FRANCESCO PATRIZI THE ELDER

THE PORTRAIT OF A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY HUMANIST

Paola Benetti Bertoldi Wolfson College University of Oxford

D. Phil. Trinity Term, 1996

ABSTRACT

FRANCESCO PATRIZI THE ELDER THE PORTRAIT OF A FIFTHEENTH-CENTURY HUMANIST

Paola Benetti Bertoldi Wolfson College D. Phil. Trinity Term, 1996

This dissertation offers an exhaustive study of the cultural activites and literary production of the Sienese humanist Francesco Patrizi (1413-1494). Its main body is made up of four chapters. The first chapter traces Patrizi's biography from his academic and political career in Siena, to his exile and his later mature years as Bishop of Gaeta. It is based in large part on primary research among archive material and on manuscript sources, in particular Patrizi's unpublished letters which are listed by incipit in the Bibliography of the thesis. The second chapter begins the comprehensive analysis of Patrizi's works. The works analysed are literary and intellectual, and are treated under three broadly chronological headings: works in prose composed before 1461, mainly related to Patrizi's teaching activity; collections of poetry, composed throughout Patrizi's life; works in prose composed after 1461, relating to Patrizi's diplomatic missions and to his interest in antiquarian history. The third chapter is devoted to an analysis of Patrizi's political treatises, De Institutione Reipublicae and De Regno et Regis Institutione, their relation to the political literature of the time, and their importance in the evolution of modern political thought. The fourth chapter consists of a study of Patrizi's only two works in the vernacular, his commentaries on Petrarch's Canzoniere and Trionfi. The latter is attributed to Patrizi here for the first time. An appendix to the chapter reproduces three documents by Patrizi pertinent to the composition of the commentaries. The thesis concludes with the first comprehensive bibliography of Patrizi's works, published and unpublished, followed by secondary sources consulted.

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments	ii
List of Abbreviations	iii
Introduction - Abstract	1
CHAPTER I Biography	7
CHAPTER II Francesco Patrizi: Teacher, Poet, Orator	60
Works in prose composed before 1461	62
Poetry	88
Works in prose composed after 1461	125
Conclusion	137
CHAPTER III Francesco Patrizi on Politics: De Institutione	
Reipublicae and De Regno et Regis Institutione	140
Introduction	141
De Institutione Reipublicae	156
De Regno et Regis Institutione	189
Republic versus Monarchy	213
CHAPTER IV Francesco Patrizi on Poetry: the Vernacular	
Commentaries on Petrarch's Canzoniere and Trionfi	219
Commentary on Petrarch's Canzoniere	220
Commentary on Petrarch's Trionfi	252
Appendix	273
Conclusion	276
Bibliography	279

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my thanks to Professor Manlio Pastore Stocchi who first drew my attention to Francesco Patrizi and subsequently ecouraged me to pursue the study of his works for my doctorate.

In the course of my research I have incurred obligations to many individuals who have helped me in various ways: some are acknowledged at the appropriate places in the dissertation, but here I would like to thank Professor Rino Avesani, Dr. Elena Canteri, Dr. Laura Davey, and Professor Gareth Walters.

Warm thanks are due to Professor Cecil Grayson who supervised my work in its initial stage and who kindly offered to read, and comment on, a full draft of the dissertation; and to Dr. Robert Gordon, whose contribution at many points went far beyond matters of language and style.

Finally, I am profoundly indebted to my supervisor, Professor David Robey, whose guidance, constructive criticism and support in all respects have been invaluable at every stage of my research.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Domenico Bassi, 'L'Epitome di Quintiliano di Francesco Bassi Patrizi Senese', Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica, 22 (1894), 385-470 Felice Battaglia, Enea Silvio Piccolomini e Francesco Battaglia Patrizi, due politici senesi del Quattrocento (Siena, 1936) Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century now in BMCthe British Museum. London, 1908-1949, 10 vols, I-VIII, second edition (London, 1963), IX-X (London, 1962-1971) Giuseppe Chiarelli, 'Il "De Regno" di Francesco Patrizi', Chiarelli Rivista internazionale di filosofia del diritto, 12 (1932), 716-38 Catalogus translationum et commentariorum: Medieval CTCand Renaissance Latin translations and commentaries: annotated lists and guides, edited by Paul Oskar Kristeller, vols 1- (Washington, 1960-) Archivio di Stato, Siena **ASS** Biblioteca Comunale, Siena **BCS** Dizionario biografico degli Italiani, vols 1- (Rome, 1960-) DBIArchivio Capitolare, Gaeta **ACG** Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Vatican City **ASV** Archivio Comunale, Foligno **ACF** Copinger, W. A., Supplement to Hain's 'Repertorium H. C. bibliographicum, or collections towards a new edition of that work (London, 1895-1902) Leslie F. Smith, 'A Notice of the Epigrammata of Smith, 'Epigrammata' Francesco Patrizi, Bishop of Gaeta', Studies in the Renaissance, 15 (1968), 92-143 Leslie F. Smith, 'Members of Francesco Patrizi's Family Smith, 'Family' Appearing in His Letters and Epigrams', Renaissance Quarterly, 27 (1974), 1-6 Leslie F. Smith, 'The Poems of Franciscus Patritius from Smith, 'Poems'

31

131-43; Manuscripta, 12 (1968), 10-21

the Vatican Manuscript Chigi J VI 233', Manuscripta, 10 (1966), 94-102 and 145-59; Manuscripta, 11 (1967),

Pertici

Tra politica e cultura nel primo Quattrocento senese. Le epistole di Andreoccio Petrucci (1426-1443), edited by

Petra Pertici (Siena, 1990)

Pastore Stocchi

Manlio Pastore Stocchi, 'Il pensiero politico degli umanisti', in Storia delle idee politiche, economiche e sociali, edited by Luigi Firpo, vols 1- (Turin, 1987-), I

(1987), 3-68

Curcio

Carlo Curcio, La politica italiana del Quattrocento

(Florence, 1939)

Sarri

Francesco Sarri, 'Il pensiero pedagogico ed economico del senese Francesco Patrizi', La Rinascita, 1 (1938), 98-

138

Iter

Iter italicum: a finding list of uncatalogued or incompletely catalogued humanistic manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian or other libraries, edited by Paul Oskar Kristeller, 6 vols (London and Leiden, 1963-1992)

INTRODUCTION - ABSTRACT

This dissertation consists in a study of the life and works of the Sienese humanist Francesco Patrizi the Elder (1413-1494). It is the first and only comprehensive work on Patrizi, and its primary aim is threefold: to establish his activities and interests, to situate him in the cultural history of XVth-century Italy, and to determine the nature and extent of his contribution to the evolution of humanist thought.

Patrizi has been remembered principally, if at all, for two treatises on political science, *De Institutione Reipublicae* (1460s) and *De Regno et Regis Institutione* (1470s), his only published works, which achieved widespread fame in the centuries following his death. Of the few modern studies on Patrizi, two written in the 1930s, by Felice Battaglia and Giuseppe Chiarelli respectively, concentrated almost exclusively on these works, and in particular on *De Regno et Regis Institutione*, although they both also provided important biographical information. And another study from the same period, by Francesco Sarri, focused on the educational and economic aspects of the same treatises. Only two scholars have treated other works in any depth: Domenico Bassi on Patrizi's epitome of Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*, and, more recently, L. F. Smith on his poetic production. None of these studies, however, offers anything approaching a complete profile of the man or a full survey of his writings, nor indeed of the personal and historical circumstances which

¹ F. Battaglia, Enea Silvio Piccolomini e Francesco Patrizi, due politici senesi del Quattrocento (Siena, 1936) and G. Chiarelli, 'Il "De Regno" di Francesco Patrizi', Rivista internazionale di filosofia del diritto, 12 (1932), 716-38.

² F. Sarri, 'Il pensiero pedagogico ed economico del senese Francesco Patrizi', *La Rinascita*, 1 (1938), 98-138.

³ D. Bassi, 'L'Epitome di Quintiliano di Francesco Patrizi Senese', Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica, 22 (1894), 385-470

⁴ L. F. Smith, 'The Poems of Franciscus Patritius from the Vatican Manuscript Chigi J VI 233', Manuscripta, 10 (1966), 94-102 and 145-59; Manuscripta, 11 (1967), 131-43; Manuscripta, 12 (1968), 10-21. Idem, 'A Notice of the Epigrammata of Francesco Patrizi, Bishop of Gaeta', Studies in the Renaissance, 15 (1968), 92-143.

determined their production.5

The fragmentary and dispersed information available on Patrizi has rendered the task of assessing his significance all but impossible. And the difficulties have been exacerbated by the tendency to confuse him with the XVIth-century philosopher Francesco Patrizi da Cherso (1529-1597): this despite the fact that he was repeatedly eulogized in the writings of several illustrious humanists of his day, such as Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, Flavio Biondo, Jacopo Ammanati Piccolomini, Raffaele Maffei,⁶ and that his importance has recently been underlined by Rinaldo Rinaldi, who defines Patrizi as 'l'unica personalità di spicco nella cultura senese del secondo Quattrocento'.⁷ It is symptomatic that, even whilst drawing attention to him, Rinaldi errs somewhat, since Patrizi's involvement in Sienese cultural and indeed political life lasted only until 1457, the date of his exile. Indeed Patrizi's substantial contribution to Sienese humanism has been poorly studied: even in a recent collection of essays on Sienese humanism, which is evidence of the need felt by

⁷ R. Rinaldi, 'Umanesimo e Rinascimento', in *Storia della civiltà letteraria italiana*, edited by G. Bárberi Squarotti, vols 1- (Turin, 1990-), II (1990), tome 1, p. 291.

⁵ Some information on Patrizi is also to be found in a number of encyclopaedic dictionaries: M. E. Cosenza, Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists and of the World of Classical Scholarship in Italy, 1300-1800, 6 vols (Boston, 1962-1967), III (1962), 2632-34; Dizionario enciclopedico italiano, 12 vols (Rome, 1955-1961), IX (1958), 133; Enciclopedia biografica e bibliografica 'Italiana', vols 1- (Milan, 1936-), I (1936), Series xxxviii: 'Pedagogisti ed educatori', 327-28; Enciclopedia Cattolica, 12 vols (Vatican City and Florence, 1948-1954), IX (1952), 966 (article on Patrizi, Francesco, by R. De' Mattei); Enciclopedia filosofica, second edition, 6 vols (Florence, 1967), IV, col. 1403 (article by M. D'Addio); Enciclopedia italiana di scienze, lettere ed arti, 36 vols (Rome, 1929-1939), XXVI (1935), 521-22 (article by F. Battaglia).

⁶ Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, De viris illustribus, edited by A. Van Heck, Studi e testi 341 (Vatican City, 1991), p. 37, described Patrizi as 'admodum peritus', widely read in the classical languages and a skilled orator, while in Europa, in Opera quae extant omnia, edited by M. Hopperus (Basle, 1571), pp. 387-471 (p. 456) he refers to him as an illustrious and prolific poet. Flavio Biondo, De Roma triumphante libri decem, priscorum scriptorum lectoribus utilissimi, ad totiusque Romane antiquitatis cognitionem pernecessarii. Romae instauratae libri iii. Italia illustrata. Historiarum ab inclinato Rom. imperio decades iii (Basle, 1531), 'Roma instaurata', p. 304, proclaimed Francesco Patrizi 'studiis et eloquentiae deditissimus'; Jacopo Ammanati Piccolomini, Epistolae et Commentarii (Milan, 1500), f. 344r, called Patrizi 'vir doctrina singulari ac vita' and according to Raffaele Maffei, Commentariorum urbanorum octo et triginta libri (Basel, 1559), p. 490, Patrizi distinguished himself by his skill in oratory and his erudition.

Renaissance scholars to fill the substantial gaps in our general knowledge of this area, Patrizi is mentioned only in passing. As Gianfranco Fioravanti notes: 'Manca un quadro complessivo dell'insegnamento senese e dell'attività letteraria del Patrizi prima dell'esilio seguito alla sua implicazione nella congiura del 1457 ...'.8

After his exile, Patrizi was in contact with various culturally diverse circles far from Siena, the most important of which was the Aragonese court at Naples. There he played an important part in the reception of the vernacular work of Petrarch amongst XVth-century humanists, a field which has received particular attention in recent years.9 Under the aegis of the Aragonese court, he wrote commentaries on both the Canzoniere and the Trionfi, but again these works have until now been only briefly and inaccurately mentioned, despite Dionisotti's authoritative assertion, concerning the commentary on the Canzoniere, that 'in una storia del petrarchismo napoletano meriterebbe lungo discorso'.¹⁰

A full monographic study on Patrizi, called for by several scholars working in different fields, is therefore long overdue, and this dissertation sets out to provide such a study. The first task it has set itself is to construct a reliable biography of Patrizi and a full bibliography of his works. Thus the first chapter is biographical. It is the product of original archive research and the study of contemporary and later printed and manuscript sources. In particular it uses as a rich source of information the over two hundred letters by Patrizi that we have so far been able to trace. A full ordered catalogue of the letters is provided, for the first time, in Part B of the

⁸ Fioravanti, 'Maestri di grammatica a Siena nella seconda metà del Quattrocento', in Umanesimo a Siena. Letteratura, Arti Figurative e Musica. Siena, 5-8 Giungo 1991. Atti del Convegno, edited by Elisabetta Cioni and Daniela Fausti (Siena, 1994), pp. 11-27 (p. 18, n. 23); previoulsy published in Rinascimento, second series, 33 (1993), 193-207.

⁹ See, for example, G. C. Alessio, 'The "lectura" of the *Triumphi* in the Fifteenth Century', in Petrarch's Triumphs. Allegory and Spectacle, edited by K. Eisenbichler and A. A. Iannucci (Toronto, 1990), pp. 269-90; G. Belloni, 'Commenti petrarcheschi', in Dizionario critico della letteratura italiana, edited by V. Branca, second edition, 4 vols (Turin, 1989), II, 22-39; *Idem*, Laura tra Petrarca e Bembo: studi sul commento umanistico-rinascimentale al "Canzoniere" (Padua, 1992).

10 C. Dionisotti, 'Fortuna del Petrarca nel Quattrocento', *Italia medioevale e*

umanistica, 17 (1974), 61-113 (p. 93).

Bibliography of works by Patrizi, with *incipit*, manuscript sources, addressees and dates.

The three following chapters move on to Patrizi's written production. It should be noted that this *oeuvre*, which is all in Latin apart from the commentaries on Petrarch, is not known in its entirety, since with few exceptions, it has never been published and for the most part was soon forgotten, obscured, if anything, by the fame of the political treatises. After Patrizi's death in 1494, its survival has relied on an often scarse manuscript tradition whose reconstruction represents one of the major tasks undertaken in the research for this dissertation. The Bibliography of Patrizi's works which concludes the study provides a list of all manuscript, and on occasion printed sources, subdivided by work, for each of which *incipit* and *explicit* have been included. This primary bibliography, alongside the catalogue of letters already mentioned, should be read as an integral part of the work which makes up the dissertation as a whole. In compiling this information, apart from much primary work on sources and manuscript catalogues, Kristeller's *Iter italicum* and Mazzatinti's *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia* have been of invaluable help. 12

Chapters II, III and IV analyse individual works by Patrizi in relation to the biographical, cultural and historical circumstances of their writing. Chapter II covers Patrizi's interests and achievements in three distinct sectors, in different periods of

Recently a small number of poems and epigrams have been published in articles: two poems were published by A. Altamura in 'Due carmi inediti dell'umanista senese Francesco Patrizi', *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria*, 48 (1941), 52-61, and in 'Una saffica mariana di Francesco Patrizi', *Marianum*, 17 (1955), 535-38, and two epigrams in O. C. Phillips, 'Francesco Patrizi's Two Epigrams on Epigram', *Res Publica Litterarum*, 3 (1980), 139-41.

¹² Iter Italicum: a finding list of uncatalogued or incompletely catalogued humanistic manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian or other libraries, edited by Paul Oskar Kristeller, 6 vols (London and Leiden, 1963-1992). Kristeller's Iter Italicum has also been checked in its latest version on CD-ROM, edited by L. Floridi (Leiden, 1995). G. Mazzatinti and others, Inventari dei manoscritti delle bibliotheche d'Italia, vols 1- (Forlì and others, 1890-). All further references to secondary literature are made in short form. Full bibliographical details are given below, in the Bibliography.

his life: first his public and private teaching, and the prose works in Latin connected to this activity, all composed before his nomination to the Bishopric of Gaeta in 1461; second, his Latin poetic works, which were gathered in two collections, and which cover a long period from youth to old age; and finally, prose works in Latin composed after 1461, related to Patrizi's diplomatic missions and to his interest in the early history of Siena.

Chapter III is dedicated to the two treatises on politics. These are set against various recurrent issues in the tradition of political writings preceding and contemporary to Patrizi, more specifically the republican tradition, most notably represented by the principles of civic humanism prevalent in the early XVth century, and the monarchic or princely tradition, which came into greater prominence in the second half of the century. Patrizi's work is set in its proper intellectual context, so that his views on the best forms of statehood can be clarified and assessed, and so that the relation between his two works can be established more clearly.

Finally, Chapter IV consists in a reading of Patrizi's commentaries on Petrarch's vernacular poems. Given the almost complete lack of information on these works, considerable space is devoted to their manuscript tradition, to the establishment of Patrizi's authorship, and to their dating. To this end, three relevant extracts are reproduced in appendix to the chapter. The attribution of the commentary on the *Trionfi* to Patrizi is made here for the first time. The analysis of the content of the commentaries examines Patrizi's attitude to contemporary love poetry, and to its relation with the classical tradition. It also sets them in the context of XVth-century literary criticism, and takes account of similar work by other humanists, such as Filelfo's commentary on the *Canzoniere* and Bernardo Ilicino's on the *Trionfi*.

The profile of Patrizi which emerges from this study is of a figure committed to a far wider range of activities than has been acknowledged in previous criticism, who can in some ways serve as a paradigmatic example of what it meant to be a humanist in the fifteenth century. The range of his writings, in different disciplines

and genres, his commitment to both literature and politics, his scholarly enthusiasm for the *studia humanitatis*, and his contacts with many of the circles and individuals of the renewed intellectual culture of the Quattrocento, provide a powerful illustration of the innovation and eclecticism inherent in humanism. His works, though many and varied, come together as a whole when viewed as manifestations of a humanist ideal: that of the man of letters willing and able to devote himself to all aspects of culture and life, applying to every sphere the principles of *sapientia* acquired from classical literature and ancient civilization. It is an ideal which is particularly well illustrated by minor figures such as Patrizi, whose work is probably more typical of the humanist movement than that of their better known contemporaries. Without a clear knowledge of their contribution we can have only a superficial understanding of the Renaissance period as a whole.

CHAPTER I

BIOGRAPHY

Francesco Patrizi was born in Siena in 1413, most probably in the middle of February. His date of birth can be deduced from his baptism which took place on 25 February and was registered in the State Archive of Siena. His mother was called Lorenza and his father, Giovanni or Nanni di Francino Patrizi, was an eminent citizen of Siena and a member of one of the political groups known as the *Monte dei Nove*. Among the offices he was assigned, were those of Prior in 1410, 1415, 1423, 1465, *Capitano del popolo* in 1440, and Gonfalonier in 1429.

At the time of Francesco's birth the Patrizi family was one of the most illustrious in Siena, boasting a long tradition of cultural distinction, wealth, and political influence.³ Although not originally from Siena, the family claimed Roman

Archivio di Stato in Siena (hereafter ASS), *Biccherna* 1132, 'Battezzati (1380-1442)', ad annum MCCCCXII: 'Francesco Patricio di Giovanni di Francino Patrizi si battezzò adì XXV di ferraio fu compare Meio di Misser Nastoccio Saracini.' *Ibidem*, MS A 51, Manenti, *Elenco dei battezzati in Siena*, f. 3131r: [year 1412] 'Francesco di Giovanni di Francino = vescovo di Gaeta.' It should be noted that in Siena the Incarnation Style was in use when dating official documents. Formulae such as 'anno ab Incarnatione Domini; Dominicae incarnationis (or trabeationis)', indicated the year that began on 25 March. Battaglia, pp. 78-79, n. 2 mistakenly recorded *Biccherna* 1020 instead of 1132.

² The name and 'casato' of Lorenza, i. e. 'De Casulis', is mentioned in ASS, Balia, Deliberazioni 4, f. 136v: '... domina Laurectia filia olim Francisci de casulis'. Battaglia, p. 79, n. 2, asserts that her 'casato' is unknown. For Nanni di Francino see ASS, Concistoro 2335 (formerly Libro III dei Leoni), where 'Nannis Francini de Patricis' is listed among the Priors elected in 1410 (f. 21r), in 1415 (f. 35r), in 1423 (f. 63r) and as 'Confaloniere' for two terms from July 1429 (f. 76r). In Concistoro 2336 (formerly Libro IV dei Leoni), f. 27r, he is said to be Prior for the customary short term (November-December) in 1465. *Ibidem*, MS A 14, Sestigiani, *Ordini, armi, residenze*, f. 627r, contains a family tree of the Patrizi; and Nanni is said to be 'Capitano del popolo' in 1440.

³ Information about the Patrizi and other noble Sienese families is to be found in Gigli, Diario Sanese (esp. I, 531, for Patrizi). Gigli is often the main source for the authors of historical compendia kept in the ASS. In addition to the two already mentioned in n. 1 and n. 2, they are: MS A 12, Sestigiani, Compendio istorico di Sanesi nobili (esp. f. 23r-v); MS A 15, Aurieri, Raccolta di notizie riguardanti le famiglie nobili di Siena (esp. f. 206r); MS A 16, Aurieri, Notizie sulle famiglie nobili di Siena (esp. f. 123r); MS A 26, Aurieri, Notizie relative a personaggi di famiglie senesi (esp. ff. 305r-47r); MS A 27, Aurieri, Notizie relative a personaggi di famiglie senesi, (esp. ff. 126r-58r). Based on Gigli's information about the Patrizi family is the study by Patrizi di Ripacandida, 'La famiglia Patrizi', esp. pp. 362-64 for Francesco. Further biographical and bibliographical information are in the following manuscripts of the Biblioteca Comunale in Siena (hereafter BCS): MS A VII 36, Pecci, Scrittori Sanesi (esp. f. 28r); MS P IV 11, Borghesi, Bibliografia degli scrittori sanesi (esp. part II, ff. 175r-79v); MS Z I 6, Benvoglienti, Scrittori Sanesi (esp. f. 124r and f. 1012r); MS Z I 11, Bandiera, Bibliotheca Senensis (esp.ff. 89r-98v); MS Z II 26, Faluschi, Scrittori sanesi e soci dell'Accademia di Siena (esp. part II, ff. 168v-69r). Other information on Siena is to be found in the

origins and consular status, as Patrizi himself underlined, and thus a right to a leading role in the city's government.⁴ It had been present in Siena since the beginning of the eighth century, when its members were among the Governors of the city. In Siena, they shared a tower with the Piccolomini and Sansedoni, and because of their social status and public authority, enjoyed the many rights and privileges due to a family of such standing.

Since the mid-thirteenth century the Patrizi had been one of those families from which were drawn the Priors who ruled Siena from 1277 to 1355, in a government known as the Signoria of the Nine. These families, made up of rich bourgeois who had not reached the same social level as the nobility, were united in the *Monte dei Nove*, and had brought to an end the hegemony of the *Monte dei Gentiluomini*, the group of the feudal aristocracy which had ruled until 1277. In the following century, when the population of Siena further fragmented and the political groupings grew to five thanks to the formation of the *Monti dei Dodici*, *Riformatori*, and *Popolo*, participation in the government of the Republic of Siena was determined by a continuing struggle between the *Monti* to mantain power by means of shifting alliances, betrayals and acts of violence. It should be noted that this state of affairs, and the consequent instability of Sienese government, involved all citizens, even if indirectly, because of their belonging to one of the *Monti*, which were social groupings as well as political factions. Conversely, citizens right to hold office belonged to them because of their membership of a *Monte*, to which they were tied

following historical literature: Buonsignori, Storia della Repubblica di Siena; De Angelis, Biografia degli scrittori Sanesi; Malavolti, Historia de' fatti e guerre de' sanesi; Ugurgieri Azzolini, Le Pompe sanesi.

⁴ In his treatise *De origine et vetustate urbis Senae* Patrizi explained that the surname 'Patritii' etymologically came from *Patres*, i. e. *Senatores* of ancient Rome. BCS, MS C I 19, ff. 11r-27v: *Francisci Patritij Episcopi Caietani de Origine et vetustate urbis Senae*: '... Quis non intelligat Patritios nostros, quorum ex gente nos oriundos esse profitemur, genus Senatorium fuisse? Patres enim a dignitate dicebantur; Senatores vero ab aetate; eorum autem posteri Patritii qui ex Patribus, scilicet Senatoribus, geniti essent: unde universus ille ordo tam Senatorius quam Patritius dicebatur...' (f.16r). This work is analysed below, Chapter II. All quotations of Patrizi's works, or other writings from manuscript and early printed sources, have been modernized.

for ideological or 'class' reasons, as well as because they were in some cases the descendants of former office-holders, the so-called cives riseduti.⁵ Tensions and contrasts between ruling families and between Monti persisted throughout the Quattrocento, when a new government, established thanks to a coalition of the popular elements of each Monte, had to face internal opposition on the part of some Noveschi, Dodicini and members of the aristocracy. This internal opposition, which in particular rejected the pro-Florentine policy promoted by the majority, was sustained by the Patrizi themselves, together with other powerful Sienese families such as the Petrucci and Pannilini. A few examples illustrate the point. In 1429, when Florence decided to increase the taxation of its subject cities, Volterra revolted, and Siena decided to come to Florence's aid by sending armed men to restore order in Volterra. Nanni Patrizi, who was requested to lead the expedition, disagreed with this line of conduct and as a consequence, rejected the request.⁶ Later in the same year, when Florence attacked Lucca, it was primarily Antonio di Checco Rosso Petrucci, another member of the Monte dei Nove, one of the most eminent Sienese politicians and an ally of Duke Filippo Maria Visconti, who managed to check this further Florentine attempt to conquer Tuscany, and in turn to force the Sienese Government to break their alliance with Florence.

At the same time, the opposition also promoted a pro-Aragonese policy, particularly from the year 1440 onwards, as is testified by the content of two collections of epistles by the humanists Barnaba di Nanni Pannilini and Andreoccio Petrucci, which circulated in Siena around 1445-47 together with Francesco Patrizi's letter 'De gerendo magistratu', written for the election as Prior of his young friend

⁵ On Sienese society, political institutions and economy during the fifteenth century, see Ascheri, 'Siena nel Rinascimento: dal governo di "popolo" al governo nobiliare', in *I ceti dirigenti*, pp. 405-30, re-published slightly modified and with documents from the ASS in *Siena nel Rinascimento*. *Istituzioni e sistema politico*, pp. 8-108; Bortolotti, *Siena*; Catoni, 'Factious Harmony', in *Palio*, pp. 225-72; Catoni and Piccinni, 'Alliramento e ceto dirigente nella Siena del Quattrocento', in *I ceti dirigenti*, pp. 451-61; Douglas, *A History of Siena*; Hicks, 'Sienese society in the Renaissance'; *Idem*, 'The Sienese State in the Renaissance'; Hook, *Siena*. *A City and its History*; Paoli, 'I "Monti" o fazioni nella Repubblica di Siena'.

⁶ ASS, Concistoro, Deliberazioni 381, f. 35v.

and student Achille Petrucci in 1446.⁷ These works, including Patrizi's letter, promoted the political ideas of the *Monte dei Nove* and constitute an important foreshadowing of one of the most dramatic events in Sienese history, which they preceded by a decade: the conspiracy to hand Siena over to Alfonso of Aragon in 1456-57, for which the authors of the letters, including Patrizi among others, were held responsible and condemned to exile.

Political instability also affected the development of humanist culture in Siena where the predominant role was played by the disciplines of law and rhetoric to the detriment of the literary disciplines, at least judging from the works produced in Siena during the Quattrocento.⁸ This is explained by the fact that even the young who were educated in the *humanae litterae* neglected areas that were not strictly relevant to public and political use and subsequently also found it difficult to devote

⁸ For information on the activity of the Sienese Studio in the Quattrocento see Corso, 'Francesco Accolti'; Fioravanti, 'Alcuni aspetti', Rinascimento, 19 (1979), 117-67 and 'Pietro de' Rossi', Rinascimento, 20 (1980), 87-159, both re-published as Fioravanti, Università e città: cultura umanistica e cultura scolastica; Idem, 'Classe dirigente'; Idem, 'I "Commentarii historici"; Idem, 'Maestri di grammatica', in Umanesimo a Siena, pp. 11-27; Minnucci and Košuta, Lo Studio di Siena; Nardi, Mariano Sozzini; Idem, 'Umanesimo e cultura giuridica';

Zdekauer, Lo Studio di Siena.

⁷ On Barnaba di Nanni Barnaba and Andreoccio Petrucci, and on their collections of letters see respectively Ferraù, Barnaba Senese and Tra politica e cultura, edited by Petra Pertici, which also contain useful information on Siena and Sienese humanism. Barnaba di Nanni was in contact with the young Patrizi, to whom he addressed a letter expressing his worries about the contemporary political situation, now in Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, MS Hamilton 509, f. 50r 'Francisco Patritio adulescenti eruditissimo' (Boese, *Die latienischen Handschriften*, p. 244; *Iter*, III (1983), 366). The letters from Andreoccio Petrucci to Patrizi are in Pertici, as follows: pp. 125-26 (4 March s. a.), p. 127 (s. d.), p. 146 (March 1443). Achille Petrucci, friend and fellow-citizen of Francesco Patrizi, was a member of the Petrucci family, powerful in the Monte dei Nove, and nephew of the better-known Pandolfo Petrucci; in 1446, aged nineteen, he had his first political appointment among the Savi of the Concistoro, while in 1456 he was nominated Chancellor: Patrizi's letter 'De gerendo magistratu' (Letter 154) was for his first appointment. For a biographical profile of Petrucci see Pertici, p. 179, n. 14, while for the letter see below, Chapter III. The letters I refer to in this and subsequent chapters are listed in Part B of the Bibliography of works by Patrizi, in alphabetical order of their incipits; they are cited by the numbers in the first column followed, when extracts are quoted, by a second reference number, to be found in the second column, referring to an individual manuscript. When only one reference number is given after a quotation, the letter in question exists in only one manuscript.

themselves to literary pursuit when immersed in state affairs.9

It was particularly in the field of jurisprudence, a discipline long established at the Sienese Studio, that Siena could boast eminent scholars: authoritative jurists such as Mariano Sozzini the Elder, Antonio Mincucci da Pratovecchio, Ludovico Pontano, Antonio de' Rosselli, Benedetto and Francesco Accolti, Catone Sacco, and Giovanni Battista Caccialupi all taught both civil and canon law in the first decades of the Quattrocento, and attracted foreign students to the Studio. Among these, in around 1420, were the poet Giovanni Marrasio, who whilst there devoted himself to the composition of the *Angelinetum*, and the legal student and author of the *Hermafroditus* Antonio Beccadelli, better known as Panormita. 10

Nevertheless, interest in the other disciplines of the humanist curriculum was encouraged to a degree, especially in the first half of the century, by a small close-knit group of intellectuals who shared the same political views, but who were also deeply interested in the *studia humanitatis* and in the rediscovery of classical texts. They were, mainly, the same figures who actively opposed the policies of the Sienese government: Barnaba di Nanni and Andreoccio Petrucci, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, Goro Lolli, Achille Petrucci, Francesco Patrizi, Franceco Tolomei, Francesco Aringhieri, and Agostino Dati. It is well known, for example, that Andreoccio Petrucci and Barnaba di Nanni were in epistolary contact with Leonardo Bruni, the humanist chancellor of Florence, regarding in the main the translation of

Gran Gran

On Marrasio (1402-1452) see the edition of his poetry by Resta, Angelinetum et carmina varia. On Panormita (1394-1471) see Coppini, 'Sull'ordinamento dei carmi'; Corso, 'Il Panormita in Siena'; Resta, 'Beccadelli Antonio, detto il Panormita', in DBI, VII (1965), 400-406; Resta, L'epistolario del Panormita; Ryder, 'Antonio Beccadelli'.

⁹ Dionisotti, 'Jacopo Tolomei', p. 137, notes how Siena repressed any intellectual vocation amongst its citizenry, and in 'Fortuna del Petrarca nel Quattrocento', p. 73, he speaks of an 'umanesimo all'acqua di rose'. Voigt, *Il Risorgimento dell'antichità classica*, I (1888), 408, declares that in Siena 'i continui scompigli cittadini e la diffidenza ispirata da potenti vicini impedivano alla letteratura e all'arte di svolgersi liberamente' and mentions Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini and Francesco Patrizi as two citizens whom Siena deprived of a quiet and honoured life. The same point is in Fioravanti, 'Alcuni aspetti', pp. 119-20, who adds that 'l'emigrazione e l'esilio hanno avuto nella storia letteraria di Siena una parte di gran lunga maggiore che non quella di altre equipollenti città italiane' and mentions Patrizi among the Sienese exiles. He reiterates this point in 'Maestri di grammatica', pp. 11-12.

Aristotle's *Politeia*, which was eventually given as a present to the Signoria of Siena in 1438, and which was thus widely read and used in Sienese humanist circles.¹¹

Andreoccio and Barnaba also favoured the appointment to the chair of rhetoric and classical languages in the Sienese Studio of the humanist Francesco Filelfo (1398-1418), who taught there from 1434 to 1438 at a salary of 350 florins. ¹² The influence of Filelfo's teaching in Siena was fundamental:

Con l'arrivo di Francesco Filelfo uomini come Andreoccio Petrucci, Barnaba, Agostino Dati, Francesco Patrizi, Berto di Antonio Berti, per citare solo i piú conosciuti componenti della ristretta ma agguerrita *sodalitas* senese cultrice delle *humanae litterae*, stabilirono finalmente quel rapporto diretto, tanto tenacemente ricercato, con l'avanguardia della nuova cultura, ne poterono osservare da vicino i metodi e gli strumenti d'indagine.¹³

In Siena Filelfo, who had arrived accompanied by a small group of Florentine disciples, lectured on Cicero's *De natura deorum* and *De oratore*, and on Virgil's *Aeneid*, commented on Juvenal's *Satyres* and continued his activity as translator of classical texts, such as Plutarch's *Dicteria ad Traianum* and *Apophthegmata Laconica*.

He was by far the most renowned scholar to teach in Siena, but the fervent cultural activity his presence stimulated in Siena was limited in time and hindered, after he left, by the uncertain state of Sienese political affairs. With Filelfo's departure Siena lost its opportunity to emerge as a respectable centre of humanist studies, which were left in the hands of grammar teachers such as Pietro Filiziano, Giovanni da Spoleto, and Porcelio de' Pandoni.

Brought up and educated in Siena, Francesco Patrizi was in contact with the teachers, scholars and fellow-students mentioned above, and emerged from a young age as one of the most erudite and promising of the Sienese students, particularly in

¹¹ Fioravanti, 'Alcuni aspetti', pp. 125-26.

¹² See the letters exchanged between Barnaba and Filelfo in Ferraù, *Barnaba Senese*, p. 89, letter no. 58 and pp. 64-65, letters nos. 29-31. On Filelfo's appointment in Siena see Bianchi, 'Note di Francesco Filelfo'; De Feo Corso, 'Il Filelfo in Siena'; Marletta, 'Philelphiana'.

Bianchi, 'Note di Francesco Filelfo', pp. 326-27.

classical languages and literature and in the art of oratory, to which he devoted himself with a degree of success which inspired the admiration of contemporaries.¹⁴

8

His precocious excellence in the *ars rhetorica* is attested to in an undated letter exchanged between two illustrious figures commenting on the oration *De laudibus philosophiae* which the young Patrizi had just delivered 'in aula dominorum Senensium in principio Studii' in celebration of the disciplines taught at the Sienese Studio. ¹⁵ Andreoccio Petrucci wrote to the humanist Francesco Tolomei that Patrizi's oration had been so successful that it would soon become a model to be imitated because of its excellence both in content and style, and he also expressed his belief, shared with Tolomei, that the young Francesco had the potential to become a scholar of great erudition. ¹⁶

Indeed in 1441, Patrizi was appointed to the chair of rhetoric at the Studio in Siena at the salary of 50 florins¹⁷ and again in 1444, as indicated by Achille Petrucci's introductory oration for a course given by Patrizi on one of Cicero's rhetorical works.¹⁸ Among his students were Agostino Dati (1420-1478), the eminent Sienese Chancellor who said Patrizi was his master in the discipline of eloquence, and Agostino Patrizi (1435-1496), a relative of his who later became abbreviator of Pope Pius II and then Bishop of Pienza and Montalcino, and with

¹⁴ See, for example, the views of Piccolomini, Biondo, Raffaele Maffei, Jacopo Ammanati Piccolomini, mentioned in the Introduction, n. 6.

The oration is transmitted in two manuscripts: Manchester, University Library, MS Christie 3 f. 32, ff. 80r-86r (*Iter*, IV (1989), 241) and Toledo, Archivo y Biblioteca capitolares, MS 100,42, ff. 22v-33r (*Iter*, IV, 646, and Prete, *Two Humanistic Anthologies*, p. 23).

¹⁶ Letter to Francesco Tolomei, dated 23 October [s. a.], published in Pertici, pp. 95-96. Also mentioned in Fioravanti, 'Alcuni aspetti', p. 134, n. 1. Francesco Tolomei, brother of Iacopo, was a dear friend of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who often mentions him in his private correspondence. He will be elected Bishop of Siena after Piccolomini, but die before taking up the position. For him see Battaglia, p. 81, n. 3; Pertici, p. 95, n. 1; Minnucci and Košuta, Lo Studio di Siena, p. 252.

¹⁷ ASS, Concistoro, Deliberazioni 451, c. 18v. The document mentions Patrizi as 'sapientem iuvenem' nominated at the Studio to teach rhetoric.

The oration is to be found in two manuscripts: Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana, MS A. 67. 1, ff. 18r-25r (*Iter*, I (1963), 106) and Venice, MS Marc. Lat. XIII 116 (4655), ff. 134r- 140r (*Iter*, II (1967), 245). See Fioravanti, 'Alcuni aspetti', pp. 136-37, p. 137 n. 1.

whom Patrizi remained in close contact for many years.¹⁹

In Siena Patrizi also gained the esteem and friendship of well known scholars with whom he would keep in contact in the years to come. The poems and letters he exchanged with them suggest that he participated in a wide range of cultural activities. For example, he made the acquaintance of Lapo da Castiglionchio (1406-1438), one of Filelfo's students who had followed him to Siena, and a number of letters exchanged between Patrizi and Lapo in the years 1436-37 contain interesting indications of the classical texts circulating among them at that time, as well as mention of other humanists they both knew.²⁰

From a letter to Lapo of 19 April 1436 (Letter 41), where Patrizi apologizes for not being able to send his friend the text of Plutarch's Αποφθέγματα since he had already lent it to another friend, it appears that Patrizi had the text copied in Siena by a Greek scribe, Antonio, who was certainly Antonio Logotete, Filelfo's copyist in Siena. It is likely that the manuscript in question was copied by Antonio after 1 January 1436, by which time he had finished a copy of Plutarch's *Apophthegmata* for Filelfo, and that its circulation among Sienese humanists was related to Filelfo's translation.²¹ It also interesting to note that Patrizi did send the manuscript shortly afterwards to Lapo, who thanked him for it in a letter dated 8 May 1436, since it is probably from that copy that Lapo later composed his own translation. In the same letter other classical texts are also mentioned, such as Cicero's *De finibus bonorum et*

On Agostino Dati see Viti 'Dati, Agostino', in *DBI*, XXXIII (1987), 15-21. Agostino Patrizi called Patrizi 'gentilem ac preceptorem meum' (Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, MS 1077, f. 134r). On him see Avesani, 'Per la biblioteca'; Bassi, p. 410; Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*; Zeno, *Dissertazioni Vossiane*, II (1753), 95-100.

On Lapo da Castiglionchio Juniore see Luiso, 'Studi su Lapo'; Fubini, 'Castiglionchio, Lapo da, detto il Giovane', in *DBI*, XXII (1979), 44-51. The letters addressed by Lapo to Patrizi are published in Luiso, 'Studi su Lapo', as follows: pp. 220-21, from Florence (8 May 1436), pp. 232-33 from Florence (10 July 1436), pp. 246-47 from Bologna (10 April 1437). The letters from Patrizi to Lapo will be referred to according to their order in Part B of the Bibliography of works by Patrizi.

De Feo Corso, 'Il Filelfo in Siena', pp. 195-96, says that the manuscript containing Plutarch's *Apophthegmata ad Traianum* and *Laconica* is one of the Greek codices belonging to Filelfo now in the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence.

malorum, and a 'libellum orationum' which Lapo asks Patrizi to recover from a certain Gaspare, to whom he had lent them previously.²²

Two weeks later Lapo gave Patrizi a text called κακονίσματα, in all probability some Greek commentaries on grammar (Letter 92), which had previously been in the possession of Nanni Patrizi, who also had a copy of Pindar's work that he eventually handed over to Filelfo at the request of Lapo himself.²³ The letters also bear mention of friends and contemporaries of Lapo and Patrizi whom it is likely Patrizi met when Lapo was in Siena, and in one letter in particular Patrizi sends his regards to Sassolo da Prato, Leonardo Dati and Antonio Tornabuoni (Letter 41).

The mention of Dati (1408-1472) is of particular interest because of the existence in a single manuscript of a poem by Patrizi entitled 'Ad Venerem', which is preceded by Leonardo Dati's reply as dedicatee.²⁴ In his poem Patrizi laments the effects of love: the goddess Venus had enchanted him and then shown him great cruelty; Patrizi strove in vain to oppose her, convinced that his ardent mind could resist her, but now bitterly regrets his condition as an unhappy lover. He implores his loved one, Antonia, to spare him.²⁵ In the verses by Leonardo Dati in reply, Venus declares that it is wrong to call the passion of love cruel, since it brings infinite joy to the lover. Patrizi must therefore not regret his recourse to the goddess to win over the favour of his loved one: for all the fame and dignity of his origins and his lofty poetry, he must submit to the will of Venus and enjoy with Antonia the

'Dati, Leonardo', in *DBI*, XXXIII (1987), 44-52.

²² Letter in Luiso, 'Studi su Lapo', pp. 220-21.

²³ Luiso,' Studi su Lapo' pp. 246-47. Lapo wrote from Bologna to Francesco as follows: 'Misi superiore anno ad patrem tuum Pindari librumuna cum quibusdam graecis in grammaticam commentariis mea manu inter legendum confectis; eidemque scripsi ut haec tibi, Pindarum praeceptori tuo [Francesco Filelfo] reddendum curaret' (10 April 1437). Francesco replied to Lapo's letter on 22 April: 'Johannes pater meus Pindarum tuum praeceptori nostro tradidit vero quam primum.' (Letter 101).

24 On the Florentine Leonardo Dati see Flamini, 'Leonardo di Pietro Dati'; Ristori,

²⁵ Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Magl. VII 1120, f. 63r: 'Carmina Francisci Patritii ad Venerem'; ff. 61v-62v: 'Responsio Leonardi Dati florentini ad Franciscum patritium pro Venere': Inc. 'Dulce pati duros nimuim nimiumque labores', expl. 'Pare namque alias musses in Apollinis aede'. The manuscript was copied in 1454.

pleasures of love. The poems thus indicate a preference amongst the young humanists for the love lyric and show that exchanges of poems were common. As for Dati, it is known that he had already devoted himself to composing poetry as far back as 1432, since Lapo mentions Dati's lascivious Latin verses in an eclogue. A further example of how common writing poetry was among these young humanists is the Latin poem Patrizi sent to Lapo to justify not having written to his friend over a long period of time (Letter 101). It is also interesting that Patrizi mentions in this same letter that 'Laurentius romanus iampridem una cum tuis litteris mihi reddidit' (f. 76r), because Lorenzo can be identified with the well-known humanist Lorenzo Valla (1407-1457). Valla, who met Lapo during the summer of 1434 when he was in Florence, was in fact recommended to Patrizi in a letter Lapo sent from Bologna on 1 September 1436. After that date Valla went to Siena, where he met Patrizi. He probably stayed there until he moved to Naples in 1437 where he became secretary to King Alfonso of Aragon.

To conclude with this correspondence of 1436-37, one request Lapo made of Patrizi is worth reporting in the original:

Audio praeceptorem nostrum [Francesco Filelfo] ad finem huius anni istinc esse abiturum; quod quamquam minime vellem, quia ab eo sim futurus remotior, tamen si cum commodo et emolumento suo fit, non modo aequo animo fero sed etiam libenti. Vellem igitur, ageres cum amicis, si quis ex hac nostra facultate praeceptor conducendus est, ut ego haud quidem in eius locum - nec enim fas esset, neque ego id postulo - sed tamen quoquomodo

²⁶ Flamini, 'Leonardo di Pietro Dati', p. 11; Della Torre, *Storia dell'Accademia platonica*, p. 296.

For general bibliography on Lorenzo Valla see the article 'Valla, Lorenzo' in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, p. 838. For his grammatical work see below, Chapter Π .

²⁹ This letter is in Como, Biblioteca Comunale, MS 4. 4. 6, ff. 301r-302v. *Iter*, I, 47

The poem by Patrizi is dated 1437. Many years later it ended up in the collection of poems Patrizi dedicated to Pius II, where it was dedicated to a different person (poem III. 12, no. 29). The poems in Patrizi's collection referred to in this and subsequent chapters have been listed in Part C of the Bibliography of works by Patrizi. When quoting them both the number within the different books of the collection and their progressive number in that list will be given. For a study of their content see below, Chapter II.

Mancini, 'Due lettere al Valla', p. 263, quotes Letter 101 by Patrizi as an indication of a possible stay of Valla in Siena.

conducerer publica mercede ad eam praeceptionem. Quare si hoc onus tibi suscipiendum putabis, loquere cum iis quos speres nobis adiumento esse posse, et me, quamprimum datur facultas, si quid sperandum reris, facias certiorem ... 31

Although nothing came of it, Patrizi certainly did his utmost to fulfil Lapo's request and about two weeks later he wrote from Buonconvento that 'Rem tuam cudimus omni cum diligentia et cum tempus advenerit, dabo operam omni officio, ut me gratum ac memorem esse cognoscas, amicumque non fictum sed verum...' (Letter 92 (232)).

From 1448 onwards, Patrizi also renewed contact with Filelfo who came to hold him in high esteem, praised his intelligence and erudition, and described him as a dear friend, althought' such mutual praise was of course common between humanists. They exchanged letters which, besides containing recommendations for friends, requests for classical texts and discussions on literary topics that are typical of such correspondence, also reveal how Filelfo at one point used his acquaintance with Patrizi as Lapo tried to do, to obtain an invitation from the Signoria of Siena for a second teaching appointment.³² This happened in 1451, when Filelfo, wishing to leave the Milanese Court after what he considered unfair treatment, looked with hope to Siena, and asked Patrizi to plead his cause with the Signoria.³³ In a first letter of the beginning of January,³⁴ Filelfo urged Patrizi to intervene in his favour, which he did in the two following months as is clear from another of Filelfo's letters of the end of March:

Ex litteris Xenophontis filii liquido cognovi quod minime dubitabam,

³¹ Luiso, 'Studi su Lapo', pp. 221-22.

There are eight letters addressed to Patrizi by Filelfo, from Milan, between 1448 and 1465. They are contained in Francesco Filelfo, *Epistolarum familiarum libri xxxvii*, as follows: f. 41r (31 March 1448), f. 54v (13 January 1451), ff. 63v-64r (31 March 1451), f. 169v (2 June 1465), ff. 169v-170r (5 June 1465), f. 170r (9 June 1465), f. 170v (26 June 1465), ff. 171r-v (26 July 1465). In addition, Filelfo often mentions Patrizi in his correspondence with other contemporaries, above all Nicodemo Tranchedini. On Filelfo and Patrizi see also Bassi, pp. 389-92 and notes.

³³ See de' Rosmini, Vita di Francesco Filelfo, II, 59-60.

³⁴ Filelfo, *Epistolarum libri*, f. 54v.

singularem erga me tuam benivolentiam. Laetor autem vaehementer quod vetus illa de te mea me nequaquam fefellit opinio. Itaque ut intelligas me vi amoris non vinci abs te, decrevi omnino ad vos redire modo aequa conditione fieri a me possit. Tuum igitur munus fuerit, ut quod coepisti sponte, id etiam mea causa perficias. Xenophon reliqua tecum commentabitur. Ego patrem tuum gravissimum et optimum virum bene valere opto. Vale. Ex Mediolano, pridie Kal. Apriles Mccccli.³⁵

At the same time Filelfo also instructed his son Senofonte to ensure for him a salary double the one he had received the first time, and such an unreasonable demand was probably the reason why the entire matter came to nothing.³⁶

A similar intervention by Patrizi on behalf of Filelfo is to be found in a later poem by Patrizi addressed to Nicodemo Tranchedini (III.15, no.32). Nicodemo Tranchedini da Pontremoli (1411-1481) was an illustrious diplomat in the service of the Sforza and was created Palatine Count in 1457 by Emperor Frederick III. He was for years the Milanese ambassador in Florence, and a dear mutual friend of Filelfo and Patrizi, through whom Patrizi recommended Filelfo to the Sforza with this poem.³⁷ In it Patrizi celebrates a poem by Filelfo dedicated to the King of France, Charles VII, in all probability the encomium to Charles VII introducing the collection of *Odae* which Filelfo completed in 1456 when he sought an invitation to Charles's court. On that occasion Sforza did not allow Filelfo to leave, and Patrizi's intervention might have been aimed at improving Filelfo's position at the Court of Milan. Indeed Patrizi, who also mentions Filelfo's *Satyrae* which were composed in Siena, reminds the Duke that Filelfo will celebrate the deeds of the Sforza in the *Sforziade*, and thus invites him to be generous towards the poet. This last reference further suggests that Patrizi's poem was composed after 1456, because Filelfo had

³⁵ Filelfo, *Epistolarum libri*, ff. 63r-64r.

³⁶ Filelfo, *Epistolarum libri*, f. 64r, letter to Senofonte from Milan dated May 29, 1451: 'Quod Senenses reditum ad se meum vaehementer cupiunt, gaudeo. Omnium primum tibi videndum est; quanti faciant meum reditum: ut intelligas me nulla conditione Senam repetiturum, nisi duplo maius mihi salarium eo constituerint: quod antea praestitissent. vale. Ex Mediolano iiii Kal. Mccccli.'

³⁷ Tranchedini was particularly helpful to Patrizi after his exile in 1457 when he interceded with the Sienese authorities on Patrizi's behalf. On Tranchedini see Cerioni, *La Diplomazia sforzesca*, pp. 242-43; Maracchi Bigiarelli, 'Manoscritti della raccolta dell'umanista Nicodemo Tranchedini', with further bibliography.

by that time completed the final version of the first tetralogy of the *Sforziade*.³⁸ It also indicates that Patrizi was known at the Court of Milan and knew the Duke personally, doubtless through his activity in the government of Siena.

Other humanists whom Patrizi met in Siena in the 1430s and 1440s were the poet and humanist Porcelio de' Pandoni, who taught in Siena in 1447, and Panormita, who went back to Siena in 1435 as the King of Aragon's Ambassador.

Relations between Patrizi and Porcelio (1405-ca.1485) are attested to by the presence of Patrizi among the illustrious poets and orators Porcelio praises in an elegy dedicated to Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, and also by the existence of a poem entirely dedicated to Patrizi, contained in Porcelio's collection of poems and epigrams for the Piccolomini.³⁹ In both, Porcelio refers to Patrizi using the affectionate expression 'Patricius meus' and in the latter he eulogizes Patrizi's works in prose and verse with the aim of ingratiating himself with the Pope. This inevitably raises doubts about the sincerity of Porcelio's words, but at the same time indicates not only that Porcelio knew Patrizi well enough to ask him to intervene with the Pope, but also that Patrizi was considered a figure of some influence in the Pope's retinue.

That Patrizi was on good terms with Panormita is indicated in an undated letter which he received from Panormita on the occasion of a visit to Gaeta many years later: here Panormita's declarations of respect and friendship seem to go beyond usual congratulatory formulae and perhaps to recall a rapport dating back to the Sienese years.⁴⁰ This is further suggested by the fact that, when Filelfo asked Patrizi

³⁸ On Filelfo's activity at the court of Milan see Robin, *Filelfo in Milan*, esp. p. 6 and pp. 84-85 for the works mentioned.

Garci L

Panormita's letter to Patrizi is in Vatican Library, MS Vat. Lat. 3371, ff. 191v-92r. It is mentioned in Resta, *L'epistolario del Panormita*, p. 216, who indicates that the letter was included in Panormita's *Quintum epistolarum volumen*.

On the elegy see Porcelli Pandoni Elegia Divo Poi/II Pont. Max. de illustrissimis poetis et oratoribus sui temporis, in Laurenza, 'Poeti ed oratori del Quattrocento', p. 217 for Patrizi. The poem to Patrizi, dedicated to him when Bishop of Gaeta, is in Vatican Library, MS Reg. Lat. 1991, ff. 46v-47r (Iter, II, 411). On Porcelio see Rossi, Il Quattrocento, pp. 239-41; Avesani, 'Epaeneticorum', p. 39 and notes; Fioravanti, 'Maestri di grammatica', pp. 18-19, n. 23.

to recommend him to Panormita, he called him 'Panhormitam nostrum'.41

Besides his varied activities and contacts in humanist circles, in the 1440s and 1450s, Patrizi also played an active part in the political life of his city. He was elected Prior in 1440 (May-June), 1447 (March-April), and 1453 (March-April).⁴² In 1447 and in 1450 he was appointed Chancellor, a post in which he preceded Agostino Dati as a humanist scholar who combined this public role with literary activity.⁴³ It is also possible that Patrizi held an official position, perhaps as *Podestà*, in the Sienese town of Montalcino in the years 1445-46, since in a poem he states that he was going to Montalcino to hold court (II.4, no.11).⁴⁴

He was nominated state ambassador on several occasions and in that capacity took part in a number of diplomatic missions, between 1447 and 1454, in which he encountered many influential political figures, statesmen and diplomats as well as clerics, and at the same time gathered information and gained considerable experience in political affairs.⁴⁵

During the summer of 1447, when King Alfonso of Naples made hostile advances against Tuscany, and Siena in particular, Patrizi was sent to Rome,

⁴² ASS, Concistoro 2335 (formerly Libro III dei Leoni), f.112r, f.133r, f.150r where 'Franciscus Nannis Francini de Patrici' is listed amongst the Priors of Siena for the periods mentioned. See also Battaglia, p. 82, n.1.

⁴¹ See below, n. 166.

ASS, Concistoro, Copialettere 1668, f.1r, f. 26r, f. 41r, ([1447]: 'Cancellario existente eloquentissimo viro Franchisco Patricio'). From Concistoro, Deliberazioni 507, f. 75r he appears to have held the same office also in 1450, or shortly before. See also Battaglia, p. 88, n. 3. Fioravanti, 'Classe dirigente', p. 481, n. 24, mantains that Patrizi was Chancellor of Siena from 1447 to 1456, but does not give evidence for such an assertion.

The poem is addressed to Achille Petrucci and entitled 'De casu fulminis ad Achillem Petruccium'. Concerning the date of the office referred to in the poem, which was written years later (after 1457), Smith, 'Family', p. 93 mantains that it was around the same time as the letter 'De gerendo magistratu' (Letter 154), but wrongly dates both to 1452. The date of 1445-46 seems more appropriate because of the content of some letters, written in those years, where Patrizi mentions he was living in the countryside and in close relation with the same friends who are mentioned in the poem. For these letters see below, Chapter II, pp. 64-69. For the poem see also below, Chapter II, n.9and p. 89. It is mentioned also in Pertici, p. 179, n. 14.

⁴⁵ The diplomatic missions are also listed in Battaglia, pp. 82-87, and notes; Bassi, pp. 392-93.

together with the Abbot of St. Galgano, Count Cacciaconti, to notify Pope Nicholas V of Alfonso's design. They arrived there on 18 August and were admitted to an audience with the Pope on 20 August. They immediately sent dispatches to Siena about the support offered by the Pope and about the possible conflicts arising from the news they heard in Rome of the death of Filippo Maria Visconti, who had left no legitimate male heir to the Duchy of Milan.⁴⁶

In April 1449, he was entrusted with another mission to the Pope to solve problems related to conflicts between the two towns of Celle and Fighine, near Chiusi.⁴⁷

In January 1450 he took part in two diplomatic missions: first he went to Florence, alone, to safeguard Sienese interests and to settle a dispute between the Florentine village of Foiano and the Sienese community of Lucignano, in Val di Chiana. There he also met with ambassadors from Milan, and discussed Francesco Sforza and the political situation in Milan.⁴⁸ Secondly, he was sent to Rome to ask the Pope to appoint the Abbot of San Galgano to the Bishopric of Siena, which had been vacant since the death of Bishop Neri in 1449. The Pope's preference, however, was for Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini.⁴⁹

In 1452 Patrizi, together with Cristofano di Filigi and Giorgio di Giacomo,

Vatican City, Vatican Library, MS Chigi E VI 187, ff. 162r-64r: 'Principalmente gli piaque et laudo grandemente il proposito et dispositione de la S. V. del volere vicinare et conservare la pace et stare veramente di mezo' and 'Questa mattina mentre ch'aspettavamo udientia vennero lettare da Cosmo de Medici e la S.ta di N. S.re continenti la morte dello Ill.mo principe duca di Milano, la quale novella per quanto potemo comprendere altero assai la S.ta del papa.' See Pastor, *History of the Popes*, II (1891), 64-65.

⁴⁷ ASS, Concistoro, Deliberazioni 499, f. 32r.

⁴⁸ ASS, Concistoro, Legazioni e Commissarie 2408, f. 17r: 'Franciscus Johannis francini orator missus ad Magnificos dominos Florentinos cum quibus iam commissionibus fuit cum quattuor equis die quinta Januarii. Ex deliberatione nostrum dominorum die xxii Januarii predicti redivit ad praesentiam magnificorum dominorum die xxviiii Januarii ...'. The letters sent to the Sienese Signoria between 8 and 16 January, giving a full account of the negotiations pending in Florence, are signed 'Filius et Servitor humilis Franciscus Patricius'. ASS, Concistoro, Carteggio 1965, letters nos. 35, 38, 41, 42, 47; Concistoro, Legazioni e Commissarie 2415, ff. 74r-v, f. 76r.

⁴⁹ ASS, Concistoro, Deliberazioni 507, ff. 14v-15r; Concistoro, Legazioni e Commissarie 2415, ff. 96v-97r.

was a member of a Sienese embassy accompanying Emperor Frederick III to Rome for his marriage.⁵⁰ Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini performed the wedding ceremony for Frederick and his bride. Before the ambassadors left Siena, they were given precise instructions to follow concerning their behaviour towards the Emperor, the Pope, King Alfonso of Aragon and his son Ferdinand. In particular, they were encouraged to promote the city of Siena and its interests and, furthermore, to intercede on behalf of Aeneas Sylvius with the Pope, to promote his election as Cardinal:

Preso ancora tempo debito si conferischino a piei del sancto padre et alla sua beatitudine per nostra parte strectamente raccomandino el reverendo padre vescovo nostro misser Enea, el quale si per essere nostro dilectissimo cittadino et si per le sua grandissime virtù sommamente amiamo et siamo studiosi ... et non potremmo havere maggiore consolatione et contento che vederlo exaltato dalla sua beatitudine a maggiore dignità.⁵¹

From the letters sent to Siena by Patrizi and the other ambassadors during the period January to March 1452, we learn that the Emperor entered Rome in triumph on 8 March while the marriage took place on the 16th, followed in the space of three days by the coronation of the Emperor and his spouse. The Pope, during the two audiences he gave to the Sienese ambassadors, reassured them that he loved Siena very much. However, his declaration of respect towards the city was not followed by material consequences, at least in Piccolomini's regard, since he had to wait until the Pontificate of Callistus III to be nominated Cardinal (on 17 December 1456).⁵²

ASS, Concistoro, Legazioni e Commissarie 2408, f. 135r. The document dated 28 February 1452 was published by Wolkan, 'Die Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini', *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, 68 (1918), 66-70.

On this embassy see ASS, Concistoro, Carteggio 1970, letters nos. 36, 38, 44, 42⁽¹⁻²⁾, 69, 73, 77, 79-80, 82, 84, 87, 89, 90, 92, 93; Concistoro, Carteggio 1971, letter no. 2; Concistoro, Legazioni e Commissarie 2408, f. 39v; Concistoro, Legazioni e Commissarie 2415, ff. 133v-135r, 139r-v. The letters sent by the Sienese government to its orators in Rome are in Concistoro, Copialettere 1673, f. 41v, 43v, 45v, 46v, 47r, 49r, 50r.

⁵² The fact that the Governors of Siena had requested the Pope to appoint the Abbot of S. Galgano and not Aenea Sylvio Piccolomini to the Bishopric of Siena suggestit was Piccolomini himself who promoted his own cause with Pope Nicholas V. See Pecci, *Storia del Vescovado*, p. 321.

Finally, Patrizi also went on diplomatic missions to visit Duke Alfonso of Calabria in 1453 and in 1454 to discuss the political situation.⁵³ It is likely that it was then that the Aragonese noted the political expertise and oratorial skills of Patrizi: later in his life, he was asked to perform several similar diplomatic tasks on behalf of the King of Naples, Ferdinand.

Patrizi was also in contact with the courts of Urbino, Perugia, and Rimini. His relationships with the rulers of Urbino is proved by two letters to Patrizi from Antonio Ilicino and Domenico Sabino, two of his students in Siena who later transferred to the court of Urbino. The former belonged to the noble Sienese family D'Elci, and might have been a relative of the better known Bernardo Ilicino, doctor of Philosophy and Medicine at the Sienese Studio and commentator of Petrarch.54 He is the same Antonio who is mentioned in the letters on philosophical issues which Patrizi wrote in the years 1445-46, at which time Antonio was, if not attending his lectures, certainly very close to him. He later became secretary to Federico da Montefeltro, to whom he dedicated a long poem entitled Expugnatio Costantinopolitana, but still mantained contact with Patrizi.55 In one letter Ilicino wrote to Patrizi, Patrizi emerges as highly esteemed at the Urbino court and a dear friend of the Duke himself, who is looking forward to his imminent visit.⁵⁶

54 On Bernardo Ilicino see below, Chapter II and Chapter IV.

⁵³ ASS, Concistoro, Deliberazioni 522, ff. 28v, 69r; Concistoro, Carteggio 1977, letter no. 93; Concistoro, Deliberazioni 527, f. 14v.

Moranti, 'Organizzazione della biblioteca', p. 24, n. 19, suggests that the Antonio Ilicino who wrote the letter to Patrizi, as well as one to Filelfo and one to Pacino, might be identified with Antonio dei Bonaventura da Montelce, a diplomat at the service of Federico, and that Antonio probably met the above-mentioned A brief description of Antonio humanists on various diplomatic missions. Bonaventura's career, contained in Dale, 'Un diplomatico urbinate', p. 351, states that he was 'dottore in legge' and *Podestà* of Macerata already in 1435, which indicates that he was a generation older than Patrizi's pupil Antonio. Thus Moranti's supposition seems incorrect. For Ilicino's work Expugnatio see Smith,

^{&#}x27;Poems', p. 99.

'Poems', p. 99.

Letter in Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS Marc. Lat. XIV 219 (4631),

MY (1995), 212). The letter does ff. 92r-v (Iter, II, 267 and Zorzanello, Catalogo, III (1985), 313). The letter does not bear any place or date, but was written after one of Patrizi's trips to Naples, therefore around 1453-54. Sabbadini, Epistolario di Guarino Veronese, III (1919), 473-474 recalls that the same manuscript contains, besides letters to Patrizi, Filelfo and Pacino, a letter witten by Antonio Ilicino in the name of Duke Federico.

The same manuscript that contains Ilicino's letter also contains the epistle sent to Patrizi by Domenico Sabino, a student of Patrizi who was particularly well versed in oratory, and who later himself became a teacher.⁵⁷ The letter shows again the esteem in which Patrizi was held in Urbino, and in particular by Count Ottaviano degli Ubaldini. In addition, it contains references to a possible appointment for Patrizi as magistrate or 'praetor' in the province of Urbino, an appointment promoted by Sabino himself and by Count Ottaviano. No further information on this plan has survived, although it is unlikely that Patrizi ever held formal office under the Montefeltro.

Another reference to a suitable office for Patrizi outside Siena is contained also in a letter written to him by Tommaso Occilio Pontano (d. 1450), a humanist who taught in Perugia, Bologna, and Florence, and who later became Chancellor of Perugia.⁵⁸ Pontano writes, almost certainly from Perugia, '...te ortor ut hanc viam ire pergas: est enim officium dignum probato viro qualem te audivi ...' (f. 84r). The letter, although undated, was written before 1450, the year of Pontano's death. As in the previous case, it is unlikely that Patrizi took up the post.

Finally, Patrizi made the acquaintance of the ruler of Rimini, Sigismondo Malatesta. When in 1454 Siena was engaged in a war against Count Aldobrandino of Pitignano, Patrizi favoured Sigismondo Malatesta's appointment as general of the Sienese army, despite strong opposition from Cosimo de' Medici and Duke

Letter in MS Marc. Lat. XIV 219 (4631), ff. 90r-91r. The letter bears no date, but in concluding Sabino sends his regards to Giorgio [Patrizi], and to 'discipulos nostros' (f. 90v) that is Patrizi's and Sabino's students, in Siena. On Sabino's teaching appointment in Florence, see Chapter II, p. 63. Fioravanti, 'Maestri di grammatica', pp. 18-19 n. 23 also alludes to Sabino's teaching activity in Siena, and recalls that Sabino sent a letter from Urbino to Tranchedini in 1463.

The letter is to be found with two others by the same, in Vatican City, Vatican Library, MS Ott. Lat. 1677, ff. 84r-v (*Iter*, II, 432). The preceding letter, in which Pontano recommends to Patrizi a friend of his, was written from Perugia. The fact that Pontano also invites Patrizi to continue the study of classical languages and literature in which he has proved to be so expert, suggests that Pontano and Patrizi met perhaps when the former was teaching in Florence, around 1430s. On Tommaso Pontano see Manzoni, 'Spogli d'Archivio'; Rinaldi, 'Umanesimo e Rinascimento', p. 301; Zappacosta, *Il* "Gymnasium" perugino, esp. p. 4 and pp. 6-7.

Francesco Sforza, who sent his ambassador Nicodemo Tranchedini to Siena to discuss the matter.⁵⁹ The source who recorded Patrizi's intervention in Malatesta's favour was Gaspare Broglio, a poet and chronicler from Rimini who had been educated in Siena as a youth, and who witnessed the negotiations over the appointment of Sigismondo.⁶⁰ Patrizi won the favour of Malatesta, who probably invited him to visit Rimini, and indeed his presence there is recorded by the court poet Benedetto da Cesena in one of his works.⁶¹ As will be seen later, Patrizi also acted as intermediary between Malatesta and Pope Pius II in 1461.

There were also a number of opportunities for Patrizi to meet foreign rulers within Siena. For example, in 1442-43 Pope Eugenius IV stopped in Siena on his way to Rome, and here received the visits of many rulers, among whom the lords of Mantua and Urbino. Also, in the following year, 1444, ambassadors, rulers, and representatives of other states congregated in Siena to discuss the conditions to achieve a general peace in Italy.

All these episodes clearly show that Patrizi was known and admired well outside the confines of the Sienese State and that such esteem was garnered during the years before his exile, largely through his political diplomacy.

Gaspare Broglio's passage where he mentions Francesco Patrizi 'doctore e poeta' is in a *Cronaca* in MS D. III. 48 in the Biblioteca Civica Gambalunga in Rimini (f. 225r), and is mentioned in Battaglia, p. 86, n. 1.

⁵⁹ For documents in the ASS on Malatesta's recruitment see Battaglia, pp. 84-88, n.

Benedetto da Cesena, who lived at the court of Rimini from 1433 to 1464, mentions Patrizi as a poet who was at one time at the Rimini court in a poem entitled *De honore mulierum*, which was composed in 1444-45. Massera, 'Un romagnolo imitatore del poema dantesco', p. 171, asserts that Patrizi certainly stayed in Rimini around 1444; Battaglini, 'Della corte letteraria', p. 90: 'Visse alcun tratto alla corte di Sigismondo anche Francesco Patritii Sanese: assicurandocene Benedetto da Cesena nel suo poema. Narra Gaspare Broglio che Franceco Patrizi Dottore e poeta, qualità che ai suoi tempi accrescevano dignità, seco adoperossi in Siena nel 1454 a far leggere Sigismondo a Generale di quel comune contro il conte di Pitignano, Sembra che in questa occasione se pure non fu piú presto, fosse conosciuto e preso in benevolenza dal Signor di Rimino, presso del quale venisse poi a stanziare sintantoché fu innalzato alla sede vescovile di Gaeta.' See also Battaglia, pp. 84-86, n. 1.

Patrizi's very public activities as humanist and politician are somewhat easier to document than his private family life. Nevertheless, a certain amount of information on the latter is available. In 1447, the year of his first appointment as Chancellor, Patrizi married Bartolomea Gori, a Sienese girl of a good family to whom Patrizi had to pay 1000 florins for the marriage contract.⁶² They had four sons, Giorgio, Camillo, Alessandro and Giulio, whom Patrizi mentions in a letter of 26 October 1457 (Letter 94).⁶³

Giorgio was probably the eldest.⁶⁴ He is the addressee of one of Patrizi's poems (III.16, no.33) as well as of a letter Patrizi wrote from Assisi on 15 September 1461 to ask him to take care of the vineyard of the Parish of Campoli (Letter 67).⁶⁵ In the years 1483 to 1490 he was with his father in Gaeta, where his presence is recorded in two official documents in the Archivio Capitolare. Later, he return to Siena where he held political offices: he is listed among the Priors for the period from November to December 1490.⁶⁶

Camillo was the son who spent most time with his father, especially in the period after Patrizi's exile from Siena in 1457. Patrizi mentions him frequently, and always in very affectionate terms in the correspondence dating from 1459 to 1464. The first time is in a letter sent to Tranchedini from Montughi, in March 1459, where he expresses his desire that his son Camillo might soon come to live with him (Letter

⁶² ASS, Gabella Contratti 214, [1447], f. 47r: 'Ser Lazarus Benedicti notarius denuptiat quo ... Johannes olim Francisci de Patricis de Senis et Francischus eius filius fuerunt confessi habuisse in dotem domine Bartolomee filie Antonii Gori Francisci et sponse et future uxoris dicti Francisci flor. mille auri, ad rationem lib. quatuor pro floreno. Die 27 ottobris 1447 soluerunt Christoforo Filizii camerario, a fo. 44, libr. 66, sol.13, den 4.' *Ibidem*, MS A 56, Manenti, *Spoglio delle denunzie dei contratti*, f. 3141v. Battaglia, p. 88, n. 1 incorrectly recorded 'Gabella Contratti (no. 96)' for 214.

⁶³ Smith, 'Family', p. 2, indicates that Patrizi spoke of having four children in a letter to Tranchedini dated 29 Settember 1457 (Letter 48). In this letter Patrizi refers to his sons without indicating their number. Bassi, p. 396 and n. 59, also refers to Letter 94.

⁶⁴ Mittarelli, Bibliotheca codicum, col. 856 mentions Gregorio instead of Giorgio.

For the content of the poem see below, Chapter II, p. 106.

Archivio Capitolare in Gaeta (hereafter ACG), Fasc. III, documents nos. 131 (30 October 1483), 132 (3 July 1486), 133 (3 June 1490), bear the name 'Georgius Patritius de Senis' as one of the witnesses. ASS, Concistoro 2337 (formerly Libro V dei Leoni), f. 34v: 'Georgius domini Francisci de Patritiis', Prior in 1490.

203), which is probably what Camillo did shortly afterwards, since he appeared to be with Patrizi and Tranchedini's son Francesco in Verona, where Patrizi moved in June 1459 (Letter 62).⁶⁷ A couple of years later, in 1461, Patrizi wrote a letter to his friend Goro Lolli, praising Lolli's nephew Niccolò, who was at that time living with Patrizi in Assisi, in which he declares that Niccolò is pleasant company because he reminds him of Camillo (Letter 19);⁶⁸ in a letter of September 1461 to his other son Giorgio (Letter 67), Patrizi again longs for Camillo, who was living in Siena with his grandparents, to go back to live with him. Another reference to Camillo appears in a letter of 16 November 1464, in which Patrizi mentions a request for a loan he had received from Agostino Patrizi, and asserts that he will treat the request as if it had come from Camillo himself (letter 75).⁶⁹ Camillo died young, aged only twenty-five, and for his death Patrizi composed a series of five funeral epigrams in which he laments the loss of his beloved son, and celebrates his intellectual and moral qualities.⁷⁰

Alessandro Patrizi was baptized in 1450.71 After many years spent in Siena,

The letter, sent to Tranchedini from Verona, bears no date but was composed between July and November 1459, these being the dates in which the preceeding and following letters in the manuscript were written.

⁶⁸ Goro Lolli was a cousin of Aeneas Sylvius who during his youth had been a guest in the Piccolomini's house in Siena, and a fellow-student of Patrizi. In 1457 he was first exiled, but then only sentenced to *confino* thanks to the intervention in his favour by his illustrious relative. The sentence was revoked on 3 October 1458 and on 5 April of the following year, Lolli was admitted into the Piccolomini household. When Aeneas Sylvius was nominated Pope, Lolli became his all-powerful secretary and remained in contact by correspondence with Patrizi. On Goro Lolli, and for further bibliography see Avesani, 'Epaeneticorum', pp. 53-54 and n. 142.

⁶⁹ Smith, 'Family', p. 3, mentions a letter to Goro Lolli, dated 18 June 1461 (Letter 5) when talking about Camillo. This letter, however, contains no mention of him, but only of Lolli's nephew Niccolò.

The epigrams are in MS Gordan 153 of the Library of Phyllis and John Dozier Gordan jr. in New York, ff. 36r-38v, for which see below, Chapter II. They are listed as nos. 103-107 in Smith, 'Epigrammata', p. 131, and mentioned in Smith, 'Family', p. 4 and n.18, who erroneoully says that they are six. Epigram no. 108 (ff. 38v-39r) has nothing to do with them. Mittarelli, Bibliotheca codicum, col. 856, recalls Camillo's death as follows: '... Intellegimus ... habuisse filium nomine Camillum defunctum vigesimoquinto aetatis suae anno ...'. All future references to Patrizi's epigrams will be made to their progressive number in the list to be found in Smith, 'Epigrammata', pp. 125-43, followed by their folio numbers in MS Gordan 153.

⁷¹ ASS, MS A 14, Sestigiani, Ordini, armi, residenze, f. 627r; ibidem, MS A 51,

where in 1492 he was elected Rector of the Spedale of St. Mary, he probably transferred to Gaeta and founded the Neapolitan branch of the Patrizi family.⁷² There his presence is recorded as *Consigliere* of the town in the year 1499.⁷³ He was sent two epigrams by his father in both of which it appears that he was engaged in writing poetry.⁷⁴

Giulio Patrizi was baptized in Siena in 1452 and during the years of his youth, he stayed in Siena with his grandparents. When he was ten years old he fell seriously ill and was saved by the physician Ludovico da Spoleto, to whom Patrizi sent a letter of thanks, dated 10 October 1461 (Letter 58). Similarly to his brother Giorgio, Giulio pursued a political career in Siena, and was nominated Prior in the period May to June 1494. He also devoted himself to literary activity: a Vatican manuscript of the fifteenth century contains a commentary on Juvenal, up to *Sat*. 7.236, headed 'Commentum super Juvenalem per me Julium patricium'. The volume was presented to the Sixtus IV (1471-1484) and opens with dedicatory verses by Francesco Patrizi himself and by Ilarione Veronese. It is not unlikely that Giulio spent some time with his father when the latter was living in Gaeta. This would support the conjecture that Giulio could be the dedicatee of one poem addressed by Iacopo Sannazzaro to a 'Iulium Senensem exulem', since in the poem

Manenti, Elenco dei battezzati in Siena, f. 3131r.

⁷² ASS, MS A 12, Sestigiani, *Compendio istorico di Sanesi nobili*, f. 23v: '1492: Alessandro [Patrizi] di Francesco Rettore dello Spedale di S. Maria della Scala di Siena'; Gigli, *Diario Sanese*, I, 195.

Ferraro, *Memorie Religiose*, p. 214. The document attesting to Alessandro's presence among the Councillors of the town of Gaeta, which Ferraro does not indicate, is kept in the ACG, written after the document no. 134 in Fasc. III dated 28 June 1492.

⁷⁴ Epigrams no. 94 (f. 34r) and no.118 (ff. 41v-42r), also listed in Smith, 'Epigrammata', pp. 130-31.

⁷⁵ ASS, MS A 14, Sestigiani, Ordini, armi, residenze, f. 627r; MS A 51, Manenti, Elenco dei battezzati in Siena, f. 3131r.

⁷⁶ ASS, Concistoro 2337 (formerly Libro V dei Leoni), f. 45r: 'Julius domini Francisci de Patriciis', among the Priors in 1494.

⁷⁷ Vatican City, Vatican Library, MS Ott. Lat. 1609. See CTC, III (1976), 435; Iter, II, 481.

⁷⁸ For the relationship between Patrizi and Ilarione see below, p.40. It seems that Ilarione encouraged Giulio Patrizi to publish his work, but this did not happen, probably because of Domizio Calderini's publication of his commentary on Juvenal in 1475.

the author praises Giulio's poetic inspiration but above all celebrates the fame of his father.⁷⁹

Finally, some record exists of a Ginevra Patrizi as Francesco's daughter. Ginevra married Giacomo Dati, of the Dati family of Pienza, a nephew of Pius II who composed celebratory verses for Agostino Patrizi on the occasion of his election to the Bishopric of Pienza and Montalcino in 1484.80

When Patrizi's sons were not living with their father, they were entrusted to his parents, Lorenza and Giovanni. From letters to Lolli (Letter 6) and to Agostino Patrizi (Letter 16) from Foligno on 11 December 1461, we know that Lorenza died on 1 December 1461, whereas in a letter two years later to Agostino Patrizi, Francesco tells his friend that his eighty-six-year old father was very ill and that he despaired of him living any longer (Letter 167). Giovanni's presence among the Priors in 1463 indicates that he recovered from his illness, and that the date of his death must be postponed to after 1463. For his dying father Patrizi wrote an epigram entitled 'Ad Ioannem Patricium patrem ultimam vitae horam agentem', in which Giovanni is remembered not only as a beloved father but also as a defender of the institutions of the republic.⁸¹

Francesco's affection for his parents can be attributed not only to natural filial love but also to their help during the greatest crisis of his life, his exile from Siena. In 1456, a conspiracy was discovered in Siena to hand over the reins of power to

⁷⁹ Iacopo Sannazzaro, 'Ad Iulium Senensem exulem', in *Poeti latini del Quattrocento*, pp. 1122-1125. It should be added here that Giulio is also the dedicatee of a poem by 'Petrus Andr. Picentinus', contained in Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, MS Hamilton 482, f. 94r, in which the author celebrates one of Patrizi's poems and invites Giulio to equal his father. This indication confirms Giulio's devotion to poetry and the study of classical texts. See Boese, *Die latienischen Handschriften*, p. 227.

⁸⁰ Bandiera, *De Augustino Dati libri*, pp. 63-64: 'Uxorem hic [Giacomo Dati] duxit lectissimam foeminam, Ginevra nimirum, eius Francisci Patricii filiam,...'. Dati's epigram for Agostino Patrizi is mentioned in Avesani, 'Per la biblioteca', p. 17, n. 81. Smith, 'Family', p. 6, believes that Ginevra was the daughter of a different Francesco Patrizi or that Bandiera made a mistake.

Epigram no. 286 (ff. 85v-86r), mentioned in Smith, 'Family', p. 2.

Jacopo Piccinino, the military commander in the service of Alfonso of Aragon. Antonio di Ceccho Rosso Petrucci, the most important political figure of the time, was held principally responsible, but many other notables were also involved in the conspiracy, among whom Patrizi, Petrucci, Bellanti, Casini, Lolli and other members of Sienese families who had pursued the same political line and held important offices in the Republic, often in positions opposed to the Sienese government.⁸² Patrizi and Lolli were among those who were arrested, tried and sentenced to death, at the beginning of 1457. Similarly to Lolli, Patrizi was seriously in danger of his life and rumours that he had been executed spread beyond Siena. When this information turned out to be false, Filelfo wrote that he was happy Patrizi was still alive in a letter to Nicodemo Tranchedini dated 31 December 1457,⁸³ and in subsequent letters asked for information about Patrizi's case in very affectionate terms.⁸⁴

Piccolomini, Cardinal since December 1456, intervened with the Sienese Government in Patrizi's favour. In a letter sent to the Balia, the all-powerful magistracy set up to deal with the conspiracy, he asked them to reprieve his condemned friend;⁸⁵ elsewhere he wrote that Patrizi was saved from execution

tua causa..., tum etiam ob Franciscum Patricium quem e mortuo vivum factum acceperim. Tristi@enim de homine amicissimo nuntius perlatus ad nos fuerat, cum esset qui asseret vel se praesente supplicium esse de eo sumptum ... Quamquam Francisco familiari nostro nihil magis arbitror obfuisse quam invidiam, qua viri clari ac prestantes numquam caruerunt.' The passage is also in Bassi, p. 395.

ASS, MS A 26, Aurieri, Notizie relative a personaggi, f. 345r. Degli Allegretti, Diari delle cose sanesi, col. 770 says that Patrizi was exiled from the city with other Sienese rebels; Niceron, Mémoires, XXXVI (1736), 15: 'S'étant trouvé enveloppé dans une sédition arrivée à Sienne l'an 1457'; Piccolomini, Europa, p. 456: 'Inter alios quos urbe relegatos haud nocentes civitas [Siena] existimavit, duo fuere ...: Gregorius Lollius et Franciscus Patricius'; Francesco Tommasi, Adiecta, cols. 55-56: 'Fr. Patricius [and others] ... capiuntur ac tormentis appositi, non nisi solutam pecuniam dimittuntur ac extra civitatem certis in locis relegantur.' See also Bassi, pp. 392-403 and Battaglia, pp. 89-90.

ac prestantes numquam caruerunt.' The passage is also in Bassi, p. 395.

Read The other letters Filelfo addressed to Tranchedini containing mention of Patrizi and references to his misfortunes are in Filelfo, *Epistolarum libri*, as follows: f. 100r (27 January 1458), f. 101r (2 March 1458), f. 102r (14 August 1458), f. 102r (21 October 1458), f. 102v (21 September 1458). Some of them are mentioned in Bassi, pp. 399-400 and notes.

Piccolomini, Epistolarum libri, p. 832: 'Postremo quia Franciscum Patricium in vinculis coniectum accepimus, virum fama clarum et qui ornamentum civitatis

thanks to the fame won by the poems he had composed.⁸⁶ Patrizi was imprisoned for a few months and although he had appeared before a suitably chosen committee of inquiry, first on 5 July and then on 7 July,⁸⁷ he had to wait until the beginning of September for the Balia to pass sentence on his case:

Volentes expedire materiam Francisci Nannis Patricij pro suis demeritis detenti ad petitionem eorum Baliae per potestatis senarum servatis servandis solemniter decreverunt quod dominus Franciscus et sui filii sint et esse intelligantur amoniti et privati ab omnibus officis honoribus immunitatibus et privilegiis communis Senarum ad perpetuum. Et sit et esse intelligatur confinatus et ad confinia deputatus per tempus viginti annorum proxime futurorum in civitate Pistorii ... ad quae confinia ire debeat in terminum octo dierum a die quo exierit de Carceribus... ...soluisse teneatur Sexcentos ducatos auri largos communi Senarum ... in his terminis vidilicet in termine quindecim dierum a die notificationis computandorum ducatos trecentos et alios ducatos trecentos in tempore sex mensium proxime futurorum a die notificationis... .88

What is more, his goods were confiscated, he was ordered neither to write nor to get in touch with any of the other conspirators already confined, nor to leave Pistoia for a minimum period of two years.⁸⁹

On 14 September 1457 Patrizi was released from prison and the sentence of the committee was announced in the presence of Francesco's parents: 'Assentior affirmationes litterae plenam notitiam et claram informationem de condemnatione et confinatione facta de Francisco filio ipsorum in civitate Pistorii ...'.90

According to a note in the margin of the document dated 3 September, Patrizi

vestrae non parum hactenus fuit, rogamus in eius iudicio benefacta cum malefactis pensare velitis, et hominem in vita relinquere, qui suis scriptis vestram urbem illustravit ...' (letter to the Balia dated 24 July 1457).

Piccolomini, Europa, p. 456: '...poemata...quae sibi vitam retinuisse creduntur.' ASS, Balia, Deliberazioni 4, f. 67v: 'Die Martii v Julij priore domino Petro: ... Prior eligat tres de collegio ad examinandum verbis hoc sero Franciscum Patritium et referant collegio qui prior statim elegit Salimbenem de Petronibus vexilliferum, Magistrum Bartholomeum Thure, dominum Nicolaum Nannis Tertii Sancti Martini ...'; ff. 69r-v: 'Die Jovis vii Julii priore domino Augustino: ... Remissus in potestatem Senarum qui una cum tribus eligendis pro priorem Senae vicem priorem examinetur verbis Franciscum Patricium ...'.

examinetur verbis Franciscum Patricium ...'.

88 ASS, Balia, Deliberazioni 4, f. 131r: 'Die Sabbatii iii septembris priore Laurentio Ghini.'

⁸⁹ ASS, Balia, Deliberazioni 4, f. 133v: 'Die Sabbatii iii septembris priore Laurentio Ghini.'

⁹⁰ ASS, Balia, Deliberazioni 4, f. 136v.

went to Pistoia on the 21st of that month. In Pistoia, where he spent two months in a precarious financial state, worried about his family and the state of his case with the Republic of Siena, he found warm hospitality among its citizens, but no proposals were made to him for public lectures or any other cultural activity which could perhaps have mitigated the afflictions of exile.⁹¹ He wrote to Nicodemo Tranchedini several times begging him to attend to his case, telling him all his troubles and misfortunes, and urging him to obtain from the Balia permission for him to go to Lucca (Letter 94, letter 45, and letter 48). In Lucca some of Patrizi's students from previous years, as well as Cardinal Alessandro Oliva da Sassoferrato, were trying to obtain from the governors of the town a teaching appointment for him (Letter 94 and letter 103).92 It could be that they were hoping Patrizi might succeed Giovanni Pietro d'Avenza, who had been appointed to teach rhetoric and grammar in Lucca, but had suddenly died of plague at the beginning of October 1457. Patrizi looked with hope to Lucca certain that an official teaching appointment there would allow him to leave Pistoia for a stable source of income, but the entire matter led to naught, either because Patrizi was obliged to stay in Pistoia or because of the appointment of Giovanni Bartolomeo Carminati da Brescia to D'Avenza's post.93

The content of the letters addressed to Tranchedini also reveals that Patrizi had to appear before the magistrates of the town twice a day, and that during that time Francesco Tranchedini, Nicodemo's son, lived with Patrizi and devoted himself to

⁹² In a letter sent by Francesco Tranchedini to his father dated 'ex Pistorio XI Kal. Nov. [1457]' he clearly asserts that Lucca could be for him and for his master a safer place to live, especially because in Pistoia there was a serious risk of contamination with the plague. See Bassi, p. 441, n. 92.

Gian Pietro D'Avenza', pp. 385-403.

⁹¹ On teaching activity in Pistoia see Zanelli, *Del pubblico insegnamento in Pistoia*. According to Grendler, *Schooling*, pp. 12 and 19, there is record in Pistoia, as in other Italian towns, of both communal and independent teachers who taught grammar, logic, and *ars dictandi*, from the beginning of the Trecento.

Carminati was appointed on October 13, 1457. Despite the fact that in the last decades of the Trecento Lucca had obtained from the Emperor Charles IV and the Pope Urban VI due authorization, the Luccans failed to establish a University, although in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries they conferred degrees. This was probably due as Grendler, *Schooling*, p. 21, suggests, to the competition of the other more powerful Tuscan Universities of Florence, Siena and Pisa. See also Barsanti, *Il pubblico insegnamento*, pp. 83-99, 122-23 and Cortesi, 'Scuola di

the study of humanities under his direction.

Nicodemo, for his part, did his best for his exiled friend, as is clear from Patrizi's recurrent assertion: 'tu...vitam mihi restituisti et nunc magna parte me in libertatem vindicasti' (Letter 47, letter 45, and letter 103);⁹⁴ later, on 27 November 1457, he could inform Patrizi (Letter 103) that thanks to a new decree which had been issued by the Balia, his exile had been changed into *confino*, exile to a designated place. This meant, at least, that it was possible for Patrizi to leave Pistoia where the plague had become widespread and where his financial situation had worsened. Patrizi wrote at the end of November to Nicodemo:

Cum his [litteris] namque deligaveras exemplum novae sanctionis super relegatione mea M[agnifici] Magistratus Baliae Senensis; quaequidem res mihi adeo grata adeoque iucunda extitit ut gratius iucundiusque nihil hos tempore esse possit. ...Debeo igitur gratias immortales; vitam fortunamque meam omnem tibi committere decrevi.95

Moreover, though the Balia listed in detail the places Patrizi was allowed to go to, it permitted him to take up residence in Montughi, near Florence, in the actual villa that Tranchedini had bought when he went to Florence on a diplomatic mission in 1450:

[Magistratus Baliae] decreverunt quod Franciscus Patricius de Senis confinatus in civitate Pistorii iurisdictionis Florentiae per tempus viginti annorum sit et esse intelligatur confinatus in eodem loco per tempus vigintiotto annorum...cum hac limitatione quod per tempus duorum annorum proximis futurorum possit ire et stare ubicumque sibi placuit inter flumen Padi et flumen Arni cum hoc excepto quod non possit ire nec stare in civitatem Florentiae nec se appropinquare ad civitatem Senarum et eius territorium per triginta miliaria nec possit ire nec stare ad civitatem Plagentiae [nec] Ferrariam nec Bononiam nec Pisas nec per loca aliqua distantia a civitate Florentiae per viginti miliaria versus Perusium possit tamen ire et stare ad palatium possessionis et tenimenta M.ci Nicodemi de Pontremulo ducalis secretarij... .96

96 ASS, Balia, Deliberazioni 6, ff. 46r-46v. The text, much corrected and with

⁹⁴ Bassi, pp. 397-403, knew of only thirteen of the eighteen letters to Tranchedini in MS Ricc. 834 and did not consult the relevant documents in the Archive of Siena. Thus his information on Patrizi's exile is incomplete. Nothing particularly noteworthy emerges from Battaglia's work on the same event.

⁹⁵ Bassi, p. 398, n. 70, who refers to the same letter in outlining the events of that time, says that the abbreviation which preceeds 'magistratus' in the text could probably stand for 'Veronam'. This abbreviation is a capital 'm' followed by 'ci', as used to indicate the word 'magnifici' in another letter of this group (Letter 204). Bassi clearly did not know the content of the document dated November 1457 and consequently took for granted that this abbreviation stood for 'Veronam'.

We can ascertain from a letter Patrizi sent to the Balia dated 18 December that he arrived in Montughi on 29 November 1457,97 and according to the documents attesting to his *representationi*,98 now kept in the State Archive of Siena, he remained there until the end of June 1459. During his stay in Montughi he devoted himself to country pursuits (Letter 47) and to literary activity: he wrote a poem for Pius II on the occasion of his arrival in Siena in 1459 (Letter 104), as well as, together with Francesco Tranchedini, compendia of Quintilian and Priscian.99 Also 'Zucarinus', Francesco's younger brother, was living there (Letter 104), while Patrizi's sons must have been still in Siena at his parents' house, as Patrizi often recommended them to Nicodemo who was in Siena during that period (Letter 47, letter 20, and letter 203).

Montughi's geographical location near Florence, and Patrizi's acquaintance with Nicodemo Tranchedini, who was a familiar figure in the Medici circle, must have also been viewed by Patrizi as an opportunity to establish contact with the Medici in order to obtain some improvement in the conditions he was living under as an exile. His contacts with Cosimo in particular are attested by the poems Patrizi dedicated to him in this period (IV.4, no.39 and IV. 6, no. 41), which besides lamenting the harsh conditions of life in exile and asking for protection and favour in such unfortunate circumstances, highly praise the ruler of Florence, thus offering an interesting example of the existence of a literature favourable to the Medici even

many crossings out, is difficult to read. The Balia's concession that Patrizi be allowed to take up residence at Montughi was first crossed out, but then written in again at the end. The words 'Et predicta decreverunt ad contemplationem Magistri Nicodemi' bring the text to a close.

The 'representatione' was used for exiled or confined people to ensure their continued presence in the preordained place. It had to be witnessed by the local magistrate and communicated to the government of origin.

⁹⁹ On these compendia see below, Chapter II.

⁹⁷ ASS, Balia, Carteggio 494, letter no. 34: 'Avendo io nello ultimo decreto della M. Signoria V. specifica licentia di poter stare in Montughi luogo dello M.co Nichodemo et sollecitandomi in per più sue lettere che io mi vi dovesse conferire veduta la pestilentia essere in Pistoia, deliberai obedire la M.tia Sua et adj xxviiii di novembre proximo passato facta dinanzi dal podestà la representione della mattina mi partii da Pistoia et venni qua ad Montughi dove sono stato continuamente insino a quaesto dì ...'.

during Cosimo's life. ¹⁰⁰ If this eulogistic element does not allow us to establish the true nature of Patrizi's acquaintance with Cosimo, contact clearly continued for several years. Two letters - now contained in the Archive of State in Florence - were written to Cosimo's son Giovanni and to Cosimo's successor Lorenzo respectively. ¹⁰¹ The first, dated 28 July 1463, is a reply Patrizi wrote to Giovanni di Cosimo (1421-1463) to reassure him that he would do his best to help a procurator of a religious order entrusted with the purchase of some goods in the territory subject to his jurisdiction, and who had been recomended to him by Giovanni himself (Letter 55). ¹⁰² Many years later, in 1474, Patrizi wrote to Lorenzo de' Medici (1449-1492) an interesting letter in which he asks to be allowed to mantain the benefice of the Pieve of Campoli, in the Florentine diocesis (Letter 143). This benefice, which as will be seen later, was given to Patrizi by his friend Pius II, was certainly very important to him, all the more so since he was living far from Tuscany, in Gaeta. As Patrizi himself asserts, it allowed him to 'repatriare' from time to time, and to pay his respects to the illustrious Lorenzo and his powerful court.

Patrizi's time in Montughi also brought him into contact with Florentine humanists and scholars probably through the intervention of Nicodemo. Alamanno Rinuccini (1419-1499) met Patrizi in Montughi, and later wrote him a letter from Florence inviting him to join him and the Greek scholar Argiropulos for a trip to the Convent of St. Salvi near Florence. In closing, Rinuccini sends his regards to Nicodemo, which confirms the latter's role as intermediary. Marsilio Ficino

100 On these poems see below, Chapter II.

On these poems see below, Chapter II.

101 Archivio Mediceo Avanti il Principato. Inventario, I (1951), 191 and II (1973),
73.

On Giovanni di Cosimo, who among other engagments in the family bank, served also as ambassador to the Curia, see Hibbert, *The Rise and Fall*, pp. 95-96. The letter sent on 5 May 1458 was published by Giustiniani in Alamanno Rinuccini, *Lettere ed Orazioni*, pp. 36-37. It remains the only proof of the contacts between Patrizi and Rinuccini, which must have been renewed in 1465 when Patrizi was in Florence as a member of the Aragonese entourage accompanying Frederick of Aragon to Milan. However, as Giustiniani, *Alamanno Rinuccini 1426-1499*, p. 128, asserts, 'Es wird aber Keine rechte Freundschaft zwischen den beiden bestanden haben, denn ihr ganzer Briefweschel beschränkt, sich auf diese kleine Einlandung zu einem Spaziergang nach dem Kloster San Salvi und einem Imbiß dort mit J. Argyropulos.' On Argiropulos, and his teaching activity at the Florentine

(1433-1499), the well-known scholar and philosopher who founded the Platonic Academy in Florence, was also in personal correspondence with Patrizi, and a friend of a common acquaintance, Antonio Volterrano. 104 Patrizi and Ficino, and presumably also Volterrano, met when Patrizi was in Montughi, and kept in contact when he moved to Verona: from there he addressed a letter to 'Claro et eruditissimo viro Marsilio Ficino philosopho peregregio atque amico optimo', which contains Patrizi's expressions of admiration for the philosopher, and indicates that Patrizi's commentary on Quintilian had been praised by Ficino (Letter 69).105 Another humanist scholar who was in contact with Ficino and his circle in Florence around 1457 and whom Patrizi probably met while living in Montughi, is Bartolomeo Sacchi, known as Platina (1421-1481). In a poem addressed to Ludovico Gonzaga and composed by Patrizi in 1459-60 (III.2, no. 19), he mentions Platina, who is said to have confided that he owes all his good fortune to the Marquis's patronage. 106 Patrizi celebrates Platina's excellence in both classical languages, and indeed the latter was perfecting his Latin and Greek in nearby Florence around the same years Patrizi was in Montughi.107

In addition, Patrizi was known to Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459), as is demonstrated by a letter that Poggio addressed to Francesco Tranchedini, presumably in 1458, in which he invites the young Francesco to pursue his study of

Studio, see Cammelli, I dotti bizantini, II: 'Giovanni Argiropulo'.

For the vast bibliography on Ficino see the bibliographical article in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, p. 817 and Hankins, *Plato in the Renaissance*, I, 265-359. On the Platonic Academy see Della Torre, *Storia dell'Accademia platonica* and, more recently Field, *The Origins of the Platonic Academy*. For Hankins'argument that the Platonic Academy was nothing more than a private gymnasium run by Ficino, see the two following articles by him: 'Cosimo de' Medici and the 'Platonic Academy', and 'The Myth of the Platonic Academy of Florence'.

The letter was published in Marsilio Ficino, Supplementum Ficinianum, II, 269 See also Chapter II, p. 80.

¹⁰⁶ For this poem see below, Chapter II.

On Platina, later appointed abbreviator apostolicus by Pius II, see the collection of essays in Bartolomeo Sacchi il Platina, edited by Campana and Medioli Masotti; Garin, Storia della filosofia, I, 324-27; Saitta, Il pensiero italiano, I, 390-99; Luzio and Renier, 'Il Platina e i Gonzaga'; Raybaud, 'Platina et l'humanisme florentin'; Zabughin, Giulio Pomponio Leto, I (1909), 60-68.

the bonarum artium. Talking of these, in bringing the letter to a close, Poggio says:

Tu modo fac, mi Francisce, ne tibi ipsi desis, cum facultas discendi adest. Habes penes te Franciscum Patritium, doctissimum atque integerrimum virum, cuius [virtutis] et doctrine fontibus nisi augeas quantum datur et temporis at facultatis, vide ne, quod tibi penitus est fugiendum, aut ignari aut inertis nomen incurras. Vale et me parenti ac preceptori commenda.¹⁰⁸

At some time during the years in Montughi Patrizi decided to enter the priesthood (Letter 203); once his spiritual and religious preparation seemed complete to his master Matteo da Fucecchio (Letter 47), he obtained the necessary papal permission (Letter 85) and received Holy Orders from the Bishop of Fiesole on 15 April 1459.¹⁰⁹

Two months later the Concistoro of Siena decided to send Patrizi to Verona. 110 On 6 July 1459 he wrote to the Sienese Governors: 'Per ubidire ad uno decreto facto dali nostri magnifici precessori mi sono conferito hogi in Verona quantunque con ispesa grande et disagio mio assai...'; 111 and dispatched the customary documentary proof of his presence in the town. 112

In Verona Patrizi continued to teach privately but he was also engaged as a public teacher. Indeed Francesco Tranchedini, who was still living with Patrizi, attended his public lessons together with numerous Veronese students, 113 and at this

This letter was published in Poggio Bracciolini, *Lettere*, III (1987), 517-18. For a profile of Poggio and his writings see Rinaldi, 'Umanesimo e Rinascimento', pp. 241-59.

Letter 133: 'Hodie autem ut primum illuxit Fesulam me contuli et ab Episcopo quattuor primis ordinibus ordinatus sum.' It could be surmised that Patrizi's choice to enter the priesthood might have coincided with the loss of his wife. Unfortunately, there is no mention of Bartolomea's death in any of Patrizi's letters of the period.

ASS, Concistoro, Copialettere 1677, f. 83v: 'Die xxii Juni [1459]. ... Francisco Patritio scriptum est ita pro boni respecti habiamo deliberato che lo tuo confino sia nella città di Verona in quello modo et forma che vedrai per la significatione interclusa ...'. See also Battaglia, pp. 90-91, n. 5.

ASS, Concistoro, Carteggio 1994, letter no. 66. On the same day Patrizi wrote a letter to Tranchedini to announce his arrival in Verona (Letter 204).

ASS, Concistoro, Carteggio 1995, letters nos. 5, 10, 77; Concistoro, Carteggio 1996, letter no. 14. Here he signed 'Servitor humilis Fr[anciscus] Patricius Senensis clericus et S[anctissimi] D[omini] N[ostri] Familiaris.'

¹¹³ F. S. Maffei, *Verona Illustrata*, II, cols. 120-21: '[F. Patrizi] che ricoveratosi esule a Verona fu condotto per publico Maestro, essendo Podestà Francesco Barbaro.' Since Francesco Barbaro died in 1454, it is likely that Maffei confused

time Patrizi discussed with Nicodemo Tranchedini whether he should continue to teach Francesco the humanities or whether he should pass to the study of law (Letter 62). In addition, Patrizi had to provide Francesco with the necessary means and apparel to attend the marriage of Francesco's sister Lunesina, for which he left Patrizi at the end of October 1459 (Letter 99).¹¹⁴ From that time onwards Patrizi did not see his pupil very often nor did he receive many letters from Francesco, as he complained in a letter of a few years later (Letter 60). Indeed, despite Francesco's devotion to the humanities and to his teacher, he followed his father's career and in 1464 became Chancellor of the Sforza.¹¹⁵ Patrizi was however in contact with another member of the Tranchedini family, Nicodemo's brother Leonardo, who at the time was Abbot of the Convent of St. Paul in Verona (Letter 99 and letter 46).

In Verona Patrizi met and won the friendship of a number of illustrious humanists. He met Bishop Ermolao Barbaro (1419-1471), with whom he kept in touch during his governorship in Foligno and in particular in the years 1461-62, when Ermolao was acting as Governor of Perugia (Letter 102). He met the youngest of Guarino da Verona's sons, Battista (1435-1505), who had been in Verona since 1458 composing his *De ordine docendi et discendi*, and who addressed to Patrizi a long elegy entitled 'Consolatio exilii'. He also made the acquaintance

Francesco Barbaro with Ermolao Barbaro, Bishop of Verona from 1453 to 1471. Tranchedini wrote from Verona to his father, on 18 October 1457: 'Lectionibus ... multis cum aliis adolescentibus optimis vaco.' (MS Ricc. 834, f. 164v).

This letter is dated 28 November 1459, and in it Patrizi says: 'Franciscus tuus pridie Kalendas Novembris ad nuptias properavit'. Bassi, p. 439, n. 75. asserts that Lunesina got married in November 1460, but this date is contradicted by Patrizi's letter, unless the young Tranchedini left for Milan a year, and not a month, before the wedding.

¹¹⁵ See C. Santoro, Gli uffici, p. 54.

On Ermolao Barbaro see Bigi, 'Barbaro, Ermolao', in *DBI*, VI (1964), 95-96. Patrizi's stay in Verona is mentioned in E. Barbaro, *Orationes contras poetas*, p. 4 and p. 5, n. 10.

On Battista's stay in Verona in the period 1458-59 see Sabbadini, Vita di Guarino Veronese, p. 155. His elegy to Patrizi can be found in Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS Marc. Lat. XII 135 (4100), ff. 39r-41v (Iter, II, 258; Zorzanello, Catalogo, II (1981), 244-51). It was wrongly attributed to Antonio Brognanigo by Maffei, Verona Illustrata, II, cols. 120-21. See also Avesani, Verona nel Quattrocento, pp. 106-107; Battaglia, p. 91, n. 1; Bassi, p. 402, n. 84, who states that the elegy was published in the 1496 Mantuan edition of Baptistae Guarinii Poemata.

of Antonio Brognanigo (d. after 1473), who not only composed a poem to welcome Patrizi to Verona and to console him on his exile, but also celebrated his erudition and literary gifts in a long poem of seventy-six elegiac distichs addressed to the young Veronese students who attended Patrizi's classes.¹¹⁸

Other notable humanists with whom Patrizi mantained contact in the years to come, and whom he probably met in Verona, included the monk Ilarione, Domizio Calderini and the architect Fra Giocondo. Niccolò Fontanelli, better known as Ilarione (1440-1485), a Benedictine monk of the congregation of St. Giustina at Verona, wrote an epigram to Patrizi praising the treatise on the Republic which Patrizi had written in the years 1465-1471, and composed six distichs, dedicated to Sixtus IV, as an introduction to Giulio Patrizi's commentary on Juvenal. When Ilarione died in 1485, Patrizi composed an epitaph in which he mourned his death, which he mantained occurred in the Ionian Sea during a voyage to Egypt. 120

Domizio Calderini (1446-1478), native of Torri del Benaco near Verona, was a young schoolboy at the time Patrizi was in Verona and might have attended his classes. ¹²¹ He died young, in 1474, after a brilliant career in Rome, where he had been awarded the chair of rhetoric by Pope Paul II. Patrizi composed for him an epitaph in which he drew a parallel between Calderini's fate and Catullus's and celebrated their great intellect. ¹²²

Fra Giocondo (1434-1515), a Veronese Franciscan monk, appears in an

The epigram on the political treatise is mentioned in Bandini, Bibliotheca Leopoldina, II (1792), col. 66. See also Avesani, Verona nel Quattrocento, p. 209

The two poems are to be found in Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, MS Ashb.194 (270. 202) (formerly MS Gianfilippi 386), ff. 129r-130r and 130r-133r respectively (*Iter*, I, 82-83). The first one is also found in Verona, Biblioteca Civica, MS 1393, ff. 133r-33v (Biadego, *Catalogo descrittivo*, p. 44), and was published in Perpolli, 'L' "Actio Panthea", pp. 25-26. On Brognanigo see Gorni, 'Brognanigo, Antonio', in *DBI*, XIV (1972), 443-44.

Epigram no. 170 (ff. 55v-56r), also published in Smith, 'Epigrammata', pp. 119-20 and commented on on pp. 102-103. Avesani, Verona nel Quattrocento, p. 210.

On Calderini see Dionisotti, 'Calderini, Poliziano e altri'; Dunston, 'Studies in Domizio Calderini'; Perosa, 'Calderini, Domizio', in *DBI*, XVI (1973), 597-606. Epigram no. 169 (f. 55v). Smith, 'Epigrammata', p. 105 and p. 121. Avesani, Verona nel Quattrocento, p. 107 and notes, p. 194 and n. 2.

epigram by Patrizi which dates back to the years 1489 to 1493, when Fra Giocondo was employed as an architect at the service of the Aragonesi. 123 The heading of the epigram 'Ad Iucundum Antiquarium. Ad architectum F. Iucundum' hints at his twofold activity as an expert in ancient monuments and inscriptions as well as an architect, while the text itself celebrates exclusively his competence in the field of antiquities, and was probably composed on the occasion of one of fra Giocondo's visits to Gaeta to inspect some ancient remains. 124

Finally, it is possible that in Verona Patrizi also met Ognibene Bonisoli da Lonigo and a certain Carlo from Brescia, probably a member of the Valagusso family.¹²⁵ Ognibene da Lonigo (1412-1474) was a humanist who, after four years as a court tutor at the service of Galeazzo Maria Sforza and Ludovico Gonzaga, taught for almost thirty years as a teacher appointed by the 'comune' in Vicenza and was a prolific commentator and editor of classical texts. 126 Patrizi composed an epitaph for him celebrating his rectitude and his goodness, and his ability in composing works in verse and prose worthy of Virgil and Cicero. 127 As for the relationship between Patrizi and Carlo from Brescia the only certain fact is that the latter visited Patrizi in Gaeta. An epigram addressed to a Carlo 'Brixiensem', which mainly expands upon the origins of the population of Brescia, hints at the fact that Carlo is a guest of the town which gave birth to Aeneas's foster-mother, that is

123 Epigram no. 248 (ff. 76v-77r). Smith, 'Epigrammata', pp. 103-104 and p.

125 Smith, 'Epigrammata', pp. 104-5 and p. 120, asserts that this figure was Carlo Valagusso from Brescia.

Percopo, 'Nuovi documenti', p. 377, states that in December 1498 Fra Giocondo went to Mola and Gaeta to view ancient remains. Indeed the registers of the Aragonese Treasury (Reg. 132, f. 401) listed among the expenses for 1498: 'Fra Giocondo da Verona riceve 3 ducati correnti per la spesa che gli converrà fare andando a Gaeta e a Mola per vedere certe anticaglie.' See Barone, 'Le cedole di Tesoreria', p. 7. It is more than likely that on that occasion Giocondo met Patrizi again, who then wrote this epigram.

On Ognibene see Ballistreri, 'Bonisoli, Ognibene', in DBI, XII (1970), 234-36; Grendler, Schooling, pp. 133-35; Sansonetti, 'Le pubbliche scuole', pp. 171-74; Serena, La cultura umanistica, pp. 68-72, 142, 327-30.

127 Epigram no. 56 (f. 19v). Smith, 'Epigrammata', p. 104 and p. 120.

Caietas, at the time the epigram is being composed. 128 How and when this visit occurred is difficult to establish.

Despite his warm welcome in Verona and the extent of his contacts, Patrizi's letters to Tranchedini indicate that his economic situation was precarious and the texts he nedeed for his studies were not available. Thus his stay in Verona was one of considerable hardship.¹²⁹

Fortunately for Patrizi, it was only a matter of months before the Sienese government freed him from *confino* in November 1459. The following month Patrizi himself was glad to announce in a letter to Nicodemo as follows (Letter 46): '...in Senatu Senensium decretum fuisse ut ego liber ab esilio essem et quocumque gentium ambulare possem praeterquam in urbem ad dicionem senensem, quae quidem res mihi gratissima extitit.' ¹³⁰

The decision was taken in Siena thanks to Pius II's numerous interventions with the Governors on behalf of Patrizi in the last months of 1459, and coincided with the re-admission of the *Gentiluomini* to political office in the Government. Such re-admission had been repeatedly requested, if not imposed, by Piccolomini once he was elected Pope, and favoured also by the Milanese Francesco Sforza who supported the Pope's political plans.¹³¹ Patrizi's position, as well as that of other 'rebels' of 1456-57, necessitated a lot of diplomatic negotations between Siena and the Pope, who meanwhile nominated Patrizi 'plebanus' of the Parish of St. Stephen in Campoli, in the Florentine diocesis. The Pope submitted a first petition on 23 October 1459, which was rejected, ¹³² and consequently the Concistoro wrote an

¹²⁸ Epigram no. 311 (ff.92r-92v).

In two letters (Letter 62 and letter 99) he complained of his poverty again and again. From a previous letter (Letter 204), however, it emerges that the Cardinal of Aquileia, Ludovico Scarampi Mezzarota, was also doing his best to be of some help to him. On this Cardinal see Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, Π (1901), 8.

Bassi, p. 403, quoting the same document, wrote 'decretum esse' instead of 'decretum fuisse'. On this and other documents see also Battaglia, pp. 92-93 and notes

¹³¹ See, on the whole matter of the Nobles, their admission in the Government, and Pius II's policy Polverini Fosi, "La comune, dolcissima patria".

ASS, Consiglio generale, Deliberazioni 228, f. 132r. The text records that Patrizi had already been elected 'rethor ecclesiae parrochialis Sancti Stefani de

important letter in which it categorically refused to amend a law in favour of a rebel whom, they maintained, had already been treated with great clemency. Nevertheless, Pius II persisted in his aims and, as a result of declarations issued during November, 134 he succeded in freeing Patrizi from confino. Almost two years later, on 13 April 1461, after further long and difficult negotiations, 136 he finally obtained that Patrizi be 'in pristinum statum restitutum in quo erat ante condemnationem sibi factam et similiter filii sui ...'. 137

87

01

From the end of 1459 until the beginning of 1461 there is no record of Patrizi's whereabouts. He almost certainly left Verona in 1459, but did not return to Siena until the first months of 1462, following his mother's death (Letter 171). In all probability, he went to Rome, to live under the protection of his friend Pius II, and his presence there is recorded in a letter he sent to Tranchedini in January 1461 (Letter 189). Patrizi's acquaintance with the young Roman poet, Niccolò della Valle, is certainly to be related to his stay in Rome. Della Valle (1444-1473) dedicated to Patrizi a poem entitled 'In pedagogum Graecis litteris detrahentem', polemicizing against an unnamed scholar - probably Porcelio - who asserted that the Latin language was superior to Greek. Patrizi was also the dedicatee of two poems by Angelo Tifernate and Domenico Ortino, in both of which he is celebrated especially for his skill as a poet. It is more than likely that these encomiastic verses for Patrizi

Campoli, florentinae diocesis.'

ASS, Concistoro, Copialettere 1677, f. 166v.

ASS, Consiglio generale, Deliberazioni 228, f. 174r, f. 176r, f. 177r (November 19, 25, 30, 1459)

ASS, Consiglio generale, Deliberazioni 228, f. 178r (November 30, 1459)
ASS, Consiglio generale, Deliberazioni 229, f. 47v, f. 48r, f. 49r (March 31-April 7, 1461)

ASS, Consiglio generale, Deliberazioni 229, f. 50r; Concistoro 567, f. 39r. Patrizi wrote a letter of thanks to the Republic, in reply, now in ASS, Concistoro, Carteggio 2000, letter no. 13.

Della Valle's poem is in Vatican Library, MS Vat. Lat. 1690, ff. 377r-388v, and followed by a letter to Patrizi by the same, on ff. 389r-390r, in which the author asks Patrizi to correct his poem. See Bianca, 'Marianus de Magistris', pp. 577-79. On Della Valle and his family see also Fabbri, 'Nota biografica'; Gatta, 'Dal casale al libro'.

were inspired by Patrizi's dedication in 1461 to his friend Pius II, of a collection of celebratory poems, which certainly circulated among the Pope's collaborators and friends.¹³⁹

Pius II's patronage continued still further when he nominated Patrizi Bishop of Gaeta on 23 March 1461. The Pope's letter of nomination to Patrizi, which is still extant in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, is followed by another letter where the Pope allows him to keep on the benefice of Campoli. Both are dated 'Anno MCCCCLX decimo Kal Aprilis', that is 23 March 1460, and are followed by the indication 'anno tertio' referring to Pius II's year of Pontificate. This dating has generated some confusion as to Patrizi's election, often indicated in the year 1460. Indeed the Papal Chancellery always used, in recording the election of bishops, the style 'ab incarnatione', also used in Siena, according to which the new year began on 25 March. Thus, following the modern system, Patrizi's election took place on 23 March 1461. On the same date Patrizi notified the Republic of Siena of his election and wrote to Nicodemo to announce his nomination (Letter 191). In the

In fect

01

Jan 1

For this collection see below, Chapter II. For the poem by Angelo Tifernate, which indeed appeared at the end of a manuscript collection of Patrizi's poems, MS Hamilton 482, f. 94r, see Boese, *Die latienischen Handschriften*, p. 228. Domenico's poem, entitled 'Ad Franciscum Patricium Senatorem', was published in *Carmina Illustrium Poetarum*, VII (1720), 29. It can also be found in Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, MS Ashb. 1060 (990), ff. 28v-29r and Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS Ricc. 636 (L IV 14), f. 21v.

The letter of nomination is contained in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano (hereafter ASV), Registri Vaticani 480, ff. 22v-23r, and is followed by three letters of the Pope, announcing Patrizi's nomination, to the Cathedral of Gaeta (ff. 23r-23v), the clergy of the town and the diocesis of Gaeta (f. 23v), and the people of Gaeta (ff. 23v-24r). These are followed by Pius's letter about the benefice of Campoli (ff. 24r-24v). All the letters, which all together constitute one document, are dated

^{&#}x27;Anno MCCCCLX decimo Kal Aprilis', that is 23 March 1461.

141 Patrizi's letter to the Sienese Republic, now in Vatican Library, MS Chigi E VII 216 (ff 93v-94r) and dated 23 March 1460 (=1461), was followed by a reply of the latter congratulating him on his nomination, dated 26 March 1461 (ASS, Concistoro, Copialettere 1679, no folio number). The letter to Nicodemo was also dated according to the Sienese method, (1460 instead of 1461). See also Bassi, pp. 403-4; Battaglia, p. 94, n. 1; Eubel, Hierarchia, II, p.174, who lists the following Bishops of Gaeta: '1444-14__: Jacobus de Navarra. 14__-1494: Franciscus (Patricius) solvendum servitium commune, 1463 Oct. 4.', adds in note: 'Jan. 23 Mart. 1460 promotus esse dicitur.' The document referring to Patrizi's payment of 250 florins for his post for the year 1463, indicated by Eubel, is in ASV, Camera Apostolica, Obligationes et Solutiones 79, f. 57v. Ferraro, Memorie Religiose, p. 214, who believes that Patrizi was created Bishop in 1461, states that Giacomo,

letter he says:

Certiorem praeterea te facio Summum Pontificem hodie in collegio R.um dominorum Cardinalium me pronunciasse Episcopum Caietanum, quem episcopatum asserunt amoenissimum et opulentum satis; reliquit praeterea mihi istam Plebem Campolitanam quae quidem res mihi gratissima fuit.

One month later, on 28 May 1461, Patrizi was created Governor of Foligno and he arrived there on the following day (Letter 201).¹⁴² On 1 June he made his solemn entry into the town where he took up residence in order to take personal care of administrative and political matters connected with his governorship.¹⁴³ Patrizi's activity during the four years 1461-1464 is fully documented by the letters he wrote to Cardinals, Bishops, magistrates and friends; the examination of this correspondence shows that Patrizi found himself in serious difficulties with the exercise of his duties and especially with the administration of justice.¹⁴⁴

Vicar of Patrizi's predecessor, was still alive in December 1460. The letter of nomination mentioned above explicitly indicates that the Bishopric of Gaeta was vacant because of Giacomo's death. Another document of the ASV that referred to Patrizi's payment of 250 florins for 1461, and indicated in the Schedario Garampi 39, p. 20 as contained in one of the volumes Sacri Collegi (Consistoralia), Acta Miscellanea, is now lost.

The letter of nomination, dated 28 May 1461 'anno tertio', is in ASV, Reg. Vat. 516, ff. 18v-20r. See also Jacobilli, *Discorso della città*, p. 46, who gives the date

May 27, 1461; Faloci Pulignani, 'Siena e Foligno', p. 156.

Archivio Comunale in Foligno (hereafter ACF), Riformanze ad annum [1461], f. 36r 'Die 1 Junii 1461. Venerabilis in Christo Pater D.nus Franciscus Patricius Ep.us Caietanus, Fulginei etc. pro Sancta Romana Ecclesia et SS.mo D.no D.no Pio Providentia Papa II Gubernator designatus, suum felicem fecit introitum dicti Guberni dicta die, cum maxima civium comitiva et ad sonum campanae, et ita humiliter et reverenter per Magnificos Dominos Priores, et omnes cives et plebeos acceptatus fuit.' Faloci Pulignani, 'Siena e Foligno', p.156.

Morelli, Codices manuscripti, p. 109, saw in a manuscript belonging to the Biblioteca Naniana a great number of Francesco Patrizi's letters: 'Duae ac vicenae super centenas eae sunt, tum omnes a Patricio Episcopo Cajetano scriptae, quum apud Fulginates Praefectuum agebat.' The same information is in Mittarelli, Bibliotheca codicum, cols 855-56. Faloci Pulignani, 'Siena e Foligno', wrote that Francesco Patrizi: 'Lasciò la raccolta di tutte le sue lettere, che, come governatore di Foligno scrisse dal 1461 al 1465 al Papa, ai ministri, ai Cardinali, ai parenti, agli amici.... L'autografo di esse ... nel 1778 stava in Foligno, donde era stata cavata una copia che stava nella biblioteca del Seminario. Nel 1851 stava presso la famiglia Guzzoni degli Ancarani di Trevi e una bella copia della fine del secolo trovasi da poco tempo nella Nazionale di Firenze...'; Mengozzi, Della zecca, p. 18, said that Patrizi's letters in the original were 'nella Biblioteca di questa Nobil famiglia Gigli, ed una copia in questa del Seminario ...'. For a list of all the manuscripts containing Patrizi's letters see Part A of the Bibliography of works by Patrizi.

The problems relating to the governorship of Foligno were due to the fact that this town, and the surrounding territories including Bevagna, Castro Bono, Montefalco, Trevi, Assisi, Spoleto and Nocera, had been ruled for 140 years, until 1439, by the Trinci family, who were nominated Vicars of the Church. In their last years in power, they acted like tyrants and their subjects were eventually freed by Cardinal Vittelleschi, sent to their aid by Pope Eugenius IV (1431-47). For twenty years after the Trinci's expulsion, Foligno and its province were racked by conflict between those who favoured a republican regime, those who were hoping for a papal government and other groupings who wanted either Jacopo Piccinino or Francesco Sforza to be their political leader. Popes would send to Foligno trusted collaborators in an attempt to re-establish some order, and Pius II did the same: in 1459 he posted his brother-in-law Giacomo Tolomei, in 1460 another relative, and in 1461 Francesco Patrizi. In turn Patrizi, to settle disputes and suppress revolts, surrounded himself with Sienese collaborators: in 1461 the Bishop of Foligno was Antonio Bettini and his brother Bartolomeo was created *Podestà* in 1464. Previously in 1461 Patrizi had nominated as Podestà of the town his close friend Achille Petrucci, but during the summer Petrucci left the town in fear of the plague. Although Patrizi forced him to come back and to take on his duties again within a short period (Letter 34), he was finally replaced by another Sienese, Pacino Pacini, Podestà of Trevi for six months in 1461 (Letter 197) and then Podestà of Foligno in 1462 (Letter 39). Patrizi was also urged by the people of Foligno to nominate the Sienese Baldassare de' Caccialupi as magistrate of the town (Letter 34). Baldassare was succeeded in 1463 by Guido Oterio (Letter 43), the brother of Sinolfio Oterio who had been magistrate of Gualdo Tadino in 1462 (Letter 72) and friend of Patrizi. 145

¹⁴⁵ Sinolfo Oterio, of the Sienese family of the Counts Ottieri della Ciaia, was very dear to Patrizi, who often mentions him in his letters. Later Sinolfo became clerk of the Apostolic Camera, Apostolic secretary and in 1479 Bishop of Chiusi. It was however Patrizi who first of all recommended him to his acquaintances, such as Bernardo Piccolomini, Governor of Spoleto (Letter 22), and the powerful Goro Lolli, to whom Patrizi sent Oterio to discuss some problems related to Foligno in July 1462 (Letter 149). From July 1464 onwards Sinolfo was in Rome (Letter 135),

During his governorship, Patrizi reduced from one hundred to sixty the number of members of the provincial council and insisted that there be representatives from both areas of the Protectorate, the mountain and the plain. Moreover he paid attention to the economic problems which had often caused violence and disorder. First of all he obtained the right of minting coinage from the Pope (Letter 95) to eliminate the counterfeit coins already in circulation, and henceforth strictly regulated coin production (Letter 130). It is possible that the new coins were called 'bajocchi': in a letter of February 1464 Patrizi wrote to the General Treasurer of the Apostolic Camera (Letter 128) to say that the 'Camerarii' provoked the people in Foligno since they exchanged one florin for sixty 'bajocchi' when collecting taxes, but only for fifty when paying the magistrates.¹⁴⁶ On the occasion of Pius II's crusade Patrizi minted new coins in his honour and called them 'cruciati'. These were coins of gold and silver showing the ship carrying the Pope and the inscription 'Exurgat Deus et dissipentur inimici eius' on one side, and the Papal insignia with the sentence 'Vindica, Domine, Sanguinem nostrum qui pro te effusum est' on the other (Letter 30).147

Patrizi also kept Pius II constantly informed of the events of the Umbrian region where political controversies and turmoils were a result of the more general crisis the papal government was experiencing. It is worth remembering, as an example, the attempt made by Sigismondo Malatesta in 1461 to conquer the Abruzzo region. In July 1461 Malatesta ventured as far as Piceno with the firm intention of invading the Abruzzo alongside Giacomo Piccinino. However, he had to retreat when Piccinino let him down. Malatesta incurred the anger of Pius II because he had occupied territories belonging to the vicariate of Mondavio: the Pope ordered him to

Mengozzi, Della zecca, p. 18, noted that the 'bajocchi' are mentioned for the first time in Patrizi's letters.

and Patrizi sent him a letter of congratulations on his admission to the Piccolomini household (Letter 75). Sinolfo is recalled in Avesani, 'Per la biblioteca', p. 42, n. 174, as a correspondent of Agostino Patrizi, as well as of Francesco.

This letter to Agostino Patrizi was published by S. Borgia in Amaduzzi, *Anedocta litteraria*, III (1774), 285-86. See also Avesani, 'Per la biblioteca', pp. 5-6, n. 16.

beg for his forgiveness and to return the land. Sigismondo, who nedeed to ingratiate himself with the Pope, turned to Francesco Patrizi through the influence of his son-in-law Giulio Cesare da Varano, Duke of Camerino, who had shortly before made peace with Pius II (Letter 192, letter 182, and letter 95). Patrizi promptly let Pius (Letter 130) and Goro Lolli (Letter 174) know of Malatesta's proposals: in these Sigismondo asked to be forgiven and declared that he would obey the Pope, but he did not mention the return of the papal territories. Therefore Patrizi thought the proposals too vague and said so.¹⁴⁸

During the following years the situation inside and outside the territories Patrizi governed continued to change drammatically, and in April 1464 he had to face a serious rebellion led by Niccolò della Tacca, Braccio da Perugia and Giovanni Francesco Rampeschi, one of the Priors of Foligno (Letter 131). They installed a republican government, asked for the Governor's dismissal (Letter 134), imprisoned the Executor of the Apostolic Camera (Letter 80), and repeatedly threatened the loyal supporters of the Church (Letter 169). Patrizi informed the Signoria of Siena of the situation in Foligno, ¹⁴⁹ requested help from Agostino Patrizi (Letter 15), Goro Lolli (Letter 169), Jacopo Ammanati Piccolomini (Letter 27), and especially from his deputy Niccolò Bettonio da Pisa (Letter 162 and letter 180), who hurried back to Foligno immediately. According to a letter Patrizi wrote to Lolli on 25 July 1464 (Letter 187), the situation in Foligno seemed calmer and he decided to go to Nocera to avoid the summer heat; ¹⁵⁰ because of this, he luckily escaped a second violent insurrection which cost the life of Niccolò Bettonio. ¹⁵¹

During his hectic period as governor, Patrizi found the time to continue his literary activity, as is evident from his correspondence with some friends in

151 Ammanati, Epistolae, ff. 344v-45v.

Patrizi's intervention with the Pope on behalf of Malatesta is mentioned by Soranzo, *Pio II e la politica*, pp. 261-62. See also Battaglia, pp. 95-96, n. 1.

ASS, Concistoro, Carteggio 2008, letter no. 51 dated 8 July 1464.

Ammanati, *Epistolae*, f. 62r: 'Ipse Episcopus [Franciscus Patrizi] solo aetatis beneficio mortem evasit. Nuceriam enim vitandi causa secesserat. Si fuisse Fuligni primum eius caput fuisse petitum ...'.

particular. For example on 6 July 1461, he sent from Foligno to Jacopo Ammanati a 'Tetravangelus', an elegant volume containing the four Gospels (Letter 158). To him and to the Bishop of Camerino, Alessandro Oliva da Sassoferrato, he wrote letters of congratulation on the occasion of their election as Cardinals on 18 December 1461 (Letter 195 and letter 57).

Goro Lolli and Agostino Patrizi were particularly close to him when his mother died, in December 1461, and sent him consolatory letters (Letters 6 and letter 16). In fact Lolli's nephew, Niccolò, was living with Patrizi studying classics and patrology, in particular Lactantius (Letter 5) and St. Augustine (Letter 175). The close relationship with Agostino Patrizi was illustrated again when Patrizi sent him a copy of the Gospels in Greek probably in response to a request by Agostino for a text to help him learn that language (Letter 98); on the same occasion Patrizi asked his friend to return his poetical works to him (Letter 98 and letter 76) and when Patrizi sent Agostino some new poetry he was still waiting for these (Letter 125 and letter 26). 153 Furthermore, Patrizi told him that he intended writing a treatise on republican government (Letter 25) and kept him informed about his progress in its composition: by the middle of October 1462 he had written the first five books (Letter 81) and the first eight by September 1463 (Letter 125). Patrizi's treatise was certainly completed by 1471 since in the preface to the second book he stated that it was finished before Sixtus IV's pontificate.154 He also mentioned, in the correspondence with Agostino, the texts of classical authors he needed for his work: Statius (Letter 98), Diodorus Siculus and Vitruvius (Letter 25), Celsius Cornelius (Letter 108) and Aulus Gellius (Letter 63) as well as a collection of selected

On Jacopo Ammanati Piccolomini see, in particular, Cherubini, 'Giacomo Ammanati Piccolomini', who on p. 210, n. 110, mentions Patrizi's letter to Ammanati from MS Naz. N. A. 382 (Letter 158 (415)).

The letters have been mentioned by Avesani, 'Per la biblioteca', p. 6 and

Dykmans, L'Oeuvre, pp. 1-5, to illustrate the relationd between Francesco and Agostino Patrizi. See also Bassi, p. 410 and Morelli, Codices manuscripti, p. 109.

154 De Institutione Reipublicae (Paris, 1567), II, Proem to Sixtus IV, p. 61: '..hos libros meos ante pontificatum tuum ad umbiculum usque deductos'. On this treatise see below, Chapter III.

passages from other classical writings.¹⁵⁵ Francesco and Agostino Patrizi were also equally fond of epigraphy. In a church not very far from Foligno Francesco discovered an ancient inscription with the name 'Fulginia' on it, and since such an epigraph supported Patrizi's spelling of the name of the Umbrian town, he immediately gave notice of his discovery to Agostino (Letter 165);¹⁵⁶ the latter sent Francesco some epigrams which were in all likelihood texts of ancient inscriptions (Letter 120).¹⁵⁷

Patrizi's scholarly activity was hindered by the events which followed Pius II's death in August 1464. The Venetian Cardinal Pietro succeeded Pius II with the name of Paul II and because of his fierce aversion to the Sienese, he ordered those whom Pius II had appointed to public office to account for their actions. In reply, the Signoria of Siena sent an embassy to Rome with the aim of commending its citizens to the Pope. Francesco Patrizi, who was among those under investigation, was warned of his dangerous position by Cardinal Ammanati, who also recommended him to the Cardinal of Constance in charge of the enquiry. Thanks to his

Letter 25 (68), dated October 1461: 'Auxilium tuum efflagito...ut ad me mittas et Justo vel praesenti latore des excerpta illa ex compluribus libris quae tibi reliqui ligata funiculo quodam, sine quibus efficere nequeo et si qua tu ipse excerptisti ex libro Diodori Siculi itidem mittas. R. domino Episcopo Ferrariensi [Lorenzo Roverella] ut me commendas velim, eique dicas me numquam habuisse Vitruvium de Architectura a nepote suo... . Roga tamen eum ut tibi Vitruvium concedat pro aliquibus diebus, quem ad me mittes et ego ad te remittam, cum primum videro locos quosdam, qui operi meo necessarii admodum sunt.'

Avesani, *Per la biblioteca*, pp. 7-8, has identified the place with the Church of S. Giovanni Profiamma and the inscription with the one generally indicated in humanistic collections of epigraphs as the oldest in Foligno.

¹⁵⁷ Letter 120 (305), dated November 1461: 'Epigrammata tua accepi grato quidem animo et ad te quam primum lecta atque escripta remittam.'

ACF, Riformanze ad annum [1464]. On 16 October the Consiglio Comunale decided 'quod qui ceperant iniustitiam ab eo [Francesco Patrizi], porrigerent eorum petitiones'. See Faloci Pulignani, 'Siena e Foligno', p. 157. As for the Sienese, according to Mengozzi, Della zecca, p. 203, Pope Paul II said 'che dovessero rendere conto esatto, completo e regolare dell'opera loro, restituendo, quando ne fosse il caso, il mal tolto e compensando il mal fatto.'

ASS, Concistoro, Deliberazioni 588, ff. 21r-22r, 26r-28r, 28v-30r; Concistoro, Legazioni e Commissarie 2416, f. 122r, f. 130r. See also Battaglia, p. 98 n.1

Ammanati, *Epistolae*, f. 58r: 'Tempora tibi non favent; ad caetera mala domestica tua hoc tibi addendum, ut in iudicium venias vocatus ab his qui vocati a

protector, Patrizi was cleared of the accusation and could retire to Gaeta where he spent the rest of his life.

Much of what can be discovered about his activities during this period derives from archive documents in Gaeta and from his extant literary works which evidently continued to occupy a large part of his time alongside ecclesiastical duties and occasional diplomatic missions.

In 1465 he went to Milan as part of Frederick of Aragon's entourage for the wedding of Alfonso of Aragon and Ippolita Maria Sforza. There, on 1 June, he declaimed an oration in the presence of Francesco Sforza and his court.¹⁶¹ In Milan Patrizi met Filelfo again. The letters the two exchanged immediately afterwards, one of which actually mentions Patrizi's departure from Milan,162 indicate that the two humanists continued to exchange views on literary issues, as well on matters related to contemporary events. For example, Filelfo asked Patrizi to send him the text of Ammianus Marcellinus,163 while in a previous letter he had discussed at length the meaning of the Greek word ρόνγχος and praised Patrizi for his deep knowledge of Greek.¹⁶⁴ Elsewhere Filelfo asked Patrizi to write him a description of 'omnem istam nuptialis itineris celebrem pompam' 165 and to commend him to King Ferdinand of Aragon as well as to two learned humanists of the Neapolitan court whom Patrizi must have known very well, Panormita and Iñigo de Avalos. 166

fisco propter te sunt, et necdum iudicati.' Ibidem, ff. 61v-64r. Bassi, pp. 405-6.

¹⁶¹ For this oration see below, Chapter II.

Filelfo, Episolarum libri, ff. 169v-170r, 'Franciscus Philelphus Francisco Episcopo Caietano, sal.': 'Post abitionem tuam, pater humanissime, mihi venit in mentem quod ante abitionem voluissem.' (f. 169v). Letter from Milan dated 5 June 1465. These letters by Filelfo to Patrizi are mentioned also by Bassi, p. 389 and notes 12-13, p. 407 and note 106.

Filelfo, Episplarum libri, ff.169v-170r: 'Cupio, et vehementer quidem videre, ac lectitare, Harnianum Marcellinum Historiographum. Hunc igitur mihi, si qua tibi eius rei est facultas, vel escribendum cura mea impensa: vel mihi exemplo dari ad escribendum.' At the beginning of the previous year Patrizi had already given the text of Ammianus Marcellinus to his friend Ammanati (Letter 21).

¹⁶⁴ Filelfo, Episolarum libri, f. 169v (2 June 1465) ¹⁶⁵ Filelfo, Episolarum libri, f. 170v (26 June 1965).

Filelfo, Episolarum libri, ff. 169v-170v: 'Panhormitam nostrum, virum perhumanum, et disertissimum ut saluere iubeas verbis meis, te plurimum rogo. Maiestati regiae me commenda' (f. 170v). Filelfo, Episolarum libri, f. 171r (26 July 1465): 'Cum Neapolis perveneris: ut me post regiam maiestatem, Magnifico

A few days after the ceremonies in Milan, the Aragonese and the Sforza parties which escorted Ippolita Maria left for Naples. On 22 June, they arrived in Florence and a few days later, on the 27th, they entered Siena where the Duchess and the two parties received a warm welcome. 167 Once in Siena, Patrizi and all the entourage received news from the Duke of Milan to go no further toward Naples. Such a change of plan, which put the marriage alliance in jeopardy, was due to a dramatic event which took place in Naples at the same time, namely the imprisonment and murder of the Duke's son in law, Jacopo Piccinino, on the order of the King of Naples, Ferdinand. Piccinino's death provoked a diplomatic crisis and the Neapolitan king had to justify the suspicious circumstances of the *condottiero*'s death. Patrizi was among those who were charged by the King to defend him from the accusation of having murdered Jacopo Piccinino. 168 The official version of events given by the Neapolitan court was that Piccinino, after being arrested for plotting treason, accidentally fell from a window and died of injuries a few days later. 169

Aenico Davalo quamcuratissime commendes, peto abs te, maiorem in modo. At eruditissimum et eloquentissimum virum Antonium Panhormitam, velim, meo nomine saluere plurimum iubeas cundemque amplectris et quamsuavissime exculeris.' The King and Panormita are also mentioned in a letter to Patrizi dated 9 June 1465 (*Episolarum libri*, f. 170v). On Iñigo de Avalos (d. 1484), a well known and influential figure at the court of Naples, see the article 'Avalos, Iñigo d'', in *DBI*, IV (1962), 635-36.

Y

Lisini, Le feste fatte a Napoli, pp. 6-21, states that the visit of the Duchess, who had heard some rumours about cases of plague around Siena, resulted from the insistent invitations of Sienese ambassadors sent to Florence to persuade her that

there was no risk to her safety and health.

Gaddi, De scriptoribus, II (1649), 149: "...Regem Ferdinandum Neapolis misisse oratorem Episc. Patritium cum scriptionibus, ut se defenderet ab infamia in fide necati comitis Jacobi Piccinini..."; Cavalli, "La scienza politica", p. 306: "[Patrizi] fu molto caro a Ferdinando re di Napoli che al 30 luglio 1465 lo mando ambasciatore a Firenze perché cercasse di discolparlo della morte del conte Giacomo Piccinino." See also Bassi, pp. 407-8 and n. 110. Other ambassadors involved in the matter were Antonio Cicinello, Antonio da Trezzo and Tranchedini. For the papers and the diplomatic manoeuvers following Piccinino's death see Canetta, "La morte del Conte Iacopo Piccinino"; Portioli, "La morte di Jacopo Piccinino".

Filelfo, writing to Patrizi from Milan on 26 July (see above note 166), clearly expresses what was commonly thought about the affair, and comments on its seriousness: '...idque potissimum ob Pherdinandum regem, quem et si omnis facinoris culpa vacare non ambigo: non enim is potest non esse simillimus: quae tamen sit communis hominum et de captivitate: et de obitu Jacobi picinini opinio:

Because of this incident, Patrizi and the royal party had to stay in Sienese territory for a month, waiting for instructions as for the best way to proceed. The Duchess, however, had moved out of the town after only a few days later out of growing fear of the plague, to the Abbey of St. Salvatore on Monte Amiata, while Frederick of Aragon had transferred to Aquapendente, from where, on 20 July, Patrizi wrote a letter to the Signoria of Siena saying that he was still waiting for the instructions of the Duke of Milan.¹⁷⁰ After nearly a month's delay, the parties were instructed to proceed to Naples, where the wedding took place on 15 September. This was the second time Patrizi had returned to Siena since his exile; he had earlier visited the city shortly after his mother's death, during the spring of 1462.¹⁷¹

In 1484 he was sent on a mission as ambassador of Ferdinand of Naples to Pope Innocent VIII and delivered a congratulatory oration in his honour. Cardinal G. Battista Cibo had indeed been nominated Pope on 29 August, and his election had been followed in September by the festivities of the coronation and the solemn procession to take possession of the Lateran Palace. 173

On this occasion Rome hosted a gathering of powerful churchmen, ambassadors and diplomats. Numerous Embassies of Obedience were sent to the Pope from Italian and foreign cities, and rulers and their envoys pronounced orations to congratulate the Pope on his election and to state vows of obedience on behalf of the powers they represented. Among the diplomats were Tito Vespasiano Strozzi, Bartolomeo Scala and Francesco Patrizi. 174

non te latet. Nam hic ob eam causam tumultuaria sunt omnia quamquam humanissimus hic princeps:...'.

Pastor, History of the Popes, V, 245, note, says that the speeches by T. V.

ASS, Concistoro, Ĉarteggio 2011, letter no. 31. Patrizi signed the letter 'Servitor Patricius Episcopus caietanus Regius Consiliarius'. Lisini, Le feste fatte a Napoli, p. 21, talking about the Duchess's stay on Monte Amiata says: 'Ci sia lecito di supporre che lo storico Francesco Patrizi, venuto in Sua compagnia, su quei luoghi alpestri, abbia intrattenuto la gentile duchessa narrandole la poetica leggenda del re Rachis e del dragone ucciso da uno dei vecchi conti Aldobrandeschi.'

See above, p. 43.
 Bassi, p. 409 and p. 421,

For an exhaustive account of the festivities and ceremonies of Innocent VIII's election see Burchardt, *Diarium*, I (1883), 90-111; Cancellieri, *Storia de' solenni possessi*, pp. 45-51; Pastor, *History of the Popes*, V (1898), 239-45.

Patrizi's presence in Rome and his address to the Pope on behalf of King Ferdinand was by no means a matter of small importance. Indeed, despite the fact that the King had sent the Pope a letter of congratulation immediately after his election, relations between Rome and Naples had begun to deteriorate in October 1484, when Duke Alfonso, on his return from Ferrara, although warmly received by the Pope, was at the same time denied permission to incorporate some cities under papal jurisdiction into Neapolitan territory. 175

As a consequence, it seemed doubtful whether the Neapolitan Embassy of Obedience would be sent to Rome at all, and when, on 22 December, eight orators of the Neapolitan King did arrive in Rome, Patrizi was not yet among them. 176 He arrived in Rome a few days later, on the 28th, 177 and on the following day he read out his oration to the Pope in the presence of the Papal Court, the Neapolitan Embassy, and other eminent prelates and ambassadors. At the beginning of the following year he left Rome for Naples together with the other Neapolitan ambassadors.178

Patrizi also continued with his literary activity and he kept in contact with contemporary humanists. Between 1465 and 1494 he completed an abundant and lively collection of epigrams, which he dedicated to Francesco Todeschini

Strozzi and John von Dalberg were the most admired.

Burchardt, *Diarium*, I, 129: 'Ferie tertia, 28 dicti mensis decembris venit ad Urbem R. in Christo Pater D. Franciscus episcopus Gaietanus et orator regis Neapolitani una cum aliis oratoribus eiusedm, qui 22 huius recepti fuerunt ad prestandam obedientiam ordinariam regio nomine; cui tamen nullus obviam missus,

sed ut privata persona Urbem intravit.'

T.

Burchardt, *Diarium*, I, 111-13; Pastor, *History of the Popes*, V, 246-250.

Burchardt, *Diarium*, I, 117: 'Ferie quarta, 22 dicti mensis decembris, circa horam vigesimam tertiam per portam S. Johannis Lateranensis intraverunt Urbem sex oratores illustrissimi Ferdinandi Sicilie regis Neapolitani, vidilicet illustris Franciscus eiusdem regis filius quartogenitus archiepiscopus Capuanensis, dux Melfitanus frater germanus Rmi. D. mei cardinalis Senensis, comes Merconii, D. Anellus qui longo tempore eiusedm regis orator in Urbe fuit, et comes Alontaigne.'

Burchardt, Diarium, I, 129: 'Ferie quarta, 29 eiusedm mensis decembris, habitum est publicum concistorum Rome in palatio apostolico apud S. Petrum, in prima et majore Aula in qua oratores Illmi. Ferdinandi Sicilie regis, ut supra recepti, prestiterunt solitam obedientiam SS. D. nostro; orationem fecit episcopus Gajetanus qui heri Urbem intravit. Deinde iidem oratores paucis ipsorum demptis, die lune 3 mensis januarii recesserunt ex Urbe ad regem suum redituri.'

Piccolomini. 179 Around 1478 he composed a commentary on Petrarch's Canzoniere and Trionfi for Duke Alfonso of Aragon, who needed an interpreter to assist him in his reading of vernacular love poetry, and between 1471 and 1484 he wrote the famous treatise on monarchy entitled De Regno et Regis Institutione. 180 This is surely one of Patrizi's last works and can be related to a realization that he was never going to return to Siena but would continue to live under a monarchy.

As for contacts with other humanists during his time in Gaeta, Patrizi personally knew the scholars who were active at the Neapolitan court. Apart from Panormita and d'Avalos, to whom Filelfo asked to be recommended, Patrizi knew the secretary of the Duke of Calabria, Giovanni Albino (XVth c.), to whom he wrote two letters in January 1478, discussing some aspects of his commentary on Petrarch.¹⁸¹ Albino was also the dedicatee of two epigrams, in both of which Patrizi alludes, using the expression 'aurea mala', to some works - perhaps poetical compositions - requested from Patrizi by Albino for the Duke of Calabria. 182

Patrizi also met the humanist Antonio Calcillo (beginning XVth c.-end XVth c.) who held the Chair of Rhetoric at the Studio in Naples between 1466 and 1471, and compiled the first Latin dictionary, which was published by Giuniano Maio under his name in 1495.183 Patrizi composed two epigrams on Calcillo's death, in which he celebrates him not only as an illustrious poet but also as Cynic philosopher. 184

The noble Neapolitan and Petrarchan poet Pietro Jacopo de' Gennaro (1436-

55

¹⁷⁹ For this collection see below, Chapter II.

¹⁸⁰ On Patrizi's political treatises and commentaries on Petrarch see respectively Chapter III and Chapter IV.

¹⁸¹ The two letters, dated 1478, were published by Bulifon in Lettere memorabili, II (1697), 89-92 and 93-96 and reported in Appendix to Chapter IV. On Albino, and tep colviced for further bibliography, see DBI, II (1960), 12-13.

¹⁸² Epigrams no. 199 (ff. 63v-64r) and no. 202 (f. 64v). Smith, 'Epigrammata', pp. 110-12 and pp. 122-23. It is possible that the works in question were parts of the commentary on Petrarch, which Patrizi had been asked to amplify by the Duke, as confirmed by the two above-mentioned letters to Albino.

On Calcillo see Ricciardi, 'Angelo Poliziano, Giuniano Maio, Antonio Calcillo'; Parenti, 'Calcillo, Antonio', in DBI, XVI (1973), 525-26.

¹⁸⁴ Epigrams nos. 58-59 (f. 20r). Smith, 'Epigrammata', pp. 112, 123.

1508) mentions Patrizi among the guests he invited to his villa at the Rocca delle Fratte, near Gaeta, for the magna fiera of 1468. In one epigram Patrizi also recommended to Duke Alfonso of Aragon the young Alfonso, son of de' Gennaro as a promising poet well versed in the composition of Latin poetry. 186

Patrizi also took part in one of the many literary controversies which divided the humanists, regarding the publication in 1470 of the edition of Pliny's Naturalis Historia, with one epigram addressed to Niccolò Perotti and his adversary, Cornelio Vitelli. Niccolò Perotti (1429-1480) was secretary of Cardinal Bessarione in Bologna and reader in rhetoric and poetry at the Bolognese Studio. He became apostolic secretary in 1455, and was subsequently nominated Archbishop in 1458, and governor of Viterbo (1464-69), Spoleto (1471-72) and Perugia (1474-77). Among his literary works he wrote two short metrical treatises in 1453 and the Rudimenta grammatices in 1468, as well as a commentary on Martial, entitled Cornucopiae, left unfinished at his death and published in 1489.187 It seems that Patrizi made his acquaintance in 1463, when Perotti went to Assisi to take up his post as magistrate of that town. As appears from a letter to Goro Lolli on 8 January 1463 (Letter 52), Perotti made a good impression on Patrizi, who consequently tried to resolve in Perotti's favour some difficulties related to his installation in office. 188

¹⁸⁶ Epigram no. 189 (ff. 61v-62r). Smith, 'Epigrammata', pp. 109-110. On him Corti, p. vii: 'Fu anch'egli poeta in latino e in volgare, anch'egli astro di prima grandezza, soprattutto per il Carmen Sacrum dedicato a Leon X.'

On Perotti see Kristeller, 'Niccolò Perotti ed i suoi contributi'; Mercati, Per la cronologia; Monfasani, 'Il Perotti e la controversia'; Prete, L'umanista Niccolò Perotti and Idem, Osservazioni e note. A list of Perotti's publications may be found in R. P. Oliver, Niccolò Perotti's Version, pp. 137-66. On his works on metrics and on grammar see below, Chapter II.

¹⁸⁸ In the letter to Lolli, Patrizi explaines that the day after Perotti visited him to take up his post, Patrizi received the visit of one 'Amphion' from Spoleto who had been assigned to that post a year before, but had never showed up until that day. With Lolli, Patrizi expressed himself in favour of Perotti.

Letter VII to the Count of Popoli, in Jacopo de' Gennaro, Rime e lettere, edited by M. Corti, pp. 37-39 (p. 38): 'Lunidì primo da venire se fa qua una magna fiera e vene il s. compare Fabrizio, el piscopo de Gaita, e credo el conte de Traitto, a farme un nobil trionfo;...'. Patrizi was obviously also acquainted with the other guests mentioned here, that is Fabrizio Carafa, Count Gaetani Onorato, Duke of Fondi, and presumably the dedicatee of the letter, the Count Giovanni Cantelmo. On them, and de' Gennaro see the introduction by Corti, pp. i-lxii, and pp. 59, 159, 161.

It is more difficult to establish whether or not Patrizi personally knew Cornelio Vitelli, a humanist who was active as a teacher in Venice, between 1481 and 1488 and then went abroad, first to Paris and then to Oxford. He is mentioned only in this epigram, where Patrizi advises Perotti and him to abandon the debate regarding the text of Pliny and to become friends. 190

Finally, another epigram indicates that Patrizi was acquainted with Giannantonio Campano (1429-1477), a humanist who was close to Jacopo Ammanati and Pius II, who made him Bishop of Crotone and Teramo, and to Sixtus IV who nominated him Governor of Todi, Assisi, and Città di Castello. ¹⁹¹ In all probability Patrizi met Campano when the latter was in Siena to study under the jurist Mariano Sozzini, around 1450. Among Campano's works are a large collection of letters, in nine books, and a collection of epigrams in eight books. In the epigram Patrizi addressed to Campano, he indeed mentions this collection: Patrizi, who refuses to compose a work suggested by Campano, asserts that he will only compete with Campano in the composition of epigrams. ¹⁹²

Besides the composition of poetry, contacts with humanists, and diplomatic missions, Patrizi devoted himself to the duties related to the administration of his diocesis. Both the Archivio Segreto Vaticano and the Archivio Capitolare in Gaeta contain documents, unknown to all previous scholarship on Patrizi, which record Patrizi's activities as Bishop of Gaeta in the last decades of his life. In the former, for example, there is record of another ecclesiastic benefice, that of the Abazia of SS. Trinità in Gaeta, which Patrizi requested (Letter 156 and letter 167) and obtained

¹⁸⁹ On Vitelli see Mancini, Vita di Lorenzo Valla, p. 298; Weiss, Humanism in England, pp. 173-74.

On Campano see Di Bernardo, *Un vescovo umanista*; Hausmann, 'Giovanni Antonio Campano (1429-1477)'; *Idem*, 'Campano, Giovanni Antonio', in *DBI*, XVII (1974), 424-29; Lesca, *Giovannantonio Campano*.

Epigram no. 173 (ff.56v-57r). Smith, 'Epigrammata', pp. 108-10 and p. 134. Campano's Opera (1502) and Epistolae et Poemata (1707), have been checked in vain for a mention of Patrizi.

Epigram no. 211 (ff.67v-68r). Smith, 'Epigrammata', pp. 105-108 and pp. 121-22. For the terms of such controversies see Monfasani, 'The First call for Press Censorship', esp. p. 12 and n. 42, where Patrizi's epigram is mentioned.

from the Pope in 1463,¹⁹³ while other documents contain three *brevia* of Pope Sixtus IV to Patrizi, dealing with various matters in his diocesis.¹⁹⁴

The Archivio Capitolare in Gaeta contains a number of documents, dating from 1468 to 1493, regarding transactions, contracts and regulations of various kinds, some regarding the administration of goods and properties belonging to the Capitolo of the Cathedral, and others more strictly related to religious festivities which were stipulated or authorized by Patrizi. Patrizi is always indicated in the documents with the formula 'Franciscus patricius Dei et Apostolicae Sedis gratia Episcopus Cajetanus'. ¹⁹⁵ There are a few others which contain indications of other religious duties Patrizi performed in the years 1491-1493: on 20 June 1491, for example, he consecrated the Sanctuary of the Virgin Mary on the Monte della Civita, the Monte Fusco near Itri, and the following year, on 23 June, he wrote a letter celebrating the cult of the Virgin Mary, who saved the people and territories of Itri and Fondi from flooding and torrential rains. ¹⁹⁶ Finally, in June 1493 he gave his approval for the construction of the *Ospedale per i pellegrini* in the village of Maranola and there he also consecrated three altars in the local Church of St. Mary ad Martyres. ¹⁹⁷

payment by Fattle of 36 Horitis for 3delt consisted (1471) and f. 252r-v (1972);

A SV, Armarium XXXIX, 14, ff. 14v-15r (1471) and f. 252r-v (1972);

The Bull of consecration and the letter are kept in the Archive of the Church. The former was published in Jallonghi, *La Madonna della Civita*, pp. 102-103, n. 2, and the latter in Lombardini, 'Maria della Civita!', pp. 686-87. See also Capobianco, *Episcopato Gaetano*, pp. 21-22; Ferraro, Memorie Religiose, p. 215.

197 Ferraro, Memorie Religiose, p. 215. Bull of consecration in the Archive of the

ASV, Reg. Vat. 494, ff. 138r-140r, is a document referring to the nomination of a coadjutor for the Abazia. A document dated 19 December 1463, in Camera Apostolica, Obligationes pro communibus servitiis 9, f. 192r-v indicates the payment by Patrizi of 50 florins for such benefice.

Armarium XXXIX, 13, ff. 120v-121r.

195 The documents in ACG in which Patrizi is mentioned are the following: Fasc. III, nos. 123 (9 August, 1468); 124 (24 April 1469); 125 (3 Juanuary 1475); 126 (20 November 1477); 128 (18 August 1481); 131 (30 October 1483); 132 (3 July 1486); 133 (3 June 1490); Fasc. V, nos. 183 (1486); 190 (1493). Two documents were written in the name of Patrizi himself: in the first one, Fasc. V, no. 189 (13 August 1473), he granted some funds to the Church of St. Mary in Itri; in the second one, Fasc. III, no. 127 (11 April 1481), he added to the Capitolo of the Cathedral a number of Churches which had been suppressed. No record of Patrizi's presence in Gaeta remains in the Archivio Curiale, in the Archivio of the Istituto dell'Annunziata, or in the Archivio Storico in Gaeta, despite careful scrutiny. Don Alberto Giordano, archivist of the ACG, has further confirmed that the only surviving documents related to the Bishopric of Gaeta during the Quattrocento are those to be found in the Archivio Capitolare.

This was one of the last recorded events in Patrizi's life: in the middle of the following year, 1494, Patrizi died in Gaeta, and his place was taken by Baccio Ugolini, nominated Bishop on 22 August 1494, as indicated in a document in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano. Patrizi's tomb, which in all probability was in the Cathedral, has not survived, since the Church has been repeatedly destroyed and reconstructed in the course of the centuries. However, a memorial tablet, placed in the Cathedral in 1775 by Patrizi's descendants, still survives and can be found in a wall of the transept of the Church. Photography The inscription reads as follows:

VETUS PATRITIORUM GENUS
ROMANAE ET SENENSIS TRADUX SOBOLIS
HAEC SANCTITATIS AULA
LAPIDEO MEMORAT POSTERITATI MONUMENTO
CLARA PROGENIES
OUAE

BEAT: FRANCISCUM PATRITIUM ANTONIUM SANCTIMONIA DONATOS EDIDIT

PROCERES QUOQUE LUCERIAE TABERNENSIS ET MONOPOLIS
AUGUSTINUM FERRANTI ARAGONESI GUBERNATOREM
ALIOS QUE MINISTROS REGUM LEGATOS
FRANCISCUM PHILOSOPHIAE POLITICES
SCRIPTOREM PRAESTANTEM
SENIS AB INIMICIS EXPULSUM
A PIO II PROPINQUO SIBI AFFINITATE
CONJUCTO

AD CAJETANAM INFÛLAM PROMOTUM MAJORUMADMIRATUS EXEMPLA (2/1

MARCHIOSTEPHANUS CAMERAE SANCTAE CLARAE PRAESES
NEAPOLITANI REGNI MINISTER
RELIGIOSA PIETATE
IN HAC AEDICULA GENTILITIA INSTAURATA
P. A. D. MDCCLXXV

Church.

The inscription is reported in Giordano, *La cattedra episcopale*, p. 102. I would like to thank the director of the Centro Storico Culturale 'Gaeta', Prof. Erasmo Vaudo, for his kind assistance.

ASV, Arch. Cons., Acta Miscellanea 2, f.77r, where it is said that Baccio Ugolini was elected Bishop of Gaeta 'per obitu D.ni Francisci illius ult. Epi. ...'. The date of Patrizi's death is reported also in the following texts: Fabricius, Bibliotheca latina, I, 602: '...an. tandem 1494 obiit.'; Mittarelli, Bibliotheca codicum, col. 856: 'Decessit anno 1494.'; Niceron, Mémoires, XXXVI, 16: '... 1494 qui fut l'anne de sa mort'; Ughelli, Italia sacra, I (1717), col. 543: 'Sub Alexandri VI Pontificatu decessit 1494 non sine Doctorum virorum dolore.'; Ugurgieri Azzolini, Le pompe sanesi, I, 168: 'Morì sotto Alessandro VI Pontefice Romano l'anno 1494...'.

CHAPTER II

FRANCESCO PATRIZI: TEACHER, POET, ORATOR

Chapters II to IV present a comprehensive analysis of Patrizi's *oeuvre*. This chapter looks at the works relating to his teaching, both academic and private, and to his scholarly activity (which in this context includes the writing of poetry), while Chapter III will be devoted to Patrizi's political treatises, and Chapter IV to his vernacular works, the commentaries on Petrarch.

The present chapter follows a broadly chronological order, both to facilitate the dating of the works under discussion and to follow Patrizi's intellectual and cultural development over the course of his varied career. A clearer picture of his humanism emerges through this approach than through any more formal or thematic division. The chapter has been divided into three sections which centre on the year 1461, in which Patrizi was freed from *confino* and nominated Bishop, and which thus represents a watershed in his career. The three sections are as follows:

- i) works in prose composed before 1461, mainly related to Patrizi's teaching activity;
- ii) poetry, in two collections of 1461 and after 1480;
- iii) works in prose composed after 1461, related to Patrizi's diplomatic missions and to his interest in the early history of Siena.

As will become clear, all these works embrace a great variety of forms and subject-matter, and demonstrate Patrizi's competence in all the disciplines of the *studia humanitatis*, from rhetoric and grammar to history and philosophy, and to the knowledge of metrics and poetic form.

WORKS IN PROSE COMPOSED BEFORE 1461

The works composed before 1461 are mainly the product of Patrizi's teaching activity, both public, for the University of Siena, and private, in the years following his exile in 1457. Although far from costituting an organic corpus dealing with the principles of education, they nevertheless show that Patrizi's commitment, principally in the disciplines of rhetoric and grammar, followed the approach to education suggested by the renewed humanist culture, i. e. through the study of classical texts, in their original version. At the same time other short treatises, in the form of epistles, demonstrate Patrizi's interest in the field of philosophy, but such interest also derives from his reading of classical authors.

When still very young, at the beginning of an unspecified academic year, Patrizi delivered the oration *De laudibus philosophiae*, mentioned above. He demonstrated great rhetorical skill and gained fame and esteem among his erudite fellow-citizens. In the oration he reviewed all the disciplines taught at the Sienese Studio and devoted considerable space to the celebration of the art of rhetoric in particular. Later, in 1441 and 1444, Patrizi was appointed to teach rhetoric at the Sienese Studio, and during the second appointment he commented on one of Cicero's rhetorical works. Patrizi's courses argued for the pre-eminence of the art of rhetoric, which assumed primary importance together with grammar and history in humanist academic training, in the preparation of the young for public life in service of the state. Patrizi's audience was likely to have been constituted by students belonging to the most eminent Sienese families with an established political tradition, and for them the study of the discipline of eloquence was important both because it was one of the *bonae artes*, and because it provided them with a powerful instrument for success in

For this oration see above, Chapter I, n.15.

² See above, Chapter I, p. 14.

the state and public affairs of the Sienese Republic.³

A good illustratiuon of the importance of rhetorical studies in Siena, is the case of Agostino Dati, already mentioned as one of Patrizi's students, who was later appointed Chancellor of Siena and whose literary production consisted mainly of rhetorical texts. He noted that Patrizi was his teacher in the art of rhetoric.⁴

Patrizi's public lectures earned him a high reputation as a master of rhetoric and consolidated his fame among his contemporaries. When Domenico Sabino, Patrizi's student who would be appointed to teach rhetoric at the Florentine Studio in 1455, wrote to him from Urbino many years later, he said that Patrizi was admired at that court for his outstanding erudition and for his oratorial skills, and that he himself was praised for the 'patricianum' style he displayed in his orations.⁵

No direct evidence exists of Patrizi's preferences, whilst teaching in Siena, within the rhetorical writings of Cicero, but the texts he used many years later in his private teaching give some indication. In 1457, Francesco Tranchedini sent a letter to his father from Pistoia, where at that time he was studying under Patrizi's supervision, saying that he would soon start to study two Ciceronian works, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and the *De oratore* ⁶ Patrizi's choice of the Pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, a manual on rhetoric which was very popular

⁶ MS Ricc. 834, f. 181r.

³ Achille Petrucci, in the prolusion composed for the opening of Patrizi's course in 1444, praised eloquence and hinted at its practical utility in the following terms: 'Summopere elaborandum censeo ut unusquisque nostrum pro viribus suis clarus aliquando evadat, et praecipue cum in hac nostra praestantissima republica hi qui dicendi facultate sunt praediti summis honoribus muneribusque afficiantur. ... in omni libero populo ...et praesertim in pacatis tranquillisque civitatibus nihil fructuosius, nihil pulchrius, nihil denique dignius perfecta oratione inveniri posse.' Florence, B. Marucelliana, MS A. 67. 1, f. 18r and f. 25r.

⁴ Agostino Dati, *Opera*, f. 130v: 'Augustinus Dathus Francisco Patritio S. ... Scis quam me frequenter ad eloquentiam impellere conatus sis. Nec es, Francisce, nescius quae calcaria, quos saepe stimulos adhiberis ... Ad tuam igitur sententiam et exortationemque conversus ita prorsum eloquentiam sum complexus et remissus quam par est philosophare coeperim....'.

⁵ The letter has already been mentioned in Chapter I, p. 25 and n. 57. Sabino was highly praised by Donato Acciaiuoli, Poggio Bracciolini, Giovanni Antonio Campano for his excellence in hetoric. For their letters to Sabino see respectively Della Torre, *Storia dell'Accademia platonica*, pp. 373-74, n. 3; Bracciolini, *Lettere*, III, 344-45; Campano, *Epistolae et poemata*, pp. 53-54.

in the Middle Ages and continued to be used during the Renaissance, was not unusual. The text supplied students with basic rules and rhetorical definitions and was therefore considered a mainstay of rhetorical instruction. The *De oratore*, with which Patrizi had become familiar when Filelfo commented on it in the classes he held in Siena, is a more interesting case. The text, discovered in its integral version in 1421,7 became extremely important in the development of Renaissance rhetoric because it contained principles on the duties of the orator in society and asserted the importance of combining eloquence and moral philosophy for civic life.8 Given its content, its popularity in humanist circles in the 1430s and 1440s, and the fact that Patrizi must have had a deep knowledge of it, it does not seem inappropriate to suggest that he might have used it in his public lectures at the time of his appointment in Siena.

Besides the teaching of rhetoric, Patrizi cultivated other disciplines, and in particular showed an interest in a number of philosophical issues which, unusually for the time, were not concerned with moral philosophy. This is shown by a number of letters addressed to his friends Petrucci and Antonio Ilicino, from which it appears that they had been engaged in intellectual discussions of a philosophical nature and that they were familiar with some classical writings on philosophy. The works Patrizi and his friends had read and discussed had not yet at that time attracted the attention of Renaissance scholars to the same extent as other classical writings: they were, first of all, Cicero's *Academica* and *Paradoxa stoicorum*, the treatises by Diogenes Laertius and perhaps also those by Sextus Empiricus.

Patrizi's letters on philosophy are limited in number: four were addressed to Petrucci and one to Antonio; all were written in 1445-46, as indicated in two of the

⁷ Sabbadini, Le scoperte dei codici, I, 100-101; Reynolds and Wilson, Copisti e Filologi, p. 145.

⁸ For the use of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and the *De oratore* in the Renaissance, and the development of Renaissance rhetoric see Grendler, *Schooling*, pp. 120-21 and pp. 212-17; Monfasani, 'Humanism and Rhetoric'; Murphy, *Renaissance Rhetoric*; Brian Vickers, 'Rhetoric and Poetics', esp. pp. 726-30; *Idem, Studies*..

five letters.⁹ Patrizi was at the time living in the countryside outside Siena, in all probability at Scorfiano, the outlying district of Sinalunga from where he had sent Petrucci the letter *De gerendo magistratu* (Letter 154), which is also present in the codex containing the five letters.¹⁰ They contain explanations of different philosophical topics arising from a reading of the philosophical works in question.

In one letter (Letter 170), Patrizi examines at length the nature of the soul. He starts his discussion from the assertion reported in Cicero's *Tusculanae Disputationes*, and attributed to the musician and philosopher Aristoxenus of Taranto, that the soul is to the body what harmony is to vocal and instrumental music. He then reports the opinions of different philosophers upon the nature of the soul and continues trying to prove that Aristoxenus's idea of soul as harmony, which necessarily vanishes after death, is wrong and embraces, with Plato, the idea of the pre-existence and immortality of the soul, thus rejecting also the Stoic doctrine of its limited existence after death. Moreover, Patrizi stresses that the theory of the immortality of the soul was first introduced by Pythagoras, and therefore expands on the Pythagorean principles about astronomy, mathematics and music, to underline how the idea of harmony found in Pythagorean doctrine differs from that of Aristoxenus. Of particular interest is Patrizi's digression on Pythagorean principles because it seems partly based upon the content of Sextus Empiricus's *Adversus Arithmeticos* and *Adversus Musicos*. Given the large diffusion of the

⁹ Letter 61 (155), dated 'Pridie Nonas Octobres [sic] 1445' = 6 October 1445. Letter 170 (452), dated 'Idibus Februaris [1445]' = 13 February 1446. It is not unlikely that Patrizi's stay in the Sienese countryside was related to his office as *Podestà* of Montalcino, which seems to be hinted at in a poem by Patrizi already mentioned above, Chapter I, n. 44. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that Petrucci and Ilicino, addressees of the letters, are mentioned in the poem as well.

The letter *De gerendo magistratu* precedes in MS Marc. Lat. XIV 262 the five letters on philosophy. Their order in the manuscript corresponds to the following numbers in part B of the Bibliography of works by Patrizi: 154 (397), 170 (452), 40 (111), 61 (155), 38 (106), 64 (161). Letter 61 (155) was written in the country as appears from the indication 'ruri' at the end of the letter, immediately before the date, while letter 170 (452), was written 'Ex Corphinio'.

Patrizi's reference to Aristoxenus is from Cicero, *Tusc.* I, 19. The explanation which follows in the letter is based on the first book of the *Tusculanae*.

¹² See Sextus Empiricus, Adv. Arithm .6-9 and Adv. Mus. 46.

Pythagorean and pseudo-Pythagorean texts during the Renaissance, it might well be that Patrizi used other sources, for example Plutarch's Περὶ μυσικής, but it not inconceivable that he was in the possession of Sextus Empiricus. ¹³ The hypothesis is of enormous significance, since it would make Patrizi one of the very few scholars at that time to have known Sextus's text and read it in the Greek original. Indeed the Latin translations, did not appear in print before 1562 and the Greek original version not until 1621. ¹⁴ However, Patrizi could have had a copy of the text from his friend Filelfo, who already in 1441 possessed a manuscript copy. ¹⁵ As for the text of the *Tusculanae Disputationes*, we know from a letter of Andreoccio Petrucci to Patrizi that Patrizi possessed a copy from as early as 1440. ¹⁶

Another letter to Petrucci (Letter 40), which has been published in recent years, contains a discussion of Cicero's *Academica*, a dialogue which presents the main teaching of ancient scepticism and the internal differences between the

On Pythagoras and his diffusion in the Renaissance see Heninger, *Touches of Sweet Harmony*.

¹⁵ See Floridi, 'The Diffusion of Sextus Empiricus's Works', esp. pp. 76-77. Floridi, who has recently completed the article 'Sextus Empiricus' for the *CTC*, has not excluded the possibility that Patrizi might have had first hand knowledge of Sextus Empiricus.

The letter written by Petrucci to Patrizi indicates that the *Tusculanae* were circulating in Siena and that at least one copy was in the possession of the illustrious Giovanni di Benedetto da Casole, notary in the Concistoro. It is also clear from the letter's content that it was common among the humanists to exchange codices and make new copies of them. The letter is published by Pertici, pp. 125-26.

¹⁴ Schmitt, Cicero Scepticus, p. 49, underlines that Patrizi was 'one of the relatively few humanists of his time to mention Sextus Empiricus', giving the example (p. 49, n. 29) of the following passage in the De Institutione Reipublicae: 'Sextus Empiricus ex Simonidis poetae sententia picturam dixit esse tacentem poesim, poesim Autem loquentem pictura' (Vol I, Ch. 10, p. 53 in the Strasbourg edition of 1594). He then adds that the text which Patrizi claims to derive from Sextus does not occur there and suggests that the source of Patrizi might have been Plutarch, Moralia 346 f. Schmitt then says: 'The question of what if any writing of Sextus Empiricus Patrizi actually knew is one we have not been able to solve.' Schmitt's indication of Plutarch for Patrizi's source is correct. The only mention of Simonides in Sextus, occurs in Adv. Math. 11.49 and regards a different topic. It should be added that another mention of Sextus Empiricus, unknown to Schmitt, appears in a letter Patrizi sent to G. Albino, secretary to Duke Alfonso of Aragon, in 1478 (see below, Appendix to Chapter IV). Although once again it seems that what Patrizi claims to derive from Sextus Empiricus does not correspond to the content of Sextus's treatises, the mention of him is nevertheless interesting.

adherents of the Old and the New Academy.¹⁷ The *Academica* was a work which, although available to scholars throughout the Middle Ages, did not deal with moral philosophy, and therefore had not attracted the attention given to other Ciceronian works.¹⁸ Patrizi, by contrast, complies with a request by Achille Petrucci to write on the Academy and traces its evolution from the time of Socrates, using what was known of Cicero's *Academica* - i. e. the *Academica priora*, the second book of the first edition, and the *Academica posteriora*, the first two books of the second edition. In this regard Patrizi laments that the text is incomplete and expresses the hope that the complete text might be found. In particular, he mentions a rumour according to which the integral text was about to come into the possession of Cosimo de' Medici.¹⁹

Patrizi asserts that Plato established a philosophical system that was subsequently identified with the doctrines of two schools, the Academic and the Peripatetic, which differ only in name. In the same way, the Academic scepticism introduced by Plato's successors is viewed by Patrizi as an integral part of the Platonic tradition, and the variations in the way the Academies were denominated, such as New and Old, correspond to formal differences and not to substantial differences of philosophical approach.

It should also be stressed that in drawing this historical profile of the Academy of Antiquity Patrizi used various sources besides the *Academica* - both Latin, such

¹⁷ The letter has been published by Schmitt, *Cicero Scepticus*, pp. 172-73, and commented on on pp. 49-51.

For a survey of the *Academica*'s fortune in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance see Schmitt, *Cicero Scepticus*, pp. 33-77. Before Patrizi, the *Academica* had previously been exploited by two illustrious humanists only: Francesco Petrarca, who found the text shortly after 1344 and made use of it in his writings, and Coluccio Salutati, who in 1379 wrote to Lombardo della Seta expressing the hope of finding the complete text of Cicero's *Academica*.

¹⁹ The text of Cicero's Academica was circulating in the Renaissance in a number of manuscripts and in the same fragmentary form in which it is known today. There was however still hope, as we understand from Patrizi's words which echo Salutati's, that the integral text could be found. It is a strange coincidence that Lorenzo Valla, in 1447, heard that the four books of the Academica had beeen found in Siena. See Sabbadini, Le scoperte dei codici, I, 127 and Fioravanti, 'Maestri di grammatica', pp. 18-19, n. 23.

as the Ciceronian *Tusculanae disputationes* and *De finibus bonorum et malorum*, and Greek, such as the works by Diogenes Laertius, who provides information on ancient Scepticism in the section of his *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* headed 'Life of Phyrro'.²⁰ To conclude, although Patrizi's epistle does not engage in philosophical interpretations of the *Academica*, it is above all significant that Patrizi was interested in this text at all, thus proving it enjoyed some popularity in the Quattrocento long before it attracted the attention of the scholars of the Platonic Academy.²¹ The *Tusculanae Disputationes* and *De finibus* also form the basis of another letter that Patrizi wrote to Petrucci from the countryside (Letter 38). The letter contains a review of the philosophical sects of antiquity and of the differences between them, and was written in response to a direct request from Antonio Ilicino on behalf of Petrucci.²²

Ilicino is also the dedicatee of a letter written in response to a request by him to explain the meaning of the word *Paradoxa* (letter 64). The letter is merely a literary exercise, in which the term 'paradoxa' is accounted for by reference to passages in classical texts. Patrizi uses the explanation offered in the proem of the *Paradoxa* itself, quotes from the *De finibus*, and eventually, when clarifying the Greek root of

²⁰ Diogenes Laertius, whose *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* became available to scholars in Latin after Ambrogio Traversari's translation of 1430, had previously been accessible only in the original language. It is however possible that Patrizi read the text in the Greek.

Patrizi as a short treatise describing ancient philosophical sects and written while Patrizi was living at Montughi, therefore around 1458, at the same time as similar works were being composed by Scala and Marsilio Ficino. Brown mantains that Scala's and Patrizi's letters were probably inspired by Cristoforo Landino's lectures on the *Tusculanae Disputationes*, and adds that the influence of Florence in Patrizi's letter is also suggested by the reference to Cosimo de' Medici's acquiring the complete text of the *Academica*. Since the letters by Patrizi are all related and their date is 1445-46, Brown's comments and misdating only underline the significance of Patrizi's competence in philosophy for the years in question.

²² Patrizi also addressed to Antonio Ilicino a poem entitled 'Cantus Fatui de Origine Musices' (I. 5, no. 5) which is related to the content of letter 170, and refers to life in the countryside. This proves not only that Ilicino took part in all the discussions on philosophy which are recorded in the letters, but also that the poem in question was written before Patrizi's exile and not, as Smith believes, afterwards ('Poems', pp. 99-101).

the word, refers to Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*.²³ This kind of didactic exercise is marginal to a discussion about philosophical matters, but has its importance in proving Patrizi's familiarity with the texts quoted in the letter and, in particular, with the *Paradoxa*, a text that in Siena enjoyed a certain fortune. Bernardo Ilicino, for example, the well-known professor of philosophy and medicine at the Sienese Studio, would compose a commentary on the *Paradoxa* before 1460, and in the following years Giovanni Gabrieli, who was to be professor of grammar and rhetoric at the Studio between 1480-1490, would produce a similar work on the same text.²⁴ In the case of Gabrieli in particular, the type of analysis carried out on the *Paradoxa* concentrates on explaining the meaning and the grammatical relevance of the lexicon more than its philosophical value, and this didactic approach is similar to that used by Patrizi in his letter. Once again, its date of composition indicates in Patrizi a scholar who anticipated by many years an interest which has been documented in Siena only from 1460 onwards.

In 1457 Francesco Patrizi went into exile. Once banished from his home town, deprived of his public and political offices and of the possibility of lecturing in the Sienese Studio, his principal activity was private teaching.²⁵ First in Pistoia and then in Montughi he continued his studies of classical texts in the company of

6/3

The passages and the sources used by Patrizi are the following: Patrizi (Letter 64): 'Ego vero tibi illa ipsa quae vix in gymnasiis et in ocio Stoici probant: Ludens conieci in comunes locos. quae quia sunt admirabilia et contra omnium opinionem: ab ipsis etiam paradoxa vocantur;...': Cicero, Parad. 3-4. Patrizi: 'Nam ex hisdem [sic for eisdem] verborum praestigiis et regna nobis [sic] [nata] sunt et imperia et divitiae, et tantae quidem ut omnia quae ubique sint sapientis esse dicatis. Solum praeterea formosum, solum liberum, solum civem; [stultos] omnia contraria, quos insanos esse vultis. Haec paradoxa illi, nos admirabilia dicamus. ...': Cicero, Fin. IV, 74. Patrizi: '...Cum genera quinque ut ipse appellat causarum facit scilicet: $\epsilon' \nu \delta \circ \xi \circ \nu$, $\alpha' \mu \phi \iota' \delta \circ \xi$

^{&#}x27;Maestri di grammatica', pp. 15-18 and notes. For biographical details see above, Chapter I.

Francesco Tranchedini whom he coached in the discipline of rhetoric and grammar. On rhetoric, as indicated in the letter mentioned above, they used the *Rhetorica* and the *De oratore*. In addition, the same letter also informs us that Patrizi was training Tranchedini in the art of letter-writing, an exercise which was considered an important part of rhetorical education.

Patrizi's competence in this skill is proved by the existence of a short treatise on the subject, unknown to previous criticism, which could be surmised as the immediate result of this work with Tranchedini. The treatise is contained in one manuscript only now in Venice, MS Marc. Lat XIV 117 (4486), 134r-135r, which bears the name *Franciscus patricius senensis* but is left unfinished at f.135r.²⁷

The content of the treatise may be briefly summarized thus: Patrizi distinguishes between three levels of style following Cicero's *Orator*, ²⁸ and asserts that according to the examples of Cicero's collection of letters it emerges that most of them are written in the low style. Patrizi then offers an etymological explanation of the word 'epistola' which closely follows Cicero's *Epistolae Familiares*, and the same source is used to assert that all the different letters can be grouped into two main genres, one 'familiare at iocosum' the other 'severum at grave' (f. 134r).²⁹ The first genre is constituted by the epistles to friends and the second by the letters called 'negotiales' (f. 134r), exemplified by Cicero's *Epistolae Familiares* and

²⁶ See above, n. 6.

²⁷ Iter, II, 247; Zorzanello, Catalogo, III 148. In Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS L 61 Sup.(XVth c.), ff. 119r-122r, there is a short treatise that begins with the same words as Patrizi's treatise in the manuscript in Venice, 'Stilos seu caracteres tres esse manifestum est', although the Milan work is anonymous and untitled. Yet it follows in the codex Patrizi's compendium to Quintilian's Institutio oratoria, which suggests that it could be another copy of Patrizi's treatise. While waiting for the re-opening of the Ambrosiana to view the codex, we have found no additional information on this matter in the following bibliography on the manuscript in question: Iter, I, 301; Cipriani, Codici miniati, p. 82; Inventario Ceruti, IV (1978), 34.

Patrizi: 'Stilos seu caracteres[sic] tres esse manifestum est: amplum scilicet medium et infimum' (f.134r): Cicero, *Orator* 20-21, 69-70.

Patrizi: 'Epistula nomen a graecanica quidem exoritur idiomate: ἐπὶ enim de στέλλω mitto. Est enim vox quae mittitur ad absentem', and 'Sed illa multiplicia Cicero in epistolis suis ad duo solum redegit: unum familiarem igitur et iocosum, alterum severum et grave' (f. 134r): Cicero, Fam. 2. 4. 1.

Epistolae ad Atticum respectively. Cicero's letters are, according to Patrizi, models to be imitated because they display a great variety in content, tone and style. As an example, he mentions the 'epistolae commendatitiae' (f. 134v), many examples of which he finds in Book XIII of Cicero's Familiares. However, whatever the content and the purpose of the letters, Patrizi insists that there are some principles, common to all, which have to be observed in order to reproduce Cicero's periodic style. He pays particular attention to the effect of suspense and anticipation which then is finally resolved in a well-rounded conclusion, and states that such effect is achieved in the sentences by a carefully constructed balance of words, and rhetorical devices, and by the fact that the verb, which carries the structural weight, is often postponed until the end.

It is evident from the content of this work that Patrizi rejected the traditional formulae of salutations, modes of address, and ending formulas as they had been codified by the medieval ars dictaminis, and offered instead a short treatise on the ars epistolandi which was based on the imitation of Cicero's collections of letters and on the conviction that it was possible to learn from Cicero how to write in ways appropriate to any situation.³⁰

It should be remembered that beside and before Patrizi, other scholars paid attention to the art of letter-writing during the Quattrocento. In the first decades of the century, for example, the humanist pedagogue Gasparino Barzizza (c.1360-1430), who composed some major works and commentaries on Quintilian and Cicero, left a short dissertation on letter-writing as well as a collection of letters and exordia based on the technique and style of Ciceronian letters.³¹ His example was

On the Medieval rhetorical tradition see Murphy, Rhetoric in the Middle Ages; and specificly, on the ars dictaminis, Witt, 'Medieval Ars Dictaminis'. See also McLaughlin, 'Humanist educators', in his Literary Imitation, pp. 98-125, for the use of Ciceronian rhetorical texts and literary imitation.

On Gasparino Barzizza see Martellotti, 'Barzizza, Gasperino', in *DBI*, VII (1965), 34-39 with further bibliography and Mercer, *The Teaching of Gasparino Barzizza*, esp. pp. 94-98 on his treatise and letters. Barzizza's collection of letters was called *Epistolae ad Exercitationem Accomodatae* and most of them were published by Furietti in *Gasparini Barzizii Bergomatis*, I, 220-336.

followed by later humanists. Niccolò Perotti, for example, wrote a manual of precepts regarding epistolography, as did Agostino Dati, who besides a work dedicated to letter-writing also devoted part of his grammatical work Elegantiolae to some precepts on letter-writing.³² Dati's attention to a modus epistolandi was exemplified by his composition of letters and public documents for the Republic of Siena. This is an important indication that in Siena, among the grammar teachers active there during the Quattrocento, attention to this aspect of rhetoric was constant: after Dati, his disciple Gabrieli will assemble a collection of exordia entitled Clausolae ex epistolis familiaribus excerptae, which is the result of a didactic exercise extremely common in Siena among teachers and pupils; and for a similar didactic purpose Cantalicio, who taught in Siena in the 1470s, left a collection of Epistularum lemmata.³³ It could be, therefore, that Patrizi's short treatise, which seems to be dated after 1457, is also to be related to a practice common in Sienese humanist circles, and we could also speculate that Patrizi engaged his students in similar exercises when teaching in Siena. This conjecture is supported by the fact that one manuscript in Siena contains a series of model beginnings of letters, both in Latin and in vernacular, and excerpts from letters ascribed to Francesco Patrizi. They follow some samples attributed to Dati, and contain references to people and offices within the Sienese government which suggest a pre-1457 dating.34 Similarly, another manuscript, in Florence, contains a number of sample letters in Latin and vernacular, each followed by the relevant responsio, attributed to Patrizi.35

³³ On Gabrieli see above note 24 and on his *Clausolae*, as well as on Cantalicio, see Fioravanti, 'Alcuni aspetti', pp. 194-97, pp. 199-201 and p. 199, n. 23.

³⁴ BCS, MS B V 40, ff. 144r-47r (*Iter*, II, 159; Ilari, *Indice per materie*, I (1844), 133).

³² Perotti's manual, headed *De conscribendis epistolis*, is included in his *Rudimenta grammatices* (Venice, 1564), for which see below, p. 76. On Dati's grammatical work *Elegantiolae* see Monfasani, 'Humanism', p. 193. Voigt, *Il Risorgimento dell'antichità classica*, II (1890), 428, n. 7, mentions a *Isagogicus libellus pro conficiendis epistolis* as composed by Dati, and kept in Munich, MS Lat. 4393.

³⁵ Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 906, ff. 104r-10v. At the beginning of the letters is 'Epistole domini Francisci patritii' (*Iter*, I, 208; *Inventario e stima della Libreria Riccardi*, p. 22.

It can therefore be concluded that Patrizi's competence in the art of letter-writing not only resulted in a treatise on the subject related to his private teaching outside Siena, but must also have been an exercise in which he trained his students ever since he had taught in Siena.

For didactic ends Patrizi also composed epitomes of two texts widely used during the Quattrocento to teach grammar and rhetoric: Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae* and Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*. These two texts are mentioned in two letters Francesco Tranchedini sent to his father from Pistoia in 1457, from which it is clear that by the end of October Tranchedini and Patrizi had already received a copy of Priscian's *Institutiones* and were waiting for Quintilian's *Institutio*.³⁶

The *Institutiones Grammaticae* was a grammar of considerable length which dealt with morphology and phonology in the first sixteen books, then known as *Priscianus maior*, and with syntax in the two remaining books, *Priscianus minor*. The wide circulation of this text in the Middle Ages, when it was used to teach and learn Latin grammar, assured its survival in many copies so that the humanist pedagogues made use of it almost in the same way, that is to teach their students how to use Latin properly. Patrizi included the study of grammar in the intellectual training of Francesco Tranchedini and, to make its rules easier for him, he summarized the content of *Priscianus maior*.

His compendium of Priscian, headed *Francisci Patritii de octo partibus* orationis librorum I-XVI compendium, has never been published and survives in eleven manuscripts.³⁷ Two of these manuscripts - MS Berlin 460 and MS Ott. Lat 1509 - contain only the part of the compendium which summarises Priscian's books 14-16, and is headed *Francisci Patritii de quattuor partibus indeclinabilibus*

³⁷ They are listed in the Bibliography of works by Patrizi, Part A.

³⁶ Letters from Francesco Tranchedini to his father from Pistoia dated 22 October, 1457 (MS Ricc. 834, f. 181r) and 27 October 1457 (MS Ricc. 834, f. 181v).

orationis.38 These partial copies are preceded in both manuscripts by a similar work on the four declinable parts of speech written by Georgius Trapezuntius.³⁹ This Greek scholar wrote a compendium of Priscian's Institutiones grammaticae, entitled De partibus orationis, which was divided into two parts, the first dedicated to his son Andrea and the second to the Milanese Cola Montano. The work, however, did not enjoy great popularity; it was written in 1471 and printed in the following year, but was soon forgotten.⁴⁰ It comes as no surprise, therefore, to see that despite the fact that Trapezuntius's work was completed many years after Patrizi's, it generated some confusion in the attribution of Patrizi's compendium, and indeed in two manuscripts, MS Florence Ricc. 679 and MS London Add. 25088, the latter was ascribed to the same Trapezuntius.41 The manuscript copy in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan, MS J 13 sup., is probably the one mentioned by De Montfaucon,42 while Jacopo Gaddi recorded in the 'Bibliotheca gaddiana' the presence of a manuscript which is now MS Gadd.144 in the Biblioteca Laurenziana.⁴³ As for the dating of the compendium, the above mentioned letter

³⁸ On MS Berlin 460 see *Iter*, III, 478; on MS Ott. Lat 1509 see *Iter*, II, 418 and Mercati, Codici latini Pico, p. 259.

39 On Trapezuntio see Monfasani, George of Trebizond.

⁴⁰ See Sassi, 'Historia literario-typographica', p. 10 and pp. 455-56 in Argellati, Bibliotheca scriptorum, I (Introduction), who produces Trapezuntius's dedicatory letters to Andrea and Montano.

⁴² See De Montfaucon, Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum, I, 514: [In Bibliotheca Ambrosiana Mediolanensis] 'Francisci Patritii epitome Prisciani bis. De numerorum mysteriis paradoxa et alia'. On this manuscript see Iter, I, 332; Inventario Ceruti, III (1977), 668; Cipriani, Codici miniati, p. 71.

43 See Gaddi, *De scriptoribus*, II, 149: '...Huius, ni fallor Francisci habemus M.S. volumen in Bibl. Gad. inscriptum: ex Prisciani libro de partibus Orationis Francisci Patricii viri eloquentissimi Epithoma.' On this manuscript see Avesani, 'Epaeneticorum', p. 29, note 58; Bandini, Bibliotheca Leopoldina, II, col. 155;

11-1

⁴¹ The attribution to Trapezuntius of MS Florence Ricc. 679 was in Inventario e stima della libreria Riccardi, p. 17: '679. Priscianus de Arte grammatica in compendium redactus forte a Trapezuntio. Cod. Chart. in quarto. Saec. XV'. Only recently, in Iter, V(1990), 606, it has been indicated that it is not by Trapezuntio, but instead that 'it is perhaps by Franciscus Patricius the elder'. On this manuscript see also Bursill-Hall, Census, p. 84; Iter, I, 197; Lami, Catalogus Codicum, p. 329. MS London Add. 25088 was described as 'an epitome [by Georgius Trapezuntius ?] of the first sixteen books of Priscian's Commentaries' in the Catalogue of Additions to the British Museum, p. 152. On this manuscript see also Bursill-Hall, Census, p. 111, where it is listed as anonymous, and Iter, IV, 113.

from Francesco Tranchedini to his father and the immediate purpose which such a compendium served are sufficient proof to indicate 1458 as the year of its composition. That it was meant for Patrizi's pupil only, as a personal aid to learning, is testified by the epigram which ends the epitome in some of the manuscripts:

Cum legeris nostri compendia parva laboris Dicere non pudeat, gratia magna tibi. Nam quae vix poteras multis ediscere in annis Mensibus haec paucis nunc meminisse potes.⁴⁴

As the epigram reveals, Patrizi hoped that his work would succeed in reducing from many years to a few months the learning by heart of the Latin grammar text by his pupil Francesco.

Patrizi's compendium is, then, a summary of the Latin treatise and it follows the sequence of the original. In terms of language and style, it is almost identical to Priscian's text: Patrizi's contribution consisted in simply choosing those parts which could be eliminated without diminishing the comprehensibility of the whole and those rules which were fundamental if the reader was to master grammar. His aim was to simplify the content of the *Institutiones* and, in particular, of the books on elementary morphology.

Patrizi's interest in grammar was limited to this single compendium and to the few years of private and perhaps public teaching after his exile, and must be viewed as one of the many interests he cultivated during his lifetime. By contrast, for several of his contemporaries, the production of grammar manuals and the education

⁴⁴ The tetrastichon is published in Lami, *Catalogus Codicum*, p. 329 and in Bandini *Bibliotheca Leopoldina*, II, col. 155. It is to be found in MS London Add. 25088, f. 120v, and also in the following manuscripts: MS Florence Gadd. 144, MS Florence Ricc. 679, MS Paris Lat. 11283.

Bursill-Hall, Census, p. 78, where it is listed as anonymous. The other Gadd. MS, that is 195, is a copy of the epitome left interrupted shortly after the beginning of book XIV. See Avesani, 'Epaeneticorum', p. 29, n. 58; Bandini, Bibliotheca Leopoldina, II, col. 188; Bursill-Hall, Census, p. 78, where it is listed as anonymous.

of the young formed a major part of their activity as humanists.⁴⁵ For example, in around 1418, Guarino da Verona (1374-1460) wrote the Regulae Grammaticales, the first Renaissance grammar, where he combined some innovative ideas with the traditional content of Medieval Italian grammars, and above all the Doctrinale.46 Shortly after him, in 1450, Gaspare da Verona (1400-1474), wrote a grammar based on Guarino's work and on a XIIIth-century metric verse grammar, the Graecismus.⁴⁷ At about the same time, Ognibene da Lonigo, whom Patrizi probably met in Verona in 1459, composed for the sons of Federico Gonzaga a grammar entitled De octo partibus orationis, a manual whose title resembles Patrizi's compendium and similarly deals with morphology.48 Finally Lorenzo Valla, the famous scholar best known for developing a new philological approach to ancient scholarship, wrote the Elegantiarum lingua latinae libri sex in which he rejected the principles of medieval pedagogical grammar and offered a correct Latin based on classical authors,49 while Niccolò Perotti wrote the Rudimenta grammatices, a comprehensive grammar that was finished in 1468 and published in 1473, where much was borrowed from the ancient grammarian Donatus as well as Priscian.⁵⁰

Together with these new humanist grammars, Priscian was still widely used during the Renaissance. This might account for the fact that Patrizi's epitome enjoyed considerable popularity: the manuscript tradition proves that it circulated

47 Grendler, Schooling, p. 172; Percival, 'The Place', p. 235.

48 Grendler, Schooling, pp. 172-73.

Percival, 'Early Editions'; Percival, 'The Place'.

⁴⁵ An account of the medieval grammatical tradition and the new Renaissance approach to grammar is in Grendler, Schooling, pp. 162-174; Percival, 'Renaissance Grammar'; Idem, 'Renaissance Grammar: Rebellion or Evolution?'. See also Robins, Ancient & Medieval Grammatical Theory, pp. 74-76 for the change in grammatical studies from the XIIth century to the Renaissance.

⁴⁶ For Guarino da Verona and his innovative grammar manual see Grafton and Jardine, 'The School of Guarino: Ideal and Practice', in From Humanism to the Humanities, pp. 1-28; Grendler, Schooling, pp. 166-169; Percival, 'The Historical Sources'; Idem, 'Textual Problems'; Sabbadini, La scuola e gli studi.

⁴⁹ On Valla's *Elegantiae* see De Caprio, 'La rinascita della cultura'; Cesarini Martinelli, 'Nota sulla polemica Poggio-Valla; Marsh, 'Grammar, Method and Polemic'; Regogliosi, Nel cantiere del Valla.

50 On Perotti's Rudimenta grammatices see Grendler, Schooling, pp. 173-74;

among readers other than Francesco Tranchedini. Two manuscripts also bear some dates: MS Bergamo Delta VI 14 was copied by a scribe named Bettino Girela in 1477, while MS Florence Ricc. 679 has a note of sale dated 20-3-1473.⁵¹ Therefore, although in 1473 the compendium was about fifteen years old, it was still used and copied, and indeed it continued to be read even in the XVIth century, when another manuscript copy, now MS Berlin 521,was completed.⁵²

Shortly after receiving Priscian, Tranchedini and Patrizi must have come into possession of Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*, of which Patrizi also composed an epitome. The much quoted article by Domenico Bassi is entirely devoted to this work, and is the principal source of what follows.

Around 1550 Jean du Tillet, Bishop of Saint-Brieuc, brought back to France from Italy a manuscript containing an epitome of Quintilian's *Istitutio oratoria*, and had it published in Paris in 1554 as attributed to Pier Paolo Vergerio from Capodistria (c. 1368-1444), even though in an introductory letter to the edition he expressed serious doubts about Vergerio's authorship. Vergerio, as Bassi demonstrates, never wrote such a work; he recalls the discovery of the complete text of Quintilian's *Istitutio oratoria* by Poggio Bracciolini in 1416 and the subsequent wide diffusion of the text and of studies on Quintilian, but argues that Vergerio neither possessed a copy of Quintilian, nor knew it well enough to be able to write an epitome before the date of his death, which he assumes was in 1428 (instead of 1444). Bassi then demonstrates that the author is Patrizi because of two elements: the frequent quotations from Quintilian contained in Patrizi's two political treatises, and the manuscript tradition of the compendium which bears the name of Francesco

⁵¹ See Ballaira, *Per il catalogo*, p. 37 for MS Bergamo Delta VI 14 copied by 'Bethinium Girelam' in 1477. The note in MS Florence Ricc. 679 is the following: 'hic liber est Michaelis Domini Petri Jacobi Petri de Migliorellis Florentini. In fine vero ita scriptum est: Io Lorenzo de Girolamo di Domenico ditingho ho venduto questo Prisciano ad Alessandro dionigi degli Strozzi e a prezzo di lire nove, e per fede di ciò mi sono sottoscritto di mia propria mano oggi dì 20 di marzo 1473.' See Lami, *Catalogus codicum*, p. 329.

⁵² On this manuscript see Kirchner, Die Phillipps Handschriften, p. 118; Iter, III, 368 and 478; Rose, Verzeichniss der lateinischen, p. 488.

Patrizi as the author of the compendium and the name of Francesco Tranchedini as the dedicatee. In dating the work Bassi mantains that it was written between 1458-59, when Patrizi was still in Tuscany and could easily get hold of a copy of the Institutio oratoria, and 1465-66, after Tranchedini left Patrizi. Such a dating is based on a letter contained in two manuscripts and written by Patrizi to his pupil, as well as on the fact that one of the manuscript copies is dated 1471. Finally, Bassi insists that it is equally wrong to attribute the work to Francesco Patrizi the philosopher from Cherso and to suggest that the summariser used a printed edition of Quintilian, arguing instead that the compendium was made from one of the copies of the complete text of the Institutiones manuscript, known as Ambrosianus III.53 Bassi then dwells upon a more technical aspect of the compendium, i. e. a list of the correspondences between Patrizi's and Quintilian's texts, and a sample of some significant passages taken from the compendium. From such analyses Bassi establishes that in format Patrizi's compendium is very similar to Quintilian's original text, while in content Patrizi greatly reduces the material of the Institutiones by omitting the explanations and examples, and retaining instead the doctrinal part, which often - and inevitably - makes the reading of the compendium tedious. For this reason Patrizi, who was aware of this aspect of the compendium, strongly recommended his pupil to keep this work for himself, and to read it alongside the original text. Despite this advice, the work, according to Bassi, circulated considerably and was probably used in the schools. As he had already pointed out, Patrizi's compendium was the only epitome of the entire work of Quintilian written between the XIIth and the XVIth centuries, and was therefore a useful instrument to help in the reading of Quintilian, who from the Renaissance onwards enjoyed a particularly wide diffusion.

To Bassi's article a few comments must be added. The first regards the manuscript tradition. First of all Bassi demonstrates that he has knowledge of the

Bassi, pp. 447-49 refers to F. Meister's attribution in 'Eine handschriftliche Epitome Quintilians'.

following manuscripts: MS Lat. 7760 of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (fonds latin, ancien 6110), which is a XVth-century copy where the name of Pier Paolo Vergerio was added later to the codex;⁵⁴ MS 316 (Nuov. Acq. Lat.) of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, dated to the second half of the XVth c.;⁵⁵ MS L 32 sup. and MS L 61 sup. in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan;⁵⁶ MS (no shelfmark) in the 'Oberlausitzischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften' in Görlitz.⁵⁷

According to our bibliographical research Patrizi's compendium is testified in many other manuscripts, thirteen besides those mentioned by Bassi.⁵⁸ These manuscripts supply some information unknown to Bassi, who recalls only that MS Milan L 32 sup. was apparently written in 1470 while MS Milan L 61 sup. bears a note of the copyist Giovanni Andrea Capello and the date 10 April 1471 when he finished the work.⁵⁹ Other manuscripts have some annotations that are useful in dating the work: MS Naples XII D 106 indicates in a note that the copyist, Lorenzo Guidetti, completed his copy of the epitome in 1461.⁶⁰ MS Perugia Badia S. Pietro CM 31 was copied by Johannes Frank de Buswiler in 1464, and bears a note which indicates that it was previously kept in the Library of St. Maria Pratalia.⁶¹ This information allows the identification of this manuscript with one originally kept in that library in Padua. The manuscript had, in fact, been seen by Giacomo Tomasino, who apparently was the only person to have had direct knowledge of

55 Bassi, p. 435. Fierville, M. F. Quintiliani, ibidem.

Cipriani, Codici miniati, p. 82.

61 Iter, II, 53. Catalogo dei manoscritti filosofici, VI (1992), 149.

⁵⁴ Bassi, p. 424. Fierville, M. F. Quintiliani, 'Introduction', pp. xxxv-xxxvi, n. 3.

Bassi states that he based his study of Patrizi's compendium on these two codices. They are mentioned first of all on p. 435, and constantly referred to in the remaining pages of his article.

⁵⁷ For this manuscript Bassi, p. 437, refers to the description given by Meister, 'Eine handschriftliche Epitome Quintilians', Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift, 40, col. 1251.

All the manuscripts are listed in the Bibliography of works by Patrizi, Part A.
 Bassi, p. 435 and notes 58-59. On these two manuscripts see respectively *Iter*,
 Inventario Ceruti, IV, 15 and *Iter*, I, 301; *Inventario Ceruti*, IV, 34;

⁶⁰ Iter, I, 432. For Lorenzo Guidetti, who was a disciple of Cristoforo Landino's in Florence see Cardini, La critica del Landino, esp. pp. 40-46; Grafton and Jardine, From Humanism to the Humanities, pp. 58-62, 70-72.

such a work by Patrizi, but even Bassi, who cites Tomasino, admits that he had no knowledge of the existence of such a manuscript.⁶² MS London Add. 11671 bears a colophon at the end which states that the transcription of the text was finished in March 1467.⁶³ It was part of the Piccolomini library, as were MS Chigi J V 154, which in the recto of the last folio bears the note of ownership by Goro Lolli Piccolomini,⁶⁴ and MS Chigi H VI 186, owned by Cardinal Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, who wrote a note of ownership dated 1467.⁶⁵

From the chronological indications supplied by these manuscripts it is clear that Bassi's suggestion of 1465-66 as the year *ante quem* the compendium was concluded is erroneous, and that it was written instead in 1458-59. The existence of two further documents where the compendium is mentioned confirm this dating. The first is Patrizi's letter to Ficino of 1459 in which Patrizi's commentaries 'on oratory' are mentioned (Letter 69).⁶⁶ The second is a letter written on 22 January 1462 by Giorgio Patrizi, who at the time was living in Campoli, to Francesco Tranchedini, in which he asked him to send the Epitome of Quintilian.⁶⁷ The epitome, then, was already finished in 1459 and in the following years it began to circulate among Patrizi's friends and family, including members of the Piccolomini circle. As Bassi already pointed out, such diffusion contradicted Patrizi's recommendation to Francesco Tranchedini, contained in the letter which

⁶² See Tomasino, *Bibliotheca Patavinae*, p. 48: 'MS XIII. Compendium Quintiliani auctore Francisco Patricio'.

⁶³ Iter, IV, 91. List of Additions to the British Museum, p. 2.

⁶⁴ Iter, II, 475.

This manuscript is listed as no. 75 in the list of Piccolomini codices published by Cugnoni, 'Aeneae Silvii Piccolomini', p. 334. See also *Iter*, II, 481; *Les Manuscrits classiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, I (1975), 337; Avesani, 'Per la biblioteca', p. 14. no. 67; Billanovich, 'Il Petrarca e i retori latini minori', pp. 117, 142-43, 147.

The letter has already been mentioned in Chapter I, p. 37. Patrizi's words are 'Quod commentarios illos de arte dicendi laudas, id mihi est iucundissimum' (Ficino, Supplementum, II, 269).

⁶⁷ 'Nunc vero litteras ad te dare decrevi quibus te enixere admodum oro ut ad me Quintiliani Epitoma mittas.' Florence, MS. Ricc. 834, f. 204v. The letter is dated 'decimo Kalendas februarias 1462', which could be 1463 if Giorgio was using the Sienese Style, which however seems unlikely.

accompanies the compendium, to make strictly private use of the work.⁶⁸ That letter also indicates that Patrizi had composed it for the same reasons as the epitome of Priscian as expressed in the tetrastichon concluding that work. It therefore comes as no surprise to find the same verses at the end of one of the manuscripts containing the epitome of Quintilian.⁶⁹

Besides the manuscript tradition, Bassi inform us that the compendium was printed in Paris in 1554 with the following title: *M. Fabii Quintiliani Institutionum oratoriarum libri XII in Commentarios redacti, Petro Paulo Vergerio auctore. Ex Bibliotheca Joannis Tilli episcopi Briocensis* (Paris, 1554, apud Guil. Morelium, ex privilegio Regis).⁷⁰ The publication of the compendium however, did little to help the transmission of Patrizi's work; on the contrary it merely served to increase the confusion surrounding its authorship. Bassi notes that Joly, recording the edition, repeated Du Tillet's uncertain attribution to Vergerio;⁷¹ that Fabricius initially confused the epitome by Vergerio (i.e. Patrizi), with one by Jonas Philologus (i.e. Gonthier d'Andernach), while subsequently he indicated that an epitome by Vergerio was published in Paris in 1548, and that it had been attributed by Tomasino to Patrizi.⁷² Finally, it was attributed to Francesco Patrizi the philosopher by Meister. The compendium is today kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, but in the catalogue it is listed under the name of Pier Paolo Vergerio.⁷³

The analysis of works composed by Patrizi in relation to the teaching of rhetoric and grammar would not be complete without mention of a short treatise devoted to a

⁷¹ Joly, Remarques critique, p. 775.

(1969), col. 1031.

⁶⁸ This letter was published by Bassi, p. 438. It had prevolusly been published in Fierville, *M. F. Quintiliani*, 'Introduction', pp. xxxv-xxxvi, n. 3, and in the preface to the edition of Du Tillet.

⁶⁹ MS Canon. Class. Lat. 285 in Oxford, Bodleian Library.

⁷⁰ Bassi, pp. 423-24.

Fabricius, Bibliotheca latina nunc melius delecta, II, 277. For Jonas Philologus see Fierville, M. F. Quintiliani, 'Introduction', pp. xxxiv-xxxv.

73 Catalogue Général des Livres imprimés De La Bibliothèque Nationale, 205

technical aspect of Horace's poetry, that is the metres of the *Odes* and *Epodes*. No critic has previously studied or even noted the existence of this treatise.

The study of metrics was considered during the Renaissance to be an important part of grammatical training, because the skill of measuring the pattern of syllables, together with a good knowledge of Latin, was essential for the comprehension of the structure of Latin poetry and the appreciation of its content.⁷⁴

Patrizi's treatise, therefore, must be related to the same didactic context. It is headed *De metris Horatii* and is transmitted in two manuscript copies, one in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, MS Auct. F. 4. 18., ff. 97r-105r,⁷⁵ and the other in the Vatican Library, MS Chigi L VIII 290, ff. 116r-120v.⁷⁶

In this work Patrizi devotes a first part to illustrating the structure of thirty-two metres to be found in the poetical works of Latin and Greek poets. For each of the metres Patrizi gives a description of their pattern not according to types of metres, dactyls, anapaests and iambics, but rather according to the number of feet, i.e. into dimetres, trimetres, and quadrimetres. In the second part Patrizi describes the various metres used by Horace in his *carmina*, preceded by a few rules of versification such as, for example, the irrelevance to the verse of the quantity of the last syllable, the division of the verse into two apparently equal parts, and the number of *semipedes* required by each half.

The part that properly deals with Horace's metres opens with the statement that Horace made use of nineteen metres only in his poetry. These nineteen different metres are then illustrated according to the order in which they appear in Horace's Odes and Epodes. Patrizi, however, does not indicate whether each metre is exemplified in one or the other of these two collections but uses the term oda for

⁷⁴ See Grendler, *Schooling*, pp. 240-44 on the teaching of metrics and poetry in the Renaissance.

⁷⁵ A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, III (1895), 24.

⁷⁶ Iter, II, 488; Avesani, 'Per la biblioteca', p. 78 and 'Epaeneticorum', p. 29, note 58; Les Manuscrits classiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane, I, 427-28; Passalacqua, I codici di Prisciano, p. 304.

each composition and then exemplifies its structure with verses from the poem in question. The term oda was probably written originally by Patrizi in the equivalent Greek, i. e. $\psi \delta \eta$ to mean poem, and other terms were written in Greek that correspond to the blank spaces in both manuscripts. In all probability the scribes were able to transfer into Latin the word oda, but found themselves unable to do the same with longer and more obscure words.

It should suffice to offer as an example Patrizi's explanation of the first type of metre he encounters in Horace:

Primae ode versus Asclepiadeus dicitur: qui constat Spondeo, duabus coriambis et pyrrichio, sive iambico, et oda ipsa [blank] dicitur, id est unius membris quia non variat versus sed quilibet versus particulariter duo habere debet membra ut 'Mecenas atavis' primum membrum sit, 'edite regibus' secundum, et 'Quem tu, Molpomene', primum, 'semele ornasti' secundum.⁷⁷

Patrizi picks up the Asclepiadian verses in *Carm*. 1. 1 and 4. 3, and proceeds in the same way for the other eighteen metrical structures, offering an explanation of the metres Horace used, with relevant examples as follows:

1. First and second Asclepiad:	Carm. 1.4,4.3
2. Sapphic Stanza:	Carm. 1.2
3. Second Asclepiad:	Carm. 1.3
4. Fourth Archilochian Strophe:	Carm. 1.4
5. Fourth Asclepiad:	Carm. 1.5
6. Third Asclepiad:	Carm. 1.6
7. Alemanic Strophe:	Carm . 1. 7
8. Second Sapphic Strophe:	Carm. 1.8
9. Alcaic Strophe:	Carm. 1.9
10. Fifth Asclepiadean:	Carm. 1.11
11.Trochaic Strophe:	Carm. 2. 18
12. Ionic a minore:	Carm. 3.12

MS Bodleian Auct. F. 4. 18, f. 99v. All quotations are taken from this manuscript.

13. First Archilochian:	Carm. 4.7
14. Iambic Strophe:	<i>Epod.</i> 1.
15.Third Archilochian:	<i>Epod.</i> 11
16. Second Archilochian:	<i>Epod.</i> 13
17. First Pythiambic:	<i>Epod.</i> 14
18. Second Pythiambic:	<i>Epod.</i> 16
19. Iambic Trimeter:	Epod. 17

The final part of the treatise contains a list of incipits of poems by Horace according to their metrical structure. Thus, for example, we have four *odas* listed under the first type, twenty-six for the second one, twelve for the third, and so on.

The structure of the treatise, divided into a general part where the metres are explained and a second part specifically devoted to Horace, reminds us of the traditional division of Servius's *De centum metris* and *De metris Horatii.*⁷⁸ These two texts were well known during the Renaissance. The *Centimetrum* appeared in the XVIth-century editions of Horace's work, and was used by humanists like Antonio Baratella (c. 1385-1448) and Niccolò Perotti who wrote treatises listing the different metres used in Classical poetry.⁷⁹ Perotti also composed a treatise entitled *De ratione carminum quibus Horatius et Severinus Boethius usi sunt* which is very similar to a work by Aldo Manuzio on the same topic, which in turn seems to be identical to the notes on metrics prefacing each poem in those same XVIth-century editions of Horace.⁸⁰ It is clear that the common source of the all these works must

⁷⁸ See Marius Servius Honoratus, *De centum metris*, in *Grammatici latini*, IV (1864), 456-67 and *De metris Horatii*, *ibidem*, 468-72.

⁷⁹ Niccolò Perotti wrote the *De generibus metrorum* in 1453-54. This work was dedicated to Giacomo Schioppo Veronese and was given as a gift to Pope Nicholas V. Sabbadini, *La scuola e gli studi*, p. 22, called it 'il capolavoro del secolo'. G. Curcio, *Quinto Orazio Flacco*, p. 53, says that Perotti was 'l'umanista meglio preparato ad illustrare Orazio'. For a survey of editions of texts of metrics, see Oliver, *Niccolò Perotti's Version*, pp. 147-50. Antonio Baratella, a pupil of Barzizza, composed a collection of verses in 1440 entitled *Ecatometrologia*. On Baratella see Sabbadini, 'La metrica di Antonio Baratella'; Segarizzi, 'Antonio Baratella e i suoi corrispondenti'; Ziliotto, 'Baratella, Antonio', in *DBI*, V (1963), 778-80.

⁸⁰ Aldo Manuzio devoted the entire fourth book of his Institutionum grammaticarum

have been Servius's *De metris*, and that they were considered as suitable for inclusion in the apparatuses of XVIth-century editions of Horace.⁸¹

Patrizi's work, which was never published, follows exactly the same pattern as those by Perotti and Manuzio, but because its content is slightly different, Patrizi must have used a different source both for the part on metres and the part devoted to Horace. The introductory part is based not on Servius's Centimetrum, which was nevertheless known to Patrizi, but at least in its main lines on the late grammarian Diomedes (late IVth c. A.D.), who devoted the third book of his Ars grammatica to an analysis of metrical structures and to the metres used by Horace.82 The introductory part is subdivided according to the number of syllables in the various feet, from two to five. Although Diomedes treated a greater number of metres in his work, all those discussed by Patrizi are present in the former, and under the same subdivisions. For the part devoted to the metrical analysis of Horace's poems, Patrizi did not use Diomedes's Ars grammatica or Servius's De metris Horatiis, but a different work, entitled Expositio metrica, which is part of one of the commentaries on Horace which go under the name of Ps.-Acron.83 In the Expositio metrica we find the description of the different metrical structures of Horace's poems introduced with the Greek term ψδή, as in Patrizi. Patrizi must have also written in

libri quattuor to the 'ars metrica'. For his treatise on Horace's metres see Aldo Manuzio Editore, I, 180-190.

On a sample of eight editions of Horace published between 1519 and 1559, the various metrical commentaries appear with the following frequency: *De metris Horatianis* by Aldo Manuzio three times (Lyons, 1559; Paris, 1544, where it is attributed to Perotti; Venice, 1519;) Perotti's *De ratione carminum* four times (Antwerp, 1529; Paris, 1540 and 1543; Venice, 1519); the introductory notes, identical to Manutius's work, appear regularly, with only one exception (Antwerp 1529; Lyons, 1536 and 1559; Paris, 1528, 1540, 1543; Venice, 1519); Servius's *Centimetrum* in two editions (Paris 1544; Venice, 1519).

⁸² Diomedes' Ars grammatica is published in Grammatici Latini, I (1855), 473-

For these commentaries see Ps.-Acron, *Pseudoacronis Scholia in Horatium Vetustiora*. The *Expositio metrica* is contained in vol I (1902), 4-12. Acron Helenius wrote commentaries on Terence and Horace in the 2nd c. A.D. which are now lost. The extant Ps.-Acron scholia may contain some genuine Acron material but the earliest of them dates from the Vth century. For these scholia on Horace, and those by Porphyrion, see Zetzel, *Latin Textual Criticism*, pp. 168-70.

Greek the definition of each ode, which corresponds to the Latin in Ps.-Acron: *monocolos* for the first *oda*, *dicolos tetrastrophos* for the second, *dicolos distrophos* for the third, and so on. The following is an example of Patrizi's text compared to Ps.-Acron's:

Patrizi:

Tertia oda [blank] dicitur hoc est duplici genere metri scripta a secunda [sic] facta replicatione. Nam prior versus qui Gliconicum dicitur constat spondeo coriambo et perichio, sive iambo. Secundus vero versus Asclepiadeus est cuius rationem posui in prima ode. Ut est 'Sic the diva potens Cypri sic fratres, Helene, lucida Sydera' (f. 100r)

516

Ps.-Acron:

Tertia ἀδη dicolos est distrophos, hoc est duplici generi metri scripta, a secundo facta replicatione. Nam prior versus, cui Gliconicum nomen datur, constat spondeo, choriambo et pyrrichio sive iambo. Secundus vero versus Asclepiadeus est, cuius iam in prima ἀδή reddimus rationem. Usque est hac metri compositione XII tantum cantibus, ut subjecta monstrabunt: Sic te diva potens Cypri,... .84

The list of poems which follows is identical to the list at the end of Patrizi's treatise. There are, however, cases where Patrizi added information not to be found in Ps.-Acron, usually taken from Servius's *Centimetrum*. The commentary on the eleventh *oda* illustrates this point:

Patrizi:

Undecima ἀδή [blank] est nam primus versus constat amphymacro et monometroiambico. Monomentrum vel trimetrum vel tetrametrum versus dicimus a numero pedum; sed in iambis trochaicis vel anapesticis metris per pedes duplices conputamus: non per simplices ut in caeteris omnibus. Nam in his tamen duo pedes pro uno quattuor pro duobus: sex pro tribus ponuntur. Secundo [sic] vero timeter est iambicus claudus. Nam nam [sic] [blank] id est versus cui finem una sillaba de est. Iambicus non versus non solum iambicus sed etiam heroicum recipit pedem cum solutionibus suis: locis tantum imparibus tribacum autem in cunctis. Solutionem appellant metrici cum pro longa una sillaba duas breves ponimus. Loca imparia dicitur primum tertium quintum et deinde: Loca vero paria secundum quartum sextum et deinde exemplum huius carminis est: 'Non eburnum neque aureum meam renidet in domo lacunae.' (ff. 101v-102r).

⁸⁴ Ps.-Acron, Expositio, pp. 5-6.

This is clearly based on the following parts of Ps.-Acron and Servius:

Undecima ψδή dicolos est distrophos. Nam prior versus constat amphimacro et monometro iambico' (Ps.-Acron); 'Monometrum vel dimentrum vel trimetrum versum in iambicis trochaicis anapesticis metris per pedes duplices computari in ceteris per simplices' (Servius); 'Secundus vero trimeter est iambicus claudus' (Ps.-Acron); 'Catalecticum versum dici cui syllaba una deest' (Servius); 'Iambicus autem versus non solum iambum, sed et heroicum recipit pedem cum solutionibus suis locis scilicet imparibus et tribrachin cunctis' (Ps.-Acron); 'Solutionem esse, cum pro longa syllaba duae breves ponuntur: loca inparia dici primum tertium quintum et deinde, paria vero secundum, quartum sextum et deinde' (Servius); 'Ususque invenitur hoc metri compositione uno tantum cantu, sic: non ebur neque aureum' (Ps.-Acron).85

In what survives of Patrizi's other writings there is no mention of his metrical treatise. There are however some expressions in the treatise which might shed some light on its place within Patrizi's teaching activity, and on the date of its composition. Where Patrizi talks about the trysillables, he says: 'Nec secundam exempla: nec de omnium interpretatione laborabo ne multis sim et quoniam de hoc te minime ambigere certo scio'(f. 97v). Later, having finished the first part illustrating the different metres, he says: 'Nunc autem ut voluntati tuae morem geram de vario ac multiplici numero carminum Oratii Flacci dicere incipiam si primo quedam breviter tibi prescipsero. Minime te fugere debet ...' (f. 98v). These words clearly indicate that Patrizi is writing on this subject to comply with a precise request made to him by somebody familiar to him, and probably one of his pupils. Obviously the first name to come to mind is that of Francesco Tranchedini, since it was for him that Patrizi completed all the didactic works related to his teaching activity. If Patrizi did indeed introduce his pupil Tranchedini to metrics after instruction in the rules of grammar, the treatise could have been written in the period following his compilation of the compendium of Priscian in 1458.

017

The relation of this treatise to the teaching of grammar is also demonstrated by the fact that in the Vatican MS Chigi L VIII 290, which was in the hands of Agostino Patrizi and owned by Cardinal Todeschini Piccolomini, it was copied

⁸⁵ Ps.-Acron, Expositio, p. 10 and Servius, De centum metris, p. 457.

alongside grammar texts of late antiquity.

On the other hand, the fact that MS Bodleian Auct. F. 4. 18 is a Sienese codex suggests that the treatise might have been composed by Patrizi when he was still teaching in Siena. Moreover, the scribe who copied this codex wrote Patrizi's work at the end of the complete text of Horace's *Odes*, which he accompanied with some neatly written marginal explanatory glosses. This could be an indication that the treatise on metrics was only part of a course on Latin poetry, and perhaps that Patrizi also lectured on the texts of Horace's *Odes*. 86

POETRY

Patrizi's educational and scholarly works show him adhering to the humanistic practice of experimentation and eclecticism, and the same impulse lies behind his composition of poetry in Latin. His poetry consists of two distinct collections, written at different periods and treating different topics in different forms, the first made up of poems and the second of epigrams. As well as offering a chance to assess Patrizi's ability in this area, both also reflect the events of the years in which they were written and Patrizi's activities and friendships during that time.

a variety of

Before preceding, it should be noted that the two collections have been partially studied by L. F. Smith in the already mentioned articles 'The Poems of Franciscus Patritius from the Vatican Manuscript Chigi J VI 233' and 'A Notice of the *Epigrammata* of Francesco Patrizi, Bishop of Gaeta' respectively. Although partial in their treatment, these articles are important in so far as they draw attention

⁸⁶ I would like to thank Prof. Albinia De La Mare for her help in identifying the codex as Sienese. Unfortunaltely the coat of arms on the first folio, which might have provided a clue to the owner of the manuscript, was erased.

to this completely forgotten aspect of Patrizi's literary production, and give useful information about the content and sources of the verses analysed, as well as the friends and relatives mentioned in the poems, or events and dates they refer to. However, Smith's speculations are based exclusively on the evidence found in Patrizi's verses, and are inevitably, in some cases, imprecise conjectures: no attempt is made to relate Patrizi's poetry to his remaining literary output, or to place it within a broad literary context. Thus, while Smith's articles still remain the first, and only, valuable study of Patrizi's poetry, the analysis of the poems which follows has attempted to indicate the historical and personal circumstances which determined their composition in the light of the information now available, and to evaluate Patrizi's poetic work in relation to both his wider literary activity and the contemporary production of Latin poetry. A list of manuscript and printed sources of both poems and epigrams has been supplied in Part A of the Bibliography of works by Patrizi, while Part C contains a list of incipit and explicit of each poem. This list, together with Smith's enumeration of the epigrams' first line, constitute the first comprehensive inventory of Patrizi's surviving poetry in Latin.87

The Latin poems were composed over a period that began before Patrizi's exile from Siena and ended in 1461, when they appeared in their final version. A first, important observation is that they represent almost the only Latin poetry produced in Siena after the experiments of Marrasio and Panormita in the years 1425-30. The only other examples of such works are to be found in two compositions by Antonio Bichi, dated 1457 and one poem only by Achille Petrucci on the Crusade against the Turks, entitled *De fato Apollonis*, composed in response to Patrizi's poem 'De casu fulminis'/(II.4, no. 11).88

As already seen in Chapter I, the reason for the almost total absence of this aspect of humanist culture in Siena, and the consequent importance of Patrizi's

M

87 Smith's list of incipit of the epigrams is in 'Epigrammata', pp. 125-45.

Marrasio and Panormita have already been mentioned above, Chapter I. On Bichi and Petrucci see Fioravanti, 'Alcuni aspetti', pp. 137-39. On Bichi see also below, Chapter IV.

revival of it, lies in the general nature of Sienese humanism which, after Filelfo, was limited to a small and increasingly provincial circle of amateurs, and to those disciplines that were most relevant to public and political use. Patrizi himself seems a good example of the tendency of Sienese humanists to devote themselves to public and representative office, and academic activity, but he also extended his ambition to include the attempt to reproduce the canonical forms of classical Latin poetry in the name of an ideal humanism, as did many writers of his day.

Several letters to Agostino Patrizi make reference to the composition of the poems. On various occasions, Patrizi asked Agostino to return the poetical works in Latin Francesco had previously sent to him to read. In the first of these letters sent from Assisi on 24 September 1461(Letter 98 (246)), Francesco suggests that Agostino give the poems to Iustus, a reliable relative he had sent to visit him. From the letter there also emerges that the poems were at the time being copied by a scribe. Because Patrizi calls him 'levis', and says he is angry with him, it can be deduced that a manuscript copy of Patrizi's poems should have been completed long before and that the author was now determined to have his writings back. It is also interesting to note that Patrizi asks Agostino to give him the Latin poems of Statius.

lyrel

0.

Another mention of poems appears in a letter of a few days later, dated 30 September (Letter 76 (194)), which contains Francesco's request that the poems be given to him 'emendata optime' and also, if possible, bound, since in Foligno, from where he was writing, there was no librarian available.

Two years later, in September 1463, a letter addressed by Francesco to Agostino, bears the information that Patrizi is sending him the collection of his poems (Letter 125). As this is a revised copy containing some new poems, Patrizi asks Agostino if he could get hold of the collection of poems he had previously sent to the Pope, and amend it with the additions Agostino would now find in this latest exemplar. By January of the following year Agostino had not yet complied with

⁸⁹ The letters have already been mentioned above, Chapter I, p. 49.

Francesco's request. In a few lines of a letter Patrizi sent from Foligno (Letter 26), he reminds Agostino to make the appropriate corrections in his volumes and to send back a list of them so that the author, in turn, could check they both had the same version. Once again Francesco stresses that Agostino, being in possession of the manuscript belonging to the Pope, was the only one who could comply with his request.

To summarize, the letters reveal that towards the end of September 1461 a scribe was completing a copy of a collection of poems by Francesco Patrizi intended for Pope Pius II. Shortly after that date, this manuscript copy was in fact sent to the Pope. It could be that the manuscript copy in question corresponds to MS Hamilton 482 of the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin. This manuscript contains a collection of poems by Francesco Patrizi dedicated to Pius II and divided into four books, which could explain the use of the plural 'libri' and 'exemplaria' in Letter 26 (71). A note written by the scribe in folio 92v in the manuscript gives its date of completion, i. e. 21 September 1461: 'A[nt]. S[inibaldus] scripsit a. domini MCCCCLXI XI Kal. Antonius Sinibaldus could therefore be the scribe Patrizi called 'levis notarius'; and in all probability, Patrizi revised the text and then sent it to the Pope shortly after the end of September. 90

Oct./?

When Patrizi, a few years later, sent Agostino some new poems, he had them included in the original collection in a new manuscript copy. The only extant manuscript which corresponds to such a description is MS Chigi J VI 233, which is identical to the Hamilton manuscript apart from the additional verses.⁹¹ It is however difficult to be sure that MS Hamilton and MS Chigi correspond to the two copies sent by Patrizi. MS Chigi bears the coat of arms of the Piccolomini and the

Boese, Die latienischen Handschriften, pp. 225-28; Iter, III, 365-66. That the copyist of this codex is Sinibaldi is stated both by Boese, Die latienischen Handschriften, p. 225 and by Kristeller, 'An unknown correspondence', p. 323, n. 2. On Sinibaldi see also Ullman, The Origin and Development, pp. 118-23 and pp. 126-28.

⁹¹ Iter, II, 485. The poem which is to be found in MS Chigi, but not in MS Hamilton, is poem I. 1. no.1.

papal tiara, and ended up among the manuscripts of the library of Pius II, which proves that it was a copy made for the Pope. 92 On the other hand, from what can be understood from the letters, Patrizi did not intend this as a copy for the Pope himself, but rather a copy for Agostino to allow him to make the necessary correction to the copy already in the hands of the Pope. As we know from the Hamilton manuscript, Agostino never had the time to actually obey Patrizi's request and make the necessary additions to it. Whether in fact Patrizi thought it was likely that this manuscript would end up in the Pope's hands - hence the coat of arms - or that a new copy was made from the exemplar he sent to Agostino, is not clear. 93

The content of MS Chigi J VI 233, on which our study is based, consists of forty-two Latin poems, including two short epigrams, of variable length and different metrical structure; most of the poems are in hexameters, but Patrizi uses the elegiac distich and the sapphic metre as well. The poems are unevenly subdivided into four books and their content is miscellaneous. The poems' subject-matter ranges from Patrizi's youth in Siena to the unhappy years of his exile; among the addressees of the poems or the characters mentioned in them, there are close friends of his - some of whom are known to us from his private correspondence of the relevant years - as well as famed *literati* or powerful rulers, such as Platina, Duke Federico Gonzaga, Sforza, and Cosimo de' Medici.

The first poem (I. 1, no.1), an introduction the whole collection, points to the

⁹² Cugnoni, 'Aeneae Silvii Piccolomini', p. 335 lists a manuscript headed *Francisci Patricii Poemata ad Aeneam Pium* among those belonging to the Pope. The information is recorded also by Smith, 'Poems', p. 94.

U.C.

The two manuscripts in question, Hamilton and Chigi, are discussed also by Avesani, 'Per la biblioteca', p. 55. n. 225, who states that they bear the bishop's mitre and therefore were later than Patrizi's election to the Bishopric of Gaeta, i. e. 23 march 1461. Avesani later corrected himself, in 'Epaeneticorum', p. 30 and mantains that if Patrizi was nominated bishop in 1461, his collection of poems, which has no indication that he was a bishop, was completed before that date. In n. 63, p. 30 Avesani also reports Boese's conviction that the two manuscripts were written for Agostino Patrizi (Hamilton) and for the Pope (Chigi), but disagrees, saying that Patrizi's poems sent to the Pope and to Agostino, as mentioned in his correspondence, do not correspond to the manuscripts in question. In particular he mantains that Agostino Patrizi was too close a friend of Patrizi to receive from him a manuscript made for presentation as the Hamilton seems to be.

miscellaneous nature of the poems. Echoing Juvenal, Patrizi declares that his small book 'tenui ac varia redolet farragine mixtus' (1.63, f. 2v.) whilst in the following line, with 'incertoque trahit diversa poemata filo' (l. 64, f. 2v), he uses an Horatian calque to refer to their varied stylistic quality.⁹⁴ How Patrizi has divided these occasional poems into four books, each dedicated to influential figures, is suggested by a text he actually mentions in one of the letters to Agostino, Statius's Silvae. This source was arrived at with brilliant intuition by Smith, without his knowing that Patrizi himself mentioned Statius in his letters. 95 And indeed, the poems' many echoes of Statius, and also of the other Silver Age poets Valerius Flaccus, Silius Italicus and Lucan, indicate Patrizi's intimate familiarity with their work. Finally, the introductory poem invokes the patronage of Pope Pius II not only for the dignity of his position but also for his expertise in the field of poetry. With the protection of the Pope, his 'libellus' will not suffer from the envy of the malicious, and Patrizi, inspired by his Phoebus, will be able to sing the praises of his illustrious fellowcitizen. Thus we find the traditional topos of the modestia auctoris and one of the most traditional poetic themes, the use of poetry to perpetuate the great deeds of worthy men.⁹⁶

Patrizi insists further elsewhere on the variety of his poetry. In the opening poem of the second book (II. 1, no. 8), he apologizes for the subject-matter of several poems being beneath the Pope's dignity, and refers to the severe criticism that his verses had encountered previously; he laments the loss of his home and his wealth, and all the misfortunes that had befallen him after exile as if they were a consequence of such envy and malice. By casting his exile of 1457 and events following in exclusively literary and poetic terms, and by appealing to Aeneas

95 Smith, 'Poems', p. 94.

⁹⁴ Juvenal, 1. 86: 'nostri farrago libelli est', and Horace, *Ep.* 2. 1. 225 'tenui deducta poemata filo'

On the immortalizing function of poetry, Smith, 'Poems', p. 95, cites Horace, Carm. 4. 9. 25-26 'vixere forte ante Agamennone/ multi'. See also Horace, Carm. 3. 30.1 'Exegi monumentum aere perennius'.

Sylvius as a poet, Patrizi makes his exile and misfortunes a frequent theme of his poetry without in any way treating them as political issues. He alludes several times to the harmful effects of envy on poets, as in a poem to Sinolfo Oterio (II.6, no.13), where he justifies his refusal to compose an epic as his friend had suggested with the example of great poets of antiquity who perished because of the envy of their adversaries. The final lines of this poem indicate that the epic, mentioned several times in other compositions, would have been a celebratory history of the city of Siena. Patrizi adds that a homeland is praiseworthy when it honours its citizens, which amounts in his case to a protest, particularly if taken with his refusal to write the celebratory epic. In another poem, (III.11, no. 28), entitled 'De aemulis et obtrectatoribus suis ad Angelum Carazolum', he returns again to the themes of envy and the criticisms of his decision to write love poetry rather than an epic work. He affirms that he lives in poverty and desires only to compose verses for his own pleasure and to search out virtue which can help him bear the vicissitudes of life. P8

Other references to the varied content of the collection are in the first poem of the third book (III.1, no. 18), where Patrizi specifies that in his youth he had dedicated himself to love poetry that he was now including in his collection, and in the introductory poem of the fourth book (IV.1, no. 36), containing a final mention of the variety of the collection and an even more urgent insistence that the Pope

Poem 'De casu fulminis ad Achillem Petruccium' (II.4, n.11) also refers to an epic, but not about Siena. Patrizi relates that Apollo, who saved his life together with Bacchus, had ordered him to write an epic poem, whose subject was to have been 'Caesaris arma,...victosque duces Latiumque triumphum' (Il. 69-70). He passes on the task to Petrucci who is not weighed down with the plague of exile. Using the mythological fiction, Patrizi is probably referring to the intervention of Pius II in his favour after exile.

This is the only mention in Patrizi's work of Angelo Caracciolo. The only information available on Caracciolo is that he is indicated as the author of L. B. Alberti's *Deifira* in an edition of this text in Neapolitan, dating from around 1473-75, and entitled 'Comincia il dialogo de Palimaco et de Piliarcho composito per lo eximio et magnifico poeta missere Angelo Carazulo de Neapoli'. Patrizi's poem, written before 1461, is therefore the earliest indication we have of Caracciolo's literary activity. See Alberti, *Opere volgari*, edited by Grayson, III (1973), 385, n. 2. The poem in question also proves Patrizi's knowledge of Diogenes Laertius, because Patrizi mentions Xenophon's love for Clinias (*Vitae Phil.* II. 49) and relates that Cleanthes's nickname Phreanthes, or well-lifter, derived from his habit of drawing water in gardens at night (*Vitae Phil.* VIII. 168).

should help to relieve him of vexations so that he might dedicate himself to more serious work. The end of the last poem of the collection (IV.7, no. 42) seems to confirm that the more serious work referred to is, again, a work in praise of Siena. There, after his repeated earlier refusals, Patrizi finally accedes to the need for its composition, and thus ideally reconciles himself to his motherland.

The content and nature of the poems in the collection derive primarily from its status as a gift to a pontiff, and thus the most common type is celebratory and historical, in accordance with the aim set out in the prefatory poem to use poetry to immortalize illustrious deeds. The next most common type is the autobiographical and personal poem, mainly focused on the theme of exile, followed by lighter, mostly amorous poems, and finally religious compositions. All four types will be examined in turn.

i) Celebratory and Historical Poems

Amongst the encomiastic poems of the collection, the largest group is dedicated to Aeneas Sylvius and deal with major events in his life, above all the crusade he promoted against the Turks, which at the time provoked a great deal of versifying from the humanists. For example, one of the first compositions in Patrizi's collection, the poem 'Ocia nunc' (I.3, no. 3), deals with a speech made by Piccolomini when he was a Cardinal in the presence of Callistus III on the timeliness of a crusade. Because of its subject-matter, this poem circulated in several manuscripts and was also printed.⁹⁹ It is interesting to note that a large part of the Cardinal's speech, after opening with an description of the sack of Constantinople by Mahomet II on 29 May 1453, dwells on the atrocities committed by the Turks, using a network of references to mythological characters of proverbial cruelty, and a

For the circulation in manuscript of this poem see Part A of the Bibliography of works by Patrizi. It was printed from MS Urb. Lat. 403 (ff. 24r-28r) by Zimolo in De Expeditione Pii Papae II adversus Turcos, pp. 111-16, where it is attributed to Lodrisio Crivelli. On Crivelli, and his relationship with Piccolomini see Avesani, 'Epaeneticorum', p. 55; Smith, 'Lodrisio Crivelli of Milan', (p. 31, n. 2 for the poem in question);

classical terminology reminiscent of Virgil, Silius Italicus and Ovid. 100 The treatment of the crusade includes a patriotic invitation to the Pope to unite the Italians under the Christian aegis of the struggle against the enemy and a nod to the internal political disorder and fragmentation of Italy, with all their negative effects. Patrizi seems particularly interested in this topic, and two other poems (II.5, no. 12, and II.7, no. 14), addressed respectively to all Italians and to Bartolomeo delle Gazarie, Savio of the Spedale di S. Maria della Scala in 1450 and one of the most eminent figures in Siena, consist of a survey of the political situation in Italy. 101 As well as the historical side, the same poem, no. 3, contains a eulogy of the oratorical and poetical skills of the Cardinal evident both at the opening of the composition, where Patrizi invites the Muses and Apollo to abandon their leisure and accompany with the lyre their faithful laurel-crowned 'alumnus', and at its end when, in recognition of his abilities and the success of his speech, the Pope invites the Cardinal to be his faithful counsellor as Agrippa was for Augustus. 102 The poem can be dated between Aenea Sylvius's appointment as Cardinal on 17 December 1456 to the death of Callistus III on 8 August 1458.¹⁰³ Together with others of Patrizi's poems, it

Patrizi compares the Turks to Laestrygones, to Diomedes, King of Thrace, to Dionysius of Syracuse, to Busiris, King of Egypt, in the same terms used by Ovid in *Fasti* (4.69 for Laestrygones), *Epistolae* (9.67 for Diomedes) and *Tristia* (3, 11, 39 for Busiris). Many lexical features recall the *Aeneid* while grammar and terminology, as Smith, 'Poems', p. 97, observes, recall the Silver Age poets. For the descriptions of the Turks' atrocities and how they were reworked in the West, see Smith, 'Pope Pius II's Use of Turkish Atrocities'.

Smith, 'Poems', p. 156, n. 30, mentions Giovanni delle Gazarie, Bishop of Grosseto from 1453 and correspondent of Aenea Sylvius and Patrizi, and hypothesizes that the Bartolomeo mentioned by Patrizi was from the same family. Battaglia, p. 81, n.3, quotes the letter sent by Piccolomini to Giovanni dated 25 September 1453, in which he recalls friends in common from Siena including Patrizi. In fact, Bartolomeo is Bartolomeo di Tommaso Agazzari, who was already Podestà of Todi in 1416, and later of Urbino, and who was a generation older than Patrizi. He died on 20 July 1450, the date before which the poem was composed. On the latter, see the biographical entry in Minnucci and Košuta, *Lo Studio di Siena*, p. 232.

Piccolomini was crowned with the laurel by Emperor Frederick III in 1444. The title of the composition also refers to Aenea Sylvius as a poet: 'Ad Aeneam Poetarum Excellentissimum ...'.

Smith, 'Poems', p. 96, seems unjustified in affirming that the poem was written in congratulation for Piccolomini's appointment as Cardinal, which he erroneously

was included in the *Epaeneticorum ad Pium II Pont. Max. libri V*, a collection of Latin poems written by several authors for Piccolomini. 104

Another event recalled by Patrizi in poem III.2, no. 19, also found in the Epaeneticorum ... libri, was the arrival of Pius II in Mantua for the opening of the diet that ran from 1 June 1459 to 14 January 1460. Although the poem is addressed not to the Pope but 'Ad Illustrissimum Dominum Ludovicum Gonzagam Marchionem Mantuae', its heading in the Epaeneticorum, i.e. 'De adventu Pii II Pont. Max. ad civitatem Mantuanam', confirms its real subject. 105 It underlines the Tuscan ancestry of Ludovico Gonzaga using Virgilian mythological references, and celebrates his war deeds and his peaceful works. 106 Patrizi invites the Marquis to welcome his Muse even if she is unknown to him, and he recalls the favour and protection he has shown artists, witnessed by Mantua's architectural works. He underlines once more the importance of celebratory poetry and in doing so he mentions Platina, thus drawing a parallel between the protection and favour obtained by Platina from the Marquis, and what Patrizi himself is hoping to receive from the Pope. The fact that from Montughi Patrizi wrote to Tranchedini on 2 April 1459 a letter expressing his desire to participate in some way in the congress at Mantua (Letter 20), indicates that this was clearly also his purpose in writing the poem.

Previously, in a letter written by Patrizi to Tranchedini dated 7 March 1459 (Letter 104), Patrizi says he has sent the Pope a poem written for his visit to Siena. This poem (IV.5, no.40) invites the Sienese to welcome their citizen with joy, and then provides a detailed description of the solemn papal entry into the city. Together with praise of the Popesabilities, which will allow him to bring peace to

104 See Avesani, 'Epaeneticorum'.

Avesani, 'Epaeneticorum', p. 62; Smith, 'Poems', p. 134.

dates 7 instead of 17 December [1456].

According to Patrizi the Marquis is a descendant of Bianor, son of the Manto and the Tiber. Smith, 'Poems', p. 134, n.9 specifies the source in *Aeneid* 10, 198-203 and 3, 105.

This was the first of the Pius's two visits to Siena, on 24 February 1459. The same event was celebrated in a poem by Lodrisio Crivelli, on which see Smith, 'Lodrisio Crivelli of Milan', pp.45-47 and 'Poems', p. 137, n.9.

Italy and to defeat the Turks, Patrizi celebrates the positive effects his papacy will have on Siena which will flourish anew in a period of great harmony. The tone of these verses is apologetic, and they reveal how much faith Patrizi placed in this visit of Piccolomini for a papal intercession on his behalf in the city that had exiled him. Similarly, the end of the poem seems to indicate that the poet's attitude towards his homeland has changed: after repeated refusals in previous poems, Patrizi agrees here to celebrate in verse the glories of Siena to which he declares he remains attached by a deep love, despite his harsh treatment. The immediate consequences of the papal visit, although largely regarding the general political situation in Siena, must have augured well for Patrizi who, in a letter to Tranchedini of 15 April 1459, announces that the nobility had in part been restored to the government of the city (Letter 133). His hopes were raised that the several papal interventions on his behalf would now bring him the support of some magistrates. And indeed, Patrizi was freed from the *confino* in November 1459.

Two other poems, the dedicatory poem of the fourth book (IV.2, no. 37), and a poem to Goro Lolli (IV.3, no. 38), both also in the *Epaeneticorum* for Pius II, 110 celebrate Piccolomini's election as pontiff as a providential act of God aiming at removing discord and evil from the earth and bringing justice, peace and happiness in its place. The Virgilian notion of the return to the Golden Age applied here to Pius II is frequently evoked by the other poets of the *Epaeneticorum* and was very common indeed in encomiastic literature of the humanist period, and also of later centuries. 111 In the first of these two poems there are several references to

¹⁰⁸ The only work by Patrizi dealing with Siena is *De origine et vetustate urbis Senae*, which is in prose. The work referred to here was either lost or never written.
109 Smith, 'Poems', p. 136, declares that Pius II's visit helped to alleviate the conditions of Patrizi's confinement on 22 June 1459. On p. 137, Smith refers to the hostility of some magistrates, who were against the readmittance of the nobles, to Piccolomini, as noted by the latter in his commentaries. See Piccolomini, *Commentarii rerum memorabilium*, 'Liber secundus', pp. 148-53.

Avesani, 'Epaeneticorum', pp. 28-29 and p. 63.
In the Epaeneticorum, see the two ecloques by Bartolomeo Morricone (Avesani, 'Epaeneticorum', pp. 20-22). On the theme of the Golden Age and its uses in Neolatin poetry see Grant, 'A Classical Theme'; and in the Medicean period Gombrich,

mythology in the personifications of Livor, Furor, Discordia and Clementia, the latter begin called upon by Jupiter to bring order to the earth, but the poem also contains a personal note, that is an invitation to the Pope to be generous towards poets, and in particular towards his fellow-countryman Patrizi, who lives in such unfortunate conditions. Similarly in the poem to Lolli, alongside the celebration of Pius through whom justice has returned to the world, there is also space for the themes of friendship, compared to that between Castor and Pollux, or Pylades and Orestes, and to the harsh fate of Patrizi when compared to that of his friend.

Turning to compositions in celebration of other historical figures besides the Pope, the first poem of note is that discussed above in Chapter I, sent by Patrizi to Tranchedini, addressed to Francesco Sforza, asking for his assurance of the favour of Filelfo (III.15, no. 32). In the poem's heading, Sforza is called Duke 'Insubriae Lyguriaeque', an appellation which confirms the celebratory intent of the poem whilst creating difficulties in dating its composition. Sforza added Genoa to his dominion only in 1465, a date that is in conflict with the mention of Filelfo's *Satire* and *Sforziade*, but also with the date before which Patrizi's entire collection was finished. The poem could perhaps allude to the reaction of Sforza to the attack on Genoa in 1458 by Giovanni di Calabria, son of René of Anjou. 113

Poem IV.4, no. 39, also sent to Tranchedini, offers Patrizi the opportunity to celebrate the glory of Francesco Sforza and the merits of Cosimo de' Medici. 114 As with the previous poem, the link with historical figures is provided by Nicodemo Tranchedini's presence in Florence. The same expressions of thanks that we find in the correspondence between the two friends in the years 1457-59 recur in this poem,

'Renaissance and Golden Age'.

Smith, 'Poems', p. 133, n. 4 suggests a model here in Claudian, *De consulatu Stilichonis*, 2.9: 'Prima chaos clementia solvit'. Patrizi uses also Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1. 348-415), on how Pyrrha managed to repopulate the earth.

Ady, A History of Milan, pp. 72-73.

This poem was published in Altamura, 'Due carmi inediti', pp. 54-58. It was taken from MS V. E. 18 of the Biblioteca Nazionale in Napoli and has the following lacunae: two lines missing after 1. 43; two after 1. 58; four lines missing at the end of the poem.

in which Patrizi calls Tranchedini 'praesidium vitae', and 'tutela meorum'. He then moves on to praise the exploits of Duke Francesco Sforza, and these verses introduce us to the focal point of the poem, to urge Nicodemo not to stay in Florence on matters of little import, but to reach the Duke who will give him the highest honours as Aeneas did to Achates. To do this, Nicodemo must overcome the fascination that the city of Florence exercises, on him as on all others. And this reference introduces a section in praise of its ruler, Cosimo. Using parallels from ancient history and mythology, Patrizi underlines the various qualities of the two rulers. The warring audacity and valour of Sforza brings to mind Nestor, Teucer, Ulysses, Diomedes, Agamemnon and Menelaus. For Cosimo, Patrizi uses a different range of references: first, he defines Cosimo's political position as 'princeps' (l. 91) of the Republic, or, echoing Virgil, as he who 'ingentes placido nutu moderatur habenas' (l. 92) and he even comes to define him as 'defensor patriae pro libertate tuenda' (l. 97) and to compare him to Brutus, thus reversing the pair Brutus-Caesar in favour of a republican interpretation of the ambiguous constitutional position of Cosimo. At the same time Patrizi assigns to Cosimo a dominant role within the state. The historical importance of this account of Cosimo lies in its being one of the earliest to show him in his full powers, seen as the effective ruler of Florence. After his death, Medici propaganda would habitually use the term 'princeps' to mean a preeminent man of state. 115 Patrizi emphasizes Cosimo's immense wealth by comparing him with Lucullus and Crassus; he notes his generosity with friends and the needy; his patronage of architectural works of embellishment for the city whose magnificence recalls the works of great artists such as Phidias, Euphranor, Zeuxis, Parrasius and Mentor; and finally he praises the Library of S. Marco in Florence and its great collection of Latin and Greek texts. 116 As for Tranchedini's position, the particular circumstances of the composition of the

See Brown, 'The Humanist Portrait', and Rubinstein, 'Cosimo Optimus Civis'.
 On the history of the Library of S. Marco see Ullman and Stradter, The Public Library, and in particular, on Cosimo's contribution, pp. 15-27.