanish cardinal of S. Angelo who was appointed papal legate to discuss union with the Greek church at the end of March 1420.[32] So we arrive at a date between March and September for the publication of Benvenuti's attack, and this broad dating finds confirmation in another, very curious document, a letter which Niccoli's friend Ambrogio Traversari sent to Francesco Barbaro in Venice.[33]

29 Tonelli I.42. 'Vestris' implies dissension with Nicola de' Medici, something Zippel denied (175 n.9). Poggio would have used 'tuis' if the reference was to Niccoli alone. Praise of Nicola in Bruni's *ep.* V.4 ('vir optimus Nicola noster') strengthens this impression, and there was certainly friction between the two in 1423 (Poggio *ep.* II.4, Tonelli I.92). Poggio asked to be sent the invective so that he might frame a reply (*ep.* I.15, 9 July 1421), but he never did as far as we know.

30 Mehus II.17.

31 'quin in Greciam, ut infatuasti,vel potius ultro Sauromatas proficiscare', referring to Juvenal II.1 (Zippel 170).

32 Poggio *ep.* I.7, Tonelli I.33-34. Fonseca's legation: G. Hofmann, *Epistolae pontificiae ad concilium Florentinum spectantes*, Rome 1940, *ep.* 11; J. Gill, *The Council of Florence*, Cambridge 1959, 31.

33 *Ep.* VI.21 (*Traversarii epistolae*, ed. P. Canneti, Florence 1759, II.301-303). The first volume of this work is Mehus' 'life' of Traversari, in reality a literary history of Florence.

This itself must first be dated. F.P. Luiso in his *Riordinamento dell'epistolario di A. Traversari* placed it in the period March-October 1420.[34] In fact it is much closer to October, for on the 19th of that month Traversari rejoices in Barbaro's recovered health, about which he had expressed fears in this letter.[35] Furthermore the Franciscan Antonio da Massa has between *ep.* VI.21 and VI.22, also of October, made a trip from Florence to Venice and back. VI.21 may therefore safely be placed in September, shortly after the invective came into circulation. Zippel showed that the apparent references to the (later) invectives of Francesco Filelfo against Niccoli prudently disguised the hostility of Bruni and Benvenuti.[36] The importance of the letter lies in its attribution of Benvenuti's invective to Bruni himself.

This startling charge is worth further examination. Traversari says that after a friendship so close that on Bruni's side it verged on unhealthy adulation, Bruni began to seize every opportunity of taking Niccoli's forthright manner of speaking as malicious slight against himself. Love of money replacing love of learning is said to have brought about the change. By and by he took to attacking Niccoli, at first behind his back and then openly, at length vomiting forth an 'orationem in illum, *licet alteri inscriptam*, omnium quas unquam legerim teterrimam'. This oration had been sent by Bruni to Barbaro, and Traversari feels some explanation is required because he had been unwittingly implicated in this act of ingratitude towards Niccoli. Despite his entreaties not to publish the author had proceeded to issue the pamphlet with a brief letter of dedication to Traversari himself.[37] He concludes that at first he had believed it the work

[34] 3 parts, Florence 1898-1901, I.38. Baron, *Crisis* 409 n.2, is misled by Luiso's irritating habit of keeping to the old sequence of books while re-ordering the letters within them: VI.21 Canneti = VI.18 Luiso. Unqualified references to Traversari's letters here refer to Canneti's order.

[35] As Sabbadini pointed out, *Epistolario di Guarino* III.120-121. *Ep.* VI.18 (= VI.20 Luiso), 19 October 1420, though the precise day is not certain.

[36] Zippel 174-175, based on Sabbadini's conclusions in 'Sugli studi volgari di Leonardo Giustiniani', *Giorn. stor. lett. ital.* 10 (1888) 367. Filelfo himself was in Greece at the time of this letter.

[37] Unwitting and unwilling dedicatees of such compositions were common; cf. Poggio *ep.* VII.4, on Filelfo, and the Filelfan satire to Barbaro discussed below.

of the ostensible author, Benvenuti, but that he was later informed on the most certain authority that it was really Bruni's 'vel tota vel maxima ex parte'.

What are we to make of all this ? Traversari's hostility towards Bruni is evident, and there are other grounds for believing that there was no love between them.[38] Against the assurance of Bruni's authorship - Traversari, originally a doubting Thomas, 'digitum fere in vulnus inieci' - there is Bruni's express assertion that he had not attacked Niccoli in public before the issue of his *Oratio in nebulonem maledicum* some years later.[39] He even goes to the length of urging Poggio to destroy his *ep.* V.4, on which the *Oratio* is based, to preserve Niccoli's reputation.[40] Guarino, back now in Verona, believed on the strength of letters from Traversari and Niccoli that Bruni was the moving force behind the invective, but his is not independent witness and he seems never to have read the piece.[41]

Since the first publication of Benvenuti's invective in 1894, two manuscripts have come to light with the short dedicatory letter mentioned by Traversari.[42] The writer, 'Laurentius', disingenuously claims '[que] perscripseram e manibus nescio quo modo delapsa sunt et in vulgus exiere'. The scribe of one of these manuscripts backs

38 Traversari scorned Bruni's translations from the Greek (*epp.* VIII.8 and 9 of 1424, Canneti 370 and 372), and Vespasiano da Bisticci had plainly heard tell of their rivalry in this field (*Le vite* ed. Greco, I.456 ff.); Bruni indirectly replies to his (and Niccoli's) 'malignitas' and 'livor' in the preface to his *Phaedrus* translation, Baron, *Schriften*, 127 vv.14-26. Bruni's sole allusion to Traversari (apart from a passing reference in *ep.* V.6) is a scathing 'professione hypocrita, patria sodomites' in *ep.* IV.23 to Poggio in 1426. 'Hypocrita' is a technical term for a monk (which Traversari was) or a friar in humanist writing. Bruni's attack *In hypocritas* of 1417 indicates antipathy, if it was not actually directed against him, as Vespasiano thought (*Vite* I.458; I do not know why Greco doubts this). Significantly, neither included letters to the other in their large *epistolari*, though an unpublished letter of recommendation from Bruni survives in Florence, Bibl. Naz., Nuovi Acquisti 354 fol. 139v. And note that Bruni is twice attested at Traversari's monastery during the duration of his quarrel with Niccoli: Traversari *epp.* VIII.3 and 8.

39 Cf. the beginning of Bruni's invective, 'Respondissem tibi dudum iam, perditissime scurra, nisi me id facere volentem amici...retinuissent', Zippel 128, and Bruni *ep.* V.4 (Mehus II.19), January 1421 to Poggio, 'Tolerantiam tamen adhuc contra illius rabiem adhibui'.

40 As Zippel noted, 175 n.48, 'se pure le parole erano sincere'.

41 Guarino *ep.* 245. This letter must be of 1423, as Sabbadini dated it. Its contents, especially vv. 37-39 attacking Bruni, conflict with those of *ep.* 199, where blame for the dissension between them is laid on Niccoli. A certain two-facedness was necessary to remain on terms with both sides, as Poggio's letters show.

42 Baron, *Crisis* 409 n.2 gives the text.

Traversari's ascription in an unusual colophon: 'est ornatissimi viri Leonardi [Bruni] Aretini in Nicolaum Florentinum, licet frete [*leg.* ficte) dicatur Laurentii Benvenuti. Ego autem non sic opinor, attento contextu verborum. P. Lunensis.'[43] There is no way of knowing whether Pietro da Luni, in 1434 a correspondent of Bruni, was aware of Traversari's letter. Finally, no manuscripts of the invective give it to Bruni, except an addition in a later hand in a copy owned by Philibert de La Mare in the 1650s.[44]

If P. Lunensis, 'attento contextu verborum', means that he detected the hand of Bruni by analysis of the style, the conclusion is unwarranted, and refuted by a reading of the two invectives, Benvenuti's and *In nebulonem*, side by side. Bruni does not succumb to such verbal tics as the meaningless *dumtaxat*,[45] the inverted *nedum* clause,[46] or the uncertain handling of *etiam ne* (or *ne...etiam*) for *ne...quidem*.[47] The whole effusion, with its heavy-handed classical decoration, has a distinct whiff of the classroom and we can half believe its author's claim that he sent Traversari the invective as a specimen of his literary progress, 'ut censor rerum mearum existas, et quid in illis perfecerim [*leg.* profecerim] tu ipse idem intelligas'.[48] Notwithstanding it

[43] Kristeller, *Iter Italicum* II.305, on Viterbo, Bibl. Capit. MS 13. An unpublished letter of P. Lunensis to Bruni on fol. 84v (L. Dorez, 'La bibliothèque capitulaire de Viterbe', *Revue des bibliothèques* 5 (1895) 245). He was then chancellor of Norcia, later a papal secretary: T. Frenz, 'Das Eindringen humanistischer Schriftformen in die Urkunden und Akten der päpstlichen Kurie im 15. Jahrhundert', *Archiv für Diplomatik* 20 (1974) 451 ff., and especially G. Mancini, *Vita di L. Valla*, Florence 1891, 286 n.3.

[44] As transcribed in Paris, Bibl. Nat., Moraux 848 (see below, n.92). Philibert had his doubts about the ascription, 'sed obstat operis titulus, qui illud ad Leonardum pertinere, quamquam recentiori calamo scriptus, significat...' (fol.3). Bruni's name attracted a great many false ascriptions of works to him, but not in this case. A copy in the Medici archives (MAP CXLVI, fols. 1-6) attributes it to Laurentius de Medicis, where presumably a later note has given it to a more illustrious Lorenzo. Pavia, Univ., Aldini 73 (Kristeller, *Iter Italicum* II.555) gives it to Poggio, Niccoli's staunchest defender!

[45] Zippel 166.12, 166.23, 168.17.

[46] Ibid. 165.5, 168.20, 169.20 (*nedum* here = *non dicam.*)

[47] Ibid. 167.3, 168.5. Someone, perhaps the scribe, has gone wrong at 165.6, 'an ne minima quidem...'.

[48] Baron, *Crisis* 409 n.2.

represents a marked advance in terms of classical structure over Guarino's effort[49] and there is clear evidence that the study of *In Pisonem* was rewarded.[50]

The invective as it stands is not in the words of Bruni. But collusion between Niccoli's two enemies is entirely likely. We find Benvenuti asserting (Zippel 167.17 ff.) that Niccoli has some measure of fame only through being mentioned in Bruni's opuscula, and that is precisely what Traversari in his letter to Barbaro says Bruni told him. Bruni himself writes to Poggio along similar lines.[51] If Benvenuti was born towards the end of the Trecento, as Zippel thought,[52] he would probably have been too young to have had the intimate contact with Chrysoloras that he implies: 'qui cum michi Xenocrates quidam videretur aut Tarentinus Architas...',[53] and the passage on Niccoli's maltreatment of the Byzantine teacher will be owed to Bruni's report. It may be thought also that the stress on Bruni's pre-eminence in Greek studies is not disinterested, but part of his covert warfare with Traversari. Political sympathy, as Baron underlined, was another factor: the patriotism in which Niccoli is held to be deficient is manifested by Benvenuti in his attack on Niccoli's attitude towards Florentine imperialist expansion, and by Bruni in complementary fashion in his defence of the Florentine authors whom Niccoli despised. Too many gaps in the record forbid precise reconstruction of Bruni's part in the invective ascribed to Lorenzo Benvenuti,

49 Cf. Zippel 174, 'quella di Lorenzo...assume la forma classica dell'orazione'.

50 Ibid. 164.11, 'vir philosophe, non ex schola sed ex lanificio quodam producte', cf. *Pis.* 37, 'Epicure noster, ex hara producte non ex schola'; 169.24, 'tragicum quendam Horestem aut Athamantem...et si quem alterum dementiorem', cf. *Pis.* 47, 'tragico illo Oreste aut Athamante dementiorem'. Benvenuti himself mentions Poggio's discovery of Ciceronian speeches at Zippel 165.29. The satirists Persius and Juvenal and Cicero's *Catilinarians* are also pressed into service.

51 Traversari *ep.* VI.21, Canneti 302; cf. Bruni *ep.* V.4 to Poggio (Mehus II.19): 'quem ipse supra dignitatem suam pluribus locis ornarim', ibid. II.24, 'amicum...qui pluribus eum locis litterarum suarum honoravit'.

52 Zippel 171. Martines, *Social world* 324 gives 'ca. 1383' without source.

53 Zippel 166. The improbable classical comparisons are lifted from Andrea Zulian's funeral speech for Chrysoloras (1415): H. Hody, *De graecis illustribus*, Oxford 1742, 37.

but he must have been well satisfied by the publication from another hand of some of his own views, while still being able to protest his innocence of direct attack.[54]

4. *Bruni*

Leonardo Bruni's *epistolario* is a precious source for the cultural history of the early Renaissance, and more of the letters in it are addressed to Niccoli than to anyone else; none, however, after 1419, although Niccoli lived until 1437 and Bruni until 1444.[55] This is partly explained by their residence in the same city during this period, but both made lengthy journeys to other parts of Italy, and Traversari in his Florentine monastery kept up a copious correspondence with Niccoli. To a larger extent the reasons for an epistolary silence of nearly twenty years are to be found in the ill-feeling that arose between them in 1419, which was only superficially resolved in 1426 through the efforts of Francesco Barbaro.[56]

The first record of coolness appears in the last letter to Niccoli that survives. Leonardo writes that he is sorry to have offended Niccoli by an unwelcoming reception and by withholding from him some *Annales*. With mild remonstrance about the need to bear with friends' foibles, he asks Niccoli's forgiveness.[57] The very sending of such a letter shows the seriousness with which Bruni viewed the potential rift, for minor

54 I add that Zippel's case (p.138) for the reconciliation of Niccoli and Benvenuti was refuted by Luiso, *Riordinamento* I.43 n.2.

55 *Leonardi Bruni Arretini epistolarum libri VIII*, ed. L. Mehus, 2 vols., Florence 1741: with Luiso's additions, 35 letters to Niccoli, 13 to Poggio and no more than eight to anyone else (Salutati). An essential aid to the study of Bruni's letters has recently appeared, some 75 years after its compilation: F.P. Luiso, *Studi su l'epistolario di Leonardo Bruni*, ed. L. Gualdo Rosa, Rome 1980, which publishes in full a number of letters not in Mehus and provides a calendar and reordering of the rest, with much annotation. I refer to the Mehus numbers, except for Luiso's *inedita*. The letter of 'Leonardus Aretinus Nicholao suo' published by Zippel 142-143, and rashly dated by him 1426, is not by Bruni, despite Luiso, *Studi* 13.

56 Older discussions in Zippel 91-94 (with Bruni's invective in appendix, 128-141), and P. Gothein, *Francesco Barbaro*, Berlin 1932, 109-113.

57 Published as Luiso's *ep.* IV.21, *Studi* 95 f., where the *Annales* are identified (I think correctly) as Bruni's *Historiae Florentini populi* and thus placed in the years 1415-19. The injured tone and close parallels to Bruni's words of self-defence in the 1420s suggest to me the latter year. The *Annales* which Niccoli on this occasion was not allowed to see will then be the second book of his *Historiae*, finished 'presumably during the second half of 1419' (Baron, *Crisis*, 611 n.14, with chronology of this work).

abrasions were inevitable and commonplace with Niccoli, as Poggio's letters very frequently attest. If the *Annales* were compositions of Bruni, the incident can perhaps be related to Traversari's explanation of the worsening relations: Bruni's indignation that Niccoli no longer lavished praise on every word that Bruni wrote.[58] We are not informed how Niccoli received this letter, but the reception can hardly have been encouraging. Already in January 1420, Poggio was asking 'an cum amicis in gratiam redieris', and it seems that the friends included Bruni as well as Benvenuti.[59]

By the time of the publication of Benvenuti's invective, assigned above to the summer of 1420, the rupture was complete. Traversari's words in his *ep.* VI.21 bear witness ('resarciendi nulla spes reliqua esse videatur'), and so do passages from Benvenuti's invective itself: 'Eadem quoque petulantia commotus atque invidia in Leonardum Aretinum flagrasti...', with much praise of Bruni and vilification of Niccoli.[60] According to Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, the future Pius II, not even the earnest desire of Pope Martin V could reconcile them at this early stage of hostilities.[61] On 17 December Poggio again asks of Niccoli, 'quid agit Leonardus Aretinus et an in gratiam rediisti'.[62] But matters had if anything taken a turn for the worse, and on 29 December Bruni announced to a friend of Guarino, in words that recall those of Benvenuti, 'illa eadem fax levissimi hominis que dudum in te hic presentem nullo tuo demerito exarsit, in me quoque nunc pari temeritate conversa, incendia quedam inter me et Guarinum excitare conata est'.[63] Guarino too, then, was being reluctantly dragged

58 *Ep.* VI.21 (Canneti 301-302):, 'quod ille scriptis suis ut solitus erat non per singula verba adclamaret, immo improbaret apud eum, indignans...'.

59 Cf. n.25 above.

60 Zippel 167.

61 In his brief life of Bruni (n.82 below), written in the late 1440s. This must be the source of Voigt's statement that Eugenius IV failed to effect a reconciliation, and he is followed in this by Gothein, *Barbaro* 112 and Greco in his edition of Vespasiano, *Vite* I.457 n.2. But the 'summus pontifex' can only be Martin, who stayed with his Curia in Florence from 2 March 1419 to 8 September 1420.

62 Poggio *ep.* I.12, Tonelli I.60.

63 S. Gimignano, Bibl. Com. MS 27 fol. 120v, published with comment in the next chapter.

into the Florentine squabbles. Niccoli's tactics were apparently to isolate Bruni by sowing discord between him and his friends. When Bruni learned that Poggio, a friend of twenty years' standing, was likewise being alienated from him by a slanted version of the facts, the knowledge provoked a long defence of himself and a bitter attack upon Niccoli, an attack indeed on which his later invective was modelled: *ep.* V.4 of 31 January 1421.[64]

He has heard, Leonardo begins, from Nicola de' Medici of Poggio's letter to Nicola in which he had delivered his views on the quarrel. He himself had resolved to remain silent until Poggio should return from England, but since Niccoli has carried his attack to 'extremo...mundi angulo', he is presented with a dilemma: either to respond in kind to the vitriol of one he had praised in the past beyond due measure, and be accused of inconstancy, or cravenly to maintain the forbearance he has hitherto shown. And the reason for this squall, this flood of anger that engulfs him ? Here follows a very different version of the origins from Traversari's vague talk of Bruni's avarice and eagerness to take offence: 'Una muliercula, et ea ipsa turpissima, causa est illius amentiae'.[65] And with this we come to Benvenuta, or Malvenuta as Bruni preferred, a central figure in the story.

According to Bruni, she had arrived in Florence some time ago ('dudum') in search of a bachelor with whom she might lodge. At first she battened upon Niccoli's brother Giovanni, with whom he shared the house, for many months his housekeeper and concubine. Soon, however, she seduced Niccolò and before long openly became his mistress, a state of affairs Bruni regarded as incestuous. Such scandal, he says, gives some shadow of credibility to the vulgar belief that the *litterati* were atheists, unmindful of human or divine law. Then, like Circe, she proceeded to enslave her lover and to poison his mind against his brothers, friends and acquaintances. Lorenzo

64 *Ep.* IV.22 in Luiso, who established the date (*Studi* 97 nn. 73 and 74).

65 Mehus II.19.

Benvenuti is singled out as a particular friend driven to enmity. Bruni alone of his friends remained, but for a long time now Niccoli had taken to sneaking slander of him,[66] eagerly taking every opportunity for contention that arose - the very behaviour in fact that Traversari had alleged against Bruni. The final break came when Benvenuta's evil tongue turned upon the wife of another brother, Jacopo. At length the brothers, united in hatred of the eldest, dragged her from Niccoli's room and beat her naked in the street, a punishment traditionally given to prostitutes; or as the Rev. William Shepherd, a survivor of the age of Gibbon, put it: 'they inflicted on her a species of chastisement, in the administration of which, convenience and severity are consulted much more than modesty'.[67]

To Niccoli this seemed like a presage of the end of the world and he took to the seclusion of his room, uttering threats of violent revenge. When Bruni, thinking the whole affair undignified, failed to comfort him in his distress, offering instead some short advice on manful conduct, he became the victim of a sustained campaign of abuse, 'incredibili verborum obscenitate'. Regard for their past friendship had held him back so far from retaliation, but further provocation might lead him to a weapon that Niccoli would regret, the 'gladium orationis'. This undisguised threat of an invective concludes the long letter.

The bulk of this censoriousness bears upon Niccoli's relations with his housekeeper, as scholars have agreed to call her. This is the person of whom Poggio asks in his letter of January 1420, 'an Sybilla sit tecum, propter quam tot lites emersere', just after the enquiry as to where Niccoli now resided. The disgraceful scene recounted by Bruni and Niccoli's removal to the house of Nerone di Nigi are no doubt connected. Also connected were Benvenuti's attempts at a settlement of the dispute,

66 'Ego unus supereram: me quoque ferino dente lacerandum putavit. Coepit enim iampridem sic adversari michi...(Mehus II.21).

67 W. Shepherd, *The life of Poggio Bracciolini*, ed. 1, Liverpool 1802, 134.

events which can be dated to the second half of 1419.[68] Sybilla - Poggio's spelling - was Niccoli's pet-name for his mistress; she is referred to as such, or as Benvenuta, in many letters to him of Traversari and Poggio, always in a kindly way.[69] The first allusion to her that we have comes in Guarino's invective of c. 1412: Niccoli is already a slave to his 'nequissimae ancillae et sordidissimae mulierculae'.[70] The relationship, surprisingly in view of Bruni's indignation, stretched back a good deal further. In his 1433 *catasto* declaration (statement to the tax officials) Niccoli said that he owed 153 florins to 'una monna Benvenuta di Giovanni di Paganino da Creda, ch'è stata mecho circa anni 32'.[71] It seems that the tale of her 'incestuous' seduction of Niccoli was stale news indeed. Bruni nevertheless thinks it worth telling to Poggio. We might guess that the switch of affections from Giovanni to Niccolò took place (if it did) in the period 1403-05.[72] Poggio left Florence for Rome in 1403 and Bruni followed him there to employment in the papal court in the latter year.

How long did the unconnubial bliss last ? Giannozzo Manetti published an admiring life of Niccoli a few years after the latter's death in which he dresses up the relationship that Bruni found so tawdry: 'Vnius ancillae ministerio exemplis Socratis atque Ennii...contentus cum suis libris diu ac multum commorabatur.'[73] Zippel at first supposed (p.97), before he became aware of the catasto passage, that Benvenuta died shortly after 1431, 'because we do not find her named thereafter, not even in his will of

[68] Zippel placed the scene variously in 1421 (p.92) and 1420 (p.96). See 96 f. for his account of Benvenuta, whom Vespasiano termed 'una donna di tempo', *Vite* ed. Greco II.239.

[69] Poggio's references to her stretch from 1416 to 1430. Besides the letter cited above, see *epp.* I.1 (in the postscript of the first redaction given by Walser, *Poggius* 64 n.2; now in *Lettere* ed. Harth, I p.135), II.1, II.24, IV.11; but he could disparage her in letters to Bruni, II.11, III.10. Traversari mentions her (1423-31) in the following letters of Book VIII (letters of this book are all to Niccoli): 2, 3, 5, 11, 35, 36, 38, 39.

[70] *Ep.* 17 vv. 315 ff. She is much more prominent in Benvenuti's invective, Zippel 165-166.

[71] G. Mancini, *Vita di Valla* 51 n.2, from the Florentine archives, MAP *Catasto 1433*. There is no reason to suspect the statement on this point.

[72] Giovanni married about 1410, and the first of his five children, Cornelio, whom Niccoli treated as a son, was born in 1412 (Zippel 162 n.11 on 163).

[73] *Traversarii epistolae* ed. Canneti, I.lxxvii. For the date (c.1440) see Baron, *Crisis* 585 n.22.

1437'. On the other hand, she is very much alive in the *Satires* of Filelfo which were issued in 1435 (as we shall see), and the will made shortly before Niccoli's death is no sure guide, for she is not mentioned in an earlier will of June 1430 either.[74] A month or so after that disposition Niccoli travelled with Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici to Rimini and Verona, accompanied by his faithful Sibyl. A fresh examination of the archives might turn up more information on this intriguing woman who held the great Niccoli, on the testimony of his enemies, in the palm of her hand.

The feud simmered on, unreported in the scanty humanist correspondence of these years. We do know that Bruni's long letter did not reach Poggio in London. When he returned to Rome, after a short stay in Florence which did not suffice to heal the rift, Bruni wrote him a note (20 February 1424) to say that he would send a copy of the letter which had gone astray.[75] This may well have been a pre-emptive move to secure Poggio's support in view of Niccoli's own imminent arrival in Rome.[76] Poggio was not much interested in having the causes of the quarrel -'quae dediscendae essent'[77] - rewarmed; but that Bruni should send him *ep.* V.4 at that stage implies that his invective had not already been issued, since substantial portions of the letter reappear *verbatim* in the later piece. There is a mysterious letter of Traversari to Niccoli,

74 Published by B.L. Ullman and P.A. Stadter, *The public library of Renaissance Florence: Niccolò Niccoli, Cosimo de' Medici and the library of San Marco*, Padua 1972, 292-295.

75 *Ep.* IV.21 (IV.27 Luiso). The date is disputed. H. Baron, *Leonardo Bruni Aretino: Humanistisch-philosophische Schriften*, Leipzig 1928, (hereafter *Schriften*) 207, and Bertalot, *Studien* II.410 and 437, support 1423; Luiso and Gualdo Rosa (*Studi* 101 and 196), 1424. The latter is clearly right, for many reasons, but chiefly because Poggio's reply (*ep.* II.11) begins, 'Reddidit mihi Cosmus noster litteras tuas', and Cosimo had reached Rome by the date of Poggio's *ep.* II.1, 12 February 1424 (Tonelli I.87, dated 1423 in *stile fiorentino*). Bruni's IV.21 of 20 February will have been sent to Rome as part of a bundle carried by Medici bank staff. There is a bowdlerised version of Poggio's *ep.* II.11 in *Opera* I.347, where the uncomplimentary opinions on Benvenuta have been deleted, presumably for circulation in Niccoli's lifetime.

76 For the very gradual stages of Niccoli's journey to Rome, reconstructed from Traversari's letters, see G. Mercati, *Traversariana*, Studi e Testi 91, Vatican City 1939, 5-6. He stayed there with Poggio and the Medici party until about June and returned to Florence in September (Walser, *Poggius* 91 n.2).

77 *Ep.*II.11, Tonelli I.108. But Poggio agreed that the cause of the feuding, as he had confirmed in Florence, was 'unius...delirantis mulierculae non susceptum a te patrocinium', ibid.

securely dated to 2 September 1424,[78] which appears to refer, with the vagueness that characterises these exchanges between intimates, to fresh troubles that had arisen for Niccoli during his absence in Rome: 'Praesto erunt obtrectatores tui qui te insimulent et vitio tuo accidisse discordiam adserant'. Among them, no doubt, Leonardo Bruni, whose long-meditated invective seems from internal evidence to have been composed in this year.[79]

Niccoli's closest friends, Poggio and Traversari, are silent about an invective from Bruni's hand, at this time and later. Witness of contemporaries to its existence is limited to Francesco Filelfo, in a letter of complaint to Cosimo, 1 May 1433,[80] and Giannozzo Manetti in his funeral oration for Bruni, 1444.[81] In the late 1440s Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, a former pupil of Filelfo, knew of it, and in 1456 Bartolomeo Facio gives it in a list of Bruni's works.[82] It is included in another list appended to Vespasiano's *Vita* (c.1490), perhaps on Manetti's authority.[83] None of these writers has anything to say about the completeness or otherwise of the text. As an appendix to his monograph on Niccoli, Zippel published the incomplete *Oratio* from Laur. 52.5. Francesco Novati observed in reviewing Zippel's work that it was a great pity that he had not availed himself of a complete text from some other manuscript: 'ma

[78] *Ep.* VIII.39, Canneti 403. For the date see Luiso, *Riordinamento* II.4, and R. Sabbadini, *Carteggio di Giovanni Aurispa*, Rome 1930, 15-16.

[79] Niccoli's sixty sterile years are insisted upon: Zippel 132 v.2, 135 v.20, 136 v.4 and 15.

[80] *Philelphi epistolae*, Venice 1502, fol. 12, 'In Leonardum qualem se praestiterit, ipsius Leonardi in eum invectiva testimonio est, quoted by Mehus, *Epistolae Bruni* I.lxv.

[81] In Mehus' edition of the letters, I.cii: 'Et ne aliquod dicendi genus ab eo intentatum relinqueretur, *Contra hypocritas* et *In nebulonem maledicum* libris singulis...absolvit'.

[82] Mentioned by Aeneas in his *De viris illustribus* (cf. n.61 above) in *Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart* I (1843) 23. For Filelfo as his teacher see *Philelphi epistolae* fol. 10. The information in Facio's work of the same title (ed. Mehus, Florence 1745, 10) perhaps derives from Poggio, since we find him in 1455 asking Poggio to list Bruni's writings, presumably for his forthcoming work (a letter printed by A. Wesseling, *Laurentii Vallae Antidotum primum in Poggium*, Leiden 1978, 253); but the list does not correspond to the fuller enumeration of Bruni's works - excluding the invective - given by Poggio in his funeral oration (*Epistolae Bruni* I.cxxiii), which would be his most likely source for the information.

[83] *Vite* ed. Greco, I.482. Greco notes that Vespasiano is largely dependent on the orations of Poggio and Manetti for his life of Leonardo, p. 463 n.1.

a questo difetto ei potrà agevolmente riparare'.[84] After a lengthy search I have been forced to conclude that the defect cannot be so easily remedied, and probably not remedied at all, in all likelihood because the invective was never finished. This depressing conclusion - the text breaks off just as Bruni prepares to relate with relish the scene of Benvenuta's disgrace[85]- is based on the manuscript evidence presented below.

First, it should be borne in mind that Leonardo Bruni's works were very much sought after for copying. He is easily the most largely represented Renaissance author in Kristeller's *Iter Italicum*, a very large sample of this field, and hence almost certainly in European manuscript collections as a whole. It would be a long business to relate one to another the thirteen surviving manuscripts known to me (and one or two now missing), and probably of slight value for the text. But one manuscript outweighs the rest. The author of Bruni's funeral speech, close friend and disciple of the older humanist,[86] and one of our two real witnesses to the existence of the *Oratio*, Giannozzo Manetti owned and annotated Vat. Pal. lat. 1598, which has the invective on fols. 74-83 - truncated like all the rest.[87] If a person as well-placed as Manetti could not obtain a complete copy - and this collection of Bruni's opuscula seems to have been formed in the author's lifetime[88] - that is a strong indication that there never was such a thing.

Owners and annotators of the remaining manuscripts, which I list here with the briefest bibliographical references, would be worth further investigation; with the exception of nos. 10 and 12, all are of the fifteenth century.

[84] *Giorn stor. lett. ital.* 17 (1891) 116. For the republication of his father's papers Gianni Zippel collated also Laur. 76.44 ('74.44' on p.128 is a misprint), likewise defective at the end.

[85] *Explicit*, 'Vos autem, si potestis, risum contineatis. Primum igitur', Zippel 141. What is missing would have developed the account of *ep.* V.4. The earlier episode of Niccoli's seduction of Benvenuta is carried over almost word for word: invective 140.5-18 = letter 19.33-20.15; invective 140.25-37 = letter 20.20-21.1. Zippel did not remark on this use of recycled material.

[86] For their closeness cf. Vespasiano, *Vite* ed. Greco, I.479-481.

[87] G.M. Cagni, 'I codici Vaticani Palatino-latini appartenuti alla biblioteca di Giannozzo Manetti', *La Bibliofilia* 62 (1960) 20 no.8.

[88] Dr de la Mare kindly showed me her notes on this manuscript, where she had suggested the early 1440s as its date. Baron, *Schriften* 81 n.** suggests '1439 oder wenig später'.

2. Laur. 52.5, fols. 15v-23, Zippel's manuscript (A.M. Bandini, *Cat. codd. lat. Bibl. Laurentianae*, II, 1775, 549, with extracts).

3. Laur. 76.44, fols. 73v-84v (Bandini III, 1776, 116).

4. Vat. lat. 1560, fols. 52-64 (B. Nogara, *Codd. Vat. latini 1461-2059*, 1912, 65.).

5. Vat. Urb. lat. 1164, fols. 150-166 (C. Stornajolo, *Codd. Vrbinates latini 1001-1779*, 1921, 180-181).[89]

6. Vat. Ottob. lat. 1901, fols. 58-68 (Bertalot, *Studien* II.396; Kristeller, *Iter Italicum* II.419).

7. Rome, Angelica 141, fols. 99v-109 (E. Narducci, *Cat. MSS in Bibl. Angelica*, 1893, 75).

8. Florence, Bibl. Naz., Magliabech. VIII.1311, fols. 49-49v (Kristeller, *Iter Italicum* I.132).[90]

9. Modena, Bibl. Estense, Campori 17 (= Gamma.H.5.45), fols. 99-112 (L.Lodi, *Cat. dei codd. posseduti dal Marchese Campori*, 1895, 18-19).

10. S. Michele di Murano 843, pp.32-74 (Mittarelli, *Bibliotheca codd. S. Michaelis Venetiarum*, 1779, 663). An eighteenth-century copy which passed from S. Michele to S. Gregorio al Celio in Rome (*Iter Italicum* II.565) and is now in the Archivio del S. Eremo in the monastery library at Camaldoli.[91]

11. Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 6315 (*olim* 2156), item 8 (*Cat. codd. MSS Bibl. Regiae*, IV, 1744, 228).

89 Baron, ibid., says that this is probably a direct copy of Manetti's manuscript in another work of Bruni.

90 A small fragment ending at Zippel 129.26 'inspiciens'; information from the authorities of the Biblioteca Nazionale.

91 Information from the Direttore, Antonio Ugo Fossa.

12. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Moraux 848, fols. 117-126v, a copy of no. 11 by Philibert de La Mare, c.1650.[92]

13. London, B.L., Cotton Cleopatra C.V, fols. 152-163 (*Cat. of MSS in the Cottonian Lib.*, 1802, 581).

In addition, Oxford, New College 286 is mentioned down the centuries as having the *Oratio*;[93] but it was one of three works already missing from the manuscript in the sixteenth century, as Bodley's first Librarian noted with irritation.[94] The similarity of the original contents of this Italian manuscript to those of no. 13, the English Cotton Cleo. C.V, makes it highly probable that the latter was a direct copy of the former, and so that the New College invective was also mutilated.[95] Finally, Lorenzo Mehus said that he saw a copy 'in cod. chartaceo Riccardiano'.[96] It does not seem to be in the present collection of the Bibl. Riccardiana, however, and Mehus may have confused it with the invective of Benvenuti in Ricc. 1200, whence it was published by Zippel.[97] 'Absence of evidence is not evidence of absence' and we cannot altogether discount the possibility that a completed invective of Leonardo Bruni rests somewhere undisturbed and uncatalogued. It is more economical to suppose that Bruni never put the *manus*

[92] My thanks go to Carlotta Dionisotti for examining this manuscript, which contains materials for de La Mare's projected complete edition of Bruni's works. See his prospectus, *Elenchus operum Leonardi Bruni philosophi Aretini*, Dijon 1653, 6.

[93] E. Bernard, *Catalogus librorum MSS Angliae et Hiberniae*, Oxford 1697, Colleges p.37; Mehus, *Epp. Bruni* I.lxvi; Bertalot, *Studien* II.396. for the present contents see H.O. Coxe, *Cat. codd. MSS...in collegiis Oxoniensibus*, Oxford 1852, New College pp.100-102.

[94] Thomas James, *Ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigiensis*, London 1600, 4-5, compiled in 1598. W. Shepherd, *Life of Poggio* 135 note b, found it missing in his day, but he was wrong to say it had never been there.

[95] Cleo. C.V belonged to Thomas Allen of Oxford in 1622 before passing to Cotton: A.G. Watson in *Mediaeval scribes, manuscripts and libraries. Essays presented to N.R. Ker*, ed. M.B. Parkes and A.G. Watson, London 1978, 300 and 309. The opuscula in these miscellanies are probably connected with the library of Duke Humfrey; see A. Sammut, *Unfredo duca di Gloucester e gli umanisti italiani*, Padua 1980, 27 n.30.

[96] *Traversarii epistolae* I.xxx n.2.

[97] Cf. *Storia e cultura* 158 ff.

ultima to his onslaught, even if later in his life, perhaps after Niccoli's had ended, he allowed it to circulate.[98]

If this is so, we can only speculate as to the reasons. Perhaps respect for old friendship in the end held him back; perhaps he came to feel that the issue would impair rather than promote his own *dignitas* - 'ut dedecorosum mihi foret tecum in certamen descendisse' - as he put it in the opening of the *Oratio*. Or possibly he felt more could be, or was, achieved by far less: a 'Carmen in Nicolaum nichili' of sixteen elegiac couplets which Sesto Prete first published in 1963.[99] In this the calumnies of the prose invective are found in embryo, with touches of humour missing from that work. Defamation of Niccoli's character and learning gives way in the last six lines to an exposé of his lowly origins.

There is no ready way of deciding whether this satirical squib preceded or followed the composition of the *Oratio*. It is hardly 'safe to conjecture that it was not written, or at least not circulated, before the *In nebulonem maledicum*' on the basis of the opening claims of the invective.[100] 'Iam taceas moneo, ni mala ferre cupis' etc. (v.2 f.), might be taken precisely as a warning not to provoke an attack which was waiting in the wings. It would certainly read strangely if the invective had already been put into circulation. It is no more than a guess that Niccoli desisted from further slander of Bruni after the issue of the poem, thus rendering publication of the *Oratio* unnecessary; but it will do as well as any other in default of sure knowledge surrounding these events.

98 Carlotta Dionisotti points out to me a curious parallel of a work which breaks off in mid-sentence being published by its author: Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini still thought it worth dedicating his early *Somnium* to a fellow cardinal many years after its composition (*Opera inedita* ed. G. Cugnoni, Rome 1883, 550). Bruni also seems never to have finished his *De interpretatione recta* (Baron, *Schriften* 96).

99 S. Prete, 'Leonardi Bruni Aretini carmen', *Classical World* 56 (1963) 280-283, with an inaccurate account of the quarrel. He republished the same piece, without adverting to its appearance elsewhere, in *Two humanistic anthologies*, Studi e Testi 230, Vatican City 1964, 82-87, including some slight improvements to the text of the poem. To his manuscripts add Vat. Barb. lat. 34 (*olim* VIII.34) and Vat. lat. 8914 (Kristeller, *Iter Italicum* II.457 and 345).

100 Prete 'L.B.A. carmen' 282. Cf. n.39 above for the claims. For Zippel (p.220 n.15) the *carmen* 'dev'essere anteriore alla sua invettiva', but he does not say why.

We end this account of the feud with a brief look at the formal reconciliation and a discussion of its depth and sincerity.

The stages of the reconciliation are discoverable chiefly through the letters of Poggio. In the summer of 1426 Leonardo Bruni and Francesco Barbaro acted as ambassadors of their respective republics, Florence and Venice, at negotiations in Rome designed to bring about peace between those cities and Milan.[101] Barbaro passed through Florence both on his way to Rome and on the way back. On the first occasion, his efforts to reunite his two friends made no headway; as he thought, through Bruni's intransigence. Shortly after Barbaro's departure in May, Bruni wrote another letter of self-exculpation to Poggio in Rome in which he urges him to show Barbaro his *ep.* V.4 (now more than five years old) where the causes of the quarrel had been set forth. Niccoli and Traversari are alluded to in terms of extreme malevolence as having spread further calumny before Barbaro, and Bruni is anxious that Poggio should provide his counter claims.[102]

Poggio replied later in the month that Barbaro had expressed in frequent conversations his sadness at the continued enmity in Florence and his determination to effect a reconciliation on his return.[103] Bruni himself arrived in Rome in June, when the matter will have been discussed by the three friends. On 27 September Poggio wrote again, somewhat hurt that he had had no opportunity of putting in a final word for peace before Bruni's unexpected departure.[104] The details of what followed are lost to us, but Barbaro's diplomatic skills finally bore fruit in October when two letters of Poggio to

101 Bruni's embassy lasted from 30 May until his return to Florence on 29 September (cf. his *relazione*, *Archivio stor. ital.* n.s. 5, part 2 (1857) 31-34.) Barbaro was appointed on 8 April (Gothein, *Barbaro* 378 n.49) and was back in Venice by October. Long before, Barbaro had sent Niccoli a letter urging reconciliation (October 1420, cf. Traversari *ep.* VI.18, Canneti 297).

102 *Ep.* IV.23 (IV.30 Luiso).

103 *Ep.* II.41, Tonelli I.180. Note Poggio's view, 'Dixi reconciliationis culpam potius in Nicolao quam in te fuisse'.

104 *Ep.* III.4, Tonelli I.191: 'Cupiebam enim te deducere extra urbem...tecumque colloqui de restituenda, quod Barbarus noster summe cupit, inter te et Nicolaum antiqua benivolentia.'

Niccoli and Bruni celebrate their long-deferred reunion.[105] Barbaro at the same time received a letter of congratulation for this great service to the world of learning (*Ep.* III.7). Other humanists such as the poet Panormita[106] soon became aware of the reconciliation, and the friendship was resumed, after an interruption of seven years, amid general rejoicing.[107]

Or was it ? The negative evidence, that no letters of Bruni to Niccoli survive from the years of the supposed resumption of intimacy, has already been mentioned. Stronger is the testimony of Francesco Filelfo, who arrived to teach Greek in Florence early in 1429. Recording his initial impressions of the humanist circle there in a letter to his friend Aurispa, he wrote: 'Leonardus autem Aretinus mihi vehementer afficitur, quem eo puto rerum mearum studiosum magis fore quod adventu praesentiaque mea maximo est levatus onere. Nam et Nicolaus et Carolus [Marsuppini], qui ante adventum meum *illi plurimum detrahebant*, ab omni eiusmodi calumnia maledictoque destitere mea causa, ut existimatur, deterriti quod vidissent a me Leonardum ...laudatum'.[108] Filelfo is normally a deeply tainted source for anyone interested in getting at the truth. At this point, however, he was still on good terms with Niccoli (as the same letter shows), with whose support he gained the post at the Studio. His words find unexpected confirmation from a disinterested (in this respect) party; writing to a Venetian friend to explain the origin of the feud between Filelfo and Niccoli, some ten years after the latter's death, Poggio has this, among much else, to say: 'Philelphus se

105 *Ep.* III.5 to Niccoli, 23 October, *ep.* III.6 to Bruni, 26 October (the latter misdated in the manuscripts and by Tonelli, as Walser, *Poggius* 92 n.2 pointed out). Luiso's chronology of Poggio's letters to Bruni, *Studi* 171, is largely incorrect.

106 Letter to Giovanni Toscanella, October 1426, from Bologna, through which Barbaro passed on his way back to Venice: R. Sabbadini, 'Un biennio umanistico (1425-26)', *Giorn. stor. lett. ital.* Suppl. 6 (1903) 112.

107 Traversari *ep.* VIII.16, 'cum maxima cunctorum exultatione'. According to Zippel 94, 'L'intimità fra quei due letterati non fu più oscurata', but in 'Il Filelfo a Firenze' (1899), he took a different view: *Storia e cultura* 221.

108 *Philelphi epistolae* fol. 9, 31 July 1429. Filelfo apparently retained Bruni's friendship throughout the furious strife in which he later involved himself, even after he was obliged to flee to Siena at the end of 1434; cf. his letter from there to Bruni, 11 April 1435 (not 1436, as ed. Venice, fol.13). But Poggio in *his* invectives insists that Bruni too was finally alienated (*Opera* I.172 and 181.

contemni videns coepit in Nicolaum suo more invehere, existimans Leonardo Aretino, cui cum Nicolao inimicitiae erant acerrimae, gratis (*leg.* gratum) esse facturum'.[109] Filelfo had an extraordinary talent for trouble-raising, soon to be further honed at Niccoli's expense, and it seems quite probable that he managed to uncover old wounds by playing the two off against one another. We shall look later at an attempt on his part to fan up resentment as late as 1435.

There is, of course, another side to the story. The friendship must have continued at least formally, for Poggio in his letters from Rome to Niccoli several times asks him to pursue bookish matters with Bruni.[110] When Niccoli devised the plan of leaving his great library, so often the object of scorn in the invectives, to a public institution in Florence, Bruni was numbered among the trustees on both occasions that the scheme was laid out in Niccoli's wills.[111] This need not entail any special closeness, rather a provident and sensible arrangement to help ensure that the plan took effect (Bruni had been Chancellor of Florence since 1427). But by a happy chance we have from December 1432 an autograph letter of Niccoli, one of the three extant, in which he says that 'messer Leonardo d'Arezzo' has shown him some welcome 'chomentario'.[112] Relations between the two now aged humanists, if they never recaptured their earlier intimacy, at least survived intact on this level of exchange of amenities. And that is as far as the evidence takes us. It is time now to consider some aspects of the form and content of the prose invectives about which this superstructure has been erected.

109 *Ep.* IX.15, Tonelli 2.334, to Pietro Tommasi, 10 January 1447 - some years after Bruni's death too.

110 Tonelli 1.105, 221, 273, 293-294, this last of 1429. On the other hand, Niccoli is not mentioned in letters to Bruni after 1426.

111 At first (1430) the books were destined for Traversari's monastery, later (1437) for the library of S. Marco, whence most of them eventually passed to the Laurenziana. This is the subject of Ullman and Stadter, *The public library* (as n.74 above). For Bruni among the twelve trustees of 1430 and the sixteen of 1437 see pp. 293 and 296.

112 The letter was rediscovered and published by A.C. de la Mare, *The handwriting* (as n.1 above), 59-61 and pl. XIIIa. A hole in the paper here obscures the exact nature of the 'chomentario'.

5. *Niccoli: a defence*

The plan of Bruni's invective, which presents itself as a forensic oration before a jury,[113] is straightforward. After the claim that he enters the lists to defend himself only with reluctance, the standard opening gambit, he isolates the root causes of Niccoli's ill will as vanity and envy. The various manifestations of these vices are set out, with particular emphasis on Niccoli's incessant criticisms of the great men of the past and the present, unless they be figures from classical antiquity. There follows an elaborate comparison between the merits of Bruni and his opponent, just as Cicero had compared himself at length with Piso, arranged under the headings of ancestry, learning and morals. Mockery of the victim's physical appearance, a feature of the classical genre, plays no part here, nor in any of our invectives, except for Guarino's silly remark that Niccoli's big ears signalled his stupidity (vv.233 ff., with classical authorities). We might have expected also a treatment of their relative services to the state, for Benvenuti finds much to criticise in Niccoli's attitude. Bruni's contribution however lay largely in the future,[114] and we cannot in any case tell how the mutilated *Oratio* would have developed.

When we come to look at the individual charges, we are faced with the problem of how far to credit a discourse which is necessarily defamatory. Where the witnesses, malevolent and benevolent alike, agree on a point, there must be substantial truth.[115] Niccoli is represented, for instance, as sniping at the 'three crowns' of Florence, Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio, in a dialogue which Bruni composed as early as 1401, when he was very well disposed towards him, and Florentine defenders of the Trecento heritage

[113] Zippel 129.15 f., 'Vos autem qui auditis iudices eritis huius impudentiae'.

[114] For his offices after becoming Chancellor in December 1427, see Martines, *Social world* 170 ff. The completion and publication of the first six books of his Florentine history probably came in 1428: Baron,*Crisis* 618 n.4.

[115] It is unfortunate that Baron, *Crisis* 411, should select Benvenuti's *own* statement that Niccoli learned nothing from his father's wool-workers except 'barking' (Zippel 161.13) as a remark put in Niccoli's mouth and so 'in excellent accord with Niccoli's habitual sarcasm'. The statement reflects on Benvenuti, not Niccoli.

clearly have him in mind in their attacks on the avant-garde humanists.[116] In the oration Thomas Aquinas is associated with these great names as an object of Niccoli's contempt, and the charge, unattested elsewhere, seems entirely in character.[117] The attack on the lowly social origins of one's opponent, on the other hand, is so much a conventional feature of invective down the ages that it would be unwise to believe the allegation that Niccoli's grandfather had been an inn-keeper in provincial Pistoia.[118] A circumstantial detail found in his *Carmen in Nicolaum nichili*: 'tecum chirographa legi | quod tibi avus caupo Pistoriensis erat' makes the claim more rather than less suspicious. Tales of sexual misconduct likewise have a large element of literary convention. In January 1421 Bruni had written to Poggio, as if it were a novelty, of Niccoli's seduction of Benvenuta from his brother Giovanni, whose concubine she had been 'complures menses'. If this episode took place at all, it must be dated (it was argued above) up to twenty years before the time of the letter.[119] In the *Oratio* 'a number of months' becomes 'supra biennium' (p.140.2) and Benvenuta is said to have become pregnant by Giovanni, on her own account, 'pluries'. This unlikely escalation pales beside Lorenzo Benvenuti's assertion that Niccoli was his stepmother's lover while his father still lived.[120] Neither invective - and we have seen reasons for suspecting collusion between their authors - makes mention of the particular scandal alleged in the other. it seems

116 This whole question is dealt with in great detail by Baron, *Crisis*, especially 240-270. The retraction of Niccoli's attack on these writers in Bruni's later *Dialogus II* reflects a shift in Bruni's position rather than Niccoli's, according to Baron, and the invectives support his view. In *Dialogus* I Niccoli finds among other defects that Petrarch's own invectives were wholly lacking in 'artem rhetoricam' (*Prosatori latini del Quattrocento* ed. E. Garin, 72.)

117 Zippel 133.21-26, and see Niccoli's polemic against the modern dialecticians as represented in *Dialogus I* (*Prosatori latini* 58-60).

118 Zippel 133.33-36. Martines rather sits on the fence here: 'Whatever their place of origin, and Pistoia has been suggested, the Niccoli were already settled in Florence at the beginning of the fourteenth century', *Social world* 113. Bruni as a parvenu from Arezzo may have felt vulnerable to such an accusation himself. His reaction perhaps exemplifies the diversion of a charge from oneself to one's enemy known to the classical theorists as *remotio*, a favourite technique in invective. The humanists were well aware that 'neque insuetum neque vetitum in artibus vel laudem vel vituperationem de maioribus petere', as Valla put it in his *Antidotum IV in Poggium*, *Opera omnia* ed. E. Garin, Turin 1962, I.346.

119 See above p.76.

120 Zippel 161.16, 164.2.

likely that both are largely or wholly fabrications, stock items of abuse perhaps not intended to be taken very seriously. Cicero himself, after all, was said to have deflowered his own daughter.[121]

It is with such reservations in mind that we turn to look at the gravest accusation, at least the one designed to hurt Niccoli most. His large and well-stocked library is said by Guarino, Benvenuti and Bruni in turn to be no more than a sham behind which lurked his invincible ignorance. Niccoli, in other words, the Aristarchus of Florence, was a fraud. Bruni draws a cruel picture of the aged bibliophile trying to keep up appearances - 'O simulationem onerosam!' - but inevitably overcome by slumber as soon as he opens one of his precious books.[122] According to Benvenuti, he was more of a dealer in than reader of manuscripts.[123] Guarino accurately predicts that posterity will think Niccoli a genuine scholar on account of the pretentious library he has assembled (*ep.* 17 vv.444-50). The question is whether posterity is deceived in this belief.

Bruni himself was certainly convinced for many years of Niccoli's pre-eminent position in the literary life of Florence. In his *Dialogus I* of 1401 he puts in Salutati's mouth an opinion about himself: 'ita enim video illum in omni sententia cum Nicolao convenire ut iam arbitror potius cum illo errare velle quam mecum recta sentire'.[124] High praise of Niccoli's scholarship is found in the dedications to him of Bruni's translation of Xenophon's *Tyrannus* (1403) and his life of Cicero (1415). In the latter he is hailed as 'censor et iudex rerum nostrarum', words from a passage that Bruni

121 Ps.-Sallust, *In Ciceronem* 2.

122 Zippel 135.33-136.3.

123 Ibid. 164.28 ff., a charge also in Bruni (ibid., 139.8 ff.) and Guarino *ep.* 17 vv. 374 ff. Giovanni Aurispa, another great collector who suffered the same aspersion, is seen negotiating with Niccoli the sale of some of Cosimo de' Medici's books in a letter addressed to Cosimo by Niccoli in 1425, most recently published by T. Foffano, 'Niccoli, Cosimo e le ricerche di Poggio nelle biblioteche francesi', *Ital. med. e uman.* 12 (1969) 120-121. Foffano's conclusions about another letter of Niccoli need to be modified in the light of P.A. Stadter, 'Niccolò Niccoli: winning back the knowledge of the ancients', *Vestigia: studi in honore di Giuseppe Billanovich*, Rome 1984, 747-764, which also provides a useful conspectus of his dealings with classical authors.

124 *Prosatori latini del Quattrocento* 62, echoing Cicero, *Tusc.* I.39.

apparently expunged after the outbreak of hostilities.[125] An inspection of Bruni's letters also reveals how attentively literary matters were discussed by the two friends in the opening decades of the Quattrocento.

The heart of the matter seems to be that as Niccoli grew in authority, his criticism of the productions of others became ever more biting, and was not offset by any visible result of his own devotion to literature. Niccoli, the sources agree (with the exception mentioned below), never set any writing before the public, in Poggio's opinion because he felt he could not attain the high standards that he set for himself and others: 'Cum enim nihil nisi politum et perfectum probaret, nequaquam sibi ipsi eius [*sc.* sua] scripta satisfacere videbantur'.[126] At the time of his death Poggio wrote to Carlo Marsuppini, 'Non me fugit solere ab invidis et malivolis quibusdam obiici quod nihil unquam scripserit' - but then neither had Socrates or Christ.[127] The *Orthographia* ascribed to him by Guarino has left no detectable trace and I follow Sabbadini in attributing this ghost to some confusion on Guarino's part.[128] Bruni even goes so far as to claim that Niccoli could not produce a single Latin letter as evidence of his studies. Hence it is authoritatively stated that even in his familiar correspondence Niccoli used only Italian.[129]

Certainly the three original letters so far known of Niccoli, all that survive of a copious correspondence, are written in volgare.[130] But, as a comparison, three of the

125 See Baron, *Schriften* 114, where the full preface of *Cicero novus* is printed, and Zippel 167 n.23.

126 'Oratio in funere Nicolai', *Opera* I.274. From a different angle Bruni (Zippel 135.23), 'Potes tu qui aliorum inscitiam tam insolenter reprehendis opus aliquod proferre studiorum tuorum ?'.

127 *Ep.* VI.12, Tonelli 2.110.

128 *Ep.* 17 vv.158-171, with Sabbadini's commentary vol. III.25. See Zippel 106 n.153 (misnumbered 154), who gives some information on manuscripts with orthographical treatises by other contemporary Niccolòs. The Bodleian Canonici manuscript that he had hopes in has nothing to do with Niccoli's supposed work, being the medical synonyms of N. Falcucci (cf. on this B.L. Ullman, *The origin and development of humanistic script*, Rome 1960, 71 n.34).

129 Voigt, *Risorgimento* I.303; F.P. Luiso, *Un cimelio umanistico*, Florence 1900, 5, as quoted by Foffano (above, n.123) 121. Zippel 106 took the opposite view.

130 Two printed by Foffano, the other by de la Mare (cf. n.112 above).

four original autograph letters of Poggio are likewise in Italian, and whereas these constitute his entire extant volgare output, he wrote well over 600 letters in Latin.[131] Of these, 93 are addressed to Niccoli and it stretches belief that the exchanges were conducted in different languages on either side, particularly when Poggio is found apologizing for the occasional Italian word,[132] or worrying that Niccoli had taken offence at being sent an Italian letter.[133] We cannot even now meet Bruni's challenge because Niccoli did not preserve his letters in copies ultimately destined for publication, unlike other humanists, and because the chance survivals are not directed to fellow humanists.

There is no doubt that Niccoli *was* a competent scholar of Latin, even if he failed to master the Greek texts which formed a substantial part of his library. Guarino's tale that he recited perfectly a Latin passage under the impression that it was Greek (vv.391 ff.) is simply incredible, and we cannot imagine Bruni submitting his works to such a *censor*. He lies at the centre of the three great letter collections of early Florentine humanism, those of Bruni, Poggio and Traversari, which bear constant witness to his role as the inspirer and arbiter of the emergent philology. Work that directly illuminates his part in the emendation of Latin texts has hardly begun, but the evidence so far reveals a close attention to the sense of the text and a minute scrupulosity in rendering it fit for continuous reading and transcription.[134] It was this very finickiness - the 'regard

131 See de la Mare, *Handwriting* 80-81, for Poggio's autographs. One of these original letters (in Italian) is now lost, but its text is known.

132 E.g. at Tonelli I.97 v.23, I.284 v.28.

133 Tonelli I.263, 'subiratus fuisti litteris meis quia erant verbis vulgaribus'.

134 See R. Cappelletto, 'Congetture di N. Niccoli al testo delle "dodici commedie" di Plauto', *RFIC* 105 (1977) 43-56; id., 'N. Niccoli e il codice di Ammiano Vat. lat. 1863', *BPEC* n.s. 26 (1978) 57-84; L. Labardi, 'N. Niccoli e la tradizione manoscritta di Tertulliano', *Orpheus* n.s. 2 (1981) 380-96; id., 'Congetture del Niccoli e la tradizione estranea all'archetipo sui margini del Laurenziano 39,38 di Valerio Flacco', *Ital. med. e uman.* 26 (1983) 189-213. They point to his care in word-division and punctuation and to some able emendations. Labardi, 'Congetture' 198-9 sums up: 'Insomma se è viva in lui l'esigenza di offrire un'edizione leggibile anche ad altri, è anche vero che per questo fine non interviene mai sul testo con correzioni arbitrarie, ma con ricostruzioni pienamente legittime, anzi ispirate ad una quasi religiosa venerazione per tutto ciò che è classico e antico'.

for philological accuracy' in which Gombrich sees Niccoli's importance[135] and which so easily lent itself to misrepresentation - that carried over into his criticism of the scholarly and literary efforts of others. We are fortunate to have a study of the care with which he examined, and suggested changes in, Poggio's first original composition, the *De avaritia* of 1429, which the author submitted to his old friend with diffidence and trepidation.[136] From Poggio again we have an indication of what less favoured writers could expect at Niccoli's hands.

Near the beginning of Poggio's dialogue *De infelicitate principum* of c. 1440, Niccoli is challenged by Cosimo de' Medici to explain his fondness for vituperation. I have often found myself deceived in my praise of men, he replies, but never in their detraction. He continues:

> Plures me adeunt importune qui suam stultitiam a me commendari volunt. Afferunt nescioquid ab eis editum, insulsum penitus, inconditum, inconcinnum, certe dignum quod ad latrinas feratur; quaerunt existimationem meam. Ego, liberior in loquendo - nam poetam 'si malus est nequeo laudare' - verum effero. Moneo ne efferant, interdico, vitia ostendo, non eloquentiam, non gravitatem, non ornatum, non prudentiam, non latinae linguae proprietatem, non integritatem in suis scriptis affirmo. At quidem proterva elatione temerariaque inflati abeunt irati, murmurantes me invidia commoveri.[137]

This no doubt is the authentic voice. The passage might serve as an epigraph on his relations with those writers whose patience finally gave way under the unremitting criticism of a perfectionist, criticism of life as of literature. As for Niccoli, he could not or would not descend to defending himself in the public prints. 'Never apologize, never explain' sums up his attitude. Carl Wottke long ago made the observation that the accusations of Bruni's invective, the only attack by a heavyweight, are indirectly

135 Gombrich, *Heritage of Apelles* 100.

136 H. Harth, 'Niccolò Niccoli als literarischer Zensor: Untersuchungen zur Textgeschichte von Poggios *De avaritia*', *Rinascimento* 7 (1967) 29-53.

137 Quoted by Harth, 'Niccolò Niccoli', not quite accurately, from *Opera* I.394-395; the passage partly echoes Niccoli's views on *De avaritia* as Poggio reports them to Traversari in *ep.* III.26, Tonelli 1.282. For the date of the dialogue, set in Niccoli's lifetime but written after his death, see Walser, *Poggius* 216 n.1.

answered point for point by Poggio's funeral speech.[138] It fell to Poggio also to defend his dear friend from the final and most scurrilous libels, those of Francesco Filelfo.[139]

6. *Filelfo*

Of a younger generation than the persons hitherto considered, Filelfo (1398-1481) returned from some seven years in Constantinople in 1427. After negotiations protracted by what the Florentines regarded as his excessive demands he finally came with great éclat to teach Latin and Greek at the Studio in April 1429. The story of his stay in the city is long and complex, due in part to the wealth of documents for it which Filelfo himself provides. The best and most detailed discussion is again owed to Giuseppe Zippel.[140] To put it as briefly as possible, it is a story of swift and steady decline in his relations with his original sponsors, Niccoli and Traversari, and particularly with their protégé Carlo Marsuppini, who was in competition with him for the most prestigious teaching posts at the Studio. The group around Niccoli, including at a distance Poggio in Rome, was associated with Cosimo de' Medici, and by opposition to them Filelfo gravitated towards the conservative aristocratic faction whose leading lights were Rinaldo degli Albizzi and Palla Strozzi. The coup carried out by this party resulted in the expulsion of the Medici from Florence in October 1433. During Cosimo's brief imprisonment Filelfo had characteristically urged that he be executed rather than merely exiled, and it became clear that there was no place for him in Florence when the Medici returned in triumph in September 1434. Towards the end

[138] The account of the invective in these 'Beiträge zu Leonardo Bruni', *Wiener Studien* 11 (1889) 291-308, is largely taken up with précis, coming as it did just before Zippel's publication of the text. For Poggio's *Oratio* as the converse of Bruni's see pp. 300-301.

[139] Cf. Poggio's offer to respond to Benvenuti (above n.29). He assured Niccoli in October 1420, 'Etsi alii omnes desciverunt, me in fide mansurum neque tibi defuturum', and he never did (*ep.* I.9, Tonelli 1.41).

[140] 'Il Filelfo a Firenze' (1899), now in *Storia e cultura* 215-253. For earlier accounts, especially Carlo Rosmini's *Vita di Francesco Filelfo*, Milan 1808, see Zippel 215 n.1.

of that year Filelfo repaired to the relative safety of Siena, there to shower further literary abuse on the new regime and its humanist supporters.[141]

The attacks on the humanists come in a variety of forms.[142] The letters trace his rapid disenchantment with the atmosphere of carping criticism in which he found himself, and of which Aurispa had warned him. Various *prolusiones* to his courses at the Studio allude to the *invidia* which he encountered at every turn.[143] His Siennese *Commentationes de exilio* take frequent swipes at his personal enemies, cast as toadying adjuncts of Cosimo.[144] Perhaps the prime source for his views on persons and politics is his *Satyrae*, whose composition stretched from about 1430 until he put them in final form in 1449.[145] They have been much neglected as a document of literary and social history, as their few students never fail to remark,[146] perhaps because they are accessible only in old and imperfect editions.[147] The canonical collection of 1449 consists of ten

[141] See L. de Feo Corso, 'Il Filelfo in Siena', *Bull. Senese di storia patria* 47 (1940) 181-209, 292-316.

[142] A fairly complete bibliography of Filelfo's writings, including unprinted works, in A. Benaducci, *Atti e mem. della R. diputazione di storia patria delle Marche* 5 ('Pel centenario di F. Filelfo') (1901) 462-535. See also the census of Filelfo manuscripts in R.G. Adam, *Filelfo at the court of Milan*, Oxford D.Phil. diss., 1974, 462-547.

[143] Especially an unpublished one, hitherto unnoticed, in Bodleian, Canon. class. lat. 222, fols. 79-80v, 'Oratio in invidos quosdam detractores Florentiae habita in principio extraordinariae lectionis Tulli *De officiis* et Homeri *Ilyados* et Iuvenalis satyri'. If the date is right (xiiii Kal. Ian. 1429, i.e. *stile fior.* for 19 December 1429), it constitutes the earliest public declaration of hostilities.

[144] Extracts and paraphrase in C. Errera, 'Le *Commentationes de exilio* di F. Filelfo, *Arch. stor. ital.* ser.5, 5 (1890) 193-227, *Prosatori latini de Quattrocento*, ed. E. Garin, 494-517.

[145] Manuscripts with a colophon noting the completion on I December 1449 are Escorial g.II.9, Leipzig UB 1292, Turin BN vari 260, Valencia Univ. 772, Vienna NB 3303 (a plate of this manuscript, showing marginal notes, in O. Mazal, *Die abendländischen Schriften des 15. Jhr.*, Vienna 1985, Abb. 40), Vat. Reg. lat. 1981. The Reginensis is usually taken to be the authoritative text (e.g. by Zippel 225 n.27) but Filelfo clearly organised several such copies. Another with the colophon is Holkham Hall 431, written in Milan about 1460 by a scribe identified by Dr de la Mare as Filelfo's friend Fabrizio Elpisteo, who also made and signed the Escorial copy. Subjects and objects of the satires are identified in the margins of these MSS, information doubtless deriving from Filelfo himself. I used a microfilm of the Holkham MS, which gives a text similar to that of the first edition (note 147 below).

[146] Ch. Nisard, *Les gladiateurs de la République des lettres*, 2 vols., Paris 1860, I.15: a selective survey of Renaissance invective which deals very fully with the satires; R.P. Oliver, 'The Satires of Filelfo', *Italica* 26 (1949) 23-46, especially 27 (largely on their literary qualities); Zippel 224 f. Filelfo gets barely a mention in D. Kent, *The rise of the Medici*, Oxford 1978, or in A.M. Brown, 'The humanist portrait of Cosimo de' Medici', *JWCI* 14 (1961) 186-221.

[147] Mediolani per Christophorum Valdarpher, 1476; Venice 1502; Paris 1508 and 1518. Nisard, *Les gladiateurs*, gives extracts from this last edition (not a good text) as they relate to Cosimo and the humanists (I.97-115), but what he omits is often as interesting as what he includes. A few complete

books, each with ten satires of a hundred verses: ten thousand lines in all which make up the *Decades hecatostichon decem*. Many of them attack, directly or in passing, his chief *bêtes noires* at Florence, Cosimo, Traversari, Marsuppini, Poggio and, as much as anyone, Niccolò Niccoli. The victims are given unflattering nicknames: Cosimo is 'Mundus' (= κόσμος), Poggio 'Bambalio'(βαμβαλύζω, to stammer; cf. Cic. *Phil.* 3.16)[148], Marsuppini 'Codrus' (cf. Vergil, *Ecl.* 7.26), Traversari as a monk 'Hypocritius'. Niccoli is by turns 'Utis' (οὖτις), 'Lycolaus' (*lupus populi*, as the scribe of Holkham 431 explains) and 'Oenopotes'.[149] The picture of him offered by the poems does not differ essentially from that of the prose invectives, though it is drawn with a good deal more vehemence and imaginative embroidery.

It is inherently unlikely that Filelfo had in mind from the start the highly artificial scheme of the eventual *Decades*, that he sat down to write the first satire and stopped almost twenty years later when he reached the hundredth. A few years ago Klaus Wagner made an important find in the Biblioteca Colombina of Seville.[150] Among the manuscripts which Ferdinando Colombo (son of Cristoforo) bought in Milan in 1531 was a sort of notebook in Filelfo's own hand, Colombina 7.1.13. It contains *inter alia* a number of satires which present considerable textual differences from the printed editions and which have what they lack, a note giving the time and place, in most cases, of completion of the individual pieces.[151] Two of them are not included at all in the

satires and some extracts in *Poeti latini del Quattrocento* ed. F. Arnaldi, L. Gualdo Rosa, L. Monti Sabia, Milan 1964, 36-65.

148 But Bambalioni was also a current Italian surname, possessed for example by a Bolognese scribe who copied Seville, Colombina 7.5.40.

149 A complete list of published satires which attack these people: I.3, 5, 6, II.1, 3, 5, 7, III.2, 3, 10, IV.1, 9, V.6, 7, 8, 9, VI.10, VII.5, VIII.3, 5. In addition I.10 vv.66 ff. ridicules a Florentine who proclaims the uselessness of translation; the Holkham scribe (MS unfoliated) identifies him as Niccoli, a point we should not otherwise have known.

150 K. Wagner, 'Un manuscrit autographe inconnu de Francesco Filelfo', *Scriptorium* 31 (1977) 70-82.

151 Ibid. 76. The general view that the satires were ordered in the sequence of their composition (Rosmini, *Vita di F. Filelfo*, II.61, Nisard, *Les gladiateurs* I.136, Oliver, 'Satires' 28) must admit large exceptions; see Zippel 233 n.50 and the dates from Laur. C.S. 256 given by him at 226 n.9 and 230 n.38. *Satyra* III.3 to Aurispa (placed in 'primi mesi del 1433' by Sabbadini, *Carteggio di Aurispa* 80) is found in Ravenna B. Class. 271 dated 'XVI kal. maias 1432' (Mazzatinti, *Inventari*

final edition, one to Federigo Cornelio and the other attacking Poggio/Bambalio.[152] In fact it has long been known that certain satires were discarded, suppressed or lost before the publication of 1449. I propose here to examine the two which most brutally attack Niccoli and which, for reasons we cannot know, were omitted from the canon.

The satires in question, *In Lallum* and *In Margum*, have been only very intermittently exposed to public knowledge since the great Lorenzo Mehus first used them as evidence of Niccoli's life in his *Praefatio* to the letters of Ambrogio Traversari in 1759.[153] In the manner of the time he gave the source of his brief extracts as a vague 'codicem chartaceum in 4o'. Fifty years later in his three-volume life of Filelfo, Rosmini states that he inspected a copy of *In Lallum* in a Neapolitan manuscript, but found it 'si piena d'oscenità' that he could not bring himself to divulge its contents.[154] Zippel cited these two authors, without finding Mehus' mysterious paper manuscript. He might have taken a hint from the qualification Mehus gives himself on the title page of Traversari's letters: 'Etruscae Academiae Cortonensis socio', for in 1884 Girolamo Mancini, himself a scholar of Italian humanism, catalogued the contents of the Academy's library at Cortona, disclosing that the poems were written in MS 242 fols.

delle biblioteche italiane IV [1894] 204). *Satyra* II.4 to Valla mentions his *De falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione*, which places the satire after 1440 (cf. the edition of W. Setz, Weimar 1976, 10-11).

152 The critical edition of the manuscript promised by Wagner p.75 has now been placed in the hands of a doctoral student at Seville University, José Solís de los Santos. The manuscript itself is at present (June 1986) inaccessible owing to the collapse of the Colombina.

153 *Traversarii epistolae* I.lxi.

154 *Vita di F. Filelfo* I.49 n.1, where he confuses this satire with the invective mentioned in Traversari *ep.* VI.21, which as we have seen does not concern Filelfo; he is followed in this by Voigt, *Risorgimento*, I.352 n.4, and others. The Naples manuscript seemed to be lost when Gianni Zippel looked for it (*Storia e cultura* 116 n.95) but it appears from the recently published catalogue of the Farnese manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Naples that the satire survives in BNN V.E. 58 fols. 159-160v, to which I hope to return (F. Fossier, *La bibliothèque Farnèse*, Le Palais Farnèse III.2, Rome 1982, 266).

34-38v.[155] Since then the manuscript has been briefly noticed by Ernst Walser, the biographer of Poggio, and on Walser's indication by Giovanni Ponte.[156]

No-one has yet undertaken the publication of these satires, and examination of MS 242 suggests the reason. It is written in an ugly and difficult mercantile hand, with a few inconsistent humanistic elements, of around the mid-fifteenth century. The labour of deciphering it brings scant reward.[157] Filelfo's poems are not easy reading at the best of times, but scarcely a verse of these texts can be read as it stands; sometimes a single line requires multiple emendation; and we cannot even be sure that the authentic compositions were free of metrical oddities in the first place.[158] As the texts grind towards their early end - in each case at v.99 out of a presumed original 100 verses - the semi-literate scribe abandons pretensions to continuous sense and contents himself with seeming-Latin. One wonders why he troubled to write out the satires, which he can hardly have returned to with pleasure.

In these circumstances, the presentation of a readable text would have to rest on extensive rewriting, which I defer to a time when a more thorough study, and preferably other manuscripts, can enlighten the many obscurities. In the meantime, the main lines of Filelfo's abuse are discernible amid the gloom and I offer the following paraphrases.

[155] Mancini's catalogue was later republished without changes in the Mazzatinti, *Inventari delle biblioteche italiane* series, 18 (1912); p.69 for MS 242.

[156] Walser, *Poggius* 177 n.1. More extensively used by Ponte, 'Lepidus e Libripeta', *Rinascimento* 12 (1972) 237-265, especially 248 n.3, on whose work see Section 7 below.

[157] E.g. Walser, *loc.cit.*, quotes the opening words of *In Margum* as 'Serie cupis Leonarde' which read in the manuscript 'Scire cupis Leonardo', which itself needs the supplement of Mehus, 'Scire <quidnam>...', as printed in the *Praefatio*. The same emendation appears at the foot of fol. 36 in an eighteenth-century hand, which I suppose is that of Mehus himself.

[158] Cf. the later criticisms (1464) of Galeottus Martius, *Invectivae in Fr. Philelphum*, ed. L. Juhász, Leipzig 1932, 7-8, 17-35, and Oliver, 'Satires' 29 and 30 n.21.

Lallus, or scenes from domestic life

When Lallus left for Rimini to avoid the plague, he appointed Benvenuta guardian of the books he had assembled by theft and fraud. As he left she beseeched him with tears to remain chaste and to keep clear of the parasite Codrus. He laughed and consoled her with kisses and smooth words, urging her likewise to preserve herself for him alone until he should return to renew the sexual combat. Great is the ingenuity of the human mind. Like a latterday Daedalus, Benvenuta lays out her plan. 'My sexual frenzy cannot be satisfied. Why should I live celibate and impoverished while you make off with your catamite Codrus ? Unless you make a speedy return, I shall sell off all your treasure - the books you never open - and give myself freely to all comers.' You soothe her, Lallus, but forget your own advice, that departing husbands provide their wives with the comfort of glass dildoes. Remember that under your guidance your brother Giovanni's wife was consoled in this way. When Giovanni returned and happened to find the implement, she softened his suspicions by disclosing the whole tale. You forget all this, old Nestor, and squander your love on boys, destined to die insane in despite of the laws of God and man. (The next six lines yield no ready sense to me, but apparently involve an appeal by Benvenuta to Codrus for help. The satire ends, v.99, with her words: 'Serpit hiems propera; mollis fuge, Lalle, cinaedos.')

Margus, or Fons irarum. To Francesco Barbaro

You ask, Francesco, why Margus so hates Leonardo. The reason was Benvenuta, who even now shares her life with him, if life it be. Like Pasiphae pretending to be chaste Io, she came to Florence in search of a bachelor to serve. There is in this city a notorious family of low origin called Niccoli. She first seduced without difficulty a brother that Florence calls Panurgus [Giovanni]. But Niccolò was soon ensnared by her charms, fondly imagining her a Diana. Love made him blind, for he was not her master but her slave. No shame held him back, no fear of obloquy. 'Can you preach against

vice when you soil your brother's bed ? Can you speak ill of your brothers' wives when you openly flaunt your concubine ?' Before long she took to living with him openly, and began to abuse the brothers and their wives. Overcome by sexual passion Margus lent ready ears to her venomous tongue. Panurgus, seeing their disgusting love-making through a chink in the wall, summoned another brother Bernardo and together they dragged her by the hair into the streets, naked and shrieking for Margus. The whole neighbourhood flocked around with laughter and applause as the brothers ignored Margus' pleas to beat him instead. Benvenuta's disgrace became rapidly known throughout the city and Margus shut himself in his room grief-stricken. When Leonardo heard of it he offered his friend some stern advice: your infatuation has made you blind to virtue, your sexual servitude has brought you only ill repute. This was quietly told to Margus by a manservant; in fury he threw down the scabrous love poems he chanced to be holding, which is the only edifying aspect of the whole affair. So now you see, Francesco, why Margus pours forth his venom over Leonardo.

In Margum (μάργος madman) is in effect no more than a reworking of Bruni's *ep.* V.4, with some small additions perhaps based in equal measure on current gossip and Filelfan invention.[159] Bruni in the letter does not specify Bernardo as the brother who assisted Giovanni in administering Benvenuta's punishment, but we need not suppose that the detail came from an unmutilated *Oratio in nebulonem maledicum.* It must have been (if it was true) common knowledge in Florence, or at least knowledge that Filelfo's love of scandal could dig out, even from Bruni himself. Two other points are worth making here. While we cannot precisely date *In Margum*, its association with *In Lallum* favours the period 1431-35, possibly towards the latter year, when Filelfo's removal to Siena dissolved restraint. Benvenuta is depicted as still living with Margus at that time. Second, Francesco Barbaro, who had ostensibly healed the rift in 1426, can

[159] N.B. also that vv.2-3, 'poetam auricutem' implies knowledge of Guarino's 'In auripellem poetam', and the theme of Niccoli's abject slavery may derive from Guarino's observations (*ep.* 17 vv.308-338.)

hardly have been desirous, as Filelfo claims, of the exposition of its causes. He must have become well acquainted over the long years of the quarrel with the source of the trouble, especially if Poggio showed him, as he had been requested, Bruni's *ep.* V.4 in 1426.[160] It was plainly a tactic to put the amiable Barbaro in a difficult position by the unwelcome implication that he shared Filelfo's views on Niccoli, just as Traversari had been compromised by the dedication of Benvenuti's invective.[161]

In Lallum (λάλος: chatterbox) seems more of a fantasy. The charges of irreligion and pederasty were so much common stock that scarcely any object of Renaissance invective, least of all Filelfo himself, escaped them.[162] The satire opens with a highly coloured scene of the parting of Benvenuta and Niccoli as he sets out on the long journey which took him to Rimini, Verona and Venice in the company of the Medici brothers, Cosimo and Lorenzo, and Carlo Marsuppini. It emerges from Traversari's letters of this period, however, that Benvenuta in fact accompanied her lover on the trip, which lasted about a year from autumn 1430.[163] Filelfo is convicted of falsehood at the outset, and we need not attend to the devices which Niccoli is said to have recommended for the comfort of abandoned wives.

In a furious letter of complaint to Cosimo, dated 1 May 1433 (in which Bruni's invective is mentioned), Filelfo assigns the breakdown of their hitherto good relations to the poison insinuated in his mind by Niccoli and Marsuppini on this journey: fleeing

160 Cf. n.102 above. Poggio seems to refer to this request in his reply to Bruni, *ep.* II.41, Tonelli I.179: 'Cum Francisco Barbaro sum sepissime; adhuc tamen nil egi eorum que scribis...Volo enim hanc rem tractare quasi de improviso'.

161 Gothein, *Barbaro* 371 n.104 makes this point. For Filelfo's dealings with Barbaro (on occasion the victim of his abuse) see Gothein 139-47, where the old canard about 'Filelfo's' invective from Traversari *ep.* VI.21 makes its customary appearance.

162 Niccoli's religious views were conventional enough, as a reading of the letters of Poggio and Traversari shows; cf. Gombrich, *Heritage of Apelles* 100 on this. I am surprised that Ponte (above n.156) 246-249 takes these charges seriously.

163 Traversari *epp.* VIII.2, 35, 36, 38 (=VIII.39, 35, 36, 40 of Luiso's *Riordinamento*; cf. Zippel 97 n.100 and 113-114 on the stages of the journey.

from the plague in Florence he had caught a different disease from his flatterers.[164] The closing words of the satire set the leave-taking scene somewhat before the onset of winter 1430, and that is the earliest possible date for its composition. Filelfo ends another openly hostile letter of expostulation, sent to Niccoli on 13 April 1433, with the claim that he will not give him cause for hatred, in the future as in the past. This would indicate a later date for our two satires if we could only trust any single statement on these matters from their author.[165] Much work remains to be done on the chronology of all Filelfo's early work.

It seems that *In Lallum* was not circulated, beyond perhaps a few close friends, before 1435, for Poggio's heated defence of his friend, the *Invectiva prima in Philelphum*, was provoked by it.[166] We have the clearest evidence that *Lallus* is the 'satyram nuper editam' referred to there: 'quomodo ausus es comminisci vitreum priapum relictum mulieri...?' (p.168); 'Tu alter Pluto, non Lallus sed Gallus...' (p.167). As to the date of the first invective, Filelfo wrote to Poggio from Siena on 15 February 1435 that he had heard of the issue of some maledictions, and he challenges Poggio to deny his authorship. Poggio's reply of 14 March is evasive and amounts to an indirect admission of guilt.[167] In the invective Filelfo is already at Siena ('O beatos Senenses', p.168), whither he went at the end of 1434. It can accordingly be dated fairly precisely to the period mid-December 1434 - mid-February 1435. A second attack from Poggio soon followed, 'cum altera abiecti animalis satyrula fuerit ad me delata', in which the charges Filelfo laid against Niccoli's mordant temper are turned back upon his own head.[168] The contents of the 'altera satyrula' as Poggio perceived them indicate *Sat.* I.5

164 *Philelphi epistolae*, Venice 1502, fol. 12.

165 Ibid. fol. 11v.

166 *Poggii Opera* I.164-169, the first of four invectives which extended over a decade. For a discussion see Walser, *Poggius* 176-180.

167 *Opera* IV.609 (with Fubini's note, p.607); *Ep.* V.17, Tonelli II.56.

168 *Opera* I.170-174, dated 'Florentiae VI kal. Feb.' in the manuscripts, according to Walser, *Poggius* 177 n.4. It is difficult to take this as the date of issue, because the opening shows it to have been

as the offending item. We thus have no direct knowledge of the publication of *Margus*, and it may have been discarded early in favour of pieces showing Filelfo's genius in a more original light; or the addressee, Barbaro, perhaps had more success than Traversari in dissuading the author from dissemination.

Till the very end of his life, then, Niccoli was involved in constant strife, and to the end also a combination of arrogance and diffidence prevented any statement of his position from his own hand. In Poggio he found a defender more than capable of trading insults with Filelfo. The Poggian *invectivae* are worth reading as an example of how very differently Niccoli could be viewed through the eyes of affection, without necessarily giving a truer picture of the man than those found in the invectives considered here. After Niccoli's death on 3 February 1437, the Poggio-Filelfo feud took on a life of its own. Eventually, in a strange parallel to the reconciliation of Bruni and Niccoli, another Venetian, Pietro Tommasi, performed the office of Barbaro and effected a rapprochement between the two controversialists. In this case we know very definitely that the resumption of friendship was rather less than half-hearted.

7. *Coda: Ronto and Alberti*

We turn finally to very brief consideration of some attacks of a rather different character. The first is certainly an invective, but hardly in the humanist tradition, and I draw attention to it chiefly because it remains unknown to students. Its author is Matteo Ronto, an Olivetan monk (d.1442) much studied for his Latin translation of Dante's *Commedia*, and notorious for his stylistic eccentricities.[169] The latest detailed study of him, revising the date of his translation to the period 1427-31, surmises that such a

written some time after *Invectiva* I in response to a further satire: hence not 27 January 1435. Poggio married after 55 years of bachelorhood on 19 January 1436, and an invective is unlikely to have occupied his honeymoon. A year later he was in Bologna, not Florence, and Niccoli was on his deathbed.

[169] Of his letter to Guarino, *ep.* 590, Sabbadini said with justice, 'Qui il lettore ha agio di deliziarsi con un saggio di stile hisperico, infarcito di grecismi, di neologismi e di glossemi', *Epistolario di Guarino* III.280.

translation must have been welcomed by Niccoli, who is represented in Bruni's *Dialogi* as wishing that Dante had composed his work in Latin.[170] The truth, however, is quite the opposite, as is shown by the invective that survives in Vat. lat. 14415 fols.35-38v. From this wild and whirling polemic, shapeless, repetitive and for long stretches unintelligible, it appears that Ronto had suffered Niccoli's biting criticisms ('sannatibus') precisely because 'inter plerasque infrugiles nugas indecere equidem eum monachum Dantis opus de rithmis maternis in metrum latinum transferre', and that for 'duobus lustris iam ferme'.

The jumble of accusations - Niccoli's constant carping at all learning in others, especially monks, his detraction of Dante and Petrarch, his extensive ignorance of Greek, metre, logic, his heretical opinions and his godless way of life - place this work somewhere between the developed humanist invectives we have been examining and the defences of the volgare traditions from other quarters. Its uncontrolled macaronic language gives it a distinction all its own. The piece perhaps never circulated because of the removal of the need for it to do so: if Niccoli had been making criticisms of Ronto's translation for nearly two *lustra*, and that translation was made in the years after 1427, Ronto's invective must coincide pretty closely with Niccoli's death. It adds nothing, so far as I can see, to what we can derive from the other works, except an involved discussion of Niccoli's heterodox views on free will, and the world must be grateful that it has never found an editor.

It is more usual nowadays to launch attacks on literary eminences once they are safely in the grave. Quite the reverse in the Quattrocento, when reputations could be made or broken by the type of public denunciations we have been looking at. As in much else, Leon Battista Alberti offers an exception. Some youthful pieces of his, Latin

[170] M. Tagliabue, 'Per la biografia di Matteo Ronto', *Ital. med. e uman.* 26 (1983) 151-188, with ample preceding bibliography. He says (p.176) 'É certo, dunque, che almeno nel circolo del Niccoli...si sia guardato con interesse e una qualche simpatia a traduzioni nella lingua allora più apprezzata...', and he supposes that in that circle Ronto 'trovò incoraggiamento per un'impresa non certo facile'.

prose sketches in the manner of Lucian, were gathered as the *Intercoenales* in 1439. Four of these pieces oppose the autobiographical figure of Lepidus to one Libripeta, a mordant but unproductive bibliophile who seeks fame through abuse of others, an agnostic involved in a sordid affair with an old woman. Libripeta in short is Niccoli, as Eugenio Garin first noted.[171]

These *Intercoenales* cannot be classed with the invectives, being rather satire of a very individual sort, but they reflect and refract many themes of the earlier attacks. In conclusion, I draw the reader's attention to the careful study of Giovanni Ponte (as n.156 above) which traces the relation of Libripeta to the image of Niccoli presented by his enemies. One point overlooked by Ponte is that there is more than a little Albertian irony in the dedication of Book IV of the work to Poggio. That book contains in *Somnium* 'una "summa" dei vizi' of the man whose cause Poggio had so recently and so strenuously championed.[172] The unsought dedication - yet another one - from his young companion in the papal curia may explain why we find no trace of contact between these very different intellectuals after a brief letter of 1437 in which Poggio commended Alberti's *Philodoxeos* to Leonello d'Este.[173] One would like to think that the morose pedant of popular belief inspired such loyalty even in death.

171 'Venticinque intercenali inedite di L.B. Alberti', *Belfagor* 19 (1964) 387 n.19; some of the anti-Niccoli *Intercenali* were published from a new manuscript by Garin in 'L.B. Alberti: alcune intercenali inedite', *Rinascimento* 4 (1964) 125 ff., especially *Somnium*, 141-145, *Cynicus* (another Niccoli figure), 150-157.

172 The words of Ponte, 242.

173 *Ep.* VI.23, Tonelli II.129-130.

Chapter 4

The Senator and the schoolmaster: friends of Leonardo Bruni in a new letter

A hitherto unpublished letter of Leonardo Bruni Aretino, short in length but lively in content, is to be found in San Gimignano, Biblioteca Comunale MS 27 fol. 120v (fig. 3):[1]

> Leonardus Aretinus sal. d. Johanni Nicole suo.
> Quam voluissem, mi suavissime Johannes Nicola, nuper cum Florentiam[2] iter faciebas non latuisse me presentiam tuam. Preter enim officium quod prestare tibi iure amicitie obnoxius debui, quedam accedebant cause ob quas te convenire et alloqui plurimum cupiebam. Materia vero erat Guarinus noster, de quo ego quid sentiam tu dum hic eras ex multo ac frequenti sermone meo intelligere potuisti. Verum illa eadem fax levissimi hominis, que dudum in te hic presentem nullo tuo demerito exarsit, in me quoque nunc pari temeritate conversa, incendia quedam inter me et Guarinum excitare[3] conata est. De qua tota re cognitorem ac iudicem te habere optabam. Sed ego vel Rome, ut spero, vel Florentie te videbo et hec ipsa discutiam. Nunc autem Mathiam grammaticum familiarem meum Senis morantem tibi commendatum esse cupio, qui cum ad te venturum se diceret, ut vacuus litterarum mearum veniret non putavi committendum. Vale. Florentie IIII Kal. Ian.
> A tergo. Magnanimo viro domino meo precipuo Johanninicole Salerno Equiti Veronensi, Senarum Presidi.

The addressee is Giannicola Salerno (1379-1426), who in the second half of 1418 had received from Bruni a defence 'contra detractores suos' of his recent translation of

[1] A full description of the manuscript by Gino Garosi in *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche italiane* 88 (1972) 120-138; see p.137 for this letter.

[2] Florentia *cod.*

[3] excitari *cod.*

Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*[4] The new letter can be precisely dated to 29 December 1420 by the address to Salerno as 'senarum presidi' (that is, podestà of Siena), an office he held from August 1420 to June 1421.[5] Confirmation comes in a letter which the educator Guarino sent to Salerno, a fellow citizen of Verona and a former pupil, on 15 February 1421.[6] Informed, or rather disinformed,[7] by unnamed persons at Florence that Bruni had slandered him before the Florentine signoria, Guarino had replied with written criticisms of his slanderer, which we may take to be a letter. Accepting Salerno's view of Bruni, he now recognises that this was unjust, and resolves in future to disregard 'conficta illa maledicorum...crimina'. These fictitious charges doubtless arose from 'illa eadem fax levissimi hominis' which in Bruni's letter 'incendia quedam inter me et Guarinum excitare conata est'. Guarino's *ep.* 199, then, will be a response to Salerno's assurances of Bruni's innocence and goodwill, and those assurances in turn based on the contents of our letter; perhaps also, as foreseen in the letter, on a personal interview.

The identity of the malevolent rumour mongers at Florence is not far to seek. The year 1420 saw a growing rift between the former friends Leonardo Bruni and Niccolò Niccoli, the unproductive arbiter of Florentine letters.[8] In the summer Lorenzo Benvenuti, another alienated friend, issued an invective against Niccoli in which these words, echoing Bruni's quoted above, are found: 'Eadem quoque petulantia commotus atque invidia in Leonardum Aretinum flagrasti'.[9] Years before, Guarino himself while teaching in Florence had felt the rough edge of Niccoli's tongue, but their relations had

[4] *Epistolarum libri VIII* ed. L. Mehus, Florence 1741, *ep.* X.26. The date is that of F.P. Luiso (*ep.* IV.15 in his arrangement), *Studi su l'epistolario di Leonardo Bruni* ed. L. Gualdo Rosa, Rome 1980, 91 n.51.

[5] *Epistolario di Guarino* ed. R. Sabbadini, Venice 1915-19, III.129 on *ep.* 196 v.42. I refer henceforth to Sabbadini's commentary in vol. III as *Commento*.

[6] *Epistolario* I.316 ff., *ep.* 199.

[7] 'certior, vel forte ut verius dicam, caecior factus essem', *ep.* 199 v.33.

[8] For details of this and other quarrels of Niccoli, see 'An emperor without clothes ?', now Chapter 3 above.

[9] Zippel, *Storia e cultura* 167. For the date of Benvenuti's invective see pp. **66-8** above.

been ostensibly smooth since a formal reconciliation in 1417.[10] Attempts were then made by Niccoli and his close associate Ambrogio Traversari to lure Guarino back to teaching at the Florentine Studio, efforts which ended in failure in 1420.[11] The reluctance on Guarino's part was later expressly attributed to the continuous feuding of his Florentine acquaintances.[12] It is possibly in connection with the negotiations for securing his services at the Studio that we should take Guarino's words to Salerno: Bruni, as it had been alleged, 'multa...de me cum aliis in locis, tum ante ora dominorum Florentinorum oblocutum' (*Ep.* 199 v.33 f.).

It is very likely, therefore, that Niccoli was the 'levissimus homo' who had laid the charges which Guarino now saw to be inventions. Another source - for Guarino speaks of more than one informant - was probably Traversari, who besides his unshakable attachment to Niccoli nourished a barely concealed (and amply returned) hostility towards Bruni.[13] Indeed Traversari saw his hand in, or behind, the invective of Lorenzo Benvenuti, a belief communicated to Guarino by letter.[14] Yet despite Salerno's intervention, and professed goodwill on both sides, active friendship between Guarino and Bruni was not immediately resumed. The next correspondence between them dates from the end of 1427;[15] Bruni apologizes for a long gap in their relations and alludes to the ancient 'controversia malivolorum' which had driven a wedge between them. At

10 Guarino, *Epistolario*, *ep.* 75; cf. his attack on Niccoli in *ep.* 17.

11 Sabbadini, *Commento* 125 on Guarino *ep.* 193 v.14. Unknown to Sabbadini was the letter which Guarino wrote on the day that he declined a Florentine invitation for the academic year 1420-21, published by R. Weiss, *Italian Studies* 2 (1939) 116.

12 *Ep.* 245 of 1423.

13 Cf. Chapter 3 n.38 above.

14 Cf. above p.68. That Bruni was at least the co-author of Benvenuti's invective was apparently accepted by Guarino on the authority of Niccoli and Traversari: Guarino *ep.* 245 v.4 ff., but the passage is unclear.

15 Guarino *ep.* 469 (= Bruni *ep.* V.8 Mehus). Sabbadini (following Luiso, *Studi* p.109, first printed in 1903) placed the letter in November 1428, but it follows closely upon Bruni's election as Florentine Chancellor in December 1427.

that stage, after the resolution of his own quarrel with Niccoli, he preferred to let the matter rest in silence.

These, briefly, seem to be the circumstances surrounding the new letter. Bruni expects a sympathetic hearing from Salerno, who had likewise suffered at the hands of Niccoli, 'nullo tuo demerito'. Nothing is known of that episode, which presumably took place during Salerno's term of office as Capitano del popolo in Florence, 1418-19.[16] But Salerno had eloquent friends and sufficient information survives to reconstruct his career, of which the bare bones follow.

According to the speech which Guarino delivered at his funeral in 1426, he died in his prime at the age of 47; hence he was born about 1379, five years after Guarino himself.[17] Originally a fellow student of Guarino at Verona, he later became his pupil, creating a lifelong bond of mutual respect and admiration. He was knighted in 1404 during the brief Carraresi domination of Verona,[18] but took a leading part in the Veronese surrender to Venice in the following year, and held various minor posts there under the Venetian hegemony before becoming podestà of nearby Mantua in 1416.[19] An interval back in Verona was followed by an attempt to become podestà of Florence in 1418, with strong backing from Guarino and Francesco Barbaro.[20] In the event he

16 Cf. from that time Francesco Barbaro to Salerno: 'Eloquentissimo Leonardo Aretino et litteratissimo Nicolao, qui tui cupidissimus et appetentissimus est...salutem facito', quoted by Sabbadini, *Commento* 73.

17 J.B. Mittarelli, *Bibliotheca codd. mss. monasterii S. MIchaelis Venetiarum*, Venice 1719, 481-88 at 486; extracts from the speech in Sabbadini, *Commento* 202.

18 G. Biadego, 'Due sonnetti di Gian Nicola Salerno' in his *Da libri e manoscritti*, Verona 1883, 23-30 at 24.

19 Biadego in *Nuovo archivio veneto* 10 (1905) 412, Guarino *ep.* 50 with *Commento* 48 f.

20 Guarino's recommendations are *epp.* 90-94, the last two to Niccoli. Barbaro's letter to Palla Strozzi in *Francisci Barbari epistolae* ed. A.M. Querini, Brescia 1743, 22 f. The next three letters of Barbaro are addressed to Salerno himself. Claudio Griggio has lately published another letter supporting the candidature which Barbaro sent to Cosimo de' Medici: 'Il codice berlinese lat. fol. 667. Nuove lettere di Fr. Barbaro', *Miscellanea di studi in onore di Vittore Branca*, III.1, Florence 1983, 164-165.

had to content himself with the lesser post of Capitano del popolo, held for six months from 11 June 1418, in which he showed great ability.[21]

He then occupied the podesteria of Bologna from 26 July 1419. His administration of justice there so satisfied the Bolognese that he was confirmed in the office, most unusually, for a second semester until August 1420.[22] At that point he became podestà of Siena for the year in which our letter falls;[23] and crowned this series of successful foreign magistracies by his nomination as Senator of Rome, for six months from 14 September 1421.[24] Bruni in the letter expects to see him 'vel Rome, ut spero, vel Florentie', and that suggests that the senatorial appointment was already settled at the end of 1420, and also that Bruni at that time intended to follow in Martin V's curia when it should eventually leave Florence.[25] From 1422, it seems, Salerno lived in Verona; he delivered congratulations to the new Doge of Venice as one of the representatives of that city in 1423.[26] At the time of his death in 1426 he was among those charged with the prosecution of the war that Venice was then waging against Milan.[27]

[21] Sabbadini, *Commento* 72, Luido, *Studi* 92 n.52. His captaincy is highly praised in Guarino *epp.* 110, 116, 118, 119, 121.

[22] Guarino *epp.* 159, 168 and *Commento* 119.

[23] Cf. n.5 above.

[24] He was appointed by Martin V on 13 July 1421. He had been originally nominated on 5 December 1419 for 1420, but that fell through: A. Salimei, *Senatori e statuti di Roma nel medioevo*, I, Rome 1935, 165 and 168. Salimei's dates, from the Vatican Registers, differ from those given by Biadego, 'Due sonnetti', 24, much of whose sketch is lifted verbatim and unacknowledged from the first substantial account, C. de' Rosmini, *Vita e disciplina di Guarino Veronese*, III, Brescia 1806, 45-55. Dr John Law kindly brings to my attention a bull of Martin V (4 March 1422) granting an indulgence for those helping in the reconstruction of Sant'Anastasia in Verona, which was obtained through Salerno's good offices: C. Cipolla in *L'Arte* 17 (1914) 181.

[25] As it did on 8 September 1420. There is some evidence that Bruni resumed curial duties in 1419-20: see W. von Hofmann, *Forschungen zur Gesch. der kurialen Behörden*, Rome 1914, II.107 and H. Baron in *Past and Present* 36 (1967) 31 n.23.

[26] Sabbadini, 'Codice con lettere e discorsi di Giannicola Salerno', *Archivio veneto* 32 (1886) 256.

[27] Sabbadini, *Commento* 202, from Guarino's funeral speech.

Like that other able administrator Francesco Barbaro, Salerno found time amid these public concerns to cultivate mind and spirit. According to Guarino, he was on intimate terms with two saints, as they later became, Lorenzo Giustiniani and Bernardino of Siena.[28] He produced respectable verse in Latin and Italian, and the elegant, empty speeches as he took up or left his magistracies were much copied.[29] Bruni thought him a fit recipient for his disquisition on the translation of τὸ ἀγαθόν (*Ep.* X.26, cf. n.4 above), and he was keen to see the newly discovered rhetorical works of Cicero in 1422.[30] Besides Bruni, Barbaro and Guarino, he numbered several humanists of smaller renown among his correspondents, including Ognibene Scola (who married his cousin), Gasparino Barzizza and the Greek physician Thomas Franc.[31] A group of six letters that Guarino addressed to him was copied into a Vatican manuscript, probably by Salerno himself.[32] Three of these Guarino letters are also present in the San Gimignano manuscript, as well as others sent to Salerno by other people.[33] We might on this account alone suspect some connection between our manuscript and the podestà of Siena; but firmer evidence is to hand.

[28] Ibid.

[29] The poems were published by Biadego, *Da libri* and Sabbadini, 'Versi latini di Giannicola Salerno, *Giorn. stor. della lett. ital.* 58 (1911) 358-366. Annarosa Cavedon has now published some more of his Petrarchan sonnets in 'Un umanista-rimatore del sec. XV: Gian Nicola Salerno', *Miscellanea Branca* (as n.20) III.1 205-219. Manuscripts of his speeches are listed by Sabbadini, *Commento* 49, to which can be added London, BL Arundel 70, BL Harl. 2268 (f.32v: 'laudes urbis dum esset capitaneus in Florentia'), Melk Stiftsbibl. 780, Munich clm 504, Vat. Chis. J VII 266.

[30] Guarino *ep.* 214. Cf. Sabbadini, *Storia e critica di testi latini*, ed. 2, Padua 1971, 101.

[31] For Scola, see G. Cogo in *Nuovo archivio veneto* 8 (1894) 138-40; a letter of Barzizza follows the new letter of Bruni on f.121 of S. Gimignano 27 (if 'Ioanni Salernitano' is really Salerno: not registered in D. Mazzuconi's index of Barzizza's letters, *Ital. med. e uman.* 20 (1977) 203-39). An expurgated letter of Franc (1421) printed by Sabbadini, 'Versi' (as n.29) 364-365; on him see the bibliography in *Duke Humfrey and English humanism*, Bodleian Library exhibition catalogue, Oxford 1970, 13 no. 24.

[32] Vat. lat. 2946; cf. Sabbadini, *Commento*, p.viii.

[33] Fols. 119-121 have Guarino *epp.* 180, 184 (not found in Vat. lat. 2946), 159, 177, plus a letter of Bartolomeo Brenzon and that of Barzizza mentioned above.

MS 27 is a paper miscellany, in several hands, of grammatical texts and humanist letters and speeches, chiefly the form letters of Barzizza.[34] At least five hands have been at work in the manuscript. The gothic cursive hand which copied Bruni's letter, written more carefully and probably later than the surrounding humanist letters on fols. 118 to 125, was tentatively identified by Dr A.C. de la Mare as that of Mattia Lupi, a teacher of grammar known to have been at Siena in the 1420s. The identification was subsequently confirmed by the emergence of an autograph letter of Lupi, to be discussed below. The closing words of Bruni's letter recommend the bearer, 'Mathiam grammaticum familiarem meum Senis morantem', and it can hardly be doubted that Lupi copied out - not without mistakes - the missive he himself took to Salerno in Siena, complete with the 'A tergo' address.

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Mattia di Nuccio Lupi of San Gimignano is not an unknown figure, hardly an 'umanista dimenticato', but he has attracted little attention since Guido Traversari devoted a long article to his life and his Latin epic poem on the history of his native town, the *Annales Geminianenses*.[35] Eighty years on, it seems worth while to offer an excursus on this man, with some fresh evidence of his relations with names eminent in the history of humanism.

A certain amount of autobiographical matter lies buried in the *Annales*, whence it was excavated by A.M. Bandini, with such further information from archival documents

[34] Cf. n.1 above. It once belonged to the Opera of the collegiate church in S. Gimignano, which is significant of its origin.

[35] 'Di Mattia Lupi (1380-1468) e de' suoi "Annales Geminianenses"', *Miscellanea storica della Valdelsa* XI.I (1903) 10-27, XI.2 (1903) 108-128, XII.2 (1904) 117-136. The first part deals with Lupi's life, the second with the *Annales*, the third prints documents and extracts: referred to here as Traversari I, II or III. As the article is not easily found outside Italy, I here resume the main lines of Traversari's research, supplementing where I can.

and manuscripts as had come to the attention of the great librarian.[36] Bandini pointed to a passage from Book III of the poem which indicates 1380 as the date of Lupi's birth - almost exactly Salerno's contemporary, then, though he long outlived him.[37] By 1398 Lupi was already the 'rector ecclesie de Larniano nec non capelle S. Laurentii plebatus de Peccioli in comitatu Pisarum', as he signed himself in a colophon.[38] Another colophon shows him 'grammaticam edocens Pistorii' on 9 June 1403.[39] From Pistoia he very soon moved to teach at Prato, a few miles from Florence. He was elected to receive 'a suis scolaris (*sic*) salaria debita et consueta', as attested by a Pratese document of July 1403, and in November of that year a pupil copied a Claudian in his school.[40] At least four times in a long and industrious life he was hired to teach grammar in San Gimignano, in each case for a period of two years.[41] On the second occasion in 1417, he responded to the commune's invitation with a set of hexameters rejoicing in his recall 'elementa tenellis / prima relecturus pueris'. They indicate a scholastic programme 'di una desolante monotonia', in Traversari's view,[42] the

[36] *Bibliothecae Leopoldinae sive Supplementi ad Catalogum codd. Graec. Lat. Ital. Tomus III*, Florence 1793, 503 ff. (henceforth *Suppl.* III.). This incorporates his own earlier researches published in G. Targioni-Tozzetti, *Relazioni d'alcuni viaggi fatti in diverse parti della Toscana* VIII, Florence 1775, 229 ff., and the views of G.V. Coppi, *Annali, memorie ed huomini illustri di S. Gimignano*, Florence 1695, part 2, 195. The only other significant contribution is by L. Pecori, *Storia della terra di S. Gimignano*, Florence 1853, 335-336, 485-488, 618.

[37] Bandini, *Suppl.* III.506 from (what is now) Florence, Bibl. Naz. II.II.12 fols. 26v-27.

[38] S. Gimignano MS 19, *Doctrinale* of Alexander Villa Dei, fol. 84v (Garosi p.110). This and the manuscripts next mentioned were unknown to Traversari. Eighteen was the youngest canonical age for assuming major orders. The Larniano of which he was rector is presumably the one a few miles from S. Gimignano; Peccioli lies in the Val d'Era midway between S. Gimignano and Pisa.

[39] S. Gimignano MS 30, Francesco da Buti's commentary on Horace *Ars poetica*, fol. 13 (Garosi 141).

[40] ASP, *Archivio storico del comune* 80 fol. 48, quoted by G. Pampaloni, *Storia di Prato*, II, Prato 1980, 195 n.1. Claudian, *De raptu Proserpinae*, Laur. 33.8 fol. 17 (Bandini, *Catalogus codd. lat. Bibl. Med. Laur.* II.94): 'Ego Barptolomeus Iohannis scripxi hunc librum pro me quando morabar in scolis magistri Mathie de Sancto Geminiano...electi ad legendum grammaticam Prati...', 12 November 1403.

[41] In 1407, 1417, 1442 and 1454; see Traversari I.16, 19-20 for details of these appointments. The second stint leaves a trace in Laur. 78.20, Boethius, *Consol.*: 'Scriptus a me Bartolomaeo ser Francisci de Monte Politiano morantis in scholis Domini Mathiae Plebani Plebis Aioli Pratensis comitatus...', 25 April 1419. This presumably at S. Gimignano, as the scribe's name has been deleted to make way for 'Ser Petri de Sancto Geminiano': Bandini, *Catalogus codd. lat.* III.166-167. It looks as if Lupi encouraged his pupils to make such explicit subscriptions, perhaps by way of advertisement for his teaching.

[42] Traversari I.16, who prints a portion of the verses; in full in Pecori, *Storia di S. Gimignano* 618.

traditional didactic diet of rote-learning and Villa Dei's *Doctrinale*. The commune of S. Gimignano, however, thought highly enough of his methods and results to grant tax-exemptions to him (and to his natural son Lupo) as an inducement to teach there in 1442. He died at Prato, where he seems to have spent most of his life, a short while before 24 September 1468, when arrangements were made to have him buried at the commune's expense in his native town.[43] From the funeral speech delivered by one 'M.B.' on this occasion we learn in what high regard Lupi's learning and eloquence were held by 'Senense collegium' and 'Pratense oppidum'.[44] Of his teaching at Prato we know nothing after the attested 'grammatica' of 1403. His Siennese teaching, which dates from the period of the letter here illustrated, was not universally approved, as will be seen.

Apart from this intermittently visible career as a schoolmaster in the Tuscan towns, Lupi had a steady ecclesiastical income for most of his life. We have seen him already a rector in 1398. About 1408, as it appears, he became priest of the *pieve* at Aiuolo, a couple of miles north-east of Prato.[45] Thereafter he regularly signs himself, and is referred to in official documents, as 'plebanus Areolensis' and the like. A passage in Book IX of the *Annales* shows that his long tenure of the parish, 'quam tenui iam quinquaginta per annos / liberam', was being disputed at the end of the 1450s, and he seems to have yielded up the troublesome benefice shortly afterwards.[46] By that time he had become a canon of the Collegiata of S. Gimignano, and at an earlier stage, in the early 1440s, he had been a vicar of the bishop of Pistoia.[47] On 10 February 1444/5 we

[43] Probably in the church of S. Francesco, now destroyed: Traversari I.26 n.9. See I.25 for the date of his death.

[44] The speech printed by Traversari III.123-125 from Laur. 89 sup. 27 fols. 83-84v. Large excerpts are given by Bandini, *Catalogus codd. lat.* III.292-294. Traversari guessed (I.26 n.8) that 'M.B.' was Bartolo Mainardi; perhaps rather M(esser) B(artolomeo) Nerucci, on whom more below.

[45] Cf. A. Cecconi, 'Toponomastica dell'antico distretto pratese', *Archivio storico pratese*, 4 (1921) 153, E. Repetti, *Dizionario geografico-fisico-storico della Toscana*, Florence 1833-45, I.59 (Ajolo), II.578 (Iolo, the present-day name).

[46] Traversari I.24-25.

[47] So Pecori, *Storia di S. Gimignano* 485, without documentation.

find Lupi at Arezzo, replying to letters of recommendation sent by Giovanni di Cosimo de' Medici on behalf of 'Ser Petro presbiteri de Addia vallis Ambre' and assuring Giovanni that nothing will please him more than to oblige him in all matters and especially in the advancement (presumably ecclesiastical) of Ser Piero.[48]

Such is the unexciting outline of Mattia Lupi's life. He is distinguished from the common run of humble schoolmasters and nameless country priests by an impulse towards literature which left two monuments, a poem and a library. This impulse in my view sprang from admiration and imitation of humanist contemporaries at Florence. The full story of Lupi's relations with these people remains to be told, if it can be told, but an accumulation of evidence points the way.

The poem is his *Annales Geminianenses*, an epic in ten books, the last incomplete, amounting to nearly 12,500 Latin hexameters. It was begun in 1463 after some years of preparation among the local chronicles, which Lupi is registered as having borrowed from the communal archives since 1458.[49] It deals with the history of San Gimignano from its mythical foundation until the 1460s; a good deal of extraneous matter is thrown in, apparently merely for bulk.[50] The poem has found few readers, and from those few little praise: a work 'heroico carmine, valde tamen rudi et incompto' (Bandini), having 'nè orditura, nè regolarità, nè ordine' (Pecori), showing 'nessuna scintilla di poesia'; 'l'opera fallì completamente' (Traversari). Our interest in this wretched production lies in the motive which led Lupi to produce it. He asserts that he was moved to express his patriotic feelings in literary form by the example of Leonardo

[48] An autograph letter in Archivio di Stato, Florence, *Mediceo avanti il Principato* 5.550, signed 'Mathias plebanus vester'; *Inventario MAP*, I (1951) 72.

[49] Traversari I.27. Lupi records starting the poem on 15 October 1463 at the beginning of Book X (Traversari II.119). It has remained unpublished, but copious extracts, which are all I have read, are supplied by Bandini, *Suppl.* III.504-518 and Traversari III.129-136. Part II of Traversari's article has a full treatment. Copies unknown to Traversari are Holkham Hall 430 (s.XVII), S. Gimignano 72, dated 1701, and a fifteenth-century MS, University of N. Carolina (Chapel Hill) 8. This last appears (from photographs kindly sent by P.A. Stadter) to be an autograph in Lupi's formal gothic hand, very close to the subscribed Laur. 37.18, on which see p.115 below; fol.2v has a missing line certainly inserted in Lupi's cursive script.

[50] Traversari II.121: 'come in una barricata ci aveva accatastato materiali di ogni genere'.

Bruni and his matchless *Historiae Florentini populi*.[51] Consciousness of his inadequacy to rival Bruni's history did not prevent his embarking on the long task to which death put an end in 1468, and which has proved fatal to the reputation of San Gimignano's *poeta laureatus*.[52] Traversari saw its closest parallel among the rhymed volgare chronicles of the age rather than in the developed humanistic poetry in praise of places and rulers of which the Quattrocento furnishes many examples. Execution in this case fell very far short of inspiration.

Wholly admirable on the other hand was Lupi's desire to benefit learning in San Gimignano by the gift of his library to the commune.[53] The first deed of gift was made in 1449 when he was residing in Prato, and further explanatory declarations followed in 1456.[54] These documents provide in detail for the housing, care and arrangement of the books and lay down the stringent conditions under which they may be consulted. Only a 'grammaticus competens...aut studens in quacumque scientia' may have access to the library, which is designed primarily for the use of students native to San Gimignano, or from elsewhere if the keyholders see fit. The arrangements were at length completed in 1460 and in a building adjoining the Collegiata erected for the purpose the books remained until Duke Cosimo I had them brought to Florence in 1568. They then entered the Medici library, and hence the present Laurenziana.

51 Bandini, *Suppl.* III.505, from the proem.

52 He is shown wearing the laurel crown in a fresco of 1487 in the church of S. Agostino, San Gimignano: see Traversari I.21 n.3 and his plate opposite p.10. He received it before beginning the *Annales* which, incidentally, are not mentioned by his obituarist. Luiso, *Studi* 33 n.39 wrongly gave to Lupi Panormita's *Sententia ad Balbum* (= *Hermaphroditus* II.24) and Francesco Patrizi's *Ecloga de Christi natali*; but some verses on the death of Antonio da San Gimignano, grammar master at Pistoia (died c.1411), not known to Traversari, survive in Riccard. 906 fols.30-31; on this poem see G.C. Alessio, 'Hec Franciscus de Buiti', *Ital. med. e uman.* 24 (1981) 71. For verses of 1417 see n.42 above. Leonardo Dati celebrates Lupi's poetic laurel in elegiacs presumably of the 1450s (F. Flamini in *Giorn stor. della lett. ital.* 16 (1890) 76-77, corrected as to the date by Traversari I.15 n.5, III.126). 'Esametri latini' of Lupi, without further specification, are recorded in Urbania, B.C. MS 30, Mazzatinti, *Inventari dei mss*, 34 (1926) 137.

53 See E. Casanova, 'La libreria di M. Mattia Lupi da S. Gimignano', *Rivista delle biblioteche e degli archivi* 8 (1897) 64-68, Pecori, *Storia di S. Gimignano* 335-338, Traversari I.22-24. The treatment of the library promised by U. Nomi Venerosi Pesciolini (cf. Casanova 64-65) never appeared, as far as I know.

54 These are printed by Casanova. No inventory of the books seems to survive.

That at least is the usual story, but the forced 'gift' to Cosimo I evidently did not include all of Lupi's books. We have already noted a couple of his manuscripts, early teaching texts, which remained in the Collegiata library and passed thence to the modern Biblioteca Comunale: MSS 19 and 30, Villa Dei and Francesco da Buti on Horace. Both are written in a variety of gothic scripts, the formality of the hand depending on the nature of the text (cursive for commentary, formal bookhand for what is commented upon, current marginalia and so on), but all I think attributable to Lupi. Our miscellaneous MS 27, also from the Collegiata, seems to have been another that he owned: he himself wrote at least fols. 118-125 and f.128r and the first eight lines of 128v, and the rest of the book has much marginal annotation by him.[55] A quick search for other Lupi MSS at S. Gimignano turned up MS 40, Francesco da Buti's commentary on Terence, written on alternating quires by Lupi and another scribe;[56] and MS 23, now excerpts of Seneca the Elder, *Controversiae*, which used to have also (still in 1905: Garosi p.115) Persius and Francesco da Buti's commentary thereon.[57] Certainly in Lupi's cursive are the thick interlinear and marginal notes and a passage of eleven and a half lines near the end on fol.36v; and I would not exclude the possibility that the semi-formal script of the main text is another version of his hand.

Of the books from San Gimignano that did travel to Florence, two have long been identified by Lupi's subscriptions. He copied the second part of Laur. 37.18, Silius Italicus, in January 1453/4.[58] Silius' *Punica* was a discovery of Poggio in 1417 and the

[55] Note the colophon of 'Meus Duccii de Monte Vettolino' on fol. 27v, dated 1409: perhaps a pupil of Lupi from Monte Vettolini near Pistoia.

[56] See Garosi 171-173. Lupi did the last page (fol.63v) with a partly erased colophon, but the last word, *Prati* is still visible; that is, it was completed at Prato on 1 May 1407.

[57] Bartolomeo Fonzio, a commentator on Persius, used this MS for his *collectanea* (Riccard. 673, fol. 186v, cf. S. Caroti, S. Zamponi, *Lo scrittoio di B. Fonzio*,, Milan 1974, 53) and Lorenzo Mehus surmised that it had belonged to Lupi (*Vita Ambrosii Traversarii*, Florence 1759, 379). Antonio da San Gimignano's school at Pistoia was a 'nodal point' for the diffusion of Francesco da Buti's commentaries (Alessio, as n.52 above, p.75). Lupi commemorated Antonio's death in verse and also taught grammar at Pistoia in 1403, probably in association with him. Was Lupi, like Antonio, a teacher of Sozomeno da Pistoia ?

[58] Bandini, *Catalogus codd. lat.* II.255; Traversari I.22 n.6 wrongly gives '1463'.

date of Lupi's transcription suggests a connection with Poggio's return to Florence in 1453; but he is never mentioned, I think, in the latter's works. [59] Laur. 53.8, Donatus' commentary on Terence was written in April 1459 expressly 'pro bibliotheca sua geminianensi'.[60] Dr de la Mare has recently revealed the identity of the scribe of two further Laurentian manuscripts, written in an early humanistic script, as Bartolomeo di Pietro Nerucci of San Gimignano, a known acquaintance of Lupi;[61] and Lupi's arms, probably original, adorn both books: Laur. 36.23, originally Ovid, *Fasti* and Catullus, and 51.9, Macrobius *Saturnalia* and Apuleius *De deo Socratis*.[62] Apart from their palaeographical interest, these manuscripts have textual affinities of some note. The Catullus was probably copied from the important text of Coluccio Salutati before Salutati's death in 1406, and may also be connected with Poggio's early copy. The Macrobius underwent correction from Salutati's manuscript, whether in his lifetime or not is unclear.[63] It seems then that Nerucci wrote out for Lupi in the early years of the fifteenth century classical texts which mixed in the highest scholarly circles. These came to form part of the collection which Lupi eventually gave to San Gimignano for the encouragement and advancement of learning. The great exemplar in Lupi's lifetime

[59] Note, however, that the grammatical excerpts of Probus and Victorinus in S. Gimignano 27 fols. 99-100, 103-4 derive from Poggio's Vat. lat. 11458, directly or indirectly, though these are not in Lupi's hand. Following the subscription Lupi wrote out Martial's epigram, VII.63, on Silius (given by Traversari III.22 as if it were Lupi's own), which is found in at least two other MSS of the author: H. Blass in *Jahrbücher für class. Philol.* Suppl. 8 (1875) 175-179.

[60] Bandini II.604.

[61] Praise of him in *Annales* Book III = Bandini, *Suppl.* III.508. I suggest above (n.44) that he delivered Lupi's funeral oration. He was still alive, though very ancient, in 1473, when he was Chancellor of the Commune (see Garosi p.201 on S. Gim. MS 62). For his studies on Dante see C. Giani in *Archivio storico pratese* 4 (1921) 27-30, and F. Maggini, *ibid.* 5 (1924) 32-35. He bequeathed with other books a *Commedia* with Francesco da Buti's commentary, written by himself, to supplement Lupi's library (Pecori, *Storia di S. Gim.* 336). The commentaries are now Laur. 42.14 - 16, copied by Nerucci in 1432-34 (Bandini V.180-185 and cf. de la Mare (as next note) 100). Laur. 42.14 is inscribed 'Dalla communità di San Gimignano'.

[62] A.C. de la Mare, 'Humanistic script: the first ten years', in *Das Verhältnis der Humanisten zum Buch*, ed. F. Krafft and D. Wuttke, Boppard 1977, 89-110 at 98-100. Plate 5 shows Laur 36.23 (which Lupi annotated) with his arms, unfortunately indistinct in the reproduction. Arms of the Lupi family are described thus in the local armorial, S. Gimignano MS 106 f.161 (cf. Garosi p.230): 'Campo d'oro fino alla metà, e dalla metà in giù celeste con un lupo turchino che posa con tutti i piedi in campo celeste'.

[63] de la Mare 98-99, D.F.S. Thomson in *Yale Classical Studies* 23 (1973) 118. A passage in Book IX of the *Annales* mentions Salutati only to record his *De laboribus Herculis* (S. Gimignano MS 72 f.186).

for a benefaction of this sort was Niccolò Niccoli, protégé of Salutati and friend, later enemy, of Leonardo Bruni. I think Traversari was right to see in Niccoli's bequest the model of Lupi's own largesse.[64] It so happened that the Macrobius from which Lupi's text was corrected passed after Salutati's death into the hands of Niccoli;[65] and fresh evidence of friendly relations with Niccoli, as well as with Bruni, can now be offered.

This evidence lies, to return to our starting point, in Bruni's letters. Lupi's attitude towards Bruni verged on hero worship, as the *Annales Geminianenses* make very plain. Not only was the epic explicitly inspired by Bruni's *Historiae* but he also makes several unexpected appearances in the poem. In the tangled chronicle of Italian, Tuscan and purely local events that makes up Book III his birth and death both occasion, at the appropriate points in the annals, praise of the man that Lupi saw as the 'lumen eloquii' of the age.[66] He is named also in Book IX in a roll call of poets, preceding Bruni's fellow Aretine and successor as Chancellor of Florence, Carlo Marsuppini.[67] In Book III again we find a more personal connection, which has been persistently misunderstood:

> Vnicus eloquii Leonardus honos erat illo
> tempore, quem Lupius Graeco sermone sequutus
> plebem promeruit, alterni foedus amoris.
> Dum simul Historiarum libros et Ethicorum
> ederet, ille mihi 'Quonam modo consulis, edam'
> dicebat; repetens ego sic semper referebam,
> 'Mentis ad ornatum sunt hi (his *cod.*) maioris honoris,

64 I.23. Another Sangimignanese teacher, Abbot Onofrio, had left the commune a number of books at his death in 1441, but the project was moribund when Lupi made his provisions of 1449; cf. Casanova, 'La libreria' 64.

65 See B.L. Ullman and P.H. Stadter, *The public library of Renaissance Florence: Niccolò Niccoli, Cosimo de' Medici and the library of San Marco*, Padua 1972, for a full account of Niccoli's library; p.230 no. 891 for the Macrobius, Laur. S. Marco 328. While reviewing the identified remains of Lupi's library, I may remark that the attribution to Lupi of a lost Celsus MS (by F. Marx, *Corpus medicorum latinorum* I, Leipzig 1915, xli-xlii) rests on very thin speculation, a conclusion also arrived at by G. Billanovich, *Settimane di studio...Spoleto*, 22 (1975) 322. Pecori, *Storia* 336 n.1 mentions as MSS alienated from the collection and later recovered an Aulus Gellius and a Decade of Livy.

66 Both passages quoted by Traversari II.113.

67 Quoted by Traversari II.119. Cf. the funeral speech (Traversari III.125): 'Quo enim, ut alios omittam, studio, qua humanitate Leonardum ac Karolum Aretinos eloquentissimos et integros homines ac divinarum artium eruditissimos coluit ?'. I have not come across evidence of this familiarity of Lupi and Marsuppini ('Karolum Aretinum').

illis fama datur; sed sume utriusque laborem
assiduum, nam fit virtus exercita maior.'
His ait hortatus, 'Bene dicis, utrosque sequemur'.

This passage[68] is the sole support for the assertion made by all who have written on Lupi that he was in some formal way Bruni's pupil.[69] It appears to rest on reading the opening lines as meaning 'I gained my pieve through following Leonardo's lessons in Greek'. I should interpret the words, however, to mean that Lupi secured the benefice at Aiuolo by petitioning Bruni, at that time a papal secretary, in a Greek letter. The date of this success will become clear in a moment. At a later stage, around 1415, when Bruni began work on his Florentine history and on the translation of Aristotle's *Ethics*,[70] Lupi was flattered to be consulted as to how the author should proceed to publication. His advice, though not ideally clear, was that Bruni should pursue both works concurrently, for the intellectual merit and utility of the translation would complement the fame which the History would bring. It is certainly interesting that Bruni was approached by a petition in Greek, but we cannot say how Lupi came by this accomplishment, of which only the merest trace survives elsewhere.[71] Perhaps one should think rather of the common pursuit of the *studia humanitatis* in Salutati's circle, which would have an obvious attraction for the bookish young schoolmaster stationed at nearby Prato.[72]

68 Bandini, *Suppl.* III.507, quoted in fragments by Traversari I.16 n.2, 14 n.2.

69 From Coppi in 1695 onwards: 'fu scolare del gran Leonardo Bruni d'Arezzo, dal quale ebbe la lezione dell'arte Istorica e dell'Etica d'Aristotile', *Annali* (as n.36) II.195. Bandini, who took over Coppi's statement (*Catalogus* II.94, *Suppl.* III.503) marked in his margin against the opening lines of this passage, 'Mathias plebanus discipulus Leon. Arretini'. Inherited fantasy mingles strangely with straightforward interpretation in Traversari I.12-14.

70 For the date, see H. Baron, *Leonardo Bruni Aretino: humanistisch-philosophische Schriften*, Leipzig 1928, 164 and 176 on these works.

71 Greek words are written by Lupi in the margins against Barzizza's *Orthographia* in S. Gim. 27 fol.37 and in the text (where spaces had been left by the scribe) of Rufinus, *Commentaria in metra Terentiana*, fol. 107. These are comparable to the Greek script in Vat. lat. 14415 discussed below.

72 The only hint that Bruni ever gave formal teaching is an obscure sentence in a letter to Poggio, c.1411, which refers to unwilling 'labores legendi': Luiso, *Studi* 74; cf. R. Fubini in *Poggii opera omnia* IV.583 ff. on this.

Traversari found no mention of Lupi in Bruni's own works,[73] but some letters were overlooked and more evidence has since come to light. In particular, a letter to Niccoli of 30 March 1408, when Bruni was attending Gregory XII in Lucca, refers directly to the grant by the pope of Lupi's request for preferment: 'Negotia Lupi nostri de quibus significavi tibi, iam sepius me per tuas litteras monuisti, scias plane his proximis diebus esse confecta: postulatio enim...nobis deprecantibus per Pontificem admissa est.'[74] When in writing the *Annales* Lupi states that he had held the pieve at Aiuolo for more than fifty years in virtue of a grant of the pope himself,[75] it is plain that this is the very benefice to which Bruni's letter alludes. There are other signs of early acquaintance: in 1407 Bruni invited Niccoli to meet him at Lupi's villa 'quae est Senis propinqua,[76] and in 1409 Niccoli had sent on to Bruni a letter of Lupi, to which Bruni replied.[77] Further contact, indeed intimacy, is implicit in the literary advice given by Lupi around 1415, and the new letter of Bruni recommends 'familiarem meum' at the end of 1420. After this date, so far as the *Annales* or the *epistolario* go, the friendship might seem to have withered, to become a fond memory of Lupi's old age. Yet two later documents of Bruni show that the grand Chancellor of Florence did not forget the obscure grammarian.

Bruni became Chancellor at the end of 1427 and died in 1444, rich and eminent - sleek and contented too, one would think from his famous tomb portrait. In his official capacity he wrote in 1439 to thank the Siennese signoria for their efforts to help 'dominum Matthiam plebanum Aioli' recover a consignment of cloths of which he had

73 Traversari I.15 n.5.

74 *Ep.* II.1 Mehus, showing Niccoli's special interest in Lupi's progress. Luiso, *Studi* 47, gives a passage on this matter omitted from Mehus' edition.

75 Bandini, *Suppl.* III.517 = Traversari I.24-25, verses of Book IX which incorporate a letter sent to Pius II in 1459, on which see below.

76 *Ep.* II.9 Mehus, dated from Siena 9 September 1407. This villa must be distinct from Lupi's residence in San Gimignano, which was in the centre of the town (now the Palazzo Cortesi in the Piazza della Cisterna).

77 *Ep.* III.7 Mehus, dated from Rimini, 13 February 1409. This must be read in the much fuller version given by Luiso, *Studi* 59-62; p.62 for the letter of 'Lupi nostri'.

been defrauded by one Meo Tori. The brief letter concludes with renewed recommendations of the priest, 'who is returning to Siena'.[78] More remarkable testimony of continued favour is found in the will that Bruni drew up on 22 March 1439, during this very episode. It disposes of such goods as were not destined for the main beneficiary, his son Donato. The only person outside his immediate family who is remembered in the will is Mattia Lupi: one hundred florins are to be paid to the church of 'Sancti Petri de Aiuolo...pro divino officio celebrando et pro victu rectoris ipsius ecclesie'.[79] It was an act of charity that the Chancellor could well afford, and doubtless it earned a mass for his soul when it departed this earth on 9 March 1444.

It is difficult to gauge the feeling behind these fugitive references, the barest external signs of a bond that lasted from Lupi's youth to Bruni's death. It was not a relationship of equals, in terms of social and intellectual distinction, nor does Lupi ever pretend that it was. Affection at any rate was not all on one side and Lupi's proud claims of friendship with one of the great figures of the age find surprising vindication. It is perhaps just as well that Bruni did not live to see himself enshrined in the *Annales Geminianenses* alongside the record of monstrous childbirths and observations on soil fertility.

As for Niccolò Niccoli, we are quite in the dark about the quality of that friendship, attested in Bruni's early references to 'Lupus noster'. By chance, however, a little tract of Lupi's composition, recently identified in the Vatican library,[80] expresses an unusual view of Niccoli, and claims our attention also for the light it throws on the

78 Florence, Bibl. Naz., Panciatichi 148 (a collection of Bruni's state letters) fol.96, 27 March 1439, with an earlier letter seeking their assistance on fol. 92v, 11 March 1438/9. The later letter is also in Laur. 90 sup. 34 fol.153, (old foliation p.142), where Bandini's mention of 'Mathias plebanus' (*Catalogus* III.501) led me to Lupi.

79 V.R. Giustiniani, 'Il testamento di Leonardo Bruni', *Rinascimento* 4 (1964) 259-264 at 261.

80 Alessio (as n.52) 71 n.29: 'La minuta di una sua lettera a Giacomo cancelliere di Prato, forse provvista di correzioni e postille autografe, è contenuta nel Vat. lat. 14415 ff. 32r-34v'. The credit for the identification belongs to O. Bertolini, who compiled the typescript catalogue (1977) of Codd. Vat. lat. 14234-14665.

author's style of scholarship. The piece is preceded by a prefatory letter to Iacopo Diotiguardi of San Gimignano, at that time Chancellor of Prato, and is autograph throughout, written in a humanistic script which declines in formality as Lupi admits more and more corrections and revisions to his draft (fig4).[81] Iacopo had asked him to deliver judgement on two particular points of orthography put forward by a shared acquaintance, Matteo Ronto[82], which he does with some vigour and the full panoply of traditional grammatical learning. The aspiration of *anhelo* and the short second syllable of *elegans* are conclusively proved against Ronto by precisely cited authority (Priscian, Isidore, Petrus Helias, Uguccio, Papias, Villa Dei and the *Catholicon*), by derivation and good usage, and by arguments of phonetic mechanism taken from Priscian. Villa Dei's *Doctrinale*, one of Lupi's surviving books, is incidentally refuted on the quantity of *tristĕga* by reference to the original form, carefully spelt in Greek letters, found at *Acts* 20.9, and elsewhere Ronto's spelling of *Aristotiles* is corrected by appeal to Greek witnesses ('ut Greca docent exemplaria'). If Ronto, to whom Ser Iacopo is asked to show Lupi's remarks, should complain of inadequate access to good texts, 'in nostrum veniat pluteum; bona equidem pace 'anhelo' aspirari in mille librorum voluminibus demonstrabo' (fol.33). Whether Ronto, as Lupi hoped, took all this in the right spirit of disinterested eradication of error is unknown. But at least when he came to write his *Orthographia novella* he abandoned the unaspirated *anelo*: 'sed ego sequor Priscianum volentem illas dictiones scribi cum *h*'.[83]

[81] The letter on fol.32r-v, the body of the tract on fols.32v-34v, very heavily corrected towards the end. That it is autograph (an opinion confirmed by Dr de la Mare) is indicated first by the nature of the marginal additions, which are such as only the author would make, and then by the clear relation of the majuscule letters to those of the cursive hand of S. Gimignano 27.

[82] On him see Chapter 3 n.170. The invective briefly discussed there immediately follows Lupi's tract in Vat. lat. 14415, and is glossed and in part written by Lupi. Ronto had used the faulty forms which Lupi criticises in a poem, and then defended them with elaborate and deceitful arguments.

[83] Quoted by M. Tagliabue, 'Per la biografia di M. Ronto', (as Ch. 3 n.170) 172.

The exposition, at times murky and repetitious, is oiled by classical quotation, from Terence, Juvenal, Aulus Gellius, Persius and Phaedrus among others.[84] Of five quotations of Cicero (not always acknowledged as such), the four that derive from *Tusculan Disputations* are all found in the marginal additions, suggesting that the work was read with the specific aim of finding decoration for the technical arguments. It is not by now surprising to find Bruni quoted in support of general principles, on a level with the ancient authors.[85] Quite unexpected, however, is the introduction of Niccoli as a model of how to take criticism:

> Hinc quem odio quidam habent, Nicholaum dico de Nicholis, permaxime diligo. Dicunt enim eum carpsorem mordacemque omnium. At si attendant quam patiens quamque tolerabilis sit cum a quoquam iuste reprehenditur, nullus eorum profecto sibi infensus erit, sed summa virtute eum ignorationis osorem ac scientie probatorem censebit. (f.32v)

These few lines give something of the flavour of Lupi's prose, a flavour more medieval than humanistic. *Osor* was a rarity which finds no place in extant classical Latin after Plautus and before Apuleius. It was plucked, no doubt, from the medieval dictionaries of Papias or Uguccio. In a discourse precisely on orthography it was at least unwise to vary *carptor* to an unexampled *carpsor*; and humanists of Niccoli's stamp would not have mingled noun and adjective in *carpsorem mordacemque*, not so much Tacitean elegance as simple inattention. Reflexive *sibi* stands for *ei*, as commonly in medieval Latin, and we are left, finally, to wonder whose is the *summa virtute* which dangles in the last clause. There are solid arguments, necessarily derivative, in the tract, but the overall impression is of earnest and rather pedestrian learning, by no means lightly worn, and prey to the same diffuseness which has repelled

[84] Phaedrus I.3 through the medieval *Aesopica*: E. Thiele, *Der lateinische Äsop des Romulus*, Heidelberg 1910, 134.

[85] 'Leonardus noster, aureum hodie flumen eloquentie, quem non sine magna reverentia audeo nominare, ea in epistola quam ad grammaticum misit [*Ep.* I.8 M.] "indoctorum, inquit, corruptela non usus loquendi appellandus est sed abusio"', fol.33; Bruni's translation of Basil *Ad adolescentes* is cited on fol.32. On fol. 34 Lupi says he daily absorbs Aristotle's moral philosophy 'in illa elegantissima deductione quam nuperrime...Leonardus Arretinus edidit'. This I take to be not the translation of the *Ethics*, as does Tagliabue p.172, but the 'distillation' of the *Isagogicon* of 1425; cf. H. Baron, 'The date of Leonardo Bruni's *Isagogicon moralis disciplinae*', *Yearbook of Italian Studies* I (1971) 64-74.

readers of his poetry. Perhaps Lupi was one of those young men whose early studies, as Vespasiano da Bisticci tells us, had been stimulated and examined by the *censor* of Florentine letters.[86] His tribute to Niccoli's tolerance, a side of his nature rarely on view to others, at least shows that the friendly contact of the early years of the century remained vivid to Lupi in the late 1420s, beyond which knowledge fails us.[87]

A very different picture of relations with another well-known humanist emerges from the *Hermaphroditus* of Antonio Beccadelli, il Panormita. The author of these scabrous poems made Lupi's acquaintance, and conceived a violent dislike of him, while a student at the Studio of Siena in the 1420s.[88] The grammar master is the butt of a dozen epigrams, more than Panormita expended on any other enemy and uniformly vicious in tone.[89] A sample (I.23):

> Annua publicitus tibi larga pecunia, Lupi,
> solvitur; et pueris quot legis ipse? tribus.

In another he adds that one of the three pupils was involuntary, being Lupi's servant (II.16). It is said that Panormita, born in 1394, was himself a pupil of the victim of these attacks[90] but he would at that stage have passed beyond the modest grammatical studies that were Lupi's metier. It is altogether more likely that he was motivated by

[86] *Le Vite* ed. A. Greco, Florence 1971-76, II.229-230.

[87] I date the piece after Bruni's *Isagogicon* and presumably after the end of Niccoli's great feud with Bruni in 1426, of which Lupi must have been aware, as the letter here published shows. Behind the defence of Niccoli probably lie criticisms of him made by Ronto, who eventually issued the invective mentioned in Ch.3 section 7. I have not been able to establish when Ser Iacopo Diotiguardi became Chancellor of Prato; he still held the post as late as 1453, when he was helping Lupi in the arrangements for the building of the library at S. Gimignano (Pecori, *Storia* 335-336.

[88] Panormita probably came to Siena in 1420, and left shortly before the publication of *Hermaphroditus* in 1425. Lupi is attested there by our letter of 1420, by a document of 1424 (Corso, as next note, 147 n.1), by Bruni's official letter of 1439, and more generally by the reference in the funeral speech to the admiration of 'Senense collegium'. He is not mentioned, however, by L. Zdekauer, *Lo Studio di Siena nel Rinascimento*, Milan 1894. That he was succeeded as professor of Greek in 1434 by Filelfo is an invention of Traversari (I.19), based on a careless remark by Voigt, *Il Risorgimento dell'antichità classica*, I, Florence 1888, 409.

[89] Ed. C. Forberg, Coburg 1824, nos. I.10, 11, 23, 24, 26, 36; II.15, 16, 19, 24, 27, conveniently printed together (except I.24) by Traversari III.127-129. G. Corso, 'Il Panormita a Siena e l'*Ermafrodito*', *Bullettino Senese*, 60 (1953) 138-188 at 147 points out that I.7 is also aimed at Lupi.

[90] E.g. Voigt, *Risorgimento*, I.409, and those who follow him. Luiso, *Studi*, 33 n.39 contrives to give the impression that Panormita was a friend.

professional rivalry: short of money, he was casting envious eyes on the lucrative contract for public teaching which Lupi enjoyed, the *annua pecunia.*[91] There appears to have been a certain poetic rivalry too. The contents of *Hermaphroditus* are defended against Lupi's criticisms (I.10), and he is denied any share in the Muses who had so liberally endowed Panormita (II.27). One free-standing couplet is worth singling out of the morass of sexual aspersion for the indication it gives of Lupi's taste in poetry. A play on the unequal elegiac measure of Martial's verse combines with malicious allusion to Lupi's *vitium surae* - Lupi limped.

> Lupius abs poscis me rara epigrammata Marci.
> Concedam: rectis passibus ipse veni (II.15)[92]

The great *succès de scandale* of these epigrams must have been more influential in spreading Lupi's name through the world of humanism than any efforts of his own. Small wonder that his *Annales* never mention Panormita, not even in the enumeration of poets that manages to embrace Moses, Archilochus and Zanobi da Strada.[93]

The long list of poets in Book IX arises from praise of the eloquence of Pius II, Enea Silvio Piccolomini.[94] Into the account of Pius' doomed crusading endeavours that precedes, Lupi inserted a poetic letter which he claimed to have sent Pius by way of encouragement. It ends, as well it might, 'Quis sim forte petes...'. He explains:

> ...tibi praenotissimus olim,
> nos licet adversis fatis diviserit hora.
> Ecce ego philosophos toties auditus in urbe
> enucleare tua, dum me iuvenilior aetas
> duxit in obsequium tanti communis habendum,
> quorum doctrinam prius edocui, fateor, quam
> me didicisse...[95]

91 So F. Satullo, *La giovinezza di Antonio Beccadelli*, Palermo 1906, 24-26.

92 Martial was still fairly uncommon in the early fifteenth century. Cf. U. Carratello in *Giornale italiano di filologia* 26 (1974) 11; 27 (1975) 223-224 on Panormita and Martial, his chief model; and n.59 above on a Martial epigram later copied by Lupi.

93 Cf. Traversari II.118-119 with précis of Book IX.

94 'Senensis patria Aeneas oriens hominumque / parvorum de stirpe', Traversari III.133; *parvi homines* = Piccolomini.

95 Traversari III.136. For the continuation see Bandini, *Suppl.* III.517.

These explanations of the philosophers (a term of very general application to ancient authors) were given to the young Enea Silvio about 1424. To that year Traversari referred a passage on the future pope's earliest studies in a late letter of Gregorio Lolli to Cardinal Ammanati:[96]

> Primum habuit praeceptorem Antonium quendam Aretinum. Audivit et Mathiam Lupium claudum - in cuius suram invectus est Antonius Panormita his versibus, 'Dic mihi cur, Lupi, longo vestiris amictu: An vitium surae vis operire toga?'[97] - et Ioannem quendam Spoletanum.

Whatever gratitude the ailing pope may have felt towards his old teacher, no evidence of it survives. Lupi's direct appeal for aid in defending his *pieve* at Aiuolo against usurpers, which follows the words quoted above from Book IX, was to all appearances unsuccessful.[98] The voluminous works of Pius seem never to mention the instruction which once had made Lupi 'praenotissimus' to him, although another of his Siennese teachers, Lupi's friend Mariano Sozzini, was remembered with affection.[99] It may well be that the Aeneas on whom Pius turned his back in self-reproach inclined more to the Panormitan world of 'molles Senae' than to the dusty grammarian from San Gimignano. At all events even as a churchman he was pleased to recall his old friendship with the author of *Hermaphroditus*, a friendship which must have been painful to the chief victim of that collection.[100]

We have examined Mattia Lupi's relations with three major humanists, Bruni, Panormita and Pius II. Their attitudes seem to have been respectively affection,

96 Traversari I.17 n.2, citing *Epistolae et commentarii Iacobi Piccolomini* [Ammanati] *cardinalis Papiensis*, Milan 1506 (and Milan 1521, a reprinting), fol.32. Lolli was a cousin of Enea Silvio, who as a student had lived in his house.

97 Quoting the first couplet of *Herm.* I.11.

98 Traversari I.24-25.

99 For Pius and Sozzini, see the former's *De viris illustribus* in *Bibl. des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart* I (1843) 27, and J.A. Tedeschi in *Italian Reformation studies in honor of Laelius Socinus*, ed. Tedeschi, Florence 1965, 282-287. For Sozzini as Lupi's friend see Traversari I.25, III.118.

100 In a letter of 1450 Pius, who was some eleven years younger than Panormita, speaks of their 'vetusta consuetudine quam Senis in adolescentia simul habuimus' (*Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini* ed. R. Wolkan, III.1, Vienna 1918, 436).

aversion and indifference. For Salutati and Poggio, a link as yet insecure can be inferred from the books that Lupi owned, for he is not mentioned in their copious *epistolari*. Although Lupi sought the letters of Guarino for copying,[101] there is no direct evidence of their acquaintance, despite the warmth implied in the funeral speech: 'quanto amore ac usu Guarinum Grece et Latine lingue peritissimum complexus'.[102] Niccolò Niccoli was certainly a friend in the first decade of the Quattrocento, and probably later, but more than that we cannot say. Lupi must have sent many letters in the eighty eight years of his life, but no-one apparently thought it worth preserving them as such, though two have survived for other reasons.[103] New evidence, particularly to be hoped for from a systematic attempt to identify his surviving manuscripts, will perhaps clarify some of these relations, but it may be doubted whether the essential picture will change. It is one of mediocrity on the fringes of greatness. The same instincts which led him to set such a high value on ancient literature and modern learning bequeathed to posterity a monstrous poem which has never been read without revulsion. If Lupi is measured by his interests and enthusiasms, he deserves to be called a 'minor humanist'. On a cooler view, his life will be seen as an example of a phenomenon not often observable, the penetration of the brilliant energies of early humanism into a lower, more rustic, less comprehending level of culture.

Appendix: a letter of Lupi

Although I have found no mention of Lupi in the works of Ambrogio Traversari and Guarino, the following letter, included in a selection of letters associated with Ambrogio in Canneti's edition (*Ambrosii Traversarii epistolae*, Florence 1759, *ep.*

101 See the letter to Facinus monachus in appendix.

102 Traversari III.25; he suggested, sensibly enough, that they may have become acquainted during Guarino's stay in Florence, 1410-1414 (Traversari I.15). It is possible that Giannicola Salerno later acted as a channel for Lupi's 'amor ac usus'.

103 One is printed at the end of this chapter. The other is the note to Giovanni di Cosimo de' Medici mentioned at n.48 above.

XXV.35, col. 1117), shows that he was eager to have copies of their productions. The letter is not dated but presumably falls between Traversari's becoming general of his order in 1431 and his death in 1439. The addressee Facino was a member of Traversari's Camaldulensian order, probably from the monastery of Val di Castro, and was sent two short letters by his general at some point in the 1430s.[104] I feel sure that the bare 'Matthias' here is Lupi, because he goes out of his way to attribute one of the commonest of proverbs (*amicorum communia omnia*: A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter der Römer* no.20) to 'Leonardus ille'; referring to Leonardo Bruni's *ep.* II.6 Luiso, of which the clause 'nam...duco' and the words of the 'sanctissima lex' in this letter are a direct quotation. As this letter of Bruni is not handed down in the canonical collections, it appears that Lupi made his own selection, which might be identifiable among the four manuscripts which transmit it (cf. Luiso, *Studi*, 28 and 191).

Matthias Facino monacho salutem.

> Remitto ecce ad te epistolas tui patris Fratris Ambrosii viri doctissimi et praeter ceteros observandissimi, octenas quidem neque plures neque pauciores, quas mihi quidem mutuo tradidisti. Expecto tamen alias Guarini, quas tuis ad me literulis pollicitus fuisti. Igitur per hunc adolescentulum tuum ad me transmittas oro, nam et ceteros omnes libros qui penes te sunt meos esse arbitror et ego quoscumque habeo non magis meos quam tuos duco. Sanctissima enim amicitiae lex est quae iubet omnia inter amicos esse communia, quemadmodum Leonardus ille inquit. Vale et me a quo te amari intelligis plurimum ames obsecro.

[104] *Epp.* XXII.25 and 26; the latter exhorts him to travel to Florence with 'venerando fratre nostro Eustachio', presumably the Abbot of Val di Castro to whom Traversari addressed *Epp.* XVI.1-5.

Chapter 5

Leonardo Bruni, Giovanni Aretino and others

This chapter aims to illustrate the background of two letters of Leonardo Bruni Aretino, IV.18 and IV.20 Mehus, and thereby to add to the stock of knowledge concerning some of his associates in the 1420s. In particular, it means to shed light on the person of Giovanni Aretino, 'the first professional scribe' in the new humanistic script,[1] and recently denominated an enigma who veers between (archival) fact and (archivists') imagination.[2] Beyond this I collect scattered and often conflicting notices towards the biographies of two figures who stood on the margins of early humanism, Andrea Chrysoberges and Jacopo Languschi, in the hope that further, more systematic researches in Italian archives may give them more substance. The evidence is, as ever, fragmentary and difficult to integrate, but a certain undergrowth of inveterate misconception can be pruned back along the way, and certain problems posed afresh.

We start with a text, a letter sent by Bruni to one Iohanninus.

LEONARDUS S. D. JOHANNINO

> Tres epistolas tuas unum fere sub tempus accepi; quibus antequam respondeo, iuvat praefari atque praemonere, ea videlicet ipsa quae meus erga te amor ac patriae caritas exposcit. Multum igitur hoc brevi tempore quo a nobis abfuisti te profecisse statuo; siquidem in tanta civitate recentem adhuc et modo advenam nonnulli praestantes viri in familiaritatem susceperunt, quorum gratia tuere quaeso diligenter atque

[1] R.W. Hunt, 'Humanistic script in Florence in the early fifteenth century', *Calligraphy and palaeography: essays presented to Alfred Fairbank*, London 1965, 272-274 at 273.

[2] G. Nicolaj Petronio, 'Per la soluzione di un enigma: Giovanni Aretino copista, notaio e cancelliere', *Hum. Lov.* 30 (1981) 1-12, L. Miglio, 'Giovanni Aretino tra realtà e immaginazione', *Atti e mem. Accad. Petrarca d'Arezzo* 45 (1982) 372-378

annitere ut eos bene promerendo in amorem tuum quam maxime vertas. Id si tu quemadmodum spero assequare, quod tandem lucrum cum hoc lucro existimem comparandum ? Illud praeterea moneo, ut istic degens conquiescere animo velis, nec eorum quae hic reliquisti desiderio torqueri. Quod nisi feceris, nichil de te laudabile unquam praestabis. Quid enim cor anxium et moerens exhibere aut sibi ipsi aut alteri potest ? Cogita igitur non tam domesticos quam impias tuorum molestias domi reliquisse; urbem autem nunc incolere opulentissimam, ornatissimam et in qua nichil molestiarum insit, nisi forte quas tu ipse stulta mollicie tibi ultro suggesseris.

Haec ego quae sentiebam de personis et urbe commonefacienda putavi. Nunc venio ad epistolas tuas. Mea nescio quae istic reperta quod admirarere, quodque a ceteris ea laudari praedicas, aiunt fortasse homines:

> sed non ego credulus illis:
> Nam neque me Varo videor, neque dicere Cinna
> Digna sed argutos inter strepere anser olores.

De epistolis autem quas aliorum voluminibus insertas deprehendisti, ne fer quaeso tu id quidem moleste. Satis michi honoris ille quisquis fuerit meis detulit, quod inter suas quas bonas putavit collocare dignatus est.Commentaria vero primi belli Punici quae flagitas, ad te propediem transmittam.

Quod autem me consulis de re illa tua, michi una salus videtur ut fortem nunc te constantemque praestes, etsi scio quam difficile sit non flecti animo, presertim tibi qui es natura mollissimus. Sed tamen, ut mea fert opinio, aut nichil unquam aut taciturnitas tua illorum vesaniam refringet, errantesque et devios in orbitam reducet. Quod si indices te pati non posse, eludent. Vale. Florentiae.[3]

A Giovanni, then, bound to Bruni by *patriae caritas*, regarded by him as mentally fragile (*natura mollissimus*), a recent arrival in an *urbs opulentissima* where he enjoys the friendship of *praestantes viri*. The diffident suggestion of F.P.Luiso that Bruni's compatriot was Giovanni Tortelli of Arezzo seems to have hardened over the years and won general acceptance.[4] Mariangela Regoliosi raised in passing the possibility that the

[3] Bruni, *Epistolarum libri VIII*, rec. L. Mehus, Florence 1741, I p.131, *ep.* IV.18. I have altered *quos hic reliquisti* in the first paragraph to *quae...* on the basis of manuscript readings noted in L. Bertalot's copy of Mehus, of which Lucia Gualdo Rosa kindly supplied a photocopy. In Bruni's quotation of Vergil (*Eclogues* IX.34 ff.) modern editions read *nam neque adhuc Vario videor nec dicere Cinna*. The date of the letter, early 1420s, is more precisely defined below.

[4] *Studi su l'epistolario di Leonardo Bruni* a c. di L. Gualdo Rosa, Rome 1980, 99 n.82. The identification has been accepted by e.g. H. Baron, *Yearbook of Italian Studies* 1 (1971) 69, M. and E. Cecchini, *Leonardo Bruni: La versione del Pluto di Aristofane*, Florence 1965, x, and Regoliosi (as next note). A dissenting voice is R. Ribuoli, 'Spunti filologici dall'epistolario di Francesco Filelfo' in the forthcoming (due in 1986) proceedings of the Filelfo conference held at Tolentino in 1981, who in part anticipated these conclusions.

wealthy city in question was Venice, but disproved Tortelli's supposed connection with that town by showing that the signed manuscripts of Ioannes Arretinus from Venice of 1422-23 are the work of the well-known scribe of that name.[5] There is indeed no known association of Tortelli with Venice; what little is known of his early life suggests study in the 1420s at Mantua, Bologna and Florence.[6] But the words remain, and they do strongly point to Venice. Bruni was all too familiar with the dilapidated state of Rome after the Schism - he must have made a conscious decision not to go there when Martin V left Florence in 1420 - and he would hardly have recommended a Naples in the grip of factional strife or a Milan with which Florence was on the point of going to war. Appearances can be saved by dropping Tortelli altogether from the picture and replacing him by the same Giovanni Aretino whose work once passed for Tortelli's.

Ser Giovanni di Cenni d'Arezzo has come in for much attention recently, with the uncovering of documents written by him in Arezzo and Florence. Nicolaj Petronio has demonstrated that the hand of this notary, chancellor of the commune in 1410-11, is identifiable with that of the famous scribe in his more cursive script, and her pupil Miglio has reproduced (without transcribing) an interesting autograph letter written from Florence in January 1418 to Giuliano de' Medici, when the latter was in Venice.[7] Giovanni's presence in Florence is documented by his signed and dated manuscripts from 1410-1417, and he will have written some unsigned books there for the Medici after that date. Acquaintance, even intimacy, with the Florentine humanists can be inferred from the script and contents of his productions; most clearly perhaps from Escorial MS N.III.7, the dedication copy of Bruni's translation of Plato's *Gorgias*,

5 'Nuove ricerche intorno a Giovanni Tortelli', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* XII (1969) 130-131. B.L. Ullman, *The origin and development of humanistic script*, Rome 1960, 95 n.6, attributed to Tortelli two MSS now certainly known to be the work of Giovanni Aretino. I give in appendix 3 a list of his MSS which brings up to date the lists of Ullman pp.91-95 and Nicolaj Petronio (as n.2) pp.6-7.

6 Regoliosi, 'Nuove ricerche' 134-35, and cf. n.17 below.

7 Cf. n.2. I publish Giovanni's letter in appendix 1.

written about 1410. Giovanni wrote the first few leaves, Niccolò Niccoli the rest, and Poggio, the originator of the script of which Giovanni was an early and accomplished practitioner, supplied the preface and headings.[8] In time our scribe apparently came to work exclusively for the Medici, and several of his manuscripts can be matched with ones recorded in the March 1418 inventory of their private library, including a Suetonius just sent which is now identified as Laur. 64.4.[9] His copying for Cosimo of the new Cicero speeches found by Poggio in 1417 can be assigned with some confidence to mid-1418.[10]

We move now with Giovanni to Venice, where three manuscripts were written by him in the years 1422-23, and a fourth Venetian manuscript (Laur. 79.11, not dated by year) presumably falls in the same period. This last is a copy finished on 30 August of a work which he had already copied for Cosimo at Florence (in Laur. 79.9), Bruni's translation of the *Nicomachean Ethics*. A Cicero miscellany now in the Franciscan convent of Imotski, Yugoslavia, was expressly made for Francesco and Ermolao Barbaro, uncle and nephew, in May-June 1422.[11] Francesco's hand has been detected in the margins of another manuscript from Venice, Vat. lat. 3237, dated 25 December 1422, which is an important early witness to the newly-discovered *De Oratore* and *Orator* of Cicero.[12] The annotations of another leading Venetian patrician of humanist

8 A.C. de la Mare, *The handwriting of Italian humanists* I.1, Oxford 1973, 53-54, id. 'Humanistic script: the first ten years' in F. Krafft and D. Wuttke ed., *Das Verhältnis der Humanisten zum Buch*, Boppard 1977, 102 and plate 7a. Laur. 48.11, no. 11 in Appendix 3, was completed by him after earlier work by Poggio and Niccoli. Later unsigned manuscripts possibly attributable to Giovanni are listed by Dr de la Mare in 'New researches on humanistic scribes in Florence' in A. Garzelli, *Miniatura fiorentina del Rinascimento, 1440-1525*, I, Florence 1985, 425 n.17 and 541 App.1.71. I have not included these 'possibles' in Appendix 3.

9 No. 15 in Appendix 3. See F. Pintor, *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 3 (1960) 199. For identification of other surviving MSS with inventory items see Ullman's list (as n.5).

10 See Appendix 2 on the history of D'Orville 78.

11 Regoliosi, 'Nuove ricerche' 133 and plate XII.1 gives the colophon of f.222v.

12 A.C. de la Mare, J.J.G. Alexander, *The Italian manuscripts of Major J.R. Abbey*, London 1969, xxiv n.4, P. Scarcia Piacentini, 'La tradizione laudense di Cicerone ed un inesplorato manoscritto della Biblioteca Vaticana (*Vat. lat.* 3237)', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 11 (1981) 123-146; see pp.138-39 for the interpretation of the date, 'VIII Kl. Ian. MCCCCXII Salvatoris anno'. Poggio wrote to Niccoli about Barbaro's interest in the find at Lodi (which included *Brutus*) in a letter of 12 June 1422: *Poggio Bracciolini: lettere a Niccolò Niccoli* a c. di H. Harth, Florence 1984, 56, *ep.*18 (= Tonelli *ep.*

inclinations, Leonardo Giustiniani, have been seen in the metrical collection of British Library, Harl. 5248, dated Venice, 15 May 1423.[13] These two, then, - the men that Guarino called 'rei publicae Venetae duo lumina'[14] - are strong candidates for identification as the *praestantes viri* whose protection Giovanni enjoys in the *urbs opulentissima*. At the time of Bruni's letter, the recipient is 'recentem adhuc et modo advenam' in the city. Most manuscripts date the letter 'II Kl. Feb. MCCCCXXI', that is, 31 January 1422 in the common style[15] which is concordant with the known scribal activity of Giovanni Aretino at Venice.

Of the reasons for his removal from Florence to Venice we have no direct knowledge, but it is clear that he left behind in Florence a troubled domestic situation. Bruni, with an air of paternal reproof, urges him not to give way to idle regrets and attempts to stiffen his weak character with some plain speaking. It happens that the scribe is mentioned just one further time in humanist correspondence, fleetingly but in conveniently similar terms: Traversari to Niccoli, *ep.*VIII.29 of 29 August 1424:[16] 'Hodie mecum diutius fuit Ioannes Arretinus librarius, multaque invicem contulimus. Sed ea tibi reservo dum coram aderis. Levis est ut solet; sed eum dimittamus.' Bruni's

I.21). Richard Hunt long ago pointed out that 'if Giovanni Aretino had been available, we should have expected him to receive the important commission of copying this new classical text' for Cosimo, which in the event was written by Giacomo Curlo ('Humanistic script', as n.1, 273).

13 A.G. Watson, *Catalogue of dated manuscripts in the British Library*, London 1979, I.145 no.827, on Dr de la Mare's authority.

14 *Ep.*79.16 Sabbadini, October 1417

15 Two sources give MCCCCXVI, a misreading of -XXI which is ruled out by the contents. A Berlin manuscript, lat. oct. 125, has MCCCCXXII (Luiso, *Studi* 99 n.83). Baron changed his mind three times over the date, depending on the case he had to argue: *Leonardo Bruni Aretino, humanistisch - philosophische Schriften*, Leipzig 1928, 207 ('1422 oder 1423'); *The crisis of the early Italian Renaissance* ed. 1, Princeton 1956, 611 ff. ('1421'); *Yearbook* (as n.4) 69 ('1422 [possibly 1423]'); finally settling on 'January 1421, in accordance with the indication in the best manuscripts', *Speculum* 56 (1981) 836. In general Bruni seems not to have dated his personal letters by year. Of those letters from Florence which are given years in some MSS, Luiso thought that IV.4M (=IV.4 Luiso) and X.9M (=VII.10 Luiso) were in Florentine style (though the latter has been disputed by E. Fumagalli, *Aevum* 56 (1982) 347 n.15) and the only other relevant case, IX.1M (=IX.2 Luiso), in the common style. It must be recognized that in these matters we are often at the mercy of scribes for whom chronological accuracy is not a matter of interest. The onus is on those who would have Florentines writing from Florence in the common style to show that the MSS indicate this with some consistency; both Poggio and Traversari used Florentine style when dating their letters by year, and cf. Baron himself, *Schriften* 207, 'wahrscheinlich stil. fior.'.

16 Dated by Luiso *Riordinamento dell' epistolario di Ambrogio Traversari*, fasc. 2, Florence 1899, 4.

indecisive correspondent can scarcely be the Tortelli who has no known connexion with Florence before, at the earliest, 1427,[17] but rather the *levis librarius* who turns up there again in 1424. Before passing to the second letter which Bruni sent him, probably in 1425, some earlier testimony needs consideration.

A so far unidentified Iohannes in Bruni *ep.*X.2 Mehus (=III.17 Luiso) may conceivably be our scribe. In 1409 Leonardo wrote to Francesco Pizolpasso: 'Quantum vero ad Iohannem amicum tuum, utinam te aut virtute tua dignus foret. Sed quottidie audio nonnulla de ipso quae magno me dolore afficiunt.' This shiftless Giovanni has been arrested in Florence for a debt of 25 florins, and Bruni hopes that intercession with *Nicolao nostro* may be of help. This Nicolaus, as appears from the preceding letter,[18] is Niccolò de' Ricci, a Florentine for whom we find Giovanni copying one of his first manuscripts, Vat. Pal. lat. 1496, with an extravagantly intimate colophon addressed to the patron.[19] That is no more than a remote speculation, but it might be worth examining Pizolpasso's known manuscripts for traces of Giovanni's earliest scribal activity.[20]

A major addition to our picture of Giovanni Aretino has recently emerged from the Florentine archives. MAP LXXXIX.287 is an autograph letter that he sent to Giuliano di Averardo de' Medici on 13 January 1418.[21] It consists of an exaggerated, at times almost hysterical, appreciation of Giuliano's infinite virtues, in which Giovanni

17 C. Piana, *Archivum Franciscanum historicum* 53 (1960) 364-65. Bruni did send Tortelli a letter, IX.9 Mehus, c.1442, when he was *still a student*. Tortelli's date of birth is not known, but he could describe himself as having been *adolescens* in 1438 (Regoliosi, 'Nuove ricerche' 138), which further tells against his having received this 1422 letter.

18 Published by Luiso, *Studi* 66, as his *ep.*III.16.

19 Ullman, *Origin and development* 91-92: f.161v: 'Ioannes Arretinus tibi Nicolao Ricio salutes plurimas dicit. Vale. Diu felix mei memor dulcissimas ac suavissimas Romani eloquii epistolas [i.e. Cic. *Fam.*] lege feliciter et me ama. Florentiae anno domini MCCCCX Nonis Iuniis indictione tertia. Me ama et vale.'

20 Cf. A. Paredi, *La Biblioteca del Pizolpasso*, Milan 1961.

21 Printed in Appendix 1 from inspection of the original. A photograph of it accompanies Miglio 'Giovanni Aretino' (as n.2). Her reference to MAP LXXXIX.278 is a misprint.

associates with himself 'Jannoçius optimo ingenio adolescens' and 'Pierus Pieri illius aequalis'. Rich and influential citizens like the Medici could expect many such addresses, though few perhaps as flowery as this one, and they knew how to interpret them. Always underlying these effusions is a request for patronage of some sort. As the Medici *amici* developed into something like an organized party in the later 1420s, they produced a mass of letters still preserved in the Archivio Mediceo avanti il Principato which present claims for assistance and assurances of fidelity.[22] Presiding over the elaborate network of (broadly political) patronage were precisely those persons to whom Giovanni commends himself: Cosimo and his brother Lorenzo, Averardo and his son Giuliano, with the addition of Nicola di Vieri, friend of Poggio, Niccoli and Bruni.[23]

But Giovanni, as seems to have been his destiny, rather missed his mark with Giuliano, who has no repute as a patron of learning and escapes notice in humanist letters.[24] He will very likely have been travelling on bank business to Venice, where a branch had been established in 1398 and where the Medici had many friends.[25] Among them Francesco Barbaro, who shortly after Giuliano's visit commended him in passing to a Veronese friend resident in Florence.[26] The nexus between Giovanni's Medici patrons at Florence and the Venetian Barbaro is the obvious mechanism for his passage

[22] See the interesting analysis of their language and contents in D. Kent, *The rise of the Medici*, Oxford 1978, 83-87.

[23] See Kent 87. For Nicola see e.g. Luiso,, *Studi* and P.W.G. Gordan, *Two Renaissance book hunters: the letters of Poggius Bracciolini to Nicolaus de Niccolis*, Columbia 1974, ad indices. Giuliano is to pass on Giovanni's compliments 'cum aderis', that is, when he has returned from Venice to Florence.

[24] But cf. Miglio, 'Giovanni Aretino' 374, quoting a 1429 letter of Ser Ciao di Pagolo Ciai, who has left Cicero's *Tusculans* for Giuliano and will send a Servius.

[25] Cosimo and Lorenzo spent their period of exile there in 1433-34 (Giuliano himself died in exile at Rome in July 1434). See Kent, *Rise of the Medici* 305-307, on the Medici connexion with Venice.

[26] Barbaro's friendship with the Medici dated from his stay in Florence in 1415: Sabbadini, *Storia e critica di testi latini* ed.2, Padova 1971, 25-35, Miglio, 'Giovanni Aretino' 375-76. He specially urges Giannicola Salerno, capitano del popolo at Florence (on whom see Chapter 4 above), to cultivate Lorenzo, to whom he was most attached; but 'idem de Juliano..dictum velim', *Francisci Barbari epistolae* ed. A.M. Querini, Brescia 1743, 24, dated 22 February 1418 by R. Sabbadini, *Epistolario di Guarino*, III, Venice 1919, 73. I do not find Giuliano again in Barbaro's correspondence, not in Querini or Sabbadini, *130 lettere di F.B.*, Salerno 1884, nor in the latest additions of Griggio (as n.56 below) and Calabrese (*Archivio Veneto* 113 (1982) 1-55); nor elsewhere among the humanists.

to Venice, where he produced at least the Imotski Cicero for Francesco and Ermolao in 1422.[27] This passage must now be placed in 1421, but precise information is as yet lacking.

Whatever Giuliano thought of this missive, which reads in places like an invitation to launch a coup d'état, any sensitive reader must have been repelled by its combination of grievous latinity and inordinate hyperbole, another mark of Giovanni's waywardness of judgement. It abounds in such unhappy phrases as *nullo reliquo* (nullo alio), *et in se et in nullis* (apparently for: nec in se nec in ullis), *orationis capillos* (nervos), *animus in illum regius* (in illo), *nimium forsan dixi,* nedum *plura mihi dicenda sint* (licet). With the evidence of the new letter before us, we can scarcely continue to call Giovanni Aretino a 'persona colta, che talvolta interviene sul testo [of Cicero] dandone una "lettura critica"',[28], or one 'che conosceva il greco';[29] a more realistic assessment is Giovanni's own self appraisal, 'homini parum in litteris erudito'. A positive gain, however, is to find the young Giannozzo Manetti (and beside him Piero di Pieri, a *cartolaio*)[30] associated at this early date with a humanistic scribe and the *optima studia humanitatis*. This must have been at the very outset of his studies, for Vespasiano da Bisticci has Manetti (b.1396) prevented from following his natural studious bent by parental pressure until he reached the age of 25.[31]

27 If the dedication copy to Ambrogio Traversari of the Aesop translation made by Ermolao somewhere survives, it might well be in Giovanni's hand: the colophon of Brit. Lib. Add. 33782, a Veronese copy of the third quarter of the century, gives the date 1 October 1422.

28 Scarcia Piacentini, 'La tradizione laudense' 141.

29 Nicolaj Petronio, 'Per la soluzione' 6. Scarcia Piacentini herself rejects this view (p.142), which goes back to Ullman, *Origin and development* 96.

30 He became one of the Priors of September 1434 who oversaw the return of the Medici to Florence: Kent, *Rise of the Medici* 328 n.162. His profession as stationer fits nicely with Giovanni's as scribe.

31 *Commentaria della vita di G. Manetti* in C. Galletti ed., *Philippi Villani liber de civitatis Florentiae famosis civibus*, Florence 1847, 137, and Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Le Vite* ed. A. Greco, II, Florence 1976, 519. Miglio strangely fails to mention 'Jannoçius', whom I do not doubt to be Manetti, later Bruni's closest disciple. Other Giannozzi (e.g. Strozzi, Alberti) do not fit the chronological bill.

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'Forsan nimium dixi' wrote Giovanni, and Bruni in *ep.*IV.18 counsels 'taciturnitas' as a remedy for his personal problems - the nature of which is not disclosed. We encounter further garrulousness on Giovanni's part in the second letter which Bruni sent him, IV.20 Mehus. This is addressed simply to 'Iohanni', but the contents tie the two letters together, and no-one has doubted that they are directed to the same person. They both mention (and so does the intervening *ep.*IV.19 to Pileo dei Marini) Bruni's *Commentaria primi belli Punici*, commentaries based on Polybius which Giovanni had requested at the time of *ep.*IV.18, and on which he had passed comments at the time of *ep.*IV.20.[32] The conjunction naturally leads one to suppose that the latter, undated in the manuscripts, lies close to the first letter of 31 January 1422. But Hans Baron exposed a difficulty.[33]

Ep. IV.20 bears witness to a work built, Bruni insists, on firm Aristotelian foundations, which can only be the *Isagogicon moralis disciplinae.* The *Isagogicon* itself shows Bruni at home reading the *Eudemian Ethics*,a new find of Aurispa which was not announced until August 1424 and not sent to Florence before December of that year.[34] Therefore both the *Isagogicon* - a gentle decoction of Aristotle's ethical thought - and *ep.* IV.20 must date from 1425 or later. The latter, furthermore, reproduces verbatim a passage from Bruni's preface to his translation of Plato's *Phaedrus* made in 1424.[35]

[32] They had been finished by 1419 (Baron in *Speculum* 56 (1981) 836). This neither strengthens nor weakens the case for *ep.*IV.18's dating from 1422, despite Baron's arguments there.

[33] 'The date of Leonardo Bruni's Isagogicon moralis disciplinae', *The yearbook of Italian studies* 1 (1971) 64-74, the gist of which is given by Baron, *Speculum* 56 (1981) 837 in a review of Luiso's *Studi.*

[34] *Bruni Schriften* (as n.15) 22. On Aurispa's manuscript, see now D. Harlfinger, 'Die Überlieferungsgeschichte der Eudemischen Ethik' in *Untersuchungen zur E.E.*, ed. P. Moraux ("Peripatoi": Akten des 5. Symposium Aristotelicum), Berlin 1971 4-6.

[35] 'Nisi forte Apelles aut Protogenes...credantur', *Schriften* 127 = 'nisi forte Apellem aut Protogenem...credamus', Mehus I.134-35 (Bruni remembered the anecdote in Pliny, *Naturalis*

At the end of 1425 there reappeared in the Roman Curia the Dominican theologian Andrea Chrysoberges of Pera, known in humanist literature as Andreas Constantinopolitanus. It seems likely, as Luiso says,[36] that this is the same man against whom Giovanni has feebly defended Bruni's stature as an exponent of moral philosophy: 'Quamquam est quidem abs te non satis acute causa mea defensa adversus Constantinopolitanum. Quid enim opus fuit ad Ciceronem allegare hanc quaecunque est in nobis rerum moralium notitiam ? Quasi vero Aristoteles ipse ab studio nostro fuerit alienus...'. No doubt Chrysoberges is the 'rhetorem illum eloquentiae hostem' (in Bruni's paradoxical phrasing earlier in the letter) whose competence to judge in this matter Bruni doubts. A teacher at Padua, and orator at Constance, before his preaching mission to the Orient in the early 1420s, Chrysoberges will have made his way back to the Curia via Venice, to be engaged there in inept literary discussion by Giovanni Aretino. In 1426 he became the Pope's theologian, as magister scholarum sacri palatii, and in due course Archbishop successively of Rhodes and of Nicosia, where he died in 1452.[37]

I am inclined to see Chrysoberges also in the 'hominem ut audio magna theologiae scientia sed nullarum penitus litterarum' who is the 'praeceptor' of an otherwise unknown Demetrius[38] against whom Bruni launched *ep.* IV.22 in defence of

Historia 35.85). One has to be rather careful in deciding what is a quotation and what the original in these matters, because Bruni was much given to self-quotation once he had hit upon an expressive phrase or example. Apelles and Protogenes reappear in *De interpretatione recta* (*Schriften 83*) as the putative painters of the soiled picture which Bruni compares to Aristotle's sufferings at the hands of earlier translators; this image is reused, with Giotto as the painter, in two defences of his *Ethics* translation, *epp.*IV.22 and VII.4. I think one could show from this that *De interpretatione* is likely to be appreciably later than 'um 1420' (*Schriften* 165-166.

36 *Studi* 100 n.88, an identification not discussed by Baron. I suspect that *Andream* may have dropped out of the manuscript tradition of the letter before *Constantinopolitanum.*

37 L. Gargan, *Lo studio teologico e la biblioteca dei domenicani a Padova nel Tre e Quattrocento*, Padova 1971, 59, M.-H. Laurent, *Echos d'Orient* 34 (1935) 414-38, R.Loenertz, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 9 (1939) 1-61 and id. (a compact summary) ibid. 45 (1975) 124-28, T. Kaeppeli, *Scriptores O.P.Medii Aevi* I, Rome 1970, 64-67.

38 '...che mi ha tutta l'aria di un giovane frate' says Luiso, 102 n.100: not therefore Demetrius Cydones of Luiso II.16 (1407) and Mehus III.14 (1410), as A. Birkenmajer ('Der Streit des Alonso von Cartagena mit Leonardo Bruni Aretino', *Vermischte Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der mittelalterlichen Philosophie*, Münster-im-Westfalen 1922, 138 n.1) imagined, with some other

some remarks on Aristotle prefixed to his translation of the *Ethics*. Such evidence as we have suggests that by humanist lights this was a fair assessment of the Dominican, though he is later found on amicable terms with Poggio, Filelfo and Bartolomeo Facio.[39] While one cannot derive reliable dates merely from the placing of letters within the epistolario, there does seem to be here at the end of Book IV some attempt at forming a rhythm of addressee and content: Iohanninus, the *Commentaria*, Aristotle, friends and the never-failing enemies.

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A closer look at these letters has added some shading to the emerging outline of Giovanni Aretino, 'copista, notaio, cancelliere',[40] and neurotic, apt to repine, eager for literary discussion, eager too for patronage. I conclude by assembling notices, disparate in character and often discordant, on one last friend of the scribe, 'Langustus tuus', whose letters Bruni expects with keen anticipation at the beginning of *ep*.IV.20. This personage is of the sort that the Italians like to call a *fantasma*, a figure who flits in and out of the borderlands of Quattrocento history and letters. Somewhere, in the archives perhaps of Padua, Venice or the Vatican, his life lies buried awaiting excavation.[41]

guesses. The undated letter (but c.1425 from its position) is also printed by C. Marchesi, *L'Etica Nicomachea nella tradizione latina medioevale*, Messina 1904,, 50-53.

39 The editor of a long Greek letter to Bessarion on a theological topic found it wholly scholastic in character: M. Candal, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 4 (1938) 329-71 at 339. Poggio assigned to him the leading part in resolving the debate in his 1429 *De Avaritia*, a part given him 'cum sit religiosus'(*Poggio Bracciolini: Lettere a Niccoli* ed. Harth *ep*.85.9-10, = Tonelli *ep*. III.32). He was present at Poggio's fiftieth birthday party, 11 February 1430 (ibid. 37.60, = Tonelli *ep*. IV.5), but the recipient of his *ep*.X.3 (Tonelli) is not Chrysoberges as Tonelli supposed (cf. G. Mercati, *Ultimi contributi alla storia degli umanisti: Traversariana*, Studi e Testi 90, Vatican City 1939, 102 n.4). Filelfo was offered by him, but declined, a post in the Curia in 1428 (*Philelphi epistolae familiares*, Venice 1502, f.7v, E. Legrand, *Cent-dix lettres grecques de F.F.*, Paris 1892, 3 n.6), and towards the end of his life he sent Facio a letter preserved in two Italian manuscripts, which I have not seen (Kaeppeli, *Scriptores O.P.* 67 no. 191). For his leading role in Church unification see J. Gill, *The Council of Florence*, Cambridge 1959, ad indicem.

40 Nicolaj Petronio, as n.2.

41 For what follows, the most substantial sources of information are A. Segarizzi, 'Jacopo Languschi, rimatore veneziano del sec. XV', *Atti della Imp. reale Accademia degli Agiati in Rovereto* ser.3 X.1 (1904) 179-182 (an offprint is in the Foligno collection at the Taylor Institute Library, Oxford), Luiso, *Studi* 100 n.87, N. Giannetto, *Bernardo Bembo*, Florence 1985, 94 n.38.

The first records of him, 'Jacopo de Languschis da Venezia del fu Giovanni da Pavia', appear in the Venetian *libri commemoriali*, showing him active as a notary in the service of the Republic from 1409-1420.[42] Sabbadini saw his hand in Vat. Ottob. lat. 1984, Cicero *De Finibus* and *Acad. Post.*, which Aurispa copied in turn with χειρὶ ἰακώβου οὐενετοῦ, as a colophon dated Constantinople, 12 August 1422, informs us.[43] The humanistic script of this manuscript, the two hands of which are hard to distinguish, would suggest a common interest with Giovanni Aretino;[44] but the identification, though commonly accepted, is from comparison with certain autographs of Languschi very unlikely, and there is no firm evidence of his having been in the east.[45] Facciolati has him teaching at Padua from 1423 onwards;[46] but hardly for the whole period till 1431, as people repeat after Facciolati, since despite his gaining a doctorate in arts on 16 August of that year,[47] he had been appointed a papal secretary at Rome on 30 September 1428, and would have had no leisure for teaching elsewhere.[48] It was in that city and at about that time that Panormita made his acquaintance, taking against his fellow poet.[49] He was active in the early years of Eugenius IV,[50] and

[42] Segarizzi, 'Jacopo Languschi' 179.

[43] R. Sabbadini *Giorn. stor. lett. ital.* 100 (1932) 272-73.

[44] Cf. Ullman, *Origin and development* 85-86, D. Fava in *Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia* 6 (1932-33) 115 fig. 4, E. Casamassima, *Literulae latinae* in S. Caroti, S. Zamponi, *Lo scrittoio di Bartolomeo Fonzio*, Milan 1974, xv and fig.2.

[45] See nn.50 and 57 below.

[46] *Fasti Gymnasii Patavii*, Padua 1757, I.liii.

[47] *Acta graduum academicorum gymnasii patavini ab anno MCCCCVI ad annum MCCCCL* ed. G. Zonta and G. Brotto, ed.2, Padua 1980, I.235 no.743, 265 no.830.

[48] F.C. Uginet, *Le 'liber officialium' de Martin V*, Rome 1975, 80. His curial career is traced by E. von Ottenthal, 'Die Bullenregister Martin V und Eugen IV', *Mittheilungen Inst. Öst. Gesch.*, Erganzungsband I (1885) 475-476, and W. von Hofmann, *Forschungen zur Geschichte der kurialen Behörden*, Berlin 1914, 2.111.

[49] See below at n.59. Panormita stayed in Rome from December 1427 until early 1429: R. Sabbadini, 'La polemica fra Porcelio e il Panormita', *Rendiconti Ist. Lombardo* ser. 2, 50 (1917) 499. Languschi at that time was on friendly terms with another poet, Porcellio, but the latter, who could barely restrain himself from addressing laudatory verse to the most distant acquaintances, passes him by. I do not know on what ground Luiso claimed that Languschi had been in Rome for some years before 1428, *Studi* 100 n.87.

[50] The handwriting of some papal briefs signed by him (one of them a humanistic hand, but not close to the hand of Ottob. lat. 1984) is analysed by T. Frenz, 'Das eindringen humanistischer Schriftformen',

Nicholas V, 'intuitu virtutum ac studiorum liberalium artium, quibus a iuventute te deditum fuisse', confirmed him in the prestigious post of secretary.[51] He is mentioned with honour as one of the ornaments of the old papal curia by Gianbattista di Poggio Bracciolini, but never by Poggio himself, who must have served alongside him for long stretches in the quarter of a century that they were colleagues in the secretariat.[52] Just as Poggio in slack or difficult times was able to remain at his home in Terranuova, so Jacopo seems to have passed much of his later life in Padua, if records of sale, taxation and litigation are a safe guide.[53] His position at the curia appears to have become by this time purely nominal, Flavio Biondo having taken over his duties in the despatch of papal letters.[54]

For all his elevated place at the papal court, as well as certain literary accomplishments shortly to be examined, Languschi figures hardly at all in humanist correspondence. After Bruni's brief mention, he is recorded only by a correspondent of Ambrogio Traversari.[55] His *ep.* XXIV.27 is a letter of Stefano Porcari, dated Rome, 1 January 1429, which informs Traversari of Languschi's recent nomination as papal secretary. The preceding letter is from Languschi himself. It thanks Traversari in the

Archiv für Diplomatik 20 (1974) 439, with Taf. IV no.3. For other documents signed by him as papal secretary see: Luiso, *Studi* 100 n.87 (1428 and 1432); L. Pesce in *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia* 28 (1974) 87 n.5 (1429); G. Hofmann, *Epistolae pontificiae ad Concilium Florentinum spectantes*, I, Rome 1940, 22 (1431) and 27 (1432); Twemlow, *Calendar of papal letters* VIII, London 1909, 278 (1432); R. Predelli, *I libri commemoriali della Repubblica di Venezia* IV, Venice 1896, 173 no. 180 (1433), K.A. Fink in *Römische Quartalschrift* 43 (1935) 68 (four briefs of 1432-33). These dates give an idea of Languschi's active employment in the Curia.

51 The partial text of the letter of confirmation given by Luiso should be dated to September 30 of the first year of Nicholas' papacy, 1447, not of Eugenius', as Luiso, nor yet 1446 as Segarizzi 180 and G. Marini, *Degli archiatri pontifici*, Rome 1784, I.241 note b: von Hofmann, *Kuriale Behörden* 2.111.

52 Gianbattista's *Vita Cardinalis Capranica* in E. Baluze, *Miscellanea* I, Lucca 1761, 343. But he is not listed in the roll call of curial luminaries given in Lapo da Castiglionchio's *Dialogus de curiae commodis*, c.1437: *Prosatori latini del Quattrocento* a c. di E. Garin, Milan 1952, 206-208.

53 Documents from the period 1443 to 1450, Segarizzi 180.

54 von Ottenthal, 'Die Bullenregister', 479 ; he was not among the papal secretaries present at Eugenius IV's funeral: G. Bourgin, *Arch.Soc.Rom. di Stor. Pat.*, 27 (1904) 218.

55 Besides Poggio's silence, his other secretarial colleagues such as Andrea Fiocchi, Biondo, Cencio de' Rustici seem not to name him. I have looked also at the letters of Aurispa, Francesco Barbaro, Barzizza, Lapo da Castiglionchio, Filelfo, Guarino, Panormita, Pius II, George of Trebizond, Valla, Vergerio, without result.

name of Niccolò Leonardi, a Venetian physician, for a letter sent to the pope in recommendation of 'Domnus Eustachius', and concludes with salutations to 'summo oratori Leonardo Aretino magnoque investigatori Nicolao Nicoli'. Leonardi's son Eustachio duly became Bishop of Corfu in November 1428, though he was soon to die in office.[56] An original missive in Italian to Cosimo de' Medici, dated from Venice 17 September 1441, remains in the Florentine archives. Languschi asks him to help secure 'la riformata dispensation matrimoniale per Martino Longo mio amico' and encloses a letter from Francesco Morosini to the same effect: presumably Cosimo was in a position to obtain such dispensations from the papal curia, then resident in Florence with Eugenius IV.[57] The sparkling letters after which Bruni hungered have not otherwise been preserved, to all appearances, but evidence of a rather surprising range of literary endeavour can be gleaned from contemporaries and from isolated remnants attached to his name.

Two Petrarchan sonnets in volgare were the occasion of Segarizzi's presentation of the 'rimatore veneziano'[58] He must have written Latin verses too, for his sonorous and bombastic compositions attracted the derision of Panormita.[59] And indeed Languschi versified Cicero's account of the figures of speech, presumably an

56 *A. Traversarii latinae epistolae* ed. L. Mehus, Florence 1759, col.1005, Luiso *Studi* 100 n.87. The letter is written from the Colonna fief of Genzano, 12 August, so is more likely to date from Martin V's reign ('1428?', Sabbadini, *Rend. Ist. Lomb.* 50 (1917) 500 n.2) than from Eugenius' and 1432, as Luiso proposed *Riordinamento dell'epistolario di A.T.*, fasc.3, Florence 1903, 48. This letter is to be connected with those published by L. Bertalot, 'Zwölf Briefe des Ambrogio Traversari', *Studien zum deutschen und italienischen Humanismus*, II, Rome 1975, 251-267, nos.1-4, which confirm Sabbadini's dating. For Leonardi, see C. Griggio, 'Il codice berlinese lat. fol. 667: nuove lettere di Francesco Barbaro', *Miscellanea di studi in onore di V. Branca* III.1, Florence 1983, 159 n.1.

57 ASF, MAP XI.471, cf. *Archivio Mediceo avanti il Principato: Inventario* I, Rome 1951, 213. Languschi's untidy handwriting here is quite distinct from the hand of Ottob. lat. 1984 claimed to be his by Sabbadini; see above n.43.

58 'Jacopo Languschi' 181-182; they are mentioned also by Luiso loc. cit. (from MSS Riccard. 1154 f.129v-120 and Vicenza B.C. 128 f.39v-40).

59 Sabbadini (as n.49) prints from Panormita's 1432 attack on Porcellio criticism of Languschi's 'lectissima quaedam / verba sonora'. That they are Latin appears from the possibility that Porcellio thought them Greek.

educational work that dated from the time of his teaching at Padua.[60] Two speeches to Martin V doubtless date from the period 1428-1431, and a third, found alongside them in Vienna N.B., lat. 3420 f.126-128, celebrates a marriage, probably at Ferrara.[61] Languschi apparently turned his hand to comedy as well; Tito Livio Frulovisi rejects with some heat the notion circulated by his critics that his *Corallaria* (staged at Venice c.1432) directly plagiarised a play by one Languscus. If that play was anything like Frulovisi's, it was a mêlée of Plautine themes very inexpertly stitched together, 'little better than a series of scenes, filled with untimely explanations of the plot', and 'assai disordinata'.[62]

Perhaps our author was a historian of sorts. At least, he is credited with an account of the fall of Constantinople which Zorzi Dolfin patched into his chronicle of Venice.[63] What has attracted the attention of students of the fall of Byzantium is a short but vividly drawn portrait of the personality of Mehmed II 'the conqueror', expressly attributed by Dolfin to Languschi: 'come descrive D. Jacomo Langusto Veneto', Thomas p.5. It is far from clear where the quotation of his views finishes, in what is basically a reworking of Leonardo of Chios' account of the conquest. My own feeling is that Languschi is responsible only for the *description* of Mehmed, and not for the

60 G. Porro, *Catalogo dei codici manoscritti della Trivulziana*, Biblioteca Storica Italiana 2, Turin 1884, 275 on cod. 761 no. 10: 'Compendium elocutionis lectum ex Cicerone metrice editum per Jacobum Langustum Venetum' in hexameters. From the other contents this manuscript might be Languschi's own work; my attention was drawn to it by G. C. Alessio, *Bene Florentini Candelabrum*, Padua 1983, lxxix n.2.

61 Segarizzi 180-181, Luiso loc. cit.

62 C.W. Previté-Orton, *Opera hactenus inedita T. Livii de Frulovisiis*, Cambridge 1932, xxiv, A. Stäuble, 'Le sette commedie dell'umanista T.L.F.', *Rinascimento* 3 (1963) 27. In the prologues of *Claudi duo* and *Oratoria*, 'hunc [Frulovisi] accusant Langusci dedisse fabulam, non suam'; 'non qui suam sed Langusci dederit fabulam', Previté-Orton 35 and 153, passages quoted also by Stäuble, *La commedia umanistica del Quattrocento*, Florence 1968, 65. It is perhaps worth pointing out that Frulovisi was probably a student at Padua when Languschi was teaching there: Sabbadini, 'Tito Livio Frulovisio', *Giorn. stor. lett. ital.* 103 (1934) 57.

63 'The chronicle of the Venetian Giacomo Languschi...', as E.W. Bodnar, *Cyriacus of Ancona and Athens*, Brussels 1961, 66, puts it. A. Pertusi in many publications even gives this chronicle a title, 'Excidio et presa di Costantinopoli', for which I can find no authority (e.g. *Lauro Quirini umanista*, ed. V. Branca, Florence 1977, 189, which prints part of the work in question, as does Bodnar). The full text in G.M. Thomas, 'Die Eroberung Constantinopels im Jahre 1453 aus einer venetianischen Chronik', *SB bayer. Akad.* II.1 (1868) 1-41 at 5-6.

succeeding *narrative* of his actions, which, like other passages in Dolfin, will depend on an unknown source before Leonardo is again utilised from Thomas p.8 ff.[64] Nor is there any consensus on the date of the description, for which every year between 1452 and 1455 has been canvassed. There is furthermore a close relation between the 'eye-witness' description of Languschi and the report that Niccolò Sagundino made to Alfonso V on his return from Constantinople in December 1453, which makes it at least doubtful that the former offers independent witness.[65]

A neglected piece of evidence, found far from Constantinople, places a heavy burden on those who would have Languschi writing an account of its capture by the Turks. The last papal record of him is a grant of some Paduan lands in emphyteusis, 16 December 1452.[66] In 1453, according to an autograph note on the guard leaf of Eton College MS 137, Bernardo Bembo bought this 'Vetruvius' from the library of 'Jacobi Langusci Veneti Post eius casum patauii: sub astatione...'.[67] Bernardo was keen on dates, which he applied liberally to passages of his life recorded in his notebooks and manuscript margins. This one was admittedly written at a distance of forty years from the acquisition, after he had recovered the manuscript alienated some twenty years before, but its precision must rest on more than memory and there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of this sole indication of Languschi's death. In that case we cannot have

64 Pertusi, *La caduta di Costantinopoli. Le testimonianze dei contemporanei* I, Florence 1976, 121-122 speaks of *Languschi's* translation of Leonardo, but this is by his own admission Dolfin's. J.R. Melville Jones, *The siege of Constantinople 1453: seven contemporary accounts* Amsterdam 1972, 125-130, gives as Languschi's all the matter on pp.126-128.

65 The whole affair is very complex. I refer to J. Raby, 'Cyriacus of Ancona and the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II', *JWCI* 43 (1980) 242-246 for a good resumé of the problems and preceding bibliography, and for the important point that Languschi does *not* have Ciriaco in the Sultan's camp in 1452/3.

66 Reg. Vat. 424 f.39v, see von Hofmann, *Kuriale Behörden* 2.111. The precise date is given by Marini, *Degli archiatri pontifici* II.136. He had been involved in litigation at Padua in March 1450 (Segarizzi, 180 n.4). Any trip to the east would have to be fitted in between these dates.

67 N. Giannetto (as n.41) 302, N.R. Ker, *Medieval manuscripts in British libraries*, II, Oxford 1977, 758. A plate showing the inscription in Giannetto, 'Un'orazione inedita di Bernardo Bembo', *Atti Ist. Ven.* 140 (1981-82) 257-88, tav.II. Bembo calls Languschi 'mathematicus clarissimus', an unexplained qualification; for some speculations see Giannetto, *Bernardo Bembo* 94 n.5.

him voyaging to the east in 1456,[68] nor giving prophetic discourse in 1467 in Candiano Bollani's *Trialogus de rebus futuris XX annorum.*[69] If he is depicted as speaking at that time - and further investigation of this unprinted text is needed - a dialogue written at least a decade earlier shows him as already dead. Francesco Contarini's untitled *Dialogus* has three Venetian poetasters eternally condemned to drift aimlessly on the waters of the underworld: Matteo Ronto (d.1442), Antonio Baratella (d.1448), and our Languschi. Why must these unfortunates exceed even 'Ulixis errores' ? : 'quia dum vita manebat et versu et soluta oratione semper erravimus'.[70] And on that caliginous note we leave the obscure friend of the enigmatic scribe who occasions these pages.

Appendix 1: A letter of Giovanni Aretino to Giuliano de' Medici

Iuliano de Medicis Ioannes Arretinus pl. s. d.

Pauperiorem ego me nunquam inveni quam nunc cum scribere velle incepi. Etenim cum ingenii mei ariditatem contemplor, puerile quiddam tota vita totoque labore a me confectum intueor ut nequeam prorsus homini suadere quae recta sint. Est autem id quidem puerile valde ruditatem in arte servare nec secundum illam quae velis adimplere posse. Quid autem nunc est quod nequeam ? Tibi profecto aliquid suadere volui, idque me consecuturum esse diffido.

68 Frenz (as n.50) 439 n.111, who misunderstands F. Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit*, Munich 1953, 115.

69 Cf. Segarizzi 181, Raby, 'Cyriacus of Ancona' 244; for the dramatic date, which need not involve Languschi's being alive then, see the article in *DBI* s.v. Bollani, Candiano, b. circa 1413. Others date it c.1465.

70 A. Segarizzi, 'Francesco Contarini', *Nuovo Arch. Veneto* 12.1 (1906) 272-306 at 301. See p.283 on this passage. Segarizzi p.284 suggested that the dialogue was written c.1450, but it must be later if Languschi is portrayed there as already dead; there would be no point in coupling two dead (*dum vita manebat*) poets with a living one. On Baratella a prolific but unpraised poet, see Segarizzi, 'Antonio Baratella e i suoi corrispondenti', *Misc. stor. veneta* ser.3, 10 (1916); cf. p.112 on Languschi. On Ronto, *Enciclopedia Dantesca* IV, Rome 1973, 1037-38, and above pp.101-102, 121-23. A letter to Guarino recently printed with a translation by I. Opelt, (without knowing that it is *ep.*590 Sabb.), *Deutsches Dante Jahrbuch* 60 (1985) 117-134, shows that Ronto had the gravest difficulty in framing a comprehensible Latin sentence.

Affui nuper quorundam sermonibus qui de optimis humanitatis studiis verba fecere. Eorum vero sermonum omnis intentio circa praeclara rhetorices ac philosophiae studia exquisitamque illam praestantiam versabantur (*sic*), quam quidem omnibus saeculis paucissimos, nostris vero temporibus nullos assequutos putavere. Idemque cum aliquos his rebus magis idoneos scrutarentur et per Florentinorum praeclaras familias vagarentur, in tuam inciderunt, paucisque de tua familia adolescentibus memoratis in te velut in quod magis [maius *m.a. in marg.*] splenderet lumen versi sunt. Mirati sunt cum praeclarissimas ingenii tui dotes volverent aptitudinemque ipsam illam tuam, cui omnia suppetunt quae ad perficiundum hominem expetuntur, tibi praestitam exploratissimum haberent. In hoc aiebant bona corporis ingeniique dotes universae insunt. Quid autem a fortuna expetendum tibi esset prorsus ignorare se fassi sunt.

A me autem requirebant quaenam ratio vitae studiorumque tuorum esset, ut si scirem depromerem. Omnes eos quos his dotibus carere constitisset summopere illas optare atque ab immortali deo expetere; eum vero cui concessae fuissent, ad summam non anniti obstupescebant. O singularem atque admirabilem felicitatem tuam si illa ipsa in te recognoscis, quae illi solertissime coniectantur. Tune tuimet ipsius ignarus eris ? Agnosce tandem qualis creatus sis qualisque vivas. Nam pauca tibi desunt ad illa peragenda per quae divinitatem in homine summamque praestantiam comparat Quintilianus. Tibi ingenium, tibi vox, tibi gestus, omnes animi motus suavissimi, ut illi aiunt atque ut mihi videtur, insunt atque omnia quae hominum gloriam ac favorem pariunt abundantissime suppetunt. Caetera omnia apud te esse tute ipse non ignoras.

Compone igitur et ex aliis recognosce tuae orationis capillos splendoremque illum aureum eloquentiae doctrinae lumine exsuscita ac divinitatem illam in te dormientem ut reviviscat elabora. Praeclare ille qui sine doctrina mortis imaginem vitam appellavit. Plurimi sunt qui cum in te tantam aptitudinem intueantur quantam in nullo reliquo, ad haec te adhortari idque tibi suaderi gliscunt. Hunc mihi laborem quidam cum

iniunxissent errare mihi visi sunt qui homini parum in litteris erudito tam magna onera imposuerunt. Plurima sunt in te praeclara et admiranda, immo certe omnia. Etenim fortunae et corporis animique tui bona tanta sunt ut nequaquam satis illa pro meritis unquam laudaturus sim, qui me et meas vires satis novi. Invalidus sum profecto tantae rei ponderi subeundo. Sed illud certum est: si quam amplissima dixero, tunc tibi satisfacturum esse me et fieri posse ut tibi ea ratione satisfiat. Colitur hic una virtute praeditus; ille altera carissimus est multis, alius vero mediocribus quibusdam adamatur. Tu omnis facilime assequi potes ac Deo proximus fieri.

Tanta est in cunctis spes tui, mi Iuliane, atque amor ut cum te amplissimis rebus supra omnes idoneum existimarunt, ea in te perfici concupiscunt quae et in se et in nullis [= nec in se nec in ullis ?] expectanda esse aut perfici posse sperent; ac velutsi rex quispiam creandus esset, is potissimum cunctis suffragiis crearetur qui iis dotibus ornamentisque insignitus esset quae in rege maxime expetuntur. Animus in illum regius et praestantissimae corporis dotes facile cernerentur. Ille vero sui similes adoptaret et consensu omnium ad societatem ac successionem regni demum servaret aleretque. T<e autem> veluti regio illo ornatum animo cuncti ad r.p. gubernacula perfectissimum optantes arcessunt. Cui rei ut annitare teque talem qualem cupiunt efficere conari oportet maximus ut fias: suaderi id tibi plurimi volunt quibus ipsa magis causa quam mea oratio satis factura videtur; maximeque illa quae in animis bene institutis plurimum dominatur in te suas summas exercebit vires.

Egoque sic videbor, etsi minime idoneus fuerim, in te adhortando grande aliquid, ne dicam maximum, profecisse. Inter hos Jannoçius optimo ingenio adolescens et item Pierus Pieri illius aequalis suavis quippe ac iocundus sodales fuere. Quorum ego te nominibus saluto et meo quoque salvum esse iubeo. Nimium forsan dixi, nedum plura mihi dicenda sint. Averardo me plurimum commendato atque etiam Cosme Laurentio Niccole reliquisque cum aderis. Tu vale teque ut perficias diligenter curato. Florentiae Idib. Jan. 1417.

A tergo Praeclarae indolis atque optimae spei adolescenti Iuliano Averardi fi. de Medicis Venetiis.

Archivio di Stato, Firenze: MAP LXXXIX.287

Appendix 2: A manuscript by Giovanni Aretino: the history of MS D'Orville 78

The greatest prize that came Poggio's way as he travelled in northern Europe at the time of the Council of Constance was the discovery in 1417 of eight speeches of Cicero hitherto unknown to the Italians.[71] The copy that he made of the speeches at the time has been rediscovered in recent years in the Vatican library (Vat. lat. 11458), and the textual significance of its many derivatives, previously a thorny problem for Ciceronian scholars, at once evaporated.[72] One of the more interesting of the early copies of Poggio's manuscript is now Bodleian MS D'Orville 78 (*Summary Catalogue* no. 16956), whose history at two stages of its life can be told with some precision.

Poggio found the speeches, it seems at Cologne and Langres, in the autumn of 1417 and a letter datable to autumn of that year announced the discovery to his friend Francesco Pizolpasso. Another letter from Constance of December 1417 to Francesco Barbaro in Venice promises that Poggio will at a later date send to Italy, or bring himself, the speeches that he had copied into the present Vatican manuscript.[73] We next hear of that manuscript in a letter which Ambrogio Traversari sent to Barbaro in July or

[71] *Caec.*, *Leg. agr.* I-III, *Pis.*, *Rab. Post.*, *Rab. perd.*, *Rosc. com.*, in that order in D'Orville 78. For the discovery, see R. Sabbadini, *Storia e critica di testi latini*, ed. 2, Padua 1971, 35-39, supplemented by Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici*, II, Florence 1914, 191-193.

[72] The find was announced in *Nel cinquantesimo di "Studi e Testi" 1900-1950*, Vatican City 1950, by A. Campana, whose promised facsimile has not appeared; but see his article on the MS in *Ciceroniana* n.s. 1 (1973) 65-68. Poggio's manuscript (= Bodley MS. Film 1671) and its descendants are still the sole source of the last three speeches. J. Ruysschaert gives a full description of it, *Codices Vaticani latini 11414-11709*, Vatican City 1959, 93 ff., and see also R.H. Rouse and M.D. Reeve in *Texts and Transmission* ed. L.D. Reynolds, Oxford 1983, 82 n.165 and 83-85.

[73] These letters are reprinted in *Poggii opera* IV.320-321 and 239 respectively. The dating of them given here is based on research for a commentary on Poggio's letters.

August 1418.[74] From this it emerges that Poggio first sent the speeches to his closest friend Niccolò Niccoli in Florence, who by the date of Traversari's letter had sent them on to Barbaro; the latter retained the precious manuscript for many years, to Poggio's distress. During its stay in Florence, copies of the great discovery were soon made, and D'Orville 78 is one of them.[75]

Among many other activities in promotion of the *studia humanitatis*, Niccoli was active in helping the young Cosimo de' Medici to build up a fine classical library, which, with the books of his son and grandson, forms the core of the present collections of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.[76] The elegant humanistic hand of D'Orville 78 was identified some years ago by R.W. Hunt as that of Giovanni Aretino. On fol.26, following the first speech *Pro Caecina*, Dr Hunt detected a note of possession just visible through an erasure: 'Liber Cosme Iohannis de Medicis'.[77] It is a safe inference that Giovanni wrote the manuscript for Cosimo; among his earlier work for the same patron is another set of Ciceronian speeches copied in January 1416.[78] Poggio must have sent his copy from Constance some time after the letter of December 1417, and it was in Barbaro's hands by about August 1418. But the copying of D'Orville 78 can be more precisely dated.

No Florentine manuscript in Giovanni's hand is dated by him after 1417, but he was certainly writing in Florence after that year and before the documented move to

74 Traversari *ep.* VI.14, dated by Sabbadini, *Storia e critica* 36.

75 Another is Laur. 48.26, copied in part by Niccoli's friend Guglielmino Tanaglia (an identification owed to Dr de la Mare) and Niccoli himself may have made a copy now lost.

76 Cf. A.C. de la Mare, *The handwriting*, 48 f.

77 'Humanistic script' (as n.1 above) 273 and plate facing p.274, and cf. B.L. Ullman in the same volume, pp.48-49. Dr Hunt's plate of fol.26 unfortunately just misses the ex-libris. Its unusual placing (which is paralleled in other manuscripts owned by Cosimo: Hunt 274 n.3) seems to have been by design, for there is a larger gap between the adjoining speeches on this page than between others.

78 No. 10 in the list below. Some of Cosimo's manuscripts written by Giovanni earlier in his career are known to have had owners before Cosimo, but at this stage he was apparently writing only for the Medici (see de la Mare *Handwriting* 49 and 'Humanistic script: the first ten years' 102.)

Venice in 1421-22. In the list of books in Cosimo's library drawn up in March 1418, a note at the end says 'Ser Giovanni d'Arezzo mandò il Svetonio', and this latest arrival has now been identified as Laur. 64.4.[79] The new Cicero speeches are not in that list, and we may therefore conclude that our manuscript was written between March and August 1418. Quite apart from the early look of the Florentine vine stem initials and the fact that there is no evidence of Giovanni's working for the Medici in the 1420s, a later date is ruled out on textual grounds. The copy made by Poggio underwent frequent correction by him and its direct offspring regularly reflect the latest state of the text of their exemplar. A comparison of D'Orville 78 with other early copies of Poggio's transcript shows it to be, together with Laur. 48.26, the most primitive of these texts, reflecting the light correction of the transcript at that stage. As Vat. lat. 11458 lodged with Barbaro until at least 1424, the D'Orville manuscript can only have been written in mid-1418.

By 1418, then, D'Orville 78 was in the Medici library. By 1740 it had left it, soon to pass to J.P. D'Orville and from his heirs to the Bodleian.[80] A note on fol.1 tells us that it was collated 'Florentiae 16 Jun. 1740' by the tireless Girolamo Lagomarsini for his project of a complete critical edition of Cicero's works. He gave it the siglum 'Cl. II.38', that is, no.38 of his second class, *orationes*. Lagomarsini's collations are now in the Vatican library but the key to his sigla is held by the Biblioteca Marucelliana in Florence, and it reveals that D'Orville 78 was then 'MS Antonii Mariae Biscionii'.[81] Anton Maria Biscioni was Custode (intermittently from 1708) and then Bibliotecario (from 1741 until his death in 1756) of the Laurenziana.[82] He too seemed never to tire of

79 No. 15 in the list below. See n.9 above for the inventory reference.

80 For the passage of D'Orville's manuscripts to the Bodleian see *Summary Catalogue* IV, Oxford 1898, 37-38.

81 The collations are catalogued by Ruysschaert (as n.72 above), who prints the key from the Marucelliana manuscript in the *praefatio*; for our manuscript see p.xviii.

82 See the good article by A. Petrucci in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, s.v.

ungrateful toil and many volumes written out by him are to be found in the collections of the Florence Biblioteca Nazionale today.[83]

Biscioni was on close terms with Anton Francesco Gori, another Florentine scholar and something of a dealer in books.[84] Gori assisted the Amsterdam professor J.P. D'Orville with his book-collecting, and for both of them Biscioni made collations of Florentine MSS and copied rarities not otherwise available. He is often mentioned in the original letters of Gori to D'Orville which are preserved in MS D'Orville 499. When in the period 1760-70 J.C. Strackhovius (Strackhoeven) catalogued the D'Orville collection, then in the possession of D'Orville's son Jean, he made a note of the provenance of each manuscript by adding a coded reference.[85] On fol.20 of his catalogue, now MS D'Orville 302, we find 'Ciceronis orationes sec. XV, membr fol. 122'. The eight speeches are catalogued with the annotation 'Go. 45 10/9 (4Z)'. This leads us to a letter of Gori to D'Orville of 10 September 1745 which offers for sale, among other MSS, the same 'Ciceronis orationes' which are now D'Orville 78, at a price of 4 zecchini (D'Orville 499 fol.115v). The Ovid *Ars amatoria*, Cicero *Fin.*, *Acad.*, Vergil *Georg.*, *Ecl.*, Nonius Marcellus and Servius also offered in the same letter were all taken by D'Orville and are all given the same coded provenance by Strackhovius. They are identifiable as MSS D'Orville 170, 84, 160, 31 and 36 respectively. The Nonius has an insertion of five folios written by Biscioni to fill a lacuna in the fifteenth-century manuscript; the inserted text was copied from Laur. 48.1

[83] Manuscripts that came from Biscioni, many in his own hand, are noted in Mazzatinti, *Inventari delle biblioteche d'Italia*, VIII (Biblioteca Nazionale Firenze). The interesting notices on his library by A.P. Giulanelli (*Novelle letterarie* 17, Florence 1756, 833-37) and N. Anziani (*Della biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana*, Florence 1872, 19) do not tell us the sources of his personal manuscript collection. On his death the older manuscripts went to the Laurenziana, most of the rest to the Magliabechiana, thence to BNF.

[84] See on him M. Parenti, *Aggiunte al Dizionario bio-bibliografico dei bibliotecari e bibliofili italiani di C. Frati*, II, Florence 1959, 139-140, with bibliography.

[85] My attention was drawn to these source notes by B.C. Barker-Benfield, 'A ninth-century manuscript from Fleury' in *Medieval learning and literature: essays presented to R.W. Hunt*, Oxford 1976, 160 n.3, where a different form of code is discussed.

in December 1745 - presumably after D'Orville had signified his acceptance of the offer - as an autograph note declares on fol.60v of D'Orville 31.

Writing to D'Orville about these manuscripts, Gori described the vendor thus: 'Qui eos habet codices Bibliopola non est, sed apud civem exstant.' This seems a roundabout, indeed devious, way of indicating their shared acquaintance Biscioni, if in fact all, or at that time any, of the manuscripts belonged to him.[86] No other manuscript of the batch has signs of Medici ownership and there is no telling when D'Orville 78 was alienated from their collections, in default of sure evidence from early catalogues. It is not identifiable in the 1417 inventory of Cosimo's book already mentioned, nor among those of his son Piero in two lists drawn up in the late 1450s and in 1464.[87] The catalogue of the Medici private library of 1495 has several volumes of Cicero speeches whose description is too vague to be useful.[88] Cosimo gave many books to the monastic library of San Marco in Florence to supplement the manuscript legacy of Niccolò Niccoli, among them a Chrysostom translation copied for him by Giovanni Aretino;[89] but no copies of classical Latin authors have been identified among his donations,[90] and our manuscript bears no indication of having been at the monastery.[91] A description of a San Marco manuscript from a full catalogue of c.1500, 'Eiusdem [Ciceronis] quaedam orationes in volumine mediocri albo in membranis' would fit our manuscript better than

[86] It may be worth pointing out that Lagomarsini collated only one manuscript identified by him as belonging to Biscioni; not, it seems, the philosophical works of Cicero that are now D'Orville 84 from the 'civis' of Gori's letter.

[87] F. Ames-Lewis, 'The inventories of Piero di Cosimo de' Medici's library', *La Bibliofilia* 84 (1982) 103-142. He identifies the only Cicero speeches listed (123 no. 53, 136 no.55) with Laur. 48.8.

[88] E. Piccolomini in *Archivio storico italiano*, ser. 3, 20 (1874) 60-61, nos. 150, 160, 170, 182, 187, all parchment manuscripts and three of the five termed 'pulcer' or the like. Early inventories generally distinguish between *Verrines*, *Philippics*, and other *orationes*, but this one presumably does not.

[89] No. 18 in the list below; see also B.L. Ullman and P.A. Stadter, *The public library of Renaissance Florence*, Padua 1972 - hereafter U.-S. - 22 n.3 and 142 no.159.

[90] U.-S. 21.

[91] D'Orville 78 now has an eighteenth-century binding. The parchment fly-leaves, where one would expect to find signs of S. Marco ownership, have an early (sixteenth-century?) table of contents and they may possibly be original. There is no trace of erasure, here or elsewhere, except of Cosimo's ex-libris.

the proposed identification of Ullman and Stadter, but again no connexion with any early owner other than Cosimo himself is established.[92] All that can be certainly stated is that a manuscript which once belonged to Cosimo de' Medici was in 1740 in the possession of the curator of the Medici library, and by 1746 in D'Orville's, and that at some point the signs of Medici ownership were carefully erased. From retirement in Bodley, MS D'Orville 78 has yet to tell of the prime years which fell between its noble birth and its possibly shady middle age.

Appendix 3: manuscripts by Giovanni Aretino

This list brings together all manuscripts certainly or very probably by Giovanni, in roughly chronological order, with brief bibliography. I am indebted to Dr de la Mare for some unpublished attributions (see nos. 21-24, undated, but presumably from Giovanni's period in Florence). A few manuscripts which have been attributed to him in print are rejected in a separate list at the end.

1 *St. Gallen Stadtbibl. 298*: Eusebius/Jerome. Perhaps Giovanni in 1410 or earlier. Annotations by Tanaglia. De la Mare, *Humanistic script* 105 and figs.8 and 9.

[92] U.-S. 227 no. 873, 'probably S. Marco 253, now lost'. S. Marco 253 (the numbering relates to the first full catalogue of 1768, when the manuscripts were uniformly rebound: U.-S. 52) has now resurfaced as Yale Univ. MS 93. Not only has it twenty-seven speeches - more than one would expect from 'quaedam' - but it is a good deal larger than the outer limits of the wide range of sizes denoted by 'mediocris' in the 1500 catalogue. D'Orville 78 is 245 x 170 mm., which falls into the mid-range of 'mediocris', against Yale 93's 390 x 280 mm., which would be 'magnus' by the standards established by Ullman (U.-S. 114). For information on Yale 93, see S. Rizzo, *Catalogo dei codici della 'Pro Cluentio' ciceroniana*, Genoa 1983, 85 no. 65, who doubts the U.-S. identification for the very reason of size. Yale 93 cannot be identified in the 1500 catalogue, but it may well be item 293, 'XXVII orationes', in the Milanese inventory of San Marco manuscripts of about 1545; item 873 'quaedam orationes', of the 1500 catalogue is probably item 282 'aliquot orationes' of the 1545 inventory (U.-S. 287). No candidate for our manuscript presents itself in the partial San Marco catalogue of B. Montfaucon made in 1700 (*Bibliotheca bibliothecarum manuscriptorum nova*, I, Paris 1739, 419-429), nor in his listing of Laurenziana manuscripts. Some unidentifiable manuscripts are recorded as being sold off by the San Marco authorities as 'disutiles', 'vecchi' or 'doppi' from the late sixteenth century (U.-S. 50).

2 *Escorial N.III.7*: *Gorgias* tr. Leonardo Bruni. Fols 2-8v by Giovanni, the rest by Niccoli; dedication copy c.1410 with headings by Poggio. De la Mare, *Humanistic script* 102 and fig. 7a.

3 *Florence Laur. 83.6*: Cic. *Nat.deor, Div., Fat.* Probably for Bernardo Portinari c.1410. De la Mare *Humanistic script* 103 and fig.7a.

4 *Vat. Pal. lat. 1496*: Cic. *Fam.* Finished in Florence for Nicolaus Ricius 5 June 1410. Cagni, 'Codici Manetti' 27 no.61, Ullman *Origin* 91 f. and fig.45, Regoliosi, 'Nuove ricerche II' tav. XIII.2, de la Mare *Humanistic script* 102.

5 *Florence, Laur. 63.4*: Livy 1st Decade. Perhaps made for Nicolaus Ricius, c.1412 (*not* for Cosimo de' Medici, a later owner). De la Mare 'Florentine MSS of Livy' 180-181, *Humanistic script*102 n.52, Ullman *Origin* 92-93.

6 *Laur. 63.5*: Livy 3rd Decade. Uniform with above, dated 28 April 1412. De la Mare, 'Florentine MSS' pl.II.

7 *Laur. 63.6*: Livy 4th Decade. Uniform with **5** and **6**, dated 13 Jan. 1413 ('Idibus Januariis...MCCCCXII' in Florentine style).

8 *Vat. lat. 9491*: *Phaedo* trans. L. Bruni. Signed and dated November 1414 by 'me Ioannem florentinum origine, qui Arretinus dicor'. Baron, *Bruni Schriften* 229.

9 *Munich Staatsbibl. lat. 763* Cic. *Tusc., Fin., Acad.* Finished at Florence 10 Aug. 1414. Ullman *Origin* 93 no.3 and fig. 46.

10 *Florence Laur. 48.10*: Cicero, 28 orations. Made for Cosimo 13 Feb. 1416. Ullman, *Origin* 93-94 no.5, A. Hessel, *Arch. f. Urkundenforschung* 13 (1935) pl.2a, Rizzo, *Catalogo* 40-41.

11 *Florence, Laur. 48.11*: Cicero, 24 orations. Headings and end, f.235-236v, attributed to Giovanni (c.1416) by de la Mare: Rizzo, *Catalogo* 41-42.

12 *Florence, Laur. 78.24*: Francesco Barbaro *De re uxoria.* Finished 24 May 1416. Ullman *Origin* 94 no.6 and fig. 48, Hessel pl.2b.

13 *Florence, Laur. 66.12*: Justin. Finished for Cosimo 15 May 1417. Ullman, *Origin* 94 no.7 and fig.49.

14 *Florence, Laur. 46.13*: Quintilian. Unsigned, c.1417-18. De la Mare, *Handwriting* 49 n.2.

15 *Florence, Laur. 64.4*: Suetonius. Unsigned but datable to c. March 1418. Attributed to Giovanni by de la Mare: V. Brown, *Viator* 12 (1981) 334 n.52 item 4; see also F. Ames-Lewis, *The library of Piero di Cosimo de' Medici*, London 1984, 287. A plate of a miniature and a few words of writing in Tav. 61 of A. Garzelli, *Miniatura fiorentina.*

16 *Oxford, Bodleian, D'Orville 78*: Cicero, 8 speeches. Unsigned, c.1418. Attributed to Giovanni by Hunt, 'Humanistic script in Florence', *Calligraphy and palaeography* ed. A.S. Osley, London 1965, 273 and fig. 47b. De la Mare, *Handwriting* 49 n.2, and Appendix 2 above.

17 *Florence, B.N., Conv. Soppr. I.IX.35*: Iuvencus, Proba. Made for Cosimo at Florence 13 Feb., probably after 1418. Ullman, *Origin* 94 no.8 and fig. 50.

18 *Florence B.N., Conv. Soppr. I.VII.18*: Chrysostom, *Adv. vituperatores.* Made for Cosimo at Florence 5 Feb. probably after 1418. Ullman, *Origin* 94 no.10.

19 *Florence, Laur. 79.7*: Aristotle, *Ethics* tr. L. Bruni. Made for Cosimo, probably after 1418. Ullman *Origin* 94 no.11.

20 *Florence, Riccard. 500*: Cicero *Att.* Undated, signed 'Ioannes Aretinus'. Ullman, *Origin* 95 no.12.

21 *Florence, Laur. 54.18*: Demosthenes and Aeschines, speeches translated by Bruni. Ex-libris of Cosimo. Undated and unsigned; attributed to Giovanni by Dr de la Mare.

22 *Florence, Laur. 68.13*: Caesar. Ex-libris of Piero de' Medici, presumably from Cosimo. Undated and unsigned; attributed to Giovanni by Dr de la Mare.

23 *Florence, Laur. 82.8*: Plato, *Gorgias* and *Phaedo*. Giovanni wrote the first part, according to Dr de la Mare; the MS was later completed for Piero de' Medici.

24 *Vat. Pal. lat. 1486*: Cicero, speeches. Giovanni copied the text from f.91 to the end and all the headings. Belonged to Manetti. Attributed to Giovanni by Dr de la Mare.

25 *Florence Laur.79.11*: Aristotle, *Ethics* tr. L. Bruni. Copied at Venice 30 August, presumably 1421-23. Ullman, *Origin* 95 no.13, Regoliosi, 'Nuove ricerche' 133.

26 *Vat. lat. 3237*: Cicero, *De Or., Orat. Brutus*. Dated 25 Dec. 1422, Venice. Attributed to Giovanni by Regoliosi, 'Nuove ricerche II' 132-133 and tav. XII.2, against Ullman *Origin* 95 n.6. P. Scarcia-Piacentini, *Rev. d'Hist. Textes* 11 (1981) 123-146 and pl.I-II.

27 *Imotski, Jugoslavia, Franciscan monastery, s.n.*: Cicero, opera varia. Copied for Francesco and Ermolao Barbaro, Venice 13 June 1422. Regoliosi, 'Nuove ricerche II' 132-133 and tav. XII.1, Alexander-de la Mare, *The Italian MSS of Major Abbey* xxiv n.4.: annotations by F. Barbaro.

28 *London, B.L. Harl. 5248*: Augustine, *De musica*. Copied at Venice 15 May 1423. Annotated by L. Giustiniani according to Dr de la Mare. Alexander-de la Mare *loc.cit.*, A.G. Watson, *Cat. dated MSS in British Library* I.145 no.827, II pl. 373.

29 *Florence, Laur. 76.1*: Cicero, *Philosophica*. The end of Poggio's copy of *Paradoxa stoicorum* completed by Giovanni on fols. 123v-124, presumably before 1418. De la Mare, *Handwriting* 77 no.8.

30 *Florence, Laur. 50.33*: Cicero, *De orat.* Unsigned and undated; attributed to Giovanni by M.D. Reeve, *RFIC* 112 (1984) 269 n.1.

31 *Paris, B.N. lat. 8537*: Cicero *Ad Brut., Q.f., Att.* Headings only probably by Giovanni. MS dated Florence 1415.

Note: For later manuscripts which may possibly be productions of Giovanni in the years 1440-1460, see the recent work of Dr de la Mare mentioned at n.8 above.

Rejected

i *Vat. Bas. S. Petri H.31*: Plutarch *Alexander* and *Caesar*, bound with Pomponius Mela by another hand. Signed and dated (13 Nov. 1414) by 'Iohannes origine Florentinus...qui Arretinus dicor'. Ullman, *Origin* 93 no.4 and pl. 47, Nicolaj Petronio 11 n.32. The subcription, very similar to that of no. 8 above, is copied (like the text) in a gothic hand quite unlike any secure example of Giovanni's script: it was probably taken over from the exemplar.

ii *Berlin, lat. fol. 582*: Bruni, varia. Dated 1448 (f.29v) by 'Ioannes Aretinus' (f.12). Baron, *Bruni Schriften* 237.

iii *Vat. Borg. lat. 341*: Cicero orations. Attributed to Giovanni by M.D. Reeve, *RFIC* 112 (1984) 269 n.1.

Chapter 6

Niccolò Perotti and Lorenzo Valla: four new letters

'Certo altre epistole e nuovi materiali documentari potranno emergere dal molto non catalogato'. So O. Besomi and M. Regoliosi in their excellent edition of *Laurentii Valle epistole*,[1] a prophecy very quickly borne out by the discovery in a Cambridge manuscript (University Library, Additional 6188) of a new letter of Valla and three of Niccolò Perotti to him.[2] The letters, along with others already published from other sources, date from Perotti's period in Bologna, 1450-1455, when he was the secretary of the Cardinal legate Bessarion, and they shed light on the Cardinal's circle and on the intensity of personal feeling which bound it together. They should dispel notions that Perotti was regarded by Valla 'come persona di nessun conto',[3] or treated by him 'con un certo benevolo distacco'.[4] They also give us precious items of biography and, with their companion pieces, raise interesting questions of humanist education.

[1] Padua 1984, 7, cited henceforth as *Valle epistole*.

[2] Jayne Ringrose of the Manuscripts Room, Cambridge University Library, kindly provided me with a detailed typescript description of the MS which will eventually form part of a catalogue of Additional MSS. A briefer list of contents will appear in the next volume of P.O. Kristeller's *Iter Italicum*. I have to thank the Syndics of Cambridge University Library for permission to publish these letters.

[3] R. Cessi, 'Tra Niccolò Perotti e Poggio Bracciolini', *Giorn. storico della lett. ital.*, 59 (1912) 312-346 at p.326. Cessi published, often carelessly, the letters and documents on which his article is based, *ibid.* 60 (1912) 73-111.

[4] *Valle epistole* 297 n.3, admittedly with reference to a letter of 1448, *ep.* 45.

First, a short description of the manuscript, which has several rare and even unique humanistic works. It has previously been used for the publication by E.I. Rao of *Bartolomeo Facio: Invective in Laurentium Vallam*,[5] who gave (pp.50-51) a very brief and not very accurate notice of it.

Paper, s.XV, ff.139 + II (fol. 115 was removed after foliation), 212 x 154 mm., original binding. A miscellany of humanist invectives, poems and letters, in one main humanistic cursive hand with small additions in two later hands. Headings and initials in red. Original contents are:

1. fols. 1-46v: Facio's four invectives against Valla;
2. fols. 49-60: Fourteen poems of Porcellio, written during his stay at Rimini under Malatesta patronage and including polemical verses against Basinio;[6]
3. fols. 61-70v: Tommaso Moroni's invective against Poggio;[7]
4. fols. 73-82v: Perotti's invective against Poggio;[8]
5. fols. 85-91: Sixteen poems of Perotti, mostly from his *Liber epigrammatum ad Sigismundum Malatestam*;[9]
6. fols. 92-97v: Nine letters of Perotti, Bessarion, Valla and Poggio, described more fully below.
7. fols. 98-113v: The elegies of Maximianus *De senectute*;[10]
8. fols. 119-125: Four letters (three in the original hand) of Poggio;[11]
9. fols. 130-139: Greek letters of 'Phalaris' translated by Rinuccio da Castiglione Fiorentino,[12] followed by letters of Caesar extracted from

[5] Naples 1978. Rao's preference for the Cambridge MS over Oxford and Berlin copies was severely criticised by Regoliosi herself, 'Per la tradizione delle "Invective in Laurentium Vallam" di Bartolomeo Facio', *Italia med. e uman.* 23 (1980) 389-397, and on other grounds by R. Ribuoli, 'Polemiche umanistiche', *Res publica litterarum* 4 (1981) 339-345.

[6] See U. Frittelli, *Gianantonio de' Pandoni, detto 'Il Porcellio'*, Florence 1900, 48-49; G. Voigt, *Il Risorgimento dell'antichità classica*, I, Florence 1888, 584-585; F. Ferri, *Le poesie liriche di Basinio*, Turin 1925, 136-139.

[7] F. Gabotto's edition is reprinted in *Poggii opera omnia*, ed. R. Fubini, II, Turin 1966, 741-753.

[8] Reprinted *ibid.* IV, Turin 1969, 81-111.

[9] L. Frati, 'Di Niccolò Perotti', *Giorn. stor. della lett. ital.* 54 (1909) 399-406 prints seven of the poems and gives *initia* of others. Three, it seems, remain unpublished, and unrecorded by R.P. Oliver's *Elenchus operum Nicholai Perotti: carmina*, in *Niccolò Perotti's version of the 'Enchiridion' of Epictetus*, Urbana, Ill. 1954, 154-159, or by L. Bertalot, *Initia humanistica latina*, I (Poesie), Tübingen 1985. On the *Liber* see G. Mercati as cited at n.25 below.

[10] E. Baehrens, *Poetae latini minores*, V, Leipzig 1883, 316-348. Maximianus was a popular school text of the middle ages: see E.R. Curtius, *European literature and the Latin middle ages*, London 1953, 50; L. Bertalot, *Studien zum italienischen und deutschen Humanismus*, I, Rome 1975, 91 n.1; G. Glauche, *Schullektüre im Mittelalter*, Munich 1970, 74.

[11] *Poggii opera* III.1 11-20, (III.1 177-178 in a later hand), III.3 97-100, IV. 75-80.

[12] See D.F. Lockwood, 'De Rinucio Aretino', *Harvard Studies in classical philology* 24 (1913) 60-61.

Cicero *Ad Atticum*,[13] a brief anonymous oration and an unidentified preface to a translation of St. Basil,[14] a letter of Bruni (I.12 Mehus), eight letters of Isotta Nogarola,[15] and finally a letter of Facio 'Iohanni Urbano'.[16]

Blank spaces have been subsequently filled with short poems, by Giano Pannonio and Battista Guarino, among others not identified.[17] Watermarks of the manuscript are closest to Briquet nos. 8441 (circle with cross enclosing letter N, Bologna 1455) and, in one quire, 6027 (six-pointed star, Lucca 1457). We shall see reasons for thinking that the main watermark represents the truth of the matter. Of the owners inscribed on fol.1, the first seems to have been 'S.M. de vado de Ferraria', that is, the Augustinian canons of Santa Maria in Vado at Ferrara.[18] This was overwritten by one 'Stefa. de (?daqua...)'. Subsequent owners proclaim themselves: 'Nunc est Jo. Leonis Vercellensis physici et amicorum', 'εἰμὶ πέτρου λέωντος/ sum Petri Leonis ferr[ariensis] et amicorum', and (s.XIX) 'E.P. Jacobsen'.

Giovanni Leone of Vercelli taught medicine at the Ferrarese Studio from 1542-1546 and Aristotle's *Moralia* 1547-1567. I assume that he is the father of Pietro Leone, who taught various subjects at Ferrara from 1563 to at least 1585.[19] Facio's

[13] *Att.* IX.7c, IX.13a, IX.16, X.8b.

[14] *Inc.* 'Apud sapientes et recte doctos homines', *des.* 'Sed iam ipsum audiamus'. The preface gives no clue as to the work being translated. It is not connected with known versions of Bruni, Traversari, Perotti or George of Trebizond, nor with Valla's 'lost' translation of the *Encomium XL martyrum* (*Valle epistole* 272), which in fact survives, though mutilated, in Salamanca Univ. 1530.

[15] E. Abel, *Isotae Nogarolae opera*, Vienna 1886, nos. 37, 39, 41, 35, 33, 47, 45, 46.

[16] Unpublished, *inc.* 'Marium meum ad te erudiendum mitto'. Cf. P.O. Kristeller, 'The humanist Bartolomeo Facio and his unknown correspondence' in *From the Renaissance to the Counter-Reformation: essays in honor of G. Mattingly*, ed. C.H. Carter, London 1966, 68 and n.57; and C. Marchiori, *Bartolomeo Facio tra letteratura e vita*, Milan 1971, 114 on Mario di Facio.

[17] This pair shared a room as students of Guarino at Ferrara (Voigt, *Risorgimento* II.309), a point of interest in view of the Ferrarese owners of the MS.

[18] Cf. G.A. Scalabrini, *Memorie istoriche delle chiese di Ferrara*, Ferrara 1773, 313-329; nothing on the library there, and nothing much in G. Agnelli, *Storia delle biblioteche, provincia di Ferrara* in *Tesori delle biblioteche d'Italia*, I (Emilia e Romagna), ed. D. Fava, Milan 1932, 49.

[19] On these two see A. Franceschini, *Nuovi documenti relativi ai docenti dello Studio di Ferrara nel sec. XVI*, Ferrara 1970, *ad indicem*. Pietro described himself variously as 'Ferrariensis' (cf. L. Capra, 'Gli epitafi per Niccolò III d'Este', *Italia med. e uman.* 16 (1973) 211 and R. Sabbadini, *Epistolario di Guarino Veronese*, III, Venice 1919, xx, reporting identical Latin notes of possession) and 'Vercellese' (P.O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, I.54 on Ferrara B.C. II.191A). He gained his doctorate in arts in 1563; hence he can hardly have made the translation of Aristotle's *Poetics* of 1546, as Rao

invectives, Perotti's *Oratio in Poggium* and the letters of Poggio connected with it were all first published by Tommaso Bettinelli in vols. VII and VIII of *Miscellanea di varie operette*, Venice 1743-1744.[20] The editor says that the source of each work was a manuscript of 'Giovannandrea Barrotti', a student at, and from 1747 librarian of, the University of Ferrara.[21] The (only partial) printing of Facio's work ends, like CUL Add. 6188 alone of known manuscripts, with the words 'Bononie', and the late Riccardo Ribuoli stated that the readings of the *Miscellanea* text indicated derivation from our manuscript (which I call C).[22] It therefore very likely stayed in Ferrara until the mid-eighteenth century. Thereafter, as I shall argue, C probably entered the possession of a Ferrarese resident in Venice before travelling like so many other Italian manuscripts to nineteenth-century England. The last marked owner was perhaps Edward Percy Jacobsen, 'late of University College, London', the only bearer of this name that I have found.[23] Stephen Gaselee, Librarian of Magdalene College, gave the manuscript to the University Library in 1919.

Notes of ownership point to Ferrara, then, but the texts themselves point rather towards compilation at Bologna, and no later than about 1455. Item 1 was completed by Facio at Naples in March 1446, but the text ends with the colophon already mentioned, 'Bononie'.[24] Poems of Porcellio, item 2, were made c.1455 at Rimini and poems of Perotti, item 5, likewise part of a collection in honour of Sigismondo Malatesta and his consort Isotta degli Atti, were being composed at Bologna in the early

supposes (p.51 n.3) on the basis of a modern hand's attribution in Ferrara B.C. Antonelli 630 (*Iter Italicum* I.62). Perhaps the version is rather Giovanni's.

20 Differing editors and title pages make this work hard to find. The only copies known to me in England are (British Library) 246.e.31-32 and (Cambridge University Library) Acton e.51.46 7-8.

21 *Miscellanea* VII.332, VIII.182. On the owner see the article by I. Zicári, *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, s.v. Barotti, Giovanni Andrea [1701-1772].

22 'Polemiche umanistiche' 342.

23 Translator of C. Gide's *Principles of political economy*, London 1900. His qualification is given on the title page. Jacobsen also owned CUL Add. 6180, humanist translations of Plutarch's *Lives*.

24 Fol. 46v. Facio's invectives are dated, against Rao, by Regoliosi, *Laurentii Valle Antidotum in Facium*, Padua 1981, xliv.

1450s.[25] Item 3, Moroni's invective, was composed while the papal curia was at Bologna in 1437 and its author a lecturer in rhetoric there.[26] Item 4 is a Perotti product of early 1454, again at Bologna.[27] The letters included in item 6 are connected with Perotti in the same place and slightly earlier in time, as will be seen. Item 7 are poems of late antiquity, of an energetically lugubrious sort which might have held some special appeal for the compiler of this unusually misanthropic miscellany. Item 8 has a famous letter of Poggio on the death of Jerome of Prague (1416), but also two letters from Florence to Bolognese addressees in connexion with his feud with Perotti, on which see below. The remaining miscellaneous pieces have various provenances and dates, the only substantial stretches being letters of Isotta Nogarola which all date from Venice, 1439, and the Greek letters rendered by Rinuccio c.1440-1443, according to Lockwood.[28]

MS Add. 6188 is in short a humanistic anthology such as students commonly compiled: a compiler in this case with a taste for reading invectives of small diffusion,[29] and one who shows a close interest in compositions connected with Bologna. We may guess that we are dealing with the handiwork of a student at Bologna university who had come under the influence of the Cardinal legate's protégé Niccolò Perotti, recorded as a teacher of poetry and rhetoric there in the early 1450s.[30] Three

25 Frittelli, *Porcellio*, 49. Isotta degli Atti came from Sassoferrato, Perotti's *patria*. Two of the poems in his collection are precisely datable to 6 June 1452: see G. Mercati, *Per la cronologia della vita e degli scritti di Niccolò Perotti, arcivescovo di Siponto*, Vatican City 1925, 38.

26 R. Fubini in *Poggii opera omnia* II.739.

27 Fubini's date '[1453]' (in his 'Tabula epistularum', *Poggii opera* IV.737) is a year too early because the invective mourns the recent death of Francesco Barbaro who died in January 1454 (*ibid.* IV.92, and see P. Gothein, *Francesco Barbaro*, Berlin 1932, 341).

28 'De Rinucio Aretino' 55.

29 E.g. Facio's invective in six copies known to Rao, Moroni's in two copies known to Gabotto (*Poggii opera* II.743; but add also our MS, Munich clm 418 and Venice Marc. lat. XI.108), Perotti's in three copies mentioned by Kristeller (not including our MS: 'Niccolò Perotti ed i suoi contributi alla storia dell'umanesimo', *Res publica litterarum* IV (1981) 7-25 at 24 n.70; this issue and V.1 of the same journal, 1982, publish Atti of the Perotti conference held at Sassoferrato in September 1980).

30 His appointments at the Studio for the academic years 1451-1452, 1452-1453 are listed by U. Dallari, *I rotuli dei lettori legisti e artisti dello Studio bolognese dal 1384 al 1799*, I, Bologna 1888, 31 and 34.

poems of Perotti and his three letters here presented are not known from other sources, which suggests some special relation.

An Oxford manuscript, Bodleian, Canonici misc. 169, further illuminates our compiler, for it is undoubtedly written, though in general less carefully, by the same hand (compare figs. 5 and 6). Of similar dimensions to the Cambridge manuscript (215 x 145 mm.), it is another miscellany on paper of short classical and humanist texts,[31] and once formed part of a larger collection, as the old folio numbers show.[32] Among common humanist texts are several unique pieces, besides many rarities. Sabbadini published from this manuscript two letters of Guarino, and Walser a letter of George of Trebizond, not found elsewhere.[33] A letter of Filelfo to Giorgio Bevilacqua on fol.49v remains unpublished,[34] as does a translation of Lucian by Pietro Balbi.[35] But what is

I suspect that the D. Nicolaus Perottus de Fano of these entries is the same as D. M. Nicolaus de Saxoferrato who was enrolled to lecture in rhetoric in 1455-1456 (Dallari p.44).

[31] The full contents in H.O. Coxe, *Catalogus codd. MSS. Bibl. Bodleianae*, III, Oxford 1854, cols. 543-552.

[32] The present fol.1 is marked 192 at the top, 182 at the bottom, the latter figure by the librarian (Dr de la Mare tells me) of Iacopo Soranzo (1686-1761), previous owner of many Canonici MSS. It is unfortunately not clear that the absent 181 leaves - 81 now survive, in a Canonici binding - were by our scribe, as Canonici would sometimes separate works of a disparate nature that Soranzo had bound together: see J.B. Mitchell in *Bodleian Library record*, VIII, 1967-1972, 131-132. Dr Mitchell's concordances deposited in the Bodleian do not identify Canon. misc. 169 in the large Soranzo catalogue, but 'definitely Soranzo'. Watermarks of the first quire approximate to Briquet no. 7425 (cherries, Naples 1450); others have no close match.

[33] Coxe nos. 71 and 112 = R. Sabbadini, *Epistolario di Guarino Veronese* nos. 801 and 902. Coxe no.65 = E. Walser, *Poggius Florentinus*, Leipzig 1914, 501 no. 64, now in *Poggii opera* IV.505. J. Monfasani, *Collectanea Trapezuntiana*, Binghamton, N.Y. 1984, registering this letter as no. CVIII (p.315) gives the wrong MS source.

[34] It concerns the composition of Filelfo's *Satire* II.2, which he was to dedicate to Giorgio. The letter is dated 1433 in the only other source known to me, Naples B.N., V.E.58 fol.163. Coxe no. 33, incidentally, is not an unknown letter of Leonardo Bruni, whose name is ascribed in a late hand. The same hand attributes Poggio's letter on the death of Salutati (Coxe no. 75) to Bruni (ob. 1444) on the death of Valla (ob. 1457).

[35] On Pietro Balbi of Pisa (1399-1479), a friend of Cusanus, see the *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* article s.v. by A. Pratesi. Better on his translations, mainly of patristica, are P. Wilpert, *Nikolaus von Kues: Vom Nichtanderen*, Hamburg 1952, 102-103, P.O. Kristeller, 'A Latin translation of Gemistos Plethon's "De Fato"', in *Niccolò Cusano agli inizi del mondo moderno*, Florence 1970, 187-188, and A. Way, 'Gregorius Nazianzenus', *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum*, II, Washington D.C. 1964, 138-140. The short dialogue between Alexander and Diogenes (*Dialogus mortuorum* 13), which here has the dedicatory letter 'ad Gulielmum Manuellum' (fol. 77), is undated, but Dr K. Sidwell tells me he is inclined to date it before 1456; see his Cambridge Ph.D. thesis, *Lucian of Samosata in the Italian Quattrocento*, 1975, 40-41, and 313-314 with the dedication. In 1454 Perotti called Balbi one of the 'duo academiae nostrae lumina', which presumably means that he taught at the Studio of Bologna (quoted by Poggio in his *ep.* XI.37, *Poggii opera* III.3 110).

chiefly striking on reading the list of contents is the preponderance of material relating to Naples and Rome, in particular pieces of Porcellio and Valla. Porcellio, Neapolitan by birth, preferred to be thought of as Roman, and of course the Roman Lorenzo Valla spent many years in the Kingdom with Alfonso V before returning to live out his last ten years in Rome, 1448-1457.[36]

Gianni Zippel commented on the rarity of some of Valla's writings found in Canon. misc. 169.[37] Two poems against Panormita are detached from the letter (*Valle epistole* no. 18) which Valla sent to Pier Candido Decembrio in 1442 or 1443,[38] and a third, on the same topic and doubtless from the same period, precedes them on fol.67.[39] On fol.61v are verses attributed to Valla which are still unpublished.[40] Very curiously, on fol.67v and fol.69v the scribe twice copied out the same twenty hexameters, the prologue to the first redaction (1438-1439) of Valla's *Repastinatio dialectice*; the second time with slight amendments perhaps owed to a better exemplar, and introduced by the characteristic Vallian siglum 'L.V.'.[41] Francesco Lo Monaco kindly tells me that he has identified all the short poems between these duplicated prologues as unpublished pieces by Valla (fols.67v-69, Coxe nos. 94-103). All this provokes the strong suspicion that our scribe had privileged access to undisseminated writings of the Roman humanist.

36 Porcellio items: Coxe nos. 35, 44, 84, 85, 86, 103. Valla items: Coxe nos. 78, 79, 91-104.

37 *Laurentii Vallae Repastinatio dialectice et philosophie*, 2 vols. continuously paginated, Padua 1982, I.xxvi: 'insieme ad altre operette, talora assai rare, del Valla'.

38 There are two variant readings, and four additional verses of the second poem (Coxe no.91.iii). Since this poem ends *ep.* 18, the four verses could easily have dropped out of the surviving MS tradition of the letter.

39 Not unpublished, as Zippel believed (*Repastinatio* I.xxvi n.4); G. Mancini, *Vita di Lorenzo Valla*, Florence 1891, 207 printed this couplet from the Canonici MS and Laur.'Ashburnham 103 fol. 43' (but read Ashburnham 176: Mancini confused the progressive numeration of C. Paoli's catalogue, *I codici Ashburnhamiani*, Rome 1887, 182, with the actual shelf mark.

40 *Inc.* 'Nil mihi ni titulus summo de culmine derat', followed by a 'disticon super effigiem Camille Tortelli', *inc.* 'Sic Caietanas vicit Katherina puellas'. On Valla's poetry see the bibliography in *Valle epistole* 226 n.4.

41 The text printed with variants by Zippel, *Repastinatio* II.357. They are *not* 'trascritte...da mani diverse' (*ibid.* I.xxvii) at these two places in Canon. misc. 169, but more neatly on the second occasion. For the date of the first version of the work see *Valle epistole* 172 n.5, with references to Zippel's lengthy treatment. That the verses pertain only to the first version appears from Zippel I.xxv and cxxiv.

On fols.8-13 there is a clutch of letters which are in effect student exercises in epistolary style, mingled with letters of Cicero. Their purpose is betrayed by the incoherence and repetitiousness of the Latin, as the student tries to turn his thought in different ways. The letter of 'Jordanus Marino suo' on fol.13 mentions 'preceptor noster Porcellius suis in epygramatibus'. Could the supposed recipient be Marino Tomacelli, a pupil of Valla in his Neapolitan period ?[42] In a letter from Rome of 1454, Valla wrote to Tomacelli about another former pupil, 'Magistro Vive gratulare de coniugio',[43] and a letter on fol. 10v of the Canonici manuscript recommends the writer 'Vive et Iacobo Parisio'.[44]

These tenuous signs are given body by unheaded letters on fol.9r-v, which Mancini printed as evidence of Valla's teaching.[45] In the first the writer says: 'Nosti me huc profectum esse apud prestantissimum et eruditissimum virum dominum Laurentium Vallensem <ut> adolescentiam meam in studiis humanitatis exerceam', and remarks that he is to hear Valla's lectures on Cicero's speeches.[46] The second letter does not name Valla, but says that the teacher has composed an 'opusculum...ut doctiores simus' in Latin composition, a statement reasonably connected by Mancini with Valla's didactic works.[47]

[42] On Valla's teaching at Naples in the 1440s see Mancini, *Vita* 220-221; On Marino Tomacelli, *ibid.*, *Valle epistole* 368-370, and P. Scarcia Piacentini in *Res publica litterarum* 5.1 (1982) 249 n.53. For Valla's Roman teaching see *Valle epistole* 327-329, 336-338. The wanderings of Porcellio are still not precisely established, but he seems to have spent a short time in Rome in 1448-1449 before spending 1449-1452 at Naples; see F. Marletta, 'Per la biografia di Porcellio dei Pandoni', *La Rinascita* 3 (1940) 842-877 at 876-877, correcting the very weak biographical portions of Frittelli's *Porcellio*. Valla's brother was among Porcellio's pupils at an earlier stage, in Rome under Martin V: see Mancini, *Vita* 14, and E. Pèrcopo in *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, 20 (1895) 317-320. On the relations of Valla and Porcellio see Mancini, *Vita* 287 n.1.

[43] *Valle epistole* no.54; no.52 (1453) is also addressed to Marino.

[44] 'Nicolaus Minutillus Colae Fusco', dated 'Partenope' (Naples). On Viva, formerly known as Vina, see *Valle epistole* ep.35 and commentary pp.277-279.

[45] Without comment in 'Alcune lettere di Lorenzo Valla', *Giorn. stor. della lett. ital.* 21 (1893) 1-48 at 47-48, but see his *Vita* 247 and 249.

[46] For surviving notes of Valla's teaching on Ciceronian speeches, see S. Rizzo, *Catalogo dei codici della 'Pro Cluentio' ciceroniana*, Genoa 1983, 147.

[47] *Vita* 249. On these writings see F. Adorno, 'Di alcune orazioni e prefazioni di Lorenzo Valla', *Rinascimento* 5 (1954) 191-225 at 216 n.6.

To summarise: it looks as though Canon. misc. 169 was assembled by a young student who had at the very least contact with the pupils of Valla and Porcellio, and may well have been one himself. The latest datable pieces appear to be the letters of George of Trebizond from Rome and Naples, mid-1452, on fol.47r-v.[48] Watermark and contents hint at a Neapolitan provenance for the scribe, one, it may be, who went to Rome to take further advantage of Valla's instruction after the latter's return there in 1448. In slightly more mature years our scribe probably attended the university of Bologna and the lectures there of Valla's young friend Perotti, producing then CUL Add. 6188. That at any rate covers the facts and implications of the manuscripts; further research, which I hope to undertake before too long, may supply a name and a more precise account of these documents of humanist education. If the missing larger portion of Canon. misc. 169 survives somewhere, it may have much to tell.[49]

And so to item 6, nine letters of which four have been hitherto unpublished.

I. fol.92: Nicolaus Peroctus Iacobo Veronensi salutem. 'Petiit a me nuper quidam...';

II. fol.92: Bissarion Cardinalis tusculanus Laurentio Vallensi s.p.d. 'Vtrunque antidotum tuum...';

III. fol.92-93: Nicolaus Perottus Laurentio Vallensi s.p.d. 'Nescio unde nata sit...';

IV. fol.93r-v: Bissarion Cardinalis tusculanus Laurentio Vallensi s.p.d. 'Fabium Quintilianum...';

V. fol.93v-94v: Laurentius Vallensis Nicolao Perotto s.p.d. 'Itane mi Nicolae...';

VI. fol.94v-95v: Nicolaus Perottus Laurentio Vallensi s.p.d. 'Tu potius stoicaris Laurenti...';

VII. fol.96: <Idem eidem> 'Nihil mihi novi...';

[48] Coxe nos. 65-67. Monfasani, *Collectanea Trapezuntiana* 287, 315, 253 respectively places these letters in May 1452 (Rome), August 1452 (Naples) and c.April 1452 (Rome).

[49] Nothing suggests that C is a remnant, further mutilated, of Canon. misc. 169. They differ in size, in watermarks, and in style of foliation. Canon. misc. 169, now slightly taller, appears to have been lightly cropped, something which C's original binding rules out in its case. In the mid-eighteenth century at least, the Oxford manuscript was in Venice with Soranzo, the Cambridge MS in Ferrara with Barotti.

VIII. fol.96-97: Nicolaus Perottus Ioanni Aretino suo sal. 'Haud obscurum est...';

IX. fol. 97v: Pogius ad Nicolaum Perottum (heading added by a later hand). 'Cum audissem te plurimum delectari...'.

I, to Giacomo Schioppo of Verona, was printed as an aside by Cardinal Mercati in a reconstruction of Perotti's early career.[50] He called it 'un insignificante biglietto', but he would have been interested to learn of the date attached in C (I and IX alone are dated): 'Bononiae, III non. martias <1>453'. Mercati, having no indication of the year, argued for 1454. It is impossible to say what the significance of this note really is: what is the difference, Perotti asks, between nourishing a viper and having kindness repaid with ingratitude ? This evidently has some sharp personal relevance, but without a context we cannot guess what it is. It is worth remarking that Perotti commemorated Schioppo's death in a short elegy beginning 'Invida fata, mihi fidum rapuistis amicum',[51] and, closer at hand, in the autumn of 1453 he was the dedicatee of Perotti's opusculum *De metris*.[52] That implies that Schioppo himself was not, or only very temporarily, the object of the pointed question put to him in this letter.

Letter II was first published by Mancini, and then by Mohler from the same Viennese manuscript.[53] The letter is dated there 'VIII kal. Novembris', that is, 25 October <1453>. It is now well known for its expression of Bessarion's pleasure on reading Valla's freshly completed *Antidota in Poggium*. The copy in C presents a few trifling variants, chiefly in the use of the first person singular for the uniformly plural forms of the Vienna text. It omits the last few lines - the personal remarks about

50 *Per la cronologia* 20 n.3, from Vat. lat. 6847; cf. 45 n.1 on the manuscript. Oliver missed Mercati's footnote publication of this letter in his *Elenchus operum: epistulae* in (*Perotti's Enchiridion* 163). On Schioppo, companion of Perotti's earliest studies, see Mercati, *Per la cronologia* 27-28.

51 C. Janelli, *Codex Perottinus*, Naples 1809, 251, cited by Mercati 28 n.4.

52 Mercati 27.

53 Mancini, 'Alcune lettere' 47; L. Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmann*, III, Paderborn 1942, 471 no. 24. Now registered as *Valle epistole* no. 52a, with comment p.367. The manuscript, Vindob. lat. 3493, containing also Valla's invectives aginst Poggio, has been connected with Albrecht von Eyb, a German student at Bologna until 1451 and from 1454 (cf. *Valle epistole* 81-82).

Bessarion's being unable to return to Rome - and the date. On the other hand it gives the Greek, surely in Bessarion's original missive, for the printed version's 'Senesco autem semper multa discendo': γηράσκω δ' ἀεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος. [54]

Letter IV is most conveniently taken next, being the only other known letter of Bessarion to Valla (*Valle epistole* no. 49a). This was published by Lotte Labowsky from an early nineteenth-century copy found among the papers of the then librarian of the Biblioteca Marciana, Jacopo Morelli.[55] He had copied it 'da cod. MS s.XV presso il cav. Cicognara'. The fifteenth-century manuscript was not immediately discoverable in Italian libraries at the time of the letter's publication, but it seems quite possible that C is the very codex that once belonged to Count Leopoldo Cicognara, a distinguished historian of art and president at his death of the Venetian Accademia di Belle Arti.

There is in the first place the substantial identity of the texts, a full page in C. The only divergence is *aliud* (*...librum*) in Morelli's copy for *alium* in C;[56] but the mark abbreviating 'm' in C curls back over the preceding letter to give the appearance of terminal 'd', and misreading in a moment of inattention is understandable. Neither Cicognara nor Morelli has left obvious signs in our manuscript;[57] we have traced it, however, to the ownership of Barotti, who died in 1772 at Ferrara, the birthplace five years earlier of Leopoldo Cicognara (see above p.160). If the latter did indeed acquire

54 δ'αια cod. The Greek here and elsewhere is in a far from practised hand. Guarino had used the saying (Otto, *Sprichwörter* no. 1628, found in Plutarch, *Solon* 31.) in a 1449 letter to Giovanni da Prato, *ep.* 823 v.24 Sabbadini.

55 First in 'An unnoticed letter from Bessarion to Lorenzo Valla', *Medieval learning and literature: essays presented to R.W. Hunt*, Oxford 1976, 366-375, and then with further discussion in *Bessarion's library and the Biblioteca Marciana*, Rome 1979, 138-139 and 509-510, printed from Marc. lat. XIV.324 (4072).

56 'An obvious mistake in transcription', Labowsky, 'An unnoticed letter' 367 n.1. Dr Labowsky tells me that other trivial differences are printers' errors or oversights (read 'quoad *noster* recte convaluerit', 'adeptum' and 'devincti' at the end of the first paragraph). I am much indebted to Dr Labowsky for help and advice in the preparation of this article.

57 There are no owners' notes on C's binding. A late hand correcting (in Italian) a mistake about the subject matter of Poggio's letter on fol.118v is not Morelli's (from a comparison with his autograph annotations of his own book on the Marciana, reproduced in Tav. V of *Miscellanea Marciana di studi Bessarionei*, Padua 1976, facing p.36). I have not seen the hands of Cicognara or Barotti: at least an Italian of s.XVIII-XIX made the correction.

C, we can explain the passage of the manuscript from Ferrara to Venice, where Morelli will have extracted Bessarion's letter.[58]

The content of the letter, Valla's *correctus* Quintilian (which Bessarion wanted to borrow) and Valla's Hippocrates (which the cardinal wanted to buy), has been amply discussed in recent years, without clear resolution of the codicological problems which it raises.[59] No strong grounds for dating the letter have been found. Dr Labowsky was no doubt right to assign it to Bessarion's time in Bologna, after he had begun his legation on 16 March 1450.[60] Given now its occurrence in C among a tight *manipolo* of letters all (with one exception) definitely datable to the period March 1453 - January 1454, and all from or to Bologna, we can be reasonably sure that Bessarion's letter was sent from there, and with hardly less assurance that it dates from 1453. Dr Labowsky tells me that the style of the Bessarion letters suggests that Perotti had a hand in drafting them, and that would account for their preservation in C.[61] The reply to Bessarion that Valla promises at the end of letter V has unfortunately not survived, presumably because it was addressed to the cardinal, not to his secretary.

Letters III, V, VI and VII are here published, and we shall return to them shortly. VIII is Perotti's letter sending and commending his new translation of Polybius Book III to his friend Giovanni Tortelli, the papal *cubicularius*, and through him to Nicholas V. The original letter was copied by Tortelli himself into the famous Vat. lat. 3908 and it is

58 For Cicognara (1767-1834) see G. Romanelli's article in *Diz. biografico degli italiani* s.v., and C. Frati, *Diz. bio-bibliografico dei bibliotecari e bibliofili italiani*, Florence 1913, 165-167, with M. Parenti's *Aggiunte al dizionario...di Frati*, Florence 1959, s.v. The *Catalogo ragionato dei libri d'arte e d'antichità posseduti dal Conte Cicognara*, 2 vols., Pisa 1821, is confined to printed books. I have wondered whether Morelli's 'cav. Cicognara' could be Leopoldo's brother Vincenzo, librarian of the Bibl. Comunale of Ferrara from 1831; he too was a 'Conte', but also an abbot, a distinguishing qualification Morelli would probably have used (on him see Frati 167 and Parenti I.265).

59 Labowsky (as n.55); *Valle epistole* 296-297, 338-340.

60 'An unnoticed letter' 369-370; cf. p.372, '1450-1451...though the arguments for dating it in this way are admittedly speculative', speculations accepted by Besomi and Regoliosi, *Valle epistole* 338.

61 The singular forms - not consistently applied - and omissions in our letter II perhaps indicate that it was a minute drawn up by Perotti. For his later activity as translator of Bessarion's Greek works, see J. Monfasani, 'Bessarion latinus', *Rinascimento* 21 (1981) 165-209, especially 167-169.

dated there 'Bononie, Non. Dicembr. 1453'.[62] It shows the young Perotti in characteristic pose: outspoken, effusively humble, inordinately vain. The ending, concerning the actual presentation of the translation to the pope, enables one of the new letters, and thence the others, to be dated with some precision.

The last letter in the series, IX, properly belongs with those on fols.123-125 in another chapter of the crowded history of humanist polemic during the 1450s. After the conclusion, through exhaustion one would think, of the Poggio-Valla controversy, Poggio sent this letter on 17 January 1454 to Valla's self-confessed *alumnus* Perotti,[63] in effect challenging him to defend his master.[64] The defence duly appeared within a couple of months, and was duly copied into C (fols.73-82v, item 4 in the list given above, p.158).[65] The Poggian letters to Bologna copied later in the manuscript represent a slightly later development, of the summer of 1454.[66] The first is to Poggio's Bolognese friend Bartolomeo Ghisilardi and discusses the aftermath of the Valla polemic and the continuing feud with Perotti, *crinitus vates*. He asks Bartolomeo to dissuade Niccolò Volpe, another supporter of Valla and former teacher of Perotti, from entering the fray. The second is to Volpe himself: so far from desiring Volpe's enmity, he had never hitherto even heard of him. This crushing tactic seems to have had the required effect, and Poggio in his seventy-fifth year was spared yet another invective.

62 Printed by R. Cessi, *Giorn. stor. della lett. ital.* 60 (1912) 79-80. Cf. Mercati, *Per la cronologia* 22 ff. on this, and M. Regoliosi, 'Nuove ricerche intorno a Giovanni Tortelli: I', *Italia med. e uman.* 9 (1966) 186 no. 282 for the letter in Vat. lat. 3908 (fol. 236r-v).

63 In a letter to Valla of 1448 (*Valle epistole* no. 45a, redating the text printed by Sabbadini in *Cronologia documentata della vita di Lorenzo Valla*, Florence 1891, 123-125): 'Nicolaum tuum merito alumnum tuae disciplinae appellari posse', p.124 v.4.

64 *Poggii opera* IV. 73-74.

65 For the date see n.27 above. Cessi, 'Tra Niccolò Perotti' (as n.3), provides a detailed guide, but with shaky chronology, which Mercati in part repaired. See more briefly Walser, *Poggius* 278-281.

66 See n.11 above for references. These three connected letters are all dated in C and in the *Miscellanea Bettinelli* which first published them, from C itself as I argue above. Only one of them, *ep.* XI.29, *Poggii opera* III.3 97-100, found its way into the canonical collections of Poggio's letters, and then without a date.

There remain the four letters now published, which double the extant correspondence of Valla and Perotti: III, V, VI and VII. No. V of Valla answers Perotti's III, and VI answers V. VII bears no separate heading in the manuscript, but it appears to be a response of Perotti to a lost letter of Valla. VI belongs to the last days of 1453. Perotti's letter to Giovanni Tortelli dated 5 December 1453 (see p.168 above) has this passage: 'Ecce igitur Severus Perottus, germanus meus, tertium librum Polybii mei, item opuscula quedam a me nuper per otium composita, ad te affert', and he begs Tortelli to show them to the pope.[67] Letter VI to Valla ends: 'Severus germanus meus ostendet tibi tertium Polybii librum quem ad Summum Pontificem misi, item opuscula quaedam a me superioribus diebus cum otiosus essem composita'. Accordingly, VI was written a few days after the letter to Tortelli, or even, supposing that Severo took both letters to Rome together, on the same day.

Valla's letter V accuses Perotti of launching a Stoic diatribe against him. Perotti's opening response in VI is 'Tu potius stoicaris...'.[68] The end of V mentions Bessarion's recent letter of support 'in Pogiana causa', and that letter, our no. II, dates from 26 October 1453. V therefore falls between early November and early December, probably in November. The content of V, finally, clearly responds to Perotti's III, disquisitions, only half-jocular in tone, on true wealth. In V Valla mentions the triumph over Poggio awarded him by Perotti in a letter to Battista Brenni of 8 September 1453.[69]

[67] *Giorn. stor. della lett. ital.* 60 (1912) 80. For the opuscula, the *De metris* dedicated to Schioppo, another small treatise on the metres of Horace and Boethius, and the translation of the Hippocratic oath, see Mercati, *Per la cronologia* 25. A letter of 13 November 1453, printed by Mercati 23-24, shows Perotti about to have the Polybius III written out. Tortelli thanked the translator in a letter of 3 January 1454. For the story of the Polybius translation, see Frati (as n.9 above) 394 f.

[68] The verb *stoicor* used by both parties is not recorded in Latin dictionaries: it is presumably modelled on στωικεύομαι, 'to play the Stoic', i.e. to take a severe line, found only in Eusebius' *De praeparatione evangelica* XIV.7. This work had been translated by George of Trebizond in 1448, though he had not rendered it by *stoicor*; the translation was revised by Valla's acquaintance Andrea Contrario at the end of 1453, so perhaps the word was 'in the air' (cf. J. Monfasani, *Collectanea Trapezuntiana* 109). See also Perotti's *Oratio in Poggium*: 'O quam pulchre stoicatur Poggius noster!', *Poggii opera* IV.107, early 1454.

[69] The letter to Brenni is printed by Cessi, *Giorn. stor. della lett. ital.* 60 (1912) 81-84 and reprinted in *Poggii opera* IV.253-256 (cf. Regoliosi, 'Nuove ricerche' 175 no.212): 'Poggius veluti triumphatus relinquitur', p.83, referred to by Valla in letter V: 'Privasses enim me, opinor, magnificentissimo

If we take Valla's words literally - 'Eoque magis miror quod potueris adduci ut *postea* ad me acerbe scriberes qui tam dulci ac mellea oratione de me ad alios scripseris' - Perotti sent III after the laudatory letter to Brenni, thus in September or October.

III itself answers a letter of Valla now lost (some request, perhaps ironic, for money was involved), and so does VII. Had Valla's latter communication survived, we should be in a better position to judge the import of VII. It contains references, mysterious to me, to one 'Turpinus' and to a lady whom Valla wrongly thought an enemy of Perotti. The nickname, clearly not designed to flatter, is not found again in these exchanges or elsewhere, so far as I know. If this letter too, as seems likely, dates from 1453-1454, we should perhaps think of the emerging feud with Poggio, now Chancellor of Florence.[70] The lady about whom Valla is mistaken is in daily contact with Perotti and, 'quod fortassis mireris, abbatis negotium commendat'. The only suggestion I can make, entirely without confidence, is that the commendation concerned the search for preferment of Valla's friend Andrea Contrario.[71] We know that he was recommended to Bessarion for the abbacy of Spalato by Niccolò Sagundino and by Valla himself.[72] This at the end of 1453, a date conveniently close to the datable letters. Who the potent woman was, and why the matter should seem to threaten Bessarion ('principis nostri'), remain altogether a mystery.

triunpho quo me contra Pogium affecisti'. Humanists liked nothing better than awarding one another triumphs.

70 See the references at n.65 above. There is a bizarre episode at the end of 1454 when the Florentine Signoria (actually Poggio himself) send Bessarion a letter protesting against Perotti's alleged plans to assassinate their Chancellor. On Bessarion's reassurance, the matter was dropped and the quarrel formally ended; see Walser, *Poggius* 389-392, Dok. 94-97, and Poggio's stiff letter of reconciliation, *ep.* XII.7, *Opera* III.3 135-136.

71 See R. Sabbadini, 'Andrea Contrario', *Nuovo archivio veneto*, 31 (1916) 378-433; R. Contarini, *Diz. biografico degli italiani* s.v.; Monfasani, *Collectanea Trapezuntiana* 108-113. For unknown reasons, Contrario made a violent attack upon Valla after the latter's death.

72 Sagundino's letter (*inc.* 'Andreas Contrarius Venetus agit apud dominationem tuam de abbatia Spalatensi': Sabbadini, 'Contrario' 391 no.9) was connected with Valla's *ep.* 53 to Bessarion by Regoliosi, *Valle epistole* 368.

The letters shortly will speak for themselves. I conclude by selecting from them a few points of special interest. Nothing very substantial arises for the biography of Niccolò Perotti, but we may note his insistent plea of poverty in III, with his tediously playful elaboration in VI. Being Bessarion's secretary was plainly a labour of love with little direct remuneration. Before Perotti's translations began to attract papal reward, lectures at the Bolognese Studio will have satisfied 'impensis necessariis'. It would have been more interesting for us if he had identified the books in which, on his view, true riches consisted.[73] In the same passage we read, 'nec duxi uxorem, et a ducenda sic abhorreo ut nihil mihi videatur libero lectulo esse iocundius', echoing Cicero, *Att.* XIV.13.6 on his brother Quintus. This aversion to the marriage bed was read in another way by hostile contemporaries. Poggio rarely mentions Perotti without adding 'pessimus' (or the like) 'cathamita'.[74] Archbishop of Siponto from 1458, Perotti served as papal governor of Viterbo from December 1464 to April 1469. The Viterbese chronicler Niccolò della Tuccia has bitter words for the governor's peculations, compensating, perhaps, for his youthful poverty. Also, 'si diceva che era pessimo sodomita', with some circumstantial detail.[75]

There is something of the classroom in these letters of Valla's *alumnus*, a rhetorical display where genuine sentiment for his master runs the risk of being clouded by a fog of erudition. It will be seen that Perotti adorns his compositions with a good seven quotations - the instincts of the collector which finally issued in the *Cornucopiae* - while Valla uses none. Valla's writing is less encumbered, and his affection for the young man that he designated (it is revealed here) as the guardian of his literary

73 Valla himself elsewhere found a necessary connexion between wealth and learning: 'Mihi vero codices necessarii sunt et pecuniae, eaeque non paucae, unde codices plurimos...coemam.' *Vallae opera omnia*, ed. E. Garin, Turin 1962, II.312, from his *De professione religiosorum.*

74 E.g. his *epp.* XI.22-25 and 32, in *Poggii opera* III.3 84-94, 103-105. Perotti's *Cornucopiae*, finished in 1478, gave a better formation, and a definition from Servius [*ad. Ecl.* VIII.29]: 'catamitus: puer meritorius' (*Cornucopiae* ed. Venice 1489, f.343r).

75 Quoted by Frati, 'Di Niccolò Perotti' 396-398. Mercati, *Per la cronologia*, 56 n.2 quoted someone else's judgement on della Tuccia, 'barbogio cronista', apparently by way of refutation.

reputation correspondingly more open. Perhaps only Tortelli was closer to him in the last years, perhaps not even Tortelli.

His new letter confirms what he himself says in a polemical context, that he did not trouble to keep copies of his correspondence.[76] Had he done so, we might have his statement of a discovery to which Perotti responds with startled interest: 'comperisse te quadratum circuli...magnopere laetatus sum' (letter III). Valla's reply, letter V, did not raise the matter again and Perotti's next letter (VI) pursues the tantalizing reference: 'Quod superest, abs te peto ut quod de quadratura circuli actum sit ad me scribas', and he speaks of a *liber* which Valla had apparently written on the subject.

If Valla did indeed 'succeed' in squaring the circle, 'rem totiens a maioribus nostris tentatam et numquam inventam', as Perotti says, no other trace of it survives in the record. There are scattered indications of a theoretical interest in geometry, for example in the discussion of *quantitas* in the *Dialectica*,[77] but this evidence of concrete mathematical rigour surprises us, as it evidently surprised Perotti. It may be conjectured, however, that the return from Germany of his friend Nicholas of Kues in the spring of 1453 was the impulse that drove him in this new direction.[78] Cusanus had something of an obsession with the problem of 'quadratura circuli', producing no fewer than five separate treatises on the question, seemingly in the span 1453-1459.[79] Whether any of his solutions owed anything to discussions with Valla or perusal of his *liber* must remain for now uncertain. At any rate, what astonished Perotti ('quando te abaco et pulvisculo dedisti ?') would have come as no surprise to Valla's rather distant

76 Cf. 'Ego quid ad te de divitiis scripserim nescio' in the opening paragraph of letter V. See *Valle epistole* 11-12 on the difficulties this raises for the editor of the letters, with a quotation from *Antidotum II in Poggium.*

77 Valla, *Repastinatio dialectice* ed. Zippel (as n.37 above) I.141-147.

78 Nicholas entered Rome on 5 March 1453. The two letters (47a and 47b) of Nicholas to Valla - all that survives of their correspondence - date from 1450 and do not mention mathematical matters.

79 See D. Mazzuconi, 'Il *De Cesarea circuli quadratura* e l'*Aurea propositio in mathematicis* di Niccolò Cusano' *Italia med. e uman.* 22 (1980) 49-76; for the other three works see p.50 n.4.

acquaintance Porcellio de' Pandoni. The arch-adulator, in verses to Valla of unknown date, firmly states, 'Te magis est certe nemo mathematicus'.[80]

Most remarkable in Valla's letter is his awareness of approaching death and his plea to Perotti to act as 'meorum operum defensorem cum vita defunctus fuero'. Valla's health was never good, and not improved by constant study and the almost constant feuding in which he involved himself. He mentions his 'imbecillitas corporis' already in 1450,[81] and Pontano, who knew him, wrote that Valla was an old man before he was fifty, the age at which he died.[82] Perotti very properly replied that if in life he stood in need of protection, the works he had composed would require no posthumous defence. At present two manuscripts of works by Valla that Perotti copied have been identified, and there will certainly be others lost or latent.[83] The part that he played in the diffusion of the works remains a field still to be explored. But we can see from these letters the role assigned to the young scholar as in some sense Valla's literary executor, alongside the already known activity of Tortelli. The elaborate eulogies exchanged by Valla and Perotti in earlier letters (*epp.* 43, 43a, 45, 45a) are now seen to be rooted in an unsuspected intimacy, born of (as the humanists never tired of saying) a close community of studies.

80 From Porcellio's *Liber epigrammatum*; cited by Mancini, *Vita* 287 n.1 from Florence, B.N. Conv. Soppr. J IX 10 f.124.

81 *Valle epistole* no.48 to Nicholas V, and cf. *ep.* 49 to Tortelli.

82 Mancini, *Vita* 325.

83 The *Antidotum in Poggium* and *Apologus* in Vat. Urb. lat. 1177 (L. Valla, *Antidotum primum. La prima apologia contro Poggio Bracciolini*, ed. A. Wesseling, Assen 1978, 59-61) and the *Dialectica* in Urb. lat. 1207 (Zippel, *Dialectica*, xvii-xx, attributed to Perotti by J. Monfasani, *Rivista di letteratura italiana*, 2 (1984) 181, a review of Zippel's edition). Neither of these manuscripts is mentioned by A. Marucchi, 'Codici di N. Perotti nella Biblioteca Vaticana', *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 34A (1985) 99-125. We are informed also of copies of the *Elegantie*, of the *Epistola de Tarquiniis* and of *Antidotum in Facium* sent to or owned by Perotti: *Valle epistole* 325 and 374, and Valla, *Antidotum in Facium*, ed. Regoliosi, ci.

The text

I present what is written in C with the following exceptions: Greek accents have been normalized, and punctuation, capitalization and paragraphing adapted to modern usage. The diphthongs *ae* and *oe* are commonly indicated in the manuscript with a cedilla, a form which Perotti himself often used (see the plates of his autographs in Mercati, *Per la cronologia*). The almost classical orthography of C is therefore maintained in Perotti's letters, while for Valla's letter I have followed the norms set out in *Valle epistole*, 95-99, in particular reducing those diphthongs to simple vowels.

III

Perotti to Valla

Bologna, September-October 1453

Nicolaus Perottus Laurentio Vallensi salutem plurimam dicit.

Nescio unde nata sit istaec opinio lucri qua, ut tu de me, ita alii plerique falluntur. Credo quia vos cumulandis opibus semper studetis, quia montes aureos lucrifacitis, quia Croesi divitias comparatis, ex affluentia vestra aliorum quoque copias metimini. Nobis vero neque annua salaria constituta sunt neque Pontificis Maximi liberalitatem experimur nec quotidianos quaestus habemus. Vix tantum munere nostro consequimur quantum satis sit impensis necessariis. Itaque ego aes alienum quod istic olim conflaveram adhuc dissolvere non potui: utinam non etiam gravius contraxissem ! Nec tamen villas urbium aemulas eminenterque[1] ornatas familias, neque preciosam supellectilem nec vero arca thesauros filiis servo, qui nec duxi uxorem et a ducenda sic abhorreo ut nihil mihi videatur libero lectulo iocundius.[2]

[1] emineque *cod.*

[2] Cic. *Att.* XIV.13.6

Desine itaque posthac hominem nihil habentem divitem appellare, quanquam si animum meum, non facultates, respexeris, nemo me ditior erit, abundantior, copiosior. Minimum est quod habeo, fateor, sed minimum est quod volo. Habet autem quantum vult qui vult minimum; qui quantum vult habet ditissimus est. Vides quam subito e paupere factus sum dives. Atqui ego non tam in fundo et foenere quam in ipso hominis animo divitias existimandas puto. An Platonem dicemus pauperem qui in ortulo qui Academiae iunctus fuit et in duobus ministris et in patera qua diis supplicabat patrimonium habuit, praeterea auri tantum <quantum> puer nobilitatis insigne in auricula gestabat?[3] Ceterum ego Platonis inopiam malim quam eorum divitias qui tanti sunt quantum habent.

Sed ne te diutius opinione tua fraudem, fateor me et lucrifecisse hic aliquid et lucrari, ac interim parca frugalitate seponere; verum id non agris, non aedibus, non servis, sed libris doctissimorum hominum emundis erogo. Hoc mihi patrimonium, hoc subsidium senectuti meae paro. Quod si assequor, aperte tum profiteri ausim superare me Crassum divitiis et omnium aedes, prata, vicos contemnere. Sed haec ad primam particulam litterarum tuarum satis.

Comperisse te quadratum circuli, rem totiens a maioribus nostris tentatam et nunquam inventam, magnopere laetatus sum et ingenio tuo gratulor, qui ut in aliis plurimis, ita in hoc quoque veteres viceris. Sed dic, quaeso, quando te abaco et pulvisculo dedisti ?[4] Vellem equidem istic esse, non ut opem quam petis praestarem, id est noctuam Athenas mitterem,[5] sed ut abs te docerer, erudirer, instruerer. Nunc quando id mihi fata prohibent, quae instar violentissimi torrentis neque retineri possunt neque impelli, fac me, si putas esse humanitatis tuae, istius lucubrationis participem, ne Tantali

[3] Apul. *Plat.* I.4

[4] Apul. *Apol.* 16

[5] cf. Cic. *Ad Q. fr.*II.15.2

more inter tot delicias fame vel potius siti peream. Vale et viro claro ac perhumano Ioanni Aretino[6] ex me salutem adnuntia.

V

Valla to Perotti

Rome, November 1453

Laurentius Vallensis Nicolao Perotto salutem plurimam dicit.

Itane, mi Nicolae, cum multi te falso divitem putent, ut ais, me tibi potissimum invadendum putasti, in quem stoicareris et quasi perorares ? Ita tibi tuus Laurentius aut excidit aut ignotus est ut vel irata manu repelleres eum vel serio locutum putares ? Ego quid ad te de divitiis scripserim nescio, nisi quicquid scripsi id aut ioco dixisse aut benivolentia; nec ut eas mecum communicares, ut reor, petivi: quod si fecissem, tuum erat causari potius tuam tenuitatem quam insectari fiduciam petendi meam, qui te filii loco semper dilexi. Quanquam nullo argumento magis colligo te divitem factum quam quod ita sollicite loqueris, ita laboras, ita reformidas ne dives esse videaris, quasi sub tyranno degas aut avaro rege, a quo ut pecunia abs te vel mutuo vel alio (ut fit) modo poscatur pertimescas: quominus do veniam tue tergiversationi, qui non ideo negas esse te divitem quia non potes amicos sublevare sed quia non vis.

Quid tibi persuadebas, Nicolae mi ? An propter tuas excusationes fore ut abs te, id est a tuis divitiis, nihil flagitarem ? Ego vero quod superioribus litteris non feci, nunc peto, flagito, exigo ut ad communionem me tuarum divitiarum admittas. Negas te divitem ? Istas ego, istas divitias dico multorum librorum quos quotidie comparas, in quibus omnem pecuniam collocare te dicis. An nunc te bene libratum esse negare incipies, sicut bene nummatum negasti ? Certe non poteris: teneo te tua confessione. Ad quorum librorum participationem si me non admittes, conveniam te apud iudices

6 Tortelli

morum, accusaboque impietatis qui patrem tuum (sum enim ego e numero tuorum parentum) alere recusas alimento sapientie ac pastu animorum.

Sed quid ago ? Vereor libere loqui tecum, Nicolae, ne (ita enim iam delicatus es factus) nunc magis stomacheris quam in superioribus fecisti litteris. Quas litteras quia non antea accepisti mihi etiam atque etiam gratulor. Privasses enim me, opinor, magnificentissimo triunpho quo me contra Pogium affecisti. Quid enim in vita vidi iocundius quam tuas in Baptistam Brennum litteras, quas homine invito circunfero et, siqua mihi fides est, vix magis mea causa quam tua ? Adeo enim sunt ille ornate, graves, copiose ut te ipsum in dicendo superasse videaris. Eoque magis miror quod potueris adduci ut postea ad me acerbe scriberes qui tam dulci ac mellea oratione de me ad alios scripseris. Vtinam sit ea causa quam unam suspicari licet, quam non proferam ut sciam cum rescribes an vera sit, ne tu forte mihi obsequendo et quasi in viam repositus dicas hanc ipsam fuisse causam.

Ego, mi Nicolae, tua verba ideo maximi facio, qui te filii amantissimi semper caritate complexus sum et cuius vel minima indignatione ita afficior ac si filii salute periclitarer: amor enim in me tuus instar salutis filii apud me est. At, mihi crede, vehementius me afficit exigua tua indignatio quam vel maxima laudatio, predicatio, buccinatio. Nam indignatio videtur ex animo proficisci, illa vero tempori aut assentationi aut humanitati tribui. Sed ne longior sim, cum presertim hoc scribam urgente nuntio, tibi quidem ob tantas de meo opere predicationes gratias ago habeoque quatenus verum excesserunt.

Querele autem tue ita demum veniam do, si semper ita mecum loqueris ut significes te sentire nihil a Laurentio aut fieri aut dici aut cogitari posse de te nisi ex summa benivolentia caritateque profectum. Quem enim habeo inter omnes homines te cariorem ? cum propter alia inter nos officia (et tua in me maiora), tum vero quod te meorum operum defensorem cum vita defunctus fuero aut solum aut primum destino, qui et possis et velis hoc mihi prestare. Nam ceteri fere aut non possunt aut nolunt.

Sed adhuc loquor cum tempus non prebeatur ab eo qui ad vos venturus est. Vale. Principi nostro rescribam per proximum tabellarium, cuius litteras, hoc est sententiam in Pogiana causa, pro secundo triunpho amplector.

VI

Perotti to Valla

Bologna, c. 5 December 1453

Nicolaus Perottus Laurentio Vallensi salutem plurimam dicit.

Tu potius stoicaris, Laurenti, qui minutulis quibusdam interrogatiunculis mecum agis, quasi dissimulate et furtim a me velis extorquere quod ego simpliciter et libere professus sum. Quid si ego te tuis artibus repellam ? 'At quomodo id facere poteris', inquies, 'qui hanc a me artem didicisti ?' Nempe quomodo Tisias cum Corace, a quo dicendi artem didicerat, fecit. Meministin exempli ?[1]

Corax grandem nimis mercedem cum Tisia discipulo pepigit ut sibi tum demum id pecuniae daret cum ab eo dicendi artem edoctus primam causam apud iudices vicisset. Tisias postquam quae cupierat perdidicit, coepit dare nolle quod pepigerat. Corax discipulum ad iudices provocat et exposita conditione, 'Sive ego vicero', inquit, 'solvere mercedem debes ut a iudicibus condemnatus; sive tu viceris, nihilominus solvere debes ut pactus, qui primam hanc causam apud iudices viceris'. Conclusa ratio videbatur. Tum Tisias, dignus tali magistro discipulus, 'Immo vero, si ita est', inquit, 'nullo modo tibi pecuniam debeo. Nam si vincam iudicio dimittar, si vincar conditione pactionis absolvar, ex qua non debeo tibi mercedem solvere si in prima causa penes iudices succumbam'.

[1] Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. mathematicos* II.97-98

Quid, inquam, si ego quoque tuis, hoc est preceptoris mei, artibus te premam ? Dicis me divitem esse et bene libratum intelligis, ideoque a me libros petis. At ego id nego. Pecunias enim malui cumulare quam libros, unde pecuniosus non libratus sum. Contradicis ? Atqui tua confessione te teneo, siquidem superioribus litteris me pecuniosum vocas et satis a me comparatum esse nummorum scribis.

'At ego pecunias abs te peto', inquies, 'non libros, pecuniosior namque es quam libratior'. 'Egone', inquam, 'pecuniosior quam libratior sum ? At tu me novissime bene libratum sed parum pecuniosum dicis. Video te, adducto supercilio, iam utrunque a me petentem, libros atque pecunias. Ego vero ita respondeo: nec libratum esse me, ut superioribus litteris confessus es - cur a me non libros sed pecunias flagitasti ? - nec pecuniosum, ut proximis confiteris'. Quid ais, Laurenti ? Num iudices censes si haec audirent idem nobis quod Coraci et Tisiae responsuros: 'κακοῦ κόρακος κακὸν ᾠόν' ?[2]

Sed satis est iocorum, nunc serio loquar. Ego te, mi Laurenti, ut habui semper, ita parentis habeo loco, nec quicquam avidius expecto quam dari mihi facultatem ut ostendere valeam te non solum rebus meis omnibus, verum et me ipso uti posse arbitratu tuo. Nec iratus ad te superioribus diebus sed iocans scripsi, nec iudicium huius † cun.tis †[3] de operibus tuis ad Baptistam potius quam ad te idcirco misi quod adversus te vel umbram aliquam indignationis cepissem; sed partim ob eam quam auguratus es rationem, partim ne viderer indulgere amori et benivolentiae nostrae superque quam res pateretur te et libros tuos efferre, cum tamen iuratus affirmare possim te longe ampliora quam <quae> a me scripta fuerint reperturum. Diligo quidem

[2] mali corvi malum ovum *marg.*

[3] cun.tis *cod. Fort. legendum est* huius generis *vel huiuscemodi. Ne tentes* huius<cemodi> cunctis, *Perottus in illa epistula* 'iudicium de Antidoto utroque' *tantum ferebat.*

te ut hominem gratum decet nec laudibus tuis secus glorior quam meis. Sed ut Veronensis noster[4] dicere solet, hoc ipsum amantis est, non onerare amicum laudibus.

Quod vero in calce litterarum ita humaniter et honorifice de me loqueris, agerem tibi gratias nisi scirem te, quae est humanitas tua, id aegre laturum. Equidem tibi ita velim persuadeas mihi non minus curae futurum continuae honorem tuum quam parentis. Sed ita arbitror vivente te fortassis necessarium, defuncto vero supervacuum omnino defensorem praeclarissimorum operum tuorum. Est enim ita comparatum ut obsit doctissimorum virorum operibus quod vivant, quippe honor praesentium et gratia quasi satietate quadam languescere videtur. Verum iurare ausim futurum ut posteri te, postquam debitam caelestibus animam reddideris, sicuti unum ex priscis illis summisque auctoribus venerentur, ac non solum libros tuos verum etiam imagines conquirant.

Quod superest, abs te peto ut quod de quadratura circuli actum sit ad me scribas; neque enim mirari non possum te non solum ad nos librum non misisse, sed ne verbum quidem de ea re fecisse.

Severus germanus meus ostendet tibi tertium Polybii librum quem ad Summum Pontificem misi, item opuscula quaedam a me superioribus diebus cum otiosus essem composita. Tuum erit quid de iis sentias ad me scribere. Vereor enim ne id mihi obiici possit quod dici solet, ἀμάθεια μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ ὄκνον φέρει.[5] Ego iudicium tuum ita demum verissimum esse arbitrabor si vel omnia vel aliqua tibi displicuisse intelligam. Vale. Bononiae.

[4] Guarinus ?

[5] Thuc. II.40

VII

[Perotti to Valla]

Bologna, spring 1454 ?

<Nicolaus Perottus Laurentio Vallensi salutem plurimam dicit>.

Nihil mihi novi attulerunt litterae tuae, nam et amorem tuum erga me singularem iam diu expertus sum, qui mihi semper et in honoribus meis suffragator et testis, et in studiis adiutor et comes, et in omni vita dux et rector extitisti; et Turpinum improbum et sceleratissimum virum sciebam plura etiam fingere quam tu scripseris. Nam qui fieri potest ut qui semper male agit, ceteros quoque idem facere non commentetur et fingat ? Est enim improborum solacium bonos carpere dum nocentium multitudine errorum suorum culpam existimant minui. Verum ego hominis nugas parvifacio.

Tibi vero qui me ita amice admones gratias ago; quod rogas, queror. Admoneri enim abs te merito debeo. Vt saluti meae consulam rogari non debeo ut faciam, quod nisi fecero et stultissimum erit, quia res mea agitur, et turpissimum, quia tibi non parebo.

Sed res longe aliter est quam tibi persuasum fuit. Quam enim ita minitari scribis, mihi amicissima est, ad me quotidie mittit, ad me scribit et (quod fortassis mireris) abbatis negotium commendat. Itaque Turpinus vir flagitiosus et ubique sui similis mentitur, et uno tempore prudentissimum virum fallere, me vero perterrefacere se putat. Ego vero eo animo sum quo semper fui: non solum eiuscemodi hominum nugas parvifaciendi, sed, quando res ferat, maxima quaeque pericula adeundi, ut principis nostri honori consulam, quem mea vita cariorem habeo.

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Fig. 1 Barcelona, Bibl. Catalunya 637 f.1 (see p.26)

solus non potest assequi alterius licet paruulū auxiliū
subministrat. Manus unica manca est ad opus con
ficiendum. due altera alterius fulta adminiculo p
fectam rem efficiunt. Ita quod uni deest, alterius
subsidio fulcitur. Dixisti quoq; tibi uitam senum
uideri breuiorem. nō possum negare r̄mino quo p
fiasciunt propinquiorē esse. Atq; est uita perfec
tiorum aiaq; agitur cū Laude. prestat enim breui
uiuere cū uirtute q̄ uitā cerūorū ducē cū ignauia
stultam erroris atq; insanie plenam. que et sepius
labitur quo est fragilior et flexibilior ad uitia. Et
senis, eos uero senes appello qui id nomen sustinē
possunt, quantulacūq; supereſt perfecta est. mq̄
niger animus. mens. consilium. que uirtutis est
habitaculum & fructus uite superioris. Itaq; quo
quo uerteris necesse est concedas etatē senis adma

Fig. 2 Florence, Laur. 47.19 f.79^{v} (see p.26)

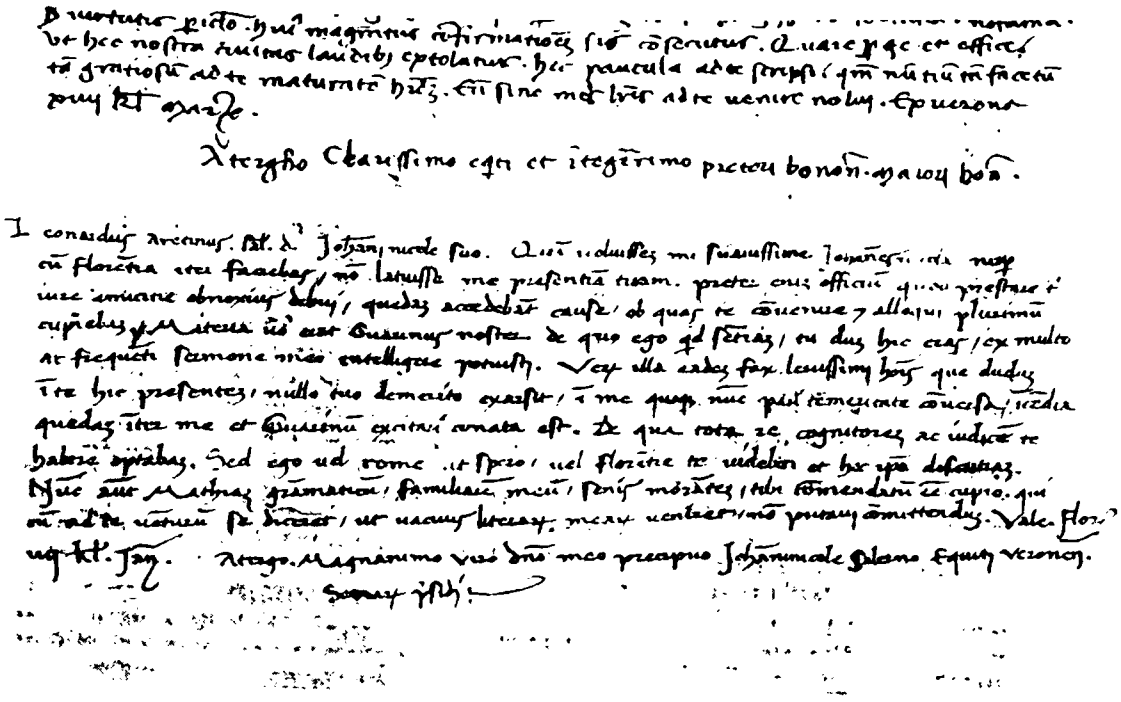

Fig. 3 San Gimignano 27 f. 120^{v} (see p. 104)

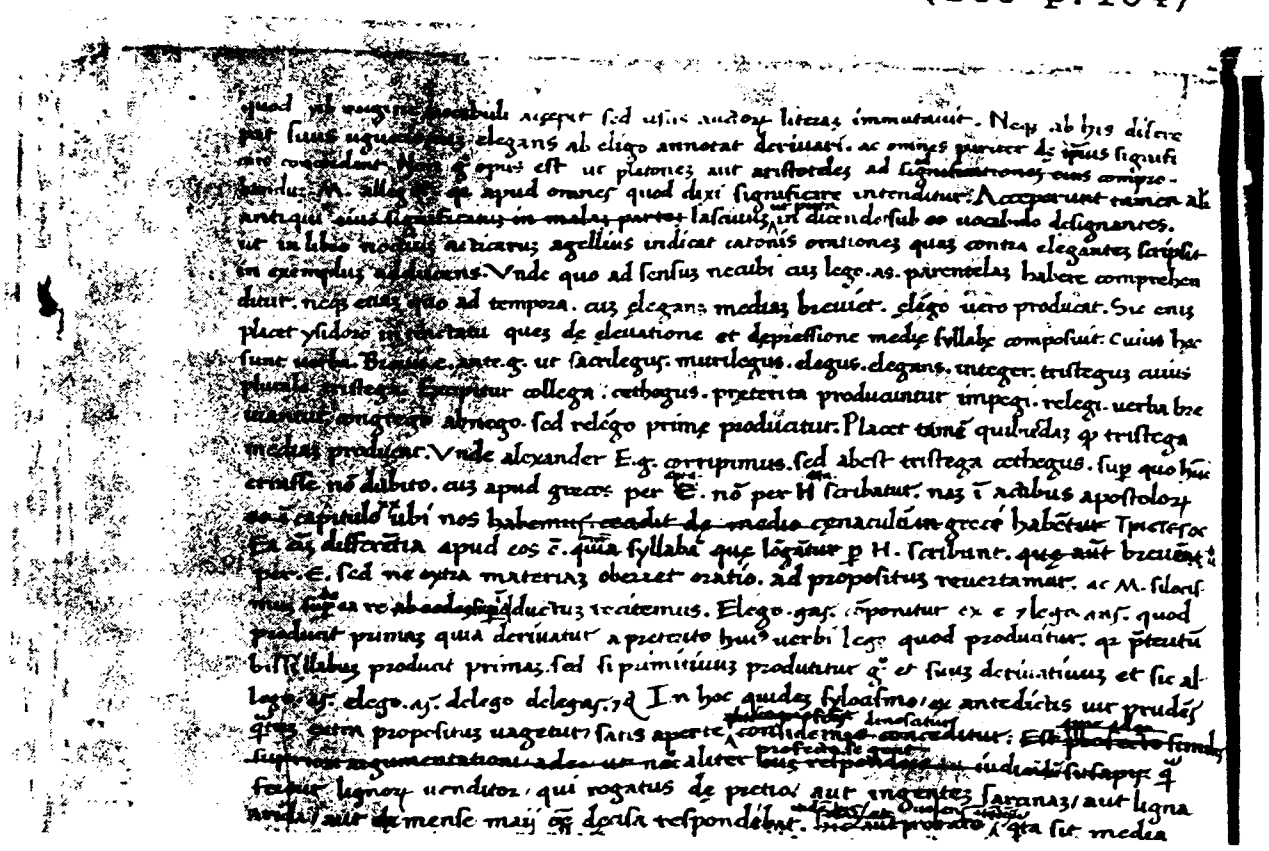

Fig. 4 Vat. lat. 14415 f. 34^{v} (see p. 121)

Fig. 5 Oxford, Bodleian, Canon. misc. 169 f.14 (see p.162)
(reduced)

Fig. 6 Cambridge, U.L., Add. 6188 f.93 (see p. 162)