poem are not clear. Smith proposes that Sforza had offered Tranchedini the post of secretary, as suggested by the use of the term in the poem's title, but this was a standard appellation that Patrizi used in headings of letters addressed to Nicodemo as far back as 1457.¹¹⁷

The same praise of Cosimo de' Medici in this poem recurs and is amplified in another encomiastic work (IV.6, no. 41) entirely dedicated to him, from which we learn that Patrizi had been several times in his presence and had always received a sympathetic hearing and comfort for the pain of exile. This poem, necessarily composed after 1457, together with the preceding one, shows the existence of a pro-Medici literature already in Cosimo's lifetime, and particularly during the final years of his life, when innumerable occasional poems were dedicated to him. First, Patrizi refers once more to the position held by Cosimo in the Florentine republic, noting that he is a simple private citizen whose advice is sought out by those in public office whenever difficulties arise: his intervention pacifies where there is discord, unmasks the ambitious and the malign, and promotes peace. His wisdom and his political perspicacity induce other rulers, such as Sforza, to ask his opinion on political matters. To illustrate better the gifts of this man, Patrizi widens the range of classical figures of comparison to include three categories: legislators (Cecrops, Draco, Solon, Phorenus, Lycurgus, Mercurius, Minos); statesmen

Smith, 'Poems', p. 13. Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, p. 73 notes that Sforza, Duke of Milan from 1450, only conferred on Nicodemo the title of resident ambassador, or *orator* at the Medici court in 1452, even though he had been in Florence since 1446. C. Santoro, *Gli uffici*, p. 54, has the 1464 document that registers the employment of Francesco Tranchedini in the Sforza chancellery and says of him 'filius secretarii ducalis Nicodemi'.

Hankins, 'Cosimo de' Medici', lists the humanists who wrote encomiastic verses for Cosimo de' Medici, both collected in a single volume or circulating in separate manuscripts. Amongst the latter he mentions Patrizi's poem (p. 75 and n. 23), which he takes from MS Naz. II. X 31 in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence.

This seems to be a reference to the constant relations between Milan and Florence operated by Tranchedini: see Hibbert, *The Rise and Fall*, pp. 80-86. In particular, one might speculate that Patrizi is referring to Cosimo's advice to Sforza to abandon his Neapolitan alliance in favour of France over the disputed ownership of Genoa between the King of Naples and Charles VII. See Ady, *History of Milan*, p. 73 and Ewart, *Cosimo de' Medici*, p. 150.

(Pericles, Amenion, Epaminondas) and Roman heroes (Brutus, Tarquinius, Scaevola, Qurcius Rufus, Horatius Coclites). In so doing, he offers further evidence of the habitual use of classical sources for celebratory ends and of the desire to draw parallels between the classical world and the Medici rise to power. In particular, Patrizi emphasizes Cosimo's defence of republican liberty by the parallel, already in the previous poem, with Brutus, in all probability a reference to the conflict between Cosimo and the Albizzi who took up arms against the Signoria in 1433.¹²⁰

ii) Autobiographical and Exile Poems

The exile and personal misadventures that form the background to most of the poems examined thus far provide the principal theme of several of the poems. These are addressed to acquaintances and friends and in them Patrizi describes the bitterness and the worries of life in exile. At times, the reference to exile is not explicit: in two poems, addressed to Goro Lolli, and entitled 'De immanitate pestilentiae' (I.4, no. 4) and 'De urbis desiderio a qua pestilentiae causa triennio abfuerat' (II.3, no. 10), Patrizi uses the metaphor of the plague to evoke the political situation that caused his exile. In the former, where he describes the worries of his sleepless nights in exile, he also mentions some Sienese acquintances, the poet Saraceni, Achille Petrucci, and a certain Tolomeo, whom Petrucci had met once at Cortona. 121 In the latter Patrizi expresses his weariness with life in the country and

Hankins, 'Cosimo de' Medici', p. 86 and n.60, quotes the following lines of Patrizi's poem as an example of how Cosimo's humanist defenders used the Albizzi episode, that led to his exile and then his triumphant return in 1434, to his advantage: 'Ille pudicitiae libertatis quatit verendus/ Romanae, Brutus vindex utroque tyranni'. (Il. 47-48, ff. 90v, MS Chigi J VI 233).

¹²¹ For the identification of the poet Saraceni, Patrizi, in the letter of 7 March 1459 to Tranchedini (Letter 104), commends himself to Lolli and to Iacobo and Giovanni Saraceni. Giovanni Saraceni became procurator of Pius II, as indicated in Minnucci and Košuta, *Lo Studio di Siena*, p. 262, in which he is recorded as involved in the acquisition of land near Siena as procurator of the Pope. As for Tolomeo, Smith, 'Poems', p. 98, speculates that he might have been a member of the Tolomei family of Siena, but Petrucci certainly knew the Tolomei better than is suggested in this poem.

his desire to return to the city, and laments the loss of dear Sienese friends whom he cannot see again. The tone of these verses reveals a deep pessimism that leads him on to general considerations on the sufferings of human life and the inevitability of death.

Similarly another poem, which at least in inspiration is related to the theme of exile, moves on to grander meditations on the human condition. The title of this poem (II.8, no.15) dedicated to Pacino Pacini who had taken on the job of *Podestà* of Foligno for 1462 at Patrizi's request, states the subject clearly: 'De incommodis humanae vitae'. The poem affirms that human life is only pain and that only death can put an end to its suffering; it laments the harmful results of Nemesis - once more 'Rhamnusia raro mater, sed saepe Noverca' (I. 36, f. 43v); and it lists the illustrious poets who had been victims in the past of evil fortune. In other words, Patrizi here expresses depths of pessimism unknown in all his other works. Only at the end of the poem do we find a hint of a positive tinge to this desolate picture of the human condition, when he mentions virtue, 'sola laborum/ perfugium' (II. 86-87, f. 44v); but it is not so much the active force opposed to fortune as that attitude of detached resignation that allows man to accept and not to oppose whatever fate holds in store for him.

Finally, the last poem of the collection (IV.7, no. 42), 'De exilio', dedicated to Lolli, is more explicit on the theme of exile. Here Patrizi performs on himself and his exile that operation of comparison with classical models that previously had been reserved for others. In the opening part of the composition, through a network of parallels with legendary characters unjustly treated by their homeland, Patrizi builds up in negative an argument to show how wrong it is to be overattached to the homeland and thus how exile is not to be considered the worst of misfortunes. Patrizi proposes a broader understanding of the term 'patria', not so much in territorial terms of a city and its borders as in terms of the whole world of the place

where the individual feels at home. 122 Those who considered themselves citizens of the world, as Patrizi does now, include Teucer, founder of Salamis, Horace, Socrates, and the Cyrenaic philosopher Theodorus. The misfortune of an unjust exile provoked by 'atra ambitio' (ll. 51-52, f. 93r), 'livor edax' (l. 52) and 'dira libido' (l. 52), can be mitigated by an upright mind and by virtue, as shown by Cicero, the Carthaginian Hanno, the Greek hero Palamedes, and the founder of Thebes, Cadmus. The conclusion of the poem further reinforces the attitude of detached resignation that pervades the text: he has accepted his lot and looks upon the aimless fretting of men without any personal involvement. He restates his own love for Siena and generously wishes it success over all other Tuscan cities.

iii) Miscellaneous and Love Poems

Two of the poems, in contrast to II.3, no. 10 mentioned above, celebrate life in the country and disparage urban activities. The first (III.3, no. 20), dedicated to Lolli and entitled 'De vita quieta', opens with praise of the simplicity of country life, far from the din and conflict of the city, where one can read the classics and compose pastoral verse in tranquillity. 123 The bucolic idyll as described by Patrizi has clear echoes of many classical precedents, and especially Horace (Odes, I.1), Tibullus (El., 1) and Virgil (Georgi, 1-2). The second (III.5, no. 22), addressed to Ed I 1-2 2 Francesco Tranchedini, repeats the eulogy of tranquil country life, as indicated in the title 'Laus ruris', and alludes more than once to the fact that distance from the city protects the poet from the harmful envy of his fellow citizens. Francesco, by

The list of classics in Il. 118-120 is an interesting indication of his favourite authores: Homer comes first, before even Virgil, Cicero, Pindar, and then Horace and the historians Livy and Herodotus.

Patrizi's source is Plutarch's Moralia 600E-602C, not so much for the theme that the whole universe is our native land, which is common in classical authors (see, for example, Cicero, Tusc. V, 37-108) but for the consequence that the exiled man can choose for himself the best living place. This idea is different from Seneca's that the place where the wise man finds himself is a matter of no importance (Ad Helv. 8.6). In the poem 11.29-30 'Nam quocunque loci bene sit, si credere vati / Pergis Aristophani, patria est' (f. 92v) is taken according to Smith, 'Poems', p. 142, from Aristophanes's *Plutus* 1151.

contrast, has been assigned by the gods' important jobs in the city. The poem, written certainly after exile, might allude here to an early role for Tranchedini, before his appointment to the chancellery of the Sforza in 1464.

Amongst the miscellaneous poems, there are also those which in all probability date back to Patrizi's youth in Siena. One poem (III.4, no. 21), addressed to an unidentified Donato, who prefers the glory of physical exercise and the gymnasium to literary glory, clearly recalls the sporting activity of the students of Siena university. In his attempt to draw his friend back to his reading of the Greek and Latin authors, and to convince him that glory is worthless if not accompanied by virtue, Patrizi recalls the sad end of two ancient athletes, Milo and Polydamas, and alludes to their profession as boxers. 124 The reference brings to mind one of the favorite and most violent games of the XVth century Sienese students, the 'Giuoco della Pugna'. 125

Other poems deal with love. They range from the commonplace topic of polemics against marriage and conjugal life, as in 'De incommodis rei uxoriae' (III.6, no. 23), to the theme of pain and remedies of love and passion (III.7-8, nos. 24-25). In three cases they also deal with the amorous adventures of Patrizi's friends: two poems (III.13-14, nos. 30-31) written in Sapphic stanzas, describe the love of Neaera and Sinolfo Oterio, who is warmly invited to leave his lover and dedicate himself to study. A third one (III.17, no.34), whose real protagonist is hidden behind the classical name Cynthia, celebrates the beauty and virtue of a young Sienese girl with whom Achille - certainly Achille Petrucci - is in love, and it urges the girl to accept his proposal of marriage. If there is any truth behind the poetic fiction, we could assume that Cynthia is Battista Berti, and that the poem was written before 1450, the year when she married Petrucci. She became known in Siena for having delivered, around the middle of the century, an oration in Latin in

Patrizi uses Valerius Maximus's description of these two athletes (9. 12. exts. 9-10)

¹²⁵ See Ady, Pius II Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, p.18 and Bortolotti, Siena, p. 24

praise of Frederick III and his wife Eleonora in which, profiting from the occasion, she also requested exemption from the sumptuary laws of the Republic of Siena. 126

Finally, two love poems seem to refer to the poet's own experiences. In III.16, no.33, Patrizi relates that shortly after his four-year-old son Giorgio gave him a crown woven with myrtleberries, he suddenly felt in his limbs the torments of Venus, the fire of love for Lidia. To the same Lidia, Patrizi then decides to give odorous fruits, the 'mala citrea' of poem III.18, no. 35, but the Muse Thalia brings the gift back to him since the fruits cannot compare with the sweet perfume that emanates from Lidia herself. Literary echoes of authors such as Propertius (II. 25. 5) for the idea of the aged soldier who puts away his arms but is now called upon to fight once more; Martial, whose distich 13.37 is the source for the citrons mentioned in the title of III.18, no. 35; and Meleager of Gradara for an epigram which contains the theme of the second poem, 128 create the suspicion that these two poems do not relate to a real episode but are rather poetic exercises. The mention of his son Giorgio indicates that they were written in the early 1450s, since Giorgio was the first-born son of his marriage to Bartolomea Gori in 1447. 129

These two poems, as well as those on Venus exchanged between Leonardo Dati and Patrizi, 130 seem to confirm that it was common practice, among young humanists in Siena, to compose Latin poetry on the theme of love and to exchange poems between themselves.

iv) Religious Poems

Two of the three religious poems in the collection celebrate the Virgin Mary, as one

See above, Chapter I, pp. 16-17.

¹²⁶ See Ascheri, Siena nel Rinascimento, p. 52, n. 83; Fioravanti, 'Classe dirigente', p. 474; Pertici, p. 21and p. 23.

¹²⁷ See III.16, no. 32, l. 8, f. 72v.

Greek Anthology, V. 143.
Smith, 'Poems', p. 18, maintains that the poem proves Patrizi was thinking of remarrying after being widowed, and thus dates the poem after his exile. He corrects himself in 'Family', p. 3.

might expect given the cult of the Virgin that permeated Sienese life. They are also particularly appropriate to their destinatee, the Pope, who was himself the author of similar poems on the same subject. 131 In Siena, 'civitatis Virginis', the most important festival was the 15 August, the Assumption, in which the victory over Florence at Montaperti in 1260, which the Sienese put down to the Virgin's intervention, was also celebrated. The first of the two poems, 'In Natali Mariae Virginis Sanctissimae Ode' (I.6, no. 6), seems to have been written for Mary's birth, on 8 September. 132 After six introductory stanzas, in which the parents of Mary are mentioned, and she is remembered as the mother of the Saviour, the poem continues with praise of the Virgin sung in alternating stanzas by a chorus of virgins and another of young men. The device recalls Horace's Carmen Saeculare, but at the same time reproduces the alternating choral recital of psalms. The structure of the Sapphic stanza, with three hendecasyllables and a closing adonius, seems particularly apt for the subject-matter, since each stanza consists of a complete sentence and with the final two words recalls the rhythm of religious litanies. A reference to the Pope and the crusade against the Turks aids in dating the poem to after Pius's election on 3 September 1458.

The same observations made for 'In Natali Mariae Virginis Sanctissimae Ode' apply to the second religious poem 'Ad Mariam Virginem Sanctissimam Ode' (II.9, no.16), which is an invocation to the Virgin containing an account of the principal episodes of the life of Christ, from his birth to the Resurrection.

The eclogue 'De Christi Natali' (II.2, no. 9) is a more complex case. Its circulation is attested to in other manuscripts besides Chigi J VI 233, and it was printed several times, even if erroneously attributed to Filelfo.¹³³ As the title

132 The ode was purlished by Antonio Altamura three times: 'Due carmi inediti',

¹³¹ For Piccolomini's poems on the Virgin see 'De beata Virgine', 'Ad laudem perpetue Virginis Mariae' and 'Oratio in beatam Virginem' and 'Hymnus de passione', similar to Patrizi's poem even in versification, in Piccolomini, *Carmina*, p. 89, p. 193, p. 200, p. 145.

pp. 58-61; 'Una saffica mariana', pp. 535-38; *Studi e ricerche*, pp. 55-59.

133 For the manuscript tradition see Part A of the Bibiography of works by Patrizi.

indicates, the poem is an elegy on the birth of Christ, and the subject-matter, the mythical rustic atmosphere, and the conventional presence of shepherds, suggest it is clearly modelled on the Virgilian messianic Fourth Eclogue. The protagonists, the shepherds Menalcas and Lycidas, are told of the birth of Jesus by a heavenly messenger and they set out to reach the manger where the new-born child is laying. They pay homage to the saviour and hail him as redeemer. This eclogue, in its notion of the Golden Age instituted by Christ's birth, was much imitated and probably inspired very similar compositions by poets in the following centuries. The poem is addressed to Aeneas Sylvius when Bishop of Siena and thus can be dated after his appointment on 23 September 1450, and indeed since one of the manuscripts containing the text, MS Rome Nic. Rossi 204 (43 E 13), was copied in 1451, the composition must fall within that narrow band. Shortly afterwards, Piccolomini wrote a poem in reply beginning 'Aurea Dona duces mittunt epigrammata vates', which was copied by Pietro Sabino in an extra folio of MS Hamilton, copied, as we know, in September 1461.

It was printed in Padua in 1483 (Hain 12471) and in the first book published in Fano in 1502, as indicated by Bertalot, 'Il primo libro di Fano', in *Studien*, I, 427-437 (pp. 430-31), (first published in *La Bibliofilia*, 30 (1928), 56-61 (p. 58)); then in *Carmina Illustrium*, VII (1720), 145-49. Benaducci published it under the name of Filelfo as *Egloga di Francesco Filelfo*, edita per la prima volta secondo il Codice Urbinate 368 della Vaticana (Tolentino, 1896). It was also attributed to a Sicilian student of Patrizi, Tommaso Schifaldo, and published incomplete under his name by Di Giovanni, *Filologia e letteratura siciliana*, III (1879), 250-51 and by Cozzucli, *Tommaso Schifaldo*, pp. 40-41. The erroneous attribution of Patrizi's poem to Filelfo is noted by Bassi in his review of Benaducci's edition, in *Rassegna bibliografica della letteratura italiana*, 4 (1896), 194-96 and by Grant, 'An Eclogue of Francesco Filelfo?'.

¹³⁴ Grant, 'A Classical Theme', pp. 692-93 and n. 3, expounds the content of Patrizi's eclogue (not, as he mistakenly says, dedicated to Pius II), and other such compositions of the XVth and XVIth centuries for several of which, for example the poets Antonio Geraldini of Amelia and Andrea Fulvio of Palestrina, he suggests a source in Patrizi's poem.

¹³⁵ Iter, II, 114. See Part A, Bibliography of works by Patrizi.

Piccolomini's reply can be read in Bertalot, 'Il primo libro di Fano', La Bibliofilia, 30 (1928), pp. 58-59, and in Piccolomini, Carmina, p.201. It is found in the following manuscripts: Bologna, B. Universitaria, MS lat. 1419 (2687); Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS Lat. qu. 433; Budapest, National Széchényi Library, MS Quart. Lat. 2281; Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana e Moreniana, MS Ricc. 1166; Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliveriana, MS 18.

The second collection of Latin poems consists of 345 epigrams, and there is only one extant manuscript, MS Gordan 153 of the Library of Phyllis and John Dozier Gordan jr. in New York.¹³⁷

Patrizi's extensive, and lively collection of epigrams provides much information on the author's public and private life and his contacts with humanists, and on historical events of the end of the XVth century. They also demonstrate that Patrizi's commitment to poetry survived his transfer to Gaeta and his episcopal work, alongside other literary activities such as the treatise on monarchy and the vernacular commentary on Petrarch's *Trionfi* and *Canzoniere* also completed in this period.

It should be noted first of all that two epigrams attest to Patrizi's knowledge of the epigrammatic tradition in Greek and in its later adaptations by the Latin school. In 'De prima inventione epigrammatum' (no. 336, ff.98r-98v), he comments on the Greek tradition, and in particular, through a reference to the celebration of the fallen at Thermopylae, to Simonides, defining the form as celebrating great deeds in few words. He goes on to relate how the form gradually degenerated often into the obscene (a reference to Martial), and the second epigram, no. 337, f.97r, returns to this topic, claiming that the obscene Latin words used in this degenerate form were not of Italian origin. He no. 101, Patrizi provides a concise survey of Latin satire, beginning with the Lucilian tradition, then Juvenal and Horace, who describes aspects of Roman life with a humour that recalls the Greek poet Eupolis, and finally Persius, Horace's imitator.

This is a reference to the famous epigram attributed to Simonides on the dead of Thermopylae, in *Greek Anthology*, VII. 249.

¹³⁷ Iter, V, 351-352. This manuscript was formely owned by Bertalot. It is from S. Michele di Murano, MS. Nani 99, and is recorded by Mittarelli, Bibliotheca codicum, cols. 669, 855-56. I would like to thank Mrs. Phillis Gordan for kinldy allowing me to consult the manuscript and for suppling a microfilm copy of it.

These two epigrams, nos. 336-37, are published in Phillips, 'Francesco Patrizi's Two Epigrams', 139-41 and mentioned in Hausmann, 'Untersuchungen zum neulatlinischen Epigramm', p. 8; Prete, 'Some Observations', p. 265; Smith, 'Epigrammata', p. 99.

These authors are Patrizi's principal sources for his own epigrams, although his competence in the field of satire and epigrams is not enough to explain the motivation behind the work. There are numerous other examples of collections in imitation of the classical epigram by XVth-century humanists. Its popularity seems to derive from its brevity, vivacity and irony as well as its flexibility in tackling a wide range of topics, without requiring the same technical effort and level of poetic inspiration as the pastoral or elegiac forms. 140

In the case of Patrizi, there are two distinct periods during which he might have been led to compose such poetry. The first was in Siena, as already seen with the poems. Indeed, in Siena between 1420 and 1425 Panormita produced his imitation of Martial, including the pornographic aspect of his work, in the Hermaphroditus. 141 It is unlikely that Patrizi would not have known of Beccadelli's poetry, which was circulated in Siena over a long period, given his constant attention to the revival and experimentation of classical literary genres. Indeed, in the collection of poems there are two epigrams (III. 9-10, nos. 26-27) that were written before 1461 and it is unlikely that they were the only such works to be composed before the years of the bishopric. Furthermore, the collection of epigrams contains several obscene or lascivious exemplars of the genre, which suggest jokes between friends and peers that would fit most obviously into the Sienese period. Dating cannot be certain here, but it should be noted that even Aeneas Sylvius picked up on Beccadelli's example, producing in the 1440s a collection of Epigrammata in which there is a strong satirical component, and also the use of the epigram as epitaph as in Beccadelli's work. 142 Patrizi might well have been interested in composing epigrams, and despite the lapse in time between the collections by Patrizi and Piccolomini, both indicate that these two humanists devoted themselves to a genre which was otherwise absent in Sienese humanist culture in the Quattrocento.

¹⁴⁰ See Prete, 'Some Observations', p. 263.

For this work see above, Chapter I, p. 12, and n. 10.
See Hausmann, 'Enea Silvio Piccolomini "Poeta".

Nevertheless, the majority of Patrizi's epigrams certainly belong to the later period between 1464 and 1494, as is proven by his reference to his own advanced age when composing Latin poetry (no. 200, f. 64r).

The fact that Patrizi returned to epigrams at this later moment, towards the end of the century, needs to be seen in the light of a wider phenomenon, that is the widespread diffusion from the 1460s onwards in Italy of the *Greek Anthology*, and its later pubblication in Florence by Giovanni Lascaris in 1494. This anthology contains over six thousand epigrams ranging from the VIIth century B.C. to the Xth century A.D. on a great variety of subjects, descriptive, funerary, convivial, comic and satirical. Their rediscovery stimulated not only the composition of epigrams in the last decades of the century, but also the use of a briefer, more pungent form than that used by Martial, and the idea of collecting them in a series of books. Its circulation preceding the 1494 edition is attested to in Florence where Lascaris gave lectures on the *Anthology* in the 1470s and where Poliziano and Marullo composed some epigrams of their own. Outside Florence, Guarino da Verona probably used Greek epigrams in his courses at Ferrara and his pupils, Giano Pannonio, Tito Strozzi and Antonio Costanzi, were among the first to translate them. Finally in Naples, Pontano, Del Tuppo, Sannazzaro and Gravina all knew the *Anthology*. 143

In addition the collection of epigrams by Campano, already mentioned in Chapter I, is noteworthy not only because we know that Patrizi set himself up in competition with Campano, but also because it seems he was the first to have the idea of grouping epigrams, which had otherwise circulated individually, into books. 144 Thus it is probable that Patrizi too was influenced by this general revival of the epigrammatic form. It is less easy to judge whether he too, like Campano, conceived of a formal grouping into books, since the only extant copy, entitled *Francisci Patricii Senensis Pontificis Caietani Epigramaton liber*, has no such

144 See Bradner, 'The Neo-Latin Epigram', p. 65.

On the diffusion of the Greek Anthology in Italy, see the valuable Hutton, The Greek Anthology in Italy.

subdivision. The first epigram, 'Ad librum suum' (f.1r), which, following the influence of Martial, is addressed to the book itself, invites the book not to leave his home, so as to avoid the envy of the malicious, and instead to wait for his brothers, that is, other books of epigrams.¹⁴⁵ Elsewhere, the title 'De libellis suis epigrammatum' (no.165, f.54v) again suggests more than one book, and its content refers to the varied subject-matter contained in the collection, from serious, to comic, to amatory and Bacchic.¹⁴⁶ In other words, it performs the same task as the opening poems in each of the books of the other collection in which Patrizi refers to its miscellaneous nature.

Another similarity with the poems is found in the dedication of the collection, here to Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, Cardinal of Siena and future Pope Pius III (1439-1503).¹⁴⁷ In the dedicatory epigram (no. 3, ff. 1r-1v), Patrizi invites Piccolomini to accept his work with its light and amorous subject-matter inspired by the Muse Calliope, who invited him to abandon his more serious work, probably the historical and political works, which was little appreciated, assuring him that these verses would bring him greater fame and glory. The fact that the Muse reassures him that his life is morally upright - 'vita verecunda est' (1.14, f. 1v) - seems to have been inserted to justify the more wanton content of some epigrams, which might otherwise have seemed not only unworthy of his episcopal position and his age, but also, if not more so, of his destinatee, Cardinal Piccolomini. Finally, no. 6 (ff. 2r-2v), 'Ad Senam Patriam epulentissimam [sic]', also has an introductory function: Patrizi adopts the model of Martial's epigram XII.2 (3) inviting Siena to read a few verses or one epigram at random, referring once again to the variety of their content. It should also be emphasized, as is evident from the dedication, that Patrizi intended

Smith, 'Epigrammata', p. 99. The epigram is also printed on p. 117.
 On Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini see Ugurgieri della Berardenga, Pio II

Piccolomini, pp. 501-22.

¹⁴⁵ Smith, 'Epigrammata', p. 98, suggests that this epigram was planned as the introduction to a first book and ended up at the start of the whole collection.

¹⁴⁸ Smith, '*Epigrammata*', pp. 98-99.

his collection for his homeland despite his long absence from Siena. Indeed, Patrizi's interest in and attachment to Siena never wavered throughout his life as is confirmed by several epigrams addressed to Siena either as the recipient of his *De Institutione Reipublicae* or for some internal political events upon which he passes comment.

There are five principal groupings, by content and by form, that can be identified in the collection. They are the satirical and caricatural epigrams, and parodies of human types; epigrams on characters and episodes of classical history and mythology; epigrams on the Aragonese and on Sienese politics and history; epigrams on relatives and fellow-humanists; and finally epitaphs.

i) Satirical and Caricatural Epigrams, and Parodies of Human Types

The epigrams of the first group conform to the rule of *brevitas* and tend towards the defamatory and offensive. Their often anonymous portraits address types such as the unfaithful wife, the poetaster and the old scoundrel. At times, however, they are directed at people identified by nicknames, fictitious names drawn from classical authors or made up by Patrizi himself.

Amongst the nicknames, for example, we find Zoilus, a Homeric critic proverbial for his *vis polemica*, who represents various vices: in no. 10 (ff.3v-4r), where he is described as 'luscus', blind in one eye, he is accused of failing to repay the correct sum of money he has borrowed; in no. 135 (ff.46v-47r) he says he prefers country girls because they are more genuine, but in reality they are the only ones who tolerate his own defects.

Amongst the classical names, we find, to name only a few, Gellia (or Gallia), Rufus, Bassus, Postumus, Lentulus, Telesinus and Faustus. Each has his own particular characteristics. Gellia, for example, who appears six times in the collection, represents the sexually active, wanton and often aged woman - the 'anus' of Martial's epigram IV.20 - who prefers young men to whom she offers her

daughter in marriage just to keep close at hand. 149

As in Martial, Rufus is an imaginary figure blamed on different occasions for different reasons, whether because he tries to seduce the virgin Cynthia (no. 16, ff. 6r-6v), because he is inquisitive and poor and tries to ingratiate himself with the wealthy Lucretius Lupus (no. 63, ff.21r-21v), 150 or because he is both gullible and miserly. 151

Bassus is a character who changes depending on Patrizi's immediate purpose. Thus he seems almost real when he is being congratulated for his nomination as a judge, and urged to behave fittingly (no. 90, f.33r), but elsewhere we see him in love with a girl devoted to Diana (no. 57, ff.19v-20r), as an excessively precious sophisticate who searches out the first fruits of the season, but alas, must make do with much less when it comes to women (no. 102, f.36r), as a vainglorious, swaggering soldier (no. 141, ff.48r-48v), and as a man almost driven mad by his affair with a woman of disrepute (no. 208, ff.66v-67r).

Postumus is another character also found in Martial, in the unflattering role of 'kisser', and in Juvenal's sixth satire, where the author tries to dissuade him from marriage since it was women's custom, ever since the Silver Age, to commit adultery. In Patrizi, he is mentioned three times: in no. 22 (ff.8r-8v), he is the author of vulgar, lustful writings who is urged towards more serious topics. In no. 212 (ff.68v-68r), he is the mocked husband of a wife who, despite his ugliness, seems to prefer him to all her young pretenders. And in no. 319 (f.94v) Postumus is an unfaithful husband who argues with his wife over which of them ought to leave their respective lovers.

Patrizi's epigrams on Gellia are: nos. 9 (ff. 3r-v), 49 (ff. 17r-v), 68 (ff. 22v-23r), 81 (f. 30r), 115 (f. 41r), 116 (ff. 41r-v). In no. 115, f. 41r, the adjectives used to describe the young groom and the idea of the lover as a rival of Priapus recall Martial XI.72. Patrizi: 'Draucus et hirsutus', si vera fama est Priapum/provocat' (ll. 3-4); Martial: 'Drauci Natta sui vorat pipinnam,' collatus cui gallus est Priapus' (ll. 1-2).

Lupus too is probably taken from Martial where the name appears eleven times in different unflattering contexts.

Rufus also appears in Catullus, 69 and 77.

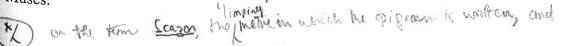
Lentulus, by contrast, appears several times in the same role: in no. 88 (f.32v), he is depicted as a rather threatening figure who intimidates others by repeating a meaningless Greek phrase, and his arrogance recurs elsewhere in descriptions of his presumed superiority in eloquence, beauty, wealth and audacity. Patrizi puns on the adjective 'solus', saying if he is alone in possessing these qualities, it can only be hoped that he remains 'solus per aevum' (no. 223, ff.71r-71r, 1.11) and that he spends his life 'in solis lociis' (1.12).

Telesinus, whose name appears three times in Martial and once in Juvenal, represents the type who on reaching adulthood indulges in love affairs rather than in war or the practice of virtue (no. 36, ff.13r-13v). In another epigram, no. 167 (f.55r), on invitations to dinner, Telesinus is seen as a particularly voracious and thieving diner, whilst in no. 282 (ff.84v), he is a poor, sick old man.

Finally Faustus is attacked in an epigram that fuses two elements of Martial's: his use of the name in XI.64, where he describes some of his filthy habits, and his polemic against another writer of epigrams in VII.25. Patrizi attacks Faustus for wanting to be acclaimed as a witty and trenchant writer, who fills his poetry with his corrupt sexual habits and other vices (no. 321, f.95r).¹⁵²

Other caricatural epigrams are addressed to characters with invented names, whose etymology corresponds to their vice. Epigram no. 133 (f.46v), plays on the meaning of the name of a certain Scazon (from $\sigma \kappa \alpha \zeta \omega$, to limp) who, it says, should only be called this if he has a broken leg; if, however, his feet swell up he should be called 'oedipodes' (1.4). Polyphagus, from $\pi \alpha \lambda u \varphi \alpha \gamma \delta s$, to eat in excess, or $\pi \alpha \nu \tau \alpha \varphi \alpha \gamma \delta s$, to eat everything, is the gluttonous protagonist of three consecutive epigrams (nos. 234-36, ff.73v-74v). Similarly Monotropus (no. 239, f.75r), from $\mu \alpha \nu \delta \tau \rho \alpha \pi \alpha s$, one place, is about a character who shuns all

Scazon also appears in no. 185, f.60v, in the role of one of Vulcan's ironsmiths who is eliminated by Laestrygones because his hammering was disturbing the Muses.





This epigram contains the expression 'lumbum scalpat' (1.5), a calque from Persius 1. Il. 20-21 '... cum carmina lumbum/ intrant et tremulo scalpuntur ubi intima versu.'.

company. 154 Epigram no. 245 (ff.76r-76v), describes a garrulous, petulant old man whose name Bambalion is onomatopoeic, perhaps coined from $\beta\alpha\mu\beta\alpha'\nu\omega$, meaning to chatter with the teeth. Bdelyron (no. 246, f. 76r), is a proud figure who thinks himself better than his fellows, and his name corresponds to $\beta\delta\epsilon\lambda\nu\rho\delta\varsigma$, that is loathsome, disgusting. Callistruccius (no.294, f.87v) is the nickname given to a servant called Darius becuase of his habit of eating figs, from $\kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda'\sigma\tau\rho\nu\theta\nu\alpha$, a type of fig. 155 Finally Pepromenos, from $\pi\epsilon\pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\nu\rho\varsigma$, fated, foredoomed, and equivalent of the Latin *exitiosus*, is the subject of no. 313 (ff.92r-93v), whose defects and vices are listed so as to justify his name, leading to a drastic conclusion: only if the 'fatalia stamina' are broken, will he be 'exitiosus' to few (ll.15-16, f. 93r).

ii) Epigrams on Characters and Episodes of Classical History and Mythology The epigrams from classical history and mythology, at times simply poetic versions of passages of prose, can be illustrated using a few examples.

Often in this type of epigram, Patrizi picks out a secondary, unusual feature of the myth or the mythological figure: Cinyra, for example, who is best known in Greek mythology as the first King who ruled in Cyprus, appears in no. 67 (ff.22r-22v) as the first to introduce the cult and sacred night rituals of Aphrodite to the island, which later assumed great importance, in an attempt at conquering his loved one.

In no. 70 (ff.23r-v) Niobe, whom Patrizi has as the mother of twelve according to Homeric tradition and as turned to stone according to Ovid's *Metamorphosis* (6. 146-312), is here heard lamenting the work of the chisels that are altering the form of the rock she had become.

Epigram no. 72 (ff.23v-24r) praises the song of Philomela, recalling the myth

In Plautus the term appears in an appositive function. See *Stichus* 689: 'Nosmet inter nos ministremus monotropi'.
 The Latin equivalent, 'callistruthia', appears in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 15.69.

of the Latin poets, who make Philomela, one of the two daughters of Pandion, the nightingale and Progne the swallow. Despite this source, however, Patrizi bases the epigram on the etymology of the name - $\Phi \iota \lambda \circ \mu \eta \lambda \alpha$ - which in Greek suggests the idea of music, and depicts her as a woman with a beautiful voice, but who is also ugly. 156

Finally we find a little-known character, the nymph Mintha, who in no. 112 (f.40r) speaks herself, lamenting the awful punishment inflicted on her by Persephone because of her love for Pluto. 157

Those epigrams which contain historical figues of antiquity tend to concentrate on a particular moment of their lives that can be construed as a complete scene, apt for the brevity of the form: one example is the congratulatory speech of Xerxes, King of the Persians, on the arrival of Themistocles, the famous statesman and commander who was ostracized by Athens, contained in epigram no. 80 (ff. 29v-30r). 158

In no. 82 (ff.30r-30v), Patrizi narrates of the love potion that drove Lucretius mad and refers to the opinion of Jerome, in his translation of the *Chronica* of Eusebius, that the work of Lucretius, composed in his rare moments of lucidity, had been revised by Cicero.¹⁵⁹

In epigram no. 83 (ff.30v-31r), Patrizi attributes to Demosthenes, the most famous of Greek orators, a passion for Lais, one of the two famous courtesans of Corynth. The theme of this epigram seems appropriate to the great renown enjoyed by these two female characters, and thus it can be set alongside other similar

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Ovid, in his narrative of Progne and Philomena (Met. 6. 412-674), describes the latter as 'divitio forma' (1. 452), that is of great beauty.

The sources of this story are Ovid, Met. 10. 729-731 and Strabo, Geography 8. 3. 14.

Themistocles also appears in five epigrams of the seventh book of the *Greek Anthology*, which contains the sepulchral epigrams.

Jerome, Interpretatio Chronicae Eusebii Pamphili, cols. 523-26: 'Titus Lucretius poeta nascitur, qui postea amatorio fóculo in furorem versus cum aliquot libros per intervalla insaniae conscripsisset, quos postea Cicero emendavit, propria se manu interfecit, anno aetatis 44.'

compositions: Paulus Silentiarius, for example, one of the authors of the *Greek Anthology*, describes in an epigram the passion of the philosopher Anaxagoras for Lais, ¹⁶⁰ whilst both Cicero (*Fam.* 9. 26. 2) and Propertius (2. 6. 1) mention Aristippus Socraticus as one of the victims of the beautiful Lais.

Epigram no. 95 (f.34r), finally, offers of one of the best known examples of marital love, that is that between Alcestis and Admetus, and contains a speech by Alcestis in which he offers his own life to save that of his spouse.¹⁶¹

In those epigrams which are reworkings of prose literary passages, Patrizi tends to remain very close to the original, not only in content but also in vocabulary. The clearest examples are the following: no. 38 (f. 14r) recounts the wretched life led by Dionysus, the tyrant of Syracuse, following the traces offered by Cicero in the *Tusculanae Disputationes*. 162

Epigram no. 162 (f.54r) consists of a distich, erroneously entitled by Smith 'Sardanapoli epistola ad lectorem', which has the function of a funerary epitaph. 163 It recalls in its first verse an anonymous epigram contained in the sepulchral section of the the *Greek Anthology*, which had been translated by Cicero in *Tusc.* V, 101. The Greek text reads as follos: $\tau \acute{o} \sigma \sigma ' \acute{e} \chi \omega ' \acute{e} \sigma \sigma ' \acute{e} \phi \alpha \gamma o \nu \kappa \alpha i \acute{e} \pi \iota \sigma \nu$, καὶ $\mu \epsilon \tau ' \grave{e} \rho \omega \tau \omega \nu \tau \acute{e} \rho \pi \sigma \nu ' \grave{e} \delta \acute{a} \nu$, rendered by Patrizi with 'Ede, bibe, et Veneri noctes indulge diesque'. 164

Epigram no. 221 (70v-71r) is centred on the generosity of Alexander the Great, recounting the anecdote from Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* in which Alexander orders Apelles to paint a nude of his mistress Pancaspe and then gives it to him on

¹⁶⁰ See Greek Anthology, VII. 71.

Patrizi's epigram is similar to an anonymous composition in the *Greek Anthology*, VII. 691 in which Alcestis declares she has died for her dear husband.

Cicero, Tusc. V, 57-62.
 Smith, 'Epigrammata', p.134. The manuscript has epitha., short form for epitaph

¹⁶⁴ Greek Anthology, VIII. 325 In the Loeb edition, II, 174-75, it is translated as follows: 'I have all I ate and drunk and the delightful things I learnt from the Loves'.

discovering that the painter is in love with her. 165

Epigram no. 324 (ff. 95v-96r) contains the description of the death of M. Porcus Cato Uticensis who committed suicide after being defeated at Utica in Africa, taken word for word from Plutarch's *Lives*. 166

Finally, epigram no. 340 (ff.99r-v), is the versification of Cicero, *De Or.* 2. 352-53 and, significantly, provides confirmation of the suggested Ciceronian source of one of the poems, that relates how Patrizi was saved by Apollo after he had taken shelter in a storm in the house of Illicino, the ceiling of whose dining room had then collapsed as they were eating. And indeed, the epigram describes the original, a lyric about the famous poet Simonides of Ceos who had been invited to a banquet by the Scopads, the rulers of Ceos, and was miraculously saved by the intervention of Castor and Pollux when the house collapsed and killed everybody else.

iii) Epigrams on the Aragonese and on Sienese Politics and History

The epigrams that deal with contemporary figures are often somewhat longer than others, and grouped in cycles. Those that focus on the Aragonese derive either from Patrizi's particular rapport with the Duke of Calabria, or from his general desire to sing the praises of the ruling house often using a rich mythological apparatus and celebratory classical literary echoes. There is a reference to a misunderstanding with Patrizi that angered Duke Alfonso in nos. 86-87 (ff.31v-32r), in which the poet declares his innocence, and says he is a victim of malicious liars. Another epigram, addressed to the Duke's brother, Cardinal Giovanni of Aragon, perhaps alludes to the same episode; Patrizi asks him to intervene with his brother to calm his anger (no. 61, f.21r). It is difficult to ascertain whether the clash was caused by Patrizi's

Pliny, Nat. Hist. 35. 86-87. In the title of the epigram Patrizi uses the variant form of Pancaspe, confirmed by the manuscript tradition, Campaspen.

Plutarch, 'Cato Minor', in *Lives* 70. 5-6.

See poem II. 4, no.11, already mentioned in Chapter I, n. 44, and above, n. 9.

inability to elucidate and explain exhaustively for the Duke the poetry of Petrarch, as suggested in no. 7 (f.2v) or by some other act, but it is clear that it was far from easy for Patrizi to maintain good relations with his patrons.

The tone of no. 26 (ff.9v-10r) is completely different, describing the agility and boldness of the horse of Duke Alfonso, whose name Ippothyphon derives from the Greek ἵππος τυφὸν, meaning giant horse, and who is compared to the great steeds of the great men of antiquity. Another epigram uses direct speech to praise the dynasty, imagining the city of Gaeta welcoming the Duke of Calabria on a visit (no. 180, ff.59r-v). This recalls an earlier epigram addressed to King Ferdinand in which Gaeta asks the sovereign to protect it and promises to outdo Naples in showing its gratitude (no. 130, f.45v). Other epigrams refer to the construction of Aragonese residences, such as a villa in Gaeta, the excavation of which brought to light some antiques (no. 259, ff.78r-v), and the residence at Poggio Imperiale, work on which began in 1487 (nos. 260-61, ff.78v-79v). ¹⁶⁸

Two epigrams were written on the occasion of the recovery of the King and Duke from long, grave illness (nos. 34-35, ff.12v-13r), whilst a series of five, three of which are actual epitaphs, record the death of Ippolita Sforza, on 20 August 1488. The first of this series, no. 190 (f. 62r), contains a moving speech by the dying Ippolita to her husband in which she recalls the valour and great deeds of the Aragonese and predicts that their power will last for centuries in a long line of descendants. The classical motif of an ineluctable destiny set by the Fates at the moment of birth also appears here. The four following epigrams are equally celebratory of the various virtues of the sovereign and they offer at the same time what we might call a miniature Petrarchan triumph: although death triumphs over Ippolita, her soul will find immortality and splendour in heaven; her future fame will triumph over death and future centuries will immortalize the divine Ippolita. That Petrarch's *Trionfi* might have been a key source of inspiration for Patrizi here

The poems on Poggioreale are described by Hersey, 'Water-Works and Water-Play', pp. 72-74.

is supported also by the existance of another series of triumphs in Latin composed by him and based on the Petrarchan model. 169

Another actual episode that Patrizi evokes is the marriage of the daughter of Ippolita, Isabella of Aragon, to Duke Gian Galeazzo Sforza, which took place in January 1489. The epigram in question is no. 196 (ff.63r-63v) and it consists of a speech by the grandfather of Isabella, King Ferdinand, to the bride on her departure to join Sforza. The speech recounts the illustrious deed of the Sforza and in particular the merits of Gian Galeazzo, and underlines at several points the political meaning of the union: Isabella, as had her mother Ippolita, would link the Sforza with new bonds of loyalty to the house of Aragon, and like her mother again, who will seem to come to life anew, Isabella will strengthen the ties between the Italian kingdom and Sicily.

With regard to Siena there is a series of ten epigrams, nos. 146-55 (ff.50v-53v) in which Patrizi comments on the bloody events of April 1483, when the overthrow of the government led to the killing of several senators of the *Monte dei Nove*, who had returned to power with Petrucci in 1480.

The first five epigrams are addressed to Siena, whom Patrizi calls Babylon, and they lament the lack of peace and harmony amongst its citizens, their internal struggles for power, and lack of gratitude towards the government that has led them to acts of execrable violence. Patrizi insists several times on the fact that Siena can boast the cruellest record of all the Tuscan cities, an idea often reinforced by references to classical examples of harshness such as the Laestrygones or the tyrant Busiris (no. 149, ff.51r-v). He also insists on the condemnation of the failure to try the victims and allow them to defend themselves, resorting instead to summary execution (no. 150, ff.51v-52r).

The remaining epigrams are consolatory lyrics dedicated to the four victims executed on 14 April 1483, whom Patrizi certainly knew: the senator Antonio

¹⁶⁹ For these epigrams see below, Chapter IV.

Bellanti (no. 151, ff.52r-v), the jurist Placido Aldello (no. 152, f.52v), the knights Leonardo Tolomei (no. 153, ff.52v-53r) and Benedetto Martinozzi (no. 154, f.53r).¹⁷⁰ Besides praising the qualities of each man, Patrizi presents their death as a necessary sacrifice for the defence of liberty of his homeland. The conclusion of the episode inspires two epigrams, no. 155 (ff.53r-v) and no. 174 (ff.57r-v), which condemn the civil discord amongst the Sienese people and augur a return to peace. A final epigram expresses itself in similar terms, no. 204, ff.64r-65v, addressed 'Ad exiles senenses qui nuper in patriam redierant', probably referring to those who returned in 1487 after exile in 1483. Here Patrizi declares that the patria is not made up of buildings but of the community of individuals, and thus their return to Siena will coincide with the creation of a virtuous and heroic Siena, as it had been in its origins.

iv) Epigrams on Relatives and Fellow-Humanists

Several of the epigrams with autobiographical content regard Patrizi's family and his relations with other humanists and these have already been discussed in chapter one. Other mention members of Patrizi's family not yet encountered, and they merit some attention.

The collection contains seven epigrams in which a certain Eusebio Patrizi, a young relative of the author, appears, who is praised for his habits and character and recommended to follow always the path of virtue and honesty.¹⁷¹ Three are addressed to Cornelio Patrizi, who is remembered mainly for having been saved

¹⁷¹ These epigrams are: nos. 113, ff 40r-40v; 201, ff 64r-64v; 219, f. 70v; 238, f. 74v; 247, f. 76v; 299, ff. 88v-89r; 312, f. 92v. They are mentioned in Smith,

'Family', pp. 4-5.

¹⁷⁰ In Frammento di un diario sanese di Cristoforo Catoni (Anni 1479-1483), p. 939. it is recorded that on 5 April 1483 it was decreed for Placido Aldello, Leonardo Tolomei and Antonio Bellanti that 'fusse tagliata la testa et la robba loro confiscata al comune di Siena...Et così a dì 12 di detto circa un ora innanzi di nella rocca di Radicopani fu tagliata la testa ad Antonio Bellanti... Di poi il di medesimo circa XXI ore conferiti li ministri al Pianocastagnaio, tagliarono la testa a misser Placido d'Aldello Placidi. E da poi conferiti al Monticello ad 14 di detto tagliarono la testa a misser Lonardo d'Andrea di Tolomeo: requiescant in pace.'

from a shipwreck off Gaeta, and for the succulent fruits he sends Patrizi from the area of Fondi. It seems clear that he was a relative of Patrizi's resident in either Gaeta or Fondi. 172 Camillo Patrizi was a grandson of Patrizi's, the son of Giorgio, who died very young. Patrizi wrote a consolatory epigram for his death addressed to Giorgio in the form of a speech by the dying Camillo. 173

Some other humanists who cannot be clearly identified also appear, providing more evidence of Patrizi's range of contacts and acquaintances in these circles. There is a certain Pulex Vicentinus, and his poem 'Hermafroditus', which according to Smith appears in a collection of poems published in 1882 as attributed to Pulex de Custozza;¹⁷⁴ one Giovanni Andrea, 'grammaticus', from Itri;¹⁷⁵ the poet F. Miroldus who seems to have read Patrizi's De Regno et Regis institutione and taken some extracts from it;176 the poet F. Romanus, who on a visit to Gaeta is invited by Patrizi to renew Latin poetry in Rome. 177

v) Epitaphs

The final category of epigrams is made up of the numerous compositions that conform to the original function of the form as funerary inscriptions. Patrizi,

173 Epigram no. 226, f. 72r. Smith, 'Family', p. 3.

¹⁷² The epigrams are: nos. 32 (ff. 11v-12r); 214 (ff. 69r-69v); 305 (ff. 90v-91r). The first two are mentioned in Smith, 'Family', pp. 4-5.

Patrizi's epigram is no. 230, f.73r, reproduced in Smith, 'Epigrammata', p. 123 and discussed on p. 113. 'Hermafroditus' is in Poetae Latini Minores, IV (1882), 114-115.

Mentioned in epigrams nos. 198 (f. 63v) and 278 (ff.83v-84r). See Smith, 'Epigrammata', pp. 113-114, 124. It could be speculated that Giovanni Andrea was the well-known Giovanni Andrea Bussi (1417-1475), if it were not for the fact that Bussi was born in Vigevano and not in Itri.

¹⁷⁶ There are three epigrams in which Miroldus appears: nos. 274, f.82v; 300, f.89r; 308, f.91v. Also in Smith, 'Epigrammata', p. 115, who suggests the addressee is a Frate Miroldus. In Iter, II p.36 is listed in the collection of carmina in MS Pal 555 in the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma a poem by Franc. Miroldus (555-

Epigram no.188, ff.61r-v, in Smith, 'Epigrammata' p.115, where F. is read as friar rather that a name, and p.125. One might hypothesize that this is Orazio Romano who was noted by Pope Nicholas V, whose scribe he became, for a poem on the Porcari conspiracy. He also wrote and dedicated to king Alfonso of Aragon a long poetic exhortation against the Turks. See Voigt, Il Risorgimento dell'antichità classica, II, 189; Nuovi documenti, pp. 105-14.

according to a tendency that is common in the XVth century, composed epitaphs to commemorate the death of men of letters and illustrious figures. He not only adopted the form of the single composition, as in the already mentioned epitaphs for Ilarione, Domizio Calderini and Ognibene da Lonigo, but also that of a series of funerary epigrams such as those for Camillo and those for the death of Ippolita Maria Sforza. Noteworthy amongst the epitaphs not yet mentioned are those for the Sienese senator Francesco Tolomei, present also in his poems, who died in 1458 (no. 320, ff. 94v-95r); and that for Duke Galeazzo Sforza, who died on 26 December 1476, in which Patrizi laments his sad end (no. 93, ff. 33v-34r). The date of the Tolomei's death is important since it confirms the hypothesis that some epigrams of this collection were indeed written before 1464.

To conclude, Patrizi's epigrams form a collection of varied, miscellaneous verses, which are for the most part written concisely and pointedly. Only a pair of compositions is wholly dedicated to risqué or vulgar topics, but there is a certain licentiousness in the description of characters, and Patrizi seems to prefer parodic and caricatural topics, clearly influenced here by Martial. Episodes from his own life and historical events inspire several other epigrams and these provide much information on the Gaeta period. Other epigrams are composed as comments on Patrizi's other works, such as his political treatises, and a reading of them, as will be seen at the end of Chapter three, adds to our understanding of both. Finally, others were inspired by the reading of Petrarch's *Trionfi*; they will be analysed at the end of Chapter IV.

As a coda, it should be noted that Patrizi's collection of his epigrams suggests or at least makes us suspect that he was thinking of their eventual publication. Furthermore, with one exception only, 179 there is no evidence that any of them

The diffusion of Martial's work should be set alongside that of the *Greek Anthology* in tracing Patrizi's influences. According to Schnur, 'The Humanist Epigram', p. 561, Martial is the preponderant influence in the production of German humanists which followed on from the revival of the epigram by Italian humanists.

179 The inside cover of MS Barb. Lat. 134 (IX 3) in the Vatican Library contains three epigrams by Patrizi, almost completely illegible, and one of which, the

circulated singly. If this were the intention, Patrizi was disappointed in his hopes, for he did not live to see any of his poetical writings in print.

WORKS IN PROSE COMPOSED AFTER 1461

During the years of his bishopric, Patrizi took part in two diplomatic missions, for both of which he produced an oration. These confirm both his qualities as an orator and the esteem in which he was held by those who chose him for such tasks. In April 1465, at the behest of King Ferdinand, he set out with the Aragonese entourage headed by Prince Frederick, the second son of King Ferdinand and brother of the groom Alfonso, to Milan where on 29 May 1465, the betrothal of Ippolita Maria Sforza to Alfonso of Aragon was formalized. A few days later, the party left for Naples where, despite the delay caused by the diplomatic incident related to the death of Iacopo Piccinino, the wedding took place in September. The various ceremonies and festivities which preceded and accompanied the wedding, in May in Milan and September in Naples, were solemn and prolonged, and the forging of a link between the Sforza and the Aragonese was an event of considerable historical significance for the entire Italian peninsula. On both occasions,

epithaph 'In catellam mortuam' appears in the collection (no. 69, f. 23r). See Part A of the Bibliography of works by Patrizi. This manuscript originally contained Juvenal's *Satyres*, which is related to the MS Ott. Lat. 1609 mentioned in Chapter I, n. 78, containing the commentary on Juvenal and, similarly to this manuscript, some verses by Patrizi and Ilarione written on the inside cover.

¹⁸⁰ See, for example, the contemporary *Memoir* of Marco Parenti for the impact of the wedding on the Florentine republic in the period following the death of Cosimo de' Medici. Phillips, *The 'Memoir' of Marco Parenti*, esp. pp. 104-38. Other chroniclers who refer to the marriage and often also to the imprisonment and death of Piccinino include: De Lignamine, *Inclyti Ferdinandis regis vita et laudes*, pp. 58-60; De Tummulillis, *Notabilia temporum*, p. 127, p. 129 and pp. 132-35; *I Diurnali del Duca di Monteleone*, p. 209; Notar Giacomo, *Cronica di Napoli*, pp. 110-12. For an account of the celebrations in Naples see Lisini, *Le feste fatte a Napoli*. It should also be noted that there were other encomiastic verses on the

celebratory orations were offered, and for the official visit to Milan, it was Patrizi who composed and delivered the oration in the presence of the father of the bride and other authorities. The oration, entitled *Oratio habita per d. Franciscum Patricium in matrimonio contracto inter filiam inclytam ducis mediolani et filium Regis neapolis* was never published, but it survived in ten manuscripts, which suggest that its diffusion was not negligible. 182

The oration is rather brief, and its brevity is alluded to at its opening when Patrizi, having declared his inadequacy to sing of such a great event, suggests that perhaps at least the piece's concision will be worthy of praise. Thus Patrizi combines the traditional topoi of celebration and *modestia auctoris*, before the three main parts of the oration.

The first consists in praise of marriage and of its human and social usefulness. It is a primary and natural form of human union which guarantees both the procreation of the species and the well-being of individuals, and its value is underlined with the help of examples of conjugal love from ancient history.

The second and longest part consists in a celebration of the political importance of the wedding between Ippolita and Alfonso. Patrizi notes that it had been suggested and promoted by King Alfonso, who 'hanc affinitatem ac nuptiam instituit ut quidem liquido cerneret pacem, ocium, et quietem universae Italiae per has futuram esse, ...'. And he adds: 'Res enim inter eiusmodi principes agitur quorum arbitrio ac tutela omnis Italiae credita esse videtur.'(f. 62) He goes on to

occasion, by Porcelio and Panormita, written for Ippolita Maria. See Coppini, 'Un'eclisse, una duchessa, due poeti'.

Valentinelli, *Bibliotheca*, III (1870), 88: 'Elegantem orationem Patricius dixit coram Francisco Sfortia, Mediolani duce, matrimonii, Sponsi utriusque, Alphonsi scilicet Arragonii Calabriae ducis et Hippolytae Sfortiae, eorumque parentum laudes complexus. Addenda est ineditis Patricii operibus.'

The manuscripts are listed in Part A of the Bibliography of works by Patrizi.

¹⁸³ BCS, MS B V 40 (ff. 61v-62r) which has been collated with MS Marc. lat. XI 83 (4360). The extent to which the wedding was in fact a manoeuvre designed to bind the Aragonese to the Sforza and to strengthen the Italic League is shown by Canetta, 'Le sponsalie', who reproduces documents from the negotiations of 1455 between Francesco Sforza and Alfonso of Aragon.

note how just as Ferdinand, following military victories over Jean of Anjou, dominates the central and southern parts of Italy, so Duke Francesco Sforza is lord of northern Italy and Liguria.

The third and final part is reserved for praise of the spouses, of Duke Frederick and of Bianca Maria Sforza, mother of the spouse, but the terms and structure of these eulogies are quite different from the previous part which focused on the ruling members of the families. Here, Patrizi addresses only the bride, Ippolita Maria, praising her moral and intellectual gifts and her erudition. In this way, he assigns a central role to Ippolita, and even in his praise of her future husband, represented by the presence of Frederick, it is Ippolita Maria who is the point of comparison with Alfonso and not vice versa.

The oration concludes with a celebration of the virtues of Bianca Maria, who is Ippolita's guarantor, and here too the reader has the impression that Patrizi intended to centre his oration on the female figures involved.

As noted above, Patrizi uses the oration to emphasize the political significance of the marriage. For this reason, the oration contrasts with the one pronounced during the wedding ceremony itself, in Naples on 15 September, by Francesco Bertini, a humanist and man of the church in the service of King Ferdinand. 184 Bertini follows a traditional scheme, moving from some general considerations on marriage to praise of the spouses and their parents, using various rhetorical amplifications and mythological paradigms. What is lacking in comparison with Patrizi's, however, is the will or ability to draw out more realistic and practical consequences of the union. The fact that the oration sings the praises of the presiding Cardinal Bartolomeo Roverella, and that Roverella was the protector of Bertini suggests that for Bertini the eulogy was motivated by more personal circumstances that the formal setting might indicate. 185

On Bertini and his oration, see 'Francesco Bertini: Orazione per le nozze di Alfonso d'Aragona e Ippolita Maria Sforza', in *Nuovi documenti*, pp. 115-29.
 This aspect of Bertini's oration might be confirmed by his appointment only one month later to the Bishopric of Adria.

Patrizi, on the other hand, whilst fulfilling all the traditional eulogistic purposes, was also careful to set the wedding in the broader context of contemporary Italian history.

The second diplomatic task A Patrizi was entrusted by King Ferdinand of Naples was in 1484, when Patrizi came to Rome to congratulate Pope Innocent VIII on his election to the papacy. Given the strained state of affairs between Rome and Naples, already illustrated in Chapter I, Patrizi's speech must have carried considerable political weight. And indeed the oration does not only consist in a formal declaration of obedience to the new Pope, but also stresses the political relevance of the collaboration between the Pope and Naples. Before going into further details about its content, it must be said that the formal occasion for which it was composed accounts for the fact that the address was printed shortly afterwards. Patrizi's speech is therefore available in print in three different fifteenth century editions, where it is headed Francisci patritii Episcopi Caietani Oratoris Serenissimi Regis Ferdinandi ad Innocentium Octavum Pontificem Summum Oratio. 187

Pastor, History of the Popes, V, p. 245, note, says that many of the addresses of congratulations to the new Pope were printed. Mention of fifteenth-century editions of Patrizi's speech is in the following texts: Fabricius, Bibliotheca latina, I, 602. 'Itidem [Venetiis] orationem habuit nomine Ferdinandi Regis ad Innocentium VIII novum Pontificem excusam sine anno'; Gräesse, Trésor de livres, V, 168, recalls two fifteenth-century editions and another one without date; Jacob, Bibliotheca pontificia, p. 313: 'Franciscus Patricius, Episcopus Caietanus, ferdinandi Regis Hispaniarum, Orator Romanus, edidit Orationem, quam habuit Romae in Aula Regia nomine dicti Ferdinandi ad Innocentium VIII. Summum Pontificem sub quo vixit.'; Mittarelli, Bibliotheca codicum, col. 853, indicates that the oration had been printed without date; Niceron, Mémoires, XXXVI, 17: 'Oratio Ferdinandi Neapolis regis nomine ad Innocentium VIII, habita in. -40. Ancienne édition.'

The edition used here is by Bartholomeus Guildinbeck, Rome, 1485, where there are no page numbers (Hain *12468; BMC, IV, 71). The oration is available in two other fifteenth-century editions, one by Stephanus Plannck, Rome, 1485 (Hain, *12469; H. C. 12470; BMC, IV, 84) and another one undated (Hain 12470?; BMC, IV, 94) in the British Library, where a different fifteenth-century edition, in two exemplars, is also available. The manuscript tradition of this oration is limited to the following exemplars: Évora (Portugal), Biblioteca Pública, Incunabulos 27-94, formerly Gab. Est. F, C. 1, vol H. (*Iter*, IV, 455); Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana (Cimelii), MS G 89 Sup. (*Iter*, I, 331); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS

The oration presents a solemn con-gratulatory opening where Patrizi states that he is acting on behalf of King Ferdinand and that he will pronounce the vow of obedience to the Pope:

...vices in presentia gerimus Serenissimi atque incliti Regis Ferdinandi cuius sapientiam, consilium, Magnimitatem, potentiam omnis Italia admiratur. ... Eius iussu atque imperio huc accessimus ut procumbentes ante sanctissimos pedes tuos: Te ut dei optimi maximi vicarium Christiane religionis Antistitem: Summum atque unicum Romane ecclesie pastorem veneraremus, coleremus atque omni pietate adoraremus....

After the opening comes the topos of the *modestia auctoris*, where Patrizi mentions the Archbishop of Capua, who was in Rome as part of the Neapolitan envoy, as a more suitable choice to perform the task, because of his prudence, erudition and eloquence.

At this point the second and most important part of the speech begins, and in two subsequent sections it presents the eulogy of the new Pope and the praise of the Aragon dynasty. In the former, Patrizi celebrates the election of Innocent VIII as an event which brought about a period of peace and stability in Italy and abroad, troubled by civil strife and natural calamities. With the common comparasion of the effects of the Pontiff's election to the Augustan Golden Age, Patrizi underlines the important role played by the Pope as arbiter of internal and external political affairs.

12.

The eulogy of the Neapolitan rulers occupies the largest section of the speech, and consists in a celebration of their deeds, not as much to illustrate the heroic qualities of the Aragonese dynasty in general terms as to emphasise the exploits they carried out to safeguard the interests of the Papacy.

First of all Patrizi celebrates King Alfonso I by reminding the audience of his great fidelity to the Church, as he was largely responsible for Eugenius IV's return to Rome. Patrizi here is referring to September 1443, when the Pope re-entered

Lat. (or CLM) 461, (Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis, I, pars I (1886), 95-96). The oration does not have to be found in the following manuscripts, although indicated in their lists of contents at the beginning: Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1260 (Iter, III, 423); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (Réserve), MS Paris Rés. M 415 (Iter, III, 333).

Rome after nearly ten years of exile. In 1434, Eugenius had left Rome after an insurrection and the proclamation of a Republic. In addition, when in July 1439 he called a new ecumenical Council at Ferrara, then transferred to Florence, the enemies of the Pope in the Synod of Basel deposed Eugenius and declared him an heretic, thus electing an Anti-Pope. And, as Patrizi says, it was King Alfonso who first recognized Eugenius IV as the lawful Pope, and thanks to his support the Pope made his return to Rome. What Patrizi does not mention is that long before, after Eugenius fled Rome, Alfonso had supported his enemies and harassed the State of the Church from the South, whilst the Papacy had espoused the cause of the Anjou against the Aragonese. When Eugenius was ex-comunicated Alfonso took advantage of the Pope's misfortunes and, threatening to acknowledge the Anti-Pope, obtained the investiture of the Kingdom of Naples and the right of succession of his natural son Ferdinand, in exchange for recognizing him as the Pope. 188

In describing the relations between Ferdinand and Popes Paul II (1464-71) and Sixtus IV (1471-84), Patrizi applies the same criteria. When referring to the papacy of Paul II, Patrizi dwells upon the importance of the intervention of the Aragonese troops in the Umbria region in defeating the heirs of the Count of Anguillaia, who had taken posession of some castles and fortresses in the Papal territories. In his description of the events, Patrizi underlines the swiftness of Ferdinand's intervention, the size of his military forces, and his quick defeat of the tyrants. Patrizi does not mention, on the other hand, that the King of Naples's troops had joined those led by the Papal *condottieri*, and that the king had a personal reason, a quarrel with one of the counts, to intervene in the matter. 189

Patrizi then hints at the relations between Naples and Sixtus IV as having been very friendly and characterized by the constant support supplied by King Ferdinand and by his son Alfonso. Yet, once more, Patrizi does not mention that the alliance

189 Pastor, History of the Popes, IV (1894), 148-49.

¹⁸⁸ For the relations between Alfonso and the Papacy see Giannone, *Istoria civile*, VI (1822), 378-89; Pastor, *History of the Popes*, I (1891), 301-33; Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples*, pp. 34-37.

gained the Neapolitan king numerous advantages in the course of the years or that in more recent years, especially between 1471 and 1482, the alliance had been subject to ups and downs. Suffice it to recall that in 1482, only two years before Innocent VIII's election, the War of Ferrara had overturned the traditional political line-up of Florence, Venice and Milan on one side and Sixtus IV and Ferdinand on the other, and that Sixtus IV, then allied with Venice, saw the king of Naples and Duke Alfonso enter the Papal State with their army and prepare an attack against Rome. 190

Nevertheless, Patrizi's oration aims to portray the Aragonese as loyal supporters of the Church and defenders of the Christian faith. The very favourable terms in which their political course of action is described in Patrizi's speech clearly indicates that the function of the Neapolitan embassy to Rome and the vow of Obedience to the Pope was one among many occasions, if not a particularly important one, in which to promote the political cause of the Aragonese, to safeguard its interests and to ensure the favour of the new Pope.

In the closing lines of the oration Patrizi reiterates what he had already said at the beginning, that is that the King of Naples recognizes the new Pope and that he undertakes to obey and support him.

As further events demostrate, however, the formal presence of the Neapolitan mission to Rome did not prevent the relations between the two courts from deteriorating and reaching, in the summer of 1485, a breaking point which opened the way to years of quarrels between King Ferdinand and the Pope. 191

The review of Patrizi's works composed while living in Gaeta concludes with a work which Patrizi devoted to his hometown, Siena.

This work, entitled *De origine et vetustate urbis Senae*, was composed around 1480, following the completion of the first collection of poems for Pius II and alongside the composition of the epigrams. Although this work is in prose, it could

¹⁹⁰ Pastor, *History of the Popes*, IV, 245-46 and 299-371.

¹⁹¹ Pastor, History of the Popes, V, 251-65.

well be the epic celebratory work about Siena that Patrizi mentioned in his poems, about whose composition he vacillated so much.

The work was never printed and its manuscript tradition consists in a number of exemplars, mainly Sienese, which were all completed between the XVIth and the XIXth century. 192

Although Patrizi declares here that he has been away from his homeland for thirty-six years, there is nevertheless a record of his gift of the treatise to the Republic of Siena in 1481. A document in the State Archive dated 2 April 1481 [1482] records its presence amongst those relating to the history of the city. 193

The treatise consists in a brief survey of events of ancient history intended to support the author's thesis on the origins of Siena. Patrizi relates events of the IVth c. B.C., and in particular the campaigns led by Marcus Furius Camillus to defend Italic territory from repeated attacks from the Celts and the Gallic tribe of the Senones led by Brennus, who had occupied, among other cities, Siena. Following his final victory over Brennus, Camillus made Siena a Roman colony and it became a destination of worthy soldiers of the equestrian and senatorial order.

Patrizi supports his version of the ancient origin of the city with various references to the nomenclature of the city and its citizens, with quotations from classical authors who mention it, and with a list of monuments in the city that belong to that earlier age. ¹⁹⁴ He asserts, for example, that Siena was once called Bessia, from the Greek $\beta\eta\sigma\sigma\dot{\eta}$ suggesting a region covered with woods and forests (f.14r), and with this unusual etymology he removes all ironic connotations from the

Bandiera, *De Augustino Dati libri*, p. 4 promised to publish this work: 'Francisci Patritii Historiam conscripsimus, eamdemque propediem edituri sumus'. The manuscripts are listed in Part A of the Bibliography of works by Francesco Patrizi.

¹⁹³ ASS, Concistoro, Deliberazioni 687, f. 20v. Mentioned by Lisini in his Introduction to *Cronache Sanesi*, iiii-xxxvi (esp. p. xxxi, n. 2). The text used here is BCS, MS C I 19. It has been collated with BCS MS A XI 38. The reference to Patrizi's long absence from Siena is in f. 17r, and again in f. 27r.

Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery*, p. 123, mentions Patrizi's *De origine* to show that references to local antiquities were a feature typical of early histories of towns produced by humanists.

mocking label 'bessi' commonly applied to the Sienese by their Tuscan neighbours. Later the city took the name Sena from the Senones, and many Sienese families still bear traces of the Gallic influence in their names (ff.14v-15v). Camillus then gave his name to Porta Camollia, and to one of the tribes of the city, and made Siena Roman so that many families, including the Patrizi and the Piccolomini, descend from the original 'ingenui et nobiles coloni' (ff.15v-16r).

Amongst the classical authors Patrizi mentions is Pliny, who calls Siena an Etruscan city, ¹⁹⁵ and for the descent into Italy of the Gauls and the victorious campaigns of Furius Camillus against them Patrizi provides a reduced version of Livy's account in *Ab Urbe condita libri*. ¹⁹⁶ Other classical authors who mention Siena in their writings are Tacitus, who gave an account of the Sienese rebellion against the consul Manlius Patruitus in 69 B.C.; ¹⁹⁷ Cicero, who in the *Brutus* recalls that Accius said that Livius produced his first play at the Ludi Iuventatius, which Livius Salinator had vowed at the battle of Siena; ¹⁹⁸ while the same author in the oration *Pro Caelio*, remembers the Sienese baths, 'balneas Senias'. ¹⁹⁹ As for those authors, the classical monuments in the city are listed in order to reinforce the historical credibility of his version.

Patrizi's insistence on the seriousness and veracity of the narrative has two principal motives: the fact that his version is polemically divergent from existing accounts of Siena's origins, and the precise political implications of his claim, through his classical sources, of the ancient and noble roots of the city and certain of its families.

Indeed the treatise opens with criticism of those who have confused history with invention and of those works which declare Siena to be of recent foundation.

The target of the former was probably the thesis that the city had been founded by

-utis?

¹⁹⁵ Pliny, Nat. Hist. 3.51.

¹⁹⁶ Livy, 5. 24 -55.

¹⁹⁷ Tacitus, Histories 4. 45.

¹⁹⁸ Cicero, Brutus 18.73.

¹⁹⁹ Cicero, Pro Caelio 25.61.

Senio and Aschio, sons of Remus, after they fled from Romulus. It was contained in a chronicle attributed to Tisbo Colonnese, and then merged with others in the socalled Aldobrandini Chronicle, a redaction compiled after the death of Pius II in 1464 and of unknown authorship, which narrates the city's origins and its history until 1479. Alessandro Lisini, in his preface to his 'Cronache Senesi', maintained that the opening parts of the chronicle had been written by Patrizi himself, even if Lisini goes on to admit that Patrizi set aside the legend of Aschio and Senio shortly afterwards when, in the *De origine*, he talks of the tribe of the Senones.²⁰⁰ Those who claimed that Siena was a young city were certainly Florentine writers, such as Villani, who spread this legend against Siena to Florence's advantage. Villani had suggested that Siena was the youngest of the Tuscan cities, founded in 670 A.D. by the Gauls headed by Charles Martel who was on his way to Puglia to fight for the Church against the Lombards. Furthermore, he added that the first inhabitants of Siena had been the elderly and ill Gauls who could no longer fight.²⁰¹ Flavio Biondo also described Siena's recent origins in his *Italia illustrata* where he adds that the city of Siena owed its name to the six parishes that had been granted by Pope John XVIII.²⁰² Against such anti-Sienese propaganda perpetrated by the Florentines, Patrizi offers his own version of a history of the same importance as Salutati's or Bruni's histories of Florence, who had set their city up as the heir to the

²⁰⁰ See Lisini, 'Introduction', pp. xxvii-xxviii and p. xxxi.

Biondo, De Roma triumphante, 'Roma instaurata', p. 307: 'Sena est interius Etruriae viribus opibusque nunc secunda, quae et ipsa inter novas numerari potest, quum nullis in veterum monumentis reperiatur. ... invenimus in libro literis scripto pervetustis Ioannem Romanum pontificem nominis ordine duodevicesimum, acceptis de Perusina, Clusiensi, Arretina, Fesulana, Florentina et Volaterrana diocesibus sex plebatibus civitatem hanc aedificasse, quae ab ipso sex plebatuum numero Sena fuerit appellata.'

Villani, *Croniche*, p. 12v: 'La città di Siena è assai nuova, ch'ella fu cominciata intorno li anni di Christo 670, quando Carlo martello, padre del re Pipino di Francia, co Franceschi andavano nel regno di Puglia in servigio di santa chiesa, aconstare una gente che si chiamavano Longobardi... . Et trovandosi la detta hoste de Franceschi et oltremontani dove è oggi Siena, si lasciarono in quel luogo tutti i vecchi, et quelli che non erano ben sani, et che non poteano portare armi,...'.

Roman republic by declaring it founded by the veterans of Silla.203

At the same time, Patrizi rejects the elegant but unfounded legend of Aschio and Senio which had enjoyed widespread diffusion in Siena as a counter to Villani, whilst keeping hold of the Roman origins in his version. It should be added that the Gallic traidition proposed by Patrizi was far from new: in the XIIth century, in the writings of John of Salisbury, we find that according to a *celebris traditio* Siena owed its origins to the Gallic tribe of the Senones under Brennus.²⁰⁴ This was still circulating in XVth-century Siena, as testified by Agostino Dati who notes that two theories held sway on Siena's origins, the Gallic and the Roman.²⁰⁵

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The latter was particularly popular during the Quattrocento because it made the link with the tradition of the Roman republic. The importance of Patrizi's work lies first in the fact that he reiterates the thesis of the Roman origin of Siena but in different terms from those proposed by his predecessors, even if with the same political and propagandistic end of increasing the glory of the city; and secondly, in his use of classical sources as evidence to support his case, since in this he is following an evidently humanistic practice. Following his example, Agostino Patrizi later composed a similar work, in 1488, the *De antiquitate civitatis Senarum*, dedicated to Cardinal Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini. In it he reaffirms the Gallic version, but has Camillus as responsible only for the foundation of the Porta

²⁰³ Salutati had Florence as heir to the Roman *respublica* since it was founded by the veterans of Silla shortly after the Ist c. B.C., as he read in Sallust (*Bellum Catilinae*) and in Cicero (*In Catilinam*, *II*). Bruni picked up the same thesis in *Laudatio urbis Florentiae* and in the first book of his *Historiae Florentini populi*. See Baron, *Humanistic and Political Literature*, pp. 69-104 and *Idem*, *La crisi*, pp. 64-68.

²⁰⁴ John of Salisbury, *Policratici libri*, Book VI, Chapter 17, 9-11 (edited by Webb, II, 45): 'Namque [Galli Senones] urbem Senensium senibus suis et valitudinariis armentariisque construxerint, non modo fides historiae sed celebris traditio est, ...'. ²⁰⁵ Dati, *Opera*, f. 68 '...urbis originem, de qua Galli praesertim Senones, ac veteres Romani certant.'

It should be recalled that the Frescoes in the Antichapel in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena, where a memorial to Republican heroes and pagan divinities apparently inspired by contemporary humanism and of clear political significance, were made in the early decades of the Quattrocento. See Rubinstein, 'Political Ideas in the Sienese Art'.

Camollia area of the city.207

One final observation needs to be made regarding Patrizi's reference in *De origine* to other commentaries on the city of Siena that his compatriots were waiting to receive from him.²⁰⁸ This suggests that Patrizi was about to embark on or to conclude a work on Siena that was to follow this narrative of the city's origins, and this idea is reinforced by the fact that the *De origine* in BCS, MS A XI 38 bears the following title: *Ad illustrem senatum clarosque senenses cives Francisci Patritii senensis commentarius primus de origine Senae urbis* (f. 1r).²⁰⁹

Lisini, although unaware of this reference, maintains that Patrizi consulted documents during his time in the Chancery and put together three volumes of chronicles which are to be identified with the anonymous historical compilation of the XVth century usually labelled as Agnolo di Tura. The volumes consist of a history of Siena from 445 to 1351, and are very similar to the Aldobrandini Chronicle. In support of his hypothesis, Lisini notes that in a document of the Concistoro of 2 April 1482 there is a record of certain histories donated by Francesco Patrizi, the illustrious Bishop of Gaeta. The gift, according to Lisini, disappeared from the Archive in the XVIIth century. Unfortunately, this particular piece of evidence has been erroneously recorded by Lisini, ²¹¹ but Patrizi's own reference to a work on Siena suggests that he had indeed written such a work,

²⁰⁷ Agostino Patrizi's treatise is found in many manuscripts also containing Francesco's treatise. The copy in BCS, MS A VI 3 (ff. 83r-89v), indicates that the work was written in Pienza, in 1488. See also Garbini, 'Pio II e Agostino Patrizi', p. 181.

²⁰⁸ BCS, MS C I 19, f. 26v: 'Nempe instituti mei neutiquam est hoc loco illustres ac preclaros viros Senenses recensere. Alios quidem commentarios a me Deo Optimo Maximo benevolente expectant.'

²⁰⁹ On this manuscript see *Iter*, II, 150; *Inventario*, edited by Garosi, III (1896), 298.

For the entire question of the Aldobrandini Chronicle and the chronicle by Agnolo di Tura see *Studies in the History of Medieval Italian Painting*, IV (1960-1962), 45-58.

Lisini, 'Introduction', p. xxviii, n. 1. The Concistoro document does not exist. Dott.ssa Carla Zarrilli, director of the Archive, was kind enough to confirm that the only existing document recalling Patrizi's work is that in Concistoro, Deliberazioni 687, dated 2 April 1481, which, as Lisini himself points out in another note (p.xxxi, n. 2), in fact records the gift of *De origine*.

although no trace of it has been found in extant bibliographical material. Even if the work was written, what certainly seems implausible is Lisini's hypothesis that Patrizi had his work circulate anonymously, since its aim, in part at least, and as with *De origine*, would certainly have been further to enhance his reputation amongst the citizens of his native city.

CONCLUSION

Patrizi's works as teacher, poet and orator indicate his competence and interest in those disciplines which were of primary importance in the humanist *curriculum studiorum*. His expertise in the art of rhetoric, for example, is attested to by his teaching activity, but also by his employment as official 'orator' both by the Sienese Republic and the Neapolitan court. His knowledge of grammar not only resulted in the epitome of Priscian's *Institutiones*, but also came to include the art of metrics, which Patrizi mastered to such a degree as both to comment on Horace's lyric poetry and write his own skilful poetical compositions. He also seems to have had a knowledge of philosophical ideas that were unusual for his time, and went well beyond the principles of moral philosophy which he would abundantly display in his political treatises. As for history, the work on the origins of Siena is significant above all for Patrizi's use of classical texts in a typically humanist fashion, that is to re-construct an illustrious past for his home-town which could serve as political propaganda.

It is, however, Patrizi's production of poems and epigrams that deserves particular attention. As already noted above, it seems that after Panormita's poetical experiments in the 1420s and 1430s, the production of Latin poetry in Siena was almost completely absent. Patrizi's poetical work, originated even if not completed

in Siena, represents an exception to this rule, and indicates in him a prolific and successful poet who came to know and appreciate texts of classical poetry at a remarkably early stage: his interest for epigrammatical compositions, and in particular for Martial, whose editio princeps appeared in 1471, at a time when the Greek Anthology and the Latin satirical poets were enjoying great popularity among humanists, can be dated back to the 1440s and the 1450s, when Martial, thanks precisely to Panormita in his Hermafroditus, was only just beginning to be appreciated.²¹² Even more remarkable is his use, in the collection completed in the 1460s, of Statius's Silvae at a time when the latter existed only in very few exemplars. Although a copy had been made in Switzerland for Poggio Bracciolini in 1417, the Silvae do not seem to have been circulating before 1453, when Poggio took up his residence in Florence.²¹³ Patrizi almost certainly acquired the text during his time in Montughi, if not earlier, and indeed we could speculate as to a connection between one of the earliest copies made from Poggio's exemplar, a manuscript written in Rome in 1463, and Patrizi's own copy of the Silvae, which he himself asserts as being in the hands of Agostino in a letter to the same dated 1461 (Letter 98).²¹⁴

Lastly, Patrizi should also be established as one of the few poets to revive the Latin bucolic eclogue in Siena during the fifteenth century. The importance of Patrizi's experimentalism in this genre, which is attested to in particular by the poem on the birth of Christ which was much imitated by later poets (Poem II.2, no. 9), is further underscored by reference to two examples of bucolic poetry in the vernacular during the Quattrocento: L. B. Alberti's eclogues *Tyrsis* and *Corimbo*, and, in the last decades of the century, the pastoral verses of two Sienese authors, Francesco

On the diffusion of Martial see Fr. R. Hausmann, 'Martial', in CTC, IV(1980), 249-96 and his article 'Martialen in Italien'.

On the transmission of Statius's Silvae see Reeve, 'Statius' Silvae'; Texts and Transmission, esp. p. 388.

Reeve, 'Statius' Silvae', p. 224, n. 99 rejects Smith's suggestion ('Poems', p. 94) that Patrizi modelled his poems on the Silvae in the 1450s, on the grounds that the text 'was only just beginning to circulate'.

have been the true object of Alberti's influence. 215

²¹⁵ See Grayson, 'Alberti and the Vernacular Eclogue', with further bibliography. Arzocchi's Eclogues have been recently edited by S. Fornasiero (Bologna, 1995).

CHAPTER III

FRANCESCO PATRIZI ON POLITICS:

DE INSTITUTIONE REIPUBLICAE AND DE REGNO ET REGIS

INSTITUTIONE

INTRODUCTION

i) Political Models and Theories

After his exile from Siena in 1457, Patrizi wrote two highly popular Latin treatises on political theory, De Institutione Reipublicae and De Regno et Regis Institutione.1 Drawing on his own knowledge of the political institutions of Siena and Naples respectively, he set out in the former the principles of a perfect and long-lasting republic, and in the latter the rules for the foundation and preservation of the ideal monarchy.

Siena and Naples offered Patrizi two clearly contrasting examples of constitutional forms and of different degrees of stability. The Sienese Republic was always characterized by unceasing factional strife and often had to resort, because of its geographical position, to fragile alliances to mantain its independence from powerful neighbours such as Florence. At the beginning of the Quattrocento, when the political parties represented by the Monti had grown to five, thanks to the formation of three new groupings besides the traditional political parties of the Gentiluomini and the Nove, Siena was organized into a new tripartite government formed by a coalition of members chosen from three of the five parties. Within the government, the popular elements of each Monte, even if rich and belonging to the traditional famiglie di reggimento, became predominant, thus creating a status popularis in direct opposition to the oligarchic system of the Nove of the previous century. During this status popularis, which lasted until the dictatorship of Pandolfo Petrucci was established in 1483, the popolari were entrusted with the most significant political offices, but the organization of the Republic was far from stable. Although a major revolution was avoided, tension between party members and the

¹ References to these works made in the course of this chapter are to the following editions: De Institutione Reipublicae, impensis Lazari Zetzeneri bibliop. (Strasbourg, 1608) [De Inst. Reip.]; De Regno et Regis Institutione, apud Aegidium Gombrinum (Paris, 1567) [De Regno].

struggle to ensure places in government dogged the Republic, and resulted in conspiracies, executions and exiles. One of the most striking examples, and indeed one of the most dramatic events in Sienese history, was the conspiracy to hand Siena over to Alfonso of Aragon in 1456-57, in which, as was seen in Chapter I, many notables, including Patrizi, were involved. It came about as the result not only of conflicting views on the conduct of foreign policy, and in particular on the alliance with Florence, but also of a deeper and more serious fracture within the structure of Sienese government.

In direct contrast to Siena, the Kingdom of Naples was an hereditary monarchy of a kind with most Western European monarchies. Aragonese rule had been established in the South of Italy with Alfonso V of Aragon, who in 1443, after years of conflict with the other pretender to the throne, Louis II of Anjou, was finally crowned by Pope Martin V as King Alfonso I of Sicily and Naples. Sicily and Aragon were given over to Alfonso's brother John to rule, and after Alfonso's death, Naples was left to Alfonso's illegitimate son Ferrante (Ferdinand I), who reigned from 1458 until 1494. He was in turn succeded by his son Alfonso (1494-95), his nephew Ferrante (Ferdinand II, 1495-96), and his other son Frederick (Frederick I, 1496-1501). The Kingdom of Naples was then contested by the cadet branch of the Aragonese dynasty and Charles VIII in 1495, and eventually reintegrated into the Aragonese empire under King Ferdinand the Catholic in 1503.2 Thus, with the Aragonese, order was established in Naples, and it assumed an active role as one of the great powers in Italy. The Aragonese dynasty, as a legitimate and 'natural' monarchy, looked for the support from other powers through diplomatic activity and alliances, family connections and marriages.3

Patrizi, who was in Siena until 1457, and afterwards for thirty years in the

² Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, pp. 3-39; Hay and Law, *Italy in the Age of the Renaissance*, esp. pp. 169-90.

An example of this was the marriage of Alfonso to Ippolita Sforza in 1465, or that of Isabella of Aragon to Duke Gian Galeazzo Sforza in 1489, as seen in Chapter II above.

Kingdom of Naples, of which Gaeta constituted the most important defensive outpost to the north, produced his two works of political science as reflections on these two types of constitution. They thus belong to the humanist political literature of fiftheenth-century Italy produced partly under the influence of classical models and partly in the attempt to come to terms with the changes in the Italian political landscape, and to offer a solution to the problems arising from existing constitutional systems. Patrizi's works also contributed to the broader humanist political debates about the best form of government, and reflect the major lines of evolution of political thought during the Quattrocento.

The continued existence during the Quattrocento of the two powerful republics of Florence and Venice, and their resistance to the general transformation of feudal city-states into princely governments, generated a political literature which promoted Republican values in strong opposition to 'tyrannical' seigneurial regimes. In Florence in particular, the political propaganda promoted first of all by Colluccio Salutati's Invectiva in Antonium Luscum and then, among others, by Leonardo Bruni's Laudatio Florentinae Urbis and Palmieri's Vita civile, was based on the conviction that the Florentine Republic had achieved greatness thanks to the freedom enjoyed by the whole corpus of the citizenry both from external powers, at the time represented by the Visconti in Milan, and from internal factions.⁴ Florence's *libertas* made her the true heir of Athens and Republican Rome, and enabled all citizens to promote the common good and to achieve glory, the ultimate goal of political society. Together with freedom, the other fundamental republican values promoted by these Florentine writers were socialitas, that is the active participation in public life, and civic virtues such as justice, prudence, courage, and temperance, that safeguarded liberty and equality among citizens. As clearly formulated in Buonaccorso da Montemagno's De nobilitate (1428) and Poggio Bracciolini's De nobilitate (1440), it

⁴ For these texts see the following editions: Bruni, Laudatio Florentinae Urbis in Baron, From Petrarch to Leonardo Bruni, pp. 232-263; Palmieri, Della vita civile, edited by Battaglia (Bologna, 1944); Salutati, Invectiva in Antonium Luscum, in Prosatori latini del Quattrocento, edited by Garin, pp. 7-37.

followed that nobility did not derive from antique lineage or wealth, but from *virtus* and *probitas*. Further developments of the issues promoted by the Florentine writers of the early Quattrocento, and in particular of the concept of *virtus*, are to be found in related works by other humanists who developed some key themes in humanist culture, such as the belief in human qualities and powers, the role played by the family in civil society, the importance of education in the development of the individual, and the importance of economic activities in a modern state. However, with the rise of the Medici to a position of control over the affairs of Florence, republican propaganda retreated, and Florence gradually moved towards a government which more closely resembled the Venetian oligarchy. During these years, the only voice which seemed to revive the issues of civic humanism was Alamanno Rinuccini's *De libertate* (1479), which attacked the 'tyrannical' Medici regime. The relevance of these lines of humanist thought to Patrizi's treatises will be evident from what follows below.⁵

The other Republic to which constant reference was made in Quattrocento political literature was Venice. Since the XIIth century the Venetian Republic had attracted great attention because it had flourished for centuries, and guaranteed its people peace and security. In Enrico da Rimini's treatise *Tractatus de quatuor virtutibus cardinalibus*, which was well known during the Trecento, the strength of Venice was seen as its being a mixed constitution, with all forms of government represented. Pier Paolo Vergerio's *De republica veneta* (c. 1400), probably influenced by Enrico's treatise, offered further developments in what became known as the myth of the *Serenissima*: 6 he analyzed the nature of its constitution and

⁵ On Florentine Civic Humanism see Baron, La crisi and his collection of essays In Search of Florentine Civic Humanism; L'Umanesimo civile, edited by Bec; Seigel, "Civic Humanism" or Ciceronian Rhetoric?'; Skinner, The Foundations, I, 69-101. On Salutati in particular, and for further bibliography, see also the review article by Black, 'The Political Thought of the Florentine Chancellors'.

⁶ On the myth of Venice see Fasoli, 'Nascita di un mito', who demonstrated that the origins of this myth, which became particularly widespread after the League of Cambrai, were medieval. For an overview of this topic see also Gaeta, 'Alcune considerazioni'; F. Gilbert, 'The Venetian Constitution'; Robey and Law, 'The Venetian Myth'.

identified the main source of its greatness, its continued stability, and its maintenance of institutional freedom and civic values, in its aristocratic bias, as opposed to its mixed nature.⁷ The myth of Venice was destined to grow still further during the Ouattrocento. When, for example, Florence was progressively coming under the dominance of the Medici, and therefore becoming increasingly oligarchic in its government, Poggio Bracciolini composed the In laudem Reipublicae venetorum (1459), where he celebrated Venice's aristocratic form of government. As will be seen later, Patrizi, in his De Inst. Reip., will strongly endorse this view of the excellence of the Venetian constitution.

The Republican literature was paralleled by an increasing literature on the theory of princely government, generated by the need to explain the nature of the states established by 'Signori' in Italy in the course of the Quattrocento, and consequently by the necessity to formulate rules for mantaining stable and longlasting governments of this kind. Such literature for princes was in part a continuation of the previous tradition of the Mirror of Princes, treatises produced during the Middle Ages devoted to explaining the foundations of monarchical power. Works such as Thomas Aquinas' De regimine principum (1265-66), Tolomeo da Lucca's De regimine principum (after 1298), and Aegidius Romanus's De regimine principum (after 1280) all analysed political institutions moving from a limited vision of the ruler as God-given, and of his function as of purely religious significance, to a enlarged perspective, deriving from the diffusion of Aristotle's *Politics*, of the prince as the governing member of the living body of the state, and of the goal of his political activity as the mantainance of a well-ordered state where citizens can live in Cainley security and happiness.⁸ Similarly, humanist writers attempted to define the ideal Quattrocento prince, and they concentrated on the characteristics of the ruler himself,

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Robey and Law, 'The Venetian Myth', pp. 16-17.

Beside texts on Medieval political thought such as W. Ullman, A History of Political Thought, and Gierke, Political Theories, information on the medieval development of political literature on the prince is to be found in Born, 'The Perfect Prince; The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought, pp. 339-652; Rubinstein, 'Political Theories'; Skinner, The Foundations, I, 49-66.

and on the virtues he needed to exercise power, mantain peace and stability, and administrate justice. Indeed the emphasis on the princely virtues, together with the idea that the reward of the good ruler is not eternal glory in the next world, but rather the acquisition of glory and fame and the fulfilment of all his human and social qualities during his lifetime, are the main features of these manuals, and they were often exemplified by recourse to examples drawn from ancient history, mainly from Aristotle's *Nicomachean ethics* and Cicero's *De officiis*.

In this respect, and despite their apparently idealistic conception of the prince, these treatises already contain in nuce, in their emphasis on the personal characteristics of the prince and the ethical problems of his rulership, the seeds of Machiavelli's work.9 At the same time Renaissance treatises were of a eulogistic character, celebrating the rulers to whom they were addressed. In the first half of the century the recipients of such advice-books were primarily the Visconti of Milan, dedicatee of Uberto Decembrio's De Republica (1420s) and Pier Candido Decembrio's De laudibus Mediolanensis urbis panegiricus (1435). Later in the century Bartolomeo Platina dedicated his De principe (1471) to Federico Gonzaga, heir to the marquisate of Mantua and then adapted it for Lorenzo de' Medici, to whom it was dedicated with the title De optimo cive (1474); Diomede Carafa's I doveri del principe was composed before 1476 for the Duchess of Ferrara, Eleonora of Aragon; Giovanni Pontano composed his De principe (1468) for Alfonso of Aragon; and Giuniano Maio in 1492, dedicated his De maiestate to King Ferdinand. In addition, the growing need to guarantee the stability of monarchical governments generated a literature addressed to the prince's advisers which began with the publication of Carafa's Dello optimo cortesano (1470s) and culminated with Baldassare Castiglione's masterpiece Il libro del cortegiano (1508). The position of Patrizi's De Regno in relation to these texts on princely government will be discussed

⁹ On Renaissance theory of princely government see F. Gilbert, "The Humanist Concept of the Prince"; A. Gilbert, *Machiavelli's "Prince"*; Skinner, *The Foundations*, I, 113-128.

ii) Manuscript Tradition and Printed Editions

De Inst. Reip. and De Regno are the two texts for which Patrizi has primarily been remembered, and certainly the only ones that were published shortly after his death. Indeed they were reprinted several times and enjoyed considerable renown during the XVIth and XVIIth centuries. They are extant in manuscript form, but because of their wide circulation in print, the manuscript tradition is limited, with only a single exception, to Italian versions.

With reference to the manuscripts, all of which are listed in Part A of the Bibliography of Patrizi's works, it should be noted that Bassi (p. 417, n. 45) and Battaglia (p.103, n.2), who both took their information from De Montfaucon, 10 mention only two manuscripts containing *De Inst. Reip.*, held respectively in the Vatican Library and the Biblioteca Cassinense. The codex in the Vatican Library they refer to must be one of the three that are now kept in the Vatican Library. They are: MS Barb. Lat. 2045 (XXX 118), MS Chigi F VIII 194, and MS Vat. Lat. 3084. The first two are simple copies of the text made in the XVth and XVIth centuries, the last one was copied by Pietro Ursuleo, a copyist at the service of the Neapolitan Court, for Sixtus IV in 1479. 11 The second manuscript mentioned in Bassi and Battaglia is a XVth century manuscript numbered 425 in the Biblioteca della Badia di Montecassino which was left interrupted after the beginning of the eighth book.

The printed editions of both treatises are more numerous. The *editio princeps* of the *De Inst. Reip.* appeared in Paris not in 1494, as generally believed, but in

¹⁰ Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum, I, 107 and 227.

Pietro Ursuleo was at the service of Alfonso of Aragon from the year 1451. In 1462 he entered the priesthood and in 1474 he was nominated bishop of Satriano. He was in Rome in 1475 and in 1477-79 and there he copied Patrizi's treatise and a work by Aristotle. At the end of the codex of Patrizi he wrote: 'Id opus excripsi necessitate potius adductus, quam voluntate scribendi... Rome, xviii Kal. octobris 1479...'. See De Marinis, La biblioteca napoletana, II (1947), 16-17.

1518.¹² From then to 1594 the treatise was reprinted seven times in Paris and once in Strasbourg, and the *editio postrema* appeared in Strasbourg in 1608. A mutilated edition of the treatise appeared in 1599 in Torgau (Saxony).

The *De Regno* was brought to France by Jean Prevost, a Parliamentary Councillor and printed with glosses for the first time in Paris in 1519.¹³ Four more editions of the work appeared in Paris from that date to 1582, and the *editio postrema* appeared in Strasbourg in 1594.

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Also in Paris, in 1549 and 1577, two compendia in Latin of both the treatises were printed, the second of which was reprinted in Paris and Cologne in 1590 and 1591 respectively. The entire *De Inst. Reip*. was translated into French and published in Paris in 1520, 1532 and 1610 while an abridged version appeared in Paris in 1544. As for the *De Regno* a translation into French of the first book only appeared in Paris in 1577. A compendium in French of both was also published in Paris in 1544, 1546, 1549 and 1554.

De Inst. Reip. was also translated and published in German and Spanish in 1573 (Mainz) and 1591 (Madrid) respectively. It does not seem that the treatises were printed in Italy, at least in their original version, but they were translated into Italian by Giovanni Fabrini, a Florentine who admitted, in the dedicatory letter of De Regno to Cosimo de' Medici, that his work was a free rewriting of the treatises rather than a simple translation of them. 14 The titles he gave his translations confirm this attitude: De Regno et Regis Institutione was translated as De Il sacro regno del Gran Patritio del vero reggimento e de la vera felicità del Principe, e beatitudine humana and printed in Venice in 1547, 1553 and 1569; while the De Inst. Reip. appeared in Venice in 1545 with the title De discorsi del reverendo Monsignor Francesco Patrizi Senese, vescovo Gaiettano, sopra alle cose appartenenti ad una città libera e famiglia

The date of 1494 sustained by Hain, 12467 is indeed a bibliographical 'ghost'. See Smith, 'Epigrammata', p. 100, n.19.

See Smith, 'Epigrammata', p. 100, n.19.

13 Chevillier, L'origine de l'imprimerie, p. 187.

This letter is dated 6 October 1547 and precedes the Italian edition of the *De Regno* printed 'in Vinegia per Comin de Trino di Monferrato, l'anno MDXLVII'.

iii) Fortune and Modern Criticism

The popularity enjoyed by the treatises during the XVIth century is generally attributed to the fact that they draw heavily on classical sources, contain a great deal of information about Greek and Roman culture and customs, and were thus adopted in the schools as suitable reading for pupils. 16 Although this hypothesis seems to justify at least the diffusion of the De Inst. Reip., it should be qualified in the case of De Regno by an acknowledgement of the work's political relevance during the XVIth century, when Europe underwent a political fragmentation into monarchical states as well as a deep religious schism. This impression is reinforced by the fact the De Regno was utilized by several XVIth-c. humanists in England, France, Germany and Spain who continued the Italian tradition of political literature by producing a large number of treatises on the education of kings:¹⁷ for example, Guillaume de La Pierrière, a French writer who was active during the reign of Henry II, published in 1555 a work entitled Le miroir politique, with which he justified the principle of royal supremacy and the absolutism of the French monarchy, basing his case on Patrizi's *De Regno*, as well as on works by Pontano, More and Machiavelli. ¹⁸ The Spanish humanist Juan Luís Vives wrote in his treatise De disciplinis (1531) that besides classical texts, some modern authors should be read: Erasmus and Budé on moral philosophy and Patrizi, More and Erasmus on political theory. ¹⁹ In England numerous passages of the De Regno were employed in Sir Thomas Elyot's The Boke

All the printed editions can be found in the bibliography of Patrizi's works. See also Bassi, pp. 417-20 and notes; and Battaglia, pp. 102-105 and notes.
 Bassi, p. 418.

¹⁷ For an account of the various writers and their production see Skinner, *The Foundations*, I, 212-43.

Guillaume de La Perrière, Le miroir politique (Paris, 1567). Skinner, The Foundations, II, 261-62, n. 2

¹⁹ J. L. Vives, *On Education*, translated and edited by F. Watson (Cambridge, 1913): see p. 260 for mention of Patrizi. See Skinner, *The Foundations*, I, p. 241.

Named the Governour which appeared in London in 1531. Patrizi's text was utilized by Elyot alongside Castiglione, Palmieri, Erasmus and More, because it stressed the importance of the active participation of individuals in political life whilst underlining the need for the study of the humanities and the role of virtue in political life.²⁰ There also appeared, in England, in 1576, an abridged version of the *De Inst. Reip.*, entitled *A moral methode of civile Policy*,²¹ which confirms that the moral and educational principles in the treatise continued to be appreciated during the XVIth century by those writers whose views on education derived from Italian humanism. Suffice it to recall that Patrizi's writings were published in Paris in 1552 in a collection of political and pedagogical works together with Erasmus's *De Institutione principi/Christiani* and with Philipp Melanchthon's translations.²²

After the striking success of the treatises in the XVIth and XVIIth centuries, they fell into almost complete oblivion. Only in recent times has interest been revived by some scholars, who have focused in particular on the following aspects of the treatises: the elements of novelty and continuity with respect to the medieval tradition; their contribution to the debate on the general preferability of one or other constitutional form as a solution to the problems of state organization; and the educational and economic principles contained within them. Most of these recent studies do not, however, offer anything like a systematic account of Patrizi's political thought since, with the exception of the studies by Chiarelli and Battaglia, they confront more general features of Renaissance political thought, and Patrizi finds

Fr. Patrick, Byshop of Caieta, A moral metode of civile Policy, done out of Latin into English by Richarde Robinson, (London, 1576). See Gräesse, Trésor de livres

The passages of the *De Regno* used by Elyot are listed by H. H. S. Croft in his edition of Thomas Elyot, *The Boke named The Governour*, I, 'Life of Elyot', lxiv-lxvi, lxix; 'Appendix F', pp. 328-332; II, p. 1, n. a; pp. 371-72, n. b. Schlotter, *Thomas Elyots 'Governour'*, p. 20, compares general ideas in the *Governour* and in the *De Regno* and *De Inst. Reip.*, and indicates Plato as a common source, ignoring however the intermediate influence of Cicero and humanist moralists. A new assessment of the problem is in Warren, 'Patrizi's "De Regno et Regis Institutione", who also underlines the importance of Ciceronian moral philosophy in both authors.

[,] V, 168.
²² Garin, L'educazione in Europa, pp. 126-27, n. 16 and pp. 141-42.

mention only in passing.

The issue of novelty and continuity is addressed by Chiarelli in 'Il "De Regno" di Francesco Patrizi'. Focusing on the qualities and limitations of the De Regno, he asserts that Patrizi 'non manifesta ideali pratici contingenti all'epoca in cui visse, nè esprime opinioni sugli avvenimenti ai quali assistette' (p. 718), and that his description is of an ideal prince, similar to the model found in Aegidius Romanus's De regimine Principum. Chiarelli dedicates much space to summarizing the ethical system, the pedagogical norms and the concept of justice contained in Patrizi's treatise, but makes no references to contemporary literature or to the main topics of humanist political discourse. At the same time he notes that the use of classical sources explains the treatise's intellectualistic and idealistic appearance, and also accounts for the abandonment of the medieval canon, at least in this respect opening the way for Machiavelli. Chiarelli also sees a certain modernity in Patrizi's active conception of the prince's behaviour and his detachment of religion from the ethics of civic life. He gives little weight, however, to historical circumstances, and to Patrizi's personal political experience in relation to De Regno's composition, and thus does not detect the significant degree of realism in Patrizi's political theory.

Battaglia's work, Enea Silvio Piccolomini e Francesco Patrizi, also discusses the principles which Patrizi inherited from medieval doctrine and the signs of his participation in the new humanistic climate. In particular, Battaglia underlines the modernity of Patrizi's treatment of the state as a human creation, both natural and rational, in which the human being is master of his fate and can attain moral perfection. He further draws attention to the constant intermingling of theoretical principles and classical erudition in the treatises, thus underlining the utopistic and abstract character of Patrizi's speculation on the one hand, and the encyclopaedic content of the treatises on the other. This general assessment of the treatises had already been proffered by the German scholars Roscher, Geschichte der National-Oekonomik, pp. 139-42, Rehm, Geschichte der Staatsrechtswissenschaft, p. 208

and Bezold, 'Republik und Monarchie' (esp. p. 450), who all mention Patrizi, together with figures such as Pontano and Alberti, as major influences on the Northern humanists in the XVIth century. Their views on the treatises vary greatly, however, ranging from Roscher's condemnation of Patrizi's lack of scientific rigour and regard for concrete problems, to Bezold's praise of his new conception of the state derived from classical authors rather than religious doctrine.

As will be seen later, Patrizi's abandonment of medieval supernaturalism, and the laicisation of his evaluation of historical events, constitute an important innovatory element of his theory. It has recently been noted once more in an article by Pastore Stocchi, 'Il pensiero politico degli umanisti', where Patrizi is often quoted as proof that humanism took from classical theory the idea of the State as the triumph of reason, which determines the establishment of political and juridical institutions and practice, beyond the influence of religious doctrine.²³ Previously, similar remarks had been made by Gierke, *Political Theories*, pp. 33, 72, 89, and by Curcio, *La politica italiana*, pp. 21-22, 83, 161 and *passim*, who had both however claimed to see also in Patrizi's works traces of medieval theories such as unitarism, which justifies natural monarchy, and anthropomorphism, which justifies the republican political system. The lines of Patrizi's argument about the origin of the state and the classical sources that influenced him, which are only hinted at in the above mentioned studies, will be expounded in detail in our analysis of the topic of the state both in *De Regno* and *De Inst. Reip*.

Finally, several features of Patrizi's treatises are briefly highlighted by Skinner in his analysis of the political literature of the Renaissance, *The Foundations*, to illustrate how they incorporate many of the most common ideas shared by humanists about education, civic values, security and the foundation of the state, both in relation to republics and monarchies, and how such ideas were partially inherited from the political tradition of previous centuries, and partly prompted by a new interpretation

²³ On Patrizi see esp. pp. 20-21, 23, 28-31, 34-35, 52, 57.

of the classics and by evolutions and modifications in the political landscape of contemporary Italy.²⁴ A more comprehensive analysis of the presence and use of such important topics in both treatises will constitute a considerable part of what follows below.

The second area which has excited some critical interest is the vexed question of Patrizi's preference for one of the two forms of government. Ferrari, Corso sugli scrittori politici italiani, p. 122, states that both Platina and Patrizi show themselves to be politically corrupt in their ambivalence between republics and monarchies, while Gierke, Political Theories, p. 33, asserts that in the books of humanists, among whom Patrizi, we find 'an outspoken preference for antique, republican forms'. Baron, La crisi, pp. 475-76, mantains that Patrizi's De Inst. Reip. and Platina's De optimo cive contributed to the revival of republican ideas promoted by Florentine humanists in the first half of the Quattrocento, and the same view is endorsed by Skinner, The Foundations, I, 153, who asserts that despite the existence of the De Regno, Patrizi was indeed a republican, and that the De Inst. Reip. revives the ideology of civic humanism in the late decades of the century in a manner similar to Alamanni's dialogue De libertate. Pastore Stocchi's judgement on this issue is the precise opposite. He says that the De Inst. Reip., composed after the De Regno, reiterates and confirms the monarchical thesis and that the republic is a secondary and not a primary form of government for Patrizi. In other words, Pastore Stocchi mantains that Patrizi endorses the perfection of princely government and considers republican institutions an attempt at reviving, through the figure of society as a human body, the structure of monarchy whenever the posistive characteristics of the Prince are overwhelmed by the wretchedness of human nature (pp. 30-34). Patrizi was, of course, not alone in considering the two political forms, and indeed A. H. Gilbert (Machiavelli's 'Prince'), in considering the influence of earlier political theorists on Machiavelli, states that, for example, the lengthy list of virtues and vices

On Patrizi see *The Foundations*, I, 116-17, 119, 121, 122-23, 124, 125-28, 153, 158, 160-61, 163-64, 168, 173, 175, 178, 182, 229, 241; II, 261n, 353 and n.

of kings and princes, the topic of Fortune overcome by human qualities, and the negative judgement on mercenary soldiers in favour of disciplined regular troops, are all to be found in Patrizi long before they appear in Machiavelli (pp. 62, 67, 79, 205-16 and passim). Finally Hankins, 'Humanism and Modern Political Thought', p. 120, asserts that Patrizi displayed no preference for either the republican or the monarchical government, but simply argued that the best form of constitution depends on the virtue of its rulers, thus justifying the almost identical content of both treatises. The reading undertaken here suggests that none of the above critical assessments of Patrizi's ideology is complete or quite correct since the differences between the two works can be best accounted for by distinguishing between different types and sizes of state and the applicability of different precepts in each.

Two final aspects have interested critics: the pedagogical and economic elements of the treatises. The pedagogical elements the *De Regno* and *De Inst. Reip*. are mentioned both in Gerini, *Gli scrittori pedagogici*, p. 244, and Woodward, *Education during the Age of the Renaissance*, p. 75 and p. 247, who give Patrizi credit for having exhaustively stated the main principles of humanist education, and in Battaglia's *Il pensiero pedagogico*, pp. 180-84, which here briefly summarizes his previous work on Patrizi. By contrast, the importance of Patrizi's beliefs about the education of youth is minimized by Carbonara, *Il Secolo XV*, and Saitta, *L'educazione dell'Umanesimo*. The former asserts that Patrizi's work lacks originality (p. 416), while the latter judges it to be 'noioso e moralistico', wherever humanistic education gives way to disorderly erudition; however, Saitta notes the relevance of Patrizi's views on the systematic training and instruction of the prince to the contemporary ascendancy of the 'Signori' in Italy (p. 299).

References to economic themes in the treatises have been made by critics like Roscher, Geschichte der National-Oekonomik, pp. 141-42, Stangeland, Premalthusian Doctrines of Population, p. 90, and Gonnard, Histoire des doctrines de la population, pp. 90-91, who mention Patrizi's idea of the utility of agricultural

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and commercial activities as well as his conviction of the necessity to control population in relation to the extent of the territory.

The most important contribution in this area, however, is Sarri's article, 'Il pensiero pedagogico ed economico del senese Francesco Patrizi', devoted mainly to the *De Inst. Reip.*. For Sarri, Patrizi's educational and economic principles do not constitute two autonomous systems because they are applied to concrete problems and not stated in theoretical terms. Furthermore, Patrizi's carefully elaborated educational principles should be connected to his idea of the family as an ethical bond, a human association which guarantees respect for legality and the practice of human virtue. The family is also, for Sarri, the root of Patrizi's interest in economic problems, given Patrizi's persuasion that the stability and prosperity both of the state and of the family are based on the possesion of material goods. The citizen's work and activity is of great importance to the family's well-being and to that of the state, so that he subdivides workers according to their usefulness to the republic, judges the trading activity of merchants with similar criteria, and, for the first time in such a work, pays special attention to the wealth of the state, its finances, and the need for a secure treasury and limited taxes.

Further references to Sarri's important article, as well as to the other critical studies on Patrizi, will be made whenever appropriate in the course of this chapter. The analysis which follows has indeed some debts towards work by these previous critics, but overall, Patrizi's works on politics have not been evaluated in their entirety, and have often been hastily judged. What is still lacking, and particularly in the case of the lesser-studied *De Inst. Reip.*, is a comprehensive study of both treatises relating them to the historical background, to the personal circumstances which determined their composition, and to the preceding and contemporary political literature. The study which follows hopes to fill this gap with a view to establishing the relation between Patrizi's theory on the republic and the principles on monarchy, and their contribution to the tradition of political debate over the ideal

form of government during the Renaissance.

DE INSTITUTIONE REIPUBLICAE

i) Composition

The composition of the De Inst. Reip. is attested to in Patrizi's letters to Agostino Patrizi. In a letter dated 15 October 1462 (Letter 81), he announces that he has already completed five books, and by 27 September 1463 the work has grown to eight books (Letter 125). He probably finished the treatise shortly after this time, although the decision to dedicate it to Sixtus IV must have come several years later, as the latter was only elected on 9 August 1471. The precise date at which Patrizi began work on the treatise is not easy to establish, but it was certainly not before his exile, as Bassi maintained (p. 414). Bassi cites the point in the work where Patrizi, lamenting his exile, adds: '...a civitate quam institui extrudi vix aequo animo ferre poteram, et precipue cum mihi cordi esset foelicis, si possem, Reipublicae praecepta tradere' (II, 6, p. 85). The passage does indeed, as will be shown below, suggest a strong and precise link between the political events in Siena which led to Patrizi's exile and the composition of the treatise; but another letter to Agostino Patrizi. undated but written after 1460, where he states 'Concepi iam dudum libros de Re p[ublica] quos parere aliquando cupio' (Letter 25 (68)), confirms that the passage quoted by Bassi must be a reference to a stage of planning rather than the actual composition of the work.

The experience of recent political events in Siena and Patrizi's own literary activity after his exile come together in *De Inst. Reip.* to produce a political work in which the familiar *topoi* of civic humanism are rehearsed, but without the

propagandistic fervour of the early Quattrocento writers. Instead, we are given a sort of summa of political precepts based either on suggestions from classical authorities or on their practical application in a number of historical republics. This impression is confirmed by the author's foreword to the treatise.

The work opens with two 'Epistulae ad Senatum Populumque Senensem', divided by a preface to Sixtus IV.²⁵ In the first letter, he offers these books as a gift to his fellow citizens in the hope that he might be with them in some way whilst the commitments of his bishopric prevent him from returning in person to Siena ('Epistula', p. 1). Patrizi clearly hoped to regain favour in Siena. He invites his readers to defend the work against its detractors, whom he foresees will accuse him of unoriginality in his reliance on classical authors. The purely literary nature of this polemical defence of the principle of imitation hides a more personal, and perhaps more political anxiety, that those who recalled his former political 'misdeeds' would now balk at his version of the norms of the perfect republic. The same idea recurs in the dedication to Sixtus IV, where he defends himself from accusations of *petulantia* and *levitas* and clarifies his reasons for writing the treatise:

...me hoc consilio munus scribendi de institutione Reipublicae munus accepisse, quod antiqua satis esse viderentur et aliis gentibus praecepta, ea quae a summis viris scripta sunt. Non enim perpetua semper esse possunt, nec omnibus honesta videri omnia quae de civili vita praescribuntur. Mutantur siquidem hominum mores et iudicia saepenumero in varias partes distrahuntur ('Praefatio', p. 5)

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and again:

... docemur non omnino alienum esse civilia praecepta nostro tempore perscribere et ex diversis veterum voluminibus quae optima sunt delibare, ex nostris quoque moribus quaecunque utilia videbuntur admiscere. ('Praefatio', p. 6)

The most worthy recipients of the work, vouched for by Sixtus and addressed in the

Each book is also preceded by a proem addressed to Sixtus IV, which serves as an introduction to the subject examined in each book and includes digressionary information about ancient peoples and customs.

second letter, are the Senate and citizens of Siena, and the city is fulsomely praised:

Hic [Senae] enim omnes studiosi libertatis sunt, et civilem sapientiam optime callent. Nec alienum hoc aut arrogans videri poterit, cum exemplo utar tot clarissimorum virorum, qui civilia praecepta civibus suis inscripserunt, et praesertim cum civitas nostra (ut non solum ex memoria hominum, verum etiam ex antiquis Reipublicae pignoris cernere licet) diuturna, ac pene perpetua libertate usa sit: adeo ut cum pleraeque Italiae urbes variante fortuna modo a Regibus, modo a Ducibus, modo a Tyrannis tenerentur, haec cum paucis admodum aliis intacta ab omni servitutis iugo hactenus extiterit, et civium fortitudine, consilio, et sapientia non modo se ab omni periculo vindicaverit, verum in dies magis magisque aucta sit. ('Epistula', p. 10)

This passage is of fundamental importance. Beyond the encomiastic rhetoric, it reveals that the entire treatise is a reflection, based on the author's political experience, on the persistence of Sienese Republicanism in the context of the general shift towards seigneurial regimes in Italian city-states of the period. Hence, despite repeated denials of the applicability of precepts to the case of Siena, the work can be seen as precisely directed towards an improvement in the constitutional ordering of the homeland which had caused him such bitter experience. As he says:

Natus siquidem atque educatus sum in libera civitate, optimis moribus ac legibus constituta: Cui si qua ex parte prodesse possem, et juniores ad meliorem (ut aiunt) frugem redigere, id mihi iucundissimum esset. (I, 1, p. 14)

It is necessary to insist on this evidence that Patrizi wrote *De Inst. Reip*. with the Sienese Republic in mind because certain influential modern critics such as Baron and Skinner have seen the work as a polemical response to the tyrannical regime of Cosimo de' Medici, aiming to re-establish the republican ideals promulgated by Florentine civic humanism, and thus similar, in this respect, to Rinuccini's *De libertate* or the polemical writing of Donato Acciaiuoli.²⁶ As was noted earlier, this has led these critics to overemphasize Patrizi's republicanism when attempting to

²⁶ See Skinner, The Foundations, I, 153. Baron, La crisi, pp. 475-76, quotes two of Patrizi's letter to Tranchedini (Letter 48 and letter 191) where he mentiones his acquaintance with some Florentines, to prove the same point. It should be noted that in the second of the two letters Patrizi asks Nicodemo to notify his election to the Bishopric of Gaeta to Cosimo de' Medici, which would not suggest that Patrizi had feelings of avversion against the Medici, or that the De Inst. Reip. was written in opposition to the Medici regime.

reconcile *De Inst. Reip.* and *De Regno*. In fact those ideals, which were no longer a reflection of political reality, are more likely to be found in Patrizi's work both because of their relevance to the Sienese Republic, and because they had become commonplace in the political discourse of the Renaissance.

For convenience of exposition, the presence of republican ideals in the *De Inst. Reip.* will be explored following the division, presented in *The Cambridge History of Political Thought 1450-1700* (pp. 20-29), into the three categories typical of humanist political writing: the state, the city, and the family. Looking at these three levels of applicability of Patrizi's political precepts, we should have occasion to expound at the same time on Patrizi's idea of the foundations of the state and its functioning, the relation between freedom, legality and the exercise of power, and the celebration of the Roman Republic and of the myth of Venice. Patrizi's view on other topics, such as education, civic virtues and the active life, economic principles and the military, will be dealt with in separate sections in relation to the treatise as a whole.

ii) The State, The City and The Family

The foundation of the state is dealt with in the first chapters of the first book of the *De Inst. Reip.*, where the author tries to establish which form of government is preferable, republic or monarchy. The discussion is based on a distinction between two successive moments in the evolution of the state: the formation of the 'civilis societas' and the organization of the 'societas' into a particular institutional form. According to Patrizi, the formation of the civil society was determined by a spontaneous grouping of individuals who first lived as animals, prey to instincts and passions alone, and then, both because of their social nature and a dawning awareness of their rationality, came together for their mutual benefit.²⁷ In the

²⁷ De Inst. Reip., I, 3, pp. 16-18: 'Civilem societatem quam civitatem appellamus hominum inventum esse utilitatis gratia duce natura Est enim homo sociale animal

process of perfecting civil society, which provides in the first instance for a more secure life, the individual will be able to realize his most human characteristics: he will become a 'civilis vir' dedicated to virtue and to the learning of *bonae artes*. The terms of Patrizi's description echo Cicero's writings on the subject, the oration *Pro Sestio* and the dialogue *De Inventione*, as well as the Aristotelian idea of man as a social animal and of the natural union of the two sexes.²⁸ In addition the supremacy of the city as the centre of human experience, as opposed to the *inhumanitas* of primitive existence, is reaffirmed:

Hinc ortum est seminarium civitatum, quod cum vir et foemina domum fecerint, crescente filiorum et nepotum numero, domus alias addere opus fuerit, cum una eos non caperet, et sic pagos erigere, et societatem ex pluribus domibus constituere:... Nam locis editis fossam ducere, et vallo circundare non dubitaverunt et sic urbes atque oppida inchoaverunt. (I, 3, p. 17)

From this flow two consequences: first the city (ἄστυ) allows man to realize fully his proper social nature, since astutia, in Patrizi's etymology, is his peculiar characteristic: in the city the civitas will be organized according to the principles of the civilis disciplina which will instill in the citizens habits of friendship and civic virtue; secondly, the form of state in which the citizenry is organised at a secondary stage of development, that is the republican form, is peculiar to the city. This second point is of fundamental importance and constitutes the interpretative key to a correct reading of Patrizi's political precepts on the republic, one which has been overlooked by previous critics. By considering Patrizi's discussion of the ideal organization of the republic as applicable to the city state only, that is to a limited urban territory and the zone sorrounding the city proper, it becomes clear that

longe magis quam apes, formicae, grues Prima societas est, ut in omnibus aliis animalibus, sic longe magis in hominibus, qui rationis participes sunt, maris et foeminae generationis gratia, Quibus ex rebus constat primam rationem eorum qui civilem societatem instituerunt fuisse, ut tute degerent, et a vi atque impetu munirentur.'

See Cicero, *Pro Sestio XLII*, 91 and *Inv. I*, 2; Aristotle, *Pol.* 1253a9 and 1252a4.

Patrizi states that '...quidquid egregium studio vel opera sua mortales habent in vita humana, id omne aut a civitatibus fluxit, aut in illis cultum nitoremque accepit.' (*De Inst. Reip.*, I, 3, pp. 18-19). See also below, p. 165, quotation from *De Inst. Reip.*, I, 5, p. 30. For the use of the term 'civilis', 'civitas', and 'civilis sapientia' in XIIIthand XIVth-century political literature see Viroli, 'Machiavelli and the Republican Idea'.

Patrizi's speculation was focused on the political realities of Renaissance city Republics, and of Siena in particular; in addition, it will be seen when discussing the *De Regno* that such an equation also eliminates the problem of re-conciliating two apparently contradictory treatises.

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The definition of the republic as 'institutio ... eorum qui in civitatibus degunt' (I, 3, p. 20) appears separately from that of civil society, at the end of a discussion on the best form of government. One chapter, entitled 'Praestantior ne sit respublica an unius Principis imperium' (I, 1), is given over to establishing that in the early stages of the formation of a civil society, monarchy and not the republic is the best and also the most natural form of government, a point that at first sight might argue, as indeed mantained by Pastore Stocchi (pp. 31-32), for Patrizi's preference for monarchical government.³⁰ Patrizi asserts that the republic is a secondary form of government, derived from monarchy when the latter degenerates through the intrinsic failings of human nature which inevitably become evident in the actions of the monarch.³¹ The republic is thus preferable for largely moral reasons, in that it distills the positive characteristics of the individuals which comprise it. The clearest indication of this view is found in Patrizi's anthropomorphic representation of the state:

Quocirca in unum collati cives, quasi unum hominem praestant, qui multiplici ingegno ac memoria pollet, oculis pluribus cernit, operatur manibus multis, et pedibus pene infinitis nititur/(I, 1, p.14)

The idea that the citizens correspond to the different parts of the state just as limbs

³⁰ De Inst. Reip., I, 1, p. 11: 'Et certe si principia humanae societatis considerare volumus, et historiarum monumenta revolvere, inveniemus gentium imperia penes Reges et Principes extitisse. Uni siquidem viro iuste ac legitime imperanti parere, aequius esse videtur, quam compluribus, ac pene infinits et (ut plerunque accidit), imperitis rerum gerendarum....'.

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De Inst. Reip., I, 1, p. 13: 'Quid enim suavius, aut magis optandum mortalibus esset, quam sub optimo Rege et Principe privatam vitam agere sine iniura, aut populorum ambitione? Sed quia non immortales aut immutabiles natura Principes dedit,..., deterioresque plerumque evadunt: tutiorem vitam arbitrandum esse censeo bene moratae Reipublicae, quam cuiusque Principis. Illa siquidem immortalis ac pene immortalis est, his parvo temporis curiculo senio ac morte conficitur.'

come together to form a single body is medieval in origin, found principally in John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*,³² and as observed by Curcio (p. 22) and Gierke (*Political Theories*, p. 73), it appears with a certain frequency in the writings of Quattrocento theorists such as Patrizi, Platina, Pontano and Alberti.³³ It should however be noted that to the basic principle Patrizi adds a new element: that of the state's moral excellence.³⁴ This allows him to apply the unitary principle, which was most often used to justify monarchies, as he himself does in the *De Regno*, to the republic. Furthermore, as already noted, since the 'respublica' is the form of government of the 'civitas', and since the latter is delimited by precise territorial boundaries implied by the term 'urbs', the republic is the best form of government of the city.³⁵

The terms in which Patrizi expounds his theories of the state are also present in other writers of the period: Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, for example, also subdivides the various phases which lead to the formation of the state and, like Patrizi, overturns the Aristotelian assumption that the state pre-exists the individual; Pontano celebrates in verse the city as the abandonment of barbarism and the opening of a new era; Alberti and Savonarola take the state to be a product of human reason.³⁶ In all these cases the Ciceronian version of the origin of states stands in opposition to the Thomist version according to which the entry of man into history coincided with the loss of Eden following the original sin. Patrizi values historical

³² John of Salisbury, *Policratici libri*, Book V, Chapter 1 (edited by Webb, II, 281-84).

The idea is reiterated in *De Inst. Reip.*, I, 5, p. 26: 'Multitudo universa potestatem habet collecta in unum, ...dimissi autem singuli rem suam agunt.'

³³ For the use of the methaphor of the human body in Italian Renaissance political literature see Najemy, 'The Republic's Two Bodies', who however does not mention Patrizi's treatises.

Besides the definition of the term 'urbs' in *De Inst. Reip.*, I, 3, p. 17, cited above, see *De Inst. Reip.*, VII, 1, p. 289, for a reasserted link between republic and city.

See Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, *De ortu et authoritate*, in *De iurisdictione*, edited by Schardius, esp. chapter I, p. 314; Pontano, *Urania*, I, Il. 1162-1173, in *Carmina*, edited by Soldati, I, 36; Alberti, *Concioni*, quoted by Bonucci in his introduction to Alberti, *Opere volgari*, I (1843), ix-lxxvi, (esp p. xlvii); Girolamo Savonarola, *Trattato circa il reggimento e governo della città di Firenze*, Chapter I, Pp. 1-6.

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events in wholly secular terms: for him man lived not in a state of absolute happiness at his origins but in a bestial state, and only later organised himself into a civil society with a just form of government which fulfilled his human excellence. Thus, instead of the medieval notion of the state as a support offered to man to tolerate the miseries of this life and to prepare him better for the next life, we have in Patrizi a positive vision of the state as a human creation which can bring into being civilization and progress. As rightly noted by some critics, above all Battaglia (p. 123), Curcio (p. 165) and Pastore Stocchi (p. 23), this principle is a novel characteristic of humanist political thought; and as will be seen later, Patrizi will develop it further in the *De Regno*.

The distinction between the various phases in the formation of the republic reveal that Patrizi conceived of political organization and of modes of exercising power as distinct from the 'condition' of the civic corpus. In other words, he is moving towards a modern conception of the state as an apparatus which dominates and stands above whoever exercises power. It is remarkable that he does so in the *De Inst. Reip.* which dates back to the 1460s, since Skinner, *The Foundations*, II, 353-54, underlines such novelty in Patrizi's uses of the term 'status' with reference to the later *De Regno.*³⁷ In the *De Inst. Reip*, the term 'status', used in its modern sense, appears in a chapter dedicated to the forms and ends of three types of republic: popular, aristocratic and timocratic. In the title of the chapter, 'Quot rerumpublicarum status sint, et singulorum finis'(I, 4) and within its argument, Patrizi uses *status* several times to indicate different political organizations. In this he foreshadows one of the major developments of XVIth-century political theory.

Patrizi's discussion of the characteristics of the republic in *De Inst. Reip*. can be usefully compared to and contrasted with other defences of it in the political works of particularly Florentine Humanism. The fundamental basis of the republican

³⁷ See also, on the use of this term in Florentine political discourse, Rubinstein, 'Notes on the Word *Stato*'.

institution is the possession of libertas which, according to the standard usage of the major Florentine thinkers - Salutati, Bruni, and Bracciolini - is defined both as independence from any external power and as the real possibility for every citizen to play an active part in the government of his city. In Patrizi's treatises the concept of liberty appears several times with both of these applications: it is applied to Siena, defined as a 'libera civitas' (I, 1, p. 14), independent of external powers, 38 whilst the quest for liberty is also mentioned as an important element which speeds the process of transition from monarchy to republic. It is also clearly stated that the whole corpus of citizens must take care to maintain freedom within their republic and that they will do so especially if they see a possibility of holding public office.³⁹ In this, Patrizi echoes closely Bruni's definition of the peculiar merits of the republic in his Oratio in Funere Nanni Stroziae. 40 Taken on its own, Patrizi's reads like an unconditional celebration of liberty as an essential republican principle. However, its precise function is severely limited by its context in the chapter 'De aequalitate et concordia': the encouragement of the citizens' aspiration to public office, which will be granted only 'si per eorum virtute et populi suffragia licebit', (I, 6, p. 33), is primarily a way of maintaining equality and concord between them. The note of condemnation which follows, criticising the common practice of many modern republics, and Siena was no exception, of excluding certain families from government, reflects his overriding concern to avoid all sources of instability in the ideal republic. That the celebration of liberty is by no means central to Patrizi's work is reaffirmed when the aim of the popular form of republic is stated as liberty, but the latter is glossed pejoratively as the highest desire of the multitude to 'potestatem' vivendi habere ut velit' (I, 4, p. 2).

38 De Inst. Reip., 'Epistula', p. 10.

See Bruni, Oratio in Funere Nanni Stroziae, in Baluze, Miscellanea, IV (1764), 2-7 (esp. pp. 3-4).

³⁹ De Inst. Reip., I, 6, p. 32: 'Nulla namque persuasio in civili societate praestantior esse potest, quam libertatis, ad quam animus omnium civium dirigendus est: quod facile factu erit, si plerisque omnes sperabunt se aliquando magistratu potituros.' Skinner, The Foundations, I, p. 78.

The prime prerogative of the republic is, instead, legality: 'Optimam Rempublicam appellabo in qua non singuli aut plures ad nutum suae voluntatis imperant, sed eam in qua lex tantum dominatur' (I, 5, p. 25). It finds its basis and its regulation in appropriate legislation which is in itself superior to both citizens and magistrates. That Patrizi stresses the importance of legality as a main characteristic of the republic, was noted by Battaglia (p. 111). It is important to add here that Patrizi attributes to the respect of legality the same functions that were assigned to liberty by Bruni and his like. Respect for the law is fundamental if the republic is to guarantee equality amongst the citizenry, to promote the grandeur of the state, to encourage a cult of virtue and to ensure stability and concord. Indeed, so great is its importance that at one point, respect for the law seems to override even individual liberty:

Sit lex omnis ad salutem civium, conservationem humanae societatis, incolumitatem civitatis, vitamque singulorum quietam ac beatam: quae persuasio efficit, ut populo aequo animo scita illa accipiant quae etiam aliqua ex parte libertati singulorum obesse videntur. (I, 5, p. 30)

Here, and at many other points in the treatise as we shall see, the author's main preoccupation is to defend the republican state from degeneration and decline. To this end he concentrates on the organization and functioning of government, and all but asserts that the stronger a state becomes, the lesser the risk of its perishing, thus reversing the values of civic humanism. Bruni, for example, insists several times in his *Laudatio* that the republic be built on the promulgation of liberty and that this be reinforced until the citizenry is imbued with a deep civic sense, whereas Patrizi values rather the part played by the state institutions in maintaining stability and peace, echoing in this respect exponents of the scholastic tradition such as Marsiglio da Padova in *Defensor pacis*, Bartolo da Sassoferrato in *Tractatus de Regimine Civitatis*, and Remigio de' Girolami in *De Bono Communi*, who had turned their attention to examining the machinery of government.⁴¹ As already seen, however,

⁴¹ See for example Bruni, *Laudatio*, pp. 258-62; for previous authors see references in Skinner, *The Foundations*, I, 53-60, 80, 170-71.

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the *De Inst. Reip.* does also present the Florentine humanist position, derived from classical sources, that the individual is best realized in the ambit of the state, where his *humanitas* reaches its fulfilment in the practice of virtue and in the promotion of civic values. Patrizi's only rider to this belief is his more pragmatic acknowledgement of the fallibility and weakness of human nature and hence of the need for a strong political apparatus which transcends the individual and guarantees stability and concord. As noted by Bonucci, *Il fine dello Stato*, p. 180, Patrizi thus offers an example of the idea of the 'stato centralizzato', which controlls and regulates every aspect of the citizens' life.

In considering the workings of the institutions of the republic, Patrizi turns his attention to examining the constitutional practices of the Roman and Venetian Republics, which seemed to have solved with great success the problem of how to mantain peace and stability. The celebration of the Roman Republic was a recurrent feature of political discourse of the XIVth and XVth centuries. However, whereas the previous writers, from Remigio, Tolomeo, and Bartolo down to Salutati and Bruni, had underlined the political freedom in Rome, Patrizi insists, as will Machiavelli later in his *Discorsi*, on praising Rome for its mixed constitution. To do so, he draws on the fourth book of Aristotle's *Politics* and its description of the different forms of government, as well as on the analysis of Republican Rome and its mixed constitution offered in Polybius, who had underlined that such a constitution

Skinner, *The Foundations*, I, 54-55, 82 states that the main elements of a Republican view of ancient Rome and its history are to be found in the treatises of scholastic writers long before the early Quattrocento writers: in this Skinner is arguing against scholars such as Baron, *La crisi*, p.135, and Witt, 'The Rebirth of the Concept of Republican Liberty', esp. p. 171.

Girolami's De Bono Communi', p. 68; Tolomeo da Lucca, De regimine Principum, in Aquinas, Opuscola omnia, I (1949), esp. book III, pp. 314-16; Bartolo da Sassoferrato, Tractatus de regimine civitatis, in Opera Omnia, XI, esp. p. 420; Salutati, Invectiva, esp. pp. 14-17; Bruni, Dialogi ad Petrum Paulum Histrum, in Prosatori latini, pp. 44-99 (esp. pp. 88-91); Idem, Laudatio, pp. 245, 247-48; Idem, Historiarum Florentini populi libri XII, in Historiarum Florentini populi libri XII', edited by Santini and Di Pierro, pp. 1-402 (Book I, esp. pp.14-18); Machiavelli, Discorsi, in Tutte le Opere, edited by Martelli, Book I, Chapter 2, pp. 78-81.

had accounted for Rome's greatness and stability.⁴⁴ The recovery of Polybius's view has an important impact on political theory. In Patrizi's case in particular, it allows for the important link to be made between his use of classical norms and a more practical view of contemporary political realities.

Venice, like Ancient Rome, was a republic which had proved long-lasting and stable for centuries. As seen before, it thus attracted the attention of political theorists from Enrico da Rimini onwards. However, besides some generic references to Venice's wealth and power and a celebration of her long tradition of liberty and independence - in other words, to the traditional features of the Venetian myth - Patrizi celebrates Venice primarily because of the aristocratic character of its mixed constitution, thus echoing very closely Vergerio's *De republica Veneta* and Poggio's analysis of Venetian oligarchy in *In laudem reipublicae venetorum* (1459).⁴⁵ Patrizi also goes on to affirm that the aristocratic republic is the best form of government available, ⁴⁶ which is doubtless the result of his caste sympathy for the aristocracy evinced in his boasts of noble origins and declarations of the need for those with illustrious forebears to partake in public office.⁴⁷ Other references to Venice dwell more on details of the constitutional structure, on those technical elements which have historically provided the Venetian republic with stability and made it a model for the ideal government worthy to be placed alongside not only the Roman Republic,

⁴⁵ On Vergerio see Robey and Law, 'The Venetian Myth', pp. 16-17. On Bracciolini, see his *In laudem Reipublicae Venetorum*, in *Opera omnia*, edited by Fubini, II (1966), 917-937 (esp. pp. 925-37).

⁴⁴ See *De Inst. Reip.*, III, 3-12 for Patrizi's meticulous description of the social and political organization of the republic. Sources are Aristotle, *Pol.* 1297a6 - 1297a14 and Polybius, *Hist.* VI, 3.1-10.14 and VI, 11.1-18.8. See also Von Fritz, *The Theory of the Mixed Constitution in Antiquity*, pp. 60-95.

⁴⁶ He declares that the best republic is 'ex omni genere commixta', and goes on: 'Sed si alterutrum necessarium est, ut vel sola nobilitas, vel sola plebs imperet, longe tutius arbitror cum nobilitate quam cum plebe agere'. *De Inst. Reip.*, I, 4, p. 24.

See De Inst. Reip., VI, 1, pp. 248-49: 'Antiquiore genere qui censentur, si virtute ac moribus praestant, longe totius Reipublicae curam gerunt, quam qui novi in Rempublicam acciti sunt. Aequum namque esse videtur ut qui parentes, avos, maiores omnes pubblicis functionibus honestatos habuerunt, quasi haereditario quodam iure Reipublicae curam accipiant,.... Eorum imperium longe facilius populus omnis tolerat. Nec indignum sibi videtur, filium magistratum gerere, cum meminerit maiores eius eodem munere functos extitisse.'

but also Carthage, Athens and Sparta. The first of these elements is the exclusion of foreigners from public office.⁴⁸ Patrizi accepts this criterion so that the republic should remain true to the decree of its founders that its leaders should be chosen from among their descendants, from the patricians and nobles. He further distinguishes the nobles from the 'plebs', by which, similarly to Vergerio, he means the class completely excluded from political activity.⁴⁹ The second reason to praise Venice is its electoral proceedings, which proved to be very successful, especially in comparison with those in use in Florence and Siena. The Tuscan towns elected their magistrates by lot, thus allowing access to important political offices to citizens who could be unsuitable for such a task, whilst the Venetians chose their magistrates using a combination of lots and nominations, and then the approval or veto of the Senate.⁵⁰ He insists that 'libera senatus electio praestare videtur' (III, 3, p. 116) and on the Senate's superiority over popular assemblies.⁵¹

Patrizi's preference for a restricted ('stretto') government as represented by aristocratic Venice has been identified by Battaglia (p. 117), Roscher (Geschichte der National-Oekonomik, pp. 139, 141) and Skinner ('Political Philosophy', p. 427)⁵². It is important to add that such a preference seems formulated in polemical antithesis to the organization of the Sienese Republic. Indeed Patrizi had already expressed the need for a change in Sienese government along Venetian lines in a previous work, the De gerendo magistratu, composed in 1446 for his friend Achille Petrucci (Letter 154).⁵³ This letter, in which Patrizi celebrates the importance of the optimae artes

⁴⁹ See *De Inst. Reip.*, III, 2, p. 112, and for similarities to Vergerio's description of the people, Robey and Law, 'The Venetian Myth', p. 17.

De Inst. Reip., III, 3, p. 116.
 De Inst. Reip., III, 3, p. 115.

⁴⁸ De Inst. Reip., III, 2, pp. 111-12: 'Longe melius cives imperabunt quam peregrini: quod quidem non solum ex Romanis, Chartaginensibus, Atheniensibus, Lacedaemoniis, aliisque compluribus cerni licet, qui magistratus omnes suis civibus tradunt, verum ex inclita quoque Venetorum Republica, in qua peregrinis nullus est locus, et tamen nec iustitia nec severitas deest, et ex eiusmodi iudiciis nullae seditiones, nullaeque inimicitiae oriuntur.'

in The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy, pp. 387-452. See above Chapter I, pp. 10-11 and Chapter II, p. 65.

and of moral righteousness in the practice of politics, was above all a political manifesto which claimed a leading role in the rulership of the republic for those families who had a long-standing political tradition, and which mantained the necessity for restricted access to public office. In other words, it expressed the ideas of the group of the *Nove*, and rejected the political practice promoted by the *Monte del Popolo* of admitting new families, including foreign ones, into full rights of citizenship and public honour, thus reducing the access to offices for the ancient ruling families.

The explicit references to Siena in the *De Inst. Reip*. are introduced by Patrizi to demonstrate the aptness of the republican form of government of Venice and Rome to Siena. He underscores the ancient origins of some contemporary procedures used in Siena and thus legitimises them through the typical humanistic use of classical authorities. Given the broad, comprehensive character of the treatise, such references are limited in number and often eulogistic, but as Patrizi himself notes, he had elsewhere sung the praises of his homeland to the full, so that his aim in *De Inst. Reip*. is to expound certain more strictly political precepts.⁵⁴ The reference is evidently to the treatise *De origine et vetustate urbis Senae* in which, as Salutati had elsewhere done for Florence, Patrizi asserts Siena's ancient Roman foundations and claims a leading role for those Sienese families, such as Piccolomini, Patrizi, and Petrucci, who were the descendants of Roman Senators.⁵⁵

The first reference comes in the opening letter 'Ad Senatum Populumque Senensem':

Recensebo tamen vetera nonnulla, quae auditu fortasse non erunt iniucunda: et quae si lautam suppellectilem vestram non illustrabunt quidem, ostendent certe prisca consuetudine instituta vestra comprobata esse, et ex ipsis sapientiae fontibus hausta.(p. 2)

In the second letter to the Sienese people, in the passage cited above on the tradition

⁵⁴ De Inst. Reip., 'Epistula', p. 10.

On De origine et vetustate urbis Senae see above, Chapter II.

of independence of Siena, he declares that this tradition can be seen 'ex antiquis Reipublicae pignoribus' (p. 10),⁵⁶ while later, speaking of a supposed division and subdivision of Rome into tribes through which elections to the magistrature were conducted, he notes similar procedures in various modern cities including his own:

Hoc exemplo complures civitates divisae sunt etiam temporibus nostris, ut patria nostra Senensis, quae complures Romanos mores adhuc servat, et per tribus divisa magistratus suos eodem ordine sortitur. (III, 2, p. 111)

Thus, by suggesting a modification of the Sienese government, which already had a long republican tradition, toward a more aristocratic form, both in the letter to Petrucci, and in the *De Inst. Reip.*, Patrizi provides a clear example of the close connections between political literature and political problems of the time, and displays the ideological orientation of his thought.⁵⁷

Further references to Siena in the *De Inst. Reip*. concentrate on the architectonic and physical aspects of the city and demonstrate Patrizi's awareness of the need to create a rational, planned city space which brings together the decorum and beauty of its buildings with the requirements of the city as a centre of commercial, political and social activity. At the same time, they also indicate that the discussion alluded to above of the ideal organization of the republic, and the examples of the Roman and Venetian republics, are directly applicable to the Renaissance city-state, that is to a limited urban territory and the surrounding zone outside the city proper.

Patrizi notes the fertility of the land on which Siena is built;⁵⁸ he records the salubrious local waters,⁵⁹ the hydraulic works and the ancient and modern architectural achievements which adorn the city.⁶⁰ The fact that during the Quattrocento, a wide-ranging process of architectural restructuring and restoration

⁵⁶ See above, n. 38.

⁵⁷ This is also underlined in F. Gilbert, *Machiavelli and Guicciardini*, pp. 91-92.

De Inst. Reip., V, 9, p. 230.
 De Inst. Reip., VII, 11, p. 316.

⁶⁰ De Inst. Reip., VIII, 'Proemium', p. 324.

was underway in Siena suggests that both the celebration of the city's beauty, in *De origine* as well as in *De Inst. Reip.*, and the general formulation of physical norms for the ideal city, again find their motivation more in contemporary Sienese reality than might be apparent at first sight.

Thus Patrizi follows a new tendency in the political literature of the Renaissance to insert detailed architectural descriptions of the private and public structures of the city, since a well-organized city is seen as essential to the development and growth of the individuals who form the corpus of citizens, both in their private and public functions. This conviction, formulated in similar terms by Matteo Palmieri, in his *Della vita civile*, led to the theoretical work by writers such as Alberti, whose *De Architectura* (1444-1450) was the first Renaissance treatise on architecture, and Antonio Filarete, a Florentine architect who theorized his ideal Renaissance city, called *Sforzinda*, in his *Trattato di Architettura* (1460-64).⁶¹ For these writers, as for Patrizi, the celebration of a particular city does not create conflict between reality and the imagination but is rather a product of an awareness that for the modern man, the city must respond to the needs of order and equilibrium which condition collective life. In the first chapter of the seventh book, entirely dedicated to the structure of the city, Patrizi puts it thus:

[...] nos ad beatam vitam civilem nequaquam satis esse arbitramur, populum optime institutum habere, nisi urbis ac regiones opportunitas ea suppeditet, quae ad usum tranquillae vitae satis esse possunt. Nec is sum, qui unamquamque urbem satis idoneam esse putem ad statum optimae Reipublicae conservandum: quocirca eiusmodi eligendam esse arbitror, cui nihil desit quae ad bene vivendum spectet, vel potius novam aedificandam, si per fortunam atque opes daretur (VII, 2, p. 289).

Whether such a city is realizable or not is a problem of secondary importance. The criteria formulated by Patrizi in *De Inst. Reip.* point to a desire to offer rational

See Palmieri, *Della vita civile*, pp. 164-65. For Alberti's and Filarete's works see the following editions: Alberti, *De re aedificatoria*, edited by Orlandi and Portoghesi, 2 vols (Milan, 1966) and Filarete, *Trattato di Architettura*, edited by Finoli and Grassi (Milan, 1972). See also Garin, *La cultura*, pp. 172-183; *Idem, Scienza e vita civile*, pp. 33-56: 'La città ideale'; Holmes, *The Florentine Enlightenment*, pp. 168-201: 'The Architecture of Humanism'.

solutions to practical problems which had doubtless emerged in the planning and replanning of Italian cities of the time, and show a marked technical ability founded on knowledge of classical texts of an architectural and scientific nature. Some of the authorities cited in the treatise are Vitruvius's *De Architectura*, Varro's *De Re Rustica*, Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*, M. Porcius Cato's *De Agri Cultura*; and other less well known authors such as Columella, used both for his *De re rustica* and *De Arboribus*.

After an opening declaration of patriotism, Patrizi divides his treatment into two parts: the seventh book on the choice of location of the city, and the eighth on planning and architecture. He concentrates on the defensive structures of the town, as well as on the division of the area of the city, where he sets out one zone for religious buildings, another for public buildings and a third, smaller, private zone. While the criteria for the planning and construction of private dwellings must be decorum and functionality, Patrizi places no limits on the grandeur of public works, which reflects all the magnificence of Renaissance cities: 'Publicis in operibus magnificentia longe magis efferenda est: atqui haud scio in publica pecunia laudabilius pacis tempore impendi possit, quam in communibus aedificiis' (VIII, 12, p. 344).

The third central element in Patrizi's treatment of the republic after state and city is the family. The fourth book of *De Inst. Reip*. contains a full treatment, almost a treatise in its own right, on the family, in which Patrizi reasserts many of the pedagogical and educational principles to be found in other Quattrocento treatments.⁶² It is symptomatic of his approach that near the beginning of the book he should compare the institution of the family to the republic.⁶³ For Patrizi, the family is the bedrock

⁶² For a general overview of Patrizi's fourth book, see Sarri, pp. 98-138.

⁶³ See *De Inst. Reip.*, IV, 2: 'De similitudine rei familiaris et Reipublicae: de officio patris familias, et de servitiis, et eorum usu', where the first part is given over to a description of the similarities between family and republic and their respective members.

on which social and political organization is built and it is thus of the utmost importance that it be properly regulated. Indeed, any number of aspects of private life have more or less direct impact on the social sphere, from marriage contracts to the education of children, from the customs of the lady of the house to domestic mores. Patrizi examines in turn every such aspect, elaborating on and extending in detail his assertion, Aristotelian in ispiration, that the family is a primary aggregation originating in the natural union of male and female for the sake of the propagation of the species.⁶⁴ In his analysis, the proper end is always moderation, harmony and concord in an institution which has such significance for the social order. Thus Patrizi expresses himself in very similar terms to those of other humanists, who were equally convinced that the first form of social duty is performed by the modern citizen within his family. Works like Bruni's translation of pseudo-Aristotle's Oeconomicon, Alberti's I libri della famiglia, Francesco Barbaro's De re uxoria, and Giannantonio Campano's De dignitate matrimoni, constitute a literature devoted to the celebration of the institution of the family, and they equally disseminate the ideas on marriage and household contained in classical texts such as Plutarch's Coniugalia Praecepta, Quintilian's Institutio, and Xenophon's Oeconomicon. 65

It should be noted, however, that Patrizi's vision of the family takes on its full significance only in relation to the state. There is no notion, in *De Inst. Reip.*, that the family, beyond fulfilling this ethical function, exists autonomously with its own identity and cleary defined economic and social history. In other words, there is nothing of the Albertian idea of *gente*, that is of the family as a broad grouping of people. The distinction between Patrizi and Alberti here is crucial. Whilst Alberti, in moving from a civic spirit to a rejection of political responsibility, concludes in *De Iciarchia* that the family presents a valid alternative to the state, for Patrizi, the state

⁶⁴ De Inst. Reip., IV, 3, p. 147. Aristotle, Pol. 1252a24 - 1252b15.

⁶⁵ For these texts see the following editions: Bruni, Oeconomicum Aristotelis libelli cum commentariis Leonardi Aretini (Siena, 1508); Alberti, I libri della famiglia, in Opere volgari, I (1961), 1-341; Barbaro, De re uxoria, in Prosatori latini, pp. 103-37; Campano, De dignitate matrimoni, in Opera (Venice, 1502), xlviii-li.

always controls the institution of the family, and the family finds its significance as a preparatory institution for future citizens.66

iii) Education

The treatment of family is closely related to the discussion on education, which again was one of the most important topics of humanist thought. It had generated entire treatises, Pier Paolo Vergerio's De ingenuis moribus (1405), Leonardo Bruni's De studiis et litteris (1422-29), Maffeo Vegio's De educatione liberorum (c. 1460), Aeneas Sylvius's Tractatus de liberorum educatione (1450), Battista Guarini's De ordine docendi et studendi (1459) being some of the best know among them.⁶⁷ As underlined by Skinner (The Foundations, I, 78), Patrizi devotes an unusually extended treatment to this topic, in the second and fourth book of the De Inst. Reip.. In book IV, like his contemporaries, he pays particular attention to the first phase of the education of the young, and clearly defines the role of each parent.⁶⁸ In particular, where Patrizi talks of the mother's role, moving from the prenatal phase to birth, feeding and the use of wet-nurses of the highest morals, and then discussing the formation of the child in its first years, he reiterates many of the motifs that are to be found in Vegio, Palmieri, Alberti, and that were inherited from classical sources, such as Plutarch, Quintilian, Xenophon, and Aulio Gellius's Noctes Atticae. 69 It is particular noteworthy, as noted by Sarri, p. 116, that Patrizi attributes great

66 Alberti, De iciarchia, in Opere volgari, II (1966), 185-286.

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⁶⁷ See Vergerio, De ingenuis moribus, edited by Gnesotto in Atti e memorie della R. Accademia di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti di Padova, 34 (1917), 95-154; Bruni, De studiis et litteris, in Leonardo/Bruni Aretino, pp. 5-19 and in Italian version in L'educazione umanistica, edited by Garin, pp. 28-38; Vegio, De educatione liberorum et eorum claris moribus, edited by Fanning and Sullivan, 2 vols (Washington, 1933-36); Piccolomini, Tractatus de liberorum educatione, in Opera Omnia (Basle, 1571), pp. 965-92; Guarini, De ordine docendi et studendi, in Il pensiero pedagogico dell'umanesimo, edited by Garin, pp. 146-69 and 434-71. 68 De Inst. Reip., IV, 6, 'De officio parentum'.

⁶⁹ For a review of educational principles in classical authors see Marrou, History of Education.

importance, for the child's education until he is seven years old, to the mother, and in particular to her role in teaching the child the vernacular language, and that he also underlines the importance of her being erudite and learned. Patrizi insists, in the same terms as Bruni, on the importance of the link between literary education and knowledge of reality, that is between peritia litterarum and scientia rerum.70 Following preparation by the mother, the father will step in to instruct the child 'ad bene vivendi rationem'. Here Patrizi fully embraces the conviction, common among previous Quattrocento pedagogues, that it is above all important to assess the temperament and disposition of the child, in order to instruct him in such disciplines and skills as best suit him.⁷¹ He then expands on the treatment of the liberal arts, defined as liberal because 'liberos homines efficiunt ab omni voluptate ac turpitudine' (V, 6, p. 195), and concentrates on the essential point that the ideal human type is both a man of culture and discernment and a good citizen. This explains why Patrizi's discussion of the ideal literary curriculum comes as part of the treatment of a broader topic, the formation of citizens through the family for the good of the state, as mentioned in the previous section.

The discussion of the literary curriculum in the second book of *De Inst. Reip*. addresses the study of the *bonae artes* with reference to the individual as citizen. The link between liberal studies and their social function is clear from the outset, where Patrizi unreservedly celebrates language as a specifically human and civilising influence which marks the origins of civil society. Echoing a *topos* which is found in many authors before him, from Petrarch to Pontano, Patrizi asserts the value of speech - *sermo* - and the power of human conversation in the following terms:

Credendum siquidem est sermonem humanum, quo quidem homo caeteris animantibus praestat ante civilem societatem neutiquam distinctum fuisse Studia praeterea virtutum, et bonarum artium disciplinae, certe non a solivagis hominibus, et ab his qui ferarum more in silvis degebant, sed a civili viro, qui

⁷⁰ The source of this principle is in Cicero, *De Oratore* III, 5, 19. See Bruni, *De studiis et litteris*, pp.29-32.

⁷¹ See, for example, the formulation of this principle in the first book of Alberti's *I libri della famiglia*, pp. 43-44.

in coetu hominum versaretur, multa audiret, multa differeret, refelleret nonnullos, refelleretur etiam a plerisque, inventae excultaeque sunt. $(I, 3, p.18)^{72}$

Hence proper education becomes an essential element in the realization of the perfect citizen, and, since the latter is part of society, in the maintenance of peace and harmony: 'Nam, si de optima Republica scribere volumus, partium nostrarum etiam erit, dicere quibus disciplinis erudiri volumus civem nostrum, quem partem civitatis nostrae facimus.'73 The curriculum formulated by Patrizi, which seems at first sight to keep the traditional division between the arts of trivium and quadrivium, stresses in particular the importance of the discipline of rhetoric and the art of poetry. On rhetoric, Patrizi declares that it is the most apt discipline for a civil society, retaining the classical distinction between three fields or types of application - the 'deliberativum', the 'demonstrativum' and the 'iudicialem' - and considering their uses in the republic. He underlines the importance of good oratory for a free city by reminding the reader of the greatness achieved by Venice thanks to its skilled orators, and maintains that their ability consists in combining linguistic skills with the wisdom that derives from philosophical and literary studies.⁷⁴ In practice these characteristics had been embodied in Cicero, who represents for Patrizi and his source Quintilian the most excellent of all orators: 'Nam [Cicero] vim Demosthenis, copiam Platonis, iucunditatem Isocratis - ut Quintilianus refert - complexus est, ut eius nomen non unius oratoris, sed totius eloquentiae habeatur, (II, 4, p. 72).75 A corollary to the

73 De Inst. Reip., II, 1, p. 59. Patrizi also notes that public teachers should be put in place for those who cannot afford private tutors.

75 The source is Quintilian, Inst. Or. X, I, 108-9.

Pontano, De sermone libri sex, edited by Lupi and Risicato, Book I, chapters 1, 8, (pp. 3-4, 9). In addition see Seigel, Rhetoric and Philosophy, pp. 3-30; Trinkaus, 'Themes for a Renaissance Antrophology', pp. 85-86.

On Venetian orators Patrizi says: 'Sed apud Venetos quorum Respublica iustitia, imperio, opulentia et civium splendorem, non modo in omni Italia, verum in universo quoque terrarum orbe praeclarissima haberetur, doctissimi quique in arte dicendi ex omni nobilitate causas dicunt, ex quibus diuturna exercitatione id assequuntur, ut disertissimi in eorum republica quamplurimi evadant' (*De Inst. Reip.*, II, 4, pp. 71-72).

treatment of oratory is a chapter on dialectics, which Patrizi distinguishes using the images - contained in Cicero's *De finibus* - of the palm of the hand (fuller and more extensive) for the former and of the fist (concise and tight) for the latter. ⁷⁶ In fact he treats dialectics as of secondary importance compared to rhetoric, considering it more as a mean of logical training than as a fully autonomous discipline in its own right, without the clear social role played by rhetoric.

As for poetry, Patrizi asserts that it occupies an important place in the humanist curriculum. As observed by Weinberg (A History of Literary Criticism, I, 252) Patrizi considers poetry in the general framework of the state and for its the moral effects on the young, as does Plato in the Republic. However in De Inst. Reip. Patrizi confutes Plato's exclusion of poets from his republic because of the false. deceitful nature of their writings, and embraces, in direct opposition, the Ciceronian idea, formulated in the oration *Pro Archia*, that poets are gifted with extraordinary. almost divine minds and are therefore worthy of a particularly important place within social and political institutions.⁷⁷ In this respect Patrizi follows closely the line of defence of poetry adopted in the previous century by Petrarch and Boccaccio, and asserts that the poets of antiquity shed light on certain false beliefs about the gods.⁷⁸ At the same time, however, he also celebrates poetry in the terms proposed by Salutati and then Vergerio, who developed Petrarch's and Boccaccio's line of argument further, and added the most common features of Quattrocento treatises on education: first, the conviction that poetry is an essential part of education, and second, that poetry must be pursued by those who are active in society and engaged in public life.⁷⁹ From the former follows a practical consequence, that particular

⁷⁶ De Inst. Reip., II, 5, pp. 73-74, which is taken from Cicero, Fin. II, 17-18.

Note Plato, Rep. VIII 568A-D, X 595A-B, X 607B-C and Cicero, Pro Archia VIII, 18. On the debate about poetry and the humanist revival of the study of poetry see Robey, 'Humanist views'; Ronconi, Le origini delle dispute; Tateo, 'Retorica' e 'poetica'; Vasoli, 'L'estetica dell'Umanesimo'.

See Petrarca, Invectiga contra medicum, in Opere latine, edited by Bufano, II,

⁷⁸ See Petrarca, *Invectida contra medicum*, in *Opere latine*, edited by Bufano, II, 817-981 (Book I, p. 836) and Boccaccio, *Genealogia deorum gentilium*, edited by Romano, II, pp. 679-783 (Books XIV and XV).

⁷⁹ Salutati, *Epistolario*, edited by Novati, III (1896), 539 -543 (Letter to Giovanni

attention has to be paid to the authors taught at school. From the latter derive two important ideas: in the first place that poetry is in many aspects linked with rhetoric, for which it provides elegance of expression and ornament, and secondly that poetry has an important function in the formation of the citizen because it records great deeds, instills moderation, and incites to the pursuit of the virtue. The poets of antiquity recommended by Patrizi are chosen on the basis of these criteria, although in addition to their stylistic excellence and to their moral content, they also have to fulfil the purpose of entertainment. The greatest of all, Homer and Virgil, are called heroic poets; Terence follows, recommended for his great culture and his ability to express with the utmost elegance highly moral subjects; finally, the elegiac poets Callimachus, Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid, and the lyric poets Pindar, Alcaeus and Sappho amongst the Greeks and Horace and Catullus amongst the Romans.

A few words should be spent finally on the discipline of philosophy, which Patrizi divides into two parts, moral philosophy and natural history. Moral philosophy invariably formed part of the humanist curriculum, and *De Inst. Reip*. reiterates the reasons for this. Through the study of philosophy man learns to know his own being, and human nature in general, and at the same time he learns to search for and cultivate virtue. The Socratic formula 'nosce te ipsum' is quoted to underline how the knowledge of man is the essential condition to proceed to the study of physics, natural history, and the whole world which surrounds the individual. Such studies, if properly cultivated, will bring the young 'ad bene vivendum'. In other words, having established the close link between culture and moral education, the aim of earthly happiness can begin to be pursued.

The final part of the treatment of the formation of the young deals with physical exercise. This, if practiced in moderation and alongside exercise of the

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da S. Miniato), and IV(1905), 205-40 (Letter to Giovanni Dominici)). On Salutati's views on poetry, see Garin, *L'educazione in Europa*, pp. 87-89.; Robey, 'Humanist views', pp. 11-13. Vergerio, *De ingenuis moribus*, esp. pp. 124. On Vergerio: Robey, 'Humanist views', pp. 14-15, 19, 22-25; *Idem*, 'Virgil's Statue at Mantua', pp. 183-89.

mind helps to form and maintain a healthy and robust body, able to withstand physical strain and ready for action. Patrizi admits that the young wrestle, run, throw javelin and swim for their own sake, but goes on to relate these physical activities to military training, thus linking this aspect of education to a fundamental aspect of the state, its military organization. In this respect Patrizi contrasts with the majority of classical sources, which, with the exception of Plutarch and Plato, opposed bodily exercise. Such physical training should therefore complement, not substitute the 'praestantia animi', or excellence of mind, the primary end of the literary disciplines of the civic man.

iv) Civic Virtue, Nobility, and the Active Life

There are other themes in *De Inst. Reip*. which appear with a certain frequency in the political treatises of the humanists and their successors: the celebration of virtue, or rather of civic virtues, and the importance of the active life and participation of the citizen in political life. They are connected with the treatment of education and instruction, since the latter is concerned not only with the formation of the cultured individual through the acquisition of wisdom, but also with the formation of the virtuous individual who possesses and cultivates civic virtues and who displays them in the arena of civil society.

For Patrizi, virtue and active civic life each constitute the indispensable condition for the other's existence. As a consequence, in the fifth book of the *De Inst. Reip.*, which is entirely devoted to the analysis of virtue, issues of a moral character constantly mingle with considerations regarding the political sphere. For example, he defines the citizen's principal characteristic as *urbanitas*, or *civilis calliditas*, and he insists, echoing a Ciceronian notion, on his moral righteousness:

Singulae namque virtutes civili viro conveniunt, mores vero optimi ac

⁸⁰ See Plutarch, De liberis educandis XI and Plato, Rep. III, 403D-E.

probatissimi et decoris illud ... civilis disciplinae proprium est. Quocirca male morati homines, quique in verbis aut in gestu minus apti sunt, inurbani vocantur, quippe qui ruri potius educati, quam in urbibus esse videantur. (V, 1, p. 201)81

He then defines what constitutes virtue, beginning with a reference to the classical tripartite division of the soul into intelligence, reason, and passion and the conviction that man must exercise his reason, thus partaking of divine nature, to know himself and the reality around him, as well as to control his appetites and avoid desire for anything immoral or improper.82 Following the pattern to be found in Cicero, and Aristotle, Patrizi expounds on the definition of virtue as possession of the four cardinal virtues of strength, temperance, prudence, and justice, and their related ramifications, and on the avoidance of the vices which constitute their opposite. 83 As mantained by the Stoics, these four virtues, if properly pursued and cultivated by the civic man, lead him to true happiness.84 However, this definition is not universal: the treatment of virtue throughout book five is concerned with the role of the citizen who participates generally in the life of the community, with respect for the law and honest activity, but who does not serve in a position of responsibility in the republic. Whilst virtue is an essential characteristic of the human being and of the citizen, through which he reaches his full excellence, it is defined differently for those who govern and for the rest by Patrizi, who closely follows the distinction formulated by Aristotle between the ruling group and the rest of the citizenry:

⁸² De Inst. Reip., V, 2, p. 205. See Plato, Rep. IV, 436-442; Cicero, De Officiis II, 17-18; Diogenes Laertius, Vitae Phil. VIII. 30.

See, in particular, Cicero, Inv. II, 159-165; De Officiis I, 15-24; Aristotle, Nic. Eth., Books III-VI.

⁸⁴ Patrizi quotes the Stoics, who mantain that 'solam virtutem satis esse ad bene beateque vivendum' (*De Inst. Reip.*, V, 2, p. 208). Source is Cicero, *Tusc.* VI, 18.

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It should be added that Patrizi also distinguished between the definition of 'civis' in legal terms and the more generic one of 'civilis vir' (*De Inst. Reip.*, V, 1, p. 202), but he subsequently uses the two terms interchangeably. On the definition of the latter, as a men who possesses virtue and who is at the service of the republic see also Viroli, 'Machiavelli and the Republican Idea', p 165.

... considerandum erit civitatem omnem duplici hominum genere constare. Eorum in primis qui publicam personam gerant, quique Reipublicae rationem habentes, obliti commodorum suorum, aliis omnibus legitime imperent, ipsi autem solis legibus obtemperent. Caeteri omnes privati cives sint aequali inter se iure viventes, qui superiores illos, qui magistratum gerunt, concives suos tunc esse arbitrentur, sed Principes, aut Reges, vel potius numen geniumque Reipublicae. (III, 1, p. 106)85

Despite repeated exhortations to the individual citizen to devote all his energies and gifts to the service of society in order to mantain order, Patrizi has a limited view of the perfectibility of the individual, and of his striving for what is good and just. The perfect functioning of the state requires moral constraints on the individual's role and function within it. In this Patrizi departs strikingly from the enthusiastic and optimistic celebration of civic and human virtue again and again reiterated in the writings of the humanists.86 Indeed in asserting that if citizens were solely motivated by good sentiment and devoted themselves only to the search for what is good and just, no prescription of norms would be necessary, and that only the collective structure can compensate for the failings of individuals, Patrizi discloses a lack of unconditional faith in human nature. He is not alone in this view, however: Bracciolini had composed a work on the misery of the human condition in which he had stated that human nature is weak and mankind as a whole suffers due to its moral weakness and the conditions of life.⁸⁷ In *De Inst. Reip.* such pessimism is reflected in the moral distinction between rulers and the non-governing citizenry, and in the view that efforts at correction must be aimed primarily at the latter, since in the aristocratic republic it constitutes a majority that can overturn the imposed order. By contrast, the virtues required by governors are set out with striking economy. They ed. E.R. LEONARD (Pedua, 1975)

85 The source is Aristotle, *Pol.* 1276b16 - 1277 b31.

One example is Giannozzo Manetti's *De dignitate et excellentia hominis*, composed around 1452. Available in the English translation by Bernard Muchland (New York, 1966).

⁸⁷ Bracciolini, De Miseria Humanae Conditionis, in Opera Omnia, I (1964), 88-131: 'Sed ut eloquar, quos sentio, sedem ac fundamentum vitae mortalium existimo miseriam esse.' (p. 104). For an analysis of the theme of human dignity in the Renaissance, see Garin, L'Umanesimo italiano, pp. 69-74; Trinkaus, 'In Our Image of Likeness', I, esp. pp. 171-321; later summarized as 'The Renaissance Idea of the Dignity of Man' in his The Scope of Renaissance Humanism, pp. 342-63.

are the four cardinal virtues once more, in the following order: justice, because laws must rule in the republic; strength/which Patrizi links etymologically to 'vir' as the virtue most suited to man;88 prudence, and temperance.

A colophon to the celebration of virtue is the belief repeated persistently in De Inst. Reip. that morally correct conduct offers the possibility of honour and glory, of setting oneself apart through merit from one's fellow-citizen.⁸⁹ In this, Patrizi aligns himself with the humanist idea that the desire from fame and glory in the secular world is not only legitimate but, indeed, the apt reward for the man of blameless manners and devotion to the common good. The idea, as already mentioned, had been rejected by scholastic philosophy, above all Aquinas, but had been taken up by several authors before Patrizi, including Petrarch, who had revived the classical ideal of earthly fame formulated primarily by Aristotle and Cicero. 90 Patrizi diverges slightly but significantly from the standard position in seeing the possibility of reward, and its opposite punishment, being used as an instrument of government to incite individuals to act well and to direct their efforts to the common good:

Duo numina in primis veneranda in Republica Democritus asseruit, sine quibus in civili societate nihil bene aut iuste agitur: praemium scilicet ac poenam. Optimi namque cives et bene de republica meriti muneribus honoribusque honestandi sunt: deterrimi autem omni foeditatis exemplo adficiendi(I, 6, pp. 33-34)

⁸⁸ De Inst. Reip., III, 1, p.108. Source is Cicero, Tusc. II, 18, 43: 'Appellata est enim ex viro virtus.'

⁸⁹ See for example, De Inst. Reip. I, 3, p. 18: 'In civitatibus namque bene moratis praemia proposita sunt his qui virtute aliqua excellunt, et gloria, et honore honestantur'. De Inst. Reip., V, 7, p. 219: 'Atqui praeter alios omnes illos honore afficiat, qui virtutibus praediti sunt, et studio bonarum artium fulgent, quo enim quisque maxime doctrina excellit, ita maxime honore ac gloria honestandus est.'

Aquinas, De Regno, in Opuscola philososphica, edited by Spiazzi, I, 8, p. 265: ... pertinet enim ad boni viri officium ut contemnat gloriam, sicut alia temporalia bona'. Petrarca, Collatio Laureationis, in Opere latine, II, 1255-83: '...glorie appetitum non solum communibus hominibus, sed maxime sapientibus et excellentibus viris insitum; hinc est quod, cum multi ex philosophis de contemptu glorie disputent, nulli tamen aut pauci, qui eam vere contemnerent sunt reperi,...' (p. 1266). The sources are Cicero, Tusc. I, 38-39 and Aristotle, Nic. Eth. 1123b35 -1124a1-3.

Another issue which reappears frequently in humanist writings is the question of the nature of true nobility. As mentioned above, in Buonaccorso da Montemagno's De nobilitate (1428) and Poggio's De nobilitate (1440), nobility was not seen as derived from antique lineage or wealth, as it had been in scholastic authors such as Aegidius Romanus and Bartolo, as well as in Aristotle, but from virtus and probitas.91 These were not however, the first writers to take up this issue. Dante in the Convivio, to quote one example, had already asserted that true nobility is to be found where virtue is.92 On this issue Patrizi diverges considerably from the contemporary humanist view. First of all his interest in the topic is based on its relevance to its specific context in De Inst. Reip., where he subdivides the population into three orders, each with their own characteristics: the nobility in the traditional sense of the so-called 'antiqua generis dignitas', with their illustrious forebears; an intermediary group covering those working at honest worthy activities; and a large third group of those whose only duty is to obey those who govern.⁹³ Patrizi also seems to allow considerable flexibility in these definitions by incorporating moral criteria, thus apparently equating nobility with the practice of virtue: on other words, a member of the lowest group can, through personal merit, be taken as equal to the nobility, and, similarly, membership of the latter group depends on the loyalty of the individual to the virtue and upright customs of his ancestors.⁹⁴ However, when Patrizi expresses his own convinction about what constitutes true nobility, it becomes clear that his distinction of the individuals into three different classes is not determined by moral

Buonaccorso da Montemagno, De nobilitate, in Prosatori latini, pp. 139-165: 'Ego vero non [in] aliena gloria aut in falsis fortunae bonis, sed in propria nostra animi virtute hominis nobilitatem esse existimo' (p. 142) and Bracciolini, De nobilitate, in Opera omnia, I, 64-83: 'Quare soli virtuti palma nobilitatis tribuenda est' (p. 80). Aegidius Romanus, De regimine principum (Venice, 1473), I.4.5; Bartolo da Sassoferrato, In II Partem Digesti Novi Commentaria, in Opera Omnia, VI, 114-17.

⁹² Dante, *Convivio*, edited by Busnelli and Vandelli, II, pp. 227-28: 'Se nobilitate vale e si stende piú che vertute, [vertute] piú tosto porcederà da essa. La qual cosa ora in questa parte pruova, cioè che nobilitate piú si stenda; e rende essemplo del cielo, dicendo che dovunque è vertute, quivi è nobilitate (IV. IXI. 3-4).

⁹³ De Inst. Reip., VI, 1, pp. 244-45.

⁹⁴ De Inst. Reip., VI, 1, p. 244.

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criteria only. He notes that even amogst the philosophers the term's meaning is ambiguous. Some consider noble those of senatorial rank, others relate it exclusively to origins, and still others to wealth and property, excellence of mind, or power. None of these definitions, taken alone, encompasses Patrizi's notion of 'nobilitas'. For him, whilst virtue is significant to a degree, nobility coincides ultimately with the traditional aristocracy, which has the political function of assuming the government of the republic: 'Antiquiore genere qui censentur, si virtute ac moribus praestant, longe tutius Rempublicam curam gerunt, quam qui novi in Rempublicam acciti sunt' (VI, 1, p. 246). For the purposes of admission to public office virtue can in exceptional cases supplement or compensate for a lack of nobility in someone of lowly birth: 'Ex hoc [tertio] ordine, pauci admodum ad Reipublicae munera admittendi sunt. Et hi quidem qui admittuntur, eligendi sunt virtute adeo praestantes, ut generis obscuritas honestae vitae splendore illustretur.'(VI, 1, p. 250).

Yet another humanistic motif dear to Patrizi is the celebration of activity and work, and from here derives the treatment of some economic principles. As already mentioned above, in the section on modern criticism, Sarri (esp. pp. 125-32), among others, has already underlined this aspect of Patrizi's treatise. In *De Inst. Reip*. approval of activity is linked to its converse, the disapproval of idleness; inactivity threatens the stability of the state and work is of extreme utility to the state. ⁹⁵ The various categories of workers and their admission into the republic are judged on this criterion of usefulness to the state. First, agricultural workers are celebrated in a similar way to that found in Cato, Cicero and Varro: through their work, the citizens are provided with basic goods, and thanks to their healthy physical activity they can be employed in moments of necessity as soldiers, while merchants and artisans are admitted to the city only insofar as they operate honestly and not for money alone. ⁹⁶

⁹⁵ De Inst. Reip., I, 8, p. 41: '...nihil deterius esse ocio, nihilque laudabilius industria'. Similarly, Bracciolini, De nobilitate, p. 75: 'Virtus enim in actione consistit...'.

⁹⁶ On merchants see De Inst. Reip., III, 11, p. 137, and I, 8, p. 41; and cf. Cicero,

Approval of architects, painters, sculptors and engravers is unconditional, both for esthetic reasons - they embellish the city with their works in private and public - and because of the moral function of their art - through reproductions of great, heroic achievements in their fields, they incite citizens to glory and virtue.⁹⁷ If economic activity is encouraged, however, the wealth deriving from it is not unconditionally praised. Here again the positions of other humanists are relevant: Bracciolini, Palmieri, and Alberti had displayed enthusiasm for wealth and personal riches, asserted that money is the basis of the commonwealth, and condemned avarice because it prevents individuals from gaining honour and fame. 98 Patrizi shares their view only in part, depending on whether he is dealing with private or public wealth. On the former, Patrizi invites citizens to a frugal and sober lifestyle, founded on mediocritas, the Aristotelian mean between extremes such as luxury and avarice. which are anathema to humanitas.⁹⁹ He sees great wealth as a source of corruption, and thus of potential instability and disorder: 'Male enim de virtutibus merentur qui pecuniae intenti, lucelli potius quam honestatis rationem habere volunt' and 'neminem posse et opibus et virtuti simul indulgere' (I, 8, p. 44). The practice of virtue is thus linked to work, not for idealistic reasons but for the practical, political need to avoid internal disruption. In this respect, Patrizi seems to move closer to the position of Machiavelli and Guicciardini who saw that excessive desire of private wealth was a threat to liberty and to civic virtue. This conviction about money

De Officiis I, 151.

⁹⁷ See the following chapters of *De Inst. Reip*: I, 9 'De aedificandi ratione, quam architecturam dicimus, et de eius inventoribus, ac septem mundi spectaculis'; I, 10 'De pictura, et caelatura, ed de earum inventoribus, et qui in illis profecerint'.

⁹⁸ Bracciolini, De avaritia, in Opera Omnia, I, pp. 1-31; Palmieri, Della vita civile, Book IV, esp. pp. 149-150; Alberti, I libri della famiglia, Book III, esp. pp. 160-61.

⁹⁹ See the following chapters of the *De Inst. Reip*.: V, 8 'De modestia vitae, de secunda mensa'; V, 9 'De utilitate rei rusticae, de conviviis'; V, 10 'Sumptus omnes comprimendos esse; de impensis funerum et sepulchrorum modus'. See also Aristotle, *Pol.* 1295a35 - 1295b6.

Machiavelli's *Discorsi*, III, Chapters 16, 25 (pp. 222-23, 231-32) where he sees wealth as corrupting and poverty as preferable; Guicciardini, *Discorso di Logrogno*, in *Opere*, edited by Lugnani Scarano, I (1970), pp. 247-96 (esp. pp. 250-51)

and wealth, far from being anachronistic as has been asserted by Sarri, reveals Patrizi's concrete vision of the historical and social reality around him with its risk of corruption.¹⁰¹

Patrizi's position on public wealth is quite different. This must be greater than private riches since the state must provide for the population and rent land to those who own none. He underlines the importance of the Treasury, saying: 'Sunt enim pecuniae nervi civitatis, sine quibus vix contineri potest' (III, 9, p. 130) and 'est reliquenda Reipublicae opulentia, non modo ad publicum usum, verum ad pericula ac bella esterna '(VI, 3, p. 260). He also recommends that taxes should not be too high, that their collection should be supervised, that any circulation of public money should be accounted for and that coinage should be strictly controlled. 103

v) Military Matters

The economic health of a state is of particular importance in the event of war, when the population must be supported and the armed forces paid for by the republic. Patrizi is deeply concerned about the problem of the security of the State and asserts that it mainly depends on the efficiency of the military organization. As observed by Skinner, *The Foundations*, I, 163, 173, such concern derives from his awareness of the neglect of military training in contemporary Italy. He dwells on the subject both in the *De Inst. Reip.* and in *De Regno*: he is in favour of a citizen militia and underlines the dangers of the use of mercenaries, doubting their fidelity and reliability, by mainly referring to the analysis of military value to be found in

mantains that the appetite for wealth diverts men from the quest for true glory and virtue. See also Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment*, pp. 134-35; F. Gilbert, *Machiavelli and Guicciardini*, p. 175.

¹⁰¹ Sarri, p. 129: '[Patrizi]... è fuori dal suo tempo, almeno in questo, perchè è difficile trovare un altro che si pronunci come lui così recisamente tanto all'avidità di guadagno quanto ai mezzi illeciti per conseguirlo.'

¹⁰² De Inst. Reip., IV 1, p. 142 and VI, 2, pp. 253-256.

¹⁰³ De Inst. Reip., III, 9, p. 130 and passim.

Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*.¹⁰⁴ Bayley, in his discussion of this issue in *War and Society*, places Patrizi alongside other Quattrocento writings such as Bruni's *De militia*, Biondo's *De militia*, Palmieri's *Della vita civile*, Alberti's *Momus seu de principe*, and Platina's *De principe*, which all share his views on mercenaries and which all look forward to Machiavelli's treatment of the topic.¹⁰⁵ What Patrizi adds to this subject in the *De Regno* will be seen below.

The first reference in *De Inst. Reip*. to these matters is in the discussion of agriculture and its importance for the city. ¹⁰⁶ Amongst the various arguments in favour of agrarian activity, and one of the most telling for Patrizi, is that which sees rural workers as potential soldiers, not only for their more robust physique in comparison to city youths, but also because they are superior to foreign soldiers 'fide ac diligentia' (I, 7, p. 36). For pragmatic reasons, Patrizi maintains that they should be paid, so that they can live in more ease in peacetime and the governing group could count on them with confidence in the case of war. ¹⁰⁷ The remuneration of this group of soldiers, which is a significant part of the armed forces of the republic, does not carry with it the risks of employing mercenaries, such as a possible lack of preparation and the reliance only on money for their loyalty:

Quid quod multitudini credendum est, cuius fides semper ex fortuna pendet, et hominibus plerumque mixtis ex varia gentium colluvione, quos nulla patriae

¹⁰⁴ Aristotle, *Nic. Eth.* 1115a25 - 1117b23.

See Bayley, War and Society, pp. 219-315 (on Patrizi pp. 231-34, although he does not mention De Regno). On this theme in Machiavelli see Mallet, 'The Theory and Practice of Warfare'. See also the following primary texts: Bruni, De militia, in Bayley, War and Society; pp. 360-97; Biondo, Borso, sive de militia et iurisprudentia, in Scritti inediti e vari, edited by Nogara, pp. 130-44; Palmieri, Della vita civile, pp. 155-57; Alberti, Momus seu de principe, edited by Martini, pp. 69-70; Platina, De principe, edited by Ferraù, p. 162; Machiavelli, Il Principe, in Tutte le opere, pp. 255-98, Chapters 12-24, pp. 275-80; Discorsi, II, Chapters 16-18, pp. 166-73; Dell'arte della guerra, in Tutte le opere, pp. 299-398, Book I, pp. 302-17 on the citizen army.

¹⁰⁶ See De Inst. Reip., I, 7.

Not all the humanists agree on this point. Biondo, for example, points out that in Roman history the payment of the army had turned out to be extremely damaging because a stipendiary professional army had focused its attention on its commanders and was prepared to follow them in overturning the republic itself. See Bayley, War and Society, pp. 224-25.

pietas, nullus Dei metus, nulla religio retinet, sed sola stipendi mercede allicit? (IX, I, p. 353)

A well organised militia must be made up of a limited number of expert soldiers, motivated by virtue:

Et hoc in primis praecipiendum censeo longe pluris faciendam esse eruditam exertitatamque paucitatem, faciliusque victoria potiri quam indoctam ac belli expertem multitudinem, quae cum caedi exposita est, minima quaeque formidat, et fugam citius quam gloriam meditatur. ... Cum vero cogitabimus animorum et fortitudinem corporum exercitationem, et scientiam rei publicae, plane fatebimur generosam pertinacemque virtutem omnia superare.(IX, 4, p. 378)

The best example of this is provided by the Roman soldiers who 'sola virtute et militari disciplina, universum orbem terrarum vicerunt' (IX, 4, p. 378). Patrizi relies on a late Latin source on Roman military organization, Vegetius's *Epitoma Rei Militaris*, to prescribe norms for recruitment and training of citizens: recruitment must be amongst the young who are disposed to high levels of exercise, and preferably amongst those from temperate regions. They must be of medium stature and well proportioned; they must look ready for warfare. The treatment is concluded thus: '...complures ex iuvenibus nostris bellica disciplina erudiendos esse, tum ut Rempublicam tueantur omni tempore, tum ne in bellorum difficultate omnia peregrino ac venali militi credere cogamur' (IX, 4, p. 385).

Another important aspect of the organization of the army lies in the assignment of its high command to a private citizen. Patrizi undelines that when the 'imperator' is in control of the army for an indeterminate period, he has in his hands an extremely powerful tool which can threaten the independence of the republic: '[Perpetua dignitas] tyrannis occasionem praebet, ut de Julio Caesare dicere possumus, qui perpetuus Dictator Rempublicam invasit' (II, 5, p. 119). To avoid this risk, the military leader in the republic must hold the office for a year only, with the title of

They should be of handsome face, straight body, drawn-back neck, alert eyes, wide forehead, broad chest, large shoulders, small stomach, thin calves. All these rules on recruitment and military training are in *De Inst. Reip.*, IX, 4, pp. 378-85, passim and are based on the first book of Vegetius's treatise.

consul, and must exercise his power with due respect for his soldiers. In the recruitment of the militia, he must pay very careful attention to the number and age of the soldiers, must not be unjust towards them and must prepare in times of peace a force poised to intervene at the outbreak of war. ¹⁰⁹ He declares with Cicero that the military commander must possess 'scientiam rei militaris, virtutem, authoritatem, foelicitatem' (IX, 2, p. 361), ¹¹⁰ and he adds 'Virtutes imperatoriae sunt, labor in negociis, fortitudo in periculis, industria in agendo, celeritas in conficiendo, consilium in providendo' (IX, 2, p. 361). ¹¹¹ This is a description of the ideal 'imperator' in the face of the reality of the time and the difficulty of finding citizens worthy of the role of military chief. Thus Patrizi quietly admits that it may prove necessary to engage an able foreign commander rather than an ill-qualified citizen, justifying the frequent practice of his time through the force of circumstance. ¹¹²

DE REGNO ET REGIS INSTITUTIONE

i) <u>Composition</u>

De Regno is made up of nine books, like De Inst. Reip., and each of the first six is prefaced by a dedicatory proem to the work's patron, Alfonso of Aragon, Duke of Calabria. The only clues to the date of the treatise's composition are to be found in the general proem and in the prefaces. In the proem, after a sequence eulogising

¹⁰⁹ De Inst. Reip., III, 5, pp. 119-20.

¹¹⁰ Cicero, Pro Lege Manilia X, 28.

¹¹¹ Cicero, Pro Lege Manilia XI, 29.

¹¹² De Inst. Reip., IX, 3, p. 371: 'Quocirca nihil rarius ex omni hominum genere, perfecto Imperatore inveniri potest, qui si nusquam in civitate invenitur, accersendus est aliunde. Melius est enim cum peregrino Imperatore optime pugnare, quam cum cive periclitari.'

Skinner, *The Foundations*, I, 117, wrongly asserts that Patrizi dedicated the treatises to Sixtus IV.

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the glories of the Aragonese dynasty in general, and Kings Alfonso and Ferdinand in particular, Patrizi goes on to enumerate the military adventures of the Duke: his victory over the Florentines at Poggio Imperiale, in September 1479; and the siege of Otranto in which Alfonso's intervention in September 1481 forced the Turks to withdraw. The latter date is most often given as the *terminus post quem* for the completion of the work (Bassi, pp. 414-15; Battaglia, p.102, n.2); however, in the proem to the second book, Patrizi recalls the Duke's intervention in support of Ferrara against the forces of Venice, a conflict which took place between 1482 and 1484, from which it is apparent that the work was completed after the latter date. As for the *terminus ante quem* of its composition, we only have his own words in the general preface: 'Novum et admiratione fortasse dignum plerisque videri poterit, quod qui paulo ante praecepta civilis institutionis novem tradiderim voluminibus, nunc de regno scribere aggrediar...' (II, Proemium, p. 35v). Since *De Inst. Reip.* was dedicated to Sixtus IV, elected Pope in 1471, Patrizi must have begun *De Regno shortly* after that date.

Just as in *De Inst. Reip.*, Patrizi invoked the protection of Sixtus IV, in *De Regno*, he appeals to Alfonso, and for the same reasons. With a guarantor as illustrious as Alfonso the treatise will be able to withstand its inevitable detractors and achieve the success it merits. However, while in the case of the earlier work its potential detractors were his fellow-citizens of Siena, here Patrizi's principal fear is the accusation that he has abjured his preference for republican government in writing on monarchies, an accusation he answers at the start of the first book, as will be seen below. But the choice of subject-matter itself, and of Alfonso as dedicatee and guarantor, is not surprising, given that Patrizi had been Bishop of Gaeta for over ten years and was in close contact with Aragonese circles at the time of composition. 115

 ¹¹⁴ De Regno, 'Ad inclytum ac celeberrimum Calabriae Ducem Alphonsum Aragonium, Serenissimi Ferdinandi Regis primogenitum, Francisci Patricii Senensis, pontificis Caietani praefatio in libros De Regno ac regis Institutione', pp. 2v-3r.
 115 Bassi, p. 415, makes the improbable suggestion that the work was dedicated to

Bassi, p. 415, makes the improbable suggestion that the work was dedicated to Alfonso out of gratitude since, following the defeat of the Florentines at Poggio Imperiale, a new conspiracy in Siena led to the formation of a new *Monte*, the

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The heir to the Aragonese throne, one of the great hereditary monarchies of Eupore, and the only one in Italy, was the ideal dedicatee of this type of treatise which had indeed flourished in Naples amongst court men of letters such as Pontano, Carafa, and Maio. The latter were also closely related, as already note in the opening of this chapter, to the growing literature on princely government throughout Italy in the later Quattrocento, which set out to explain the general shift towards seigneurial forms of government of the time. ¹¹⁶ Finally, a possible literary motivation behind *De Regno* should not be discounted: Patrizi may have wished to balance and complete the nine books of *De Inst. Reip*. with nine books on monarchy in order to create an encyclopaedic work of political science.

The possible complementary relation between the two works is underlined by Patrizi's defence, in Book I, of his apparent shift of position from republic to monarchy. His first defence is to cite Plato who in Book IV of the *Republic* maintains that institutions of government take on different names depending on who governs and exercises power - if it is an individual it is called a kingdom, if several people, an aristocracy - but that wherever reason and virtue reign, the differences are negligible. He then lists several classical writers who had described both forms of government before him, and finally declares that the different forms of political institutions adopted by different peoples prove that preference for the republic or for monarchy is solely a product of custom. No form of government, he seems to affirm, is intrinsically superior to another.

As was seen earlier, the question of Patrizi's preference was not settled by his statements here, and has continued to worry his critics. The relationship between the two treatises, and thus their position in the long-standing debate over the political

Aggregati, made up in part of families of the *Monte dei Nove*, which had been excluded from government after the 1457 conspiracy. Battaglia, p. 102, n.3, notes the hypothesis.

¹¹⁶ Skinner, The Foundations, I, 117-28.

¹¹⁷ De Regno, I, 1, p. 5v. See Plato, Rep. IV and Cicero, De Rep. I, 42.

¹¹⁸ De Regno, I, 1, p. 5v. He mentions Pythagoras, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Xenocrates, Antisthenes, Cleantes.

orientation of fifteenth-century humanism, remains complex. However, at the very least, the content of *De Regno* makes clear the circumstances Patrizi envisages in which a monarchical state is justified, if not necessary, and his treatment takes its starting point from the question of origins.

ii) The Origin of the Monarchical State

Patrizi justifies the original formation of monarchical government through a similar analysis of the phases of development of civil society and the state as that found in $De\ Inst.\ Reip$., with the exception of one key difference in terminology. In $De\ Regno$, Patrizi explains that men realised they needed each other because no man is sufficient to himself, 'cum neminem sibi ipsi satis esse cernerent' (I, 10, p. 22v). The expression is taken directly from Aristotle, who says that man is not $\alpha \dot{\upsilon} \tau \dot{\alpha} \rho \kappa \eta \varsigma$ (i.e. self-sufficient), and thus needs the state which pre-exists the individual. The concept was also used by Aquinas to justify the state as a supporting structure for man during his earthly sojourn. Patrizi, following Cicero in his general approach, takes the Aristoteleian term without its Thomistic values, to explain in lay terms human collectivity and thus the origin of all states. 119

Princely government, Patrizi goes on to say, originates in the need for a leader to govern the community and to take action to safeguard the common good. It is a primary form of statehood, justified by the medieval principle of unitarism, which was in turn linked to the principle of *imitatio naturae*. Unitarism denotes the idea that the constitutive element of the universe is its unity, and that the cosmic order is determined by the subordination of the multiple to the single; the *imitatio naturae* implies that civil society imitates this unitary principle by creating monarchical forms. As noted by Curcio (p. 21), the principle of unitarism was frequently adopted by Renaissance scholars, especially when aiming to reduce to a single principle the

See Aristotle, Pol. 1253a12 and Aquinas, De Regno, Book I, Chapter 1, pp. 257-58.

multiple variety of religious and civic institutions. Patrizi puts it as follows:

Naturae ratio edocet omnem multitudinem ab uno incipere. Agit enim in omnibus natura quod optimum perfectumque sit secundum singulorum speciem. Sed unitas ipsa, quae dicitur $\mu \acute{o} \nu \alpha \varsigma$ eiusmodi est, ut ex ea omnia fieri, et in eam omnia resolvi vetres sapientes putaverint. [...] Hinc dicere per similitudinem possumus unitatem imperare, reliquos autem numeros parere. Proinde dicimus unius viri principatum longe praestantiorem esse quam multorum. (I, 13, p. 30v)

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There are strong echoes here of medieval sources, above all Aegidius Romanus, who asserts that 'multitudo ad uno procedit' and 'in unum aliquid reduci', but also Dante, who uses the same principles to explain the need for a single governing Emperor. 120

Having reiterated these founding principles, Patrizi goes on to locate the basis of princely power in the voluntary, communal decision, or act of *deditio*, to assign to a single leader the prerogatives and burdens the community has renounced for the sake of common interest:

Elegerunt igitur virum aliquem virtute, sermone, ac fortitudine praestantem, et probitate ac moribus integrum, qui quasi pastor omnium esset.... decreverunt eum publice alere, ut ab omni illiberali functione, quaestuosave industria immunis esset, ...(I, 11, p. 23r.)

The problem of the juridical foundations of the conferment and acquisition of sovereign power, and thus the legitimacy of the ruler, is adumbrated but not further developed by Patrizi here. In the tradition of political thought, this was a major source of concern, provoked in particular by the need to explain the validity of models of statehood not covered by Aristotle's tripartite definition in Book IV of the *Politics* of states as monarchies, aristocracies, or republics, each with its respective

¹²⁰ Aegidius Romanus, De regimine principum, III.2.3; Dante, Monarchia, edited by Ricci, Book I, Chapters 5-7, pp. 144-49: 'Et sicut sic habet pars ad totum, sic ordo ad totalem. Pars ad totum se habet sicut ad finem et optimum.... Et sic omnes partes prenotate infra regna et ipsa regna ordinari debent ad unum principem sive principatum, hoc est ad Monarcham sive Monarchiam' (pp. 147-48). The same principle is also in De Inst. Reip, I, 1, p. 11: 'Accedit praeterea imitatio naturae, ut quemadmodum Deum unum conditorem rerum omnium ac motorem cernimus, cuius imperio omnia reguntur, sic nobis aequum esse videatur, dicto unius excellentissimi principis audire atque obsequi.'

degenerate form. One early example of such an anomaly was the thirteenth-century rule of Ezzelino III da Romano, which the Paduan pre-humanist Albertino Mussato could only explain in terms of demonic intervention. The emergence of seigneurial and tyrannical regimes in the fourteenth century led to works such as Bartolo da Sassoferrato's *De Tyranno* (1355) and Salutati's *De Tyranno* (1400), which defined as tyrannies regimes where power was illegitimate (*ex defectu tituli*), or was exercised against the common good of the subjects (*ex parte exercitii*). 122 The latter type suggests a form of legitimation for the new 'signorie' in Italy based not so much on the means of acquisition of power, as on the management and effectiveness of the exercise of power, and thus opens the way for moral rather than strictly juridical analysis of regimes. It is this type of moral analysis which interests Patrizi more in *De Regno*, as is evident from his recourse to Aristotelian theory in distinguishing tyrants and demagogues from princes by way of their use of violence and their abuse of power. 123

It is important to note that, even if the discussion of the acquisition of power is limited, Patrizi does distance himself from the scholastic tradition that sees divine influence in the origins of states. His is a secular vision of power, as the exercise in management of tasks assigned voluntarily by the many to the single leader. Indeed, even the several references to the divine in the treatise, which might otherwise seem ambiguous, can in practice be explained with reference to this lay vision. For example, in a chapter entitled 'Reges hominibus a deo dari' (I, 11), Patrizi declares:

...concludendum esse videtur his rationibus atque exemplis imperium in homines, divina providentia divinoque nutu concessum esse, nec posse

Albertino Mussato, *Ecerinide*, edited by Padrin (Bologna, 1900). On Mussato see Pastore Stocchi, *Dante, Mussato e la tragedia*.

123 See De Regno, I, 3, pp. 8r-10v.

lettere scelte, pp. i-xlviii; Ercole, 'Il "Tractatus de Tyranno" di Colluccio Salutati', in his, Da Bartolo All'Althusio, pp. 219-389; Pastore Stocchi, 'Il pensiero politico degli umanisti', pp. 38-52. The treatise De Tyranno by Bartolo is in Opera Omnia, XI, 321-27. Salutati's De Tyranno is edited by Ercole in Salutati, Il Trattato 'De Tyranno', pp. 1-38.

quempiam iuste ac diuturno tempore imperare, nisi eum cui deus imperium permiserit. Proinde regem orandum poscendumque a deo esse arbitremur, ut prisci etiam putaverunt.(I, 11, p. 24v)

This follows a description of the widespread ancient belief that kings were gifts to the people from the gods, that their birth and education were divinely inspired and that after their deaths they should be worshipped as gods. Instead of dismissing such beliefs, Patrizi uses them to demonstrate the great dignity of such an office and the respect due to a sovereign. He wishes divine favour upon the monarch, and retains a near-divine vision of the role, thereby underlining its seriousness and, in a slightly different sense, encouraging the monarch's subjects to obey his orders. The same idea is referred to in the ninth book of the treatise where the relations between the ruler and his subjects are analysed, and Patrizi notes that the obedience of the latter to the former is founded on, among other things, an analogy between the sovereign and God. The context of the analysis, however, is a discussion of the means and conditions for the maintenance of power in the phase after its acquisition, and the analogy is only an illustration of one of those conditions, the people's obedience. 124

iii) Justifications of Monarchy

As noted above, Patrizi places particular emphasis on the moral dimension of monarchical government, and on the proper exercise of power. The first step in this direction comes in the form of an analysis of an historically defined example, that of Julius Caesar, which in the *De Regno* has the same function as the references to the historical republics of Rome and Venice in the *De Inst. Reip.*. Here, Patrizi tries to demonstrate the historical validity of monarchy: Caesar's was a lenient and just regime, founded out of civic discord to re-establish order:

¹²⁴ De Regno, IX, 2, pp. 296r-v: 'In primis considerare debent qui reguntur, nullum imperium regno esse praestantius, nullumque deo similius. ...Ut enim Deus in universo omnia movet, sic etiam rex in regno sibi permisso per similitudinem quandam efficere dicitur. ...Contenti idcirco cives esse debent, et regem venerari ac colere, eiusque documentis obsequi, consiliisque eius auscultare'.

Utilitas redigendae rei ad unius arbitrium apparuit Caesare rerum potito. Nam continuos seditiones intestinas compressit: pacem non modo urbi, verumetiam Italiae et universo terrarum orbi praebuit, instaurantes bella coercuit, leges, iudiciaque instituit, labescentem Romanum populum erexit, nutantem Italiam firmavit, civibus pepercit, inimicis indulxit... (I, 13, p. 32r)

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The terms Patrizi uses are identical to those used by Salutati in his De Tyranno: Both insist on the legitimacy of Caesar's power founded on the precise historical conditions of the moment - the factional conflicts within the state - and on the proper and beneficent use of that power.¹²⁵ In other words, Patrizi uses Caesar as a pragmatic demonstration of the validity of his theoretical assertion that the formation of monarchical rule coincides with the end of barbarism, in this instance represented by civic disorder. This positive assessment of Caesar stands in evident opposition to the condemnations of him offered by writers such John of Salisbury and Tolomeo da Lucca, who had mantained that Caesar's tyranny had destroyed republican liberty. Long before Patrizi, the opposite view, destined to generate much discussion, had been offered by Dante, who condemned Brutus and Cassius, traditionally the heroic defenders of the Roman republic, to the lowest 'girone' of the Inferno. 126 Salutati, who wrote *De Tyranno* following a request to explain Dante's position, declares the guilt of Caesar's assassins for moral reasons. Patrizi does so in similar terms: in contrast to the description of Caesar in De Inst. Reip. as a 'dictator', ¹²⁷ in De Regno he categorically condemns Brutus and Cassius, not for political motives, but for their moral betrayal of the trust and generosity of Caesar. 128

The recourse to the history of classical Rome links Patrizi's work to a common theme in fifteenth-century treatises on princely government: the need for security and the elimination of internal disputes or social disorder. Patrizi had already understood the central importance of these elements in his treatment of the republic, but whereas

125 Salutati, De Tyranno, III-IV, pp. 21-33.

¹²⁶ For a profile of Medieval views on Caesar see Pastore Stocchi, 'Giulio Cesare', in *Enciclopedia Dantesca*, III (Rome, 1971), 221-24.

See above, p. 188.
 De Regno, I, 13, pp. 32v-33r and VIII, 20, p. 291v.

in *De Inst. Reip*. he develops this understanding into a detailed normative set of rules to ensure the perfect functioning of the state, in *De Regno* he pays little attention to administration and instead identifies the monarchical state with the figure and abilities of the monarch himself. It follows that the only instrument available to Patrizi for enabling the maintenance or restoration of stability is the prescription of rules for the conduct of the ruler. The destiny of the state is determined by his moral conduct, and the efficiency of the state by his embodiment of virtue and providence in his dealings with his subjects.

The central role played by the moral justification of princely rule, evident at several points above, explains the emphasis placed by Patrizi on the education of the young prince, which can compensate for the natural failings of any one individual which could potentially be disastrous for the community and the state. A similar idea was already to be found in De Inst. Reip., where republican government is praised in just these terms, in that it can make up for the ethical defects of a humanly fallible ruler. Behind this lies the typically humanist theme of the individual's role in the world and his capacity to act upon the world, which returns with even more frequency in De Regno and with a more consistently negative tone. Man's irreducibly dual nature as potentially able both to control reality and to yield to events is suggested by phrases such as: 'Natura homines nec bonos nec malos gignit, aptos tamen ad bonum, proclives autem ad malum' (I, 7, p. 16r). More noteworthy still is the chapter 'De imbecillitate humanae conditionis, de mente a deo homini data' (I, 8), where man is declared to be the most wretched of all living beings, since he is transient and destined only to death, and since nature, more step-mother that/mother, allows him only such passions and ambitions which work to the detriment of his fellow-men:

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Huiusmodi opinionibus monemur ut imbecilitatis humanae conditionem considerare velimus, et cognoscere hominem, qui tanta se iactantia effert, ac tanta superbia exultat, dominatoremque orbis terrarum se esse putat, et dominum ac domitorem cunctorum animalium, animal esse mortale, caducum et omnium infirmissimum. (I, 8, p. 19r)

To make up for these failings, God provided man with the faculty of reason - or animus - to enable him to reclaim some dominion in the world: just as God is the ruler of the world, so every man is in himself a $\mu \iota \kappa \rho \circ \kappa \circ \sigma \mu \circ s$ and can therefore control his baser appetites through reason and direct his energies towards virtue, and thus happiness. The passage reads as follows:

Proinde deus optimus maximus... ut illum a naturae detrimentis mundique periculis muniret, mentem dedit sibi ipsi similem,... . Hoc divino animi munere affectus homo, iure optimo principatum orbis terrae sibi vendicat, et dominum domitoremque omnium animalium se esse iactat: patiturque etiam se μικροκόσμος id est parvum mundum vocari, cum ad similitudinem dei mundum regentis ipse etiam corpus regat.(I, 8, pp. 20v-21r)¹²⁹

Connected with this vision of man is the idea that the prince must embody as far as possible the positive characteristics of human nature. And this imperative explains why it is that many pages of *De Regno* celebrate humankind in tones of unconditioned optimism which seem flatly to contradict the darker passages referred to above. The treatise revolves around the subject *de optimo principe* and thus naturally evokes the worse sides of human nature only in passing. Nevertheless, several other themes confirm Patrizi's view of the limits set upon man's abilities. One of them is Patrizi's treatment of fortune.

The chapter entitled 'Fortunam in rege optandam esse, fatum, et fortuna quo intellectu differunt' (I, 12) devotes a great deal of space to the theme of fortune, and the role played in events by factors beyond human control. The discussion of the role of fortune, in apposition to virtue, was of course commonplace in Quattrocento writing. Alberti, in particular, in his famous preface to *I libri della famiglia*, had underlined the power of fortune, and then praised the capacity of human works to oppose her; Bracciolini, in *De Miseria Humanae Conditionis*, inveighed against

¹²⁹ The same idea is reiterated in Chapters 9 and 10.

On this topic see, for example, Patch, The Tradition of the Goddess Fortuna; M. Santoro, Fortuna, ragione e prudenza.

¹³¹ Alberti, I libri della famiglia, pp. 3-12. See also Garin, L'umanesimo italiano,

the malice of fortune; 132 Pontano's De fortuna had admitted that Fortune is a goddess who is sometime capable of contributing to the happiness of man; 133 and finally, Machiavelli, in the famous penultimate chapter of Il principe dedicated to the theme, asserts that although Fortune controls half of men's actions, she could nevertheless be strongly prepared for and opposed.¹³⁴ Patrizi expresses the view that to govern well, virtues must be accompanied by favourable fortune. 135 He takes the term in the sense of 'subitum et opinatum eventum eorum, quae accidunt' (I. 12. p. 25v), but refuses to cede to fortune either absolute jurisdiction over human affairs or the divine status attributed to her by the ancients. 136 On the contrary, he prefigures the Machiavellian view when he warns of the risks of falsely attributing to fate the failings of human error, 137 and asserts the ruler's capacity to intervene either through action and fortitude or through careful consideration of the possible causes of unexpected events.¹³⁸ Whereas the former is centred on the theme of action as a

pp. 74-80.

Bracciolini, De miseria humanae conditionis, p. 89: 'Verum non tam sunt haec (Admiranda, quam putantur vulgo, si quis fortunae in rebus humanis solitam licentiam atque imperium animadvertat, eiusque in dandis auferendisque opibus, principatinus, imperiis, regnis instabilitatem. Non enim nunc primum in evertendis civitatibus, gentibus, provinciis vires suas ostentat. Antiquus est illi ludis alta quassare, hunc extollere, hunc deprimere, regem ex servo, servum ex rege facere.'; see also Trinkaus, Adversity's Noblemen, pp. 84-92.

¹³³ Pontano, De fortuna, in Opera Omnia, I, 497-584 (pp. 519-543, 549).

¹³⁴ Machiavelli, *Il Principe*, Chapter 25, pp. 294-96. On Machiavelli's views about Fortune see Flanagan, 'The concept of Fortuna'; Orr, 'The Time Motif in Machiavelli', esp. pp. 198-208; Pitkin, Fortune is a Woman; Wittkower, 'Chance, Time and Virtue.

¹³⁵ De Regno, I, 12: 'Omnium humanarum actionum nulla difficilior est, quam bene hominibus imperare. Nam etsi virtutes omnes suppetant, in fortuna etiam optanda esse videtur,' (p. 25v); '... satisque sit si ultro fatemur veniam aliquam indulgendam esse his qui opinantur non modo virtutes omnes civiles ac militares regibus principibusve necessarias esse, sine quibus bene imperare non possint, verum prosperam etiam fortunam expetendam optandamque esse'(p. 27v).

¹³⁶ De Regno, I, 12, pp. 25v-26r.

¹³⁷ De Regno, I, 12, p. 28v: 'Videndum tamen est, ne culpae nostrae crimen in fortunae instabilitatem reiiciamus.'

¹³⁸ De Regno, VII, 3, p. 225v: 'Mentem enim bene stabilitam, et quae habitum virtutis iam sibi praescripsit, quaeque appetitum ratione regit, corporique dominatur, fortuna nunquam fangere aut in contrarium mutare poterit, sed stabilis firmaque permanebit, et nunquam a seipsa discedet, nec fortunae impetus ulterius in sortem saevire potest, quam ut illum invidia odioque accumulet, et laude, honore, gratia ac ac dignitate defraudet.' The example given of a man never brought low by fortune is

princely virtue, the latter points to a form of enquiry into human destiny which was widespread throughout the Renaissance, the recourse to astrology.

Views on astrology varied greatly, from Pontano's unconditioned approval to the polemical hostility of, for example, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's *Disputationes adversus astrologiam divinatricem*.¹³⁹ Patrizi's reference to this science is a sign of a way in which he combines a secular explanation of the necessity of the ruler's presence and actions with a more traditional view in which astrology, and thus the relations between terrestrial and celestial phenomena, played a major part. He declares that the king's actions are subject to the influence of the stars and that through the study of them, the course of events can be predicted and dangers averted. From which it follows that the king's actions are part of a natural necessity, and this again should secure for him the respect and obedience of his subjects:

Regna quoque, et imperia saepe a numinibus praedicuntur, et futuri reges, atque imperatores ab ipsis incunabulis, a maximis plaerunque periculis salvantur. ...Concludendum profecto erit, regios ortus atque obitus, et regia consilia, regiasque electiones deum semper praesidem habere. Parebunt idcirco regi cives omnes, quasi divino numini, et eos quos elegerit, honore et amore prosequentur, ut per illos etiam siquando usus sit, maiorem apud regem gratiam inire valeant. (IX, 9, pp. 308r-v)

Having set out the premises described in *De Regno* for a monarchical state and the reasons for Patrizi's assertion of the need for a single ruler, three further aspects of the treatise stand out as requiring further elucidation: educational principles and moral virtues, the relations between the prince and his subjects, and the role and nature of the military. In many ways the treatment of these themes differs little from

Hannibal. In insisting on the need to study the world around us to overcome fortune, Patrizi cites Cicero as saying: 'Multa efficit fortuna inopinata nobis, propter obscuritate/ignorationemque causarum.' (De Regno, I, 12, p. 25v.)

See, on Pontano's astrological thought as represented in his *De rebus coelestibus*, De Nichilo, *I problemi astrologici di Giovanni Pontano*; Tateo, *Astrologia e moralità* (esp. pp. 28-35); Trinkaus, 'The Astrological Cosmos,' Pico della Mirandola, *Disputationes adversus astrologiam divinatricem* is edited by Garin, 2 vols (Florence, 1946-52). On astrology in general see Cassirer, *Individuum und Kosmos*; Garin, *Lo zodiaco della vita*.

that found in *De Inst. Reip.*, where morality, virtue and education also played a fundamental part. The most apparent change is the move away from the concerns of the private citizen in relation to these topics, towards those of the public figure of the sovereign and his role as governor, from which the private sphere is excluded. Here Patrizi comes closest to the earlier tradition, already mentioned above, of the medieval *specula principis*, and in particular, as first pointed out by Chiarelli (p. 723), to the work of Aegidius Romanus, the first writer to pay attention to the prince as a personality, and not only to princely government as an institution. At the same time, the classical sources used by Patrizi, and the link between the treatise and a living monarch and contemporary politics, make for the inclusion of novel considerations, which, as will be seen, lack the religious dimension of the earlier tradition, and which struggle instead to resolve concrete, pragmatic and human problems of political conduct.

iv) Princely Education and the Moral Virtues

An important divergence in *De Regno* from the formulations of princely virtue in Aegidius Romanus comes with the attention paid to pedagogical norms.¹⁴¹ These determine the formation of the sovereign and his dignity as a ruler, and with this end in mind Patrizi leaves aside aspects of education which are trivial, since '...solum de his dicendum, quae sublimiora sunt, et supra civiles mores esse videntur et ad solos principes pertinent' (II, 6, p. 53r). The rules set out are, however, extremely detailed, consisting of a positive treatment of the disciplines, readings and activities necessary for a proper education, and a negative treatment of activities and studies to be avoided.

For the first seven years of the child's life, Patrizi maintains the importance of the mother as an educator, whilst in later phases, it is not so much the father as

On Aegidius Romanus see Born, 'The Perfect Prince', pp. 288-91.
See F. Gilbert, 'The Humanist Concept of the Prince', p. 462.