

nurses, praeceptors and pedagogues, all with the correct qualities, who must oversee the continuing education of the prince. On the *curriculum studiorum* Patrizi follows the same precepts as those found in *De Inst. Reip.*, but with differing emphases. First, he underlines the importance of grammar, that is Latin and Greek, which should be learned through reading Homer and Virgil. These authors are good models for their language, but also for their function as stimulators to heroic deeds and to the virtues of fortitude and courage:

Haec heroica lectio plurimum principibus ac regibus confert, quorum animi eriguntur sublimitate heroici carminis,... . Argumentorum enim excellentia et rerum magnitudo, quae carmine illo continetur, ad imitationem rerum regendarum [sic] lectores invitat, et promptiores alacrioresque reddit. (II, 8, pp. 55v-56r)

The role played by poetry here is greater than in *De Inst. Reip.*, but the terms of the argument in favour of the discipline are the same, presenting, as pointed out by Weinberg, a cross between Horatian notions of the pleasure and utility of poetry ~~with~~ *and /* Platonic moral criteria: poetry is the oldest of all disciplines and poets were the first to investigate the principles of moral philosophy, that is everything regarding virtue, customs and human emotions.¹⁴² The second discipline which is useful for all leaders, be they princes, kings or commanders, is history. Again, history has a more prominent role to play in the curriculum in *De Regno* than in that of the republican citizen in *De Inst. Reip.*. Patrizi concurs with Cicero who saw history as 'magistra vitae', since it leads to an understanding of great deeds and a knowledge of past events.¹⁴³ A passage praising Livy shows both the factual importance of his histories and also the value of their stylistic elegance.¹⁴⁴ Here Patrizi inserts the

¹⁴² *De Regno*, I, 2, p. 7v: 'Fuit enim poetica antiquissima disciplinarum omnium, quae literis cogitationes suas commendaverit, quaeque docuerit quaecunque ad veram virtutem, hominumque mores atque affectiones attinent, et ad res gerendas cum gratia ac iucunditate commisceret.' See Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism*, I, 86.

¹⁴³ See Cicero, *De Oratore* II, 36; *De Regno*, II, 10, p. 57v.

¹⁴⁴ *De Regno*, II, 10, p. 59r: 'Titus Livius vir summae facundiae fuit, et Latinae historiae palmam meruit, scripsitque plurima librorum volumina, summo ingenio, mirificaque elegantia, ...'.

study of oratory and moral philosophy as two closely linked and vital components in the prince's education. The characteristics of 'regia oratio' are dealt with in one entire chapter: following the example of Caesar's oratory, it must be 'brevis, dilucida, et iucunda ... cum verborum pondere et sententiarum gravitate' (II, 11, p. 60v).¹⁴⁵ Finally, the king's education must include mathematical sciences - arithmetic and geometry - which are useful for war, music and astronomy; and also physical exercise. The treatment of the latter shows a particularly stark division into positive and negative aspects: to be recommended are riding, running, swimming, hunting, and for recreation, ball games; to be avoided are games of chance and also chess. The king must also frequent learned men, must travel and generally broaden his knowledge of peoples and places as much as possible.

The relatively brief discussion of education finishes on these minor points, and the limited treatment of the subject here suggests that Patrizi all but took for granted the principles already expounded in *De Inst. Reip.* and here simply refined them for application to the king. Their importance remains paramount, however, as the following passage, celebrating fulsomely all the disciplines, demonstrates clearly:

Sed quando humanitatem plurimum adiuvat prima eruditio, et puerilis illa institutio, quam παιδείαν graeci vocant, idcirco pro institutione, doctrina, ac disciplina bonarum artium eleganter eam veteres usurpaverunt, et humanum pro erudito frequenter posuerunt, humanioresque litteras dixerunt. (VIII, 18, 286v)

The treatment of the virtues and moral gifts essential for the prince to exercise dominion over his kingdom comes only after an extended discussion of their opposites. They are to be 'quae ad dignitatem summi ducis pertinent, quaeque ad spem futuri regni spectant' (V, 'Praefatio', p. 150v), a point whose importance has been underlined by Skinner (*The Foundations*, I, 125), since Patrizi, following Aristotle, maintains as he had in *De Inst. Reip.* that the virtues of rulers will be

¹⁴⁵ The chapter in question is *De Regno*, II, 11: 'Regia oratio qualis esse debet'.

different from those to be cultivated by subjects or simple citizens. The reason for such a distinction lies in the exclusive emphasis in the case of the prince on virtues which will determine his public and therefore political behaviour: in practice, as will be seen, these consist of the cardinal virtues, supplemented by a large number of secondary virtues.

It would be rash to say that Patrizi manages to separate moral considerations from political precepts, as Machiavelli was to do, but nevertheless, his approach does lead him to insert a number of realistic observations which broaden the discussion in comparison to the model of the sovereign found in the medieval tradition. For example, he maintains that the sovereign's actions have an exemplary quality, claiming on more than one occasion that he can do more damage through example than through action, that he is like a theatre in which vices are applauded and virtues booed:

Principis enim virtus, non unius duntaxat viri est, verum eiusdem boni complures etiam participes fiunt et plerique etiam illius imitantur exemplo. Vera est enim ille Isocratis sententia, qui ait, civitates pene omnes principum suorum vitam aemulantur. Et sicuti ex unius privati viri virtute felicitas ad eum solum manat, qui cum virtute agit, sic rursus ex principis exemplo felicitas in complures diffunditur. (IV, 7, p.123r)¹⁴⁶

As a result, both the negative and positive precepts, derived from classical sources such as Cicero's *Tusculanae* and *De officiis*, and Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics*, are set out in terms of their respective political utility for the ruler as a public figure. Several chapters in the third book, for example, are given over to an illustration of how flatterers and informers, as well as deceiving the king, harm his relations with his subjects and threaten the stability of the kingdom,¹⁴⁷ and how his yielding to

¹⁴⁶ The idea is reiterated in *De Regno*, VIII, 9, p. 271r and IX, 2, p. 298v.

¹⁴⁷ See *De Regno*, IV, 2: 'Adulatores atque assentatores a regibus exagitandos esse'; IV, 3: 'Reges ea sequi debent, quae maiestatem augent, de delatoribus, calumniatoribus, assentatoribus, et maledicis'; IV, 4: 'Delatores ab regiis auribus non prorsus exigendos'; IV, 5: 'Calumniatorum delatorumque rationes perdiligenter rimetur princeps, talionis poena calumniatoribus statuta'; IV, 6: 'Princeps vanis delatorum vocibus non moveatur, regiumque esse sciat, quum bene facerit, male audire'; IV, 7: 'Effrenatam maledicendi licentiam cives coerceant'.

passions such as 'ira' or 'malevolentia' can prevent the ruler from ~~been~~ viewed as ^{being} just and wise in the eyes of the people.¹⁴⁸ Similarly, in his analysis of virtue in books VI-VIII, which - as rightly observed by Skinner (*The Foundations*, I, 126) - is more extensive than in any other text of the period because of the addition of many secondary virtues to the cardinal ones, generosity and magnificence are defined as virtues only appropriate to kings and princes. Both correspond to the Aristotelian ^{6/} ideal of the mean between excessive prodigality and excessive avarice, and they must be cultivated if the ruler desires the support and praise of subjects, rather than hatred and discredit.¹⁴⁹ This conviction that certain virtues have an external effect which is more immediate than others is also to be found in other works of the period - for example, *De maiestate* by Giuniano Maio, or *De liberalitate* and *De magnificentia* by Pontano - which thus anticipate Machiavelli's understanding of the workings of power.¹⁵⁰ Another example is the need for the king to show at times a certain joviality ('iucunditas', IV, 14, p. 143r) and courteous affability ('facilitas', VIII, 19, p. 288v), to act shrewdly¹⁵¹ and if necessary to dissimulate¹⁵² and to be severe.

¹⁴⁸ On 'ira' see *De Regno*, IV, 9 'De ira, iracundia, excandescencia, odio, et discordia', and on 'malevolentia' *De Regno*, IV, 14 'De malevolentia'. On Patrizi's conviction that anger must be avoided by the wise and virtuous ruler, and the opposite idea that this passion is necessary for the active life, as maintained by Quattrocento writers like Palmieri, Landino and Pontano, see Baron, 'The Florentine Revival of the Philosophy of the Active Political Life', in his *In Search of Florentine Civic Humanism*, pp. 134-57 (esp. pp. 150-57).

¹⁴⁹ On liberality see *De Regno*, IV, 9, p. 124 v: 'Nec ulla animi perturbatio est, quae magis odium pariat his qui gubernant, quam avaritia,...'; p. 125r: 'Liberalitas somnoper principem commendat, quam Aristoteles mediocritatem circa pecunias esse statuit, cuius excessus prodigalitas sit, defectus autem avaritia.' Arist., *Nic. Eth.* 1107b9-14 - 1119b29-31. On magnificence see *De Regno*, III, 1, p. 77r: 'Ea enim quae in viro privato liberalitas dicitur, in rege magnificentia sit oportet. Et frugalitas quae modestiae temperantiae quae comes est, maximis laudibus effertur in civili viro: in rege autem minoris est laudis et frigidior utique habetur' and *De Regno*, VII, 11, p. 244v 'Magnificentia locum suum nunc sibi vendicat: quae quidem virtus solis regibus ac principibus convenit'. Arist., *Nic. Eth.* 1122a18 - 1123a20.

¹⁵⁰ See A. Gilbert, *Machiavelli's 'Prince'*, for Machiavelli's absorption of humanist writers, and Patrizi in particular (pp. 91, 170, 177). Maio, *De maiestate*, was edited by Gaeta (Bologna, 1956). Pontano's *De liberalitate* and *De magnificentia* are in *I trattati delle virtù sociali*, edited by Tateo (Rome, 1965), pp. 1-63 and 83-121 respectively.

¹⁵¹ *De Regno*, VI, 16, p. 202v: 'Versutia quidem, calliditas et astutia (ut Aristoteles docet) animi potentiae sunt, quae ad subiectam intentionem referuntur eorum quae

This final point places Patrizi in contrast with contemporary treatises such as Pontano's *De principe*, which appealed for clemency in the ruler.¹⁵³

The most important princely virtue of all is justice, which Patrizi analyses into divine, natural, civic and judicial justice.¹⁵⁴ The terms of Patrizi's argument have already been recounted by Battaglia, pp. 131-34 and Chiarelli, pp. 733-34, but a few additional observations are needed. Patrizi draws for the first two types of justice on the classical idea of justice as total virtue,¹⁵⁵ while he considers civic and judicial justice, that is the direct application of justice to the state in the form of private and public law, as the direct responsibility of the king or rulers of the state. The role of civic justice is:

multitudini consulere, urbes tueri, civitates regere, homines ab iniuria prohibere, socios providentia protegere, unicuique reddere quod suum est: honores, magistratus, ac commoda distribuere, secundum cuiusque dignitatem (VIII, 4, p. 255v)

By judicial justice, Patrizi understands that which is formulated in laws which set out what virtue itself prescribes. He insists several times on this last note: 'Leges quidem omnes, sicut virtutes iubent, sic etiam vitia prohibent' (VIII, 5, p. 257v). In other words, he insists on the need for laws to make compulsory what exhortation to moral rectitude cannot alone achieve.¹⁵⁶ It is clear that justice remains an absolute

agere quispiam velit, et effectum perducere. Si finis ad quem tendit rectus erit, laudabiles etiam potentiae illae erunt, sin obliquus vituperandae:...

¹⁵² *De Regno*, V, 7, p. 160v: 'Expedit enim ut simulent ac dissimulent imperatores nonnunquam, quum rex exigit (quamvis utrumque contra veritatem sit) et tum maxime quum maius periculum ac damnum ex veritate, quam ex mendacio oriretur'. See also A. Gilbert, *Machiavelli's 'Prince'*, p. 126.

¹⁵³ *De Regno*, VIII, 6, pp. 262r-v: 'Severitas quidem regem plurimum addecet, maiestatem quandam praestat, et dignitatem auget, redditque eum inter mortales quasi divinum aliquod numen, quod homines non modo venerantur, verumetiam adorant. Perutilis est haec virtus omnibus in rebus agendis et praecipue in iure dicundo,...'. Pontano, *De principe*, in *Prosatori latini*, p. 1026: '... qui imperare cupiunt, duo sibi proponere in primis debent: unum, ut liberales sint: alterum, ut clemens.' A. Gilbert, *Machiavelli's 'Prince'*, pp. 104-105.

¹⁵⁴ *De Regno*, VIII, Chapters 2, 3, 4, 5.

¹⁵⁵ Aristotle, *Nic. Eth.* 1129b30.

¹⁵⁶ The idea is repeated in *De Regno*, VIII, 6, p. 260r, where Patrizi declares that the number of laws passed is directly proportional to bad habits. Thus, whilst in ancient times mores were more chaste, the passage of time has brought ever more

virtue, but that at the same time, its practical application leads Patrizi, in both *De Regno* and *De Inst. Reip.*, to formulate the need for a legal state, in which only laws can guarantee order and stability. For this reason, even the function of the king is determined in relation to legality. Although there is no discussion in *De Regno*, nor in any other similar works of the period, of the detail of how justice and law should be administered by various organs of the state, and despite the presence of generic statements such as that the king is 'animatum ius' (II, 1, p. 39v),¹⁵⁷ which might suggest an arbitrary and absolutist exercise of power, Patrizi is clear that the sovereign is subordinate to law:

Quaeri plerunque solet, quid cum legibus rex agere debeat? Et primo quidem dicendum erit, ut bonis legibus pareat, ut illius exemplo alii omnes libentius alacriusque illis obsequantur. Iniquum enim esset ius aliis praescribere quo ipse non uteretur. (VIII, 6, p. 259v)

The emphasis is again on the public figure of the king, but also on the legal status of the monarchical state. It is in this respect that monarchy is to be distinguished from tyranny, which among other negative traits, is also guilty of not respecting law and justice.¹⁵⁸

The other tasks for the ruler in the administration of justice are supervising the drafting of legislation - which does not of course alter his duty to obey laws - and the appointment of magistrates, who must be chosen for their integrity but also 'memoria generis ac parentum...' (VIII, 9, p. 261r). These last two points lead Patrizi to reassert a point already familiar from *De Inst. Reip.*, that is the continuing validity of the model of Roman law, which, together with a strong army, allowed Rome to conquer the world.¹⁵⁹

A final consideration on Patrizi's treatment of princely virtues regards the

vice and so the numbers of laws have grown accordingly.

¹⁵⁷ See a similar description in Platina, *De principe*, p. 56 of the prince as 'viva lex', noted by Pastore Stocchi, p. 59.

¹⁵⁸ *De Regno*, VIII, 5, p. 258r.

¹⁵⁹ *De Regno*, VIII, 6, pp. 260v -61v.

relevance of moral excellence in relation to the final aim of the monarch. At several points in *De Regno* Patrizi notes that the final end of the king is to guide his citizens towards happiness¹⁶⁰ and that his reward will be to garner the earthly glory and fame which accompany righteous and virtuous deeds. This reward for the king, and not, as in a republic, for the humble citizen, stands in contrast to the propositions formulated by Augustine and Aquinas of universal divine reward for good actions. Patrizi defends the humanistic principle of the harmonious compatibility of the desire for fame and glory with both political action and a lay vision of the monarchy.¹⁶¹ There are, however, a number of references to a more Christian, eternal reward for the king. For example, Patrizi refers to classical beliefs according to which sovereigns either returned to their celestial seats or were doomed to hell, depending on the nature of their actions, and he links them to the Christian truth of the eternal glory which awaits the virtuous individual as a reward.¹⁶² The same idea is repeated in the penultimate chapter of the treatise, entitled 'Quae praemia rex a deo expectare debet', in which classical sources which speak of beatitude and true happiness are used to reaffirm that the righteous ruler will find his reward in the other life. However, it would be wrong to see this handful of references to Christianity¹⁶³ as a negation of the fundamentally lay vision of politics offered by almost the entire treatise. The occasional homage paid to the Christian religion should be read simply as the dutiful expression of his firmly held beliefs in God's just rewards for a good

¹⁶⁰ Phrases such as 'Finis regis est, cives suos ad foelicitatem perducere' (II, 1, p. 37v) occur many times in *De Regno*.

¹⁶¹ On this principle in Aquinas see above, note 90; Augustine, *De civitate dei*, Book V, Chapters 13, 18.

¹⁶² *De Regno*, VIII, 15, pp. 280v-81r. Classical sources formulating the belief of a supernatural reward for rulers are Plato, *Phaedo* XXXI, 82 and Cicero, *De Rep.* VI, 9-26.

¹⁶³ See also the following: *De Regno*, II, 17, p. 73r, where Patrizi describes various beliefs of philosophers and poets of antiquity on the creation of the world, and states that the coming of Christ had revealed the truth; at the end of the same chapter (p. 75r), he says that sovereigns must be reconciled to divinity, but there is no explicitly religious gloss to the word; in VIII, 10, p. 243r, Patrizi speaks of 'securitas', and asserts that worthy sovereigns can hope for both fame and glory and for 'perpetuam et sempiternam cum diis immortalitatem', but again the source is as much classical as Christian.

life, and the political analysis of *De Regno* remains all but entirely separate from such personal reflections.

v) Relations between the Prince and his Subjects

Several chapters in the ninth book of *De Regno* are dedicated to the relations between the ruler and private citizens. Patrizi states that the government of a king is not 'dominicum' but 'paternum',¹⁶⁴ alluding thus, as noted by Battaglia, p. 140, to the paternal moral obligations of the monarch to his subjects. Elsewhere, dealing with the virtues which accompany justice - that is faith, religion and piety - he deals also with friendship as a social bond and compares the king once more to the 'paterfamilias':

Communis haec amicitia, quae inter plurimos celebratur, regi praeter ceteras omnes convenit. Similitudinem namque cum paterfamilias aliqua ex parte tenet, qui liberos, nepotes, coniugem, totamque domum generali quadam benevolentia complectitur, omnibusque cupit bene esse: et singulos quosque beneficiis afficit. (VIII, 10, p. 271v)

He adds that, according to Aristotle, this friendship moves from being a moral characteristic to being the first basis of the political system: 'Haec est illa amicitia, quae connixa civium benevolentia tutissima custos ac comes regibus principibusque esse solet, qua quidem dum muniti fuerint, neque extrema, neque intestina arma formidabunt' (VIII, 10, p.272r).¹⁶⁵ If we recall that Patrizi described in the same terms the family and the role of the head of family in *De Inst. Reip.*, we can say that here he offers a vision of the ruler as very close to the figure of a *civis* who, because of his high degree of virtue, can fulfil the same role as the republican aristocracy in

externa?

¹⁶⁴ *De Regno*, IX, 2, p. 296v. The discussion takes off from the analogy, mentioned above, between the government of a king over his empire and that of God over the world: '...naturale imperium unius regis esse, qui ad communem omnium utilitatem gubernat, cuius imperium paternum est, non autem dominicum.'

¹⁶⁵ *De Regno*, VIII, 10, p. 271v. The treatment of friendship as an ethical and social bond, subdivided into three types - naturalis, civilis, hospitalis - is Platonic in origin. Patrizi, however, follows the discussion in the eighth book of Aristotle's *Nic. Eth.*.

directing society. This prince, then, seems closely related to the prince described in Alberti's *De Iciarchia*, although the similarity hides differing aims. Alberti's work reflects the political reality of Florence, and attempts to reconcile republican principles with the anomalous principate of Cosimo de' Medici. *De Regno* has its immediate point of reference in the Aragonese monarchy, and similarities between family and monarchy serve rather to reinforce the hereditary nature of power.¹⁶⁶ Patrizi maintains that the king must provide for his succession just as every head of family provides an inheritance,¹⁶⁷ and he adds:

Optabitur igitur rex sobolem ex se genitam similem sibi esse, non modo effigie, verum etiam virtute ac moribus, ut rex non decessisse, sed iunior factus esse videatur. Filius enim sine periculo regnat, qui optime antecedentis parentis vestigia conterit. (IX, 22, p. 326r).

In the full discussion of the relationship between the king and his subjects, Patrizi tends to avoid institutional considerations and to concentrate on the moral obligations that exist between the two. He emphasises the absolute necessity for citizens to obey the king's will, and justifies this need as simply a voluntary act of faith in one whose qualities are guiding them to 'bene beatamque vivendum' (IX, 1, pp. 295v-96r), in other words as a renewal of the act of *deditio* which lay at the origin of the monarchy itself. The condition of this obedience is that the king should promote civic concord and should work to prevent the risk of protest and conspiracies which would inevitably lead to an overturning of the government.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ See Pastore Stocchi, pp. 57-59, for the ideology behind Florentine works such as Alberti's *De Iciarchia*. See also F. Gilbert, 'The Humanist Concept of the Prince', pp. 473-77 on the Platonic influences on Alberti's treatise.

¹⁶⁷ *De Regno*, IX, 22, p. 326r: 'Demum regi qui optime dum vixit imperavit, et populum sibi creditum per virtutem quoad potuit ad felicitatem evexit, expedit ut post vitae cursum de successore etiam cogitet, exemplo optimi patrisfamilias, qui e vita decedens, de haeredum actoribus impuberumque tutoribus meditatatur, ne si quid ei acciderit, eam familiam moriens destituisse videatur, pro qua summo studio summaque industria in omni sua vita laboravit'.

¹⁶⁸ *De Regno*, IX, 1, p. 295v: '...sic regium officium est, populum ultro obsequentem reddere, et gratia, benevolentia, aequalitate, benignitateque sic homines sibi devincere, ut sponte sua parere studeant, nec imperata detrectent, aut iniquo animo obsequantur.'

vi) Military Matters

The proposition that the stability of the monarchy depends on the approval and support of the private citizenry for the king's action is particularly relevant in one specific aspect of state organization, the military. Once more the echoes of *De Inst. Reip.* are evident. The duties of private citizens, Patrizi asserts, are different in times of peace and times of war. He recommends liberal study and various working activities, but notes that the king will derive especial pleasure from those who take up military exercise and who excel in virtue and physical force.¹⁶⁹ Agriculture is dismissed in one brief section in *De Regno* as necessary because 'alio enim civitatem universam', but, as in *De Inst. Reip.*, it is praised because the agricultural workers can provide a militia of young men who are stronger than the city youths.¹⁷⁰ And he notes again that a citizen militia is much more trustworthy than a mercenary army: 'Mercenarii militis fides ex fortuna pendet, qua inclinante ad hostes, plerumque etiam ipsi spem atque animum eo inclinant' (IX, 15, p. 314r). And thanks to the examples offered by ancient history, '...facile est intelligere quanto tutior praestantiorque sit propria civium nostrorum manus quam externa militia.'¹⁷¹ The preference for this type of army is clear in both treatises, then, but there is a difference in the pictures given by the two works of the relations between military commanders, or the prince himself as *imperator*, and the soldiers. In *De Inst. Reip.* there was a reciprocal relation based on an identical will to act in the name of the 'patria'. In *De Regno*, in a chapter entitled 'De sociali amicitia' (VIII, 12), Patrizi makes it clear that whilst such reciprocal good will work to the advantage of both in times of war, when such solidarity can and must be put to good use, in peacetime the king has no interest in such a relation: '[Socialis amicitia] in bello autem regi ac reipublicae pernecessaria est, in pace cum rege nihil commune habere debet' (VIII, 12, p. 274r).

¹⁶⁹ *De Regno*, IX, 15, p. 313v-14r.

¹⁷⁰ *De Regno*, IX, 15, p. 314v.

¹⁷¹ *De Regno*, IX, 15, pp. 314r-v. The passage continues: 'Proinde gratum principibus esse debet, ex his quibus imperant, militiam scribere, et eosdem in tenera aetate diligere, ut domestico praesidio regni fines tueri possint, ...'.

Furthermore, he goes on to add that the king must devote himself to military discipline and exercise, that he must do everything possible to preserve his kingdom, and that to do so he must be seen to be generous to his soldiers with honours and recognition. It seems therefore that the bond of loyalty of the soldiers to their ruler can be strengthened by such premeditated generosity, and thus is not based solely on moral principles.

The other references to military matters in *De Regno* regard the role of the king as a military leader, whose abilities as such are crucial in ensuring a strong army. They range from simple recommendations to study arithmetic and geometry, which are necessary ‘...si recte rem bellicam gerere volunt’ (II, 14, p. 66v); to avoid passions such as timidity and fear in running the military;¹⁷² and to exclude private citizens from the command of the army which should always remain in the hands of the king himself.¹⁷³ Indeed, in times of war, that aspect of the monarch’s role which Patrizi had already suggested as generally important, his exemplary function, becomes even more influential:

Magni quidem momenti est, res praeclaras coram eo agere, penes quem praemii poenaeque arbitrium sit. Quod vel maxime in re militari cernitur. Ante oculos enim sui quisque regis aut ducis ardentius dimicat, et opera virtutis fortius ac diligentius exhibet, morique mavult, quam aliqua ex parte de gradu cedere. (IX, 2, p. 296v)

A final noteworthy point on the defence of the kingdom regards the need Patrizi identifies for an equestrian militia. This notion goes against the current trend in the fifteenth century for the deployment of light infantry in battle.¹⁷⁴ Patrizi mentions both types of formation in the Proem to the treatise when he contrasts the victory of Duke Alfonso’s cavalry over his enemies and their divisions of infantry.¹⁷⁵ Adducing this contemporary example, Patrizi describes cavalry as not only useful but

¹⁷² *De Regno*, V, 4 and 5, *passim*.

¹⁷³ *De Regno*, IX, 2, pp. 297v-300r, *passim*.

¹⁷⁴ Pieri, *Il Rinascimento e la crisi militare*, pp. 274-75.

¹⁷⁵ *De Regno*, ‘Proemium’, p. 3r.

necessary. The greatest example of all, of course, is provided by the military successes of the Roman Empire.¹⁷⁶

REPUBLIC VERSUS MONARCHY

The *De Inst. Reip.* and *De Regno* are, in many aspects of content and approach, extremely similar. A particularly striking characteristic of both texts is the vast amount of material, the innumerable digressions only marginally related to the discussion, as well as quotations and references to ancient authors and works. To use Battaglia's words, 'lo svolgimento si complica e si aggroviglia, il lettore perde la linea e si smarrisce nei particolari' (p. 110). With such lengthy and dispersive material it is often difficult to trace the main lines of Patrizi's arguments, and the task is made even more arduous by the presence of almost identical treatments of certain topics, in particular those related to moral considerations. As seen above, Patrizi discusses in similar terms of the origins of the state, offers for both the republic and monarchy a justification of their excellence on moral ground, exemplifies their efficiency with references to the historical examples of the republics of Rome and Venice, and of Caesar and the Roman empire. He insists on the importance of moral virtue and the active life for both rulers and subjects, with the necessary adjustments to the requirements of an aristocratic republic on the one hand and to the public function of the single ruler on the other, and concentrates on solving problems related to the state's security and duration in both types of constitution.

For some aspects of the treatment of these topics, Patrizi displays links to the

¹⁷⁶ *De Regno*, III, 2, p. 78r. Contrary to Patrizi, Machiavelli, *Il principe*, Chapter 12, pp. 276-77, and *Discorsi*, II, 18, pp. 171-73, states a preference for infantry. See A. Gilbert, *Machiavelli's 'Prince'*, p. 67.

Medieval tradition, but conversely he also looks forward in others to notions only fully developed later by Machiavelli and his followers. Above all, he reflects the interest of Quattrocento humanists for general discussion on politics, and for a number of specific issues, from education to military organization, from the importance of the institution of the family to celebration of the *studia humanitatis*, whose popularity at the time is attested to by entire treatises, written by contemporary authors, on each of them.

Furthermore, no explicit indication, has to be found in the treatises to suggest the author's true preference for either republic or monarchy. Nor it is easy to establish whether Patrizi's political thought underwent any significant development which might account for such a shift from republic to monarchy. This has driven modern critics to declare Patrizi equally monarchic or republican, or to suggest that he was indifferent to both, or even to assert that he adapted his political ideology to please his different dedicatees.¹⁷⁷ There is indeed an element of truth in the latter position. A reconciliation of *De Inst. Reip.* and *De Regno* does indeed require an appreciation of the two divergent political realities whose conditions and circumstances prompted their composition: respectively, the republic of Siena and the Aragonese monarchy. Also not to be neglected is Patrizi's desire to compose an encyclopaedic work of civic science in order to show his ability to hold forth with equal authority on such antithetical institutions, an impulse clearly related to an established humanist tradition of arguing first one case and then the other: Salutati is perhaps the most illustrious precedent in this.

At the same time the treatises are utilized by Patrizi to display his knowledge of classical culture. His recuperation of classical texts in these two works merits particular attention, if only because most scholars have characterised this feature as purely literary and directed towards an utopian political vision. It is undeniable that

¹⁷⁷ See the critical review at the beginning of the chapter, and in particular the names of Baron, Skinner, Pastore Stocchi, Hankins. The last assertion has been made by Rinaldi, 'Umanesimo e Rinascimento', p. 291.

Patrizi illustrates his points with innumerable references to ancient authorities, classical quotations and paraphrases. However, he uses these models not only to restate his unbounded admiration for the past but also in the conviction that they remain pertinent to contemporary political reality. As already noted in the discussion of mixed government above, a clear example of this pragmatic reclaiming is provided by the use of Polybius. The same could be said for the treatment of the figure of the monarch. The innumerable classical sources used and the historical figures evoked provide models of behaviour which are intended as both universal and also practically helpful in solving the disparate problems of his day. For example, Isocrates's oration *Ad Nicocles*, Dion of Prusas, Aristotle and Xenophon, Cornelius Nepos and Plutarch - who appear constantly in *De Regno* - are not used simply for theoretical purposes, but because they contain instructions on the comportment of the prince and examples for him to follow. In the case of the widely used Valerius Maximus and Aulus Gellius, the sources already contained a collection of *exempla* which could be deployed whenever appropriate.¹⁷⁸ The use of historical figures as models, in particular Julius Caesar, provides further confirmation of the point. And indeed, in the proem to *De Regno*, addressing Alfonso of Aragon, Patrizi declares:

Tu recta maiorum tuorum vestigia terens, non solum Iulii Caesaris (qui unus in se omnium Imperatorum ac ducum virtutes contulit) imaginem ante oculos semper tibi praefers, et eam tanquam speculum intueris, verum singulorum quorumque illustrium Imperatorum, ac Regum proprias, et quasi peculiares laudes assequeris. (*De Regno*, 'Proemium', pp. 2r-2v)

Thus for every single aspect of the ideal monarch's conduct and political activity, Patrizi cites Caesar with more consistency and emphasis than any other figure.

It is on a more strictly political and theoretical level that *De Inst. Reip.* and *De Regno* are to be differentiated. The rules set out for the efficiency of the republic and

¹⁷⁸ F. Gilbert, 'The Humanist Concept of the Prince', p.458, notes that the oration *Ad Nicocles* by Isocrates and the writings by Dion of Prusas had a wide influence in fifteenth-century political writings. A. Gilbert, *Machiavelli's 'Prince'*, p.12 and n.33, and p.13, recalls Patrizi's anticipation of Machiavelli in the use of Isocrates' text.

of the monarchy are determined, as asserted at the start of *De Regno*, by the needs of different peoples for different forms of government. This apparently makes of Patrizi an historical relativist, as also suggested by his notion of the natural evolution from monarchy to republic expressed in both treatises. But the terms of the analysis in *De Inst. Reip.* leaves little doubt as to the determining feature of the present-day republic i.e. the size of the territory. In brief, Patrizi envisages the ideal republic as a city-state. Throughout *De Inst. Reip.*, as underlined before, the arguments in favour of the republic assume that a city, or city-state, made up of a core central city and a surrounding territory or 'contado', is the focus of discussion. By contrast, *De Regno* makes no allusion to the territorial limits or the city limits. One point in *De Regno* is a particularly telling example of this distinction: Patrizi says that some cities enter into alliance with each other to shore themselves up where they see intrinsic weaknesses in their organization, and that these cities often fall prey to civic discord. He then adds:

Sunt enim eiusmodi civitates veluti membra sine corde, aut partes reliquae animi sine mente. Proinde expedit ut ad unitatem illam redeant, de qua paulo ante diximus, regique pareant, qui iuste imperet, et unus pro omnibus vigilet. (*De Regno*, II, 3, p. 46v)

This is the same anthropomorphic vision of the state seen already in *De Inst. Reip.* but applied on a much greater scale in order to claim for the monarch a role of ruler over several 'civitates'. Furthermore, the reference to the principle of unitarism already makes a direct appeal for the necessity of a single leader who might bring unity to the fragmented political landscape of Renaissance Italy, which he had lamented already in the earlier treatise.¹⁷⁹ Seen in these terms, then, far from being

¹⁷⁹ In *De Inst. Reip.* Patrizi invokes several times the intervention of the pope in the hope of resolving the conflicts and bringing peace to Italy. See, for example, the following passage: 'Tu tamen Pontifex maxime, his praeceptis non eges, studia namque tua pacis sunt nihilque magis efficis, quam ut universa Italia in pace degat, si qui tamen novarum rerum cupidi, aliquod constarent incendium, eos comprimis, studiosi/pacis faves, oppressis ades, res difficillissimas componis, illis autem qui contumaces sunt, quique minus dicto asculant, minaris arma, atque inimicitias, exercitumque quem expeditissimus habes, in eos paras, qua formidine coerciti omnes Itali pace atque otio fruuntur.' (IX, 'Proemium', p. 351).

contradictory, the two works are complementary, and informed by an essentially coherent and unified political vision.

As a final reflection on these works which were the basis of Patrizi's fame and reputation more than any other, it is perhaps appropriate to turn to five of his own epigrams which speak of them, three on *De Inst. Reip.* and two on *De Regno*.¹⁸⁰ Each of them provides insight into Patrizi's work on the treatises and his hopes and fears for their reception.

The first, 'De libro suo de institutione reipublicae' (no. 2, f. 1r), clarifies once and for all why there are nine books which make up the treatise: not, as modern critics have speculated,¹⁸¹ to signal his allegiance to the *Monte dei Nove*, but rather because of the nine Muses. He informs us that the treatise was the fruit of six years work, but expresses the fear that this toil will not find its just reward.

The second epigram, entitled 'Ad se ipsum pro dimissione librorum suorum de Institutione Reipublicae' (no. 4, ff. 1v-2r), alludes to a long period of revision before the diffusion of the work. Patrizi is invited in the text to leave off his endless polishing, to publish the work, and to be content if even a few learned men appreciate his labour, rather than all his readers as he would have wished. He notes that the composition of the work took the same number of years as there are books - nine - rather than the six years indicated in the previous epigram. If this chronology ends when Patrizi dedicated the work to Sixtus IV, in 1471, it would have been begun in 1462, but letters to Piccolomini of that year indicate that he had already written five entire books by then. Thus, either the epigram is earlier, or Patrizi uses a poetic conceit not to be taken literally. In either case, the text confirms what was suggested earlier, that there was a long period of reworking between the composition and dedication of the work.

¹⁸⁰ The epigrams are in MS Gordan 153. See also Smith, 'Epigrammata', pp.100-101 and pp. 117-19

¹⁸¹ Ugurgieri Azzolini, *Le pompe sanesi*, I, 511; cited in Bassi, p. 414, n.27.

The third work, 'Ad librum suum de Institutione Reipublicae quem Senam mittit' (no. 5, f. 2r) imagines that the book arrives in Siena, declaring itself to be a gift of nine books to the city from Francesco Patrizi from the shores of Gaeta. In its journey, the book will be able to enjoy the beauty of the city, admire the decorations of the *Fons Gaia* and appreciate the elegance of the Sienese language.

The first of the two epigrams on *De Regno* presents an interesting title: 'Polymniam Musam rogat quis praestantior status regni an reipublicae' (no. 144, 49v-50r). This does not however constitute a declaration of political credo. The epigram, like the two treatises, states that the government of a king is grandiose and arduous and that an ideal state is ruled by 'virtus regia', but that conflict between rulers and people are common and republican government can solve such problems.

And the final epigram, 'Ad lectorem librorum suorum de Regno' (no. 163, ff. 54r-v), is dedicated to a potential reader of *De Regno*, and contains not only a celebration of the work, but also a reference to its purpose.¹⁸² The treatise, Patrizi asserts, contains in nine books all the precepts of wisdom, celebrates the deeds glories of the Romans, and instructs on how to overcome fate. The sovereign who rules over his lands and his people should know that if he follows the rules as he finds them here, his reign will be secure and he will shine in splendour after his death.

¹⁸² This epigram was written just before the beginning of the text of *De Regno* in MS St John's College, XII (f. 10v).

CHAPTER IV

**FRANCESCO PATRIZI ON POETRY:
THE VERNACULAR COMMENTARIES ON PETRARCH'S
CANZONIERE AND *TRIONFI***

i) The Quattrocento Tradition

The literary and political works of Patrizi examined so far demonstrate his versatility in dealing with different subjects and literary genres, but they also find a common denominator in the use of Latin and in continuous reference to the world of classical erudition. However, around the years 1478-79 Patrizi wrote a vernacular commentary on Petrarch's *Canzoniere*, a work that both in language, and subject-matter represents a radical departure for this humanist which is perhaps all the more surprising given his role as Bishop of Gaeta, to which he had been appointed by Pius II in 1461 and which he maintained until his death in 1494.

It is striking that no record of this work remained until recent years when it was briefly mentioned by modern scholars, but only when writing about the reception of Petrarch's vernacular work in the Quattrocento, and on the commentary tradition. Some of the general features to emerge from such studies of both published and unpublished commentaries may be given in brief to provide a context for Patrizi's work.¹

The printed commentaries of the Quattrocento were composed by the humanists Francesco Filelfo, Girolamo Squarzafico and Antonio Da Tempo. Filelfo undertook the work at the request of Filippo Maria Visconti in the years 1444-47, and the manuscript tradition consists of two versions: a shorter gloss on sonnets 1-103, and a longer version on 1-136. The latter was printed in 1476 in Bologna and again in 1478 and 1481 in Venice.² In May 1477, one year after the *editio princeps*

¹ For a reliable introduction to Petrarchan commentaries, see Belloni, 'Commenti petrarcheschi'. Of fundamental importance are Dionisotti, 'Fortuna del Petrarca' and, for its list of incunabula and *cinquecentine* with glosses to the *RVF*, Quarta, 'I commentatori quattrocentisti', and Frasso, 'Per un censimento'. See also Belloni, *Laura tra Petrarca e Bembo*; Kennedy, *Authorizing Petrarch*, esp. pp. 25-81; Tortoreto, 'Lo stile più raro'.

² On Filelfo's commentary, see Bessi, 'Sul commento di Francesco Filelfo'; Calderini, 'Ancora di un epigramma'; Carrara, 'La leggenda di Laura' in his *Studi*

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of Filelfo's commentary, the Mantuan Domenico Siliprandi printed in Venice a full commentary on the *Canzoniere* attributed to Antonio Da Tempo, whose name corresponds to that of a Paduan jurist of the Trecento, author of a treatise on metrics entitled *Summa Artis Vulgaris Dictaminis*.³ In 1484, again in Venice, another commentary appeared, by Squarzafico, written hastily at the request of the Cremonese publisher Maestro Piero, which begins at poem 136, where Filelfo's had left off, and continues to the end of the *Canzoniere*.⁴ Filelfo's and Squarzafico's commentaries were often printed together afterwards, as many as eleven times between 1484 and 1500. When Da Tempo's work was reprinted in 1503 alongside Filelfo-Squarzafico, it became evident that Squarzafico had copied wholesale from Da Tempo.⁵

The field becomes less certain when unpublished commentaries to the *Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta*, often with obscure manuscript traditions, are taken into account. For example, a commentary on the first sonnet by Guiniforte Barzizza is referred to by only one source and, at most, may be used to indicate a general interest in studies of Petrarch at the Visconti court in that period.⁶ Another work with only one source is the complete, but still unpublished commentary by Francesco Acciapaccia, composed although not specifically commissioned in the

petrarcheschi, pp. 77-111 (esp. pp. 99-102); Pesenti, 'Un epigramma attribuito ad Empedocle'; Raimondi, 'Francesco Filelfo'; Tateo, 'Francesco Filelfo tra latino e volgare'; Wilkins, "'Empedocles" et Alii'.

³ There are various hypotheses on the identity of this Da Tempo. See the introduction by Giosuè Carducci, in Petrarca, *Rime* (Livorno, 1876), pp. vii-xliv (esp. pp. xxxi-xxxii and n. 1); the introduction by Giusto Grion in Da Tempo, *Summa artis dictaminis*, pp. 34-57; Patroni, 'Antonio Da Tempo'; Quarta, 'I commentatori quattrocentisti', pp. 288-93. Mezzanotte, 'Pier Candido Decembrio', attributes to Decembrio the authorship of the life of Petrarch previously attributed to da Tempo.

⁴ On Squarzafico see Allenspach and Frasso, 'Vicende, cultura e scritti', with bibliography; of earlier studies see Della Torre, 'Per una storia della "toscanità"', and Quarta, 'A proposito delle relazioni'.

⁵ It should be noted that the editions of the *Rime* mentioned here, with the notable exception of the *editio princeps* of Da Tempo's commentary (Venice, 1477), also include the *Trionfi* with a commentary by Bernardo Illicino.

⁶ Belloni, 'Commenti petrarcheschi', p. 23 and p. 25. Filippo Maria Visconti, who commissioned Filelfo's commentary also requested as similar work, which has been lost, of Pietro Illicino, father of Bernardo, author of the commentary on the *Trionfi*.

Neapolitan Aragonese court, where interest in and diffusion of Petrarch's work was also evidently widespread.⁷

ii) Manuscript Tradition, Dating and Reasons for Composition

Patrizi's commentary was commissioned by the Duke of Calabria, Alfonso of Aragon. Several scholars refer in passing to its existence, although no extended treatment exists.⁸ The most important of these is Carlo Dionisotti who labels it 'il solo commento quattrocentesco toscano alle *Rime sparse* oggi noto', underlining the sparse attention paid to Petrarch's vernacular works in his native Tuscany, especially since Patrizi's work originated outside Tuscany.⁹ Aside from the mention by Bertoni, who lists Patrizi's work alongside other Quattrocento commentaries and takes his line from Dionisotti,¹⁰ it does not appear in any of the bibliographical surveys on Petrarch and Petrarchism, nor indeed in any of the often eulogizing accounts of Patrizi's contemporaries of his life and activities.¹¹ The omission is explained by the strictly limited diffusion of the work, in both numbers of copies and area, and by the success of Patrizi's two political treatises which tended to obscure his more literary work in general. It is apparent that this latter tendency, which affected other works in Latin, based on constant erudite references to classical sources, would affect all the more a work written in Italian, on love poetry, and thus

⁷ Belloni, 'Commenti petrarcheschi', p. 29.

⁸ Bassi, p. 421, said that he found no record of this work and doubted its existence: 'A me però non risulta che il lavoro sia stato condotto a termine o se ne abbia altrimenti memoria'. Altamura, *Studi e ricerche*, p. 55 mentions the commentary as existing in two manuscripts. Smith, 'Epigrammat', p. 97 cites Altamura as confirmation of the presumed Petrarchan inspiration behind some of Patrizi's epigrams.

⁹ Dionisotti, 'Fortuna del Petrarca', p. 70.

¹⁰ Belloni, 'Commenti petrarcheschi', pp. 29-30. Another brief mention of Francesco Patrizi as 'an author who wrote compiled notes on the *Rime Sparse*' is in Kennedy, *Authorizing Petrarch*, p. 44.

¹¹ See, for example, the following surveys of Petrarchism: Basile, 'Rassegna petrarchesca (1959-1973)' and 'Rassegna petrarchesca (1975-1984)'; Calvi, *Bibliografia analitica petrarchesca 1877-1904*; Ferrazzi, *Bibliografia petrarchesca*; Fucilla, *Oltre un cinquantennio*; Pieretti, 'Bibliografia petrarchesca'.

detached from the otherwise rigorously observed humanist norms.

Patrizi's commentary is explicitly mentioned in two of his letters from Gaeta to Giovanni Albino, the personal secretary and later librarian of the Duke of Calabria. They were published by Antonio Bulifon, and are reproduced in the Appendix to this chapter.¹² The first of the two letters was written on 22 January 1478 and the informal as well as affectionate tone of the words Patrizi addresses to Albino discloses an indisputable friendship and familiarity between them. In it Patrizi says he has read in recent days the commentary on Petrarch and he declares with sincerity that 'lo texto ha poca dignità, idest se li fiori hanno alcuna delectatione, li fructi si trovano piccioli'. The letter also suggests that as requested by the Duke, he had already finished a first draft of the commentary, or at least part of it, and that to do so he had adopted the criterion used by Sextus Empiricus, who taught how to paint the body showing only the beautiful parts and concealing the ugly parts. If the Duke now wanted him to be more explicit on certain passages of the text, which Patrizi had at first disregarded for being, in his opinion, too vulgar and too light, he would comply, even at the risk of harming Petrarch's reputation.

The second letter was written on 23 January (year unknown)¹³ in reply to some letters Patrizi had recently received from Albino who had urged him, on behalf of the Duke, to finish the 'Commentarij'. It is clear that Patrizi had already completed ten *quinterni*, five of which he was going to send to Naples together with this letter and with two epigrams for the the King and his son the Duke,¹⁴ and that he had so far used a text belonging to Albino himself, because in Gaeta he had not

¹² Bulifon, *Lettere memorabili, istoriche, politiche ed erudite*, II (1697), 89-96. Bulifon says that the manuscript containing the letters was owned by a Neapolitan gentleman, D. Gerolimo Villani. The two letters in the appendix to this chapter are followed by the prologue to the commentary taken from MS Cas. 50.

¹³ Dionisotti, 'Fortuna del Petrarca', p. 93, who quotes some passage of the first letter, suggests that both were written in January 1478.

¹⁴ The two epigrams referred to by Patrizi, who says he composed them during the illness of the two princes, are in all probability no. 34 (ff. 12r-13r) and no. 35 (f. 13r) in MS Gordan 153, entitled: 'Gratulatio pro salute ac recuperata optima valetudine serenissimi Regis Ferdinandi' and 'Altera Gratulatio pro recuperata etiam valetudine illustrissimi Ducis Calabriae'.

been able to find a copy of Petrarch's text. Patrizi declares his total independence from previous commentators and from the general interpretation of Petrarch's poems, and gives reasons for his glosses to sonnet 10, 'Gloriosa colonna in cui s'appoggia'.¹⁵

These letters, then, give us Patrizi's own account of his work on the commentary as well as an essay on sonnet 10 which is of fundamental importance in attributing several anonymous manuscript commentaries of the *Canzoniere* to Patrizi. The following list of seven such manuscripts indicates that in early 1478, Patrizi was already at work on the commentary and thus 1477 should be given as the year *post quem* for the starting of composition.

1. Florence, Biblioteca Riccardina, MS 1141;
2. London, British Museum, MS Add. 15654;
3. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, MS Forster Bequest 436 (48. D. 28);
4. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Ital 1024 (8141);
5. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Ital 1026 (8143);
6. Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS 50 (F IV 52);
7. Vatican City, Vatican Library, MS Barb. Lat. 3937 (XLV. 31-1561).

1. Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana

MS 1141. Paper, XVIth c., ff. 219, mm. 210 x 145.

The manuscript (hereafter MS Ricc. 1141), comprising 219 folios and dated at the beginning of the XVI century, is mutilated at the beginning and does not bear the title of this work nor the name of its author. It contains a commentary on Petrarch's *Canzoniere* and was certainly written by two different scribes. The first copied the initial index to the poems, which begins from letter H onward (ff. 1r-5r), while the second later filled the remaining folios with a commentary on Petrarch's lyrics,

¹⁵ Reference to numbers of poems are to those in Petrarca, *Canzoniere*, edited by Gianfranco Contini (Turin, 1964).

subdivided regularly into nineteen lines each (ff. 6r-219v). The codex does not contain the full text of the *Canzoniere*, but only the first line of each poem written in red ink, followed by commentary. It is consecutively ordered from 1 to 366, and makes no distinction between forms of composition. The order of the poems is as follows: 1, 3, 2, 4-79, 81-2, 80, 83-119, 122, 120. As 121, there is the madrigal 'Donna mi viene spesso nella mente', which was later expunged from the *Canzoniere* and replaced by the present 121, 'Or vedi amor'. The sequence continues 123-242, 121bis (i.e. 'Or vedi amor'), 243-63, 265-339, 342, 340, 351-54, 350, 355, 359, 341, 343, 356, 344-49, 357-58, 360-65, 264. The commentary ends with 264, the *canzone* 'I vo pensando'; no. 366, the 'Canzone alla Vergine', is omitted altogether, as are commentaries on 91, 'La bella donna che cotanto amavi', on 121 'Donna mi viene', and on 231, 'I mi vivea di mia sorte contento'. These lacunae are indicated by the scribe with a marginal abbreviation probably standing for 'vacat'.¹⁶

2. London, British Museum

MS Add. 15654. Paper, XVth c., ff. 144, mm. 392 x 240

The manuscript in the British Museum (henceforth MS BL, Add. 15654) is a XVth-century Italian manuscript composed of 144 folios containing a copy of Patrizi's commentary on Petrarch, although it does not name the commentator. The first folios (ff. 1r-7r) list the poems commented on, according to their incipit; the commentary, which begins on folio 8r, is not introduced by the prologue but only by the title of Petrarch's lyrics: 'Incominciano li soneti con le canzone de lo egregio poeta messer Francesco Petrarca fiorentino.' The sonnets in this manuscript partially follow the sequence of the poems in MS Ricc. 1141: the second sonnet, for example, comes after the third one in this London manuscript where, similarly to MS Ricc. 1141, we also find out of sequence no. 80, which immediately precedes no.

¹⁶ *Inventario e stima della Libreria Riccardi*, p. 27; *I manoscritti della R. Biblioteca Riccardiana*, I (1894) p. 170; Innocenti 'Toscana seicentesca', p. 124.

83 and no. 342, which comes straight after no. 339. Here too we find the madrigal 'Donna mi viene spesso nella mente' without comment or numbering after *Rime* 122. Other differences in order, such as no. 356 following no. 347, and nos. 351-354 preceding the 'Canzone alla Vergine' makes it difficult to trace further similarities. The sequence of poems, in MS BL, Add. 15654 is as follows: 1, 3, 2, 81-82, 80, 83, 84-339, 342, 340-47, 356, 348-50, 355, 357-65, 351-54, 366. The poem 'Nova augeletta' was copied as a separate poem, unnumbered, by the scribe who then added in the margin to the text a note saying 'defficit in texto', most probably referring to the commentary which was missing from the text he was copying. Other poems which are not glossed in this codex are *Rime* 91, 'La bella donna che cotanto amavi', *Rime* 231 'I'mi vivea di mia sorte contento', and the 'Canzone alla Vergine'. In addition, it has to be noted that the copyist contributed to making the reading of the commentary easier by writing it, especially in the case of the *canzoni*, right beside the single stanzas it was explaining. On the other hand, surprisingly, he wrongly numbered *canzone* 28 (*Rime* 142) as 25, thus giving rise to an error in the numbering of the remaining *canzoni*. This mistake was probably due to haste. A note in folio 144r, in fact, gives the name of the scribe as Hippolytus Lunensis, who was amanuensis and official copyist at the Biblioteca Reale of the Aragonese in the Kingdom of Naples from 1472 to 1493, and records that in very few days he copied the text for Alfonso of Aragon:

Magnanimi ac fortissimi Herois. Iustissimi et clementissimi Principis Pientissimi ac felicissimi triumphatoris Alphonsi Calabryae Ducis iussu Hippolytus Lunensis paucis diebus absolvit; ob cuius serenissimum splendorem dies illi tenebris noctis ac torpore somni librario caruere.¹⁷

Hippolytus Lunensis copied the manuscript most probably at the beginning of 1490 since an official document dated 30 December 1489 says that he received six ducats from the hands of Angelo Dati as advance payment for the transcription of

¹⁷ MS BL, Add. 15654, f. 144r. All the quotations from the commentary appearing in this chapter are taken from this manuscript; the folio numbers are given where necessary without further reference to the manuscript.

Petrarch's text.¹⁸ This manuscript also contains, now attached to the last folio but originally found loose in the text, the original letter written on parchment by Ferdinand I, King of Sicily, to the citizens of Siena and dated Naples 1467, announcing the birth of Alfonso's son, Ferdinand.¹⁹

3. London, Victoria & Albert Museum

MS Forster Bequest 436 (48. D. 28). Paper, XV-XVIth c., ff. 228, mm. 284 x 202.

The manuscript Forster Bequest 436 in the Victoria and Albert Museum (hereafter MS V&A, Forster Bequest 436) is a codex mutilated at both ends, beginning at folio 44r (1r) with the poem 58 (line 7) and ending with the glosses to the sonnet 357 in folio 161r and the text of the poem 358 in folio 161v. The remaining nine folios contain a table of contents in alphabetical order of the poems' incipits. The last sonnet listed here is 'Zefiro torna e il bel tempo rimena' as 'sonecto 272 folio 184'. The poems of which the manuscript is composed follow the following sequence: 58-91, 93-137³, 140-336, 350, 355, 337-49, 356-58. The manuscript does not contain the commentary to poem 91, and poem 92 was added by a different and late hand in the blank space left after the previous poem. The copyist's hand continues in the following folio with the commentary to poem 92. Part of poem 137, as well as poems 138-139, and the commentaries to poems 137-138 are not to be found in the manuscript because one folio is missing. What is most remarkable about this codex is that folios 171r-228r contain a commentary on Petrarch's *Trionfi* which

¹⁸ De Marinis, *La biblioteca napoletana*, II, 290: 'No. 749, 1489, 30 dicembre - A Ipolito Lunensis scriptore sey ducati correnti per mano de Angelo de dato et sonno imparte de mayore summa de vera havere de uno Petrarca scrive per lo senyor duca' (Cedole, Vol. CXXIII, c. 402b). For Hippolytus see Bradley, *A Dictionary*, II (1888), 237-40; De Marinis, *La biblioteca napoletana*, I (1947), 82; Fairbank and Volpe, *Renaissance Handwriting*, pp. 53-54.

¹⁹ *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum*, p. 45; De Marinis, *La biblioteca napoletana*, II, 125-26; *Iter*, IV, 73; Mann, 'Petrarch manuscripts', pp. 217-218; Mazzatinti, *La biblioteca dei re d'Aragona*, p. 164; Palma di Cesnola, *Catalogo di manoscritti italiani*, p. 41.

happens to be mutilated both at the beginning and at the end, similarly to the preceding commentary on *Rime*. For this reason, it does not indicate the name of the author or the person for whom it was composed or copied.²⁰ Finally, folios 136v and 139v contain two notes of ownership, respectively 'Questo Pe. Io. Tommasi Cossa' and 'Questo Petrarco ene del G. Tommaso Coscia della città di Caspua'.²¹

4. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

MS Ital 1024 (8141). Paper, XVth C., ff. 260, mm. 212 x 140.

The manuscript Ital. 1024 of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (hereafter MS BN, It. 1024) is a XVth-century manuscript, on paper, containing a commentary on Petrarch's *Rime* entitled 'Commento al Petrarcha' (f. 2r). It begins with a prologue by the author (ff. 2r-3r) and similarly to MS Ricc. 1141 it does not bear the text of all the poems but only their first line. The sequence of the poems, which is 1-90, 92-230, 232-336, 350, 355, 337-49, 356-65, 351-52, 354, 366, 353, is identical to the section in MS V&A, Forster Bequest 436. The only differences, that is the lack in the Paris manuscript of *Rime* 91 'La bella donna', noted in the margin of folio 74r with 'defficit', and 231 'I' mi vivea', are not due to a difference in order. It should also be noted that no. 351, no. 352, and no. 354 follow no. 365, while no. 353 is the last one in the codex. Both these poems and the commentary, which ends with the words '... li invita a piangere seco della morte di quella della quale la vita li fu tanto soave' to the last sonnet of the second part, i.e. 'Vago augelletto che cantando vai', were hurriedly written and full of mistakes.²²

²⁰ The sequence of verses of the *Trionfi* will be given below, on pp.252-53.

²¹ G. Tommaso di Cossa belonged to a noble Neapolitan who were Lords of Procida until 1529, when they were succeeded by the Marchese del Vasto. One of Giovanni Tommaso's forebears was Baldassare Cossa, who was elected as Anti-Pope in 1410 with the name John XXIII. His father, Pietro's second son, seventh Lord of Procida, married Giovanna Mastroguidi and acquired considerable wealth, so that Giovanni Tommaso and his siblings were able to restore the family's name to the glory it had held in the past. See Ammirato, *Delle famiglie nobili napoletane*, pp. 85-97. The bibliography on the manuscript is as follows: *Iter*, IV, 217; Mann, 'Petrarch manuscripts', pp. 331-333; *Science and Art Department*, p. 46.

²² De Marinis, *La biblioteca napoletana*, II, 123-24; *Iter*, III, 311; Marsand, I

5. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

MS Ital 1026 (8143). Paper, XVth c., ff. 230, mm. 213 x 144.

MS BN, It. 1026 is a copy of the same work from which the manuscript It. 1024 was copied. It bears the title 'Comento del Patricio supra li sonecti del Petrarcha' (f. 1r) and is almost identical to the MS 1024 but for the fact that it was neatly written and is more correct. It contains a list of the poems' incipits (ff. 6r-15v) in alphabetical order which ends with 'Zefiro torna' while the content and the order of poems is the same as in the other exemplar. This manuscript bears the coat of arms of the Aragon family and of Charles VIII, and it can therefore be placed among the codices originally belonging to the library of Alfonso of Aragon and transferred first to Blois and then to Fontainebleau after Charles VIII came to power.²³

6. Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense

MS 50 (F IV 52). Paper; XV-XVI th c., ff. 244, mm. 215 x 145.

The manuscript in Rome (hereafter MS Cas. 50) dated XV-XVIth c., contains a commentary to 320 sonnets and 40 *canzoni* of Petrarch's *Canzoniere*. The poems are listed in alphabetical order of their first lines at the beginning of the manuscript (ff. 1r-9r) which then contains the prologue of the commentator (ff. 11r-12r) - to be found also in the manuscripts in Paris - and the texts of the poems accompanied by

manoscritti italiani, I (1835), 196; Mazzatinti, *Inventario dei manoscritti italiani*, I (1886), 179; *Idem*, *La biblioteca dei re d'Aragona*, p. 111; Pellegrin, 'Manuscripts de Pétrarque', pp. 350-51.

²³ De Marinis, *La biblioteca napoletana*, II, 124; Marsand, *I manoscritti italiani*, I, 197-98; Mazzatinti, *Inventario dei manoscritti italiani*, I, 179; *Idem*, *La biblioteca dei re d'Aragona*, pp. 111-12; *Iter*, III, 311; Pellegrin, 'Manuscripts de Pétrarque', pp. 352-53. De Marinis in *La biblioteca napoletana*, II, 295, indicates that another scribe made a third copy of the same commentary in a manuscript on parchment which should have been among the other codices but of which there is no trace. The document related to a payment to the scribe Mattheo de Russi, who was a copyist in the service of King Ferrante but worked also for Alfonso, and is dated 16 February 1492: 'A Johan Mattheo de Russis scriptore neapolitano dui ducati correnti et sono in parte de mayore summa de vera avere da lo illustrissimo senyor duca di Calabria per scriptura de uno libro nominato lo comento de Francisco sopra el petrarcha in carta pergamina quale de presente scrive per lo predicto senyor, fornito sera se li darà lo compimento.' (Cedole, vol. CXLVI, c. 76).

their commentary (ff. 12r-237v). Folios 12 and 227, containing poems 15-17, 351-52 and 354 are missing. The madrigal 'Nova augelletta sovra l'ale accorta' is written straight after the *canzone* 'Mai non vò più cantar com'io soleva', as if it were an additional stanza; however, the commentary clearly distinguishes between the two poems. The sonnets 91 'La bella donna' and 231 'I' mi vivea' as well as the 'Canzone alla Vergine' lack any commentary. The poems, similarly to MS V&A Forster Bequest 436, MS BN, Ital. 1024 and MS BN, Ital. 1026, are ordered as follows: 1-14, 18-336, 350, 355, 337-49, 356-65, 366. The sequence in which the last poems are numbered in the manuscripts in Paris shows that the sonnets 351, 352 and 354, missing in the manuscript in Rome, must have come straight after no. 365. This manuscript does not bear the title, or the name of the commentator, but another hand, different from that of the scribe who wrote the commentary, and probably that of a reader or owner of the codex, ascribed it to Pietro Gravina and wrote the following note in the margin of the first folio: 'componitor deli conuenti [= 'commenti'] messer pietro di grauina'. In f. 244v he also took some notes about departures and destinations of galleys, to which numerical calculations and other annotations were added later in different hands.²⁴ The name of Pietro Gravina, this time abbreviated to Pe. Gra. reappears before a sonnet by Jacopo Sannazzaro copied in f. 237v, written by another scribe in one of the folios left blank after the *Canzoniere* and its commentary had been copied. The remaining blank folios, in fact, contain sonnets by Vittoria Colonna (ff. 9v-10v and 238v-244v) as well as a sonnet by Luigi Tansillo (f. 238r).²⁵

²⁴ In the margin of folio 244v we find: 'a di tridici (crossed out and then corrected to 11) de marzo parti lo galione di lo porto de malta per andare in Tripoli' and 'le galere parterno da lo porto di malta ad 4 de marzo 1544 de lunedì da l'isola paterno a di 6 de marzo de iouedi'.

²⁵ *Catalogo dei manoscritti della Biblioteca Casanatense*, IV (1961), 98-100; *Iter*, II, 93 and 562; Narducci, *I codici petrarcheschi*, p. 166.

7. Rome, Vatican City, Vatican Library

MS Barb. Lat. 3937 (XLV 31 - 1561). Paper, XVth c., ff. 288, mm. 219 x 166. This manuscript (henceforth MS Barb. Lat. 3937) contains an anonymous commentary to Petrarch's *Canzoniere* (ff. 2r-260v), his 'testamentum' (ff. 261r-268v) and a detailed alphabetic index of the poems commented upon (ff. 269r-281r). A later hand noted on f. 1r: 'Dechiarazione sopra li sonetti del Petrarcha [and by a different hand: 'col testamento del medesimo in fine'] all'Inclita Celsitudine del Re di Francia dedicata et composta da non obscura, ma molto ben conosciuta persona'. The commentary itself begins in f. 2r with a mutilate preface, starting 'poeti, oratori et philosophi'. This commentary begins with the gloss to the first sonnet 'Voi ch'ascoltate in rime sparse il suono' and ends in f. 260v with the words commenting on sonnet no 353 'Vago augelletto che cantando vai', which are: '...li invita a piangere seco della morte di quella della quale la vita li fu tanto soave'. The order of the poems commented on, of which only the first line is reported in the manuscript, is the same as MS V&A Forster Bequest 436, MSS BN, Ital. 1024 and 1026, MS Cas. 50: 1-58, 60-230, 232-336, 350, 355, 337-49, 356-65, 351-52, 354, 353. Poems no 59, 231, and 366 are absent. The poems are indicated by a progressive numeration which is interrupted on f. 115r with 'Rime cxiii'; while 'ballate', 'canzoni', 'sestine' and madrigals, are indicated by a different numeration indicated in the margins to the text under the generic voice 'canzoni'. Some brief annotations by hands different from that of the copyist, and in the case of a note in f. 59v identical to the hand which annotated in f. 1r the presence of the 'testamento' in the codex, indicate the intervention of several readers of the commentary. For example, in f. 59v, on the margin of the gloss to *Rime* 58 'La guancia che fu già piangendo stanca', a note makes a reference to *canzone* 268 'Che debb'io far?', where the commentator noted that Laura's death happened in 1348, to underline that the same commentator made a chronological error when he indicated Urbanus IV, nominated Pope in 1362, as the subject of *Rime* 58. In f. 60r, in a different hand, a note

indicates the absence of *Rime* 59 and mistakenly, in f. 75r, the lack of the commentary to *Rime* 91 'La bella donna', which the copyist had indeed transcribed in f. 76r, after *Rime* 90 and before *Rime* 92. On f. 88r, beside the first verse of *Rime* 106 'Nova augelletta sovra l'ale accorta', appears the note 'defficit in texto' inappropriate in this case because, unlike in other manuscripts, the sonnet is indeed accompanied by its relevant commentary. The presence of some blank folios in the manuscripts -1v, 191r-v, 281v-284r, 285r-288v - does not interfere with the order of the poems. Finally, the following notes appear on f. 284v: 'dominare in medio inimicorum Ferdinandus franciscus de Davalos de Aquino marchio Piscarie' and 'Dominus nobiscum Ioannes de aragona'.²⁶

Among these seven 'anonymous' manuscripts, only the last MS Barb. Lat. 3937, has not been attributed to Patrizi before, although previous scholars have not given accounts of their reasons for attribution.²⁷

With the exception of MS Ricc. 1141 they all contain elements linking them to Naples. The most obvious case is BL, Add. 15654 where the copyist's note of 1490, as well as indicating the volume's place in the Aragonese library, also indicates that the attribution of the commentary to Pietro Gravina as in MS Cas. 50 is wrong. If Gravina were the author of the commentary, there would have been no reason for him to complain about his old age, as the commentator does in the prologue. Gravina's dates, in fact, are 1453-1528 and at the time the commentary was written, 1478, he was only about thirty-six years old. Nevertheless, the note on

²⁶ *Iter*, II, 453; Narducci, *Catalogo dei codici petrarcheschi*, p. 6; Vattasso, *I codici petrarcheschi*, p. 142.

²⁷ MS Ricc. 1141 is listed, as containing a commentary by Patrizi, by Tantarli, 'Sul "Comento" di Lorenzo', p. 340, n. 3. MS BL, Add. 15654 is attributed to Patrizi in the article by Mann, 'Petrarch manuscripts', pp. 217-18 and in *Iter*, IV, p. 73. This manuscript, together with MS V&A, Forster Bequest 436 was mentioned by Dionisotti, 'Fortuna del Petrarca', pp. 92-93, n. 1. The two manuscripts in the Bibliothèque National were attributed to Patrizi by De Marinis, *La biblioteca napoletana*, II, 123-24. MS Cas. 50 was attributed to Patrizi only in the 'Addenda' to the second volume of *Iter Italicum*, and that 'according to a communication of Giuseppe Velli' (p. 562). MS Barb. Lat. 3937 is still considered anonymous.

its authorship, wrong as it may be, must be taken as an indication that the author of the commentary was believed to be a poet of repute of the Neapolitan court and Gravina, who was a prolific writer of Latin verses, epigrams and odes, and enjoyed great popularity in his day, seemed an apt choice.

Another case of wrong attribution occurred for the manuscripts now in Paris, MSS BN, It. 1024 and It. 1026, who were ascribed to Francesco Filelfo by Marsand.²⁸ As for MS V&A, Forster Bequest 436 and MS Barb. Lat. 3937, the names of presumed owners or potential readers of the work bear witness to its diffusion among noble or wealthy classes of the kingdom of Naples in the second half of the XVth century. In particular MS Barb. Lat. 3937, bears mention of Ferdinandus Franciscus d'Avalos (1489-1525), Marquis of Pescara, who belonged to one of the most powerful Spanish families transplanted to Italy and who in 1509 married, on the wish of the King Ferrandino, the poetess Vittoria Colonna.²⁹ Furthermore the name of Giovanni of Aragon (1456-85), the Cardinal son of King Ferdinand and brother to Duke Alfonso, also contained in the manuscript, indicates its circulation amongst the Aragonese family and before Giovanni's death in October 1485. By this date, therefore, the commentary had already been completed.

Indeed, the definitive proof of authorship is the sample of commentary to *Rime* 10 'Gloriosa colonna', mentioned above, offered in the second letter to Albino to confute those who maintained that the sonnet was addressed to Cardinal Colonna. From the content of the same letter it can be deduced that Albino had already received and read part of the commentary, and that the two correspondents were constantly engaged in clarifying disagreements of interpretation between Patrizi's exegesis and what Albino knew of other such sources. And even if Albino's doubts on no. 10 were justified, Patrizi's nevertheless imposes his reading with authority and, as he affirms in the prologue contained in three of the manuscripts, states his total independence from other commentators' opinions and declares that the commentary

²⁸ Marsand, *I manoscritti italiani*, I, 196-97.

²⁹ G. De Caro, 'Avalos, Ferdinando Francesco d', in *DBI*, IV (1962), 623-27.

will reflect his own convictions only.³⁰

This statement opens up the problem of establishing under what circumstances Patrizi wrote the commentary as well as its relationship to earlier printed editions of previous commentaries. As already mentioned, it was the Duke of Calabria who desired a paraphrase and explication of Petrarch's works in Tuscan. Dionisotti notes:

Si spiega che a Napoli il duca di Calabria avesse bisogno di un interprete che gli agevolasse la lettura delle rime del Petrarca e che non potesse per ciò far capo al Pontano. Ci voleva un umanista toscano, e la scelta cadde sul senese Francesco Patrizi, vescovo di Gaeta.³¹

The Duke's interests in such a commentary, however, were not exclusively personal. Since 1476 the commentary by Filelfo was already available in print and in May 1477 that by Antonio Da Tempo had also been printed, so that it was likely that they were available to the Duke and Albino, and to Patrizi. In addition, it was in Naples that a new edition of Petrarch's *Canzoniere* and *Triumphs* by Arnoldus de Bruxella appeared in March-April 1477.³² The fact that Patrizi began his commentary in that year, and that he stresses in his prologue that he is trying to be original, suggests that the request of the commentary by the Duke not only responded to a personal need, but also to the more ambitious idea that Naples could produce a new, complete and original commentary on the *Canzoniere*.

³⁰ The prologue can be found in the following manuscripts: MSS BN, It. 1024 and 1026, and MS Cas. 50.

³¹ Dionisotti, 'Fortuna del Petrarca', p. 92.

³² For this as well as other fifteenth-century editions of Petrarch's vernacular poems see Wilkins, 'The fifteenth-century editions', *Modern Philology*, 40 (1943), 225-39 (p. 229), re-published, slightly abbreviated, in his, *The Making of the "Canzoniere"*, pp. 379-401.

iii) Characteristics of the Commentary

The task of writing the commentary was not very pleasant for Patrizi who declares in the prologue that he has been brief so as not to bore the Duke with prolixity, and also since he considers it inappropriate for a man of his age to indulge in prolonged readings of love poetry. With a tone that subtly discredits the practice of writings on this subject and in this language, Patrizi goes on to detail some aspects of the history of Petrarch's love. Following the stilnovistic tradition, he recognizes in Petrarch a man of culture and nobility of mind, in love with a woman of humble origins but sublime in virtue and beauty. He accepts that love can propel towards great deeds, but in a stroke abandons the interpretation of the *Rime* along such stilnovistic lines, when he affirms that such a love is human and part of youthful experience only, and thus Laura is not to be read allegorically as representing poetry or philosophy. Petrarch's love for a 'donna mortale' justifies what Patrizi calls a certain inconstancy of style in the *Rime*, in the presence of incomplete verses, vulgar expressions, Latinisms, and lexical strains determined by the accented rhythm of Italian verse. It is clear that whilst Patrizi could not declare in his preface his distinct indifference for the work in hand, he could direct his attention away from the stirrings of love and towards the formal aspects of the text. Since in his opinion there were no higher teachings to be found in Petrarch's work, he had generously passed over the content and left his readers free, if they wished, to interpret and identify deeper meanings in some parts of the *Canzoniere* than were in practice present.

The commentary on the first sonnet 'Voi ch'ascoltate in rime sparse il suono' opens with an explanation of the metrical structure of the sonnet which reveals, from the outset, Patrizi's distinctive attention to the formal aspects of the *Canzoniere*. The reading of the entire commentary confirms this first impression: Patrizi is able to distinguish and classify the different lyric works according to their form, and thus display his knowledge of metrics and versification, certainly derived from the study of Greek and Latin poetry, and already proved by his treatise on this topic entitled *De*

Patrizi explains, then, that sonnets generally consist of two quatrains, or one octet, and two tercets, or a sestet. Whilst the quatrains use only two rhymes, the rhyme-scheme changes in the tercets, and for this reason the sestet is also known as the 'muta'. The lines are all hendecasyllabic, and for the most part iambic, although the rhythm is determined more by the syllable division than the number of syllables. He then adds that it is easy to discern a certain similarity in this sort of work with the *Odes* of Horace and Pindar, although the sonnet structure is too rigid to allow the variety offered by 'canzoni' and 'canticci'. Furthermore, Patrizi notes, the sonnet shares two of the typical characteristics of the epigram of tradition: 'in pochi versi scrivano grande sententia et in poche parole concludeno grande historia' (f. 8r).³³

The recourse to classical authors, including Horace, or rather to some of the poetic forms of the classical tradition, permits the humanist commentator to find a parallel between vernacular and classical metre. He thus detects, in formal and stylistic traits at least, some value in love poetry as a continuation of the poetry of antiquity, whereas in matters of content it may well be worthless.

The structural analysis carried out by Patrizi also gives definitions of 'rime equivoche', as a repetition at the end of a line of the same word used with a different meaning,³⁴ and of internal rhymes, mentioned together with the terms 'caesura' and 'mesticcio' in the commentary to the *canzone* 105 'Mai non vo' più cantar com'io soleva':

³³ The assimilation of the sonnet to the epigram was ~~relatively diffuse~~ in the Quattrocento. Lorenzo de' Medici, in his *Comento*, puts the case in terms which almost exactly echo Patrizi's: 'La brevità del sonetto non comporta che una sola parola sia vana; ed il vero subietto e materia de' sonetti per questa ragione debbe essere qualche acuta e gentile sententia, narrata attamente ed in pochi versi ristretta, fuggendo la oscurità e durezza. Ha grande similitudine e conformità questo modo di stile con l'epigramma quanto all'acume della materia e alla destrezza dello stile, ma è degno e capace il sonetto di sentenzie più gravi e però diventa tanto più difficile.' See Lorenzo de' Medici, *Scritti scelti*, pp. 311-12.

³⁴ Thus on sonnet 18 'Quand'io son tutto volto in quella parte', f. 12v: 'Sonetto alquanto artificioso perchè non le sillabe finali ma tucte le extreme dictioni repete unde nel primo octenario parte e luce sempre continua; nella muta morte e disio et sole, ma benchè replichi le dictioni varia in qualche parte il loro significato.'

This ...
not unique.

Questo modo di canzone morale si chiama in vulgare thoscano mestitio: poichè ha misticate le rime in mezzo deli versi in modo che le cesure fanno risponentia in fine. Questo è quasi scrivere in proverbii et per problemati dimostrare obscuramente qualche passione.(f. 49v)

Patrizi is talking here about the *canzone* as a form quite distinct from the sonnet, which he divides by type into 'canzone morale' and 'canzone amorosa' or 'innamorata' according to content, and subdivides internally into stanzas of varied length and a 'congedo', or 'semicanto'.

Apart from the sonnet and the *canzone*, Patrizi also defines the *sestina*, the madrigal and the ballad. The definition of the *sestina* is as careful as that of the sonnet, as can be seen in the commentary to *Rime* 22 'A qualunque animale alberga in terra', which is described as a 'canto exastico' made up of six corresponding verses, known as 'senario' or 'sestina' (f. 13v); the *sestina* has an artificial metrical structure which consists in the repetition in each stanza of the six rhyme-words in the first 'senario' which are then repeated again in the 'semisenario', the three-line stanza which ends the poem.

The definitions of the madrigal and ballad are more succinct. The former is a 'madriale da cantare' or 'cantico che in lingua toscana si dice madriale'.³⁵ The latter is initially characterised by its sheer variety of composition, then differentiated from the sonnet, and known simply as 'cantico', 'cantilena da danze', 'cantilena'.³⁶

As for the structure of the whole *Canzoniere*, Patrizi initially seems to be convinced that the subdivision of the poems into those 'in vita' and those 'in morte' of Laura corresponds to the original structure of the collection. Indeed, in the commentary on the first sonnet which begins with the metrical discussion referred to above, he indicates the reason for the division:

³⁵ *Rime* 52 (f. 29v) and 54 (f. 31v) and *Rime* 149 (f. 71v) respectively; the latter, although correct in itself, is mistakenly applied to a ballad.

³⁶ *Rime* 11 'Lassare il velo o per sole o per ombra', f. 10v: 'Cantico vario vario [sic] alquanto dai sonetti che benchè habbi xiiii versi endecasillabi ne ha due semiversi di vi o vii sillabe.' The other definitions are given in *Rime* 14 (f. 11v), *Rime* 55 (f. 31v) and *Rime* 59 (f. 32v) respectively.

... avendo determinato lo auctore raccogliere in due volumi la descrizione del suo amore: cioè lo primo di anni vintuno e lo secundo de anni decie in neli quali, conservata la memoria di quella la cantò morta, ordinò in lo sequente modo li cantici soi acciocchè fossero più chiari ai lectori et per rendere li auditori docili et attenti incominciò da tale iusta excusatione... (f. 8r).

The strength of the conviction seems in doubt, however, at two points: one when Patrizi comes to comment on sonnet 61 and the other at *canzone* 268. In his commentary on the former, Patrizi is perplexed by the apparently illogical chronological progression, and he concludes that Petrarch's poems must have been collected in a single volume 'longho tempo poi che furono fatti et per ordine fortuito', but he also adds that the actual order of poems could have been muddled by the 'leggierezza d'amore' which inspired them. When commenting on the latter, Patrizi expresses the conviction that its composition post-dates the announcement of Laura's death to Petrarch by Ludovico da Parma in Verona on 29 May 1348.³⁷ Furthermore, of the many sonnets written after Laura's death, some, including 'La bella donna che cotanto amavi' (91) and 'I'mi vivea di mia sorte contento' (231), precede 'Che debb'io far?', so that Patrizi can only conclude: 'Il libro non ha vero ordine se non come è stato scripto da chi lo ha raccolto.' (f. 107r)

As for the method of exegesis Patrizi uses for commenting on every poem, it is clear that the glosses focus on linguistic features, and conceptual explanation is limited to the literal meaning. Each commentary opens with a general introduction to the content or to the occasion of its composition, sometimes preceded by short notes on

³⁷ The indication of Laura's death given by Patrizi corresponds to Petrarch's own annotation on the first page of his 'Virgilio Ambrosiano': '...et in eadem civitate, eodem mense aprilis, eodem die sexto, eadem hora prima, anno autem M^o IIJ^o XLVIIJ^o, ab hac luce lux illa subtracta est, cum ego forte tunc Verone essem, heu! fati mei nescius. Rumor autem infelix per litteras Ludovici mei me Parme repperit anno eodem, mense maio, die IXI^o mane. ...'. See the edition of Petrarca, *Le Rime*, by Carducci and Ferrari (Florence, 1899), p. 370. It is unclear how Patrizi came to misread the places mentioned in the note. It is probable that the introductory note to sonnet 2 'Era 'l giorno ch'al sol' (f. 8v), which gives the date and place of Petrarch's first sighting of Laura, is also derived from the same annotation (f. 8v).

metre, or by a broad assessment of its form and content. The commentator often groups poems according to subject-matter, whether they are consecutive or separated.

The commentary then continues with quotation and a literal explanation of the lines, either in the form of indirect speech, or direct first-person speech, introduced by a 'unde dice' or 'Da poi seguita la proposizione sua'. The commentary rarely continues beyond the line-by-line explanation, unless Patrizi takes the opportunity to digress on themes of the history and mythology of antiquity. When the text is straightforward, he simply states the content. For example, the gloss to *Rime* 134, 'Pace non trovo e non ho da far guerra': 'Sonecto chiarissimo lo quale non ha bisogno di altra expositione: Si non che dice che per amore de Laura sta sempre in stato contrario.' (f. 66r)

At other times Patrizi does not hesitate to declare his uncertainties over the meaning of passages or of entire poems. On occasion these uncertainties result in glosses which are eccentric enough to warrant attention. For example, sonnet 58 'La guancia che fu già piangendo stanca' according to the commentary was written because Urban V had heard Laura's praises being sung, had fallen in love with her himself, and was now called upon to perform three penitent acts: to offer an arm to support the tear-stained cheek, to cover Laura's eyes with his other hand, and to purify his soul via confession - the medicine, or the soul's 'suco d'erba' (f. 32v). Sonnet 102, 'Cesare poi che 'l traditor d'Egitto', a 'Sonecto elegante et morale' (f. 49r), is glossed as an apology from Petrarch to the Lord of Padova, who, upon visiting the poet to offer condolences for the death of his brother Gherardo, found him playing music and singing.

These readings may derive from an imperfect understanding of the text, but equally they may simply be following an earlier critical tradition. It has already been noted that Da Tempo's and Filelfo's texts were probably available to Patrizi. There are some instances, for example, in which glosses by Patrizi are close to those by

Da Tempo, but these tend to be uncontroversial, and could just suggest that both were party to a generally accepted interpretation of some passages.³⁸

As for the relationship between Filelfo's and Patrizi's commentaries, there are some passages that might suggest a line of influence from Filelfo to Patrizi. In the case of the comment to *Rime* 102, for example, Patrizi's text coincides with the interpretation given by Filelfo,³⁹ while in coming to the conclusion that the poems had no order in the *Canzoniere*, Patrizi coincides, probably unwittingly, with the clearer statements on the matter by Filelfo. Filelfo had said, with reference to sonnets 17, 38 and 90 that there was no order, that the poems had been collected in one volume by '[un uomo] grossolano e poco intendente'.⁴⁰ The words used by Patrizi seem close to Filelfo's, and both speak in similar terms of the first sonnet as having been written last and placed out of order at the start.⁴¹

A broad reading of both commentaries, however, reveals fundamental differences in lines of interpretation and, at times, outright contradictions. Filelfo's work reflects the character, the loves and hates, and the flair of its author, with all the consequences this brings to such a commentary, whereas Patrizi's work is purely literal, consisting in a linguistic and conceptual exegesis aimed at a better understanding of the text. Indeed the overall impression given by Patrizi's paraphrastic method is of a lack of bold interpretation and, if anything, a certain

³⁸ The edition used for Da Tempo's commentary, as well as for Illicino's commentary on *Trionfi*, is: F. Petrarca, *Opera del preclarissimo poeta misser Francescho Petrarca con el contenuto de misser Bernardo Lycinio sopra li triumpho con misser Franchescho Philelpho: misser Antonio de tempo: misser Hieronymo Alexandrino sopra li Soneti & Canzone nuovamente historiate: & correcte per N. Perazone* (Venice, 1515).

³⁹ Belloni, 'Commenti petrarcheschi', p. 30, declares that Patrizi made use of Filelfo for the exegesis of this poem.

⁴⁰ References to Filelfo's commentary on the *Canzoniere* are from the following edition: Petrarca, *Sonetti et Canzone, col commento del Philelpho* [Theodorus de Reynsburch & Reynaldus de Novimagio Todeschi et compagni] (Venice, 1478). No page number is given.

⁴¹ See Patrizi: 'Questo primo sonetto fu l'ultimo in composizione et tene loco de exordio' (f. 8r), and Filelfo: 'Quantunque il presente sonetto fusse da Messere Francesco Petrarca in questa legiadra e suavissima opera in luogo di prefazione collocato non fu perho il primo che lui facesse, ma l'ultimo di tutti'.

caution.

Such caution stands out in relation to the polemical sparks in Filelfo, even in judgements on the language and style of other works by Petrarch. Observations of this kind, that is to say elements of literary criticism as we understand it, are not to be found in Patrizi. Commenting on *Rime* 40, ll. 5-6, Filelfo alludes to an unspecified doctrinal work of Petrarch's: '[il poeta] in tal modo si porterà in questa opera usando un suo stile mezzano tra i tuliani e la broda fratesca', and the same polemic against scholastic Latin returns in the introduction to the *canzone* 119 'Una donna più bella assai che 'l sole', where praise of Petrarch as a cultivator of *studia humanitatis* is set against a renewal of hostility towards the cultural tradition of the monasteries.⁴²

Patrizi's interpretation of sonnet 40, 'S'e i versi amore o morte non da' [sic] qualche stroppio', unlike that of Filelfo, contains no value-judgement, and indeed it passes over ll. 5-6 in haste, only pausing to gloss the adjective 'doppio' with the paraphrase 'perfetto'. He offers other points of interest which are distinct from those in Filelfo: he asserts that the work referred to by Petrarch is the *Africa*, and that in order to finish it, Petrarch had to make up for a lack of inspiration by recourse to the works of Virgil, the 'dilecto padre' (l. 11) whom the poet addresses in the last three lines. Thus the sonnet would not be a request by the poet to a friend for a book which he needed, but rather a reply to questions over when he would complete his own work.

Further, Patrizi differs in this reference to the *Africa* from other modern and early commentators who almost unanimously saw the sonnet as related to the *De remediis* or the *Secretum*, with Augustine as the source of inspiration.⁴³ Likewise,

⁴² These are the words of Filelfo: '...si può nel vero affermare lui essere stato il primo che tali studii che erano centinaia d'anni per l'ignoranza di tramontani non solamente depravati e corrotti ma quasi el tutto spenti, resuscitò da morte et redrizzoli in grande parte nella allegrezza antiqua tolta da loro offuscatione vinse tutte le tenebre e la brodaglia fratesca...'. Commentary on *Rime* 119.

⁴³ The Carducci-Ferrari edition of Petrarch's *Le Rime*, which covers many of the glosses of earlier commentaries, but does not mention Patrizi, notes (p. 63) that the *Africa* is mentioned in reference to this sonnet by Cesareo, *Su le "Poesie Volgari"*

the mention of Virgil finds no support in other texts, and it would be bold to suggest that Patrizi had genuinely traced those few calques from the great Latin poet which are present in the *Africa*. It is more likely that Patrizi found himself obliged to provide a source, and that he thought of Virgil for no other reason than his fame and prestige, or because he was one of the classical authors Patrizi admired most. It thus becomes more an opportunity to pay tribute to the author of the *Aeneid* than an example of rigorous philological or literary-critical enquiry. Significantly, the tribute comes in a reference to a Latin work by Petrarch, not to his vernacular poetry. Patrizi's inability to equate poetry in the vernacular and in Latin is evident in the entire commentary to the *Canzoniere*. With rare exceptions, his glosses lack any indication of the actual classical sources used by Petrarch. This lack cannot be put down entirely to the limited nature of the declared scope of the exercise, to provide a literal clarification of the text; nor can it be due to lack of knowledge of the sources, given the detailed and deep familiarity with classical texts and myths displayed by Patrizi elsewhere. It must rather be due to Patrizi's judgement that Petrarch's poetry simply was not comparable to classical poetry in language or content in spite of some parallels of form. Filelfo, on the other hand,

ripropone a poco a poco i temi della sua cultura latina trasferendoli a quel volgare... e tra i ricordi di Erodoto e Tucidide, Ovidio e Omero, Empedocle e Virgilio, Livio e Cassio Dione, Seneca e Terenzio, Tolomeo e Cicerone, Platone, Aristotele e persino Dante, inseriti nella trama delle sue postille, egli mostra che anche le *Rime* sono qualcosa di classico ed esemplare.⁴⁴

Canzone 119 provides a final comparison between Patrizi and Filelfo. Patrizi understands it as a love poem and sees the lady in question as Laura; but he struggles to explain certain inconsistencies in his reading, and is forced in the end to posit two old maids who incite Laura and the poet to love and pleasure (ll. 92-110). The idea is unconvincing to say the least, and Patrizi seems to acknowledge this when he prefaces his reading with an insistence on the declared obscurity of the

del Petrarca, p. 51, who maintains it is the work Petrarch refers to in this sonnet.

⁴⁴ Raimondi, 'Francesco Filelfo', pp. 150-51.

poem. He even apologises for feeling a little like Cicero, who, when asked by Brutus to write something on oratory, replied that he would only do so if 'liceat mihi fateri nescire quae nescio'. In any case, the fault is laid firmly with Petrarch, whether the obscurity of the *canzone* is deliberate or ascribable once more to the fury of emotion which led to its composition.⁴⁵

Further illustration of Patrizi's commentary and of his understanding of Petrarch's poems can be offered using his glosses to poems dealing with:

- a) places and characters known to Petrarch;
- b) political themes;
- c) Laura and 'l'aura'.

a) Places and Characters known to Petrarch

The difficulty of interpretation presented by some parts of the *Canzoniere*, above all those which allude to places and characters known only to the poet, had already been mentioned by Patrizi in the preface to the commentary.⁴⁶ Added to his vaunted independence from other commentators, this explains and in some ways justifies the more eccentric glosses, such as on *canzone* 119, or on sonnet 10 ('Gloriosa colonna'). The latter is not, according to Patrizi, dedicated to Cardinal Colonna as 'è opinione de assai homini', for the Cardinal was too 'inerte et con poca litteratura' to deserve the eulogies of the opening lines. The Colonna, who in Patrizi's gloss is Giacomo, becomes nothing more than Petrarch's companion in the woodland idyll, where the 'lauro', the true addressee of the poem, grows. Ll. 3-4 provide irrefutable proof by alluding to the widely-held belief that the laurel plant had the property of not being susceptible to lightning-strikes.⁴⁷ Through the 'lauro', as a symbol of

⁴⁵ ff. 54r-v: 'Cussi Signore humilmente vi pregho che ad me sia licito dire non intendere quello che non intendo. Imperoché questo poeta vinto da furore scrive alcune cose che è impossibile ad interpretarle et anchora può essere che non voglia essere inteso...'

⁴⁶ Prologue, Appendix to this chapter: 'Cade anchora obscuritate... per non sapere i loci dove ha scripto: o veramente le persone con le quali ha confabulato.'

⁴⁷ Petrarch had noted this property of the 'lauro' in the *Secretum*. Classical sources

poetry, and Apollo, Petrarch finds the inspiration to express his love, and praise of its inspirational force is followed by an equally passionate lament for its, or his, departure. However, commenting on sonnet 24, which deals with the laurel in its first three lines, Patrizi does not even mention the qualities given such emphasis a little earlier, but simply reaffirms his difficulty in the interpretation of references to Petrarch's contemporaries:

Difficile cosa è divinare li nomi d'alcuni noti del poeta ali quali scriue li soi canti perchè pochi nomi propri dei suoi amici legiamo. Li principali sono quelli dela Colonna li quali da poi Messer Cino da Pistoya, Guidone de Arezo, Senucci et alcuni altri. (f. 17r)

His fears prove justifiable, as he fails to identify the figure of Stramazzo da Perugia in the sonnet in question, and both here and for the following poem, he mentions no names. Patrizi's prudence is all the more understandable when compared to the extravagant and anachronistic interpretation offered by Filelfo of sonnet 25, as a reply by Petrarch to 'un Albertin Mussatin homo ben erudito et eloquente', to say nothing of 26, which Patrizi takes plausibly as addressed - like 104 - to Pandolfo Malatesta, whilst Filelfo sees it as a reconciliation between the church and the excommunicated Florentines. Not even the naming of the character, as in 38 and 98, helps Patrizi a great deal: Orso d'Anguillara is either a simple 'soldato della guardia del papa',⁴⁸ or is left out altogether. His name seems to be too easily adapted to other meanings, such as a composite of 'Ora' and 'so', which Patrizi takes as a *recherché* phonetic trick and explains by emending the text to a more standard Tuscan 'hora so' which he then links with an explicative 'che' to the first four lines, and summarizes in 'che non vi fu mai nissuno impedimento'.⁴⁹

for the belief were found by scholars in Tibullus and Svetonius in particular.

⁴⁸ Patrizi on 38. Filelfo gives a similar definition in his comments on 98.

⁴⁹ Filelfo does something similar with 38, which opens with 'Orse', and which becomes 'Or se'.

b) Political Themes

The sonnets and *canzoni* whose subject-matter is political, historical and moral, and not related to Petrarch's love for Laura are the following: 27, 28, 53, 103, 114, 128, 136, 137, 138. In the first two of these, 27 and 28, Patrizi sees reference to a crusade called by the Pope and a certain Emperor Frederick, and he identifies the first as an exhortation to Stefano Colonna to console Rome for the absence of the Pope whose return was imminent. Patrizi sees in the opening of the second poem 'O aspettata in ciel' a eulogy of the soul of the Pontiff who is undertaking such a solemn and important task. The tone of the commentary remains elevated throughout, as befits the moral subject of the *canzone*, but where the text alludes to the genius and eloquence of the addressee (ll. 64-5) or his philosophical and literary activity (ll. 76-77), Patrizi prefers to introduce, as new addressees, orators, poets and scholars in order to celebrate such glorious enterprises, rather than to attribute literary gifts to a spiritual guide and thereby divert him from his principal function. In the 'congedo' the theme of love returns: Patrizi had already interpreted 'nostro torto' (l. 12) as wrong inflicted by love on the poet, and here he restates the theme of love as imprisonment. The final three verses are correctly read as an apostrophe to the poem that it might reach its companions, the other love poems, since the expression of love for a woman is equivalent to the expression of love for the glory of the crusade.

Canzone 53 produces a particularly interesting gloss. Patrizi states that its addressee is Bosone da Gubbio, a Roman senator during the well-known conflict between the Orsini and Colonna families. Patrizi is the only commentator to find Bosone here, although both Filelfo and Da Tempo identified the addressee as a Roman senator as well, and not as Cola di Rienzo, favoured by XVIth-century commentators. Patrizi's version is correct and is supported by an annotation to codex Riccardiano 1100 and Ashburnhamiano 478, copies of the *Canzoniere* written respectively at the beginning and end of the '400, which states that the *canzone* had

indeed been written to Busone.⁵⁰

The commentary to 103 also alludes to the rivalry between the Orsini and the Colonna, and here Patrizi concurs with later criticism in seeing the dedicatee as Stefano Colonna.

The interpretation of sonnet 114, which makes initial reference to the papal court in a polemical attack on its corruption, is almost entirely correct, apart from an assumption that Rome is the papal seat in question. As with sonnets 136-8, such imprecision reveals Patrizi's uncertain grasp of historical events in Petrarch's lifetime. He makes up for such historical inaccuracy by sticking to his main task of providing a literal paraphrase of the text.

The treatment of 'Italia mia' (128) opens by highlighting its great success. It then summarises the content and indicates the occasion of its composition:

Canzone morale laudata oltre a tucte l'altre del Petrarca la quale scrive ad Italia dolendosi della discordia di quella ed confortandola ad concordia. Impero che lo imperatore Federico Bauera era venuto in Italia chiamato dala parte Gibellina contra ad parte Guelfa et era quasi tucta Italia in arme... (f. 61v).

Despite reproducing in prose the patriotic rhetoric of the original, these opening words are once more historically ill-informed. The confusion is over the name of the Emperor Frederick. Frederick had already appeared in the commentary to sonnet 27, where there had also been mention of a crusade and an unidentified pope, which all suggest a historical blunder by Patrizi, who can only be referring to Frederick I and to the third crusade begun in 1190. In 'Italia mia' the error recurs, although the confusion is more understandable. Patrizi is probably confusing Frederick of Habsburg with Ludwig of Bavaria who defeated his rival and entered Italy to lay claim to his election as emperor with the support of the Ghibellines. Indeed, for Patrizi, ll. 22, 35,⁵¹ and 66 refer to the arrival in Italy of the 'todeschi'

⁵⁰ Carducci – Ferrari, *Le Rime*, p. 83, assert that A. Bartoli (*Domenica del Fracassa*, II, 1855, n.2) first noted on ms. Ashb. 478 the following: 'Mandata a messer Bosone d'Agobbio essendo senatore di Roma.'

⁵¹ There is a strange coincidence which raises further doubt about Patrizi's historical

because of whom the Italians '[fanno] idolo un nome vano' (ll. 76-77), that is 'tutta l'Italia era divisa ad nome Guelfo et Ghibellino che non significava cosa alcuna' (*Rime*, 128, f. 62v). Patrizi remains faithful to his idea despite the fact that all the early commentators from Castelvetro onwards up to the moderns have demonstrated that the poem was written in around 1344 about the wars amongst the Italian nobility. During the Quattrocento the above version was probably dominant, and indeed Filelfo shares it in his comments on the same poem.⁵²

Filelfo is relevant also to the discussion of 136, 'Fiamma del ciel su le tue treccie piova', which was the last poem in his commentary. Patrizi's comments on 136-8 confirm what has already been said about 114, that Petrarch here lashes out at the corruption of the Roman court at Avignon. Filelfo, on the other hand, giving rein to his polemic against Florence, declares that 'Fiamma del ciel' is an attack on a Florentine lady of the Medici family, but Squarzafico hastens to correct him in similar terms to Patrizi and Da Tempo.

At this point a brief digression on Patrizi's explanation of ll. 13-14 of *Rime* 138, which have caused much critical debate, is necessary. Patrizi maintains that Constantine will never return to provide Rome with a gift (l. 13) and he glosses l. 14, 'ma tolga il modo tristo chel sostiene', thus: 'quello è l'acto delle mani dispectivo che in volgare si dice fare egrofoli; in latino si dice "ostendere medium unguem" id est "io ne disprezzo il modo et li huomini che ti sostengano"'. This bizarre explanation remains unique in all the commentators before and since, as far as can be ascertained, until Leopardi refers to it as an ingenious 'trovata' of a young Florentine 'assai letterato'. Indeed, the latter traced a similarity between l. 14 and ll. 1-3 of Dante's *Inferno* XXV where Vanni Fucci '...le mani alzò con ambeduo le fiche/ gridando: Togli, Dio, che a te le squadro.' The verb 'togliere' is used

dating. Carducci-Ferrari, *Le Rime*, p.195, notes 34-35, note that the expression 'tedesca rabbia' used by Petrarch has a precedent in *De diversitate fortunae* by Arrighetto da Settimello. The latter had used the phrase 'germanica rabies' in reference to the arrival of, precisely, Frederick I in Tuscany in 1184 or 1188.

⁵² Filelfo: '...incita et conforta gli italiaci signori et principi al discacciamento dele genti todesche...'. Commentary on *Rime* 128.

transitively to mean 'pigliati' and it would thus signify an obscene gesture which the sonnet's satirical tone would seem to justify.⁵³ On closer inspection, therefore, it is possible that Patrizi was correct, given the possible Dantesque echo and the local Tuscan usage, and particularly given his main task of rendering comprehensible the customs and expressions of Tuscany to a reader who was ignorant of them.

In the above example, Patrizi provides an explanation for Tuscan by recourse to Latin. There are other similar examples: 'M'abbaglian: questa è dizione thoscana et in latino si dice allucinor' (*Rime* 107, l. 8, f.51r-v); 'l m'involà: Involare è dictione latina et significa furare et mectersi in mano perchè vola è la palma della mano' (*Rime* 129, l. 71, f.65r). There are also glosses which explain the vernacular by way of synonyms: 'e già di là dal rio passato è il merlo: Proverbio Thoscano: quasi dica che la cosa è spacciata e non pò tornare indietro' (*Rime* 105, l. 21, f. 50r); 'ne mica: dictione toscana et significa nyente' (*Rime* 113, l. 8, f. 53r); 'lo scaltro: id est non lo scuso, dictione florentina sforzata per lo verso' (*Rime* 125, l. 28. f. 57v). In other examples, Patrizi lingers further and here he tends to expand on what he knows about a given word or a classical reference: 'e scoprìr l'avorio: describe l'amoroso riso lo quale fu molto laudato dali poeti unde dicono faccia non potere essere veduta senza segno di riso. Telao appresso li greci sta per ridere et gelasinos è una certa linea che si mostra nella faccia quando si ride...' (R. 131, l.10, f. 65v); or 'allor mi strinsi all'ombra d'un bel faggio: lo faggio è arbore dedicato ad Iove et per questa ragione se stima l'ombra di quello essere aptissima ale meditatione poetiche unde Virgilio dice "Recumbere sub tegmine fagi"...' (*Rime* 54, l. 7. f. 31v).

The latter example, cites a Latin verse well-known to classical scholars, but to note that in this case the source cited is erroneous would be to miss the point;⁵⁴ the commentary makes no claim to this kind of enquiry. In only one case, he explicitly

⁵³ See the edition of Petrarca, *Rime*, by Leopardi (Florence, 1851), pp. 446-47, notes 13-14.

⁵⁴ The real source is Virgil, *Aeol.* II, 17: 'Tantum inter densas umbrosa cacumina fagos Assidue veniebat.'

states that a sonnet was 'extracto da una Oda di Orazio poeta' (Poem 145, f. 70v);⁵⁵ and elsewhere, commenting on ll. 16-19 of *canzone* 135, he lists the characteristics of the calamity and he concludes 'secundo la sententia di Plinio' (f. 66v). The former is an isolated example, an exception which proves the rule, whilst the latter reveals only that the reading of Patrizi in this case coincides with Petrarch's. The names of the great figures of antiquity are prominent in the commentary even when there is little direct connection with the text, and beyond these, Patrizi takes pleasure in referring to historical and mythological characters.⁵⁶ Indeed, mythological material is deployed with great expertise even if without order. The story of Progne and Filomena is a case in point. Although it appears in several earlier sonnets, Patrizi discusses it in commenting *Rime* 311. He mentions it with reference to *Rime* 310, 'Zefiro torna e il bel tempo rimena', but goes into detail on 'Quel rossignol che sì soave piagne' (311), where he relates the story with precision and even adds erudite annotations. He notes that poets interpret in various ways the names of Progne and Filomena, and he chides Virgil, whom Petrarch later imitates, for swapping the two names.⁵⁷ Thus he manages to let the reader see his own erudition on the subject, including the Greek tradition which had Filomena turned into a swallow and Progne into a nightingale.

c) Laura and 'l'aura'

One final example is offered by the analysis of the commentary on a group of lyrics dealing with Laura's name and with 'l'aura'. Such an analysis provides little clue as to Patrizi's judgement of Laura, and confirms yet again his lack of interest in the text's subject, and his desire to apply wherever possible his own classical culture.

⁵⁵ The source is Horace, *Carm.* I, 22, 17-24.

⁵⁶ Most commonly cited are Homer, Horace, Virgil. Reference is also made to Plato, Pliny, Herodotus, Pythagoras, Ovid and others.

⁵⁷ f. 121v: 'Non è da maravigliare delle mutazioni di questi nomi proprij perchè si scrivano variamente dali poeti onde Virgilio pone Philomena per Progne et così ha seguitato il poeta nostro...'. See Virgil, *Georg.* IV, 511.

Patrizi realizes that Laura's name is present in various forms and suggests various meanings, and thus provides a key for 'correct' interpretation:

Il nome della donna sua interpreta secundo il latino significato et alcuna volta Laura intende nome coniuncto et alhora vuole che significhi il lauro arbore; alcuna volta disiuncto come fa qua et hora "la" è separato e tiene luogo di greco articulo che da cognitione di cosa per nota et aura pur separato significa il vento tenue et suave in questo loco.⁵⁸

The difficulty derives from the fact that in manuscripts and early printed editions of the *Canzoniere*, and in the text used in Patrizi's commentary, apostrophes are not indicated. The first verse of *Rime* 90 is written as 'Erano i capei d'oro a Laura sparsi' and although the commentary does not pause to explain it literally, he proves he has understood the use when it comes to the opening of *Rime* 196: 'Quando il poeta si innamorò di Laura la vide cum li capelli sparsi al vento come se vede in uno sonetto passato che incomincia Erano i capei d'oro a laura sparsi...' (f. 83v). In the four *sonetti dell'aura* the form is consistently 'laura' and the commentary to sonnet 194 'Laura gentil che rasserena i poggi' returns to the subject: '... allude al nome di Laura et alcuna volta el disgiunge. Alguna volta el congiunge. Quando el disgiunge significa la aura idest lo soave vento come fa in questo loco' (f. 83r). Patrizi must have used the same criterion for reading the term 'lauro', since he says of sonnet 263 'Arbor vittoriosa triunfale' that Petrarch alludes to his loved-one in the form of the laurel. This explains why the phrase 'chal lauro el vago et biondo capel chiuda' (l. 6) in the madrigal 'Non al suo amante più Diana piacque' creates no difficulty of interpretation; indeed it becomes the key to his reading. According to Patrizi, the shepherdess, whom Petrarch happens upon at a spring, is washing Laura's veil and it is this veil which deceives him and makes him mistake the young girl for his beloved.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Commentary on 109, l. 9 'L'aura soave che dal chiaro viso', ff. 51v-52r, which is written in the manuscript without apostrophe.

⁵⁹ Filelfo also makes recourse to a peasant-girl, but he reads 'all'aura' in l. 6 and thus sees the episode as an amorous whim of the poet.

To summarize, Patrizi's commentary on Petrarch's *Canzoniere* was composed in 1477-78 in compliance with the wishes of Alfonso of Aragon and it circulated primarily in Naples in a limited number of copies. It was commissioned by the Duke, in part for his own personal use, but clearly also because the Neapolitan court felt the need to produce its own commentary on the *Canzoniere*. The commentary remains important for three principal reasons: it is the only Tuscan commentary produced by a Quattrocento humanist on the integral text of the *Canzoniere*; its readings, however eccentric, allow us to clarify further the history and lines of influence of the commentary tradition; and its writing at the very least coincides with, and perhaps influences a significant growth in the diffusion and appreciation of Petrarch's works among Neapolitan humanists which marks an important phase in the history of Petrarchism.

In addition, the commentary adds to our understanding of Patrizi's literary interests. It displays the author's fundamental indifference to both the text's subject-matter and the vernacular language, evident in his attempt to link Petrarch's poetry to the classical tradition. His manner of doing so, by referring to similarities in versification and forms of composition, marks an approach to poetry not to be found in other Quattrocento commentaries on Petrarch, and certainly derived from his expertise in metrics and formal aspects of classical poetry.

i) Attribution and Manuscript Tradition

An analysis of Patrizi's activity as a vernacular commentator would be incomplete if it were only to treat his work on the *Canzoniere*. Some important observations remain to be made regarding a commentary of the *Trionfi* contained in MS V&A Forster Bequest 436 mentioned above.⁶⁰ The text of the *Trionfi* and its accompanying commentary were copied in ff. 171r-228r by the same scribe who transcribed Patrizi's commentary to the *Canzoniere*.

The sequence of the text and commentary is as follows:⁶¹ 'Triumphus Cupidinis' I, *Inc.* 'Nel tempo che rinova i miei sospiri', ll. 1- 103 (ff. 171v-180r); 'Triumphus Cupidinis' III (f. 180r: 'Capitolo secundo del trionpho de Amore'), *Inc.* 'Era sì pieno el cor de maraviglia', ll. 1-184, ff. 180r-190r; 'Triumphus Cupidinis' IV (f. 190r: 'Parte Tercia del Triumpho d'Amor'), *Inc.* 'Poscia che mia fortuna in forza altrui', ll. 1-166, ff. 190r-197r; 'Triumphus Cupidinis' II (f. 197v: 'Quarta parte del Triumpho d'amore'), *Inc.* 'Stanco già di mirar non satio anchora', ll. 1-187, ff. 197v-205r; 'Triumphus Pudicitie' (f. 205v: 'Triumphus Castitatis'), *Inc.* 'Quando ad un locho et ad un tempo quivi', ll. 1-193, ff. 205v-214v; 'Triumphus Mortis' Ist (f. 214v: 'In laude de la Pudicicia'), *Inc.* 'Quanti già nela età matura et acra', ll. 1-21, ff. 214v-216r; 'Triumphus Mortis' I (f. 216r: 'Triumpho tercio de la Morte'), *Inc.* 'Questa ligiadra e gratiosa donna', ll. 1-172, ff. 216r-221v; 'Triumphus Mortis' II (f. 221v: 'Parte seconda del Triompho de la Morte'), *Inc.* 'La nocte che seguì l'horribel caso', ll. 1-190, ff. 221v-228r; 'Triumphus Fame' I, 1st (f. 228r: 'Triumpho quarto de la Fama'), *Inc.* 'Nel cor pien d'amarissima dolcezza',

⁶⁰ References and quotations from the commentary to *Trionfi* will be taken from MS V&A Forster Bequest 436, for which the folio numbers are given where necessary without further reference to the manuscript.

⁶¹ References to the *Trionfi* are to the edition contained in Petrarca, *Rime, Trionfi e poesie latine*, edited by F. Neri, G. Martellotti, E. Bianchi, N. Sapegno (Milan and Naples, 1951), 479-559.

ll. 1-6, ff. 228r-v.

The order of chapters is confirmed in a group of codices, labelled by Appel as IB1, to which the codex said by the commentator to have been received from the buyer must have belonged.⁶² In particular, it should be noted that 'Tr. Cup.' III is longer than the version in modern critical editions, which correspond to those in the Vulgate used later in the edition by Mestica and supported by the *abbozzo*.⁶³ 'Tr. Cup.' II, given as fourth in the order of the manuscript, supports the choice of Mestica which was rejected by Appel who reads it as a second draft of 'Tr. Cup.' II. The commentator labels 'Tr. Mortis' 1st version as 'Capitolo ultimo del triumpho dela pucizia' (f.215r), so that the two subsequent chapters of the 'Tr. Mortis' correspond to the modern editions of 'Tr. Mortis' I and II. Finally, on the ordering of the 'Tr. Famae', the commentator himself expresses some perplexity on versions in circulation. He proposes 'Tr. Famae' 1st version, as the first chapter and affirms:

Questo triumpho è multo vario per la diversità deli texti et chi ce mecte più versi et chi mancho. Et questo procede perchè dalo poeta prevenuto dala morte questa opera non fo emendata onde ne segue replicatione più volte dele midesime historie'. (f. 228r)⁶⁴

With the opening lines of this 'Trionfo' and a few words of commentary, the manuscript ends.

Since the commentary is incomplete at the start and finish and bears no indications of authorship, the fact that it follows the commentary on the *Rime*, whose attribution to Patrizi is certain, is not sufficient to identify it as his work. The views of the few modern scholars who have made such an attribution have not been supported by further discussion.⁶⁵ However, a close reading of the two

⁶² Appel, *Die Triumphe*, p. 96. Mestica, in his Introduction to Petrarca, *Le Rime* (Florence, 1896), p. xvi, groups the same codices in a so called 'second category'.

⁶³ See Romanò, *Il Codice degli Abbozzi*, pp. 253-54 and p. 264.

⁶⁴ In the following century, the confusion surrounding the order of chapters of the 'Tr. Famae' would be reiterated in terms similar to Patrizi's by Ludovico Beccadelli, who states in his life of Petrarch: 'troppo erano le istorie e i nomi inculcati ...'. See Frasso, *Studi su i 'Rerum vulgarium fragmenta'*, pp. 70-71.

⁶⁵ In particular, Dionisotti says, 'Fortuna del Petrarca', p.93, n. 1: 'Questo secondo

commentaries offers more substantial indications and will prove that Francesco Patrizi is undoubtedly the author of the commentary on the *Trionfi*.

First of all the commentator of Petrarch's *Trionfi* had knowledge of Patrizi's commentary on the *Canzoniere*. This is proved by the following passages: when explaining ll. 55-57 of 'Tr. Cup' I, the commentator declares that the poet, Petrarch, in his youth fell in love with a lady but then decided to give up the aim of conquering her, because it did not seem worthy. He adds that this is proved by several passages of the poems, first of all the madrigal 54 'Perch'al viso d'amor portava insegna' and line 35 of *Rime* 105. It follows, the commentator continues, that line 57 of 'Tr. Cup.' I 'ma squarciati ne porto il petto e' panni' can be interpreted in two ways: it can indicate either the great pain which followed his renunciation of such love, or his regret at having given up on the possibility of a successful prosecution of his love, only to pursue an unrequitable love. References to the two poems of the *Canzoniere* are therefore introduced to back up this gloss. Patrizi, in his commentary to *Rime* 54 had indeed declared: 'Madrigale da cantare nello quale canta socto figura come se innamoró et fuli rilevato come se perdeva tempo unde pentito se tolse in parte dela impresa' f. 31v). Thus, Patrizi's interpretation of the term 'peregrina' (l. 2) as Laura, and of the whole poem as a renunciation due to the harshness of the beloved, supplies a perfect explanation of the first interpretation of line 57 of the *Trionfo*. Patrizi's reading of line 35 of *Rime* 105, i. e., 'senno è a non cominciare troppe alte imprese' is as follows: 'quasi dica le imprese basse sono più facili ad ottenere perchè grande speranze conduceno alla morte' (f.50v), and this accords perfectly with the second explanation of the line in 'Tr. Cup.'. It is clear, therefore, such precise coincidences of reference to disparate points of the *Canzoniere* could not but have been made by the author of the commentary in support of his interpretation of the passage of the *Trionfo*.

ms. [Forster Bequest 436], mutilo, contiene anche parte di un commento ai *Trionfi*, che ritengo sia dello stesso Patrizi.' Belloni, 'Commenti petrarcheschi', p. 24 merely includes the name of Patrizi among those authors who wrote commentaries on the *Trionfi*.

In addition, it should be noted that the references to these two poems of the *Canzoniere* is significant since the former is introduced as a 'mesticcio' and the latter as a 'madrigale'. The distinction corresponds exactly to the formal distinctions of compositions made by Patrizi in his commentary, who had defined *Rime* 54 'madrigale da cantare' and indeed had given as an example of the 'mesticcio' *canzone* 105. Such a coincidence, regarding a formal aspect of the *Rime*, cannot be fortuitous.

Furthermore, in commenting on ll. 112-14 of 'Tr. Cup.' III, the commentator declares 'perchè amor fa cercar vita solitaria come esso midesimo misser Francesco dice altrove' (187r) and recalls *Rime* 259 'Cercato ho sempre solitaria vita' (f. 102v); the reference is here more by way of linguistic echo than similarity of content.⁶⁶

If the author of the commentary of the *Trionfi* knew the text of Patrizi's commentary on the *Canzoniere*, it is also evident that Patrizi was familiar with the *Trionfi*. In his glosses to *Rime* 314 'Mentre che presaga de' tuoi danni', he identifies the 'duo amici più fidi' mentioned in l.12 as 'quello zio di Laura al quale fece quello sonetto due rose - [that is *Rime* 245] - et ^{as} una vicina segreta, la quale sapeva di li facti loro' and then adds 'dela quale fa mentione neli Triumphi' (f.121r). That female figure, strictly anonymous as the courtly love poetic *topos* requires, is in all probability the one referred to in the gloss to v.54 of 'Tr. Mortis' II, of whom the commentator has Laura saying: 'è stata amica intra me et te et conscia deli nostri amori...' (f.223v).

Another indication that Patrizi could be the author of both the commentaries is the presence of two expressions in the work on the *Trionfi* which are used elsewhere by Patrizi. First, 'Tr. Cup.' IV, l. 7, 'e le fatiche lor vidi, e i lor frutti', is paraphrased as '...e vidi tucte le fatiche loro idest deli servi d'amore e li loro fructi

⁶⁶ There is a further reference to the *Canzoniere* in the codex, to l.9 *Rime* 7, in the lateral annotation to ll.148-50 of 'Tr. Cup.' I. The commentator notes '... lo mirto è virgulto dedicato ad Venere' (f.179r), and alongside in a larger script we find 'Qual vaghezza di lauro qual di mirto'.

quasi dicat piccoli...' (f. 190v) which is almost identical to the words used by Patrizi in the first of the two letters to Giovanni Albino, speaking of Petrarch's love poetry: '...se li flori hanno alcuna delectatione, li fructi si trovano piccioli.'⁶⁷ The similarity is both lexical and interpretative. The second expression appears in the introduction to 'Tr. Famae' IV, where the commentator declares that several versions of the text were in circulation since the author died before emending his own text, and that he has therefore used the text given to him by 'Ill. ma S.ria'. He adds: '...sopra quello extenderó lo commento remectendome sempre ala emendatione de Vostra Celsitudine' (f. 228r). The words are identical to those at the end of the prologue to the commentary on the *Canzoniere* 'remectendome sempre ala emedatione di V. S.'⁶⁸ Furthermore, in the second letter to Albino, Patrizi had claimed to have used a text sent to him from the Neapolitan court, as the note indicates had also happened in the case of the *Trionfi*.

Thus, even if references to the *Canzoniere* in the *Trionfi* commentary could simply indicate that the author of the latter was an attentive reader of Patrizi's work on the former, it is much less likely that such an author would have had access to other works, such as the letters to Albino, or even the prologue, which is only present in three of the eight manuscript exemplars.

Before moving on to a more general evaluation of the commentary, it should be noted that at two points, the author addresses a precise figure, that 'Ill.ma Sig.ria' mentioned above, who was clearly the addressee but also the commissioner of the work. When describing the islands of ll.154-55 of 'Tr. Cup.' IV - that is, 'la Insula di Vulcano, o del Lipari o de Ischia o Strongoli o Moncibello' - the commentator declares 'delle quali alcuna ne è vicina ad Vui, le altre sono nelo mare Siculo et maxime le Strongoli le quali se chiamano Ephestie, ...' (f. 197r), from which it may be deduced by a process of exclusion that the addressee was in Naples. Then, in a comment on l.18 of the first draft of 'Tr. Mortis', omitted from modern editions,

⁶⁷ See below, Appendix.

⁶⁸ See below, Appendix.

which the commentator takes as the last chapter of 'Tr. Pud.' - 'la mia Academia un tempo e 'l mio Parnaso' - he says: 'Perchè como sapete el poeta ste longo tempo ad studiare in nella solitudine de Sorga et stodiava philosophia morale...' (f. 215v), suggesting that the recipient was a particular individual who knew his Petrarch well. If the attribution of the commentary to Patrizi is correct, it seems clear that the man in question is Alfonso of Aragon, and that the work was composed at his request following the writing of the comment on the *Canzoniere*, that is in or after 1478.

Two further elements support this hypothesis. First, Patrizi composed a series of Latin poems in the form of *Trionfi*, which, as will be shown at the end of this chapter, are modelled on Petrarch's work. Secondly, there exists a contemporary affirmation of the existence of such a work by Patrizi, to be found in the manuscript volume, kept in the Biblioteca Comunale in Siena, of the work *Bibliotheca Senensis sive memoria Scriptorum Senensium*, by Nicolò Bandiera.⁶⁹ Bandiera's list of Patrizi's work includes: 'Commentaria edidit in scripta Francisci Petrarchae. Hunc librum relatum reperi inter eos, quos Antonius Bichius secum detulit cum S. C. an. 1482 & III Kal. Augusti' (f. 97v). He adds that Patrizi himself mentions the work in the letters to Albino, which he quotes in part. Later Bandiera makes a more explicit reference still to the commentary on the *Trionfi*: 'Recollectiones Patricii sub Odas et Opusculum de Triumphis recensito habemus in Syldato eorumdem librorum quos, ut iam diximus, subtulit Antonius Bichius' (f. 98r). The accuracy of the information is confirmed by Benvoglianti in his work *Scrittori sanesi*: 'Tre libri che portò via Antonio Bichi nella sua cacciata seguita li 29 di Luglio 1482; fra li altri libri portò via lo scritto del Patrizio sopra li Triunfi - Le recollette del Patrizio sopra l'Ode - Lo commento del Patritio sopra li scritti del Petrarca'.⁷⁰ This confirms that the two commentaries existed as distinct works and circulated as such. The mention of Bichi is also interesting. Antonio Bichi was a Quattrocento member of one of the richest

⁶⁹ BCS, MS Z I 11, Bandiera, *Bibliotheca Senensis*, already mentioned above, Chapter I, n. 4.

⁷⁰ BCS, MS Z I 6, Benvoglianti, *Scrittori Sanesi*, f. 124r, already mentioned above, Chapter I, n. 4.

and most powerful Sienese families, who, after a youth spent studying the classics, betrayed his literary vocation for politics, becoming an important member of the *Monte dei Nove*. For chronological, but also political reasons, then, Bichi would certainly have been well known to Patrizi. After the change of government in 1480, Bichi was sent into *confino* for eight years. In 1482, when he was required to attend a hearing in Siena, he chose to flee with his sons and 'la robba sua'. Both Bandiera and Benvoglianti allude to this flight, and to the fact that the Bichi were known for their formidable book collection, of which Panormita affirmed 'est enim carcer librorum Bicia proles'. A significant part of the 'robba sua' was made up of books and manuscripts, including the works by Patrizi. Their presence in Tuscany need not, however, suggest that these commentaries were in circulation beyond Naples, since Antonio, amongst other things, had been twice nominated, in 1464 and 1479, counsellor to Ferdinand of Aragon to whom he went as ambassador in 1479 and 1480. On one of these occasions, he certainly came into possession of Patrizi's works on Petrarch, and may even have met him. The reference also confirms the sequence of composition of the commentary on the *Trionfi* with respect to that on the *Canzoniere*, and the making of copies in Neapolitan circles around the Aragonese court.⁷¹ Furthermore, this second commentary reinforces the possibility that the Duke of Calabria intended to produce a complete set of commentaries on Petrarch's vernacular work, and that the project was not solely personal, but rather aimed at gaining prestige in the Neapolitan court in this field. for /

A brief digression on the commentary tradition of the *Trionfi*, in printed and manuscript versions, is needed to clarify this last point. As with the *Canzoniere*, the 1470s saw the publication of exegetical writing on the *Trionfi*.⁷² In Bologna, in 1475, the monumental work on the *Trionfi* by Bernardo Illicino, undertaken in the

⁷¹ On Antonio Bichi, already mentioned in Chapter II above, see Ascheri, *Siena nel Rinascimento*, p. 52, n. 83; Fioravanti, 'Alcuni Aspetti', pp. 154-57.

⁷² For '400 commentaries on the *Trionfi* see Alessio, 'The "lectura" of the *Triumphs*'; Belloni, 'Commenti petrarcheschi', pp. 23-24 e pp. 27-30 with bibliography (p. 38); Quarta, 'I commentatori quattrocentisti', esp. pp. 301-17.

Ferrarese court for Borso d'Este in 1468-69, was published. The enormous weight of historical-bibliographical and theological-philosophical information contained within it led to its striking success: between 1475 and 1522, no fewer than twenty-four editions were printed, and it was only superseded in 1525 by the commentary of Alessandro Vellutello.⁷³

Two years earlier, in 1473, in Parma, the typographer Andrea Portilia had printed a mutilated commentary which stops at l. 59 of the first draft of 'Tr. Famae'. Attributed to Filelfo, it consists of glosses written at different times by three different people, and recent studies have shown that its diffusion was centred on Florence and Naples.⁷⁴ In 1475, in Rome, came the edition of the commentary to the first version of the 'Tr. Famae' by Iacopo di Poggio Bracciolini, dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, and motivated by the exclusion of this chapter from Ilicino's work and its only partial inclusion in Portilia.⁷⁵

Finally, the work of Bartolomeo Fonzio (1445-1513), produced after 1478, consists of philological observations on the final two chapters of 'Tr. Cup.' and the first two of 'Tr. Famae' and on the respective commentaries by Ilicino and Bracciolini. The importance of this work lies in its demonstration of the desire amongst Florentine humanists to apply the same philological rigour to vernacular texts as they had previously reserved for writings in Latin.⁷⁶

With Fonzio, which was only printed in 1960, we enter the field of commentaries on the *Trionfi* transmitted only in manuscript.⁷⁷ For the most part

⁷³ On Ilicino's commentary see Carnicelli, 'Bernardo Ilicino'; Merry, 'Una nota sulla fortuna'; Pozzone, 'Un commentatore quattrocentesco'. See also: Belloni, 'Commenti petrarcheschi', pp. 27-28; Dionisotti, 'Fortuna del Petrarca', pp. 70-78; Quarta, 'Commentatori quattrocentisti', pp. 303-16. On Ilicino's life see Corso, 'L'Ilicino (Bernardo Lapini)'. A short extract of his commentary has to be found in Garin, *La disputa delle arti*, pp. 103-107.

⁷⁴ See Allenspach, 'Commento ai "Trionfi"'; Alessio, 'The "Lectura" of the *Triumphs*', pp. 280-81; Belloni, 'Commenti petrarcheschi', p. 27; Quarta, 'Commentatori quattrocentisti', p. 276.

⁷⁵ See Belloni, 'Commenti petrarcheschi', p. 28; Merry, 'Una nota sulla fortuna', p. 239.

⁷⁶ See Belloni, 'Commenti petrarcheschi', pp. 28-29.

⁷⁷ Fonzio's glosses are only extant in one manuscript copy. They were published

anonymous, these works have been studied for their content, with little success in ascertaining their compilation dates and authorship.⁷⁸ One in particular is worth of attention here: MS A 363 of the Library of the Archiginnasio in Bologna, which was described by Paola Cavenaghi Campari, who notes :

Intorno alla precisa data di composizione del commento, non trovasi notizia alcuna e nemmeno allusioni a fatti contemporanei all'Anonimo, che possano fondatamente indicarla.⁷⁹

The commentary remains unattributed, an exemplar of a XVth century, Neapolitan work to be distinguished from other such works such as Patrizi's. However, the commentary turns out to be identical to that contained in MS V&A Forster Bequest 436, and can thus be attributed to Patrizi.⁸⁰ The manuscript is properly described as:

1. Bologna, Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio

MS A 363 (formerly 16 c. III. 21) (henceforth MS Archiginnasio A 363). Paper, XVth c., ff 68 unnumbered, mm. 202 x 140 .

The commentary is not accompanied by the text and is incomplete. It begins with a brief introduction, starting 'Li romani secondo che scrive Dionisio di Halicarnaseo, scriptore de hystorie Romane in lingua greca...', and follows the same order of

by Trinkaus, 'A Humanist's Image of Humanism', pp. 134-47.

⁷⁸ Recently C. Gratton has analysed a commentary on the *Triumph* in MS Modena Estense, Ital. 262 in 'La diffusione dei "Trionfi"'; Pintaudi has studied two small commentaries, on the *Canzoniere* and *Triumph* in MS Laur. Acquisti e doni 715 in 'Note codicologiche'. See also the following study on glosses to the *Canzoniere* and *Triumph* contained in one of the first editions of Petrarch published in Venice by Vindelino da Spira in 1470, which have been attributed to Antonio Grifo and dated around 1494: Frasso, Mariani Canova, Sandal, *Illustrazione libraria*.

⁷⁹ Cavenaghi Campari, 'Un commento quattrocentesco inedito', p. 151.

⁸⁰ The entire field has been subject to much critical confusion. The most striking example in this instance is that of Gian Carlo Alessio, who in his 'The "Lectura" of the *Triumph*' speaks of one commentary 'supposedly by Patrizi' which 'originated in Naples' (p.270), referring to Dionisotti as a source: he then comments on passages from MS A 363 in Bologna, following Cavenaghi in asserting 'what is missing is any reference that could be helpful in dating the work even approximately' (p.285), and even recognizing that 'the commentary was undoubtedly commissioned by a Neapolitan, maybe someone related to the Aragonese family' (p.268, n.5). He appears to have no inkling that these two commentaries are one and the same.

chapters as in MS V&A Forster Bequest 436. The only difference from the latter is that it extends to 'Tr. Famae' I, 'Da poi che Morte Triumfò nel volto', and ends with glosses to l.40 of 'Tr. Famae' II: 'Pirro figlo de Eacide, fo de la stirpe de Pyrro, figlo de Achille et fu Re de li Epiroti.'

This suggests that, although both manuscripts are incomplete, Patrizi must have written his commentary using the full text of the *Trionfi* which in turn suggests once more that Alfonso of Aragon did indeed intend to commission a complete set of commentaries to Petrarch's vernacular work. Indeed, in the introduction to MS Archiginnasio A 363, which clearly sets out the *intentio* of the author, the full series of texts are mentioned, including the chapter missing in both manuscripts:

Lo poeta seguendo l'ordine naturale a dimostrare che omne nostra acione se reduce a summo bene fa in questo libro sei triumphi mostrando l'uno essere vincitore dell'altro in questo modo: Imprima induce lo amore socto specie de cupido triumphare deli homini perchè vediamo comunemente la iuvenile età essere vinta et signorizzata d'amore per la iuvenile fragilità et anco per ordine de natura. Secundo induce la pudicicia triumphare et vincere amore, perchè la resistenza della virtù refrena et vince omne carnal cupidità. Tercio induce la morte triumphare de la pudicicia, imperochè quantunque siamo crimoti [sic for cremati] pur la morte triumphat vincitrice de tucti. Quarto induce la paura triumphare de la morte imperochè ancora li homini virtuosi moreno rimane alcuno tempo la loro fama. Quinto induce lo tempo triumphare di la fama poichè non è sì egregia gloria et memoria che per lo tempo non se extingua. Sexto induce la eternità triumphare delo tempo imperochè lo tempo é determinato spazio di anni et la eternità è uno infinito che non ha ne similitudine ne comparazione collo determinato tempo.⁸¹

As will be seen below, this passage was recast in verse in the Latin compositions by Patrizi on the same subject.⁸²

ii) Structure and Characteristics of the Commentary

As far as the structure of the commentary is concerned, there are several elements which are familiar from the commentary on the *Canzoniere*, but which also

⁸¹ MS Archiginnasio A 363, ff. 1v-2r.

⁸² See below, pp. 269-72.

characterize more general¹ the structuring of such works in this period. The passage quoted above indicates that Patrizi opens with a general introduction before the text of the *Trionfi*. Only in this introduction does he go beyond the literal meaning of the text and touch upon possible allegorical interpretations. Otherwise, Patrizi's work is largely paraphrastic, and his glosses include, in part or in whole, quotation of the appropriate lines of verse. The criterion adopted by Patrizi is given in his preface to 'Tr. Cup.' I, which is incomplete in the manuscript:⁸¹

Questo è il tema generale dello primo triumpho benchè sia diviso in quatro capitoli li quali particolarmente exponeremo iuxta la vera sentenza non per allegorie et vane ostentaciuni di doctrine.(f. 171r)

The commentator here guarantees a striking detail of exposition *ad litteram*, which indeed pervades the work, and endeavours to avoid allegorical readings. Similarly in the prologue to the *Canzoniere* commentary, Patrizi had stated his rejection of allegorical interpretations in favour of a literal, human history of Petrarch's.⁸³

As part of the literal explanation of the text, there is some reference to syntactic structure, to versification and to rhetorical figures in the text, so that certain introductory formulae intended to explain such features are common: for example, 'Questo ternario tiene loco di prepositione et condivisione', 'Questo è l'ordine', 'Li seguenti ternari sono chiari', '[Il poeta] fa comparatione'. Elsewhere, Patrizi calls into play the author of the verses, with phrases such as 'Dice il poeta...', 'Descrive...', 'Fa mentione di...', 'Questo lo dice perchè...', which are used frequently to vary the otherwise plain and impersonal content of the commentary.

⁸³ See the prologue from MS Cas. 50, ff. 11r-12v, in the Appendix: 'Sono stati alcuni che hanno uoluto inferire non de femina mortale lo poeta esser stato innamorato ma dela poesia et philosophia et como è costume deli poeti per fictione hauere fabulosamente dimostrato amare donna mortale: ma questo non è in verità: per che Francesco Petrarca sequitò lo stile de tutti li excellentissimi homini, li quali sempre nella iuventù loro sono stati experimentati da amore. Unde per ferma conclusione è da tenere questo poeta hauere scripto concitato da amore et però non è da maravegliare del vario parlare et de li contrari alcuna volta affecti.'

Although strictly literal, the explanation of the text allows for several observations on places, characters and events from Greek and Roman history, pagan antiquity and the Bible such as appear in the *Trionfi*. Indeed, the mythological glosses tend to proliferate, and each myth, or 'fabula' as Patrizi correctly calls them following the Latin etymological equivalent of *μῦθος*, is described in minute detail. The frequency and precision of these digressions indicates the interest of the author for the historical, literary and philosophical content of the text, and his approach illustrates the clear preference for the erudition of the *Trionfi* over the *Canzoniere* in contemporary readers of Petrarch in the vernacular.⁸⁴ Thus, the more the earthly love story fades and Petrarch's own experience cedes to a notion of universal morality, the more Patrizi feels at ease. Unlike with the *Canzoniere*, where parallels with classical texts seemed only possible on the formal level, the *Trionfi* are teeming with a content strongly reliant on classical culture.

Despite the greater level of interest, however, the commentary does not seem to be governed by fixed criteria, but rather to respond to the text verse by verse and to concentrate above all on clarity of explanation. Even the mention of classical texts and authors, which might indicate Patrizi's intention to identify Petrarch's sources, are relatively infrequent. Furthermore, in some cases, comments of this kind show clearly that Patrizi used Illicino's commentary, but also that he added more personal notes of erudition, as the following examples illustrate.

In his comment to ll.73-87 of 'Tr. Cup.' I, and in particular l.82, 'Ei nacque d'ozio e di lascivia umana', Patrizi declares 'Questa sententia è cauata di Seneca nela octaua tragedia doue dice "Amor gignitur luxu et otio nutritur inter leta fortuna[e] bona"', (f. 177r); and on l.84 'fatto di signore e dio da gente vana': 'questo etiam è

⁸⁴ The preference is demonstrated best by the greater diffusion of manuscripts and printed versions of the *Trionfi*. See Gratton, 'La diffusione dei "Trionfi"'; Guerrini, 'Il sistema di comunicazione'; *Idem*, 'Per un'ipotesi di petrarchismo'; *Idem*, 'Per uno studio sulla diffusione'; Wilkins, 'The fifteenth-century editions' and 'The separate fifteenth-century editions', re-published, slightly abbreviated in *The Making*, pp. 403-406. And, more generally, Bonora, 'Francesco Petrarca', in *Classici italiani*, I (1957), 95-106.

tracto da Seneca nella tragedia quarta doue dice "Deum Amorem turpis servitio favens, sensit [sic] libido ut liberior foret" (f. 177r). Setting aside the discrepancies between these quotations and the original, it should be noted that Patrizi is quoting from the tragedy *Octavia* (II, ll.562-64) and from *Hippolytus* (I, ll.195-96).⁸⁵ He takes the former from Ilicino but has added the latter independently.⁸⁶

On ll.157-78 of 'Tr. Cup.' I, 'Che debb'io dire? In un passo men varco:/ tutti son qui in pregon gli dei di Varro', Patrizi explains in the same terms as Ilicino that M.T. Varro wrote some books 'dela divinità', alluding to the work *Antiquitates Rerum divinum* which is mentioned in Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, and says that one book of the *Antiquitates*, the 'De diis electis', dedicated to the mortals who were deified in reward for their actions, demonstrates the existence of a single God.⁸⁷

On ll.103-5 of 'Tr. Cup.' III, where the feelings of the poet for Laura - love, jealousy and envy - are enumerated, Patrizi expands on the brief definition of jealousy given by Ilicino. In a schematic digression he defines love in Platonic terms as an amatory fury, and then offers a verbatim translation of the definitions of jealousy and envy from Cicero's *Tusculanae*, attributed, however, to the stoics and to Cicero respectively without further details.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Seneca, *Octavia* 562-64: 'Amor est; iuventa gignitur, luxu otio / nutritur inter laeta Fortunae bona'. *Hippolytus* 195-96: 'Deus esse Amorem, turpis et vitio furens / finxit libido; quoque liberior foret'.

⁸⁶ Ilicino, on 'Tr. Cup.' I, l. 82: '...gli huomini...dissero amore essere uno furore diuino: al quale per gli huomini non si poteua repugnare come chiaramente scriue Seneca in Tragedia octava la quale è la nona nello ordine...'.
 ?

⁸⁷ Ilicino, on 'Tr. Cup.' I, ll.157-58: 'A piu chiara noticia di precedenti uersi e da intendere che Marco Varrone notabile cittadino romano per instructione dala Romana republica scrisse uno libro de selectis diis doue dimostra li antichi quasi ad ogni atto & operatione humana hauere proposito uno nomine o di dio o di dea quale dirizasse & conducesse ciaschuno al suo debito fine si come scriue Agostino iiii di ciuitate dei: la donde uolendo demontare il poeta questo amore hauere conuenientemente dominato dice tutti li dei di uarro: cioe descritti da uarro essere stati in quel loco prigioni, ...'. The *Antiquitates* are mentioned in Augustine, *De Civ. Dei* 6. 2; the 'De diis electis' is in *De Civ. Dei*, 7. 2.

⁸⁸ ff. 186v-187r: 'Amor è deffenito da Platone affecto de animo circa la benevolentia dela cosa amata lo quale induce lo amante ad furore sopra el naturale. ...La seconda passione è gelosia la quale secondo gli stoici è una passione dello animo quando altri teme che una non posseda quello che ipso desidera de possedere. La terza è invidia la quale secondo Cicerone è passione de animo presa per la felicità de altri, ...'. These are translations from Cic., *Tusc* 4. 18: 'Obtrectatio autem

On l. 25 of 'Tr. Cup.' IV, Patrizi again takes his start from Ilicino, identifying the 'giovene greca' with Sappho and referring to her passion for Phaon, but he also adds two classical authors not mentioned by Ilicino: Strabo the geographer, who praises Sappho as the greatest of all poetesses, and Menander, from whom Patrizi takes the legend found in the Greek comic poets that Sappho, rejected by Phaon, threw herself from the rocks of Leucas.⁸⁹

Another author mentioned by both Patrizi and Ilicino is Virgil, on ll. 10-14 of 'Tr. Pud.' where Petrarch, speaking of Dido and Aeneas, declares that the former killed herself for love of her spouse Sicheus, and not, contrary to the common opinion, of Aeneas. In the same terms as Ilicino, Patrizi notes that Virgil 'per acconciare il poema suo mette Didone innamorata de Enea contro la verità dela historia' (f. 206v). He then adds a chronological detail not found in Ilicino, that there was a gap of two hundred years between the two: 'impero chè Didone era stata docento anni prima, overo inante Enea' (f. 206v).⁹⁰

The remaining reference to classical authors in Patrizi's commentary are independent from those in Ilicino, and show that the former retained a considerable distance from the latter, using its glosses at his discretion and when he approves, and adding his own erudite suggestions when necessary. The following examples will suffice to illustrate the point.

est...aegritudo ex eo, quod alter quoque potiatu eo, quod ipse concupiverit' and 3. 21: '..., sic invidentia aegritudo est ex alterius rebus secundis.' Ilicino's commentary to l. 103: '...nasce la gelosia et il timore di non perder la benivolentia dela amata loro la donde ottimamente scriue Ouidio Res est solliciti plena timoris amor...'.
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⁸⁹ In the case of Menander, Patrizi omits to mention another reference to him in Strabo, at *Geografica* 10. 2. 9, where Strabo reports Menander's words, but only mentions Strabo's celebration of Sappho at *Geografica* 13. 2. 3. Ilicino's commentary on 'Tr. Cup.' IV l. 25 is: 'Circa la intelligentia dei precedenti uersi e da intendere che Sappho poetessa fu dell'isola di Lesbo... Amando adunque un giouene chiamato Phaone: & lui non corrispondendo in amarla li fece uno legiadro poema per allectarlo a la sua benivolentia in uario stile & diuersa natura di pedi: donde poi merito esser chiamato Saphico stile. ...'
quotes
3

⁹⁰ Ilicino on 'Tr. Pud', ll. 10-14: 'Virgilio adunque fingendo & non narrando la uerità della Historia dice che partendo Enea da Troia per uenire in Italia per forza di uenti essendo già nel mare Tirreno fu condotto a Carthagine doue peruenuto fu da Didone riceuuto & grandemente honorato: onde con lei dimorò...'.
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In his gloss to 'Tr. Cup.' III, l.66, 'come d'asse si trae chiodo con chiodo', Patrizi gives Cicero as a source for Petrarch:

Sciogliendosi ad uno nodo et legandosi ad un altro. Impero che questa malattia .i. de amore ha questo rimedio: che l'uno amor caccia lo altro como da una asse .i. da una tavola se trahe uno chyodo co uno altro'. Sententia de Cicerone lo quale dice "Sicut enim clavus clavo truditur, sic amor amorem pellitur" (f. 184v)⁹¹

On ll.22-27 of 'Tr. Mortis' II:

[Il poeta] Induce la responsione di Laura, la quale è multo morale et cauata da Cicerone del primo libro dele questione tusculane, nelo quale quello introduce la Immortalità onde dice: 'Viva son io.i. la anima mia è viva et immortale'...(f. 222r)

Unlike the previous examples, here the reference is more generally to the content of the first book of the *Tusculanae Disputationes*, rather than to a specific point.

Also designed to demonstrate the author's erudition are the geographical and etymological explanations that accompany ll.100-14 of 'Tr. Cup.' IV, on the island of Cyprus and the Aegean Sea. Patrizi begins 'questa figura se dice topographia cioè descrittione di loco' (f.194r) and then lists various different names for the Aegean Sea. He then gives the Greek origin of the name, following the explanation of Dionysus of Halicarnassus that the Greek equivalent of Aegeus, πέλαγος Αἰγαῖον, derives from αἶξ, αἰγὸς, or goat, because the cluster of islands in the sea resembles a flock of goats.

The image in ll.103-4 on 'Tr. Mortis' I (a chapter not included in Ilicino), where death is seen ripping out the hair of its victim, is described as a common poetic image:

Proserpina o Plutone, quando vogliano finire uno homo o dopna, li pigliano parte delli capilli et cossi induce Virgilio in nela morte de Didone et Euripide nela morte de Alcesti et Philostrato in più loci. (f. 219v)⁹²

⁹¹ The reference is to Cic., *Tusc.* 4. 75: '...etiam novo quidam amore veterem amorem tamquam clavo clavum eiiciendum putant'.

⁹² The sources Patrizi used are: for the death of Dido Verg., *Aen.* IV 698-99; for

Finally, in the last Triumph, of fame, Patrizi refers once more to Cicero, citing two texts for his definition of fame as glory, the oration *Pro Marcello*, where the definition is related to Plato's, and *De inventione*, where he follows Xenon the stoic.⁹³

The only moments of uncertainty in Patrizi's commentary come, as at several moments in the *Canzoniere*, with Petrarch's references to contemporary figures or recently preceding stories or authors. Glossing ll.79-85 of 'Tr. Cup.' III with a brief reference to the stories of the knights errant, which ends with the following dismissive note:

Tristano lo quale amò la regina Isocta et Lancillocto, lo quale amò la regina Ginevra, come scriveno quisti vulgari, alli quali me remecto, accordandome con uno dicto de uno docto homo, lo quale, essendo domandanto quello che credeve di le ystorie, respose: 'De paladinis nihil, de troianis aliquid, de Romanis plus quam narratur' (f.185v).

This coincides in part with the following assertion by Ilicino:

Induce appresso M. F. alchuni exempli d'amore celebrati dal uulgo non perochè non siano da grandi auctore descripti: ma perchè de essi per huomini non di molta doctrina si sono fatte uulgari confabulationi dicendo.⁹⁴

Similarly, Patrizi echoes Ilicino in his comments on the survey of writers beginning at v.26 of 'Tr. Cup.' IV: 'In nelli sopra scritti versi fa mentione de multi homini che forno ali tempi soi et scrissero in vari vulgari versi de amore deli quali de pochi se ha cognitione alcuna' (f. 192r). A sketchy explanation follows, to the effect

Alcestis's death Servius, *In Aen.* III. 46, who also mentions Euripides in the following terms: '...tertium cur Iris Didoni comam secuerit, sed hoc purgatur Euripidi exemplo, qui de Alcesti hoc dixit, cum subiret fatum mariti.' On the other hand it is not clear which passages of Philostratus Patrizi is referring to here.

⁹³ f. 228v: 'Gloria est illustris ac per vagata magnorum vel in suos cives vel in patriam vel in omne genus hominum fama meritorum' is taken from Cic., *Pro Marc.* 26; 'Gloria est frequens de aliquo fama cum laude', from Cic., *Inv.* 2. 166.

⁹⁴ Commentary on 'Tr. Cup.' III, ll. 79-85.

that Dante loved Beatrice, Cino loved Selvaggia, and that amongst several unknown friends of Petrarch, 'Guido Bonatili scrisse alcune cose morale' and of Pier d'Alvernia, 'si trova qualche canzone soa' (f.192r).⁹⁵

The same fate awaits the friends Luigi Santo di Kempen and Lello di Piero Stefano dei Tosetti, recalled in ll.67-78 of 'Tr. Cup.' IV, for whom Patrizi uses Ilicino's indication of their nicknames Socrates and Lelius as evidence of the poet's learning. They are called respectively 'disciplina di moralità e di historica poesia' (f.192v), the former invented by Socrates and the latter excelled in by Lelius, as shown by Cicero's use of him as guide in *De claribus oratoribus*. Petrarch here would thus be similarly indicating Lelius as his guide in the composition of heroic verse on the victory of Rome over Carthago, in which he took a prominent part alongside Scipio. Here Patrizi mentions the *Africa*, as had Ilicino, as a work which brought Petrarch great fame.⁹⁶ Both recognize that he was crowned poet laureate on the Capitoline for his Latin, and not vernacular work. It is important to note that the *Africa* is the only other work by Petrarch mentioned in the commentary, as was indeed the case in the commentary on the *Canzoniere* where, on sonnet 40, 'S'amore o morte no da qualche stropio' (f. 193r), Patrizi had identified an echo of the *Africa* and praised it as a work worthy of the classical and in particular the Virgilian tradition.

The interpretation of the names of Socrates and Lelius referred to above should also be related to the glosses on ll.16-21 of 'Tr. Mortis' I, where the terms

⁹⁵ Ilicino explains his failure to provide information on the figure in ll.26ff. of 'Tr. Cup.' IV as follows: '...poichè da pochi et di quelli non molto si po per historia comprendere ma ben sotto generalità si po considerare ciaschuno dessi per lo testimonio de. M. F. esser stato dotto homo: et eccellente la donde di Dante et medesimamente di M. Cino di Guido bonato degno astrologo guido cavalcanti phylo. uale di senuccio: di Piero di lauernia de quali extano opere uenute a nostra cognitione de li altri confessaremo non hauere più expedita notitia.'

⁹⁶ Ilicino asserts that Petrarch composed the *Africa* after reading: '...lelio:, cioe il libro de amicitia di Tullio mediante il quale diuenuto amatore de le uirtu affricane per quelle potere celebrare si de a lo studio poetico. Unde dapoi compose la Affrica: doue descriue i gesti di Scipione: la quale opera ripiena di poesia et di moralita fu ad Misser Francescho cagione duna singularissima fama et gloria: ...'. Commentary on 'Tr. Cup.' IV, ll. 67-78.

'Academia' and 'Parnaso' are used to indicate respectively moral philosophy, from the name of the school in Athens where Socrates and Plato practiced their art, and the study of poetry. As earlier, Patrizi sets these two disciplines up as the basis of Petrarch's culture and philosophy. S/

A final, clear example of Patrizi's difficulty in dealing with the vernacular tradition comes with reference to 'Tr. Pud.' II, ll.160-63, where Petrarch recalls the sad story of Piccarda Donati. Patrizi, at a loss to explain, says only: 'Questa fiorentina vergine non se pò per lo texto intendere quale fusse ne historia se trova' (f.210r).⁹⁷ 8

iii) Five Latin Epigrams

As a conclusion to this account of Patrizi's encounter with the poetry of Petrarch, and as further confirmation, were it needed, of the authorship of the commentary, some attention should be paid to the existence of five Latin Triumphs by Patrizi, clearly inspired by the erudite, historical and mythological material of Petrarch's *Trionfi*. The five compositions, in elegiac distiches, dedicated to love, modesty, death, fame and time, are included in the collection of epigrams in MS Gordan 153. 8

Their titles, *incipit* and *explicit* are as follows:

1. VENEREM HORTATUR UT VICTORI OMNIUM GENTIUM CUPIDINI FILIO OBVIAM PROGREDIATUR ET TRYUMPHANTEM ACCIPIAT I.

Inc. En tibi quatriiugo vehitur Cytherea triumpho

Expl. Teque vehit cunctis praenumerare deis, 24 couplets, ff. 24r-v.

2. ERIGONE PUDICITIAE DEA CUPIDINEM VICTUM IN TRUMPHUM DUCIT II

Inc. Laeta cupidineis graditur Cytherea triumpho

Expl. Inganeo ac lustris gloria vestra latet, 28 couplets, ff. 25r-26r.

⁹⁷ Illicino offers two possible readings of these lines, but Patrizi seems to have preferred to pass them over rather than accept an unconvincing explanation of verses of little importance.

3. MORS PUDICITIAM PERIMIT DEQUE EA TRIUMPHAT III

Inc. Viderat evulis alis ruptisque sagittis,

Expl. Se sepelit terrae, mens super astra volat, 24 couplets, ff. 26r-v.

4. FAMA MORTEM SUPERAT ET VICTAM IN TRIUMPHUM DUCIT IIII

Inc. O quae perpetuis mundum maeroribus urges

Expl. Gaudet et innectis laurea sertā comis, 41 couplets, ff. 26v-28r.

5. TEMPORIS DIUTURNITAS VINCIT ET DE EA TRIUMPHUM DUCIT V

Inc. Ultima terrigenum iactat germana Gigantum

Expl. Sed perimunt famam tempora longa bonam, 31 couplets, ff. 28r-29v.⁹⁸

The similarities between these texts and Petrarch's model reside primarily in the use of heroic mythology and lists of *exempla* of great men and women, and of love stories, although in Patrizi's work the latter is less evident than the classical sources for the heroic and moral aspects. The order of the compositions is exactly that used by Petrarch.

The most striking difference between the two is the absence in Patrizi of a female protagonist who is the pivotal figure for the processions in Petrarch. As a result, they lose the personal dimension and the oneiric quality found in Petrarch, whose *fictio poetica* moves between inner experience and the universal destiny of mankind. In Patrizi, without the subjective element and indeed the need for any context to the series, emphasis is thrown onto the erudition and poetic fantasy of the material.

The first, in the form of an exhortation to Aphrodite to go to her son, represents Cupid in triumph according to classical canons as a naked boy carried by a four-horse-drawn carriage, with divinities who represent the passions of love and with his victims, including Jove.⁹⁹

The Triumph of Modesty is depicted by Patrizi as a clash between the goddess

⁹⁸ Also listed in Smith, '*Epigrammata*', p. 129.

⁹⁹ Patrizi could have taken his image of Cupid in triumph from Ovid, *Am.* I, 25-28, and *Ars. Am.* I, 214, and also Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* I, 11, 1-2. d /

Erigone and Aphrodite, which results in the humiliation of Cupid at the hands of the goddess 'Pudicizia'. The latter is accompanied by a procession of female figures, taken from Petrarch (Virginia, Lucretia, Ersilia from 'Tr. Pud.'; Cornelia, Portia from 'Tr. Cup.' III) or classical sources (the vestal Aemilia and the Lydian Omphale from Propertius III, 10, 17; IV, 53-54).

The third Triumph, of Death, is the furthest from the Petrarchan model, and has more recourse to images of death in Horace, Virgil, Seneca and Statius. Death intervenes accompanied by personified forms of suffering and by the unnatural creatures of Virgil's Avernus. It is brought about not so much by philosophical necessity as by Aphrodite's desire for revenge over Erigone. Thus, despite the horror of the closing image of mothers weeping over the pallid bodies of their children, the episode is the product of a trivial conflict amongst the gods, rather than anything more ethically substantial.

With ^{the} Triumph of Fame, we return to the erudite-historical material, glorious *exempla*, and illustrious names that are to be found also in Petrarch. The figures used by Patrizi follow closely the entirety of the first version of the 'Tr. Famae' even though his commentary stops after the first few verses. Patrizi also follows Petrarch's distinction between the warriors and the learned, and his list of the latter, including Plato, Aristotle, Solon and others, follows that in 'Tr. Famae' III, of which the commentary exists in MS Archiginnasio A 363.

The Triumph of Time is in similar relation to its model, the 'Tr. Temporis'. From the outset, Patrizi underlines the dramatic consequences of the flow of time which cancels out men's deeds and their memory, and shows the inanity of earthly glory in the face of eternity. This poem also suggests that Patrizi's commentary might originally have included also this triumph, although it is not to be found in the commentary's two surviving manuscripts.

To conclude, these poems by Patrizi offer a fascinating example of the contamination between the vernacular poetic tradition and the *imitatio* of the classics

characteristic of the period. However, the experiment of moving from Petrarch's vernacular model back to Latin, far from indicating a full ~~embrace~~ of the vernacular tradition or indeed of Petrarch, suggests rather Patrizi's continuing belief in the superiority of Latin, and its capacity to render sublime the lower tradition of love poetry in vernacular.

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APPENDIX

1) A. Bulifon, *Lettere memorabili, istoriche, politiche ed erudite*, 4 vols (Naples, 1696-1697), II (1697), 89-92:

Di Francisco Patrizio a Giovanni Albino, Segretario di Alfonso Duca di Calabria.
Estratta da un originale, che si conserva appresso il Signor D. Gerolimo Villani,
Cavaliere Napoletano.

Claro, atque Erudito Viro D[omi]no Albino
Ill. Ducis Calabriae Familiari
Fratrì Carissimo

Albino mio: Io ho curso ad questi dì lo commento dello Petrarca: et parlando ad voi, allo quale non posso tacere la veritate, dico che lo texto ha poca dignità, idest se li flori hanno alcuna delectatione, li fructi si trovano piccioli. Io ho fatto quello che mi apporta lo ingegno per obedire lo Ill. S. Duca per lo quale exporrei la vita: non perchè io cognosca alcuna doctrina eccellente in nella opera dello Petrarca; et per questa cagione qualche cosa havevo taciuto, come a parer mio degna di cognitione: lassando quella allo iuditio di quelli che leggono che verrebbero reputata majore, che non scrive lo Poeta: Imperochè sonno certe cose, che hanno molto del triviale, unde non ho avuto fatica per intenderle: et in alcune altre non ho durato fatica ad cercarle parendomi lo tempo in quelle leggero, et vano: et ho seguitata una auctorità di Sexto Empirico in uno libro, che tracta della virtù della Pictura: nello quale da precepto alli Pictori di mostare discoverte in l'opera le parti integre et belli [sic] dello corpo: et quelle che hanno mancamento, o sonno brutte nascondere, o cuprire: et usa exemplo di certi Pictori, delli quali alcuno dirò ad V. Excellentia. Theijo fu famosissimo Pictore alli tempi suoi: et venne in concertatione della Arte della pictura con Thimante Cythnio: lo quale era reputato lo più prestante Pictore, che hauesse tutta la Grecia. Unde li Prefecti de Atene: li quali si chiamavano Areopagite: per levare tale ambitione di declarare ad tutta Grecia la virtù della Pictura: Derno materia alli Pictori di pingere infra certo tempo la imolatione de Iphigenia: Presa la materia ciascuno delli Excellentissimi Pictori si sforzò ad imitare la natura con più ragione: et ornarla con l'arte: Theijo fe Picture molto belle, studiandosi de aperire tutti li affecti della natura nello sacrificio: et dipinxo Calcante attorno allo sacreficio, et doloroso allo spectaculo. Dapoi dipinxo Ulisse molto più luctuoso di Calcante, Dapoi Menelao: lo fè luctuosissimo: come quello, che più adtineva alla Vergine sacrificanda: seguitando ad pingere Agamennone parte di quella Imolata: non potè agiongere maggiore studio, che quello, che havea mostrato in nello patruo di quella; et nelli altri: li quali intervennero nello sacrificio: la Pictura fu iudicata molto bella: ma che in essa mancava la descriptione dello paterno dolore: maggiore delli altri, che intervenivano allo sacrificio. Thimante Cythnio portò la pictura sua: et havendo facto mesto Calcante: più mesto Ulisse: mestissimo Menelao: non potendo colla arte commovere maggiore dolore: haveva velato lo capo di Agamennone: et lassato allo iuditio di quelli, che guardavano tal pictura di cogitar nello animo loro molto maggiore dolore di quello, che Theijo, et lo suo pennello esso haveva declarato. Li Areopagite vedute ambedue le picture lodarono la ultima: et dichiararono Thimante Cythnio victore: et Colote Theijo inferiore ad questo: Simile prudentia usò Apelle Pictore preclarissimo: imperochè havendo ad depingere la effigie de Antigono: lo quale era ceco de uno oculo: fè la pictura in modo, che non demonstrava se non quello oculo: lo quale haveva Antigono: et lo altro remaneva cuperto, accioche non apparesse la deformità: et

mancamento di quella faccia: et così brevemente ho fatto io. Ma se pure è voluntate dello Signore Duca, che io apra più li occulti segreti: et li taciti affecti dello Petrarca: io lo farò per seguitare lo gusto suo, scrivendo notatamente tutto quello, che per me si può aggiungere, et farollo di bona voglia: ma parà più presto mancar della dignità dello Poeta, che altrimenti. Assai mi pare esser stato longo avendo detto lo parer mio: non per fugire fatica, ma per non parere in tutto poco considerato a vostra risposta: pregando voi, che ci habbiate pensiero: non offendendo in parte alcuna la dignità dello Ill. Signore, Imperoche in questo mezo andarò pure imbrattando le carte: per non esser renitente alli vostri comandamenti.

Et voi in questo mezo mi raccomandarete mille volte allo Ill. Sig. Duca. Bene valete
Ex Caieta die XXii Januar. MccccLxxviii

F. Patritius Episcopus Caietanus.

2) *Ibidem*, pp. 93-96:

Magnifico Viro Domino Albino
Illustris Dominis Ducis Calabriae Familiari, Fratri, et Amico carissimo
In Casa dello Duca di Calabria

Magnifice Vir, frater, et amice carissime salutem. Ad questi di ho récepute vostre lettere: nelle quali mi sollecitate per parte dello Ill. Sig. Duca ad finire li Commentarij. Respondo Et prima dolendomi della infirmitate dell'uno: et dello altro Principe: delle quali me è rincresciuto assai: come vedrete per due Epigrammati, li quali vi mando: Et prego mi raccomandiate allo Illustre Sig. Duca: Et ad quello li leggate. Appresso mandovi cinque altri quinterni: li altri cinque vi mandai per Prete Iuliano da Caieta Capellano della Ill. Ducissa: Credo li habbiate havuti, dove che non, fate de haverli. Lo resto vi mandarò per lo primo fidato: et se havete alcuno dubbio avisatemene, che lo declararò: et poi vi remandarò lo texto vostro: lo quale ho ritenuto: perchè qua non ve ne trovo nissuno. Praeterea alla parte, che scrivete essere alcuni, che dicano, che el Sonecto, che incomincia *Gloriosa Colonna, in cui s'appoggia*, è indirizato al Cardinale della Colonna. Respondo che questa è opinione de assai homini, che mossi da quella dictione Colonna, et dalla servitù del Poeta verso di quella, affermano tale sententia: ma quando subtilmente vorrete considerare tale opinione, non po essere vera: imperoche quelli due Epitecti non possano convenire allo Cardinale homo inerme, et con poca litteratura: perchè dire ad quello nostra speranza, idest, Speranza delli Poeti: et el gran nome latino: quasi dica, che sopra el Cardinale se appoggi la speranza della doctrina Poetica: et della virtù de arme: cioè dello Imperio Romano. Poco pare, che si convenga, et maxime che esso medesimo parlando dello lauro dice honore de Imperatori, et di Poeti: perchè il Lauro dedicato ad Apollo Dio delli Poeti et della clarità et gloria militare, pare che sia più appropriato. Adpresso questo si declara più: perchè quando parla della Casa della Colonna non la assimiglia mai allo Lauro: ma sempre la fa marmorea, come è in quella canzone che incomincia *Italia mia*: nella quale dice ad una gran marmorea columna. In questo Sonecto parla dello Lauro arbore de Apollo: et così in molti altri loci: et questo si proua per lo sequente verso che dice:

Che ancor non torse dal vero camino

L'ira di Iove per ventosa pioggia,

perchè lo Lauro non è fulminato da Iove, come in molti loci dice. Sicche io vi fo questa conclusione, che essendo molte volte disputata la sententia di questo Sonecto: tutti li ingenii acuti refutano questa sententia del Cardinale della Colonna: et

concludendo non potersi dirizzare, se non ad Apollo, allo quale è dedicato lo Lauro: et sonno sottoposti li poeti: et similiter la gloria delli Imperatori: perchè lo Sole clarifica ogni gloria: et illumina ogni laude. Et voi quando lo leggerete conoscerete la sententia mia essere vera: ma non si po tollere le opinioni delli homini, perchè sono libere in loro volontà: Unde si trovano ancora alcuni, li quali dicano questo Sonecto essere appropriato ad Virgilio, et alleganne alcuno verso et maxime quello, che dice: *Perchè mi manca alquante delle fila*: quando esso scrive della Aphrica sua. Ma vorremi trovare una volta ad tali dispute, che forse farei rimanere contenti quelli, che sono in altra opinione. Per questa non dico più, se non che iterum vi prego mi raccomandiate allo Ill. Sig. Duca.

Delle olive haveremo da Itro; che qua non ne sono delle bone; et per lo primo passaggio ve le manderemo;

Bene Valete Caietae die XXiij Januarii

F. Patricius Episcopus Caietanus.

3) Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS 50, ff. 11r-12r. Prologue.

Quantunque sia poco conveniente alla età mia il pigliare fatica ad declarare lo occulto et ameruso affecto de Francisco Petrarca Poeta florentino. Niente de manco essendomene iniuncto et comandato da la Inclita S. V. Duce. Ill. mo delibero più presto esser represo de non hauere seruato il decoro che hauere negata alcuna cosa alla V. celsitudine Ala quale non solamente li beni dela fortuna ma anchor la propria vita ho dedicata. Unde deliberato de hoberdire me studiaro de essere breue si per non tediare lo animo vestro occupato in le cose molto più sublime si anchor per che non para che non habia preso delectatione in la mia canuta aetate de le blanditie et losenghe de amore. Unde facti alcuni breui presuppositi descendero ala expositione del texto. Questo poeta essendo de animo gentile et assai claro in literatura fo preso da ardente amore de una spetiosa donna de piccolo sangue, ma de virtù et de bellezza sublime, il cui nome fu laurecta: benché il poeta nelle sue Rhitme il più dele fiate la chiama Laura. Ne è da maraveghare che il nome sia denominativo laurecta. per che per antiqua consuetudine et quasi per losenghe et blanditie le femine nela loro juvenile etate con diminutivi nomi sonno nominate. Unde non domitia ma domitilla: Non horesta ma horestilla: Non Maxima ma Maximilla troviamo antiquamente essere chiamate: Sono stati alcuni che hanno uoluto inferire non de femina mortale lo poeta esser stato innamorato ma dela poesia et philosophia et como è costume deli poeti per fictione hauere fabulosamente dimostrato amare donna mortale: ma questo non è in verità: per che Francesco Petrarca sequitò lo stile de tutti li excellentissimi homini, li quali sempre nella iuventù loro sono stati experimentati da amore: Et non solamente li imperatori et principi: ma tucti li poeti, oraturi, et li philosophi: in tanto che li Stoici grauissimi de tucti li sapienti affermano el vero philosopho deure amare: et lo amore deure essere uno conato de vera amicitia; et excitare lo ingegno a le cose sublime. Unde per ferma conclusione è da tenere questo poeta hauere scripto concitato da amore et però non è da maravegliare del vario parlare et de li contrari alcuna volta affecti. Debiamo etiano intendere multe dictioni ne li suoi versi esser tagliate, multe essere mere latine, alcune altre essere tucte vulgare: et alcune forzate dal verso o da la ultima consonantia la quale debia cadere in tre ultime littere. Cade anchora obscuritate per occultare le passioni sue et qualche uolta per non sapere i loci dove ha scripto: o veramente le persone con le quale ha confabulato. Queste et simili ragioni sono quelle che danno dubio nel animo de lettori: per modo che se trouano vari in sententia. Io non recitando opinioni de altri scriuero semplicemente lo presumere del mio intellecto: Rimettendome sempre ala emendatione de V. S.

CONCLUSION

The life, works and activities of Francesco Patrizi as presented in this study make of him a figure of far more substance than the writer of two reasonably influential political treatises, as he has been most commonly characterized. In reconstructing his biography some fundamental and previously unacknowledged information has emerged: above all his extensive involvement in the public offices and embassies of the Sienese republic indicate that he was amongst the highest ranking citizens of Siena, and indeed, his prominent role in the events of 1456-57 itself suggests a certain confidence in his own power to influence the governance of the state even from beyond office. Simply at the level of character, these events suggest a man of some force and self-confidence. On a cultural plane also, in Siena his prestige as both scholar and poet was great. His reputation takes on particular significance when set against the relative limits of Sienese humanism in general: this was carried forward by the enthusiasm for classical culture and for the *studia humanitatis* of a small circle of citizens, spurred on by Francesco Filelfo's four-year period of teaching in the city, but hindered by the circumstances of the city's politics and history. Patrizi was clearly a central figure in this circle: his erudition in a wide range of disciplines and in both Greek and Latin, his tireless searching out of classical texts, continuous close study of those texts, and exchanges of letters with friends and fellow-scholars, all betoken far more than a passive absorption of Filelfo's influence.

Exile brought Patrizi new and widespread contact with fellow humanists - in, for example, Verona, Florence and Naples, - and new experiences, such as his time as Prefect of Foligno and later Bishop of Gaeta. The period of his governorship was clearly not at all easy, and the course of events in Foligno, which led to the death by defenestration of his deputy, and would no doubt have led to his own were it not for

his fortuitous absence from the town, suggests that his exercise of power was far from successful. And indeed the subsequent accusations by the new papal office, although largely politically motivated and later retracted through his influential contacts in the Vatican, also underline his struggle to succeed in public political offices and also perhaps a certain abrasiveness of character. The long, relatively tranquil period of his Bishopric seems therefore to have suited Patrizi more for its dignity and security than for any religious vocation as such.

Turning to Patrizi's most important activity, his literary production, it can be said that some interests of Patrizi's which have emerged in the course of this dissertation are unusual for a humanist of the time: the philosophical topics discussed in the letters on scepticism and the evolution of the ancient Academy; his expertise in the metrics of Greek and Latin poetry; and the very composition of such Latin poetry which shows the influence of the Latin epigram tradition and the lyrics of Silver Age poets and Statius at a very early stage. After 1457, the sheer variety of works completed suggests a new scope to his literary ambitions, evinced by the encyclopaedic project of his two political treatises, which extends his enthusiasm and openness to new fields in which he might display his classical erudition. Even his commentaries on Petrarch's vernacular poetry set his classicism further into relief.

Finally, it is worth recalling Patrizi's varied contacts with rulers, diplomats and humanist intellectuals from geographically and culturally diverse sectors of the Italian peninsula. This network of contacts in itself constitutes not only a vital element in his own activity but also an illustration of the practices of Quattrocento humanist circles in general.

Patrizi's humanism, then, can be best characterized as erudite and eclectic. It should be judged not in terms of the originality of individual works, which is nevertheless not lacking in several instances, but rather for its contribution to the humanist project of the revival of the culture of antiquity. It is for this reason above

all that his true significance can only be gauged by an understanding of the entirety of his works in all their variety.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

This Bibliography is subdivided into two parts. The first contains a list of Patrizi's works and is furtherly subdivided as follows: Part A, works by Francesco Patrizi, in alphabetical order, both in manuscript and in printing, with *incipit* and *explicit*. Part B, list of *incipit* of all Patrizi's letters, existing in manuscript, with the exclusion of official documents sent to the Sienese government. Part C, list of *incipit* and *explicit* of Patrizi's poems. The second part of the Bibliography contains all the other works consulted. It is divided into a list of miscellaneous manuscript sources, which includes the archive documents regarding Francesco Patrizi and not listed in the above-mentioned Part B, and into printed sources.

WORKS BY FRANCESCO PATRIZI

PART A

COMMENTARY ON PETRARCH'S CANZONIERE

Incipit: Questo sonetto universalmente tucti consta di due quaternarii

Explicit: dice questo piangendo et così il poeta piangendo lo scrive (*Rime* 354)

Manuscript sources

Florence, Biblioteca Riccardina

MS 1141 (XVI th c.)

London, British Museum

MS Add. 15654 (XV th c.)

London, Victoria and Albert Museum

MS Forster Bequest 436 (48. D. 28) (XV-XVI th c.), ff. 1r-170v

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

MS Ital 1024 (8141) (XV th c.)

MS Ital 1026 (8143) (XV th c.)

Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense

MS 50 (F IV 52) (XV-XVI th c.)

Vatican City, Vatican Library

MS Barb. Lat. 3937 (XLV. 31-1561) (XVI th c.)

COMMENTARY ON PETRARCH'S TRIONFI

Inc.: (MS A 363:) [Li Romani secondo che scrive Dionisio di Halicarnaseo]

Expl.: (MS A 363:) [Pyrro figlo de Eacide, fo de la stirpe de Pyrro, figlo de Achille et fu Re de li Epiroti]

Manuscript sources

Bologna, Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio

MS A 363 (formerly 16 c. III. 21) (XVth c.)

London, Victoria and Albert Museum

MS Forster Bequest 436 (48. D. 28) (XV-XVI th c.), ff. 171r-228r

COMPENDIUM OF PRISCIAN'S *INSTITUTIONES GRAMMATICAE* (Francisci Patritii de octo partibus orationis librorum I-XVI compendium)

Inc.: Vox est aer tenuissimus ictus

Expl.: Ast autem tenui quae candet lumine Phatne

Manuscript sources

Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica

MS Delta VI 14 (XVth c.), ff. 3r-106v

Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek

MS 521 (formerly Phillipps 1804) (XVIth c.)

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz

MS 460 (formerly Morbio 372) (XVth c.) (partial)

Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana

MS Gadd. 144 (XVth c.)

MS Gadd. 195 (XVth c.), ff. 1r-65r (partial)

Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana

MS 679 (M III 16) (XVth c.)

London, British Library

MS Add. 25088 (XVth c.)

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana

MS J 13 sup. (XVth c.)

Paris, Bibliothèque National

MS Lat. 11283 (XVth c.)

Vatican City, Vatican Library

MS Ott. Lat. 1509 (XVth c.), ff. 87r-98r (partial)

MS Urb. Lat. 475 (XVth c.), ff. 89r-169v

COMPENDIUM OF QUINTILIAN'S *INSTITUTIO ORATORIA* (M. Fabii Quintiliani Institutionum oratoriarum Francisci Patritii epitome)

Inc.: Parens ut primum factus fuerit

Expl.: certe quod magis petimus bonam voluntatem

Manuscript sources

Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana

MS 844 (N III 8) (XVth c.)

Görlitz, Milich'sche Bibliothek

MS without shelfmark (XV-XVIth c.)

London, British Library

MS Add. 11671 (XVth c.), ff. 155r-189v

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana

MS L 32 sup. (XVth c.)

MS L 61 sup. (XVth c.), ff. 1r-119r

Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale

MS IV B 4 bis. (XVth c.), ff. 206r-258v

MS XIII D 106 (XVth c.), ff. 1r-80v

Oxford, Bodleian Library

MS Canon. Class. Lat. 285 (XVth c.)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

MS Lat. 7760 (formerly 6110) (XVth c.)

MS Nuov. Acq. Lat. 316 (XVth c.)

Parma, Biblioteca Palatina
 MS Pal. 41 (XVth c.)
 Perugia, Badia di S. Pietro
 MS CM 31 (XVthc.), ff. 1r-64r
 Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta
 MS Fondo Vecchio 1365 (4) (XVIth c.), ff. 113v-258v
 Pistoia, Archivio Capitolare del Duomo
 MS 62 (XVth c.), ff. 3r-65v
 Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana
 MS Rossi 331 (43 D 35) (XVth c.)
 Vatican City, Vatican Library
 MS Chigi H VI 186 (XVth c.), ff. 151r-221v
 MS Chigi J V 154 (XVth c.)
 Vicenza, Biblioteca Bertoliana
 MS 348 (3. 9. 18) (XVth c.)

Printed source

Paris, 1554 (attributed to P. P. Vergerio)

DE INSTITUTIONE REIPUBLICAE

Inc.: Diuturnae peregrinationis meae honesta causa efficit

Expl.: Ne igitur in similem culpam incidamus; hactenus dixisse sufficiat

Manuscript sources

Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica
 MS Gamma VII 14 (XVth c.)
 Limoges, Bibliothèque de Limoges
Institution de la chose publique, par François Patrice (1520), manuscript
 translation into French
 London, British Library
 MS 349 (XVIth c.)
 Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional
 MS 1192 (E 1) (XVth c.)
 Montecassino, Biblioteca della Badia
 MS 425 (XVth c.)
 Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale
 MS VIII G57 (21 February 1501)
 Siena, Biblioteca Comunale
 MS K II 47 (XVIth c.)
 Vatican City, Vatican Library
 MS Barb. Lat. 2045 (XXX118) (XVth c.)
 MS Chigi F VIII 194 (XVIth c.)
 MS Vat. Lat. 3084 (1479)

Printed sources

in English: London, 1576 (epitome)
 in French: Paris, 1520, 1532, 1544 (epitome), 1610
 in German: Mains, 1573
 in Italian: Venice, 1545
 in Latin: Paris, 1518 (*editio princeps*), 1519, 1520, 1534, 1567, 1569, 1578, 1585; Strasbourg, 1594, 1608 (*editio postrema*); Torgau (Saxony), 1599 (partial edition)
 in Spanish: Madrid, 1591

Epitomes of both *De Institutione Reipublicae* and *De Regno et Regis Institutione*
in Latin: Paris, 1549, 1577, 1590 ; Cologne, 1591
in French: Paris, 1544, 1546, 1549, 1554

DE METRIS HORATII

Inc.: Duo et triginta pedes omnes sunt quibus
Expl.: Iam iam efficaci

Manuscript sources

Oxford, Bodleian Library

MS Auct. F. 4. 18., (XVth c.), ff. 97r-105r

Vatican City, Vatican Library

MS Chigi L VIII 290, (XV th c.), ff. 116r-120v

DE ORIGINE ET VETUSTATE URBIS SENAE

Inc.: Magna me ab ineunte adolescentia opinio tenuit
Expl.: ab eis qui illis praesunt corrumpantur ac pereant

Manuscript sources

Benedetto (Pavullo nel Frignano-Modena), Raccolta di Ca' Orsolino

MS 1156 (XVIth c.), ff. 45r-65r

Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria

MS 871 (1648) (XVIIth c.)

Florence, Biblioteca Moreniana

MS Pecci 4 (XVIIIth c.), ff. 57r-73v

MS Pecci 11 (XVIIIth c.), ff. 8r-22v

Lucca, Biblioteca Governativa Statale

MS 3444 (XIXth c.), ff. 3r-45r

Siena, Biblioteca Comunale

MA A III 10 (XVIIIth c), ff. 1r-19r

MS A VI 3 (XVIth c.), ff. 25r-79r

MS A XI 38 (XVIth c.), ff. 1r-42r

MS B II 15-16 (XVIIIth c.)

MS B III 3 (XVIIIth c.), ff. 9r-24v

MS B III 5 (XVIIth c.)

MS C I 19 (XVIth c.), ff. 11r-27v

Vatican City, Vatican Library

MS Chigi G I 9 (XVIIth c.), ff. 139r-160v

DE REGNO ET REGIS INSTITUTIONE

Inc.: Maximum onus in hoc codice suscepisse videor
Expl.: sunt, et perpetuam posteritatis laudem meruerunt

Manuscript sources

France, Bibliothèque de Rennes

MS 152 (115) (XVth c.)

Oxford, St. John's College

MS XII (XVth c)

Vatican City, Vatican Library

MS Barb. Lat. 2045 (XXX118)

MS Chigi MS Chigi F VIII 196,
MS Vat. Lat. 4596 (XVth c.)

Printed sources

in French: Paris, 1577 (first book)
in Italian: Venice, 1547, 1553, 1569
in Latin: Paris, 1519 (*editio princeps*), 1531, 1567, 1578, 1582; Strasbourg, 1594 (*editio postrema*)

Epitomes of both *De Institutione Reipublicae* and *De Regno et Regis Institutione*
in Latin: Paris, 1549, 1577, 1590; Cologne, 1591
in French: Paris, 1544, 1546, 1549, 1554

EPIGRAMS (*Francisci Patricii Senensis Pontificis Caietani Epigramaton* [sic] *liber*)

The *incipit* of the epigrams have been listed in Smith, '*Epigrammata*', pp. 125-43. References to their number in that order will be made when appropriate.

Manuscript sources

New York, Library of Phyllis and John Dozier Gordan jr.
MS Gordan 153 (formerly Murano, Nani 99) (XVth c.)
whole collection
Oxford, St. John's College
MS XII (XVth c), f. 10v
epigram 'Ad lectorem librorum suorum de Regno' (no. 163)
Vatican City, Vatican Library
MS Barb. Lat. 134 (IX 3) (Xvth c.), inside cover
epigram (*Inc.*: Tuns vinum fugiens digebat tullius olim, *Epl.*: [] [] ni
ruit illa sumus)
'In catellam mortuam' (no. 69)
epigram (*Inc.*: Reddidit euridicem plectus carmina pluto, *Expl.*:
muneribus fruitur; [] uterque fuit)

Printed sources

'De libellis suis Epigrammatum' (no. 165); 'De libro suo de Institutione Reipublicae' (no. 2); 'Ad se ipsum pro dimissione librorum suorum de Institutione Reipublicae' (no. 4); 'Ad librum suum de Institutione Reipublicae quem Senam mittit' (no. 5); 'Polymniam musam rogat quis praestantior status sit, regni an reipublicae' (no. 144); 'Ad lectorem librorum suorum de Regno' (no. 163); 'Epitaphium Hilarionis Veronensis' (no. 170); 'Ad Iucundum Antiquarium, Ad architectum F. Iucundum' (no. 248); 'Epitaphium Omniboni oratoris ac poetae optimi' (no. 56); 'Ad Carolum Brixiensem' (no. 311); 'Epitaphium Domitii Veronensis' (no. 169); 'Ad Perotum antistitem Sipontinum et Cornelium Bononium certantes inter se de epistola 'Plinii ad Titum Vespasianum' (no. 211); 'Ad Ioannem Campanum' (no. 173); 'Ad Parthenopem de Alfonso Ianuario' (no. 189); 'Ad Albinum poetam poscentem aurea mala' (no. 199); 'Aurea mala C. ad Albinum poetam mittit' (no. 101); Epitaphium Calcellae philosophi Cynici qui elatus Musarum ope supervixit' (no. 58); 'Musarum laus pro resurrectione Calcellae' (no. 59); 'Pulex Vicentinus uno epigrammate notus ad Luscum' (no. 230); Ad Ioannem Andream grammaticum Lemurnium' (no. 198); 'Ad Ioannem Andream Lemurnium iocus' (no. 278); 'Ad quaestorem' (no. 279); 'Caieta ad F. Romanum hospitem' (no. 188): in Smith, '*Epigrammata*', pp. 117-25.
'De prima inventione epigrammatum' (no. 336); 'Peregrina esse verba quibus usus fuit ille qui primus transtulit epigrammata ad sceleratas ac nefarias nugas' (no.

337): in Phillips, 'Francesco Patrizi's Two Epigrams', pp. 139-41

LETTERS

For the *incipit* of the letters see below, Part B. References to their number in the first column of Part B will be made when appropriate, while the abbreviated forms for manuscripts listed in the third column are indicated here in parentheses.

Manuscript sources

- Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz
MS 611 (XVth c.) (cited as Berlin 611)
- Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria
MS 2948 (Miscellanea Tioli), vol 28, copy of MS Ott. Lat. 1677
- Cambridge, University Library
MS 1621 Hh. I. 7. (XVth c.) (cited as Cambridge 1621)
- Connecticut, New Haven, The Library of Thomas E. Marston, Yale University Library
MS 147 (XVth c.) (cited as Yale Marston 147)
- Florence, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Archivio Mediceo Avanti il Principato
Filza X (letter 535), Filza XXIV (letter 432), (cited as ASF, AM avanti Princ.)
- Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana
MS Acquisti e Doni 98 (XVII-XVIIIth cc.), copy of MS FI N.A. 382
- Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale
MS Magl. XXXII 39 (XVth c.) (cited as FI Magl. XXXII 39)
MS Nuovi Acquisti 382 (XVth c.) (cited as FI N.A. 382)
- Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana
MS 834 (XVth c.) (cited as FI Ricc. 834)
MS 906 (XVth c.), ff. 104r-10v: sample letters
- Foligno, Biblioteca Comunale
MS F 158 (F 55-5-158) (XXth c.), copy of MS Fol. Sem. 507
MS F 180 (F 55-5-180) (XXth c.), copy of MS FI N.A. 382
- Foligno, Biblioteca Jacobilli del Seminario
MS 106 (A.V.11) (XVIIth c.) (cited as Fol. Sem. 106)
MS 517 (C. IX. 27) (XVIIth c.) (cited as Fol. Sem. 507)
- Manchester, University Library
MS Christie 3.f.32 (XVth c.) (cited as Manchester Ch. 3.f.32)
- Piacenza, Biblioteca Comunale Passerini Landi (XVth c.)
MS Landi 50 (cited as PC Landi 50)
- Paris, Bibliothèque National
MS Lat. 11388 (XVth c.) (cited as Paris Lat. 11388)
- Ravenna, Biblioteca Classense
MS 182 (XVth c) (cited as RA Class. 182)
MS 284 (XVth c) (cited as RA Class. 284)
- Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense
MS 1549 (X.VII 16) (XVth c) (cited as Rome Cas. 1549)
- Siena, Biblioteca Comunale
MS BV40 (XV th c.), ff 144r-47r: model beginnings of letters
- Trento, Biblioteca Capitolare
MS without shelfmark (258) (cited as TN Cap. s.n. (258))
- Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana
MS Barb. Lat. 2589 (XXXIII 109) (XVIIth c.) (cited as Barb. Lat. 2589)
MS Ott. Lat. 1677 (cited as Ott. Lat. 1677)
- Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana
MS Marc. Lat. XI 66 (3967) (XVth c.) (cited as VE Marc. Lat. XI 66)

MS Marc. Lat. XI 80 (3057)(XVth c.) (cited as VE Marc. Lat. XI 80)
MS Marc. Lat. XIV 262 (4719) (XV-XVIth cc.) (cited as VE Marc. Lat. XIV 262)
MS Marc. Lat. XIV 265 (4501) (XV-XVIth cc.) (cited as VE Marc. Lat. XIV 265)
Vicenza, Biblioteca Bertoliana
MS 7.1.31 (XVth c.) (cited as VI Bert. 7.1.31)

Printed sources

Letters to G. Albino as reproduced in Appendix to Chapter IV: in Bulifon, *Lettere memorabili, istoriche, politiche ed erudite*, II (1697), 89-92, 93-96.
Letter 69: in Ficino, *Supplementum Ficinianum*, II, 269-70.
Letter 30: in Amaduzzi, *Aneflocta litteraria*, III (1774), 285-86.
Letter 40: in Schmitt, *Cicero Scepticus*, pp. 172-73.
Letter 101: in Luiso, 'Studi su Lapo', pp. 247-48, n. 4.

ORATION DE LAUDIBUS PHILOSOPHIAE

Inc.: Hannibal Cartaginensis fortissimus ille

Expl.: nomenque vestrum aeternae immortalitati commendabilis

Manuscript sources

Manchester, University Library
MS Christie 3 f. 32 (XVth c.), ff. 80r-86r
Toledo, Archivo y Biblioteca capitulares,
MS 100,42 (XVth c.), ff. 22v-33r

ORATION ON ALFONSO OF ARAGON'S WEDDING TO IPPOLITA SFORZA (*Oratio habita per d. Franciscum Patricium in matrimonio contracto inter filiam inclytam ducis mediolani et filium Regis neapolis*)

Inc.: Quintus Cecilius Metellus gravis et disertus orator

Expl.: divina inter mortales una esse videatur

Manuscript sources

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz
MS Lat. qu. 433 (formerly Manzoni 110), (XVth c.), ff. 112r-114v
Évora, Biblioteca Pública
Uncunabulos 27-94 (formerly Gab.Est.F,C.1), vol H (XVth c.), ff. mss. 468r-472r
Milano, Biblioteca Trivulziana
MS 682 (E 48) (XVth c.), ff. 171r-173r
Modena, Biblioteca Estense
MS Campori Appendice 1369 (Gamma Y 2, 57) (XVth c.)
Ravenna, Biblioteca Classense
MS 182 (XVth c.), ff. 131r-133r
Siena, Biblioteca Comunale
MS B V 40 (XVth c.), ff. 59r-63v
MS C III 14 (XVII-XVIIIth cc.) ff. 140r-143r
MS H IX 21 (XVth c.), ff. 67r-69r
Vatican City, Vatican Library
MS Barb. Lat. 43 (VII 43) (XVIth c.), ff. 155v-157r
Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana
MS Marc. Lat. XI 83 (4360) (XV-XVIth cc.), ff. 194v-198r

ORATIO TO POPE INNOCENT VIII (*Francisci patritii Episcopi Caietani Oratoris Serenissimi Regis Ferdinandi ad Innocentium Octavum Pontificem Summum Oratio*)

Inc.: Non sum nescio S.e et B.e Pater quale onus

Expl.: peculiare sacrosante romane ecclesie essent

Manuscript sources

Évora (Portugal), Biblioteca Pública

Incunabulos 27-94 (formerly Gab. Est. F, C. 1), vol H (XVth c.), ff. 326r-329v

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana (Cimelii)

MS G 89 Sup. (XV th. c.), ff. 215r-219r

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

MS Lat. (or CLM) 461 (XVth c.), ff. 158r-162v

Printed sources

Rome, 1485 (Bartholomeus Guildinbeck); Rome, 1485 (Stephanus Planck);
undated (XVth c.).

POEMS

For their *incipit* and *explicit* see later, Part C. References to their order in that list will be made when appropriate.

Manuscript sources

Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek

MS Hamilton 482 (XVth c.)

complete collection with the exclusion of poem no. 1.

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz

MS Lat. qu. 433 (formerly Manzoni, 110) (XVth c.), ff. 28r-30r

eclogue on the Birth of Christ (no. 9)

Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria

MS lat 1419 (2687) (XVth c.), ff. 54r-57v

eclogue on the Birth of Christ (no. 9)

Budapest, National Széchényi Library

MS Quart. Lat. 2281 (XV-XVIIth cc.), ff. 200r-203r

eclogue on the Birth of Christ (no. 9)

Düsseldorf, Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek

MS 32 (XVth c.):

eclogue on the Birth of Christ (no. 9)

Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana

MS Ashb. 1060 (990) (XVth c), ff. 20v-28r:

ode to the Virgin Mary (no. 16)

eclogue on the Birth of Christ (no. 9)

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale

MS Magl. VII 1095 (XVth c.), ff. 182r-183r:

ode to the Virgin Mary (no. 16)

MS Magl. VII 1120 (XVth c.), ff. 62v-63r:

poem to Venus (*Inc.* Difficile est dudum perferre labores, *Expl.*
Irridens liber veneris promissa sequentes)

MS Naz. II X 31 (XVth c.), ff. 4r-39v:

poem to Nichodemo Tranchedini (no. 39)

poem to Cosimo de' Medici (no. 41)

ode on the Birth of the Vergin (no. 6)

- poem to Nichodemo Tranchedini (no. 32)
 poem to Nichodemo Tranchedini (*Inc.* O mihi praesidium, spes, o
 Nichodeme salutis, *Expl.* Magnanimos inter procures conscendet
 holypum)
 eclogue on the Birth of Christ (no. 9)
 poem to Gregorio Lollio (no. 4)
 eclogue (ff. 34r-37v) (*Inc.* Enim quid agis Lycida cur non properamus
 in antrum, *Expl.* Nam penitus toto fugiunt ex aere nubes)
 ode to the Virgin Mary (no. 16).
- Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana
 MS Ricc. 636 (L IV 14) (XVth C), ff. 15v- 20r:
 ode to the Virgin Mary (no. 16)
 eclogue on the Birth of Christ (no. 9)
 MS Ricc. 906 (XVth c.), ff. 61r-63r:
 eclogue on the Birth of Christ (no. 9)
 MS Ricc. 1166 (XV-XVIth cc.), ff 61r-66v:
 poem to Nicodemo Tranchedini (no. 39)
 eclogue on the Birth of Christ (no. 9)
- Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek,
 MS 1537 (XV-XVIth c.):
 eclogue on the Birth of Christ (no. 9)
- Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana
 MS D 270 inf. (XVth c), ff. 22v-26v:
 poem to A. S. Piccolomini Cardinal (no.3)
 MS Y 99 sup. (XVth c.), ff. 122r-124r:
 eclogue on the Birth of Christ (no. 9)
- Modena, Biblioteca Estense
 MS Est. Lat. 1080 (formerly Alpha J 5,19; formerly IV F 24) known as the
 Codice Bevilacqua (XVth c.), ff. 30r-31r, 182v-183v, 197v-203r:
 poem 'ad Cinthiam' (no. 34)
 poem 'ad Donatum' (no. 23 where addressed to Rufo)
 poem 'ad Karolum' (no. 28 where addressed to A. Caracciolo)
 poem 'ad Donatum' (no. 21)
 poem 'ad Italos' (no. 12)
 poem 'ad Donatum' (no. 20 where addressed to Goro Lolli)
- Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
 MS Lat.(or CLM) 414, ff. 142r-44r:
 eclogue on the Birth of Christ (no. 9)
- Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale
 MS V E 18 (XVth c.), ff. 149r-157r:
 poem to A. S. Piccolomini Cardinal, f. 149r (no. 3)
 poem to Nicodemo Tranchedini (no. 39)
 poem on the Virgin (no. 6)
- Palermo, Biblioteca Comunale
 MS 2Qq D 69, ff. 173r-174r:
 eclogue on the Birth of Christ (no. 9)
- Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliveriana
 MS 18 (XVth c), ff. 83r-86r:
 eclogue on the Birth of Christ (no. 9)
- Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana
 MS Nic. Rossi 204 (43 E 13) (XVth c.), ff. 123r-30r:
 eclogue on the Birth of Christ (no. 9)
- Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale
 MS Vitt. Em. 492 (673.465) (XVIth c.), ff. 26v-28r:
 poem to A. S. Piccolomini Cardinal (no. 3)
 MS Vitt. Em. 952 (229.259) (XVth c.), ff.54r-56v:

- eclogue on the Birth of Christ (no. 9)
 Rome, Collegio di S. Antonio (Pontificio Ateneo Antoniano)
 MS 199 (Codex Facchinetti), ff. 150r-52r:
 eclogue on the Birth of Christ (no. 9)
- Trieste, Biblioteca Civica
 MS Rossetti Piccol. II 25 (formerly Rossetti XII) (XVth c.), ff. 20v-21v, 23r-v, 29r-v, 111r-17r, 130r-v:
 poem to Pius II (no. 37)
 poem to Pius II (no. 1)
 poem to Ludovico Gonzaga (no. 19)
 poem to Goro Lolli (no. 38)
 poem to the Senate and people of Siena (no. 40)
- Udine, Biblioteca Comunale
 MS 2686 (XVth c.)
 eclogue on the Birth of Christ (no. 9)
- Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
 MS Chigi J V 175 (XVth c.), ff. 47r-48v:
 poem to Nicodemo Tranchedino (no. 32)
 MS Chigi J VI 233 (XVth c.)
 complete collection
 MS Chigi J VII 260 (XVth c.), ff. 20v-23v, 128r-136r:
 poem to Pius II (no. 37)
 poem to Pius II (no. 1)
 poem to Ludovico Gonzaga (no. 19)
 poem to Goro Lolli (no. 38)
 poem to the Senate and people of Siena (no. 40)
- MS Ott. Lat. 1609, on the back of the original cover (1v):
 poem on Iulius Patrizi's commentary on Juvenal (*Inc. Et Iuvenalis ad huc satyrarum proemia sensit, Expl. honestorum, toga viliorum quod etiam circa mulieres servatur, [...]*)
- MS Urb. Lat. 368 (XVth c.), ff. 173r-175v:
 eclogue on the Birth of Christ (no. 9)
- MS Urb. Lat. 403 (formerly 701) (XVth c.), ff. 24r-28r:
 poem to A. S. Piccolomini Cardinal (no. 3)
- MS Vat. Lat. 8914 (XVth c.), ff. 63v-67v, 131r-138v:
 poem 'ad Karolum' (no. 28 where addressed to A. Caracciolo)
 poem 'ad Donatum' (no. 21)
 poem 'ad Italos' (no. 12)
 poem 'ad Donatum' (no. 23 where addressed to Rufo)
 poem 'ad Donatum' (no. 20 where addressed to Goro Lollio)
 poem 'ad Chintiam' (no. 34)
- MS Vat. Lat. 6941 (XVth c.), ff. 21v-25v:
 poem to A. S. Piccolomini Cardinal (no. 3)
- Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana
 MS Marc. Lat. XIV 262 (4719):
 eclogue on the Birth of Christ (no. 9)
- Verona, Biblioteca Civica
 MS 1393 (XVth c), ff. 25v-28r:
 eclogue on the Birth of Christ (no. 9)
- Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
 MS Lat. 3192 (XV-XVIth cc.), ff. 96r-99v:
 eclogue on the Birth of Christ (no. 9)
- Wroclaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka
 MS IV Q 42 (XVIth c.), ff. 193v-96r:
 eclogue on the Birth of Christ (no. 9)

Printed sources

Eclogue on the Birth of Christ (no. 9): Padua 1483; in Benaducci, *Egloga di Francesco Filelfo*; in Bertalot, 'Il primo libro di Fano', *La Bibliofilia*, 30 (1928), p. 58 and in *Studien*, I, 430-31; *Carmina Illustrum*, VII (1720), 145-49; in Cozzuoli, *Tommaso Schifaldo*, pp. 40-41 (fragm. attributed to T. Schifaldo); in Di Giovanni, *Filologia e letteratura siciliana*, III (1879), 250-51 (fragm. attributed to T. Schifaldo).

Poem on the Virgin (no. 6): in Altamura, 'Due carmi inediti', pp. 58-61; in *Idem*, 'Una saffica mariana', pp. 535-38; in *Idem*, *Studi e ricerche*, pp. 55-59.

Poem to Nicodemo Tranchadini (no. 39): in Altamura, 'Due carmi inediti', pp. 54-58.

Poem to A. S. Piccolomini Cardinal (no. 3): in *De expeditione Pii Papae II adversus Turcos*, edited by Zimolo, pp. 111-16, where attributed to L. Crivelli.

TREATISE ON THE ART OF LETTER-WRITING

Inc.: Stilos seu characteres tres esse manifestum est

Expl.: [...]

Manuscript sources

Venice, Biblioteca Marciana

MS Marc. Lat. XIV 117 (4486) (XV-XVIth c.), ff. 134r-135r

Letter	No.	MS	F/ff.	No. in MS.	Sender	Addressee	Incipit	Place	Date
1	1	FI N.A. 382	11v-12v	14	F. P.	Pius II	Acceditus ad B. V. oratoribus	Foligno	12/7/1461
	2	Fol. Sem. 106	460r	15	F. P.	Pius II	Acceditus ad B. V. oratoribus	[Foligno]	12/7/1461
	3	RA Class. 284	145r-145v	4	F. P.	Pius II	Acceditus ad B. V. oratoribus	s.l. [Foligno]	s.d. [12/7/1461]
	4	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	182r	11	F. P.	Pius II	Acceditus ad B. V. oratoribus	s.l. [Foligno]	s.d. [12/7/1461]
2	5	FI N.A. 382	38v-39r	60	F. P.	Card. Bononiensis	Accedit ad R.D.V. excellens	Foligno	s.d.
	6	Fol. Sem. 517	25v	16	F. P.	Card. Bononiensis	Accedit ad R.D.V. excellens	Foligno	s.d.
	7	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	189v	41	F. P.	Card. Bononiensis	Accedit ad R.D.V. excellens	Foligno	s.d.
3	8	FI N.A. 382	89v-90v	131	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Accedit istuc Sinolfus Otherius	Foligno	20/2/1464
	9	Fol. Sem. 517	61v-62r	84	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Accedit istuc Sinolfus Otherius	Foligno	20/2/1464
	10	Barb. Lat. 2589	260r-260v	28	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Accedit istuc Sinolfus Otherius	s.l. [Foligno]	s.d. [20/2/1464]
4	11	FI N.A. 382	32r	47	F. P.	Pius II	Accedunt ad S.V. oratores	Foligno	28/10/1461
	12	Fol. Sem. 517	20r	3	F. P.	Pius II	Accedunt ad S.V. oratores	Foligno	28/10/1461
	13	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	186v	27	F. P.	Pius II	Accedunt ad S.V. oratores	Foligno	s.d. [28/10/1461]
5	14	FI N.A. 382	9v	11	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Accedunt istuc oratores Montis	Foligno	18/6/1461
	15	Fol. Sem. 106	458r	12	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Accedunt istuc oratores Montis	[Foligno]	18/6/1461
	16	RA Class. 284	144r	2	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Accedunt istuc oratores Montis	Foligno	18/6/1461
	17	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	181v	9	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Accedunt istuc oratores Montis	Foligno	s.d. [18/6/1461]
6	18	Fol. Sem. 517	26r-26v	20	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Accepi humanissimas litteras tuas	s.l. [Foligno]	s.d. [12/1461]
	19	FI N.A. 382	40r-40v	65	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Accepi humanissimas litteras tuas	s.l. [Foligno]	s.d. [12/1461]
	20	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	198r	73	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Accepi humanissimas litteras tuas	s.l. [Foligno]	s.d. [12/1461]
7	21	FI N.A. 382	66v	101	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Accepi litteras M.T. super	Foligno	26/5/1463
	22	Fol. Sem. 517	44r-44v	56	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Accepi litteras M.T. super	Foligno	26/5/1463
8	23	Fol. Sem. 517	34v-35v	38	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Accepi litteras tuas mihi	Gualdo Tadino	24/8/1462
	24	FI N.A. 382	53r-54r	83	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Accepi litteras tuas mihi	Gualdo Tadino	24/8/1462
9	25	Fol. Sem. 517	61r	82	F. P.	Card. Theanensis	Accepi Marsilium Treviensem nescio	Foligno	15/2/1464
	26	FI N.A. 382	88v-89r	129	F. P.	Card. Theanensis	Accepi Marsilium Treviensem nescio	Foligno	15/2/1464
	27	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	208v-209r	116	F. P.	Card. Theanensis	Accepi Marsilium Treviensem nescio	Foligno	s.d. [15/2/1464]
10	28	Fol. Sem. 517	72r-72v	108	F. P.	Pius II	Accepi Pater Sancte Fulginatenses	Foligno	10/5/1464
	29	FI N.A. 382	103r	155	F. P.	Pius II	Accepi Pater Sancte Fulginatenses	Foligno	10/5/1464
	30	Barb. Lat. 2589	275v-276r	38	F. P.	Pius II	Accepi Pater Sancte Fulginatenses	Foligno	10/5/1464
11	31	FI N.A. 382	4r-6r	5	F. P.	Pius II	Accepi Pater Sanctissime litteras	Foligno	11/6/1461
	32	Fol. Sem. 106	454v-455r	7	F. P.	Pius II	Accepi Pater Sanctissime litteras	[Foligno]	11/6/1461
	33	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	180v-181r	6	F. P.	Pius II	Accepi Pater Sanctissime litteras	Foligno	s.d. [11/6/1461]
12	34	FI N.A. 382	28r-28v	41	F. P.	Episc. Papiensis	Accepi superioribus diebus Pater	Foligno	s.d.
13	35	FI Ricc. 834	204v	17	F. P.	Nicodemo Tranchedini	Accessit nunc Florentiam Pius	Montughi	27/5/1459
14	36	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	186v	28	F. P.	Pius II	Adeo exhausti sunt Assinates	Foligno	s.d. [30/1/1463]

37	FI N.A. 382	59v-60r	91	F. P.	Pius II	Adeo exhausti sunt Assinates	Foligno	30/1/1463
38	Fol. Sem. 517	40r	46	F. P.	Pius II	Adeo exhausti sunt Assinates	Foligno	30/1/1463
39	RA Class. 284	150v	11	F. P.	Pius II	Adeo exhausti sunt Assinates	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[30/1/1463]
15	Fol. Sem. 517	73v	111	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Ago tibi gratias et	Foligno	[10/5/1464]
41	Barb. Lat. 2589	277v	41	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Ago tibi gratias et	Foligno	[10/5/1464]
42	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	202r	90	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Ago tibi gratias et	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[10/5/1464]
43	FI N.A. 382	104v-105r	158	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Ago tibi gratias et	Foligno	[10/5/1464]
16	FI N.A. 382	40v	66	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Appulit huc Abbas Cola	Foligno	11/12/[1461]
44	Fol. Sem. 517	26v	21	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Appulit huc Abbas Cola	Foligno	11/12/1461
45	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	195r	63	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Appulit hus Abbas Cola	Foligno	s.d.[11/12/1461]
17	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	195r	64	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Aringherium habuisti superioribus diebus	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.
48	FI N.A. 382	49r-49v	78	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Aringherium habuisti superioribus diebus	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.
49	Fol. Sem. 517	32r	33	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Aringherium habuisti superioribus diebus	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.
18	Fol. Sem. 517	53r-53v	71	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Assinates oratores mittunt ad	Foligno	26/12/1463
51	FI N.A. 382	79r	118	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Assinates oratores mittunt ad	Foligno	26/12/1463
19	FI N.A. 382	16r-17r	21	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Assisium veni et reperi	Assisi	31/7/1461
53	Barb. Lat. 2589	233r-233v	2	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Assisium veni et reperi	s.l.[Assisi]	s.d.[31/7/1461]
54	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	197v	71	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Assisium veni et reperi	s.l.[Assisi]	s.d.[31/7/1461]
20	FI Ricc. 834	204r	14	F. P.	Nicodemo Tranchedini	Augustinus praesbyter litteras tuas	Montughi	24/1459
21	FI N.A. 382	86v-88r	127	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Binas abs te pridie	Foligno	15/2/1464
57	Fol. Sem. 517	59r-60r	80	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Binas abs te pridie	Foligno	15/2/[1464]
22	FI N.A. 382	2v-3r	3	F. P.	Bernardo Piccolomini	Binas abs te uno	s.l.	7/6/1461
59	Fol. Sem. 106	453r-453v	5	F. P.	Bernardo Piccolomini	Binas abs te uno	s.l.	7/6/1461
60	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	180r	4	F. P.	Bernardo Piccolomini	Binas abs te uno	s.l.	s.d.[7/6/1461]
23	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	193r	55	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Binas heri abs te	Foligno	s.d.[8/7/1463]
62	Fol. Sem. 517	46r	60	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Binas heri abs te	Foligno	8/7/[1463]
63	FI N.A. 382	69r	105	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Binas heri abs te	Foligno	8/7/[1463]
24	RA Class. 284	144r-145r	3	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Breve guberni Menaniae accepi	Foligno	20/6/1461
65	Fol. Sem. 106	458r-459r	13	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Breve guberni Menaniae accepi	[Foligno]	20/6/1461
66	FI N.A. 382	10r-10v	12	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Breve guberni Menaniae accepi	Foligno	20/6/1461
67	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	181v	10	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Breve guberni Menaniae accepi	Foligno	s.d.[20/6/1461]
25	FI N.A. 382	28v-29r	42	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Breve relaxationis decimarum et	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[10/1461]
69	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	194r	60	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Breve relaxationis decimarum et	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[10/1461]
26	Fol. Sem. 517	56v-57r	75	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Bullas Gambassus ad me	Foligno	24/1/1464
71	FI N.A. 382	82r-83r	122	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Bullas Gambassus ad me	Foligno	24/1/1464
72	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	202v-203r	96	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Bullas Gambassus ad me	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[24/1/1464]
27	FI N.A. 382	110r-110v	162	F. P.	Card. Senensis	Cassiani oratores V.R.D. litteras	Foligno	[7/6/1464]
74	Fol. Sem. 517	77v-78r	115	F. P.	Card. Senensis	Cassiani oratores V.R.D. litteras	Foligno	[7/6/1464]
75	Barb. Lat. 2589	284r-284v	45	F. P.	Card. Senensis	Cassiani oratores V.R.D. litteras	Foligno	s.d.[7/6/1464]
28	FI N.A. 382	38r	59	F. P.	Card. Nicaenus	Celebravimus Capitulum iiii Kalendas	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[12/1461]

77	Fol. Sem. 517	25v	15	F. P.	Card. Nicaenus	Celebravimus Capitulum iiii Kalendas	s.l.[Foligno]	[12/1461]
78	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	189v	40	F. P.	Card. Nicaenus	Celebravimus Capitulum iiii Kalendas	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[12/1461]
29	FI N.A. 382	94v-95r	142	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Cispellani exules oratores ad	Foligno	21/3/1464
80	Fol. Sem. 517	65v	95	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Cispellani exules oratores ad	Foligno	21/3/1464
81	Barb. Lat. 2589	262r-262v	30	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Cispellani exules oratores ad	Foligno	21/3/1464
30	FI N.A. 382	86r-86v	126	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Cogitari rem dignam expeditioni	Foligno	1/2/1464
82	Barb. Lat. 2589	258r-258v	26	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Cogitari rem dignam expeditioni	Foligno	1/2/1464
83	Fol. Sem. 517	58v-59r	79	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Cogitari rem dignam expeditioni	Foligno	s.d.[12/1464]
84	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	203v	99	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Commendat mihi Dominatio tua	Foligno	17/5/1463
31	FI N.A. 382	65r-65v	99	F. P.	Episc. Firmanus	Commendat mihi Dominatio tua	Foligno	17/5/1463
85	Fol. Sem. 517	42v	53	F. P.	Episc. Firmanus	Commendat mihi Dominatio tua	Foligno	s.d.[17/5/1463]
86	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	192r	49	F. P.	Episc. Firmanus	Commendat mihi R.D.V. Honofrium	Foligno	17/2/1462
32	FI N.A. 382	44r-44v	72	F. P.	Card. Papiensis	Commendat mihi R.D.V. Honofrium	Foligno	17/2/1462
87	Fol. Sem. 517	28r-28v	27	F. P.	Card. Papiensis	Commendat mihi R.D.V. Honofrium	Foligno	17/2/1462
88	Barb. Lat. 2589	240v-241r	11	F. P.	Card. Papiensis	Commendat mihi R.D.V. Honofrium	Foligno	s.d.[17/2/1462]
89	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	185r-185v	22	F. P.	Card. Papiensis	Complures dies sunt quibus	Foligno	6/10/1463
33	FI N.A. 382	73v-74v	110	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Complures dies sunt quibus	Foligno	6/10/1463
90	Fol. Sem. 517	49r-50v	65	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Complures dies sunt quibus	Foligno	6/10/1463
91	Barb. Lat. 2589	251r-253r	20	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Complures dies sunt quibus	Foligno	s.d.[6/10/1463]
92	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	199v-200r	79	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Complures dies sunt quibus	Assisi	24/9/1461]
34	FI N.A. 382	21r-22r	28	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Complures dies sunt quibus	Assisi	20/8/1461]
35	FI N.A. 382	18v-19r	23	F. P.	Pius II	Complures dies, Pater Sanctissime	Assisi	s.d.[20/8/1461]
93	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	187r-187v	32	F. P.	Pius II	Complures dies, Pater Sanctissime	Foligno	[10/5/1464]
94	Fol. Sem. 517	104r-104v	157	F. P.	Thesaurarius	Condemnavi nuper Jo. Franciscum	Foligno	[10/5/1464]
36	FI N.A. 382	73r-73v	110	F. P.	Thesaurarius	Condemnavi nuper Jo. Franciscum	Foligno	[10/5/1464]
95	Fol. Sem. 517	277r-277v	40	F. P.	Thesaurarius	Condemnavi superioribus diebus Pater	Foligno	7/11/1461
96	Barb. Lat. 2589	32v-33r	49	F. P.	Thesaurarius	Condemnavi superioribus diebus Pater	Foligno	7/11/1461
97	FI N.A. 382	20r-20v	5	F. P.	Thesaurarius	Condemnavi superioribus diebus Pater	s.l.[Foligno]	7/11/1461
98	Barb. Lat. 2589	236v-237r	7	F. P.	Thesaurarius	Condemnavi superioribus diebus Pater	s.l.	s.d.[pre 2/1446]
99	VE Marc. Lat. XIV 262	80v-83v	5	F. P.	Achille Petrucci	Credo M.T. admirationi fuisse	Foligno	18/3/1462]
37	FI N.A. 382	47r-48r	76	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Credo M.T. admirationi fuisse	Foligno	18/3/1462]
100	Fol. Sem. 517	30r-31r	31	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Credo M.T. admirationi fuisse	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[18/3/1462]
101	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	198v	75	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Cum Tusculanas Quaestiones divine	s.l.	s.d.
102	FI N.A. 382	126r-130v	174	F. P.	Achille Petrucci	Cum Tusculanas Quaestiones divine	s.l.	s.d.
103	Barb. Lat. 2589	75v-77r	3	F. P.	Achille Petrucci	Cupio tibi vel maxime	Siena	19/4/1436]
104	RA Class. 182	46v-47r	2	F. P.	Lapo da Castiglionchio	Cupio tibi vel maxime	Siena	19/4/1436]
105	Paris Lat. 11388	195v-96r		F. P.	Lapo da Castiglionchio	Cupio tibi vel maxime	Siena	19/4/1436]
38	Ott. Lat. 1677	200r	81	F. P.	Lapo da Castiglionchio	Dabis mihi veniam si	s.l.	s.d.
39	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	46r-47r	61	F. P.	Card. Senensis	De re Cispellana superioribus	Foligno	8/7/1463
40	Fol. Sem. 517							
41								
42								
43								

117	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	191r-191v	46	F. P.	Card. Senensis	De re Cispellana superioribus	Foligno	s.d.[8/7/1463]
118	FI N.A. 382	69v-70v	106	F. P.	Card. Senensis	De re Cispellana superioribus	Foligno	8/7/1463
119	Barb. Lat. 2589	248v-250r	18	F. P.	Card. Senensis	De re Cispellana superioribus	Foligno	8/7/1463
44	FI N.A. 382	45v	74	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Dedi ad M.T. superioribus	Foligno	25/2/[1462]
121	Fol. Sem. 517	29r	29	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Dedi ad M.T. superioribus	Foligno	25/2/[1462]
45	FI Ricc. 834	28v-29r	3	F. P.	Nicodemo Tranchadini	Dedi ad te litteras	Pistoia	28/10/1457
46	FI Ricc. 834	30r-30v	8	F. P.	Nicodemo Tranchadini	Dedi ad te superioribus	Verona	8/12/1459
47	FI Ricc. 834	31v	13	F. P.	Nicodemo Tranchadini	Dedimus diebus superioribus excellentiae	Montughi	29/3/1459
48	FI Ricc. 834	28r	1	F. P.	Nicodemo Tranchadini	Distuli mihi huncusque diem	Pistoia	29/9/1457
49	FI N.A. 382	115v-120r	173	F. P.	?[Goro Lolli]	Diu est quod mala	Foligno	10/4/1464
127	Fol. Sem. 106	447v-451r	1	F. P.	?[Goro Lolli]	Diu est quod mala	Foligno	10/4/1464
128	Barb. Lat. 2589	265v-271v	33	F. P.	?[Goro Lolli]	Diu est quod mala	Foligno	10/4/1464
50	FI N.A. 382	50v	80	F. P.	?[Agostino Patrizi]	Diuturnum silentium meum quod	Assisi	29/5/1462
130	Fol. Sem. 517	32v-33r	100	F. P.	?[Agostino Patrizi]	Diuturnum silentium meum quod	Assisi	29/5/1462
131	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	197r	70	F. P.	?[Agostino Patrizi]	Diuturnum silentium meum quod	Assisi	s.d.[29/5/1462]
51	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	202r	92	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Domino Silvio de Scafalibus	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[2/1464]
133	FI N.A. 382	92v	136	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Domino Silvio de Scafalibus	[Foligno]	[2/1464]
134	Fol. Sem. 517	63v	89	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Domino Silvio de Scafalibus	[Foligno]	[2/1464]
52	FI N.A. 382	56v-57r	88	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Dudum est quod a (domino)	Foligno	8/1/1463
136	Fol. Sem. 517	37v-38v	43	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Dudum est quod a (domino)	Foligno	8/1/1463
53	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	204r	100	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Dudum est quod a (te)	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[2/1464]
138	Fol. Sem. 517	60r-61r	81	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Dudum est quod a (te)	[Foligno]	s.d.[2/1464]
139	FI N.A. 382	88r-88v	128	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Dudum est quod a (te)	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[2/1464]
54	Fol. Sem. 517	48r-48v	63	F. P.	Pius II	Duo brevia S.V. nudius	Assisi	[7/8/1463]
141	FI N.A. 382	72r-72v	108	F. P.	Pius II	Duo brevia S.V. nudius	Assisi	[7/8/1463]
142	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	186v-187r	30	F. P.	Pius II	Duo brevia S.V. nudius	Assisi	s.d.[7/8/1463]
55	ASF, AM avanti Princ.	Filza X	535	F. P.	Giovanni de' Medici	E' stato da me	Foligno	28/7/1463
56	Fol. Sem. 517	54v-55r	73	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Ex litteris his alligatis	Foligno	7/1/1464
145	FI N.A. 382	80r-80v	120	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Ex litteris his alligatis	Foligno	7/1/1464
57	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	184r-184v	19	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Ex litteris M. T. accipi	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[12/1461]
147	FI N.A. 382	41r-42r	68	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Ex litteris M. T. accipi	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[12/1461]
148	Fol. Sem. 517	26v-27r	23	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Ex litteris M. T. accipi	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[12/1461]
58	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	186r	25	F. P.	Ludovico da Spoleto	Ex litteris tuis accipi	Foligno	[10/10/1461]
150	FI N.A. 382	27r-27v	39	F. P.	Ludovico da Spoleto	Ex litteris tuis accipi	Foligno	10/10/1461
59	FI N.A. 382	114v-115r	170	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Ex litteris tuis intellexi	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[7/1464]
152	Fol. Sem. 517	81r	123	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Ex litteris tuis intellexi	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[7/1464]
60	FI N.A. 382	74v-75r	111	F. P.	Francesco Tranchadini	Excusant facile desidiam scribendi	Foligno	9/10/1463
154	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	185v	23	F. P.	Francesco Tranchadini	Excusant facile desidiam scribendi	Foligno	s.d.[9/10/1463]
61	VE Marc. Lat. XIV 262	77v-80r	4	F. P.	Achille Petrucci	Existimabam longiusculis illis quas	s.l.	6/10/1445
62	FI Ricc. 834	29v-30r	6	F. P.	Nicodemo Tranchadini	Expectabam abs te aliquid	s.l.[Verona]	s.d.[11/1459]

63	157	Fol. Sem. 517	58r-58v	77	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Fasciculum litterarum mearum superioribus	Foligno	30/1/1464
	158	FI N.A. 382	84r-85r	124	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Fasciculum litterarum mearum superioribus	Foligno	30/1/1464
	159	Barb. Lat. 2589	256v-257r	24	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Fasciculum litterarum mearum superioribus	Foligno	30/1/1464
	160	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	203r-203v	97	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Fasciculum litterarum mearum superioribus	[Foligno]	s.d.[30/1/1464]
64	161	VE Marc. Lat. XIV 262	83v-84r	6	F. P.	Antonio Illicino	Forte tibi admirationi extitit	s.l.	s.d.[10/1445-2/144]
65	162	Fol. Sem. 517	69v-70r	103	F. P.	Episc. Ferrariensis	Fulginatenses oratores multa in	Foligno	27/4/1464
	163	FI N.A. 382	100r-100v	150	F. P.	Episc. Ferrariensis	Fulginatenses oratores multa in	Foligno	27/4/1464
	164	Barb. Lat. 2589	272v-273r	35	F. P.	Episc. Ferrariensis	Fulginatenses oratores multa in	Foligno	27/4/1464
	165	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	208v	114	F. P.	Episc. Ferrariensis	Fulginatenses oratores multa in	Foligno	s.d.[27/4/1464]
66	166	FI N.A. 382	92v	135	F. P.	Card. Papiensis	Fulginates istuc oratorem mittunt	Foligno	[2/1464]
	167	Fol. Sem. 517	63v	88	F. P.	Card. Papiensis	Fulginates istuc oratorem mittunt	Foligno	[2/1464]
	168	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	202v	93	F. P.	Card. Papiensis	Fulginates istuc oratorem mittunt	Foligno	s.d.[2/1464]
67	169	FI N.A. 382	20r-21r	26	F. P.	Giorgio Patrizi	Fulgini res se bene	Assisi	15/9/1461]
	170	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	185v	24	F. P.	Giorgio Patrizi	Fulgini res se bene	Assisi	15/9/1461]
68	171	Fol. Sem. 517	78v	117	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Gratae mihi litterae tuae	Foligno	[7/6/1464]
	172	FI N.A. 382	111v	164	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Gratae mihi litterae tuae	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[7/6/1464]
	173	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	202r	91	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Gratae mihi litterae tuae	Verona	30/12/1459
69	174	PC Landi 50	111r		F. P.	Marsilio Ficino	Gratae mihi litterae tuae (extiterunt)	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.
70	175	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	191v	48	F. P.	Episc. Castellanus	Gratias ago domine Reverende	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.
	176	FI N.A. 382	31v	46	F. P.	Episc. Castellanus	Gratias ago domine Reverende	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.
71	177	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	200v	82	F. P.	[Goro Lolli]	Gratias tibi peringentes ago	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[2/11/1463]
	178	FI N.A. 382	77r-77v	114	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Gratias tibi peringentes ago	Foligno	2/11/1463
	179	Fol. Sem. 517	52r-52v	68	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Gratias tibi peringentes ago	Foligno	2/11/1463
72	180	Barb. Lat. 2589	253r-254r	21	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Gratias tibi peringentes ago	Foligno	2/11/1463
	181	Fol. Sem. 517	27r-27v	24	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Gratissimas abs te litteras	Foligno	11/1/1462
	182	FI N.A. 382	42r-42v	69	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Gratissimas abs te litteras	Foligno	11/1/1462
	183	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	184v-185r	20	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Gratissimas abs te litteras	Foligno	s.d.[11/1/1462]
73	184	FI N.A. 382	38r-38v	58	F. P.	Card. S. Susannae	Gratissimum mihi extitit R.D.	Foligno	2/12/1461
	185	Fol. Sem. 517	25r-25v	14	F. P.	Card. S. Susannae	Gratissimum mihi extitit R.D.	Foligno	2/12/1461
	186	RA Class. 284	149r-149v	9	F. P.	Card. S. Susannae	Gratissimum mihi extitit R.D.	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[2/12/1461]
	187	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	189r-189v	39	F. P.	Card. S. Susannae	Gratissimum mihi extitit R.D.	Foligno	s.d.[2/12/1461]
74	188	FI N.A. 382	25r	35	F. P.	Episc. Grossetanus	Gratulatio Paternitatis tuae mihi	Foligno	s.d.
	189	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	191v	47	F. P.	Episc. Grossetanus	Gratulatio Paternitatis tuae mihi	Foligno	s.d.
75	190	FI N.A. 382	97r-97v	145	F. P.	Sinolfo Oterio	Gratulor tibi generique tuo	Foligno	16/11/1464
	191	Fol. Sem. 517	67r-67v	98	F. P.	Sinolfo Oterio	Gratulor tibi generique tuo	Foligno	16/11/1464
	192	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	201v	88	F. P.	Sinolfo Oterio	Gratulor tibi generique tuo	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[16/11/1464]
76	193	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	193v-194r	59	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Gratum mihi fuit itinerarium	Foligno	s.d.[30/9/1461]
	194	FI N.A. 382	23r-23v	30	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Gratum mihi fuit itinerarium	Foligno	30/9/1461]
77	195	FI N.A. 382	26v	37	F. P.	Pius II	Habemus hic Pater Sanctissime	Foligno	8/10/1461
78	196	Fol. Sem. 517	53r	70	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Hac hora quarta noctis	Foligno	24/12/1463

79	197	FI N.A. 382	78v	117	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Hac hora quarta noctis	Foligno	24/12/1463
	198	FI N.A. 382	113v	167	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Hac hora undecima nuntius	Foligno	7/7/1464
	199	Fol. Sem. 517	80r	120	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Hac hora undecima nuntius	Foligno	7/7/1464
	200	Barb. Lat. 2589	288r	48	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Hac hora undecima nuntius	Foligno	7/7/1464
	201	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	201v	86	F. P.	[Goro Lolli]	Hac hora undecima nuntius	s.l. [Foligno]	s.d. [7/7/1464]
80	202	FI N.A. 382	98r-98v	147	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Hac hora vigesima litteras	Foligno	20/4/1464
	203	Fol. Sem. 517	68v		F. P.	Goro Lolli	Hac hora vigesima litteras	Foligno	20/4/1464
81	204	FI N.A. 382	55r	85	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Has ad te deferet	Nocera	15/10/1462
	205	Fol. Sem. 517	36v	40	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Has ad te deferet	Nocera	15/10/1462
	206	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	195v	65	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Heri discessit Jo. Christoforus	Nocera	s.d. [15/10/1462]
82	207	FI N.A. 382	113r-113v	166	F. P.	Niccolò Bettonio	Heri discessit Jo. Christoforus	Foligno	14/6/1464
	208	Fol. Sem. 517	79v-80r	119	F. P.	Niccolò Bettonio	Heri discessit Jo. Christoforus	s.l. [Foligno]	s.d. [14/6/1464]
	209	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	205r-205v	103	F. P.	Niccolò Bettonio	Heri duo brevia Sanctissimi	Foligno	11/3/1463
83	210	Fol. Sem. 517	40r-40v	48	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Heri duo brevia Sanctissimi	Foligno	11/3/1463
	211	FI N.A. 382	60r-61r	93	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Heri duo brevia Sanctissimi	Foligno	11/3/1463
84	212	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	183v	15	F. P.	Episc. Papiensis	Heri pater ac domine	Foligno	s.d. [1461]
	213	FI N.A. 382	29v	43	F. P.	Episc. Papiensis	Heri pater ac domine	Foligno	s.d. [1461]
85	214	FI Ricc. 834	204r-204v	15	F. P.	Nicodemo Tranchetini	Heri vesperi litteras Excellentiae	Montughi	13/4/1459
86	215	FI N.A. 382	49v-50r	79	F. P.	[Agostino Patrizi]	His litteris meis alligatae	Foligno	4/4/1462
	216	Fol. Sem. 517	32r-32v	34	F. P.	[Agostino Patrizi]	His litteris meis alligatae	Foligno	4/4/1462
87	217	Fol. Sem. 517	64v	92	F. P.	Card. Theanensis	His meis litteris testimonium	Foligno	[24/2/1464]
	218	FI N.A. 382	93v	139	F. P.	Card. Theanensis	His meis litteris testimonium	Foligno	[24/2/1464]
88	219	Fol. Sem. 517	20r	4	F. P.	Thesaurarius	Hoc vesperi litteras R.P. V.	Foligno	28/10/1461
	220	FI N.A. 382	32r	48	F. P.	Thesaurarius	Hoc vesperi litteras R.P. V.	Foligno	28/10/1461
	221	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	192r	50	F. P.	Thesaurarius	Hoc vesperi litteras R.P. V.	s.l. [Foligno]	s.d. [28/10/1461]
89	222	FI N.A. 382	114r	168	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Hodie Cispellum appulit Jacobus	Foligno	8/7/1464
	223	Fol. Sem. 517	80v	121	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Hodie Cispellum appulit Jacobus	Foligno	8/7/1464
	224	Barb. Lat. 2589	288v	49	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Hodie Cispellum appulit Jacobus	s.l. [Foligno]	s.d. [8/7/1464]
	225	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	201v	87	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Hodie Cispellum appulit Jacobus	s.l. [Foligno]	s.d. [8/7/1464]
90	226	Fol. Sem. 517	71r-72r	107	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Hodie litteras M.T. accipi	Foligno	[10/4/1464]
	227	FI N.A. 382	102r-103r	154	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Hodie litteras M.T. accipi	Foligno	[10/4/1464]
	228	Barb. Lat. 2589	274r-275v	37	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Hodie litteras M.T. accipi	Foligno	10/4/1464
91	229	FI N.A. 382	1r-2v	2	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Hucusque nihil ad te	s.l. [Foligno]	9/6/1461
	230	Fol. Sem. 106	452r-453r	4	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Hucusque nihil ad te	s.l. [Foligno]	9/6/1461
	231	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	179r-180r	3	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Hucusque nihil ad te	s.l. [Foligno]	9/6/1461
92	232	RA Class. 182		19	F. P.	Lapo da Castiglionchio	Humanissimae litterae tuae mihi	Buonconvento	22/5/1436
	233	MS Ott. lat 1677	193v-194r	19	F. P.	Lapo da Castiglionchio	Humanissimae litterae tuae mihi	Buonconvento	22/5/1436
	234	Paris Lat. 11388	45r		F. P.	Lapo da Castiglionchio	Humanissimae litterae tuae mihi	Buonconvento	22/5/1436
	235	Ve Marc. L. XI 66	24v	1	F. P.	Lapo da Castiglionchio	Humanissimae litterae tuae mihi	Buonconvento	22/5/1436
93	236	Fol. Sem. 517	38v-39r	44	F. P.	Card. Colonna	Humanissimas litteras R.D. V. accipi	Foligno	26/1/1463

237	FI N.A. 382	57v-58r	89	F. P.	Card. Colonna	Humanissimas litteras R.D.V. accepi	Foligno	26/1/1463
238	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	190r	43	F. P.	Card. Colonna	Humanissimas litteras R.D.V. accepi	Foligno	s.d.[26/1/1463]
94	FI Ricc. 834	28r-28v	2	F. P.	Nicodemo Tranchadini	Iam credo vir M.	Pistoia	26/10/1457
95	Fol. Sem. 517	18r-18v	1	F. P.	[Goro Lolli]	[Intellexi ex litteris tuis]	Foligno	28/10/1461]
241	FI N.A. 382	29v-30v	44	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Intellexi ex litteris tuis	Foligno	28/10/1461]
242	Barb. Lat. 2589	236r	5	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Intellexi ex litteris tuis	Foligno	28/10/1461]
96	FI N.A. 382	19r-19v	24	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Ioannes Malvolus iam pluries	Assisi	20/8/1461
97	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	182v-183r	13	F. P.	Card. Spoletanus	Iudicium meum super rebus	Foligno	s.d.[6/7/1461]
245	FI N.A. 382	13v-14r	16	F. P.	Card. Spoletanus	Iudicium meum super rebus	Foligno	6/7/1461
98	FI N.A. 382	22r-22v	29	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Iustus familiaris noster negotiorum	Assisi	24/9/1461]
247	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	193v	58	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Iustus familiaris noster negotiorum	Assisi	s.d.[24/9/1461]
99	FI Ricc. 834	30r	7	F. P.	Nicodemo Tranchadini	Libertas loquendi inter amicos	Verona	28/11/1459
100	Fol. Sem. 517	47r-48r	62	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Litterae M.T. et brevia	Assisi	7/8/1463]
250	FI N.A. 382	70v-71v	107	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Litterae M.T. et brevia	Assisi	7/8/1463]
251	Barb. Lat. 2589	250r-251r	19	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Litterae M.T. et brevia	s.l.[Assisi]	s.d.[7/8/1463]
101	Paris Lat. 11388	75v-76v		F. P.	Lapo da Castiglione	Litterae tuae mihi allatae	Siena	22/4/1437]
102	Fol. Sem. 106	454r-454v	6	F. P.	Ermolao Barbaro	Litteras D.T. accepi	s.l.[Foligno]	11/6/1461
254	FI N.A. 382	3v-4r	4	F. P.	Ermolao Barbaro	Litteras D.T. accepi	s.l.[Foligno]	11/6/1461
255	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	180r-180v	5	F. P.	Ermolao Barbaro	Litteras D.T. accepi	s.l.[Foligno]	11/6/1461]
103	FI Ricc. 834	29r-29v	4	F. P.	Nicodemo Tranchadini	Litteras excellentiae tuae ad	Pistoia	27/11/1457
104	FI Ricc. 834	31r	11	F. P.	Nicodemo Tranchadini	Litteras excellentiae tuae hodie	Montughi	7/3/1459
105	Fol. Sem. 517	43v-44r	55	F. P.	Thesaurarius	Litteras R.D.T. accepi super	Foligno	23/5/1463
259	FI N.A. 382	65v-66r	100	F. P.	Thesaurarius	Litteras R.D.T. accepi super	Foligno	23/5/1463
106	FI N.A. 382	83r-84r	123	F. P.	Card. Senensis	Litteras R.D.V. accepi super	Foligno	26/1/1464]
261	Fol. Sem. 517	57r-58r	76	F. P.	Card. Senensis	Litteras R.D.V. accepi super	Foligno	26/1/1464
262	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	206v-207r	106	F. P.	Card. Senensis	Litteras R.D.V. accepi super	[Foligno]	s.d.[26/1/1464]
107	Fol. Sem. 517	31r-31v	32	F. P.	Card. Spoletanus	Litteras R.D.V. hodie accepi	Foligno	28/3/1462]
264	FI N.A. 382	48r-49r	77	F. P.	Card. Spoletanus	Litteras R.D.V. hodie accepi	Foligno	28/3/1462]
265	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	188v-189r	36	F. P.	Card. Spoletanus	Litteras R.D.V. hodie accepi	Foligno	s.d.[28/3/1462]
108	Fol. Sem. 517	44v	57	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Litteris tuis iii Kalendas Junii	s.l.	s.d.[1463]
267	FI N.A. 382	66v-67r	102	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Litteris tuis iii Kalendas Junii	s.l.	s.d.[1463]
268	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	199r	77	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Litteris tuis iii Kalendas Junii	s.l.	s.d.[1463]
109	FI N.A. 382	110v-111r	163	F. P.	Thesaurarius	Litteris vestris Cassianorum causam	Foligno	[7/6/1464]
270	Fol. Sem. 517	78r-78v	116	F. P.	Thesaurarius	Litteris vestris Cassianorum causam	Foligno	[7/6/1464]
271	Barb. Lat. 2589	285r-285v	46	F. P.	Thesaurarius	Litteris vestris Cassianorum causam	Foligno	[7/6/1464]
272	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	206v	107	F. P.	Thesaurarius	Litteris vestris Cassianorum causam	Foligno	s.d.[7/6/1464]
110	FI N.A. 382	38r	57	F. P.	Pius II	Magister Mathaeus de Fucitecho	s.l.[Foligno]	2/12/1461]
274	Fol. Sem. 517	25r	13	F. P.	Pius II	Magister Mathaeus de Fucitecho	s.l.[Foligno]	2/12/1461
275	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	186r-186v	26	F. P.	Pius II	Magister Mathaeus de Fucitecho	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[2/12/1461]
111	FI N.A. 382	39r	61	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Magister Mathaeus noster istuc	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.

277	Fol. Sem. 517	25v	17	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Magister Matheus noster istuc	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.
278	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	189v	42	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Magister Matheus noster istuc	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.
279	Fol. Sem. 517	42r	51	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Magna cum celeritate erigitur	Foligno	6/5/1463
280	FI N.A. 382	63r-64r	96	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Magna cum celeritate erigitur	Foligno	6/5/1463
281	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	190r-190v	44	F. P.	Card. Rothomagensis	Magno me merore affecissent	Foligno	[16/1/1463]
282	FI N.A. 382	58r-59v	90	F. P.	Card. Rothomagensis	Magno me merore affecissent	Foligno	16/1/1463
283	Fol. Sem. 517	39r-40r	45	F. P.	Card. Rothomagensis	Magno me merore affecissent	Foligno	16/1/1463
284	Fol. Sem. 517	27v-28r	25	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Magno merore me affecissent	Foligno	28/1/1462
285	FI N.A. 382	42v-43v	70	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Magno merore me affecissent	Foligno	28/1/1462
286	Barb. Lat. 2589	239r-239v	9	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Magno merore me affecissent	Foligno	[28/1/1462]
287	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	185r	21	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Magno merore me affecissent	Foligno	[28/1/1462]
288	Fol. Sem. 517	42v	52	F. P.	Card. Nicaenus	Male egerunt fratres illi	Foligno	16/5/1463
289	FI N.A. 382	64r-64v	97	F. P.	Card. Nicaenus	Male egerunt fratres illi	Foligno	16/5/1463
290	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	191r	45	F. P.	Card. Nicaenus	Male egerunt fratres illi	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[16/5/1463]
291	Fol. Sem. 517	26r	19	F. P.	Card. Reat. and Colonna	Melchiorum Verulanum quem litteris	Foligno	11/12/1461
292	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	189r	37	F. P.	Card. Reat. and Colonna	Melchiorum Verulanum quem litteris	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[11/12/1461]
293	FI N.A. 382	40r	63	F. P.	Card. Reat. and Colonna	Melchiorum Verulanum quem litteris	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[11/12/1461]
294	FI N.A. 382	36r-36v	54	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Misi ad te superioribus	Foligno	24/11/1461
295	Fol. Sem. 517	24r	10	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Misi ad te superioribus	Foligno	24/11/1461
296	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	197v-198r	72	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Misi ad te superioribus	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[24/11/1461]
297	FI N.A. 382	93v-94r	140	F. P.	Pius II	Misi Beatissime Pater superioribus	[Foligno]	[24/2/1464]
298	Fol. Sem. 517	64v-65r	93	F. P.	Pius II	Misi Beatissime Pater superioribus	[Foligno]	[24/2/1464]
299	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	207v	110	F. P.	Pius II	Misi Beatissime Pater superioribus	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[24/2/1464]
300	FI N.A. 382	44v-45r	73	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Mitto ad M.T. processum	Foligno	21/2/1462
301	Fol. Sem. 517	28v-29r	28	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Mitto ad M.T. processum	Foligno	21/2/1462
302	Barb. Lat. 2589	241r-241v	12	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Mitto ad M.T. processum	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[21/2/1462]
303	Fol. Sem. 517	23v-24r	9	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Mitto ad te bullam	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[11/1464]
304	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	194v-195r	62	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Mitto ad te bullam	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[11/1464]
305	FI N.A. 382	35r-35v	53	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Mitto ad te bullam	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[11/1464]
306	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	202v	94	F. P.	Pius II	Mittunt ad S.V. humiles	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[2/1464]
307	FI N.A. 382	92r-92v	134	F. P.	Pius II	Mittunt ad S.V. humiles	[Foligno]	[2/1464]
308	Fol. Sem. 517	63r-63v	87	F. P.	Pius II	Mittunt ad S.V. humiles	[Foligno]	[2/1464]
309	FI N.A. 382	21r	27	F. P.	Pius II	Mittunt ad S.V. Pater	Assisi	21/9/1461
310	Barb. Lat. 2589	233v	3	F. P.	Pius II	Mittunt ad S.V. Pater	Assisi	21/9/1461
311	FI N.A. 382	81r-82r	121	F. P.	Thesaurarius	Montanae nives quae praeter	Foligno	23/1/1464
312	Barb. Lat. 2589	255r-256v	23	F. P.	Thesaurarius	Montanae nives quae praeter	Foligno	23/1/1464
313	Fol. Sem. 517	55r-56r	74	F. P.	Thesaurarius	Montanae nives quae praeter	Foligno	23/1/1464
314	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	205v-206r	104	F. P.	Thesaurarius	Montanae nives quae praeter	Foligno	s.d.[23/1/1464]
315	FI N.A. 382	23v-24r	31	F. P.	Achille Petrucci	Non possum diutius ferre	Foligno	2/10/1461
316	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	192r	51	F. P.	Achille Petrucci	Non possum diutius ferre	Foligno	s.d.[2/10/1461]

125	317	FI N.A. 382	72v-73r	109	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Non possum non admirari	Foligno	27/9/1463
	318	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	196r-196v	68	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Non possum non admirari	Foligno	s.d.[27/9/1463]
	319	Fol. Sem. 517	48v-49r	64	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Non possum non admirari	Foligno	27/9/1463
126	320	Fol. Sem. 106	457v-458r	11	F. P.	Pius II	Non possum P.S. petentibus	[Foligno]	17/6/1461
	321	RA Class. 284	143v	1	F. P.	Pius II	Non possum P.S. petentibus	Foligno	17/6/1461
	322	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	181v	8	F. P.	Pius II	Non possum P.S. petentibus	Foligno	s.d.[17/6/1461]
	323	FI N.A. 382	9r-9v	10	F. P.	Pius II	Non possum P.S. petentibus	Foligno	17/6/1461
127	324	FI N.A. 382	15r-15v	19	F. P.	Pius II	Nudius tertius ad Gorum	Nocera	207/1461
	325	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	187r	31	F. P.	Pius II	Nudius tertius ad Gorum	Nocera	s.d.[207/1461]
128	326	FI N.A. 382	91r	132	F. P.	Thesaurarius	Nudius tertius litteras Paternitatis	Foligno	21/2/1464
	327	Fol. Sem. 517	62r-63r	85	F. P.	Thesaurarius	Nudius tertius litteras Paternitatis	Foligno	21/2/1464
	328	Barb. Lat. 2589	261r-262r	29	F. P.	Thesaurarius	Nudius tertius litteras Paternitatis	Foligno	21/2/1464
	329	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	206r	105	F. P.	Thesaurarius	Nudius tertius litteras Paternitatis	Foligno	s.d.[21/2/1464]
129	330	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	188v	35	F. P.	Pius II	Nudius tertius Pater Sanctissime (Emilianus)	Foligno	11/12/1461
	331	FI N.A. 382	39r-39v	62	F. P.	Pius II	Nudius tertius Pater Sanctissime (Emilianus)	Foligno	11/12/1461
	332	Fol. Sem. 517	25v-26r	18	F. P.	Pius II	Nudius tertius Pater Sanctissime (Emilianus)	Foligno	11/12/1461
130	333	Fol. Sem. 517	21r-22r	6	F. P.	Pius II	Nudius tertius Pater Sanctissime (Iulius)	Foligno	11/11/1461]
	334	FI N.A. 382	33r-34r	50	F. P.	Pius II	Nudius tertius Pater Sanctissime (Iulius)	Foligno	11/11/1461]
	335	Barb. Lat. 2589	237v-238v	8	F. P.	Pius II	Nudius tertius Pater Sanctissime (Iulius)	Foligno	11/11/1461
	336	RA Class. 284	147v-148v	7	F. P.	Pius II	Nudius tertius Pater Sanctissime (Iulius)	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[11/11/1461]
	337	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	187v-188r	33	F. P.	Pius II	Nudius tertius Pater Sanctissime (Iulius)	Foligno	s.d.[11/11/1461]
131	338	FI N.A. 382	95r-96r	143	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Nudius tertius per famulum	Foligno	12/4/1464
	339	Fol. Sem. 517	65v-66v	96	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Nudius tertius per famulum	Foligno	12/4/1464
	340	Barb. Lat. 2589	262v-264r	31	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Nudius tertius per famulum	Foligno	12/4/1464
132	341	FI N.A. 382	15v-16r	20	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Nudius tertius R.D. Papiensis	Gualdo Tadino	24/7/1461]
	342	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	193r	56	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Nudius tertius R.D. Papiensis	Gualdo Tadino	s.d.[24/7/1461]
133	343	FI Ricc. 834	204v	16	F. P.	Nicodemo Tranchedini	Nudius tertius sole iam	Montughi	15/4/1459
134	344	FI N.A. 382	68v-69r	104	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Nuntius mihi e Perusio	Foligno	17/1463
	345	Fol. Sem. 517	45v-46r	59	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Nuntius mihi e Perusio	Foligno	17/1463
	346	Barb. Lat. 2589	247v-248r	17	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Nuntius mihi e Perusio	Foligno	17/1463
135	347	FI N.A. 382	115r-115v	171	F. P.	Sinolfo Oterio	Oleum ad te Sburlato	Foligno	19/7/1464
	348	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	203r	98	F. P.	[Sinolfo Oterio]	Oleum ad te Sburlato	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[19/7/1464]
	349	Fol. Sem. 517	81r-81v	124	F. P.	Sinolfo Oterio	Oleum ad te Sburlato	Foligno	19/7/1464
	350	Barb. Lat. 2589	289v-290v	51	F. P.	Sinolfo Oterio	Oleum ad te Sburlato	Foligno	19/7/1464
136	351	FI N.A. 382	77v-78r	115	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Opinabamini, ut arbitror, me	Foligno	[2/11/1463]
	352	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	202r	89	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Opinabamini, ut arbitror, me	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[2/11/1463]
137	353	FI N.A. 382	91v-92r	133	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Orator Fulginatum dominus Silvius	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[2/1464]
	354	Fol. Sem. 517	63r-63v	86	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Orator Fulginatum dominus Silvius	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[2/1464]
138	355	FI N.A. 382	55v	86	F. P.	?[Agostino Patrizi]	Oratores Assisinatium hodie accepti	Foligno	12/11/1462]
	356	Fol. Sem. 517	36v-37r	41	F. P.	?[Agostino Patrizi]	Oratores Assisinatium hodie accepti	Foligno	12/11/1462]

139	357	Fol. Sem. 517	70v	105	F. P.	Card. Senensis	Oratores Fulginatenses ad R.D.V.	Foligno	10/4/[1464]
	358	FI N.A. 382	101r-101v	152	F. P.	Card. Senensis	Oratores Fulginatenses ad R.D.V.	Foligno	10/4/[1464]
	359	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	208r	112	F. P.	Card. Senensis	Oratores Fulginatenses ad R.D.V.	Foligno	s.d.[10/4/1464]
140	360	FI N.A. 382	15r	18	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Pacino istuc properanti minus	Foligno	6/7/1461
	361	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	193r	57	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Pacino istuc properanti minus	Foligno	s.d.[6/7/1461]
141	362	FI N.A. 382	24r-24v	32	F. P.	Niccolò Spinello	Patemitatem tuam semper mihi	Foligno	4/10/[1461]
	363	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	192v	52	F. P.	Niccolò Spinello	Patemitatem tuam semper mihi	Foligno	s.d.[4/10/1461]
142	364	FI N.A. 382	24v	33	F. P.	Franc. Padovano	Patemitati tuae excusatum facio	Foligno	4/10/[1461]
	365	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	192v	53	F. P.	Franc. Padovano	Patemitati tuae excusatum facio	Foligno	s.d.[4/10/1461]
143	366	ASF, AM avanti Princ.	Filza XXIV	432	F. P.	Lorenzo de' Medici	Per Augustino Biglotti ho	Gaeta	11/1/1474
144	367	Fol. Sem. 517	70v-71r	106	F. P.	Card. Papiensis	Perseverant temerarii coniurati nec	Foligno	[10/4/1464]
	368	FI N.A. 382	101v	153	F. P.	Card. Papiensis	Perseverant temerarii coniurati nec	Foligno	[10/4/1464]
	369	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	208r	113	F. P.	Card. Papiensis	Perseverant temerarii coniurati nec	Foligno	s.d.[10/4/1464]
145	370	Fol. Sem. 517	40r	47	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Pessime ageretur cum Assisinatibus	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[30/1/1463]
	371	FI N.A. 382	60r	92	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Pessime ageretur cum Assisinatibus	[Foligno]	[30/1/1463]
	372	RA Class. 284	150v	12	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Pessime ageretur cum Assisinatibus	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[30/1/1463]
	373	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	186v	29	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Pessime ageretur cum Assisinatibus	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[30/1/1463]
146	374	Fol. Sem. 517	70r-70v	104	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Pluribus diebus ad M.T.	Foligno	1/5/[1464]
	375	FI N.A. 382	100v-101r	151	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Pluribus diebus ad M.T.	Foligno	1/5/1464
	376	Barb. Lat. 2589	273v-274r	36	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Pluribus diebus ad M.T.	Foligno	1/5/[1464]
	377	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	201r	84	F. P.	[Goro Lolli]	Pluribus diebus ad M.T.	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[1/5/1464]
147	378	Fol. Sem. 517	37r-37v	42	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Post reditum N. Bittoni	Foligno	21/1/1462
	379	FI N.A. 382	55v-56r	87	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Post reditum N. Bittoni	Foligno	21/1/1462
	380	Barb. Lat. 2589	244r-244v	14	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Post reditum N. Bittoni	Foligno	21/1/1462
	381	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	198v-199r	76	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Post reditum N. Bittoni	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[21/1/1462]
148	382	Fol. Sem. 517	64r	91	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Postquam illi de Tamuro	Foligno	[24/2/1464]
	383	FI N.A. 382	93r-93v	138	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Postquam illi de Tamuro	Foligno	[24/2/1464]
149	384	FI N.A. 382	52v-53r	82	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Proficiscuntur istuc oratores Assisinatum	Foligno	5/7/1462
	385	Fol. Sem. 517	34r-34v	37	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Proficiscuntur istuc oratores Assisinatum	Foligno	5/7/1462
150	386	FI N.A. 382	8r-9r	9	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Quae ad S.D.N. scribo	Foligno	13/6/1461
	387	Fol. Sem. 106	457r-457v	10	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Quae ad S.D.N. scribo	[Foligno]	13/6/1461
151	388	Fol. Sem. 517	67v-68v	99	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Quae hic gerantur ex	Foligno	18/4/[1464]
	389	FI N.A. 382	97v-98r	146	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Quae hic gerantur ex	Foligno	18/4/[1464]
	390	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	201r	83	F. P.	[Goro Lolli]	Quae hic gerantur ex	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[18/4/1464]
152	391	FI N.A. 382	7r-8r	8	F. P.	Pius II	Quae nudius tertius acta	Foligno	13/6/1461
	392	Fol. Sem. 106	456v-457r	9	F. P.	Pius II	Quae nudius tertius acta	[Foligno]	13/6/1461
	393	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	181r	7	F. P.	Pius II	Quae nudius tertius acta	Foligno	s.d.[13/6/1461]
153	394	FI N.A. 382	96r-97r	144	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Quaecumque in hanc usque	s.l.[Foligno]	14/4/1464
	395	Fol. Sem. 517	67r-67v	97	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Quaecumque in hanc usque	[Foligno]	14/4/1464
	396	Barb. Lat. 2589	264r-265v	32	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Quaecumque in hanc usque	s.l.[Foligno]	14/4/1464

154	397	VE Marc. Lat. XIV 262	67r-71r	1	F. P.	Achille Petrucci	Quamquam tibi plurimum cum	Scorfiano(Si)	13/1/[1446]
	398	Berlin 611			F. P.	Achille Petrucci	Quamquam tibi plurimum cum	s.l.[Scorfiano(Si)]	[13/1/1446]
	399	FI Magl. XXXII 39	14r-18r		F. P.	Achille Petrucci	Quamquam tibi plurimum cum	Scorfiano(Si)	[13/1/1446]
	400	Rome Cas. 1549	51r-57v		F. P.	Achille Petrucci	Quamquam tibi plurimum cum	s.l.[Scorfiano(Si)]	[13/1/1446]
	401	TN Cap. s.n. (258)			F. P.	Achille Petrucci	Quamquam tibi plurimum cum	s.l.[Scorfiano(Si)]	[13/1/1446]
	402	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	325v-329r		F. P.	Achille Petrucci	Quamquam tibi plurimum cum	s.l.[Scorfiano(Si)]	[13/1/1446]
	403	VE Marc. Lat. XIV 265	161r-166v		F. P.	Achille Petrucci	Quamquam tibi plurimum cum	s.l.[Scorfiano(Si)]	[13/1/1446]
	404	VI. Bert. 7.1.31.	ff.96r-111r		F. P.	Achille Petrucci	Quamquam tibi plurimum cum	s.l.[Scorfiano(Si)]	[13/1/1446]
	405	Yale Marston 147	60r-65r		F. P.	Achille Petrucci	Quamquam tibi plurimum cum	s.l.[Scorfiano(Si)]	[13/1/1446]
155	406	Fol. Sem. 517	53v-54r	72	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Quamquam tibi plurimum cum	s.l.[Scorfiano(Si)]	[13/1/1446]
	407	FI N.A. 382	79r-80r	119	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Quid homini fallaci credam	s.l.[Scorfiano(Si)]	[13/1/1446]
156	408	Fol. Sem. 517	41r-41v	50	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Quid homini fallaci credam	s.l.[Scorfiano(Si)]	[13/1/1446]
	409	FI N.A. 382	61v-63r	95	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Quid in nos egerit	Foligno	[13/1/1446]
	410	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	195v-196r	66	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Quid in nos egerit	Foligno	29/12/1463
157	411	FI N.A. 382	61r-61v	94	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Quid in nos egerit	s.l.[Foligno]	29/12/1463
	412	Fol. Sem. 517	40v-41r	49	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Quidam ex disquisitoribus nostris	Foligno	25/1/1463
	413	Barb. Lat. 2589	244v-246r	15	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Quidam ex disquisitoribus nostris	Foligno	s.d.[25/1/1463]
158	414	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	183r	14	F. P.	Episc. Papiensis	Quidam ex disquisitoribus nostris	Foligno	26/4/[1463]
	415	FI N.A. 382	14r-14v	17	F. P.	Episc. Papiensis	Quod hucusque ad R.D.T.	Foligno	26/4/1463
	416	Barb. Lat. 2589	232r-232v	1	F. P.	Episc. Papiensis	Quod hucusque ad R.D.T.	Foligno	s.d.[67/1/1461]
159	417	Fol. Sem. 517	24r-24v	11	F. P.	Episc. Papiensis	Quod hucusque ad R.D.T.	Foligno	67/1/1461
	418	FI N.A. 382	36v-37r	55	F. P.	Episc. Papiensis	R.D.V. litteras accepti in	Foligno	67/1/1461
	419	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	183v	16	F. P.	Episc. Papiensis	R.D.V. litteras accepti in	Foligno	1/12/1461
160	420	Fol. Sem. 517	52v-53r	69	F. P.	Goro Lolli	R.D.V. litteras accepti in	Foligno	1/12/1461
	421	FI N.A. 382	78r-78v	116	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Rediit et inveni hereditatem	Foligno	s.d.[1/12/1461]
	422	Barb. Lat. 2589	254r-255r	22	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Rediit et inveni hereditatem	Foligno	23/12/1463
161	423	Fol. Sem. 517	22r-23v	8	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Rediit et inveni hereditatem	Foligno	23/12/1463
	424	FI N.A. 382	34v-35r	52	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Rediit famulus ille meus	Foligno	23/12/1463
162	425	Fol. Sem. 517	75v-76r	113	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Rediit famulus ille meus	Foligno	19/11/[1461]
	426	FI N.A. 382	107r-108r	160	F. P.	Niccolò Bettonio	Rediit heri vesperi J. Christoforus	Foligno	19/11/[1461]
	427	Barb. Lat. 2589	281r-282r	43	F. P.	Niccolò Bettonio	Rediit heri vesperi J. Christoforus	Foligno	4/6/1464
	428	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	204r-204v	101	F. P.	Niccolò Bettonio	Rediit heri vesperi J. Christoforus	Foligno	4/6/1464
163	429	VE Marc. Lat. XI 80	204v-205r	102	F. P.	Niccolò Bettonio	Rediit heri vesperi J. Christoforus	Foligno	4/6/1464
	430	Fol. Sem. 517	79v-80r	118	F. P.	Niccolò Bettonio	Rediit heri vesperi Pernicolaus	Foligno	s.d.[4/6/1464]
	431	FI N.A. 382	111v-112v	165	F. P.	Niccolò Bettonio	Rediit heri vesperi Pernicolaus	s.l.[Foligno]	s.d.[11/6/1464]
164	432	Barb. Lat. 2589	285v-288r	47	F. P.	Niccolò Bettonio	Rediit heri vesperi Pernicolaus	Foligno	11/6/[1464]
	433	FI N.A. 382	114r-114v	169	F. P.	Niccolò Bettonio	Rediit heri vesperi Pernicolaus	Foligno	11/6/1464
	434	Barb. Lat. 2589	288v-289v	50	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Rediit istuc Petrus de	Foligno	11/6/1464
	435	Fol. Sem. 517	80v-81r	122	F. P.	Goro Lolli	Rediit istuc Petrus de	s.l.[Foligno]	13/7/1464
165	436	FI N.A. 382	30v-31v	45	F. P.	Agostino Patrizi	Rediit iustus et pauca	Foligno	13/7/[1464]
								Foligno	27/10/[1461]