

STEFANO U. BALDASSARRI AND BRIAN JEFFREY MAXSON

GIANNOZZO MANETTI, THE EMPEROR, AND
THE PRAISE OF A KING IN 1452

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I N D I C E

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Memorie

- IGOR SANTOS SALAZAR, *Nascita e sviluppo di una Badia. San Casciano a Montescalarì nel Valdarno superiore fiorentino (1040-1130)* Pag. 403
- AMEDEO FENIELLO, *Un capitalismo mediterraneo. I Medici e il commercio del grano in Puglia nel tardo Quattrocento* » 435

Documenti

- STEFANO U. BALDASSARRI and BRIAN JEFFREY MAXSON, *Gianozzo Manetti, the Emperor, and the Praise of a King in 1452* » 513

Recensioni

- DAVID KUSMAN, *Usuriers publics et banquiers du Prince. Le rôle économique des financiers piémontais dans les villes du duché de Brabant (XIII^e-XIV^e siècle)* (SERGIO TOGNETTI) » 571
- Draghi rossi e querce azzurre. Elenchi descrittivi di abiti di lusso (Firenze 1343-1345)* (CLAUDIA TRIPODI) » 575

segue nella 3^a pagina di copertina

| | |
|---|----------|
| HERMAN H. SCHWEDT, <i>Die Anfänge der Römischen Inquisition. Kardinäle und Konsultoren 1542 bis 1600</i> (VINCENZO LAVENIA) | Pag. 577 |
| MARCO MORONI, <i>Nel medio Adriatico. Risorse, traffici, città fra basso Medioevo ed età moderna</i> (EGIDIO IVETIC) | » 580 |
| EVA GREGOROVIČOVÁ, <i>Kapitoly z dějin Rodinného archivu toskánských Habsburků</i> (<i>Capitoli per la storia dell'Archivio Asburgo Lorena</i>) (ORSOLA GORI) | » 582 |
| CAMILLA POESIO, <i>Il confino fascista. L'arma silenziosa del regime</i> (JACOPO TISATO) | » 585 |
| Notizie | » 591 |
| Summaries | » 617 |

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Casa Editrice Leo S. Olschki

Casella postale 66, 50123 Firenze • Viuzzo del Pozzetto 8, 50126 Firenze

e-mail: periodici@olschki.it • Conto corrente postale 12.707.501

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DOCUMENTI

Stefano U. Baldassarri and Brian Jeffrey Maxson

Giannozzo Manetti, the Emperor, and the Praise of a King in 1452

«Glory of Italy, remember me», wrote the Florentine diplomat Giannozzo Manetti to the Florentine enemy King Alfonso in Naples in 1452.¹ Manetti was then in Rome serving as one of three diplomats to the newly crowned emperor Frederick III. The emperor had come to Italy in January to receive the crown of Lombardy, the imperial crown from the pope, and the hand of a Portuguese princess. During these months Manetti wrote a long panegyric to King Alfonso, a man who had expelled all Florentine merchants from his kingdom – except Manetti – in 1451 and who had formed an alliance with Venice in preparation for war against Florence, Milan, and France.² This article offers an introduction to the political context of this previously unpublished text followed by a Latin edition based upon the only publically available manuscript.

Over the past fifteen years unknown or little known neo-Latin texts from the Renaissance have become increasingly available in modern editions, many of which have also been translated into more accessible languages. Simultaneously, the digital revolution of the twenty-first century has brought long forgotten editions of works back to the finger-tips of all scholars with access to the Internet. The story of the book hunter

S. U. BALDASSARRI è direttore dell'International Studies Institute (Palazzo Rucellai, Firenze).

B. J. MAXSON è Assistant Professor of History alla East Tennessee State University.

¹ See section 130 of the edition herein, which reads, in full, «Vale, Italie decus, ac Iannotii fidissimi ac verissimi famuli tui quesumus nonnumquam meminisse digneris, si quando a multis et magnis plurimorum regnorum tuorum occupationibus requiescendi gratia respiraveris».

² For this safe-conduct, see S. U. BALDASSARRI-B. FIGLIUOLO, *Manettiana: La biografia anonima in terzine e altri documenti inediti su Giannozzo Manetti*, Rome, Roma nel Rinascimento, 2010, pp. 3-4 and 61-62.

Poggio Bracciolini has even entered the popular imagination through the award-winning work of Stephen Greenblatt.³ Despite this increasing abundance of riches, more work remains: texts of critical importance still exist only in problematic – if now accessible – editions, while other important texts have still not been edited. The rapid pace of new editions and translations has created a backlog of analysis – many new texts await careful, contextualized studies to set interpretive paradigms. Giannozzo Manetti's panegyric to King Alfonso is one example of a work of historical significance that, until now, has been accessible only to scholars working in the Vatican Library.

One of the most significant Quattrocento humanists, Giannozzo Manetti has witnessed an increase in scholarly attention over the past decade. After playing a key role in earlier studies by Heinz Willi Wittschier, Arthur Field, Nadia Lerz, and Stefano Baldassarri, the humanist enjoyed his own conference in 2007, later published as *Dignitas et excellentia hominis* in 2008. The wide-ranging essays in the collection examined Manetti's life and his literary oeuvre, scholarship that historians have continued to supplement over the past five years.⁴ Alongside these studies, historians have edited much of Manetti's vast corpus of surviving texts.⁵ Nevertheless, at least two of Manetti's speeches have never

³ S. GREENBLATT, *The Swerve: How the World Became Modern*, New York, W. W. Norton & Company, 2011.

⁴ The bibliography on Manetti is vast and impossible to list in full here; see, for example, N. LERZ, *Il diario di Griso di Giovanni*, «Archivio Storico Italiano», 117, 2, 1959, pp. 247-278; H. W. WITTSCHIER, *Giannozzo Manetti: Das Corpus der Orationes*, Cologne, Böhlau, 1968; A. FIELD, *The Origins of the Platonic Academy of Florence*, Princeton (NJ), Princeton University Press, 1988; P. BOTLEY, *Giannozzo Manetti, Alfonso of Aragon and Pompey the Great: A Crusading Document of 1455*, «Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes», 67, 2004, pp. 129-156; C. SMITH-J. O'CONNOR, eds., *Building the Kingdom: Giannozzo Manetti on the Material and Spiritual Edifice*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2006; S. FOÀ, *Giannozzo Manetti*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 68, 2007, pp. 613-617, accessible online at http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giannozzo-manetti_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/; *Dignitas et excellentia hominis. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi su Giannozzo Manetti (Fiesole-Firenze, 18-20 giugno 2007)*, ed. S. U. BALDASSARRI, Florence, Le Lettere, 2008.

⁵ Vespasiano da Bisticci lists all of Manetti's works (both finished and unfinished), most of which are extant. See V. DA BISTICCI, *Le Vite*, ed. by A. GRECO, Florence, Sede dell'Istituto Palazzo Strozzi, 1970-1976, 2, pp. 623-627. This edition supersedes V. DA BISTICCI, *Commentario della vita di messer Giannozzo Manetti*, Turin, Unione tipografica, 1862, pp. 1-113. Recent works edited and published include BALDASSARRI-FIGLIUOLO, *Manettiana* cit.; G. MANETTI, *Storia di Pistoia*, trans. by S. U. BALDASSARRI, Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso, 2010; G. MANETTI, *Historia Pistoriensis*, ed. by S. U. BALDASSARRI, B. ALDI, and W. CONNELL, Florence, SISMEL, 2011; SMITH-O'CONNOR, *Building the Kingdom* cit.; G. MANETTI, *De vita ac gestis Nicolai Quinti summi pontificis*, ed. and

been published, while others exist only in early-modern editions – an ironic development, given that so much of Manetti's original reputation rested upon his oratory.⁶

Manetti's panegyric to King Alfonso in 1452 has hitherto received limited attention. Heinz Willi Wittschier included the work in his discussion of Manetti's surviving speeches, although he rightfully claimed it was more a panegyric treatise than an oration. Wittschier conclusively argued that the work was written by Manetti, situated it within the context of Manetti's other speeches to King Alfonso, and offered a learned summary of the work.⁷ More recently, Stefano Baldassarri demonstrated how the text revealed Manetti's increasing familiarity with and flattery of King Alfonso in the 1440s and early 1450s.⁸ Outside of this literary context the work has yet to be fully situated into the dramatic events occurring in Italy and for Manetti in the early 1450s.⁹ Meanwhile, Manetti's role on the related diplomatic mission to the new emperor has also escaped the notice of scholars interested in Manetti's last years in Florence. Both the text and its context provide a new layer to Manetti's political problems in Florence during the early 1450s.

In 1452, probably in April, Giannozzo Manetti dedicated this text to King Alfonso. By that time Manetti's political situation in Florence had deteriorated and the humanist had begun solidifying ties outside the

tran. by A. MODIGLIANI, Rome, Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 2005; G. MANETTI, *Biographical Writings*, ed. and transl. by S. U. BALDASSARRI and R. BAGEMHIL, Cambridge (MA), Harvard University Press, 2003; in addition to older editions of Manetti's work such as G. MANETTI, *Elogi dei Genovesi*, ed. and trans. by G. PETTI BALBI, Milan, Marzorati, 1974; G. MANETTI, *De dignitate et excellentia hominis*, ed. by E. LEONARD, Padua, Antenore, 1975; G. MANETTI, *Vita Socratis et Senecae*, edited by A. DE PETRIS, Florence, Olschki, 1979; G. MANETTI, *Dialogus consolatorius*, edited by A. DE PETRIS, Rome, Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1983; and J. N. H. LAWRENCE, ed., *Un episodio del proto-umanesimo español: Tres opúsculos de Nuño de Guzmán y Giannozzo Manetti*, Salamanca, Biblioteca española del siglo XV, 1989, although this list is by no means comprehensive.

⁶ For example, Manetti's popular oration before Nicholas V in 1447 remains in manuscript. On this speech, see B. J. MAXSON, *The Humanist World of Renaissance Florence*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014, pp. 92-96 and 147-148. Manetti's funeral oration on Giannozzo Pandolfini, written upon the request of Vespasiano da Bisticci, survives in one seventeenth-century copy in Florence; see Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 3903.

⁷ WITTSCHIER, *Das Corpus* cit., pp. 120-126.

⁸ S. U. BALDASSARRI, *Giannozzo Manetti e Alfonso il Magnanimo*, «Interpres», 29, 2010, pp. 51-53.

⁹ The text may have remained unedited so long because of a general aversion to Renaissance panegyrics and speeches in the modern age. See, for example, BOTLEY, *Giannozzo Manetti* cit., p. 144, where the work is dismissed as «dull».

city.¹⁰ Previously, in the 1430s and early 1440s, Manetti had enjoyed some level of Medici favor. He filled endless domestic offices after the Medici returned from exile in 1434.¹¹ His presence among the Medici *balie* in 1434, 1438, 1444, and 1452 also attest to his perceived loyalty to the Medici family and their allies.¹² This loyalty, however, proved increasingly problematic, as we shall soon see. In addition, he filled numerous diplomatic missions from the late 1430s.¹³ Shortly before and even after his “voluntary exile” from Florence, Manetti continued to work for Medici interests abroad.¹⁴ Yet, Manetti’s connections to the Medici should not be overstated. Already in 1429 Manetti taught Aristotle to at least nine Florentine patricians, all but one of whom was exiled or punished after the Medici’s return from exile in 1434.¹⁵ Almost ten years later Manetti formed a business company with three Florentines to do work in Venice.¹⁶ One of the men was Francesco della Luna, who was exiled from Florence around the same time.¹⁷ Another was Giovanni Rucellai, whose praise of his relative Palla di Nofri Strozzi, also exiled by the Medici, is well known.¹⁸ While domestic offices fell to Manetti, he was never

¹⁰ For the literary context of this work, see especially BALDASSARRI, *Giannozzo Manetti* cit., pp. 51-53. The date of the work comes from section 105 in particular; there Manetti refers to his mission to Naples in the winter/spring of 1451 as «elapso iam anno».

¹¹ L. MARTINES, *The Social World of the Florentine Humanists*, Princeton (NJ), Princeton University Press, 1963, pp. 178-191; L. MARTINES, *April Blood: Florence and the Plot Against the Medici*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003, p. 57; R. ZACCARIA, *Documenti su Giannozzo Manetti*, in *Dignitas et excellentia hominis* cit., pp. 336-344.

¹² N. RUBINSTEIN, *The Government of Florence under the Medici (1434-1494)*, 2nd ed., Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1997, pp. 283, 297, 308, and 316.

¹³ On Manetti’s diplomatic career, see ZACCARIA, *Documenti* cit.; BALDASSARRI-FIGLIUOLO, *Manettiana* cit., and MAXSON, *The Humanist* cit., passim.

¹⁴ W. CONNELL, *The Humanist Citizen as Provincial Governor*, in *Florentine Tuscan: Structures and Practices of Power*, edited by W. Connell and A. Zorzi, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 160-161 and L. BOSCHETTO, *L’esilio volontario di Manetti*, in *Dignitas et excellentia hominis* cit., pp. 117-146.

¹⁵ On the politics of the men who attended Manetti’s lectures, see B. MAXSON, *The Humanist* cit., pp. 34-35.

¹⁶ CONNELL, *The Humanist* cit., p. 159; the article points to a document dated to 1441 and preserved at Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo avanti il Principato, 89, c. 289r.

¹⁷ On Francesco and his exile, see MAXSON, *The Humanist* cit., p. 49.

¹⁸ A. PEROSA, ed., *Giovanni Rucellai ed il suo zibaldone*, London, The Warburg Institute, 1960, 1, 63-64; on the relationship between Giovanni and Palla, see also F. W. KENT, *The Making of a Renaissance Patron of the Arts*, in *Giovanni Rucellai ed il suo zibaldone*, London, The Warburg Institute, 1960, pp. 45-49. The third member of this company was a somewhat minor figure, Mariotto Banchi, to whom Manetti dedicated

picked to serve as a prior or standard bearer of justice, the true mark of the most illustrious Florentine patricians.¹⁹ Manetti's earliest diplomatic appointment seems to have been owed to Leonardo Bruni, a man who straddled the fence between the Medici faction and their enemies.²⁰ Manetti was selected – *arroti* – for the *balie* in 1434, 1438, and 1444, but was a member of the 1452 *balia* by default: the group included all knights who had been *veduti* for the Florentine *Signoria* since 1434.²¹ Perhaps it is best to view Manetti, even from the 1430s, as a man who, like many others, subsisted, even thrived, in the Florentine middle, neither “Medici” nor “anti-Medici”.²² At first the lack of political ambitions held by Bernardo Manetti, Giannozzo's father, weakened any political clout the family possessed. Then, domestically, Manetti's rise to political power in the 1430s and 1440s conflicted with the traditional power players in his Santo Spirito quarter – men such as Luca Pitti and Niccolò Soderini – which led to some of Manetti's later problems.²³

the Italian version of his *Dialogus Consolatorius*. See G. MANETTI, *Dialogus Consolatorius*, edited by A. DE PETRIS, Rome, Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1983, pp. LXXXI and 3-5; see also M. LANGDALE, *A Bilingual Work of the Fifteenth Century: Giannozzo Manetti's Dialogus consolatorius*, «Italian Studies», 31, 1976, 1-16, which focuses on the translation itself, and (more recently) F. BAUSI, *Le due redazioni del “Dialogus consolatorius” di Giannozzo Manetti. Appunti sul testo e sulle fonti*, in *Dignitas et excellentia hominis* cit., pp. 77-104.

¹⁹ MARTINES, *April* cit., p. 57.

²⁰ According to Vespasiano da Bisticci, Bruni urged the Florentine *Signoria* in 1437 to send Manetti to Genoa. After Leonardo Bruni died, Donato di Leonardo Bruni nominated Manetti to head the Florentine diplomatic mission to the new Pope Nicholas V in 1447. See DA BISTICCI, *Le Vite* cit., 2, pp. 527-528 and 550.

²¹ RUBINSTEIN, *The Government* cit., pp. 91-98 (for information about the *balie*) and 88 for the law that automatically placed *veduti* knights on the *balia*. On the *balia* of 1452 more generally see *ibid.*, pp. 87-90. See also R. FUBINI-W. KIM, *Giannozzo Manetti nei resoconti biografici di Vespasiano da Bisticci*, «Humanistica» 5, 1, 2010, pp. 35-49.

²² For this grouping, see D. KENT, *The Rise of the Medici*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1978; this observation fits with those offered in reviews of the book when it was published. See S. COHN, Jr., Review of *The Rise of the Medici*, by D. Kent, «Renaissance Quarterly», 33, 1, Spring 1980, p. 71; R. BIZZOCCHI, Review of *The Rise of the Medici*, by D. Kent, «The Journal of Modern History», 52, 2, June 1980, pp. 340-341.

²³ The anecdote of Bernardo's attempts to encourage a practical business career – and not the *studia humanitatis* – for his son is cited frequently in the scholarship. See, for example, MARTINES, *April* cit., p. 56; MARTINES, *The Social* cit., p. 132; R. BLACK, *Education and Society in Florentine Tuscany*, Leiden, Brill, 2007, p. 453; R. GOLDTHWAITE, *The Economy of Renaissance Florence*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009, p. 83. The source of the story is DA BISTICCI, *Le Vite* cit., 2, p. 519; on Pitti and Soderini, see CONNELL, *The Humanist* cit., pp. 162-163; BOSCHETTO, *L'esilio volontario di Manetti* cit., pp. 124-125; BALDASSARRI, *Giannozzo Manetti e Alfonso il Magnanimo* cit., p. 47.

The shift in Florentine diplomatic policy between 1447 and 1450 also underlay Manetti's problems in Florence from about 1450. After the death of Filippo Maria Visconti, Cosimo de' Medici backed the claims of Francesco Sforza to become the conqueror and then ruler of Milan. Manetti's views on this shift are preserved within his *Life of Nicholas V*, where Manetti blamed the political turmoil of those years on Florentine aid for Francesco Sforza, aid which he claimed was «non parva nec occulta, sed magna ac manifesta». This aid compelled King Alfonso to send his son to invade Tuscany.²⁴ Contrary to Cosimo, Manetti became a leading advocate for the traditional diplomatic alliance between Florence and Venice. In 1449-1450, in fact, Manetti was sent to Venice to preserve Venetian friendship, a task actively undercut by Cosimo de' Medici.²⁵ Manetti turned to Neri di Gino Capponi for support, which prompted the savvy Capponi to inform Manetti that he did not wish to tangle with the lion, another reference to Cosimo.²⁶ Shortly after Manetti's return he was sent to King Alfonso to preserve the peace. As white-haired Manetti shouted at King Alfonso over the war engines to sheath his sword, back in Florence Cosimo again undercut him, this time through a hostile response to the pleas for peace offered by Venetian and Neapolitan ambassadors. Shortly after, the Venetians and Ne-

²⁴ MANETTI, *De vita ac gestis* cit., pp. 107-108: «Sexto deinceps felicitis pontificatus sui anno, cum [108] Alfonsus iampridem, Florentinis apprime infensus, quod Francisco Sfortie ad acquisitionem Ducatus Mediolanensis, qui sibi a Philippo Maria testamento relictus fuerat, non parva nec occulta, sed magna ac manifesta equitum peditumque auxilia miserant, multasque pecunias ad expeditionem novi belli adversus Venetos propterea suscepti, atque ob id ipsum cum predicto Alfonso confederatos, Ferdinandum unicum filium suum inclitum Calabrie ducem cum toto eius exercitu in agrum Florentinum populandi, vexandi ac diripiendi causa destinasset [...]». Contrast Manetti's interpretation with that of Matteo Palmieri, a loyal Medici henchman, in 1447, «Alfonsus, Arragonensium et Apuliae ac Siciliae rex, nulla prius lacessitus iniuria Florentinis bellum movet et per Volaterranum agrum et Inferi quoque Maris littora castella quaedam occupat». See M. PALMIERI, *Liber de Temporibus*, ed. by G. SCARAMELLA, in *Raccolta degli storici italiani dal cinquecento al millecinquecento*, ed. by G. CARDUCCI and V. FIORINI, *RIS*², vol. XXV, pt. 2, Città di Castello, Lapi, 1906, 26, p. 126. See also, M. E. SOLDANI, *Alfonso il Magnanimo in Italia: pacificatore o 'crudel tiranno'? Dinamiche politico-economiche e organizzazione del consenso nella prima fase della guerra con Firenze (1447-1448)*, «Archivio Storico Italiano», 165, 2007, pp. 267-324.

²⁵ N. NALDI, *Vita Jannotii Manetti Viri Clariss. Florentini ab anno MCCCXCVI usque ad MCCCCLIX*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. by L. MURATORI, Milan, 1731, 20, pp. 576-577. See also DA BISTICCI, *Le Vite* cit., 2, p. 578. Finally, on Manetti's mission, cfr. F. TRIVELLATO, *La missione diplomatica a Venezia del fiorentino Giannozzo Manetti a metà Quattrocento*, «Studi Veneziani», 28, 1994, pp. 203-235.

²⁶ R. FUBINI, *Diplomazia e governo in Firenze all'avvento dei reggimenti oligarchici*, in ID., *Quattrocento fiorentino: politica, diplomazia, cultura*, Pisa, Pacini, 1996, p. 81.

apolitans expelled Florentine merchants from their territories and Manetti returned to Florence.²⁷

The impending arrival of Frederick III both exacerbated matters and temporarily halted overt hostilities between the Italian powers. The emperor's secretary, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (later Pope Pius II), described the political situation in Italy in late 1451. Piccolomini claimed that the emperor's arrival filled the peninsula with «terror and the weak with hope; great lords lost their nerve. Rumor was rife. There was a general fear of unrest, such as had broken out in the past when emperors descended into Italy».²⁸ Of the major peninsular powers, Florentine enemies were the least concerned. The Venetians do not seem to have feared the emperor. At first they strove to preserve good relations, but by the time the emperor was leaving Italy they were bluntly denying imperial requests.²⁹ For King Alfonso in Naples, the imperial trip promised prestige and a stronger ally north of the Alps, one who could po-

²⁷ On this speech and its context, see B. MAXSON, *The Many Shades of Praise: Politics and Panegyrics in Fifteenth-Century Florentine Diplomacy*, in *Rhetorik im Mittelalter und Renaissance: Konzepte – Praxis – Diversität*, ed. by G. STRACK and J. KNÖDLER, München, Herbert Utz, 2011, pp. 410-412. An English translation of the speech is forthcoming: see B. J. MAXSON, *Diplomatic Oratory*, in *Italian Renaissance Diplomacy: Texts in Translation (1350-1520)*, ed. by M. AZZOLINI and I. LAZZARINI, Durham, Durham University Press, forthcoming. For the Venetian embassy and what Cosimo replied, see M. PALMIERI, *Annales*, ed. by G. SCARAMELLA, in *Raccolta degli storici italiani cit.*, pp. 160-161. On this mission, see also BALDASSARRI-FIGLIUOLO, *Manettiana cit.*, pp. 37-54. The expulsion of the Florentine merchants is mentioned in many primary and secondary sources; see, for example, A. RYDER, *Alfonso the Magnanimous: King of Aragon, Naples, and Sicily, 1396-1458*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1990, p. 284 and D. ROMANO, *The Likeness of Venice: A Life of Doge Francesco Foscari, 1373-1457*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2007, p. 226, although these two authors disagree on Alfonso's role in pursuing the expulsion. MARTINES, *The Social cit.*, p. 188, points out that Manetti was replaced as diplomat to Naples in June, a move surely related. Additionally, an unpublished letter book by Carlo Marsuppini covering 1451 and 1452 survives in the Biblioteca Moreniana in Florence; see Fondo Bigazzi, 193. A much later note in this manuscript actually points the reader to the published declaration of war that Alfonso sent to Florence in 1452 and the reply, found as a document appendix to V. DA BISTICCI, *Vita di Alfonso I Re d'Aragona e di Napoli*, «Archivio Storico Italiano», 4, 1843, pp. 422-426.

²⁸ POPE PIUS II, *Commentaries*, ed. and trans. by M. MESERVE and M. SIMONETTA, Cambridge (MA), Harvard University Press, 2003, 1, p. 103. The diplomatic maneuvering and many of the ceremonies of Frederick's visit are fully discussed in E. LAZZERONI, *Il viaggio di Federico III in Italia (l'ultima incoronazione imperiale in Roma)*, in *Atti e memorie del primo congresso storico lombardo*, Milan, Deputazione di storia patria per la Lombardia, 1937, pp. 271-397. The article is particularly strong on relations between Francesco Sforza, Venice, and the emperor.

²⁹ P. LABALME, *Bernardo Giustiniani. A Venetian of the Quattrocento*, Rome, Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1969, pp. 135-140; ROMANO, *The Likeness cit.*, pp. 230-234.

tentially be turned against Alfonso's enemies.³⁰ Diplomatic rumors, in fact, suggested that Alfonso hoped the emperor would use the visit to appoint Alfonso vicar of Italy.³¹ Things were different in Rome, where Pope Nicholas V sought to delay the emperor's arrival for fear of an insurrection against papal authority.³² Already, in fact, Stefano Porcari had led one pro-imperial conspiracy against papal power in the eternal city.³³ Meanwhile, Francesco Sforza possessed the duchy of Milan without an imperial investiture and against imperial wishes. By late December 1450 relations between Milan and Frederick had cooled after the emperor had demanded unreasonable amounts of money for the investiture of Milan.³⁴ Throughout the visit, therefore, Frederick and Sforza eyed each other warily.³⁵

Dread permeated Florence. The Florentine Vespasiano da Bisticci stated that the emperor was coming «con gente d'arme et col favore de' Vinitiani, e dette a' Fiorentini grandissimo sospetto».³⁶ The humanist Naldo Naldi agreed, writing «Imperator enim, quum faventibus Venetis in Italiam multis cum militibus venisset, magnam injecerat Florentinis suspicionem, ne quid contra eos aut in Mediolanensium Principem, quocum eramus benivolentia conjunctissimi, gravius ille adveniens moliretur [...]».³⁷ Similarly, Piccolomini wrote that «the Florentines, who rule that city like tyrants and remain wary of its citizens, grew annoyed that so many foreigners had arrived there and were staying so long».³⁸ No less than Cosimo de' Medici seems to have blamed Manetti for the Floren-

³⁰ RYDER, *Alfonso* cit., pp. 284-285; L. PASTOR, *The History of the Popes*, 2nd ed., London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1899, 2, pp. 158-159.

³¹ Archivio di Stato, Milano, Archivio Sforzesco Ducale Potenze Estere Firenze, 265, c. 7r, letter from Agnolo Acciaiuoli to Francesco Sforza, dated May 27, 1451.

³² PIUS II, *Commentaries* cit., 1, pp. 103-111.

³³ A. D'ELIA, *Stefano Porcari's Conspiracy against Pope Nicholas V in 1453 and Republican Culture in Papal Rome*, «Journal of the History of Ideas», 68, 2, April 2007, pp. 210-211. See also ID., *A Sudden Terror: The Plot to Murder the Pope in Renaissance Rome*, Cambridge (MA), Harvard University Press, 2009, p. 54.

³⁴ LAZZERONI, *Il viaggio* cit., 275.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, passim, provides great detail on the unsuccessful negotiations by the Milanese ambassadors with the emperor to obtain imperial recognition for Francesco Sforza as duke of Milan. See also C. A. VIANELLO, *Gli Sforza e l'impero*, in *Atti e memorie del primo congresso storico lombardo* cit., pp. 232-236.

³⁶ DA BISTICCI, *Le Vite* cit., 2, p. 578.

³⁷ NALDI, *Vita* cit., p. 576.

³⁸ For the quote, see PIUS II, *Commentaries* cit., p. 113. The problems between Sforza, Florence, and the emperor are presented in great detail throughout LAZZERONI, *Il viaggio* cit., passim.

tines' unease at Frederick's arrival. With the emperor's arrival imminent, Cosimo publically decried Manetti's handling of the mission to Venice in 1449-1450 that had resulted in a breakdown in the league between the two city-states. Manetti responded by blaming Cosimo, claiming that Cosimo had written his son Piero – Manetti's fellow diplomat in Venice – telling him to come home without notifying Manetti. This action prevented the final conclusion of a deal in Venice.³⁹

Threat or not, the emperor's arrival required diplomats to welcome his arrival from Germany. The selection of these diplomats in Florence suggests Manetti's lack of favor with the ruling regime. For the mission to Frederick, the Florentine government needed their best Latin orators to ensure the successful completion of the diplomatic ceremonies surrounding Frederick's visit. Diplomatic rituals included numerous gift exchanges, one of which was a Latin oration worthy of the emperor's dignified status.⁴⁰ With one of the most renowned living orators in their midst, the Florentine government instead passed over Manetti, repeatedly, for the initial ceremonial mission to accompany Frederick from Ferrara to Florence. Already on November 19, 1451, the Florentines had elected Bernardo Giugni and Carlo Pandolfini – both Medici partisans with aristocratic leanings – along with the Bishop of Pistoia Donato de' Medici. On January 15, 1452, the Archbishop of Florence Antonio Pierozzi was voted to replace Donato de' Medici. The next day, Pierozzi claimed that he was too sick to go on the mission.⁴¹ The fact that Pierozzi was well enough to participate in other festivities celebrating the emperor's arrival may suggest that the illness was merely a convenient excuse.⁴²

³⁹ NALDI, *Vita* cit., pp. 576-577. See also DA BISTICCI, *Le Vite* cit., 2, p. 578. Manetti was not alone in his opposition to Cosimo's efforts to thwart peace with Venice. Giovanni Rucellai recorded that Venetian diplomats arrived in Florence late in 1449 to offer a league between Venice, Florence, and the Ambrosian Republic of Milan against Francesco Sforza. He continued: «E per la grande affezione e amicizia che certi nostri ciptadini principali e generalmente tutto il popolo avevano al detto conte Franciescho, non si acchonsentì qui d'entrare in detta legha, per non avere a ffare contra di lui. Che fu tenuta non picchola sciocheza, perchè si conosceva che, essendo queste tre comunità d'acchordo e colleghate insieme, ch'egli era uno spengniere e' signiori e lle gienti d'arme d'Italia, et ragionevolmente ne doveva seguitare una lunga, buona e tranquilla pacie in tutta Italia, perchè non sarebbe stato né signiore nè prencipe in Italia né fuori d'Italia che avesse avuto ardire di volere fare contro a tre comunità tanto potenti». See PEROSA, ed., *Giovanni* cit., 1, p. 52.

⁴⁰ MAXSON, *The Humanist* cit., pp. 85-106.

⁴¹ Archivio di Stato, Firenze, Carte Corredo 51, c. 120r. This election record is transcribed in C. GUASTI, *Due legazioni al sommo pontefice per il Comune di Firenze presiedute da Sant'Antonino arcivescovo*, Florence, Bianchi & Barbera, 1857, p. xi.

⁴² For his participation, see below.

The Florentine government was surprised by the two men's reluctance – they seem to have paid both Donato de' Medici and Antonio Pierozzi after their elections and then had to ask for the money back after the missions were refused.⁴³ On January 17, the bishop of Fiesole, Leonardo Salutati, replaced Antonio Pierozzi. He also pled unnamed reasons that he could not perform the mission. Two diplomats were ready to depart, the emperor was coming, but the Florentines could not find anyone else willing to go.

Clearly the Florentines desired a prominent member of the religious hierarchy to join their diplomatic entourage. Yet, just as clearly, these religious members were reluctant to serve on the mission. On the 17th, the same day as Salutati had rejected his election, the Florentine government settled on Otto Niccolini, a man with little diplomatic experience.⁴⁴ In fact, Niccolini's election may reveal a level of desperation by the Florentine government to fill the diplomatic spot: Niccolini was a safe choice because he was a member of the *Dieci di Balìa* – the group electing the diplomats – and thus it was known that he would accept the commission and set out immediately.⁴⁵ Niccolini, Giugni, and Pandolfini all left town on the 17th, suggesting that Niccolini's election was made in haste immediately after Salutati's refusal.⁴⁶ Through all these replacements Manetti was evidently not considered. Part of the reason must be attributed to Manetti's vocal opposition to the alliance with Milan as well as his diplomatic failures in Venice in 1449-1450 and in Naples in 1451. Another part of the explanation must lie with the Standard Bearer of Justice for November and December 1451, Niccolò Soderini, who is known to have been hostile to Manetti.⁴⁷

⁴³ Archivio di Stato, Firenze, Dieci di Balìa, Debitori e creditori 16, cc. 73v, 74r, 76v, and 77r.

⁴⁴ G. DI CAMUGLIANO, *The Chronicles of a Florentine Family 1200-1470*, London, Jonathan Cape, 1933, pp. 215-219.

⁴⁵ For the composition of this *Dieci*, see P. DI PETRIBONI and M. DI RINALDI, *Priorista (1407-1459)*, ed. by J. GUTWIRTH with G. BATTISTA, Rome, Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2001, p. 349. See also PALMIERI, *Annales* cit., p. 161, which records that they served for eighteen months.

⁴⁶ Archivio di Stato, Firenze, Carte Corredo 51, cc. 120r-120v.

⁴⁷ *Florentine Renaissance Resources, Online Tratte of Office Holders, 1282-1532*, machine readable data file, ed. by D. HERLIHY, R. LITCHFIELD, A. MOLHO, and R. BARDUCCI, Florentine Renaissance Resources/STG: Brown University, Providence (RI), 2002. Search by "Find out who was in office in the Tre Maggiori at a specific date". On Soderini's hostility towards Manetti, see BALDASSARRI, *Giannozzo Manetti e Alfonso il Magnanimo* cit., p. 47; on Soderini more generally, see P. CLARKE, *The Soderini and the Medici: Power and Patronage in Fifteenth-Century Florence*, Oxford, Clarendon Press,

Like much of Manetti's political career, he was instead chosen to the most prominent second-tier assignment in the imperial festivities. The elections to these lesser positions appear to have gone smoother. On January 22, the *Signoria* and the *Dieci di Balìa* elected seventeen or twenty men – the sources are contradictory on the exact number – to oversee the organization and payment of the emperor's lodging and events during his stay.⁴⁸ As a member of the advisory colleges of the Florentine *Signoria*, Manetti was chosen to help greet Frederick at a Medici home in Scarperia.⁴⁹ Between the chosen greeters, their entourages, and the youth accompanying them, the entire welcoming party was estimated at more than 300 people.⁵⁰ The large number of participants was unusual, but missions of this type were common from Florence. The lack of official diplomatic commissions for such missions suggests that they were less prestigious than diplomatic missions to leave Tuscany to greet rulers. Vespasiano da Bisticci recorded that Giannozzo Manetti spoke to the emperor for the group in Vaglia.⁵¹ It was a prominent position, a great honor according to Vespasiano, but it was also secondary to the diplomats chosen to escort the emperor from Ferrara to Florence.⁵²

After Vaglia, Manetti disappears from the record for a full day, again suggesting his secondary role in the festivities. On January 30, Antonio Pierozzi with still more youth met the emperor at Uccellatoio.⁵³ Accompanied by hundreds of Florentines as well as his own sizeable en-

1991, *passim*. Clarke does point, briefly, to the good relations that existed between Giannozzo Manetti's brother Filippo and Niccolò Soderini in the 1430s and 1440s. See pp. 102 and 146.

⁴⁸ PETRIBONI-RINALDI, *Priorista* cit., pp. 349-350 and PALMIERI, *Annales* cit., p. 162.

⁴⁹ PETRIBONI-RINALDI, *Priorista* cit., p. 350 and PALMIERI, *Annales* cit., p. 162.

⁵⁰ F. FILARETE-A. MANFIDI, *The Libro Cerimoniale of the Florentine Republic*, ed. by R. TREXLER, Geneva, Librairie Droz, 1978, p. 71.

⁵¹ DA BISTICCI, *Commentario* cit., 2, p. 577. D. FRIEDMAN, *Florentine New Towns. Urban Design in the Late Middle Ages*, New York, The MIT Press, 1988, p. 199 reports that on January 29, 1452 the emperor and his retinue arrived in Scarperia, north of Florence. The following day «A formal welcome was offered by Giannozzo Manetti for the Florentines and the appropriate compliments graciously returned for the future emperor by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini. After the official reception the royal entourage and its Florentine escort began their parade south». On p. 293 n. 85 Friedman also explains that Vespasiano da Bisticci offers partly contradictory information on this event in his biography of Manetti when saying that the latter met with the emperor in Vaglia instead of Scarperia.

⁵² DA BISTICCI, *Commentario* cit., 2, p. 577.

⁵³ PETRIBONI-RINALDI, *Priorista* cit., p. 351.

tourage the emperor arrived at the north end of Florence in the middle of a rainstorm.⁵⁴ As the rain pounded around them, the members of the *Dieci di Balìa* each approached the emperor's feet as he sat upon a chair. The Florentine Chancellor Carlo Marsuppini delivered prepared remarks on their behalf, to which Aeneas Piccolomini responded. After this initial exchange of words, the members of the *Dieci di Balìa* took the emperor's bridle and led him to the *Signoria* and other prominent citizens. From there, the Standard Bearer of Justice Mariotto Benvenuti and the Proposto of the Priors Rosso Ridolfi, «in compagnia di tutti gli ufici della nostra città», accompanied the emperor to Santa Maria Novella via Santa Maria del Fiore.⁵⁵ The initial greeting and entrance rituals, apparently, were a success. A united city greeted their theoretical overlord miles outside their city wall, kissed his feet to demonstrate their fidelity, and showed him to the apartments of Santa Maria Novella, inhabited less than a decade before by the pope.⁵⁶ Throughout the events Manetti is absent from the sources, a secondary figure lost in the crowd accompanying Frederick through Florence.

Manetti's role changed from secondary to primary during the first ceremonial meeting at Santa Maria Novella between Frederick and the various Florentine governmental bodies. The *Signoria* and the *Dieci di Balìa* brought lavish gifts to present to the emperor at his apartments. Prior to the material gifts, there were «molte benignità e infinite gratie rendute con molte amichevoli accoglienze».⁵⁷ More specifically, in the presence of some two hundred people Carlo Marsuppini related the Florentines' joy at the emperor's arrival, their hopes for his reign, offered general aid, and asked forgiveness that their entrance ceremonies were not the equal of the emperor's magnificence. The emperor gestured his approval and had his secretary Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini respond to Marsuppini, thanking the Florentines for their words and offering himself and his resources for the well-being of the city. In what seems to have been an unexpected move, Piccolomini then requested that the *Signoria* release Lodovico da Marradi from prison. The request was made in

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 352; a description of the seat is found in FILARETE-MANFIDI, *The Libro cit.*, pp. 71-72.

⁵⁵ PETRIBONI-RINALDI, *Priorista cit.*, pp. 352-353. See also FILARETE-MANFIDI, *The Libro cit.*, pp. 71-72.

⁵⁶ See now the detailed study by L. BOSCHETTO, *Società e cultura a Firenze al tempo del Concilio. Papa Eugenio IV tra curiali, mercanti e umanisti*, Rome, Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2012.

⁵⁷ FILARETE-MANFIDI, *The Libro cit.*, p. 72.

Latin and thus all eyes turned to Marsuppini for a response.⁵⁸ Yet Marsuppini was unable to reply in impromptu Latin. Again and again the *Signoria* begged Marsuppini to respond, and again and again Marsuppini refused. Facing a loss of honor, the *Signoria* turned to Giannozzo Manetti and begged him to reply to Piccolomini. After some protestations of reluctance, Manetti finally acquiesced and delivered an impromptu speech that «all men of intelligence who understood Latin» agreed was more elegant than Marsuppini's prepared words.⁵⁹ This turn of events was highly ironic. Vespasiano da Bisticci claimed that Manetti, who was a member of the Twelve Good Men, should have been chosen to speak in the first place, but powerful men sought to prevent Manetti from receiving such an honor.⁶⁰ Naldi claimed that it was Cosimo de' Medici himself who had prevented Manetti from speaking before Frederick in Santa Maria Novella, and instead put forth Carlo Marsuppini, «Florentini Populi Scriba, quem unice diligebat».⁶¹ Unlike Manetti, Marsuppini was viewed as a Medici intellectual, so close to the family that he was handpicked by Cosimo and Pierfrancesco de' Medici to work with Bernadetto de' Medici to divide their goods in 1451. He was also the Medici's chosen successor to head the chancery of Florence, more loyal than the politically ambiguous Leonardo Bruni.⁶² Manetti's response seems to have been quite basic: regarding the prisoner release, the *Signoria* needed to follow the ordinary governmental channels, but regarding it «arebbono buon provvedimento».⁶³

⁵⁸ PETRIBONI-RINALDI, *Priorista* cit., pp. 353-354. See also DA BISTICCI, *Renaissance Princes, Popes & Prelates*, trans. by W. GEORGE and E. WATERS, New York, Harper & Row, 1963, p. 387 and DA BISTICCI, *Commentario* cit., 2, p. 579.

⁵⁹ DA BISTICCI, *Renaissance* cit., p. 387. See also ID., *Commentario* cit., 2, p. 579.

⁶⁰ ID., *Renaissance* cit., pp. 386-387; see also ID., *Commentario* cit., 2, pp. 578-579. For Manetti's office, see *Florentine Renaissance*, search by date.

⁶¹ NALDI, *Vita* cit., p. 577.

⁶² See P. VITI, Carlo Marsuppini, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 71, 2008, now available online at http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/carlo-marsuppini_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/ and A. BROWN, Pierfrancesco de' Medici, 1430-1476: A Radical Alternative to Elder Medicean Supremacy?, «Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes», 42, 1979, pp. 84-85.

⁶³ PETRIBONI-RINALDI, *Priorista* cit., pp. 353-354. The *Priorista* does not identify who made the response, opting instead for the passive voice. A contemporary *ricordanze* by Francesco di Tommaso Giovanni does not shed any further light on this exchange; see Archivio di Stato, Firenze, Carte Stroziane II, 16 bis, c. 14r. It should be noted that Vespasiano heavily shaped this narrative of events. Marsuppini's role as speaker for the Florentine government was common protocol for occasions in which a member of the priors or Standard Bearer of Justice was not eloquent in Latin (see MAXSON, *The Humanist* cit., pp. 68-85 and 123). Lobbying to have Manetti speak may have existed,

Manetti's increasing role coincided with Florentine attempts to distance themselves from the emperor. On his first day in Florence, the emperor continually asked for Cosimo de' Medici. Cosimo instead sent his sons Giovanni and Piero with warm wishes and the message that he was too sick to attend the ceremonies.⁶⁴ It was a plausible, but also convenient excuse. On February 2 the emperor heard mass at Santa Maria Novella and was then accompanied to Santa Maria del Fiore for the celebration of Candlemas.⁶⁵ There, the emperor sought to bestow knighthoods. At the conclusion of the mass, he offered a knighthood to the Standard Bearer of Justice Mariotto Benevenuti, but Benevenuti declined. The emperor then apparently tried to knight several other people, all but four of whom declined.⁶⁶ Three of these individuals were members of powerful Medicean families: Alessandro Alessandri, Orlando de' Medici, and Carlo Pandolfini. The fourth was the son of a Neapolitan noble who was then serving as podestà in Florence.⁶⁷ Despite Manetti's heroic impromptu speech that seemingly saved the honor of Florence, the emperor does not appear to have offered to knight him.

Instead, Frederick sent his servant to offer a knighthood to Carlo Marsuppini. Marsuppini wrote his friend Giovanni Tortelli shortly after the mass in Santa Maria del Fiore and described the imperial offer. Marsuppini claimed that the emperor had sent his secretary Henricus to offer to knight Marsuppini or to crown him with a laurel wreath. Despite the recent knighting of four Florentines, Marsuppini replied that the «honor em questrem a nostro instituto esse alienum».⁶⁸ Moreover, a crowning by a laurel wreath should be pursued through learning and hard work,

but such a move would have been unusual. Moreover, Marsuppini spoke for the *Signoria* on several occasions upon the emperor's return to Florence, although he does not seem to have been required to offer any further impromptu remarks (PETRIBONI-RINALDI, *Priorista* cit., pp. 362-363). There is no reason to suspect that Vespasiano invented the entire story, but he did use hindsight to construct a narrative as flattering as possible for his usual protagonist Giannozzo Manetti.

⁶⁴ Archivio di Stato, Firenze, Carte Stroziane II, 16 bis, c. 14r.

⁶⁵ PETRIBONI-RINALDI, *Priorista* cit., p. 355 and FILARETE-MANFIDI, *The Libro* cit., pp. 72-73.

⁶⁶ Archivio di Stato, Firenze, Carte Stroziane II, 16 bis, c. 14v.

⁶⁷ PETRIBONI-RINALDI, *Priorista* cit., p. 356 and FILARETE-MANFIDI, *The Libro* cit., p. 73. Cfr. SALVEMINI, *La dignità cavalleresca*, Florence, Ricci, 1896, p. 146.

⁶⁸ The letter is published in R. SABBADINI, *Briciole umanistiche*, «Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana», 17, 1891, p. 214. This and the other letters published by Sabbadini have usually been studied for their insights into Marsuppini's translation of Homer. See A. ROCCO, *Carlo Marsuppini, traduttore d'Omero: La prima traduzione umanistica in versi dell'Iliade (primo e nono libro)*, Padua, Il Poligrafo, 2000 and L. ROSA, *Carlo Marsuppini, segretario apostolico*, in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Upsaliensis: Pro-*

not through a petition to Caesar. Henricus had replied that the emperor would make Marsuppini a «Comitem palatinum cum auctoritate et legitimandi et notarios faciendi» and then charged him to write to Rome to finalize the agreement. Marsuppini, in turn, wrote Tortelli asking him to see to it that a record was created of the emperor's promises and to look into the possibility of extending the privileges to his heirs.⁶⁹

Marsuppini's excuses for rejecting the knighthood were hollow: knighthoods were valued and vaunted in Renaissance Florence. Even the knighthoods bestowed by Frederick on that winter day in 1452 were prized, despite the fact that they carried no extra privileges and only empty promises for benefits to come after the emperor's coronation.⁷⁰ Of the Florentines knighted by Frederick in Santa Maria del Fiore, the tomb of Bernardo Giugni in the Florentine Badia still proudly proclaims his rank.⁷¹ The Pandolfini family had already had a recent knighthood in the family. Carlo Pandolfini's brother Giannozzo had been knighted by King Alfonso in Naples in 1450, much to the joy of his son Pandolfo.⁷² The family was presumably pleased at their second stroke of good fortune in such a short period of time. Orlando de' Medici does not seem to have had a close relative knighted or to have bragged about his status on his surviving tomb. However, he did accept the title and undoubtedly the increased pay that he received as a diplomat after his increase in rank.⁷³ Carlo Marsuppini himself, however, provides the strongest evidence that souring imperial relations and lack of practical benefits lay behind the knighthood fiasco in Florence. In April, Marsuppini wrote to Tortelli of his gratitude to Frederick and his servant Henricus. Tortelli had spoken to the pope about Marsuppini's new privileges, and the pope had offered to match the emperor's offers. Marsuppini responded by touting honors

ceedings of the Fourteenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, ed. by A. STEINER-WEBER, Leiden, Brill, 2012, pp. 457-460.

⁶⁹ SABBADINI, *Briciole* cit., 214. This incident is also reported in D. MARZI, *La cancelleria della repubblica fiorentina*, Rocca San Casciano, Cappelli, 1910, pp. 213-214.

⁷⁰ Archivio di Stato, Firenze, Carte Strozziiane II, 16 bis, c. 14v.

⁷¹ S. ZURAW, *The Public Commemorative Monument: Mino da Fiesole's Tombs in the Florentine Badia*, «The Art Bulletin», 80, 3, September 1998, p. 459, with relevant images of the tomb on pp. 453 and 460. See also SALVEMINI, *La dignità* cit., p. 146 and MAXSON, *The Humanist* cit.

⁷² SALVEMINI, *La dignità* cit., p. 146. See also F. W. KENT-G. CORTI, *Bartolommeo Cederni and his Friends: Letters to an Obscure Florentine*, Florence, Olschki, 1991, pp. 25 and 84-85, and PALMIERI, *Annales* cit., p. 159.

⁷³ On Orlando de' Medici, see J. SPENCER, *Andrea del Castagno and his Patron*, Durham (NC), Duke University Press, 1991, pp. 49-56; on his diplomatic career, see MAXSON, *The Humanist* cit., p. 145.

bestowed from the pope as more honorable than those from the emperor. After all, the pope had historically transferred the Empire from Greece to France, and then to Germany, and could transfer it again if he so chose. Therefore, Marsuppini freely accepted the pope's offer.⁷⁴

Manetti received far less esteem from the emperor or his fellow Florentines in the events following the imperial visit to Florence. Already passed over for the mission to Ferrara, Manetti was next passed over for the mission to greet the emperor's Portuguese bride at Livorno on February 3.⁷⁵ Vespasiano da Bisticci claimed that the Florentines awarded Manetti's performance in Santa Maria Novella by electing him to accompany Frederick to Rome.⁷⁶ However, it is important to remember that Manetti was elected to accompany the emperor to Rome only after Otto Niccolini declined to go. Manetti was in fact the fifth choice of the Florentine government for this position. In addition, his election occurred after Florentine opinion had solidly turned against the emperor's power and worth. The Florentine diarist Francesco di Tommaso di Giovanni claimed that Giugni, Pandolfini and Manetti «furono aroti perche pareva essere debole ambasciata et per respecti a quelli de vinitiani che di principio furono 4».⁷⁷ Antonio Pierozzi encapsulated Florentine opinion about Frederick, writing that «Nil autem imperialis maiestatis visum est in eo, nec liberalitas, nec sapientia, cum quasi semper per alium loquebatur: sed multa cupiditas, cum munera honeste quaereret, & libenter acciperet. Demum reversus est in domum suam cum modica opinione virtutis suae».⁷⁸

Manetti spent the mission cultivating ties with Italian powers who were hostile to Florentine interests. By March Florentine relations with Venice had soured to the point that the Florentine diplomats met Frederick far outside Rome to ensure an audience before their Venetian counterparts.⁷⁹ They had recently rejected a safe-conduct for Venetian

⁷⁴ SABBADINI, *Briciole* cit., p. 215.

⁷⁵ Instead, the Florentines sent Orlando de' Medici, Alessandro de' Medici, both new imperial knights, and Franco Sacchetti. See PETRIBONI-RINALDI, *Priorista* cit., p. 356. It is unclear whether the fourth diplomat was the new knight Carlo Pandolfini or Giovannozzo Pitti, who was knighted by Alfonso of Aragon in 1443. FILARETE-MANFIDI, *The Libro* cit., p. 74 reports that the three new knights were a part of this mission; PETRIBONI-RINALDI, *Priorista* cit., p. 356 states that the fourth member was Giovannozzo Pitti. On the knighthood of Pitti, see SALVEMINI, *La dignità* cit., p. 145.

⁷⁶ DA BISTICCI, *Le Vite* cit., 2, pp. 579-580; see also NALDI, *Vita* cit., pp. 578-579.

⁷⁷ Archivio di Stato, Firenze, Carte Stroziane II, 16 bis, 14r.

⁷⁸ ANTONINO, *Chronicorum opus*, Lugduni, Iuntae et Guittius, 1586, 3, p. 554. See also PALMIERI, *Annales* cit., p. 164, whose assessment is even harsher.

⁷⁹ PASTOR, *History* cit., 2, p. 150.

diplomats to enter Florence, as the Venetians had refused to grant a Florentine diplomat – Otto Niccolini in fact – a safe-conduct in 1451.⁸⁰ Subsequently, the Venetians had ordered their diplomats to Frederick to avoid Florentine territory.⁸¹ Manetti and his advocacy of the Florentine-Venetian alliance were nevertheless undeterred. In Rome, a nephew of the former Pope Eugenius IV, a Venetian, brought Manetti to talk to the Venetian diplomat Pasquale Malepieri. Supposedly Manetti did not know with whom he was going to speak. Upon arrival, Malepieri called the expulsion of the Florentine merchants from Venice a mistake and offered to make a new agreement with Florence. Manetti refused, stating he did not have a commission to discuss these matters and that writing about them to Florence would only end badly. Both Eugenius's nephew and Malepieri insisted that Manetti write to Florence and thus Manetti did so to appease them. Manetti warned the Venetians that it would be pointless, indicating the Venetian disagreements with Milan as the sticking point. Accordingly, the Florentines rejected the offer and ordered Manetti not to speak any more about it. Their response probably did not surprise anyone, given that another Venetian had unsuccessfully offered the exact same terms to both Cosimo de' Medici and the Milanese diplomat in Florence the previous November.⁸² Beyond ordering Manetti to cease his negotiations, the Florentine government boasted that if they could pay for six more months of war expenses then Sforza would seize most of the Venetian *terra ferma* empire.⁸³

This hardline against the Venetians and against Manetti's negotiations again originated with Cosimo de' Medici. In addition to repeatedly undercutting Manetti's attempts to negotiate peace with Venice, Cosimo was also ensuring that Florentine war resources were focused on Lombardy – against Venice – rather than in the south. Around the time of the emperor's trip to Italy Agnolo Acciaiuoli served as commissary to the Florentine army. The army captains, confident that they could best Alfonso in battle, sent Acciaiuoli to Florence to request the authority to attack. The vote among the Dieci di Balìa was unanimous to approve

⁸⁰ DI CAMUGLIANO, *The Chronicles* cit., p. 211 and LAZZERONI, *Il viaggio* cit., 279.

⁸¹ LAZZERONI, *Il viaggio* cit., p. 294.

⁸² Archivio di Stato, Milano, Archivio Sforzesco Ducale Potenze Estere Firenze, 265, c. 161r, letter from Niccolò Arcimboldo to Francesco Sforza, dated November 27, 1451, where Arcimboldo claims that the Cardinal of Santa Maria Nova, nephew of Pope Eugenius IV, offered very similar terms to both Cosimo de' Medici and Niccolò Arcimboldo.

⁸³ DA BISTICCI, *Le Vite* cit., 2, pp. 580-581 and NALDI, *Vita* cit., pp. 578-579, which differ in some minor details.

the request, with Cosimo abstaining because of absence. After Cosimo caught wind of the vote he had himself carried to the Palazzo Vecchio where he argued to reject war with Alfonso as an impediment to the war effort in Lombardy. Fighting Alfonso, he argued, would prevent them from «quello che volevano contra a' vinitiani d'abassargli in modo che ogni dì non s'avesse avere paura di loro et riducergli in luogo che istesseno a' termini loro, et per questo si ricovò questo partito».⁸⁴ This stance contrasted with that of Acciaiuoli and Manetti, both of whom sought the more promising war against Alfonso and peace with Venice, particularly since the Venetians had offered a *foglio bianco* to end hostilities. Cosimo's position also overestimated the loyalty he had purchased from Francesco Sforza. Sforza doubted that the Florentines could continue to pay their end of the war expenses and thus had begun secret negotiations with Venice. The Florentines learned of these negotiations through their diplomat in Milan, Dietisalvi Neroni, who was directed by Cosimo to thwart the peace.⁸⁵

Manetti was still undeterred. Shortly after the coronation ceremonies the emperor departed for Naples. On March 24, the emperor traveled to Naples to visit his new ally through marriage.⁸⁶ Manetti and the other Florentine diplomats most likely did not accompany the emperor to Naples, a place from which all Florentines had been expelled less than a year before.⁸⁷ Manetti did, however, make his presence known in court through an unknown channel that must have carried his long panegyric to the king. The panegyric was Manetti's second humanist work composed around the time of this mission. After arriving in Rome, Manetti presented a copy of an undelivered coronation speech to the emperor, perhaps on March 20.⁸⁸ Such speeches, ordered or not, were common diplomatic fare in the fifteenth century. Manetti did not receive explicit

⁸⁴ DA BISTICCI, *Le Vite* cit., 2, pp. 581-582, with the quote on p. 582.

⁸⁵ DA BISTICCI, *Commentario* cit., 2, pp. 580-581.

⁸⁶ LAZZERONI, *Il viaggio* cit., p. 367; see also P. BOTLEY, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 90. Botley points out that Poggio's first *Invective* against Lorenzo Valla was published in February 1452, amidst the preparations for the emperor's arrival to Rome, which may provide an interesting context in which to interpret that work.

⁸⁷ DA BISTICCI, *Le Vite* cit., 2, pp. 582-583. See also NALDI, *Vita* cit., p. 579. BALDASSARRI-FIGLIUOLO, *Manettiana* cit., p. 55, express uncertainty about whether Manetti accompanied the emperor to Naples or not.

⁸⁸ PASTOR, *History* cit., 2, pp. 154-157. Pastor related that wedding ceremonies occurred on March 16, the imperial coronation on the 19, and then on the 20 several ambassadors delivered speeches. While Manetti did not apparently deliver his speech, the occasion may have provided an opportunity to present it.

instructions to write, deliver, or gift this oration, but it is probable that Manetti did so as part of his official duties as Florentine diplomat.⁸⁹ The same cannot be said for his panegyric for Alfonso, which Manetti concluded with the lines «Vale, Italie decus, ac Iannotii fidissimi ac verissimi famuli tui quesumus nonnumquam meminisse digneris, si quando a multis et magnis plurimorum regnorum tuorum occupationibus requiescendi gratia respiraveris».⁹⁰ Beyond the personal nature of the panegyric's conclusion, the Florentines did not expect their diplomats to be in Naples at all. On March 21, the Milanese diplomat in Rome wrote Francesco Sforza about the uncertainty among the Florentines and Milanese regarding whether they should await Frederick's return to Rome or depart while he was absent.⁹¹ Dietisalvi Neroni in Milan wrote to Florence expressing his consternation that the emperor had traveled to Naples. The fears were justified: while in Naples Alfonso offered to assist the emperor to take Milan back from Francesco Sforza.⁹² It was to King Alfonso, enemy of Florence and their ally Francesco Sforza, friend of hated Venice and in-law of the reviled Frederick III, whom Manetti devoted a work filled with line after line of unrestricted praise.

The emperor and his retinue returned to Rome in April and Manetti continued his efforts to solidify his relations with rulers unfriendly towards Florence, particularly Cosimo de' Medici. A Venetian diplomat set out to meet the emperor upon the return of the imperial retinue from Naples. On the way, he passed the house of Manetti, inquired if he was in, and then waited for him to come out. Manetti stalled, but then to save the honor of the Florentines (because the ambassador was waiting for him), Manetti accompanied the Venetian diplomat to greet the emperor. Manetti wrote to Florence about it and those people who wished him ill made an issue out of it, and those who did not wish him ill praised him.⁹³ In short, despite his orders to cease discussions with the Venetian diplomats, Manetti, a diplomat representing a city on the brink of war with Venice, presented at least a symbolically aligned front

⁸⁹ He did not refer to the document in his Latin *Life of Nicholas V*, which includes an account of the coronation ceremonies of Frederick III, at which Manetti records he was present. MANETTI, *De vita ac gestis* cit., pp. 103-107 (Latin) and 199-201 (Italian).

⁹⁰ See the edition below, section 130.

⁹¹ Archivio di Stato, Milano, Archivio Sforzesco Ducale Potenze Estere Roma, 40, c. 226r.

⁹² PASTOR, *History* cit., 2, p. 159.

⁹³ DA BISTICCI, *Commentario* cit., 2, pp. 582-583; on this sequence of events, compare DA BISTICCI, *Renaissance* cit., pp. 387-388 (which contains fewer details). See also Lazzeroni, *Il viaggio* cit., 385.

with the Venetians and, depending on what was discussed, a more substantive front as well.

The events that followed played out along similar lines: having cultivated ties with Venice and Naples, Manetti turned to Pope Nicholas V, a third political figure who often opposed Medici interests in Florence. Certainly, Pope Nicholas V was an investor in the Medici bank and since as early as Machiavelli viewed by historians as neutral in the conflicts between Florence, Milan, Venice, and Naples in the early 1450s.⁹⁴ Yet, Nicholas also served as a teacher in the homes of Rinaldo degli Albizzi and Palla Strozzi before the exile of both men from Florence by Cosimo and his allies in the early 1430s.⁹⁵ In 1453 and 1454, Nicholas was the key proponent of the Peace of Lodi, which, as Riccardo Fubini has pointed out, went against Medici plans to cultivate closer ties with France and was only reluctantly and eventually supported by the Florentines.⁹⁶ Nicholas worked closely with Alfonso during the wars between 1450-1454, granting Alfonso a crucial privilege to raise money from the clergy in his lands to pay for war against Milan and Florence.⁹⁷ Additionally, Pope Nicholas knighted Giannozzo Manetti in mid April, despite his questionable actions as a Florentine diplomat in 1452 and Manetti's disagreements with Cosimo de' Medici and his allies. The Florentine councils approved Manetti's knighthood and he even received a pay raise for the latter portion of his mission because of his increase in status.⁹⁸ However, that pay was slow in coming, the funds instead making their way «nel sacco con altri danari non vollono pagare».⁹⁹

The rest of the story is well known to scholars. Manetti returned to Florence and was immediately elected vicar of the Mugello (1 August 1452 - 31 January 1453), incurring the jealousy of Luca Pitti. While in

⁹⁴ N. MACHIAVELLI, *Florentine Histories*, trans. by L. BANFIELD and H. C. MANSFIELD, Princeton (NJ), Princeton University Press, 1988, p. 263 («The pontiff did not become involved in these wars except insofar as he believed he could bring about an accord between the parties»). See also R. FUBINI, *The Italian League and the Policy of the Balance of Power at the Accession of Lorenzo de' Medici*, in *The Origins of the State in Italy, 1300-1600*, ed. by J. KIRSHNER, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1995, p. 178.

⁹⁵ BLACK, *Education and Society* cit., p. 424.

⁹⁶ FUBINI, *The Italian League* cit., pp. 178-183.

⁹⁷ RYDER, *Alfonso* cit., pp. 260-261 and 283.

⁹⁸ BOSCHETTO, *L'esilio volontario* cit., pp. 122-123. See also NALDI, *Vita* cit., p. 578.

⁹⁹ DA BISTICCI, *Commentario* cit., 2, p. 583; the payment records for Manetti exist at Archivio di Stato, Firenze, Dieci di Balìa, Debitori e Creditori, 16, starting with c. 89v.

this position Manetti wrote another work for King Alfonso, the *On the Dignity of Man*. Manetti returned to Florence and was sent to Rome with Otto Niccolini to negotiate peace. While present, Manetti was called back to Florence to be questioned about his dedication of a book – long assumed to be the *On the Dignity of Man* – to Alfonso, against whom the Florentines were at war. However, the discovery of the dedication copy of Manetti's *On the Dignity* suggests that the problematic «libro» in fact contained two texts: *On the Dignity of Man* and Manetti's panegyric to King Alfonso.¹⁰⁰

By the time of his condemnation Manetti had secured powerful patrons abroad who came forth to offer their protection. Pope Nicholas made Manetti an apostolic secretary and appointed him as ambassador to Florence in order to ensure that Manetti would be able to leave the city after he faced the charges. The precaution proved temporarily unnecessary. Manetti secured a position on the powerful *Dieci di Balìa* in late 1453, one of several members on that board at that time selected by a government with minimal Medici controls and that was subsequently not viewed as friendly to the Medici. After the expiration of his term Manetti moved to Rome until Pope Nicholas died, and then transferred to Naples. There he lived and studied, with an occasional dip into political concerns, under the eye of the man so profusely praised in the following previously unpublished panegyric of 1452.

¹⁰⁰ This manuscript grouping may also suggest that Manetti and then subsequently Vespasiano, who first claimed the problematic work was Manetti's *On the Dignity of Man*, may have conceived of them as going together, a hypothesis that might also explain why Vespasiano failed to list the panegyric in his long list of Manetti's complete and even incomplete works at the end of his *Commentario*.

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION

As noted by Albinia De La Mare, the *Oratio congratulatoria in Federici III Imperatoris visitatione* «is apparently unprinted and is very rare».¹⁰¹ It is only preserved in the following manuscripts:

Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. lat. 1604, parchment, produced by Vespasiano da Bisticci's workshop (Florence, 1457-1459); 202 × 136 mm.; ff. II + 145 (144r-145v blank), written in *littera antiqua* with some gothic traits (mostly the 'd'); all initials with vinestem decoration (so-called *bianchi girari*), white leather binding.

The manuscript contains the following works (all by Manetti) either addressed to King Alfonso or involving him:

Jannotii Manetti Florentini oratoris Oratio ad Alfonsum Aragonum regem in nuptiali Ferdinandi unici filii sui, Calabrie ducem, congratulatione (ff. 1r-4r)

Jannotii Manetti ad Alfonsum Aragonum regem Oratio nomine Florentini populi de laudibus pacis (ff. 4r-7v)

Jannotii Manetti ad Alfonsum Aragonum regem Oratio congratulatoria ad eundem in Frederici III Imperatoris visitatione (ff. 7v-22v)

Epistola ad Callistum III Summum Pontificem exhortatoria ut Alfonsum bello adversus Turcum imperatorem preficeret eiusdem Jannotii Manetti (ff. 22v-29v)

Jannotii Manetti vita Socratis et Senecae ad Alfonsum Aragonum regem (ff. 29v-53v)

Jannotii Manetti ad Alfonsum Aragonum regem de dignitate et excellentia hominis (ff. 53v-96v)

Jannotii Manetti de terremoto ad Alfonsum Aragonum regem (ff. 97r-143v).

The manuscript was part of Manetti's own library; as such, it must have been written between fall 1457 (when he completed the *De terremoto*) and his death (October 27, 1459). Like most Palatine exemplars, it belonged to the humanist's descendants until the mid-sixteenth century, when it was sold to UL-

¹⁰¹ J. J. G. ALEXANDER - A. DE LA MARE, *The Italian Manuscripts in the Library of Major J.R. Abbey*, London, Faber & Faber, 1969, p. 37.

rich Fugger first, then moved to Heidelberg with him in 1567, and finally entered the Vatican Library in 1623.¹⁰²

Select bibliography: G. MANETTI, *De dignitate et excellentia hominis*, ed. by E. R. LEONARD, Padua, Antenore, 1975, pp. XIV-XVI; P. BOTLEY, *Giannozzo Manetti, Alfonso of Aragon and Pompey the Great: A Crusading Document of 1455*, «The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes», 67, 2004, p. 145; G. MANETTI, *De terremotu*, ed. by D. PAGLIARA, Florence, SISMEL, 2012, pp. 65-68.

Another witness is the one carefully described by Albinia De La Mare:

Redlynch House, MS Abbey 3212, parchment, copied in Florence by Piero Strozzi (probably in late 1452-early 1453); 235 × 168 mm.; ff. 120 (90v and 120v blank), written in *littera antiqua*; all initials with vinestem decoration (so-called *a bianchi girari*); gold capitals on ff. 1r and 91r, probably by the same artist who illuminated – among others – MS. Laur. 73.6;¹⁰³ modern binding by W. H. Smith and Son in red morocco tooled in gold. It is the dedication copy of the following texts by Manetti for King Alfonso:

Iannotii Manetti ad Alfonsum clarissimum Aragonum Regem de dignitate et excellentia hominis (ff. 1r-90v)

Ad Alfonsum clarissimum Aragonum Regem in Federici III Imperatoris visitatione ex Roma Neapoli per eum facta Iannotii Manetti congratulatio in Federicum (ff. 90v-120r).

Select bibliography: ALEXANDER-DE LA MARE, *The Italian Manuscripts* cit., pp. 36-38; MANETTI, *De dignitate* cit., pp. XI-XIV and the studies mentioned therein.

This manuscript was sold at Sotheby's in 1974, as my friend and colleague David Rundle kindly pointed out to me. I then tried to find out where it went and contacted Sotheby's to this purpose. Unfortunately, I was not provided with any information. I have thus been unable to read this witness. Likewise, in her detailed description of MS Abbey 3212 De La Mare inserts a passing reference to a third exemplar that was offered at an auction by Maggs in 1940.¹⁰⁴ I have been unable to track it down and use it for my edition of the *Oratio congratulatoria*, which is thus based on MS Pal. lat. 1604 alone.

¹⁰² On the history of Giannozzo's library see G. M. CAGNI, *I codici Vaticani Palatino-Latini appartenenti alla biblioteca di Giannozzo Manetti*, «La Bibliofilia», 62, 1, 1960, pp. 1-43, esp. pp. 2-3 and the bibliography reported therein.

¹⁰³ See Albinia De La Mare's considerations in ALEXANDER-DE LA MARE, *The Italian Manuscripts* cit., p. 37. There she also suggests that some of the drawings on f. 1r, especially the putti and rabbit, may be by Joachinus de Gigantibus.

¹⁰⁴ See *ibid.*, p. 37.

TEXTUAL EDITION

IANNOTII MANETTI AD ALFONSUM ARAGONUM REGEM ORATIO CONGRATULATORIA IN FEDERICI III IMPERATORIS VISITATIONE

[1] (7v) Diu mecum ipse cogitavi, serenissime ac gloriosissime princeps, faciendum ne foret ut ego legatus et orator florentini populi Fredericum Tercium Imperatorem una cum Lionora eius uxore paulo post faustas et felices coronationes suas ex urbe Roma usque Neapolim per longa terrarum spacia tui duntaxat visendi causa contendisse conspicatus nonnulla de egregiis laudibus ac nova quadam et inusitata felicitate ad te scriberem. [2] Me enim tibi obsequi ac gratificari vel maxime cupientem magnarum virtutum tuarum pene incredibilium magnitudo multitudoque a scribendo deterrebat. Eas quippe neque eloquio neque calamo neque etiam cogitatione ullatenus assequi posse confidebam. [3] Ad hec accedebat ut si qua forte pauca e multis laudibus digniora mihi ad dicendum eligerem ac proponerem, facile in crimen adulationis incidere et incurrere videbar, a quo quemadmodum meapte natura abhorrebam ita alienus videri et apparere cupiebam, quod consequi non posse existimabam si de virtutibus tuis ad te scripsissem. Singularis vero quedam et precipua mea commemoratarum virtutum tuarum dilectio et caritas admirabili devotione condita ad scribendum excitabant, ut non solum tibi – cui hec qualiacunque nostra non ingrata futura arbitrabar – sed ceteris etiam omnibus ad quorum manus forte pervenerint qualis et quantus sit meus erga te amor quantaque benivolentia et admirabilis veneratio aliquatenus innotesceret. [4] Sed cum de his mecum sepe numero cogitasset, potior tandem mihi scribendi sententia visa est; at vero pauca e multis, et ea quidem digniora brevitatis causa. Et ne forte tibi adulari videamur, revocata absque libris a nobis iam pridem lectarum rerum memoria (8r) attingere conabimur, ab Hispania – unde vetustam originem trahis – dicendi initium bonis auspiciis faustisque ominibus feliciter sumentes.

[5] Historici ac cosmographi et quicumque alii qui de situ orbis terrarum cogitationes suas eternis litterarum monumentis mandaverunt, greci pariter et latini, singularia quedam et precipua nature munera Hispanie provincie pre ceteris omnibus mundi regionibus concessisse et tribuisse videntur; inter alias namque laudabiles simul atque admirabiles eius provincie qualitates et conditiones magnitudinem, pulchritudinem, salubritatem et ubertatem suis quibusdam atestationibus maiorem in modum largiuntur. [6] Magnitudo namque tanta esse

scribitur ut cunctorum scriptorum consensu singulis quibusque regionibus non iniuria maior atque amplior existimetur. De pulchritudine quoque et amenitate eius dubitare et ambigere non possumus; tot enim tantisque famosis celebratisque fluminibus circumquaque abluitur ut pulchram et formosam atque amenam suapte natura regionem varie diversorum fluviorum abluiones longe pulchriorem et formosiozem et ameniorem reddere videantur. [7] Ad hec duo tanta et tam magna nature dona totidem naturalia salubritatis et ubertatis munera concurrisset et convenisse tradunt. Nam et celi salubritas admirabilis perhibetur et creditur et ubertas quoque talis et tanta habetur ut omnibus cunctarum frugum generibus apprime exuberare et abundare comperiat, quibus non ipsis tantum incolis sed etiam toti Italie cunctarum rerum copia et abundantia sufficiat. [8] Siquidem tanta frumenti, vini, mellis, olei, lini, sparti, minii, plumbi, eris et ferri ac denique argenti et auri copia priscis illis temporibus fertilis putabatur, ut plures historicos de his rebus ad scribendum laudandumque compulerit compulsosque plurimum fatigaverit; nec solum hec felix et fausta provincia omnium frugis generibus abundabat, sed etiam nequid pretiosissimarum rerum deficeret pernicious, equis et fortibus viris pre ceteris regionibus floruisse traditur.¹⁰⁵ [9] Quid enim, equis omissis, de hispaniensium virtutibus referemus? Qui cum agilitate tum fortitudine corporis tum ferocitate quoque animi cunctis nationibus – pace omnium dixerim – prestitisse et excelluisse creduntur. Nam his et huiusmodi virtutibus non modo cum romanis – aliarum gentium victoribus – gravia et diuturna bella gesserunt nec prius eorum iugum accipere potuerunt quam Cesar Augustus, iam orbe terrarum perdomito et in dictionem suam redacto pacatoque, victor feroces et reluctantes hispaniorum populos ad victricia arma transtulerit sed etiam post multa tempora curricula, variante fortuna vices, imperium romanorum commemoratis virtutibus peperere.

[10] Traianus nanque et Adrianus, Theodosius et (8v) Archadius, Honorius et alter Theodosius omnes ab Hispania oriundi romanorum imperatores fuere, quemadmodum in prima nostra oratione quam eiusdem florentini populi legatus tunc Neapoli iam dudum habuimus paulo latius et uberius explicavimus.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Although offering scanty geographic information and filled with epideictic commonplaces, this *descriptio Hispaniae* seems to rely on Pomponius Mela's *Chorographia*, as several formulas suggest; see esp. *Chor.*, II.86-96.

¹⁰⁶ Manetti is referring to the speech he gave for Ferrante's marriage to Isabella Chiaromonte on May 30, 1445. On this oration (his first before the Aragonese court in Naples) see BALDASSARRI, *Giannozzo Manetti e Alfonso il Magnanimo* cit., pp. 43-95, in particular pp. 58-67 and the bibliography reported therein. The *Laus Hispaniae* was, understandably, a commonplace in humanist panegyrics of King Alfonso. Among Manetti's texts, see – in addition to the aforementioned *Oratio ad Alfonso clarissimum Aragonum regem in nuptiali unici filii incliti Calabriae ducis celebritate* – his dedication of the *Lives of Socrates and Seneca* to the Aragonese ruler (1450) in MANETTI, *Biographical Writings* cit., p. 168, par. 4. It should be reminded that Manetti's earliest "panegyrics of Spain" (though on a lesser scale) are in the texts he authored for Nuño de Guzmán and his family in the late 1430s; see LAWRENCE, *Un episodio* cit. More in general, on this "genre" see the essays in *Studi su Bartolomeo Facio*, ed. G. ALBANESE, Pisa, ETS

Unde non minus eleganter quam vere a poeta quodam scriptum in hunc modum fuisse meminimus Hispaniam provinciam non secus romanorum reges et imperatores quam calibem et ferrum afferre consuesse.¹⁰⁷ [11] Quid insuper de egregiis prestantibusque hispanorum hominum ingeniis disseremus, in quibus hispanienses usque adeo valuerunt ut cunctis bonarum artium scientiarumque generibus omnibus aliarum gentium hominibus – grecis duntaxat exceptis, a quibus ipsa inventa et exulta ad latinos profluxisse videbantur – excelluisse ac prestigiose credantur? [12] Quemadmodum enim de viris atheniensibus quodam loco a Cicerone scribitur (eius verba hec sunt: «Athenis tenue celum, ex quo attici acuti») ¹⁰⁸ ita nos de hispaniensibus sic dicere et in hunc modum predicare posse videmur: «In Hispania tenue celum, ex quo hispanienses acuti ac propterea omni scientiarum genere prediti ac multum eruditi». [13] Proinde et in historicis maiores tui clarissimi viri usque adeo oblectati sunt ut ex intima Hispania usque Romam, ubi T. Livius – latinarum historiarum pater – tunc temporis degebat, visendi duntaxat sui causa per tot et tanta mari terrarumque spacia venire non dubitarent. Quod Hieronymus, in illa celebrata totius Veteris et Novi Testamenti prefatione, his verbis plane et aperte declarat: «Ad Titum Livium, lacteo eloquentie fonte manantem, de ultimis Hispanie Galliarumque finibus quosdam venisse nobiles legimus et quos ad contemplationem sui Roma non traxerat unius hominis fama perduxit».¹⁰⁹ Habuit illa etas inauditum omnibus seculis celebran-

Edizioni, 2000 (in particular the one by D. PIETRAGALLA, *Alfonso il Magnanimo nei "Res gestarum Alfonsi regis libri X" di Bartolomeo Facio*, pp. 65-79); F. DELLE DONNE, *La letteratura encomiastica alla corte di Alfonso il Magnanimo*, «Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo», 114, 2012, pp. 221-239 and, by the same author, the introductory essay to his own critical edition of G. PELLEGRINO, *Historia Alfonsi Primi Regis*, Florence, SISMEL, 2007, pp. 3-44.

¹⁰⁷ An allusion, I believe, to MART., *Epigr.*, XII.3. Still in regard to Manetti's *Laus Hispaniae*, I have not gathered significant evidence of the use that he may have made of late Roman panegyrics in praise of Honorius and Theodosius (both Spanish). Pacatus served as the main source for Angelo De Grassis' panegyric of Alfonso, as pointed out by Fulvio Delle Donne in his edition of A. DE GRASSIS, *Oratio panigerica dicta domino Alfonso*, Rome, Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 2006, pp. 42-45, where he comments on ch. V of the Latin text (pp. 5-6). However, a comparison between Pacatus' panegyric on the one hand and Manetti's texts celebrating Alfonso on the other has not provided a definitive answer. Likewise, it is hard to tell whether Manetti knew Isidore's praise of Spain in the prologue to his *Historia de regibus Gothorum* (PL, LXXXIII.1057-1058). On the *laus Hispaniae* so typical of epideictic rhetoric addressed to King Alfonso see also DELLE DONNE, *La letteratura encomiastica* cit., pp. 229-230, where De Grassis, Beccadelli, and Gaspere Pellegrino are mentioned. Finally, on the classical sources that humanists may have used for their panegyrics of Spanish dignitaries, see "*Hispania terris omnibus felicior*". *Premesse ed esiti di un processo di integrazione. Atti del convegno internazionale, Cividale del Friuli, 27-29 settembre 2001*, ed. by G. URSO, Pisa, ETS, 2002, with an essay on Pacatus by M. SORDI, *La Spagna nel panegirico di Plinio e in quello di Pacato*, pp. 315-322.

¹⁰⁸ CIC., *De fat.*, 7: «Athenis tenue caelum, ex quo etiam acutiores putantur attici».

¹⁰⁹ HIER., *Epist.*, LIII (*Ad Paulinum*) in PL, XXII.541. Manetti reports the same

dumque miraculum ut urbem tantam ingressi aliud extra urbem quererent. [14] In mathematicis quoque et in phisicis et in divinis denique cunctisque aliis optimarum artium studiis, ne de omnibus singillatim dicamus, plurimum claruerunt. Unum ceteris mirabilibus taciti preterire non possumus, quod cuidam ex maioribus tuis – religiosissimo ac puerpere virginis in primis devotissimo regi – evenisse ac contigisse accepimus, cui aliquot ante seculis, noctu ut fit dormienti, in somnis angelus nescio quis mirabiliter apparuit, atque Marie semper virginis legatus candidam quandam stolam cum huiusmodi mandatis et admonitionibus attulit, ut ob singularem et precipuam eius erga predictam virginem venerationem albam illam et quasi niveam stolam divinitus largiretur; atque sibi et successoribus suis tantam¹¹⁰ et tam magnam auctoritatem tribuebat ut quocumque vellent ei ipsi per similes stolas quibuscumque personis ad propagationem virginei nominis (9r) donare et concedere valerent. Quo quidem divino privilegio tunc primum uti cepit et qui postea per multa temporum curricula successerunt continue eius devotissimi regis vestigia imitati semper hactenus servaverunt.¹¹¹

[15] Ab his igitur et huiusmodi tam nobilibus et tam preclaris maioribus generosissime ortum, Fernandum – ut de eius proavis abavisque tuis, brevitatis causa, sileamus – genitorem habere meruisti, qui egregia predicatorum predecessorum suorum¹¹² vestigia imitatus inter cetera¹¹³ eius negocia ceptaque ma-

anecdote in his preface to the *Lives of Socrates and Seneca* to King Alfonso of Aragon. See MANETTI, *Biographical Writings* cit., p. 170 par. 7.

¹¹⁰ The MS erroneously reads «tam» before «tantam» but the scribe himself (judging from the kind of ink) crossed it out.

¹¹¹ On the Aragonese royal family's cult of the Virgin Mary, this miraculous event, and the tradition pertaining to the "candida stola" (or "estola blanca") see A. MACKAY, *Don Fernando de Antequera y la Virgen Santa Maria*, in *Homenaje al profesor Juan Torres Fontes*, Murcia, Universidad de Murcia y Academia Alfonso X el Sabion, 1987, 2, pp. 949-957 (reprinted in I. MACPHERSON - A. MACKAY, *Love, Religion and Politics in Fifteenth Century Spain*, Leiden, Brill, 1998, pp. 132-138); G. VITALE, *Araldica e politica. Statuti di ordini cavallereschi 'curiali' nella Napoli aragonese*, Salerno, Carbone Editore, 1999, pp. 35-55 (ch. titled *Il regno di Alfonso il Magnanimo: nel segno della Giara*, that also speaks of Frederick III's visit to the Aragonese king on pp. 107-108), and J. DOMENGE I MESQUIDA, *La gran sala de Castelnuovo. Memoria del "Alphonsi regis triumphus"*, in *Le usate leggierie, le feste e il costume nel Mediterraneo tra XV e XVI secolo. Atti del convegno: Napoli, 14-16 dicembre 2006*, ed. by G. T. COLESANTI, Montella, Centro Francescano di Studi sul Mediterraneo, 2010, pp. 290-338, esp. pp. 322-323. More in general, on Alfonso's piety, the role it played in his self-fashioning, and the particular veneration he had for the Virgin Mary see N. JASPERT, *Santos al servicio de la Corona durante el reinado de Alfonso el Magnánimo*, in *XVI Congresso Internazionale di storia della Corona d'Aragona. La Corona d'Aragona ai tempi di Alfonso il Magnanimo* (Napoli, Caserta, Ischia: 18-23 settembre 1997), ed. by G. D'AGOSTINO and G. BUFFARDI, Naples, Paparo, 2000, II, pp. 1839-1857, and G. VITALE, *Ritualità monarchica, cerimonie e pratiche devozionali nella Napoli aragonese*, Salerno, Laveglia, 2006, pp. 197-221. Alfonso's piety and his collection of relics are mentioned repeatedly in the famous biography by RYDER, *Alfonso* cit.

¹¹² The MS erroneously repeats «suorum» twice.

¹¹³ Erroneously spelled «cecetera» in MS.

gnifica memoratu digna in tota vita ita se gessit, ita rerum gestarum gloria floruit, ut plures fortium facinorum suorum annales multaque historie hinc inde circumferantur.¹¹⁴ [16] Quicumque igitur hanc tuam tam claram, tam celebrem, tam admirabilem multorum regum imperatorumque originem parumper considerare voluerit, profecto de egregiis quibusdam corporis et animi tui dotibus iure ambigere et dubitare non poterit. Talis enim et tam continuata huius clarissime sobolis legitima successio singulares quasdam et precipuas persone tue condiciones exigebat, ne forte a radice et a stirpe et a pluribus quoque similibus intermediis degenerare inciperet.

[17] Ut ergo a levioribus, hoc est a corporeis donis, dicendi initium sumamus, corpus tuum ita validum, ita vegetum, ita integrum esse manifestum est, ut nullis – incredibile dictu – diurnis nocturnisque laboribus laboriosisque exercitiis ullatenus fatigetur. Nam adversa variorum – ut fit – bellorum tempestate, militaribus expeditionibus quibus militantes homines cuncta queque malorum et impedimentorum genera necessario subire coguntur nullo unquam tempore fatigatus a magnanimis ceptis destitisti, cum plura et gloriosa anteacte vite tue negocia – et ea quidem magnanima et animosa – susceperis. [18] Quid preterea pacis tempore de continuis et assiduis venationibus dicemus? Quibus ita assiduam operam hactenus navasti, ut usque in hodiernam diem mirabiliter perseverare videaris. A solis enim ortu usque ad occasum cibi potusque expers, sine aliqua intermissione ita plerunque equitare consuesti, ut cunctos iuvenes proceres tuos te ipsum in varias – ut fit – venationes partim estivo partim vero hiemali tempore assidue secutos absque ullo persone tue labore apprime fatigaveris.

[19] Quid plura? Tu tale corporis instrumentum a prima origine recepisti, variis deinde diurnis nocturnisque temporibus usque adeo exercuisti, ut famem, sitim, estus, algores, vigiliis et ceteras huiusmodi corporis molestias semper spernisse et contempsisse videaris. Quin immo,¹¹⁵ hoc tuum corporeum instrumentum ita vegetum, ita ad cuncta queque laboriosa et molesta officia aptum, ita accommodatum esse scimus, ut somnos et vigiliis, commestiones et inedia, potationes et sites, estus et (*9v*) algores in tua potestate temetipsum habere non dubitemus.

¹¹⁴ Including, of course, Lorenzo Valla's life of Alfonso's father: L. VALLE, *Gesta Ferdinandi Regis Aragonum*, ed. by O. BESOMI, Padua, Antenore, 1973. It need not surprise us that Manetti does not mention this text here. Firstly, he usually refrains from mentioning contemporary texts and their authors explicitly in his works. Secondly, Alfonso was not quite satisfied with Valla's portrait of his father, as Manetti must have been aware. On Valla's failure to dictate the mode of Aragonese propaganda in Italy and the success of the strategy promoted by Beccadelli, Facio, and Manetti instead see now R. DELLE DONNE, *La corte napoletana di Alfonso il Magnanimo: il mecenatismo regio*, in *La Corona de Aragón en el centro de su Historia, 1208-1458. La Monarchia Aragonese y los Reinos de la Corona*, Zaragoza, Gobierno de Aragón, 2010, pp. 255-270, esp. pp. 259-260 and 269-270, and Id., *La letteratura encomiastica* cit., pp. 230-234.

¹¹⁵ The spelling of this adverb alternates in the text of the *Oratio* reported by this witness between «im» and «immo». Though both forms are legitimate, in this MS preference is given to the former. Such alternation (even within the same work) is far from unusual, as is well known, not only in Manetti but in most humanists of his time.

[20] Te enim dormire quocunque importuno et extraneo tempore et rursus vigilare occasione ad dormiendum accomodata,¹¹⁶ te comedere importunis et rursus ieiunare oportunis temporibus frequenter vidimus dum sepenumero florentini populi nomine legationis munere fungeremur, quod neque Socratem philosophorum principem neque Massinissam numidarum regem neque Catilinam nobilem romanorum civem aliquando fecisse accepimus, de quorum vegetis corporibus ab idoneis auctoribus in eorum laudes varie in hunc pene modum scriptum esse legimus. [21] Nam de primo ab A. Gellio in libris *Noctium Atticarum* sic annotatum fuisse novimus, ut a lucis ortu usque ad alterum solem orientem inconviventibus oculis, firmis stabilisque commoraretur. Eius enim hec verba sunt: «Stare solitus Socrates dicitur pertinaci statu perdius ac pernox a summo lucis ortu ad solem alterum orientem inconvivens, immobilis eisdem in vestigiis et ore atque oculis eundem in locum directis, cogitabundus, tanquam quodam secessu mentis atque animi facto a corpore» et reliqua huiusmodi.¹¹⁷ [22] De secundo vero a Cicero in libro *De senectute* ipsum nullo unquam frigore adduci potuisse ut capite aperto proficisceretur eleganter dictum scimus.¹¹⁸ De tercio autem C. Crispum Sallustium ita scripsisse comperimus: «Corpus paciens inedia, algoris, vigilie super quam cuiquam credibile sit».¹¹⁹ At corpus tuum usque adeo vegetum, usque adeo strenuum esse in omnibus inusitatis et molestis diversorum negotiorum et exercitationum generibus experti sumus ut non modo diutius absque aliqua motione firmum stare et capite detecto incedere atque inedias, algores, vigiliis pati ac perferre videaris, quemadmodum de tribus commemoratis viris predictos auctores et quosdam etiam alios grecos ac latinos varie conscripsisse legimus, sed insuper cum in militaribus expeditionibus tum in diversis venationibus tum in assiduis quibusdam inter celebrandum solemnia missarum genuflexionibus singula queque asperitatum, molestiarum et incommoditatum genera ita equo animo tolerasti ut ipsis omnibus – incredibile dictu – pene oblectari videreris.

[23] Verum hec pauca e multis de egregiis corporis tui dotibus elegisse et excerptisse sufficiat. At si qui forte parvitatem obiecerint, superiora a nobis dicta utpote verissima inficiari nequentes, audiant quesumus quid nos sic obicientibus respondeamus. Talem alfonsini corporis modicitatem esse manifestum est ut potius ad mediocritatem quam ad pusillitatem tendere et declinare videatur. Et si forsans parvum quodammodo concederemus, virtute tamen magnum (*10r*) ac preciosum non negaremus, quemadmodum supra diximus, ceu de Tideo scribit Homerus,¹²⁰ quod Statius noster preclare imitatus ita scribit:

¹¹⁶ Such is the spelling in the MS instead of classical «accommodata».

¹¹⁷ AUL. GELL., *Noct. Att.*, II.1.2. Manetti already quoted the same passage in his *Life of Socrates* (1440); see MANETTI, *Biographical Writings* cit., pp. 196, *Vita Socratis*, par. 28.

¹¹⁸ Cfr. CIC., *De sen.*, 34.

¹¹⁹ SALL., *Cat.*, 5.

¹²⁰ Cfr. HOM., *Il.*, V.801. This too is a rhetorical *topos*. Quintilian, for instance, recommends the example of Tydeus when praising short men; see QUINT., *Inst. orat.*, III.7.12.

«Maior in exiguo regnabat corpore virtus». ¹²¹ Id ipsum non in hominibus et ceteris dumtaxat animalibus sed in multis quoque aliis mutis et insensibilibus rebus animadvertere et videre licet, quod gemme ac lapilli corpore pusilli virtute magni existentes manifeste testantur.

[24] Nunc de animo deinceps prosequemur. Ad hanc tam egregiam, tam singularem et tam precipuam talis corporis – quale rarerer invenitur – formationem, ad quam celos et astra mirabiliter concurrisset et convenisset minime dubitamus, non similem sed potius tanto meliorem mentem divinitus affluxisse credimus, quanto una queque forma longe melior ac prestantior sua quaque materia reperitur. Quanto enim unum quodque corpus in sua formatione nobilius et excellentius habetur, tanto secundum veterem et per cunctas philosophorum scholas celebratam Aristotelis sententiam nobiliorem et excellentiorem formam exigere et postulare videtur, ¹²² quemadmodum paulo post meridiana, ceu vulgo dicitur, luce clarius apparebit. [25] Omnes greci pariter ac latini veteres et novi nostri temporis philosophi in hoc unum vel maxime convenerunt, ut animi virtutes bifariam partirentur. Alias enim intellectus alias vero moris appellarunt, de quibus extant plura Aristotelis volumina; eorum principatus, consensu omnium, *Ethicorum* libri tenere perhibentur. De utrisque, a moralibus incipientes, pauca referamus.

[26] Latissimus nobis impresentiarum de virtutibus tuis nonnulla scribere cupientibus ad pervagandum campus ostenderetur si singula queque memoratu digna paulo latius et uberius explicare et amplificare vellemus. Sed celerem orationis nostre cursum habentis et frenis idcirco moderabimur, ne forte ea ipsa – huius immensi pelagi fluctibus agitata – antea fatisceret quam portum prospicere unquam posset, simul ne tibi adulari videremur, si per hunc ornatissimum virtutum tuarum tam latum et tam amplum campum diutius evagaremur. [27] Quocirca, temperantia, frugalitate, comitate ac reliquis huiusmodi privatis virtutibus quasi perpetuo silentio pretermissis, de iusticia et fortitudine, de severitate et gravitate, de liberalitate, magnificentia ac magnanimitate pauca dicemus, que quidem, etsi a nonnullis excellentibus viris interdum participantur ac possideantur, regum tamen proprie virtutes dicuntur regieque propterea appellantur, quoniam earum operationes regibus magis quam privatis hominibus convenire videntur. [28] Quanta per superiora tempora Alfonsi regis in gubernandis pluribus (*10v*) eius regnis iusticia fuerit hodieque sit diverse singulorum magistratuum et principatuum dignitates in generosas nobilitatesque personas concessisse collateque, delictorum deinde, flagitiorum ac malorum facinorum pene castigationesque declarant. Sed ne plura iusticie tue exempla – brevitatis causa – recitemus, si quis de hoc ipso forte suspicaretur, profecto quecunque suspitio et ambiguitas penitus et omnino evanesceret quandocumque quantus et qualis sit semperque fuerit omnium subditorum suorum erga eum amor, quanta dilectio, quanta observatio ac veneratio vel parumper consideraverit, quod quidem

¹²¹ STAT., *Theb.*, I.417.

¹²² Cfr. ARIST., *Met.*, IV.1010A and VII.1033B.

egregie iusticie tue certum quoddam et evidens argumentum videri et apparere potest. Iniustum enim principem a subditis suis universaliter diligi et amari impossibile est. [29] Quid de fortitudine dicemus, cum plura fortium facinorum, adversarum quoque et prosperarum rerum clara et manifesta exempla supersunt? Est enim fortitudo, ceu a Cicerone quodam loco diffinitur, «considerata periculorum susceptio et laborum perpessio»;¹²³ hoc est pericula recta ratione suscipere et adversa insuper et prospera simul equo animo tolerare proprium et precipuum fortis viri opus habetur et creditur. Et quamquam nos multa clara et evidencia fortitudinis tue exempla merito allegare possemus, uno tamen et solo et eo quidem evidentissimo contenti erimus, ex quo te et pericula recta ratione suscepisse et adversa simul atque prospera equanimitate tollerasse luce clarius apparebit. [30] Cum inclitum Apulie regnum iure adoptionis clarissime regine Iohanne Secunde in dictionem tuam – quemadmodum decebat – redigere constituisses, magnam quandam classem iam pridem preparasti, in qua una cum tribus fratribus tuis et multis aliis proceribus in Caiete portum plenis, ut dicitur, velis contendebas, ut ea urbe vel obsidione potireris vel eam potius viribus expugnares potitusque postea veluti scala quadam ad constitutionem totius regnis uteris. [31] Sed his animosis ceptis omnipotens fortuna, rerum humanarum domina et plerumque viris invida fortibus,¹²⁴ quasi invidet ita adversata est ut in hostili alterius classis congressu superareris superatusque simul cum omnibus navibus et triremibus prope Caiete portum capereris. Hanc tamen maximam omnium quas unquam audivimus adversitatem tanto et tam virili animo tolerasti, ut captivis una cum omnibus aliis et fratribus ac proceribus tuis Mediolanum perductus a Philippo Maria ea tempestate Mediolani duce ita magnis honoribus susceptus fuisti, ut non eius captivus sed potius eius ductor et dominus videreris.¹²⁵

[32] Quid plura? Cum aliquot ibi, ut fit, menses commorareris tanta et tam

¹²³ CIC., *De inv.*, II.163.

¹²⁴ An immensely famous *topos*, as is well known, from classical literature onwards. Here Manetti brings together three famous definitions of Fortune: the formula «omnipotens fortuna» echoes VERG., *Aen.*, VIII.334 («Fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile fatum»), «rerum humanarum domina» is Cicero's no less well-known definition in *Pro Marcel.* 7, and, finally, «viris invida fortibus» is a quote from SEN., *Herc. fur.*, 524.

¹²⁵ For the famous Battle of Ponza and the even better-known, surprising outcome of Alfonso's captivity (discussed in the following paragraph) an account close to Manetti's in both time and spirit is Bartolomeo Facio's. See B. FACIO, *Rerum gestarum Alfonsi regis libri*, ed. and trans. by D. PIETRAGALLA, Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso, 2004, IV.182-197, pp. 174-179. Beccadelli, too, dedicates two chapters to this battle and its 'paradoxical' aftermath in his *De factis ac dictis regis Alfonsi*: see A. BECCADELLI EL PANORMITA, *Del Fets e dits del Gran Rey Alfonso. Versió catalana del segle XV de Jordi de Centelles*, ed. by E. DURAN, Barcelona, Barcino, 1990, p. 230 (III.44: ch. titled *Fortiter*) and p. 232 (III.46, ch. titled *Constanter*). Manetti will mention again and comment on Alfonso's unexpected release from captivity after the Battle of Ponza in his oration to Callixtus III (October 1455); see BOTLEY, *Giannozzo Manetti* cit., pp. 129-156, in particular par. 20-21 of the Latin text on pp. 153-154.

immensa animi tui in tolerandis adversis magnitudo – singulari quadam humanitate, urbanitate et (11r) comitate condita – commemorato duci ita placuit itaque grata fuit ut non modo gratis te cum tuis omnibus e captivitate liberaret sed etiam ad eandem huius tui incliti et celebrati regni acquisitionem apprime exhortaretur. Tu vero paulo post relaxationem ad ea ipsa comparandi regni cepta reversus, terrestre iter assumpsisti, ut quando repugnantibus aquis votis tuis potiri nequieveras terras aggressus terrestribus quantum valebas viribus experireris. [33] Quo circa, ingentibus legionibus magnisque copiis et exercitibus comparatis, Neapolim – nobilitatem¹²⁶ urbem partim mari partim situ partim altis menibus circumvallatam et maximo quoque gallorum, qui iam dudum armatis militibus defendendi et custodiendi causa intraverant, presidio permunitam – obsidere non formidasti. Quin imo animose et magnanimiter obsedisti obsessamque mirabiliter subegisti, ceu paulo post clarius et evidentius demonstrabitur.

[34] Plura gravitatis et severitatis exempla consulto pretermittimus, ut paulo celerius ad liberalitatem et magnificentiam procedamus, quibus orationem nobis non defuturam existimarem, nisi hec ipsa breviter tractare voluissemus. Tu ab ineunte etate hactenus omni quidem tempore ita liberalis fuisti, ut aurum et argentum et totam rem pecuniariam parvifaceres vel potius floccipenderes. Crebris enim dationibus, multis magnorum beneficiorum impensionibus plurimos locupletasti et, quod mirabilius est, nemini abs te aliquid petenti unquam defuisti. Et quando interdiu re exequi non poteras, verbis et gestibus ita resarciebas ut nullum non contentum abse te recedere patereris. [35] Unde factum est ut ab hominibus tum domesticis tum peregrinis et extraneis gentibus apprime pre ceteris regibus et principibus diligaris. Nulla enim ex omnibus virtutibus reperiri potest que magis et impensius homines ad dilectionem sui trahat quam largitas; nulla que efficacius cunctos sibi conciliet quam beneficentia et liberalitas; nulla denique reperitur que mutuam inter homines benivolentiam sic conservare atque adeo amplificare existimetur. [36] Ad hanc tantam et tam egregiam liberalitatem magnificentia accedebat, que in admirabilibus edificiis construendis, in ordinandis bibliothecis, in magnis equorum, canum rapaciumque avium quasi gregibus et armentis alendis custodiendisve una cum ingenti prefectorum suorum turma vel maxime ostenditur.

[37] At hec de moralibus virtutibus hactenus dixisse sufficiat. Nunc ad intellectuales parumper ascendamus, si prius curiosis quibusdam harum tuarum laudum lectoribus, cur de temperantia et continentia tacuerimus forsitan ambigentibus et percontantibus, nonnulla breviter responderimus. Quippe id ipsum (11v) non oblivione sed consulto et de industria a nobis factum fuisse significamus. Nam si aliqua de temperantia et continentia tua diceremus ne illa ceteris scriptis nostris derogatura ac penitus et omnino fidem ablatura ob vulgatum et iam per totum pene terrarum orbem celebratum tuum in Lucretiam neapolitanam virginem Anagninam amorem primo dubitabamus. Sed inter scribendum postea

¹²⁶ The MS erroneously reads «nobilitatem». Let it be said in passing that Manetti usually prefers the adjective «nobilitatus» to «nobilis».

paulo accuratius de hoc ipso considerantes, pauca quedam potius dicere quam omnino silere maluimus, presertim cum exinde admirabile quoddam incredibile continentie exemplum vel maxime declaretur. [38] Tu vero, pro humanitate tua et quando diluendarum criminationum causa hec agimus, nobis quesumus veniam dabis si de his aliqua dixerimus que non seria et gravia sed potius levia et puerilia et a regia gravitate longe aliena videbuntur, ceu de Jove, impudicis quarundam puellarum amoribus capto, in hunc modum scribit Ovidius: «Non bene conveniunt nec in una sede morantur / maiestas at amor» et reliqua.¹²⁷ Sed ut res clarius et evidentius elucescat, ab ipsa origine paulo altius ordiemur.

[39] Cum rex Alfonsus pluribus et assiduis multorum continuatorum bellorum laboribus et periculis fatigatus ac pene maceratus esset, paulo post quam inclitum totius Apulie regnum gloriosissime simul atque felicissime in dictionem suam redegerat, Neapolim – pulcherrimam et amenissimam urbem et velut eius regni dominam ac reginam – sese contulit ibique regiam suam constituit, ut tamquam in tranquillissimo quodam et securissimo portu, maritimis fluctibus diutius hinc inde iactatus, tandem aliquando vel modicum requiesceret. [40] Atque dum variis et sonorum et cantium et corearum voluptatibus interpollatam¹²⁸ operam navaret, factum est ut ille solemnium nobilium puellarum generosorumque adolescentium celebritate – qui in terrestrem quandam paradysum indulgendi gratia convenerant – assistens, partim ut aliqua ridendi et visendi voluptate potiretur, partim ut presentia sua nonnullam puellaribus et iuvenilibus ludis auctoritatem preberet, forte in venustissimos Lucretie sue vultus acres et ardentis oculos coniceret.¹²⁹ Quod cum sepius tunc et alias postea deinceps fecisset, ita sibi placere cepit ut eam pre ceteris puellis et virginibus forma et moribus et gestibus lauda-

¹²⁷ Ov., *Met.*, II.846-847. Manetti quotes this same passage in the *Adversus Iudaeos et gentes* (Vat. Urb. Lat. 154, c. 8r).

¹²⁸ The MS adopts this spelling instead of the classical «interpolatam».

¹²⁹ According to Heinz Willi Wittschier, Manetti already mentioned Alfonso's love for Lucretia, although in a very different (that is altogether negative) light, in his *Oratio ad Senenses* (1448). See his discussion of the *Oratio congratulatoria* in WITTSCHIER, *Das Corpus* cit., pp. 120-126, esp. pp. 124-125. The passage he believes to contain an allusion to this passion is the following, where – it should be noted – the Florentine humanist is referring to Siena herself when he speaks of an «intemerata virgo» that the Aragonese king wishes to rape: «An illum a concupitis libere puelle et multarum gentium dominatricis et intemperate insuper virginis complexibus vel ardentis oculos continere vel fervidas manus abstinere dubitabit, quem pro ancillula quondam diversis hominibus famulata, pro meretricula quoque a variis olim principibus violata nimia quadam et effrenata libidine raptatum cuncta divina simul atque humana iura pervertisse ac violasse videtis?» (*ibid.*, p. 164, ll. 372-378). Manetti's dramatic description of Siena as an innocent maiden about to fall prey to the foreign, barbarous king is in keeping with both the rhetorical genre of the *laudes civitatum* and an age-old tradition that stressed this city's cult of the Virgin Mary. Finally, his presenting Alfonso as a tyrant who dares subvert «cuncta divina simul atque humana iura» borrows from Cicero's well-known condemnation of Caesar in *De off.*, I.8.26, as duly noted by Wittschier in his footnotes. This, too, was a commonplace of Florentine propaganda against the republic's political enemies, especially from Coluccio Salutati onwards.

ret; et quanto ipsam in comparatione multarum aliarum quarum turba magna et ingens erat magis considerabat quantoque acrius et subtilius singula queque sua intuebatur, tanto vehementius et efficacius continua eius intuitione oblectabatur. [41] Nam et etate iuencula (12r) et virguncula et persona ingens et forma conspicua et colore naturali et vivido ac venusta insuper gratia ita predicta apparebat, ut omnium intuentium oculos in se solam converteret conversosque mira eius visendi voluptate carpebat detinebatque. Ad hec et alia huiusmodi nature munera generis nobilitas cum tanta naturalium¹³⁰ gestuum venustate tanquam singulare quoddam ceterorum admirabilium donorum condimentum accedebat, ut ex his singulis tam formosis et postea in unum convenientibus membris quicquam nescio quid divinum potius quam humanum resultaret.

[42] Quid multa de eius inusitata pulchritudine referemus, cum heracleotes Zeusis, celeberrimus ille cunctorum sui temporis pictor, ex omnibus ceterarum venustarum puellarum formis si pulchriora queque ex singulis delegisset delectaque in unam imaginem suis liniamentis distinctam compegisset non talem futuram eius picturam ex omnibus formis ita admirabiliter compactam existimamus et credimus qualem Lucretie nostre vivam ipsius picturam propriis oculis quotidie cernimus? Quin imo et sese cum arte sua in eo certamine ab ipsa natura longe victum et superatum fuisse fateretur, quamvis in pingendo et ornando Iunonis templo, quod magno pretio a crotonatibus nescio quibus faciendum conduxerat, ex unico Helene simulachro quondam ipsam naturam in hunc modum superasset. Nam inter fingendum predictum Helene simulachrum ex multis pulchrioribus virginibus delectis et unum in locum congregatis quinque dumtaxat elegit ex quarum singulis meliora queque excerpsit atque ex his ita excerptis simulque compactis quasi vivam quandam muliebri forme imaginem sic contraxit ut ipsam naturam exinde superaret atque excelleret.¹³¹ [43] Vir enim prudentissimus et accuratissimus naturalium archanorum indagator, naturam in quorumcumque corporum formatione non omnia sua munera concedere consuevisse animadverteret, quasi si uni omnia concessisset reliqui nihil esset quod aliis postea largiretur. Ideoque si ex magna puellarum pulchrarum multitudine quinque numero venustiores delegisset, ex singulis dignioribus quibusque delectis unam formam, unam speciem, unam ideam non iniuria confici posse existimavit que nature defectus emendaret, quod Cicero in commemorata Helene pictura ipsum consecutum fuisse scribit,¹³² de quo Valerius Maximus in tercio *Factorum dictorumque memorabilium* libro loquens verba hec ponit: «Zeusis, cum Helenam pinxisset, quid de eo opere homines sensuri essent expectandum (12v) non putavit sed protinus [se ab] hos versos grecos adiecit,

¹³⁰ The MS erroneously reads «naturaliam».

¹³¹ In the following paragraph Manetti quotes from the main classical sources for this famous anecdote (see below). Another major source that he must have known is Pliny The Elder; see PLIN., *Nat. hist.*, XXXV.64. On Pliny's 'fortuna' in Manetti's time see now S. BLAKE MCHAM, *Pliny and the Artistic Culture of the Italian Renaissance. The Legacy of the "Natural History"*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2013.

¹³² Cfr. CIC., *De inv.*, II.1.1-3.

quorum latina interpretatio talis est: “Adeo ne dextre sue multum pictor arrogavit ut ea tantum forma comprehensum crederet quantum aut Leda celesti partu edere aut Homerus divino ingenio exprimere potuit”». ¹³³ At vero si idem, prestantissimus omnium sui temporis magister et princeps, nunc ab inferis resurgeret, ob excellentem et admirabilem tante venustatis exuberantiam ab hac nostra diva nimpha merito superatum iri consideremus.

[44] Quare si Lucretia nostra ita pulchra, ita formosa, ita venusta est ut dignior et pretiosior esse fingere non posset, quemadmodum supraxidimus, quis iure mirabitur si generosa Alfonsi regis natura ad amandum prona ex multis et magnis anteacte vite sue laboribus apprime fatigata exanclatisque periculis pene macerata ex illis laboriosis periculosisque tempestatibus sese erueris in dulcissimos et suavissimos huius formosissime puelle amores tanquam in quendam tranquillitatis et voluptatis portum sive volens contulerit sive repugnans et invitatus compulsus attractusque fuerit, ubi vel modicum respirare et aliquantulum requiescere posse videretur? Quemadmodum enim non bellamus ut bellemus sed ut pacem ducamus ¹³⁴ ita pariter non laboramus ut laboremus sed ut tandem aliquando ab ipsis laboribus quiescamus, quamquam nos de huiusmodi amoris qualitatibus et conditionibus sepe numero cogitantes eum non esse in humana potestate existimemus. [45] Siquidem amor est naturalis quidam appetitus quo homines vel volentes conducuntur vel inviti ad amandum eos attrahuntur qui sibi summopere placuerunt et quorum aspectibus apprime oblectantur. Stoici, ceterorum omnium philosophorum acerrimi, sapientem amatum esse dicunt et amorem conatum amicitie faciende ex pulchritudinis specie diffiniunt, ¹³⁵ cuius quantus et qualis sit furor ex eo animadvertere et considerare vel maxime licet quod ex omnibus animi perturbationibus nulla vehementior reperiri potest. Tanta est enim hec animi perturbatio, ut difficilibus remediis raroque curetur. ¹³⁶ Hec namque et huiusmodi remedia tanquam antidota quedam tali egritudini ad moveri et adhiberi consueverunt, siquidem ita egrotantes ad alia studia traduci solent vel loci mutatione, tanquam egroti non convalescentes aliquando curantur, vel novo quodam amore veterem amorem tanquam clavum clavo eiciendum putant. ¹³⁷ [46] Huiusmodi sive appetitus sive egritudo sive conatus ex egregia

¹³³ Cfr. VAL. MAX., *Fact. et dict. mem.*, III.7 ext. 3. Manetti omits to report the two Greek verses in the original, which are drawn from HOM., *Il.*, III.156-157. It should be noted that the MS erroneously adds the reading «se ab», as signaled by the use of square brackets in the body of the text. It also inserts the adjective «grecos» and the formula «quorum latina interpretatio», which are not in the original. The obvious reason for these variants is the omission of the two Homeric verses referred to above.

¹³⁴ A reference to the famous maxim in ARIST., *Eth. Nic.*, X.7 1177B. See also ARIST., *Pol.*, VII.14 1333A and CIC., *Phil.*, VII.6.19.

¹³⁵ Manetti draws this Stoic definition of love from CIC., *Tusc.*, IV.72.

¹³⁶ Again, in discussing love as the most powerful of passions Manetti relies on Cicero's *Tusculanae*; see CIC., *Tusc.*, IV.74-75.

¹³⁷ Manetti draws these basic suggestions from Ovid's *Remedia Amoris* (which had been widely popularized – among others – by Petrarch's and Boccaccio's vernacular

quadam pulchritudine in dies adauctus¹³⁸ et diurnitate quoque temporis longius progressus quandoque ita humanis mentibus imprimatur ut exinde ea impressio vel potius (13r) inustio nisi eadem vel forte maiori temporis diurnitate avelli amoverique non possit. Quod Alfonso regi iam dudum evenisse et contigisse vidimus. Atqui si cuiquam tantum ac tam famosum regem ardentibus tenere puelle amoribus captum forte admirabile videretur, certe hoc longe mirabilius putabit ut a tam concupitis et tam ardentibus cupiditatibus aliquot annos sese continere potuerit. [47] Quod Alexander Macedo, ob rerum a se gestarum magnitudinem cognomento Magnus, efficere non posse ratus, (nisi) a visis duntaxat pulchris virginibus abstineret, puellas Darii regis filias, que omnium formosissime predicabantur, in conspectum suum venire vetuit ubi Darium bello superaverat easque prelio victor captivas habuerat;¹³⁹ turpe esse ratus eos qui viros vicerant a mulieribus superari, domestico quodam Philippi patris exemplo admonitus, quem usque adeo ardentibus cuiusdam thessale mulieris amoribus captum fuisse scribunt, ut Olimpias eius uxor de philtris et veneficiis non inmerito suspicaretur. [48] Unde de ea sese ulcisci cupiens, in conspectum suum adduci iussit ac cum sic adductam etiam atque etiam intueretur, dici non potest quantum pre nimia venustate placuerit; tantum enim idcirco sibi placuit grataque fuit, ut statim uno aspectu ex infensa et inimica benivolam et amicam reddiderit. Proinde paulo post ad ipsam conversa, «Vadant»,¹⁴⁰ inquit, «calumnie in malam rem; tua nanque amatoria pocula non incantationibus, ut aiunt, sed gratie amenitate condita sunt!». ¹⁴¹ [49] Multos insuper alios excellentissimos viros fuisse constat qui incontinentiam veriti pulchras puellas videre non sustinuerunt et plerosque eorum qui aspicere voluerunt turpiter prolapsos extitisse novimus; cuius rei, quamquam multa nobilitata exempla reperiantur, pauca tamen – partim domestica partim externa partim sacra, regia duntaxat et imperatoria et ad patriarchas, prophetas et sanctos viros pertinentia – recensebimus, ex quibus quanta et qualis huius amoris vis fuerit plane et aperte declarabimus.

[50] Aruns, Tarquini cognomento Superbi regis filius, sive Lucretie romane illius castissime mulieris amoribus captus sive potius mira eius pulchritudine allectus et attractus cum pluribus ad ipsam cognoscendam exhortationibus atque persuasionibus usus esset ac nihil profecisset, in tantam demum insaniam prorupit ut eam violaret.¹⁴² Inde et ipsius violate adulterateque primo volunta-

poetry) as well as from Cic., *Tusc.*, IV.74-75. In particular, for the remedies listed here see Ov., *Rem. am.*, 725-730 and Cic., *Tusc.*, IV.75 («clavum clavo eiciendum putant»).

¹³⁸ The MS erroneously reads «adauctus».

¹³⁹ Cfr. PLUT., *Alex.*, 21.

¹⁴⁰ The MS erroneously reads «Valeant».

¹⁴¹ Cfr. PLUT., *Coniug. praec.*, 23 (*Moralia*, II.141B-C). Manetti already reported this anecdote in the *Laudatio Agnetis Numantinae* (1439); see LAWRENCE, *Un episodio cit.*, p. 155 (par. 36), where the editor omits to indicate the source.

¹⁴² For the well-known episode of Lucretia, Manetti must have been acquainted

ria et spontanea mors et paulo post Tarquini patris predicti Aruncis muliebris pudicitie violatoris e regno cum privatione deiectio ac denique illius ipsius una cum tota sobole sua exactio atque expulsio et (13v) ultima regii status eversio subsecuta est. [51] Cesarem impudicitie et adulteriorum flagrasse infamia quicunque Suetonium legerit dubitare non poterit; cuius verba hec sunt: «Pronum et sumptuosum in libidines fuisse constans opinio est pluresque illustres feminas corrupisse, in quibus Postumia Servii Sulp(ici)ii, Lolliam Auli Gabinii, Tertullam¹⁴³ M. Crassi et Muciam Gn.¹⁴⁴ Pompei. Sed ante alias dilexit M. Bruti mulierem, Serviliam».¹⁴⁵ Et paulo post ita subdit: «Dilexit et reginas, inter quas Eunoem mauram, Bogodis uxorem, cui maritoque eius plurima immensa-que tribuit, et maxime Cleopatram, cum qua et convivia primam in lucem sepe protraxit et eadem nave thalamo¹⁴⁶ pene Ethiopia tenus Egyptum penetravit, nisi exercitus sequi recusasset. Quam denique accitam in urbem non nisi maximis honoribus premiisque auctam remisit filiumque natum appellari suo nomine passus est, quem quidem nonnulli grecorum similem quoque Cesari et incessu et forma tradiderunt».¹⁴⁷ [52] Octavianus Augustus Liviam Drusi filiam usque adeo dilexit ut eam, licet matrimonio Tiberii Neronis coniunctam atque forte pregnantem, e thalamo viri in domum suam abduxit atque uxorem accepit postquam cum Scribonia, prima eius coniuge, divortium fecerat.¹⁴⁸ Tiberius tanta amoris libidine flagravit ut intra multa alia eius nefanda flagitia dum sacrificeret, pulchra quadam nescio cuius facie antea captus, vix re divina peracta flagitiosas manus abstinere nequiverit.¹⁴⁹ C. Galicula nonne tanta luxuria exarsit ut Liviam Orestillam, C. Pisoni nubentem, cum ad officium et ipse venisset ad sese deduci imperavit intraque paucos dies repudiavit?¹⁵⁰ Lolliam Paulinam, C. Memmio consularis exercitus regenti nuptam, facta mentione avie eius

with at least the following sources: LIV., *Ab urb. cond.*, I.58; OV., *Fast.*, II.825-832; AUG., *Civ. Dei*, I.19, and Salutati's *Declamatio Lucretiae*. On the latter text see the entry by M. LAUREYS in *Coluccio Salutati e l'invenzione dell'umanesimo*, ed. by T. DE ROBERTIS, G. TANTURLI, S. ZAMPONI, Florence, Mandragora, 2008, pp. 191-192 and the bibliography reported therein.

¹⁴³ What seems to be a later hand added an 'i', thus unduly changing the name to «Tertulliam».

¹⁴⁴ The MS erroneously reads «C.».

¹⁴⁵ SUET., *Caes.*, 50. Manetti however omits the following passage between «Pompeii» and «Sed ante»: «Nam certe Pompeio et a Curionibus patre et filio et a multis exprobratum est, quod cuius causa post tres liberos exegisset uxorem et quem gemens "Aegisthum" appellare consuisset eius postea filiam, potentiae cupiditate, in matrimonium recepisset».

¹⁴⁶ The MS erroneously reads «thalamoque».

¹⁴⁷ SUET., *Caes.*, 52. In this citation Manetti omits the formula «ut Naso scripsit» right after «plurima immensa-que tribuit».

¹⁴⁸ Cfr. SUET., *Aug.*, 62.

¹⁴⁹ Cfr. SUET., *Tib.*, 44.

¹⁵⁰ Cfr. SUET., *Cal.*, 25.

ut quondam pulcherrime subito ex provincia evocavit ac perductam a marito coniunxit sibi, interdicto cuiusquam in perpetuum coitu.¹⁵¹ Cesoniam insuper, neque facie insigni neque etate integra matremque iam ex alio viro trium filiarum sed luxurie ac lascivie predite, et ardentius et constantius amavit ut sepe clamide, pelta galeaque¹⁵² ornata ac iuxta adequitatem militibus ostenderit; amicis etiam nudam, uxorio nomine, demonstrare dignatus est.¹⁵³ [53] Quid plura? Ita eam deperibat ut amatoriiis philtris incantatus fuisse putaretur, quemadmodum a Suetonio scribitur, cuius verba hec sunt: «Creditor potionatus a Cesonia uxore amatorio quidem medicamento, sed quod in furorem verteret. Incitabatur¹⁵⁴ insomnio maxime; neque enim plus quam tribus nocturnis horis quiescebat, nec his quidem placida quiete sed pavida miris rerum imaginibus» et que sequuntur.¹⁵⁵ [54] Claudius huius (14r) amatorie perturbationis nequam expers fuit. Siquidem quibusdam Agrippine neptis sue, quoniam Germanici fratris filia erat, illecebris blanditiisque plectus in tantum eius amorem incidit ut cum de Petine et Lollie ac Partine – quas diversis causibus repudiaverat – repetitione cogitaret illico eius cogitationibus occurreret ac proximo senatu censi decernique curavit quatenus sese ad ducendum eam uxorem cogere, quasi rei publice maxime interesset, darentque ceteris veniam talium coniugiorum que ad id tempus incesta habebantur.¹⁵⁶ [55] Nero, quamvis suapte natura ferus ac moribus immanis et barbaris esset, huiusmodi tamen dulci simul atque amara egritudine carere non potuit. Nam et Rubrie virgini vestali vim intulit; Actem etiam libertam nescio quam paulum abfuit quin iusto matrimonio sibi coniungeret summissisque consularibus viris qui regio genere ortam peirearent.¹⁵⁷ [56] Sergius Galba, tam et si senio confectus videretur, nihilominus sese continere non valuit quin turpibus amoribus inquinaretur, quos honestatis causa perpetuo silentio submergere et obruere constituimus.¹⁵⁸ [57] Otho libertinam aulicam gratiosam quo efficacius coleret etiam diligere simulavit, quamvis anum ac pene decrepitam.¹⁵⁹ Item Pompeiam Sabinam tunc adhuc amicam eius abductam marito demandatamque interim sibi nuptiarum spe decepti nec

¹⁵¹ Cfr. Suet., *Cal.*, 25. A comparison with the source suggests that the text of Manetti's oration may be incomplete here. One would expect to find a formula similar to Salust's «brevique missam fecit» right before «interdicto cuiusquam in perpetuum coitu».

¹⁵² The MS reads «clamide peltaque galea». We have preferred to change it to the reading reported in the text above as being more common, closer to Manetti's style, and identical with the classical source quoted here.

¹⁵³ Cfr. Suet., *Cal.*, 25.

¹⁵⁴ Initially «Incitabant», then corrected to «Incitabatur», probably by the scribe himself.

¹⁵⁵ Suet., *Cal.*, 50.

¹⁵⁶ Cfr. Suet., *Claud.*, 26.

¹⁵⁷ Cfr. Suet., *Ner.*, 28.

¹⁵⁸ Cfr. Suet., *Gal.*, 22 on Galba's homosexuality.

¹⁵⁹ Cfr. Suet., *Oth.*, 2.

corrupisse contentus adeo dilexit ut ne rivalem quidem Neronem equo tulerit animo.¹⁶⁰

[58] Unum in hac regum imperatorumque caterva nec imperatorium nec regium sed egregium quiddam et penitus inusitatum taciti preterire non possumus, quod quidem quanta et quam vehemens sit huius amoris violentia manifeste testatur. P. Vitellius eques romanus, a Vitelliis originem trahens ac rerum Augusti procurator,¹⁶¹ inter quatuor amplissime dignitatis filios unum nomine Lucium habuit, qui ex consulatu Syrie prepositus inter eius gesta memoratu digna Artabanum quandam parthorum regem summis artibus non modo ad colloquium sed etiam ad veneranda legionum signa pellexit.¹⁶² Mox cum Claudio principe duos insuper ordinarios consulatus censuramque gessit; curam quoque imperii sustinuit absente eo in expeditione britannica et quamvis innocens et industrius esset, amore tamen libertine usque adeo infamis fuit ut salivis eius melle commixtis – ne clam quidem aut raro sed quotidie ac palam – arterias et fauces pro remedio foveret.¹⁶³ Aulus Vitellius scelestis et flagitiosis amoribus ita capiebatur ut plura simul scorta in deliciis habere non extimesceret.¹⁶⁴ [59] Vespasianus, post Flavie Domitille uxoris sue excessum, Cenidem – Antonie libertam et a manu – dilectam quondam sibi revocavit in contubernium (14v) habuitque etiam imperator pene iuste uxoris loco.¹⁶⁵ Titus cognomine paterno – amor ac delitiae generis humani, ut inquit Suetonius –¹⁶⁶ ob insignem Berenicis cuiusdam regine amorem ei ipsi nuptias obtulisse et promisisse fertur.¹⁶⁷ Domitianus Domitiam uxorem sua ita adamavit ut intra breve tempus impatiens discidium quasi afflagitante populo in imperatorium cubiculum reduceret.¹⁶⁸ Ac ne plura de domesticis imperatoribus et regibus – brevitatis causa – dicamus, ad externa et peregrina magnorum principum exempla parumper accedamus.

[60] Agammenon,¹⁶⁹ principum grecorum rex atque imperator, Criseidis amoribus ita astrictus detinebatur, ut perniciosam quandam totius exercitus interitionem magis expectare quam eam e manibus suis dimittere ac patri restituere pateretur, quemadmodum a Calcante, maximo illius temporis vate, quotidie admonebatur.¹⁷⁰ [61] Paris, Priami troianorum regis filius, tante Helene

¹⁶⁰ Cfr. SUET., *Oth.*, 3.

¹⁶¹ Cfr. SUET., *Vit.*, 2.

¹⁶² Cfr. SUET., *Vit.*, 2.

¹⁶³ Cfr. SUET., *Vit.*, 2.

¹⁶⁴ Cfr. SUET., *Vit.*, 3.

¹⁶⁵ Cfr. SUET., *Vesp.*, 3. Note that the MS erroneously reads «Antonii» instead of «Antonie».

¹⁶⁶ SUET., *Tit.*, 1.

¹⁶⁷ Cfr. SUET., *Tit.*, 7.

¹⁶⁸ Cfr. SUET., *Dom.*, 3.

¹⁶⁹ Such is the spelling in the MS instead of «Agamemnon».

¹⁷⁰ Cfr. HOM., *Il.*, I.8-187. As is well known, the story is also reported – among others – by Boccaccio in his *Filostrato*.

Menelai uxoris venustate carpebatur¹⁷¹ ut eam rapere atque e Grecia usque in Troiam, patriam suam, navibus advehere atque in propriam domum introducere auderet; unde et ingens et diuturnum inter grecos troianosque bellum ac demum ultima teucrorum status eversio subsecuta sunt.¹⁷² [62] Quid de Achille, homerico virorum omnium fortissimo, referemus? Quantum namque Briseidam suam adamuerit ex hoc animadvertere et considerare licet, quod ex ingenti eius sibi ablato dolore a pugna et a prelio cum troianis quasi prevalentibus diutius abstinerit et cum Agamemnone quoque – deliciarum suarum raptore quamvis et rege et unico tocius exercitus imperatore – et contumeliis contendere et armis pugnare non recusaverit.¹⁷³ [63] Anthiocus,¹⁷⁴ Seleuci Syrorum regis filius, nonne usque adeo Stratonicam eius novercam deperiisse scribitur ut in seivissimam quandam ac maximam egritudinem inciderit, e qua profecto non evasisset nisi paterna caritas et indulgentia ei pene moribundo et iam quasi in extremo mortis articulo constituto libera proprie uxoris concessione ac donatione celerius favisset, ubi causam egritudinis sue ex vehementi amoris perturbatione provenisse rescivit?¹⁷⁵ [64] Massinissa, Numidarum rex, miris Sophonisbe¹⁷⁶ sue ardoribus carpebatur.¹⁷⁷ Et ne in alia regum imperatorumque exempla progrediamur, que pene infinita sunt, paulisper ad philosophos veniamus.

[65] Nam, ut de ceteris sileamus, Platonem et Aristotelem, Theophrastum et Crantorem multosque alios, quos enumerare nimis longum esset, muliebribus cupiditatibus flagrasse et exarsisse legimus. Unum tamen de Seneca nostro taciti preterire non possumus, quod ipse de singularibus et precipuis eius erga (15r) Paulinam uxorem suam amoribus confiteri non dubitavit. Ita enim ipsam dilexisse scribit, ut eam supra humanum modum adamasse fateatur, quemad-

¹⁷¹ The MS erroneously reads «carpiebatur». I find it more likely that the right reading be «carpebatur» instead of «capiebatur». See also below, par. 64, where Manetti uses the verb “carpere” in the same context.

¹⁷² The obvious reference is once again to Homer’s *Iliad*.

¹⁷³ Cfr. HOM., *Il.*, I.188-244. This episode, too, makes up the background to Boccaccio’s *Filostrato*.

¹⁷⁴ Spelled this way in the MS instead of «Antiochus».

¹⁷⁵ The main classical sources for this are Appianus, Plutarch, Lucian, and Valerius Maximus. Leonardo Bruni relied on them for his successful short story in the vernacular; see N. MARCELLI, *La ‘Novella di Seleuco e Antioco’*. *Introduzione, testo e commento*, «Interpres», 22, 2003, pp. 7-183 (with a discussion of the Aretine humanist’s use of classical sources on pp. 8-26). In addition to Bruni’s short story, Manetti was certainly acquainted with the accounts in PLUT., *Demetr.*, 38.1-10 and VAL. MAX., *Fact. et dict.*, V.7 ext. 1.

¹⁷⁶ The MS erroneously reads «Sophonibe».

¹⁷⁷ Cfr. LIV., *Ab urb. cond.*, XXX.12-15. Petrarch, as is well known, relates the whole story in his *De viris illustribus*, XXI.6.53-86 (life of Scipio Africanus, pp. 227-237 in the edition by G. MARTELOTTO, Florence, Sansoni, 1964) and devotes a large section of his *Africa*’s fifth book to it (*Afr.*, V.12 ff.).

modum in eius vita quam ad predictum Alfonsum nostrum scriptam transmisi-
mus adnotasse meminimus.¹⁷⁸

[66] Sed quid philosophos connumeramus, cum plerosque prophetas, patriarchas ac sanctos reges nequaquam hac animi perturbatione caruisse cognoverimus? Adam, ut a prothoplausto nostro initium summamus, ut Eve uxori sue complaceret ac gratificaretur (usque adeo diligebat!) divinum illud de cibo vetito mandatum sprevisse et contempsisse fertur.¹⁷⁹ Et non multo post, cum homines super terram multiplicari cepissent ac filios procreassent, videntes filii Dei filias hominum quod essent pulchre, ex omnibus eas sibi uxores acceperunt quas pre amore delegerant. Unde generale illud et primum diluvium, subita excandescentis Dei ira, provenisse scribitur.¹⁸⁰ [67] Pharaon, egyptiorum rex, quemadmodum in *Geneseos* libro legitur, Saran Abrahe uxorem antequam videret – mirabile dictu – ex certa quadam proprie pulchritudinis suorum principum relatione ita adamavit ut a viro abductam in regiam attraheret atque multa ac magnifica dona Abrahe ob suam venustatem largiretur; et nisi pluribus diversarum plagarum generibus divinitus punitus fuisset, profecto a stupro non abstinisset.¹⁸¹ Abraham post mortem Sare legitime coniugis, licet Agar ancillam antea cognovisset,¹⁸² Ceturam tamen nescio quam uxorem accepit eamque ita tenere diligebat ut quamquam senio conficeretur plures tamen exinde liberos suscepit.¹⁸³ [68] Ysaac Rebeccam eius coniugem tanta cupiditate complexus est, ut eam in matris sue iam premortue tabernaculum introduceret et acerbum dolorem qui ex morte eius acciderat mira dulcedine temperaret.¹⁸⁴ Jacob de Bersabe usque in Mesopotamiam Syrie ut inde uxorem acciperet profectus, clam Laban futuro socero ita convenit ut sibi septem continuos annos pro Rachel minore eius filia famularetur, quam ex mutua utriusque conventionem post fidem ac diuturnum famulatum uxorem accepturus erat. Proinde tantum temporis servivit quod et si longum esset parvissimum tamen paucorum dierum spacium pre amoris magnitudine videbatur.¹⁸⁵ Cumque Liam sororem pro Rachel dolose a socero accepisset, totidem iterati famulatus annos ut optatis dilecte uxoris nuptiis potiretur prioribus septem adiecit.¹⁸⁶ [69] Sichen, filius Emor evei princeps terre illius, ita Dinam, unicam Jacob filiam, dilexit ut eam virgi-

¹⁷⁸ Cfr. MANETTI, *Biographical Writings* cit., p. 250 par. 16 (*Life of Seneca*), where the author refers to SEN., *Ad Luc.*, CIV.1-3.

¹⁷⁹ Cfr. *Gen.* 3:1-7. All references to the Vulgate in these notes are based on the following edition: *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, ed. by R. GRAYSON, R. WEBER et alii, Stuttgart, Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994.

¹⁸⁰ Cfr. *Gen.* 6:1-7.

¹⁸¹ Cfr. *Gen.* 12:10-20.

¹⁸² Cfr. *Gen.* 16:1.

¹⁸³ Cfr. *Gen.* 25:1-2.

¹⁸⁴ Cfr. *Gen.* 24:67.

¹⁸⁵ Cfr. *Gen.* 29:18-20.

¹⁸⁶ Cfr. *Gen.* 29:25-30.

nem intemeratam et intactam opprimeret; quo facto patri suo persuasit ut duris quibusdam et asperis conditionibus pro accipienda uxore acquiesceret. Nam et primo Jacob et filiis suis sponte obtulit (15v) ut dotem auferent, munera postulerent et quecumque postulassent libentissime reportarent.¹⁸⁷ [70] Quid plura? Cum israelite huiusmodi coniugium utpote nefarium et illicitum renuere ac repudiare dissimularent, tandem Emor et Sichen eo usque conduxerunt ut omnes populos suos gentiles ac barbaros iudeorum ritu – incredibile dictu – circumciderent. Talem nanque dure et aspere circumcisionis oblationem ita patri et filio placuisse perhibetur, ut quod offerebatur amans adolescens differre noluerit, quin imo quod petebatur illico explevisse dicitur. Valde enim, ut scribitur, puellam adamabat.¹⁸⁸ [71] Ruben, primogenitus Jacob, nisi strictis concubine patris sui amoribus captus fuisset, quonam modo ullo unquam tempore duci potuisset ut cum ea contra nature iura concubisset?¹⁸⁹ Moyses, prophetarum maximus, et si tanta omnipotens Dei gratia refulgeret ut ipsum facie ad faciem videre et intueri mereretur, quando tamen ex Egypto usque Ethiopiam magnis cum exercitibus perrexit, mutuis cuiusdam filie regis ardoribus captus eam sibi matrimonio coniunxit, quod ipse in libro *Numerorum* his verbis innuere et significare videtur, ubi ita inquit: «Locuta est Maria ad Aaron contra Moysen propter uxorem ethiopissam» et reliqua.¹⁹⁰

[72] Vir quidam levita, cum coniugem suam vehementer amaret, mira eius pulchritudinem delinitus conquerebatur quod non similiter ab illa amaretur atque huiusmodi lites ob passionem amoris inter eos sepe numero oriebantur. Unde ad extremum mulier ob nimiam pulchritudinem indignabunda ac propterea marito infensa ad parentes confugit. Vir autem pre amoribus furens repentinam amate uxoris abitionem equo animo ferre ac sustinere non poterat. Proinde ad soceros illico accurrit et paulo post litibus compositis uxorem recuperavit ac cum ea in patriam remeabat.¹⁹¹ [73] Cum igitur Gabaam applicuisset mulierem formosissimam ab adolescentibus beniamitis visam et demum violatam fuisse legimus. Non multo post ipsa vehementia doloris exarmata interiit. Quod vir suus usque adeo moleste tulit, ut eius cadaver gladio dilacerans in duodecim membra partiretur atque unum quodque per singulas quasque tribus ita distribue-

¹⁸⁷ Cfr. *Gen.* 34:1-12.

¹⁸⁸ Cfr. *Gen.* 34:14-19.

¹⁸⁹ Cfr. *Gen.* 35:22 and *I Chr.* 5:1. But it is also likely that Manetti here has in mind Ruben's testament from the *Old Testament Apocrypha*, a text he used both for his *Life of Nicholas V* and the *Adversus Iudaeos et gentes*; see, respectively, R. FUBINI, *Ancora sul "Testamento" di Niccolò V: modelli biblici e parabiblici nella «vita» di G. Manetti. Echi di re Salomone e dei «Testamenti dei dodici patriarchi», in Dignitas et excellentia hominis cit., pp. 189-201 and S. U. BALDASSARRI, *Conferme e novità sull'Adversus Iudaeos et gentes di Giannozzo Manetti*, «Letteratura Italiana Antica», 14, 2013 (forthcoming).*

¹⁹⁰ *Num.* 12:1. The Vulgate reads: «Locutaque est Maria et Aaron contra Moysen propter uxorem eius aethiopissam». Most likely, the reading "ad" instead of "et" in the MS is a scribal error.

¹⁹¹ Cfr. *Iudic.* 19:1-10.

retur ut unaqueque propriam portiunculam suam susciperet; et ad extremum pluribus predictarum particularum latoribus plane aperteque commisit ut auctores talis mortis proderent et tantam quoque crudelitatem cunctis tribus indicarent.¹⁹² [74] Proinde israelite de sevo et inhumano facinore violento flagitio condito certiores facti ira simul atque indignatione commoti adversus gabaonitas, ulciscendi gratia, arma sumere atque structis aciebus, non sine (16r) quadringentis virorum milibus, congregari et dimicare non dubitarent. Et quamquam in primo congressu duo et viginti israelitarum milia inter pugnandum occubissent, in secundo tamen prelio super viginti gabaonitarum milia omnes ad unum, sexcentis duntaxat fundibulariis exceptis, mirabile dictum, ceciderunt.¹⁹³

[75] Quid de Sansone, virorum omnium robustissimo, dicemus? Non ne et ipse – quamvis vinum et siceram, nazareorum more, non biberet –¹⁹⁴ tanto tamen mulieris cuiusdam philistine amore raptatus est ut eam, quamquam incircumcisam, contra divina iudaice legis precepta uxorem acciperet?¹⁹⁵ Quo facto, paulo post Dalidam puellam mirum in modum adamavit, quin imo usque adeo deperit, ut exinde penitus insaniret atque omne sibi pectoris sui arcanum revelaret. Unde ab ea postea deceptus in philistinorum hostium¹⁹⁶ suorum manus calamitose et mirabiliter incidit. Qui quidem captum primo oculis privaverunt, ferreis deinde catenis vinctum molere fecerunt.¹⁹⁷ Magna itaque ipse tantarum iniuriarum et contumeliarum ira et indignatione commotus, sese ulcisci statuit; proinde duabus columnis¹⁹⁸ innixus, quibus ingens cuiusdam per id tempus convivii domus nitebatur, ita conquassavit ut eas quasi radicitus evelleret atque exinde tota domus funditus rueret. Unde factum est ut omnes assistentes ac diem festum celebrantes subita quadam et improvisa ruina una cum auctore opprimerentur.¹⁹⁹

[76] Amon, primogenitus David, mira Thamar sororis sue pulchritudine captus tanto sui ipsius desiderio movebatur ut iam propterea graviter egrotare inciperet atque cum ipsa illi forte iacenti sorbitiunculas in cibum afferret, remotis arbitris, oportuno tempore violavit, quod biennio post violente necis sue causa fuisse traditur.²⁰⁰ Nam ab Absalon, vitiate virginis germano, ob ingentem illius stupri indignationem, simulato opipare convivio interemptum est.²⁰¹ [77] Olofernes, magnis exercitibus Nabucodonosor assiriorum regis prefectus, primo Iudith

¹⁹² Cfr. *Iudic.* 19:25-30.

¹⁹³ Cfr. *Iudic.* 20:1-47.

¹⁹⁴ Cfr. *Iudic.* 13:4, 7 and 14.

¹⁹⁵ Cfr. *Iudic.* 14:1-3.

¹⁹⁶ The scribe erroneously repeats «hostium», which is then crossed out.

¹⁹⁷ Cfr. *Iudic.* 16:4-21.

¹⁹⁸ «calumnis» in the MS.

¹⁹⁹ Cfr. *Iudic.* 16:24-30.

²⁰⁰ Cfr. *II Sam.* 13:1-14.

²⁰¹ Cfr. *II Sam.* 13:23-29.

hebreë virginis aspectu ita incaluit ut in suum cubiculum paulo post, cognoscendi causa, adduceret. Unde, cum ambo soli remansissent, magnanima et generosa puella imperatorem dormitantem gladio aggressa capite truncavit.²⁰² [78] Assuerus rex, quem Sacra Scriptura ab India usque in Ethiopiam super centum ac viginti septem provincias regnasse tradit,²⁰³ Hester iudeam privati cuiusdam hominis filiam usque adeo dilexit ut pro Vasthi reginam, quam prius ob magnam eius pulchritudinem apprime adamaverat, regnare preciperet et postquam eam in regno constituerat reginamque creaverat ita sibi obsecutus est (16v) ut dimidiam ingentissimi et maximi regni sui partem sepenumero offerret atque Mardocheum patrum suum ex infimo et privato ad altissimum dignitatis gradum extolleret; et Amon insuper, quem ceteris aule sue principibus preposuerat, ut Hester sue morem gereret eo patibulo suspendi iuberet quod ille predicto Mardocheo antea preparaverat. Quid multa? Non ne iudeis, quibus admodum infensus erat, Hester sue contemplatione non solum pepercit sed in cunctis eius provinciis ipsos ceteris proceribus preferret?

[79] Duo senes iudei iudices anni illius excellentes ac magne auctoritatis viri cum Susannam, Helchie filiam et Ioachim cuiusdam ditissimi hominis coniugem, in pomerio viri spatiandi gratia deambulantem vidissent confestim in concupiscentiam suam ita exarserunt ut post multiplices persuasiones variasque blanditias super eam – precibus suis assentiri vel maxime recusantem – violandi et vitiandi causa irruerunt.²⁰⁴ At illa, tantam flagitiosorum senum violentiam equo animo ferre non valens, totum magnis clamoribus pomerium replevit. Unde multis – ut fit – concurrentibus senes de stupro insimulati quamquam falso se defenderent, rei tandem veritate comperta, quemadmodum meruerant ultimo supplicio damnati sunt. [80] David, iudeorum rex, unica Bersabee pulcherrime mulieris visione ita inflammatus est ut sese continere non potuerat. Sed ita fecit itaque operatus est ut cum ea sive volente sive invita concubuerit. Hec enim sacri textus verba sunt: «Dum hec agerentur, accidit quadam die ut surgeret David de strato suo post meridiem et ambularet in solarium domus regie viditque mulierem se lavantem ex adverso super solarium suum. Erat autem mulier pulchra valde. Misit ergo rex et requisivit que esset mulier nuntiatumque est ei quod esset Bersabee filia Helchie, uxor Urie ethei. Missis itaque David nuntiis, tulit eam, que cum ingressa esset ad illum, dormivit cum ea statimque sanctificata est ab immunditia et reversa est domum suam. Concepto fetu mittensque nuntiavit David et ait: “Concepit”. Misit autem David ad Ioab dicens: “Mitte ad me Uriam etheum”». ²⁰⁵ Et paulo post ita dicitur: «Scripsit David epistolam

²⁰² Cfr. *Iudit.* 11:1-13.

²⁰³ Cfr. *Esth.* 1:1. For this whole paragraph see *Esth.* 2:1-8:17.

²⁰⁴ For the whole episode of Susanna reported in this paragraph see *Dan.* 13:1-62.

²⁰⁵ II *Sam.* 11:2-6. There are only small, negligible variants from the Vulgate text both here and in the following quote from II *Sam.* On Manetti's use of the Vulgate see now S. U. BALDASSARRI, *Riflessioni preliminari sulla traduzione manettiana del “Nuovo Testamento”*, «Journal of Italian Translation», 8.1, 2013, pp. 11-29.

ad Ioab misitque per manum Urie, scribens in epistola: "Pone Uriam ex adverso belli ubi fortissimum est prelium et derelinque eum ut percussus intereat". Igitur cum Ioab obsideret urbem posuit Uriam in loco ubi fortissimos viros esse noverat egressisque viri de civitate bellabant adversus Ioab et ceciderunt de populo servorum David et mortuus est etiam Urias.²⁰⁶

[81] Quid de Salomone eius filio dicemus, cuius adhuc (17r) per universum terrarum orbem tantum est in sapientia nomen ut solus per antonomasiam, quemadmodum grece dicitur, sapiens appelletur? Nonne impudicis plurimarum mulierum amoribus ita captus fuit ut dilectarum puellarum idola sepenumero adoraret? In quarto enim *Regum* verba hec ponuntur: «Rex autem Salomon adamavit mulieres alienigenas multas. Filiam quoque pharaonis, moabitidas et amonitidas, idumeas et sidoneas, etheas de gentibus super quibus dixit Dominus filiis Israhel: "Non ingrediemini ad eas nec de illis egredientur ad vos. Certissime enim avertent corda vestra ut sequamini deos earum"».²⁰⁷ [82] His itaque copulatus est rex Salomon ardentissimo amore fueruntque ei uxores quasi regine septingente et concubine trecente et averterunt mulieres cor eius.²⁰⁸ Cumque iam esset senex depravatum est cor suum per mulieres, ut sequeretur deos alienos; nec erat cor eius perfectum cum Domino Deo suo sicut cor David patris eius sed colebat Salomon Astartem deam sydoniorum et Chamos deum moabitarum et Moloch idolum amonitarum; fecitque Salomon quod non placuerat coram Domino et non adimplevit ut sequeretur Dominum sicut David pater eius. Tunc edificavit Salomon fanum Chamos idolo moab in monte qui est circa Hierusalem et Moloch idolo filiorum Amon atque in hunc modum fecit universis uxoribus suis alienigenis que adolebant thura et imolabant diis suis.²⁰⁹

[83] Predictis claris, celebratis veteribus exemplis unum duntaxat celeberrimum ex Novo Testamento sumptum et excerptum adhibebimus. Herodes Herodiadem fratris uxorem ita diligebat ut eam e fraterno thalamo contra nature iura in cubiculum suum adduceret.²¹⁰ De quo quidem nefando stupro cum a Iohanne Baptista plurimum redargueretur, eiusmodi redarguitionem moleste ferebat atque in eo flagitio veluti immunda sus in luti volutabro continuo iacebat. Paulo post, cum filie commemorate Herodiadis in regio convivio quod die natalis sui quotannis de more celebrabatur generose admodum saltanti ac propterea sibi admodum placenti quecunque postulasset, etiam si dimidium regni pe-

²⁰⁶ II *Sam.* 11:14-17.

²⁰⁷ III *Reg.* 11:1-2. The Vulgate reads: «Rex autem Salomon amavit mulieres alienigenas multas; filiam quoque Pharaonis et Moabitidas et Ammanitidas, Idumeas et Sidonias et Cheththeas, de gentibus super quibus dixit Dominus filiis Israhel: "Non ingrediemini ad eas neque de illis ingredientur ad vestras. Certissime enim avertent corda vestra ut sequamini deos earum"».

²⁰⁸ Cfr. III *Reg.* 11:3.

²⁰⁹ Cfr. III *Reg.* 11:4-8.

²¹⁰ For the death of John the Baptist reported in this paragraph the obvious New Testament sources Manetti alludes to are *Matthew* 14:1-11 and *Mark* 6:14-28.

teret, sese daturum polliceretur atque illi meretricule²¹¹ pretiosissimum Iohannis Baptiste sanctissimi viri caput efflagitaret, confestim sevis et inhumanis postulationibus suis temere nimis ac crudeliter acquievit atque Iohannem ipsum in carcere decollari imperavit caputque in disco quodam coram nobilibus convivis allatum puelle dari et exhiberi curavit et voluit.

[84] Multos preterea alios principes, imperatores ac doctrina et nobilitate prestantes viros, Alfonso clarissimo aragonum rege duntaxat excepto, connumerare (17v) ac recensere possemus qui variis pulchrarum mulierum amoribus capti sese continere non potuerunt quin concupitis – dum valerent – dulcissime Veneris voluptatibus potirentur. Que quidem voluptas in rei amate fruiione tanta habetur ut cunctis quaruncunque oblectationum generibus longe preferatur, siquidem hoc quaecunque est iocundissimum quiddam ac suavissimum omnium predicatur atque usque adeo voluptuosum iure existimatur et creditur ut a Platone in eius *Politia* amantes coire ob nimiam voluptatem propterea severis constitutionibus prohibeatur, quoniam ex superflua quadam ac mira coeundi suavitate titillati amantes nimirum amentes efficerentur.²¹²

[85] Sed nimiam longitudinem veriti, de his ipsis – poetis omissis – hactenus dixisse sufficiat. Poete enim carminibus suis amori tantum tribuebant ut Venerem et Cupidinem in celis collocarent; tales ac tantos deos efficerent ut non modo Theseus et Peritoum, Iasonem et Herculem reliquosque argonautas et heroas superarent sed panas quoque liceos, satiros et faunos ceterosque semideos gloriosissime vincerent. Et quod mirabilius est, Mercurium, Apollinem, Neptunum,²¹³ Martem ac denique Iovem ita ab eis superatos victosque fuisse tradunt ut de illis publice triumpharent. [86] Inter cetera nanque preclara ac nobilitata predictorum deorum gesta memoratu dignissima plures de reliquis diis pharetrati Cupidinis triumphos commentantur et celebrant. Iovem enim ante quemdam aureatum predicti Cupidinis triumphantis currum catena aurea magna semideorum deorumque comitante caterva alligatum inducunt.²¹⁴

[87] Sed hec et cetera huiusmodi, ne longiores sumus, impresentiarum omitamus. De his nanque rebus forte alias oportunitus conscribentes separatum librum componemus, quem *De honestis Alfonsi regis in Lucretiam Anagninam amoribus* nuncupabimus, ubi hec ipsa multo latius et uberius pertractabimus.²¹⁵

²¹¹ We keep the MS's reading, although, for syntactic reasons, the correct form here would be "meretricula" (subject of the phrase between «atque» and «efflagitaret»).

²¹² Manetti refers to the eugenic restrictions in PLAT., *Pol.* V.458D-E; V.459D-E and 461B.

²¹³ Such is the spelling in the MS instead of «Neptunum».

²¹⁴ For this topical image suffice it here to recall Petrarch's *Trionfo d'Amore*, I.159-160 and his main source for it: LACT., *Div. inst.*, I.11.1-2. The latter is cited by Manetti in his *Adversus Iudaeos et gentes* (MS Urb. Lat. 154, ff. 6v-7r).

²¹⁵ Like the planned treatise on ungratefulness mentioned at the end of the *Historia Pistoriensis*, Manetti probably never composed the booklet on Alfonso's love for Lucretia. On the former, whose title should have been *Adversus Soldinum*, see MANETTI, *Historia Pistoriensis* cit., p. 227, Bk. III, par. 130.

Si igitur plerosque excellentissimos principes, reges, imperatores, philosophos, patriarchas, prophetas ac sanctissimos viros – poetis omissis, ne fabulosa figmenta cum rebus veris et certis misceamus –²¹⁶ muliebribus amoribus captos fuisse pluresque ea perturbatione commotos et attractos scelesta quedam facinora ac nefanda flagitia perpetrasse constat, quemadmodum supra manifestissime ostendimus, quis sane mentis hanc animi perturbationem (in generosis presertim hominibus aliqua divina gratia virtuteque prestantibus) naturalem esse inficiari negarene audebit, quando quidem tales et tantos viros ea ipsa carere non potuisse (*18r*) parumper consideraverit? [88] Cunctas mulieres feminasque perpetuo silentio idcirco pretermittimus, quoniam maximis et insanis earum ipsarum in plurimos viros amoribus plena sunt omnia. In visione quippe omnium pulchrarum rerum naturalium et artificiosarum sensu motuque carentium, ingeniosis presertim hominibus eam pulchritudinem vel maxime cognoscentibus et callentibus oblectari natura nobis insitum esse existimatur et creditur. Quod si sic est, nonne in venustorum hominum intuitione apprime oblectari eorum esse dicemus qui ceteris vulgo hominibus singulari quodam ac precipuo nature privilegio prestabunt? [89] Atqui in certa quadam venustarum personarum visione atque continua et perpetua intuitione admodum oblectari quid aliud quam amare significet intelligere non possumus? Quod si sic est, ipsum amare – quando ad formosas venustasque personas referatur – turpe et vituperabile esse non potest, quoniam naturale est. De naturalibus enim, iuxta celebratam illam et iam per cunctos philosophorum scholas decantatam sententiam, neque laudamur neque vituperamur.²¹⁷ [90] At vero omne turpe vituperabile appellamus et dicimus. Turpe autem perhibetur non ipsum amare, ut dictum est, sed a personis amatis non sese – cognoscendi causa – abstinere turpe quiddam dedecorosumque putamus; quod ob nimiam potiundi voluptatem ita difficile habetur et creditur ut pene a plerisque incredibile propterea iudicetur, quoniam difficillimum est et antehac inusitatum, quasi impossibile, videatur depereuntem scilicet amatorem re amata potiri potentem (quod omnium iocundissimum in illo epigrammate deliaco comprobatur)²¹⁸ [91] amatorias voluptates – aliarum cunctarum maximas, quemadmodum supra diximus – plures annos repellere ac repudiare potuisse, quod a cunctis amatoribus, uno duntaxat excepto, pre ceteris omnibus vel maxime concupiscitur. Id et si apprime difficile sit. Unde ob ingentem quandam rei difficultatem a plerisque falsum esse censetur. Pro vero tamen ita habetur et creditur ut a domesticis et aulicis et ceteris intrinsecis ac proceribus nullatenus dubitetur, quoniam tantum abfuit ut ipse eam

²¹⁶ Manetti is thinking of poets like Ovid and the mythological loves narrated in the *Metamorphoses*, not of poetry in general, which he tends to regard (unlike Bruni and other contemporary humanists) as a reliable source.

²¹⁷ This maxim became a commonplace in medieval Scholasticism; as such, it can be found in various works of Thomas Aquinas. See, for instance, *Sum. theol.*, Ia-IIae, Q. 22-25 and *Scr. sup. Sent.*, III.39.1-1.

²¹⁸ Manetti is alluding to the famous saying reported in ARIST., *Eth. Nic.*, I.9. 1099A and *Eth. Eud.*, I.1 1214A.

ullo unquam tempore cognoverit quod a mutuis etiam colloquiis – mirabile dictu – sese semper abstinerit. [92] Nunquam enim cum illa nisi per fidissimum quendam simul atque gravissimum virum intercessorem hactenus loquebatur. Quod sic esse cum generalis fama tum Lucretie sapientia plane et aperte declarat, que honestatis sue amantissima ac exinde suspicabunda ne ab amante rege tandem aliquando violaretur per eundem accuratum utriusque interpretem ultimam suam intentionem in hunc modum – luce, ut dicitur, clarius – significavit, impensius rogans atque devotissime (18v) obsecrans quatenus si se ipsam amaret quemadmodum publice ostendebat in primis pudicitie sue curam habere dignaretur; alias sese quam primum interempturam quandocunque aliquis ei de violanda pudicitia sua suspicionis scrupulus iniceretur. [93] Et sic generose admodum subdit quod Lucretiam illam veterem romanam a pluribus scriptoribus et historicis de pudicitia tantopere laudatam minime imitaretur. Illam enim se ipsam postquam violata fuerat interemisse allegabat. At sese in mente sua omnino et penitus disposuisse significabat ut sibi ipsi, antequam violaretur, mortem²¹⁹ conscisceret. Proinde concludebat ut, si eam amaret, vivam quam mortuam esse mallet.

[94] Sed hec de moralibus virtutibus hactenus dixisse sufficiat. Nunc ad intellectivas parumper accedamus. Quantum arte valeas, gloriosissime princeps, ut a levioribus incipiamus et ad te tandem aliquando – quasi longo quodam postliminio – revertamur, difficile dictu esset. In edificandis enim turribus et opidis construendis, nullo alio architecto tibi opus esse novimus, ceu in pluribus aliis et in hac presertim Castri Novi fabricatione plane et aperte ostendisti;²²⁰ quam quidem ita admirabilis est ut plures nobilitatos homines iam ad visendum attraxerit attractosque mira videndi voluptate diutius continuerat. [95] Quid de picturis sculpturisve dicemus?²²¹ In quibus ita oblectaris quasi alter

²¹⁹ The MS erroneously reads «morem» instead of «mortem».

²²⁰ On Castel Nuovo and its relevance within Alfonso's cultural propaganda see DOMENGE I MESQUIDA, *La gran sala* cit., pp. 290-338.

²²¹ On Alfonso as art patron see the excellent article by Joan Domenge i Mesquida cited in the previous note and the rich bibliography reported therein. As the Spanish scholar writes, summing up his research: «Alfonso no estaba dispuesto a renunciar a ningún medio que pudiera contribuir al impulso de su glorificación presente y futura. Al contrario, con la ayuda de su nutrido círculo de hombres de letras y artes, transitó todos los cauces artísticos en pro de su imagen de varón virtuoso» (DOMENGE I MESQUIDA, *La gran sala* cit., p. 327). See also the more recent study by R. CORNUDELLA, *Alfonso el Magnánimo y Jan van Eyck. Pintura y tapices flamencos en la corte del rey de Aragón*, «Locus Amoenus», 10, 2009-2010, pp. 39-62. As Cornudella writes, «En el caso del rey Alfonso, la ocasión para desplegar la mayor demostración de la magnificencia de su vida le llegó en 1452, cuando recibió en Nápoles al emperador Federico III, a la imperatriz Leonor, sobrina de Alfonso, y al archiduque Alberto, hermano del emperador. De estos fastos dejaron constancia varios testimonios presenciales, entre ellos los humanistas de la corte Antonio Beccadelli, “el Panormita” (*De dictis et factis*, IV.4) y Bartolomeo Facio (*Rerum gestarum*, IX.148-168)» (CORNUDELLA, *Alfonso el Magnánimo* cit., p. 56). For a detailed humanist retrospect on Alfonso's art patronage see L. MON-

Apelles vel Zeusis vel Phidias et Praxiteles, quos omnium antiquorum pictorum sculptorumque principes fuisse constaret. Quid denique de gemmis, unionibus, margaritis et ceteris huiusmodi lapillis sentiemus, quorum admirabilem quandam multitudinem ingentibus sumptibus preparasti et magnam – mirabile dictu – congeriem congregasti?²²² Quod facere nequaquam potuisses nisi in ordinandis et congregandis talibus et huiusmodi thesauris egregia et singulari quadam oblectatione potireris. Nec tanta voluptate ullatenus potiri posses nisi intrinsecas eorum virtutes plane et aperte intelligeres; quod totum artis est.²²³ [96] Quid insuper (materia enim undique affluit cum paulo superius “quid denique” dixisse meminerimus)²²⁴ de precipua illa et egregia tua nova et inusitata

TI SABIA, D. D'ALESSANDRO, A. IACONO, *Il ricordo di Alfonso di Aragona nelle opere di Giovanni Pontano*, in *XVI Congresso cit.*, II, pp. 1503-1531 and, more recently, DELLE DONNE, *La corte napoletana cit.* (esp. pp. 260-263 on Pontano).

²²² It is interesting to compare this passage with what Facio says about Frederick III's visit to Alfonso in Naples. Once in Castel Nuovo, Facio writes, Alfonso invited the emperor to see his outstanding collection of precious stones and jewels: «Ac mox invitatum ad prandium Federicum atque aurea sella collocatum, regali apparatus ac luxu acceptit adductoque in penitiorum aedium partem, uniones ac gemmas, quas multas ac varii generis atque immensi pretii habebat in thesauris, qua magnificentia cunctos sui temporis reges antecessit, singillatim ostendit» (FACIO, *Rerum gestarum Alfonsi cit.*, IX.159, p. 460). More specifically on this feature of Alfonso's patronage see the following articles and the bibliography reported therein: M. TINTÓ, *Dos fermalls i altres joies d'Alfons el Magnànim, segons un inventari de la taula de canvi de la ciutat de Barcelona*, «Acta Historica et Archeologica Medievalia», 26, 2005, pp. 767-773 and J. DOMENGE I MESQUIDA, *Regalos suntuarios: Jead de Berry y la realza hispana*, in *El intercambio artístico entre los reinos hispanos y la cortes europeas en la Bada Edad Media*, ed. by M. C. COSMEN ALONSO, M. V. HERRÁEZ ORTEGA, M. PELLÓN GÓMEZ-CALCERRADA, León, Universidad de León, 2009, pp. 343-364, esp. pp. 359-363. Some attention to this feature of the Aragonese king's love of the visual arts is also in RYDER, *Alfonso cit.*, pp. 347-348, where the scholar mentions the so-called Torre dell'Oro in Castel Nuovo. As noted by J. V. GARCÍA, *La estética del Poder. Arte y gastos suntuarios en la corte de Alfonso el Magnánimo (Valencia, 1425-1428)*, in *XVI Congresso cit.*, pp. 1410-1418, such collections of gems could serve a very practical use: «Las joyas se podían utilizar como regalos entre las casas reales, y sobre todo representaban un auténtico active financier que se podía empeñar a cambio de capital líquido» (*ibid.*, p. 1712).

²²³ It should be noted that Manetti fails to mention Alfonso's rich tapestry collection. On it see CORNUDELLA, *Alfonso el Magnánimo cit.*, and the rich bibliography (both primary and secondary) reported therein, in particular the anonymous chronicle cited in *Racconti di storia napoletana*, «Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane», 33, 1908, pp. 478-544. More surprisingly, he does not mention the outstanding library (with wonderfully illuminated manuscripts) that Alfonso was putting together at the time, on which see *La Biblioteca Reale di Napoli al tempo della dinastia aragonese / La Biblioteca Real de Nápoles en tiempos de la dinastia aragonesa*, ed. by G. TOSCANO, Valencia, Generalitat Valenciana, 1998. Manetti will instead pay great attention to this feature of Alfonso's patronage a few years later in dedicating his own translation of the Psalms and the *Apologeticus* to him; see BALDASSARRI, *Giannozzo Manetti e Alfonso il Magnánimo cit.*, pp. 88-90.

²²⁴ See previous paragraph.

eius venationis inventione censebimus, que vulgato verbo “fili venatio” appellatur?²²⁵ An taciti et muti preterire silentioque obruere poterimus cum singulare quiddam ac precipuum et cunctis aspicientibus supra quam dici potest admirabile videatur? Quod ego quando tunc primum conspicatus fui me ipsum continere non potui quin de hac nova inventione admiratus huiusmodi ingenii tui in cunctis rebus acrimoniam vehementer laudarem. [97] Quando vero postea paulo diligentius et accuratius mecum (19r) ipse consideravi, profecto hoc novum et inusitatum venatorie inventionis genus tale et tantum iudicavi ut omnes cervi et cuncte queque capree ac similes fere in magno quodam nemorum silvarumque spatio quod triplici ac distincto filo ad voluntatem tuam late ampleque circumdaretur (unde venatio illa “fili” cognomen assumpsit) contente et comprehense – mirabile dictu – necessario caperentur, satis laudare et commendare non potui. Quod quidem venationis genus ab Ipolito Thesei filio, celeberrimo illorum vetustorum temporum venatore, ad maiorem nominis tui gloriam – ut arbitror – ignoratum fuisse non iniuria existimavi.

[98] Sed quid nos plura de arte ipsa dixerimus cum uno solo et evidentissimo exemplo quantum in ea valeas manifestare et declarare possemus? Nam cum Neapolim – opidanis et gallis accuratis urbis custodibus enixe repugnantibus, quemadmodum supradiximus – diutius et incassum obsideres, per exteriorum aqueductum urbem ipsam capi posse artificiose et callide nimis cognovisti. Quo consilio cum quibusdam dignioribus et fidelioribus viris communicato et ut executioni mandaretur diligenter accurateque commisso, tandem aliquando preclaram istam urbem ingeniosissime simul atque gloriosissime in dictionem tuam redegeisti.²²⁶ [99] Quod a Bellisario – tunc temporis romanorum consule, iam pridem vandolorum victoria celebrato – alias factum fuisse legimus. Nam cum gothi, Iustiniani imperatoris temporibus, Italiam infestis exercitibus invasissent, Belisarium, romane militie prefectum, ex ulteriori Sicilia exigendorum gothorum gratia

²²⁵ Alfonso's love of hunting is a common feature in the 'official image' of the king, as also noted by A. BATALLER, *Llibres d'escas i difusió del joc durant el regnat d'Alfonso el Magnànim*, in *XVI Congresso cit.*, pp. 1803-1828 (esp. p. 1817). See, for instance, BECCADELLI, *Del Fets e dits cit.*, IV,22, pp. 273-275 and DE GRASSIS, *Oratio panigerica cit.*, ch. X, p. 9. It is worth noting, however, that Manetti dares insert a cautious critique of Alfonso's favorite pastime in the preface to the fifth book of his *Apologeticus*; see G. MANETTI, *Apologeticus*, ed. by A. DE PETRIS, Rome, Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1981, V.1-13, pp. 107-110. The reason for this, as Manetti explains, is that excessive hunting may prove harmful to the king's health. On hunting at the Aragonese court in Naples in the mid-fifteenth century see C. DE FREDE, *Ferrante d'Aragona e la caccia*, «Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane», 115, 1997, pp. 1-26.

²²⁶ Alfonso's ruse to capture Naples is celebrated (and compared to Belisarius') in almost all texts praising him, including Manetti's speeches. See BALDASSARRI, *Giannozzo Manetti e Alfonso il Magnanimo cit.*, pp. 64-65. Understandably, a few years later, in his praise of Ferrante's deeds from 1438 to 1458, Beccadelli will follow the same account, although assigning a prominent role to Alfonso's son in the Aragonese conquest of Naples. See A. PANHORMITAE, *Liber gestarum Ferdinandi regis*, ed. by G. RESTA, Palermo, Centro di Studi Filologici e Linguistici Siciliani, 1968, pp. 83-86 and the editor's remarks (note 2 on p. 88).

per litteras demum revocavit.²²⁷ Is cum Neapolim applicuisset opidum primo ob-
sedisse perhibetur.²²⁸ Cum diuturna obsessio votis eius nequaquam respondisset,
per eundem proprie aqueductum demum urbem ingressus subegisse fertur.

[100] Iam de prudentia silentio preterire quam vel pauca vel multa dice-
re satius esse duximus, presertim cum universalis et generalis omnium gentium
in hac una re consensus appareat. Non enim vana omnino fama fieri potest, ut
est vetus et celebrata philosophi sententia quam populi universi decantant.²²⁹
Scientia, intellectus et sapientia restant, de quibus tribus reliquis simul ac bre-
vissime agemus. [101] Famosum regem assidua quadam multorum et magnorum
regnorum gubernatione apprime occupatum multumque onustum litterarum et
omnium scientiarum amantissimum et historiarum precipue curiosissimum nisi
acri et divino potius quam humano ingenio valeret non immerito impossibile
existimamus et credimus. Et quando ita fieret, ut ea difficilia cognitu sine vi-
vacri acrimonia appetere nunquam tamen (19v) ipsa adipisci et consequi posset.
Quod ita assecutum fuisse scimus ut tantam litterarum et variarum historiarum
ac moralium virtutum et divinarum rerum cognitionem acquisivisse mirabile
videatur, presertim cum hoc singulare et precipuum tibi soli omnium nostro-
rum temporum regum (Federicum Tercium novum nostri temporis imperato-
rem semper excipio) contigisse intelligamus. [102] Nemo est enim ex his no-
stris regibus – vobis duobus duntaxat exceptis – qui litteras noverit; quin imo
tu exemplo tuo quosdam proceres et principes gallos et hispanos ad litterarum
cognitionem, contra vetustissimam nobilium personarum consuetudinem, con-
vertisti. Nescire enim litteras, presertim principibus et regibus in duabus com-
memoratis provinciis, magno honori habetur et creditur!²³⁰ Quod antiquis tem-
poribus secus accidisse et evenisse scimus.

[103] Et ne in hoc tam lato ac tam amplo virtutum tuarum campo diutius
commoremur, de frugalitate et humanitate ac liberalium artium eruditione et de
ceteris huiusmodi – quibus primatis et non regis virtutibus (fortitudo, iusticia,
severitas, gravitas, magnanimitas, largitas, liberalitas et magnificentia) superio-
res regie virtutes tue condite et illustrate cernuntur – hec pauca dixisse sufficiat.
De singulari vero et precipuo illo memorie tue thesauro omnino silere quam
pauca dicere satius esse existimavimus,²³¹ presertim cum quantum hoc naturali

²²⁷ The implicit subject of this phrase is emperor Justinian.

²²⁸ The main source followed by Manetti is PROC., *De bel. Goth.*, I.9-10. Most likely, he was acquainted with this work through Bruni's famous Latin re-elaboration titled *Bellum Italicum adversus Gothos*; see BALDASSARRI, *Giannozzo Manetti e Alfonso il Magnanimo* cit., p. 64 n. 47.

²²⁹ Manetti is alluding to ARIST., *Eth. Nic.*, X.2 1173A. He refers to it also in his *Historia Pistoriensis* cit., p. 115 (Bk. I, par. 60). As I pointed out in the introduction to this text (*ibid.*, p. 25), the use of this sentence reveals his relying on general consensus in contrast to other humanists' (for instance Bruni and Valla) more skeptical attitude.

²³⁰ It is worth noting that the exclamation mark is in the MS itself.

²³¹ One cannot fail to notice the echo of Sallust's famous sentence on Carthage: «Nam de Carthagine silere melius puto quam parum dicere» (SALL., *Bell. Iug.*, 19.1).

munere valeas ex quotidianis atque admirabilibus responsionibus tuis publicis contionibus – quibus maxime oblectaris ex variis diversorum regum, principum populorumque et rerum publicarum legationibus – cunctis sepe numero astantibus innotescat. [104] Missas facimus devotissimas religiones quibus tu ab infantia deditus summopere delectaris, cum illi qui te frequenter largas et amplas elemosinas facientem et de quotidie quoque plura missarum solemnia²³² devotissime audientem et quinta insuper sacre quadragesime feria multos mendicos lauto et opipare et vere regali convivio quotannis pascentem ac propriis manibus in mensa cum pluribus proceribus tuis administrantem et demum utrosque tredecim pauperum personarum pedes humillime lavantem admirari et obstupescere compellantur. [105] Quod nos, elapso iam anno, cum prope te et his diebus nuper penes summum pontificem consistentes ac publico legationis munere fungentes, conspicaremur. Tanta tunc devotione et cordis conpunctione, religioso quodam gaudio, affecti sumus ut lacrimas tenere non valeremus.²³³ Hec enim tuum tam humile, tam devotum, tam sanctum ministerium – ut de ceteris (20r) similibus taceamus – ita nobis placuit itaque gratum et acceptum fuit, ut ea imago in mente nostra impressa et inusta, quemadmodum corporeis oculis vidi, adhuc perduret.

[106] Sed quid pluribus verbis opus est, ubi tot et tanta rerum testimonia cernuntur? Hoc unum pre ceteris tuis memoratu dignum vere affirmare possumus, quod si tu priscis illis gentilium et ethnicorum hominum temporibus natus esses profecto eorum poete et oratores te ex tot et tantis virtutibus tuis eternis litterarum monumentis celebrassent et vel heroem quendam vel Iovis filium appellassent. Nam prestantissimos virtute, prudentia, viribus ut heroas vel potius Iovis filios nuncupabant. [107] His igitur et huiusmodi virtutibus continuatam quandam et admirabilem plurimorum amorum diligentiam et curam adhibuisti; ex quibus omnibus in unum coeuntibus – quamquam varia sepe, ut in secularibus rebus plerumque fieri consuevit, fortuna uteris – plura tamen egregia facinora magna cum laude et eterna nominis tui gloria peperisti. Itaque de gestis tuis memoratu laudibusque dignis pene omnino silere quam pauca dixisse satius esse censemus,²³⁴ presertim cum plura ita manifesta et evidantia sint ut in apertam et planam latinarum litterarum lucem prodierint. [108] Siquidem nonnullos de rebus abs te gestis annales pluresque historias eleganter scriptas legisse meminimus. Gloriosissimam tamen incliti Apulie regni acquisitionem vel recuperationem potius unum et solum duntaxat taciti preterire non possumus, quam quidem talem fuisse scimus ut de illo veteri romanorum imperatorum ritu

The Florentine humanist often cites this maxim in his speeches, as described in BALDASSARRI, *Giannozzo Manetti e Alfonso il Magnanimo* cit., p. 67.

²³² First spelled «sollemnia» in the MS then changed (most likely by the scribe himself) to the form reported above by eliminating the second “l”.

²³³ See DA BISTICCI, *La vita di re Alfonso di Napoli*, in ID., *Le vite* cit., pp. 86-87 where the same pious acts are reported on the basis of Manetti’s testimony.

²³⁴ Again, cfr. SALL., *Bell. Iug.*, 19.1.

aureo curru invectus Neapolim, triumphalibus pompis, per refracta menia intra urbem ductus triumphares. Quod et si temporibus nostris novum quiddam et iam dudum inusitatum fuerit, egregium tamen et admirabile et cunctis laudibus dignum apparuit; quin imo quanto inusitatus et amoribus nostris alienius fuit tanto nimirum admirabilius et gloriosius videri debuit.²³⁵

[109] Tot igitur et tante admirabiles ac pene incredibiles virtutes tue iam diu per universum terrarum orbem pervagate²³⁶ usque adeo Federicum Tertium romanorum regem, paucis ante diebus magna cum gloria coronatum, commoverunt, quemadmodum in oratione nostra ad eum habita – cuius titulus est *De dignitate et potestate imperatoris* – luce clarius ostendimus,²³⁷ ut sese continere non potuerit quin ex Urbe usque Neapolim visendi duntaxat tui causa per longinqua terrarum spatia contenderet.²³⁸ Ad quod quidem non affinitas, non conspiciendi cupiditas, non denique alia quam visendi tui causa allexit et traxit.²³⁹

[110] De hoc eius optimo et (20v) laudabili proposito tibi de hac nova et inusitata et gloriosa visitatione apprime congratulamur atque ipsum quantum possumus non immerito impresentiarum laudamus et commendamus. Antehac enim ita inusitatum et inauditum est imperatorem quendam, in summo presertim glorie cumulo ad novam coronationem constitutum, regem aliquem vel alium quemvis principem se ipso longe inferiorem visitasse et invisisse, ut nullis litterarum monumentis contineri et comprehendi videatur. Superiores nanque ab inferioribus non inferiores a superioribus videri et visitari consueverunt.

[111] Itaque de hac inusitata felicitatis tue gloria tibi iterum congratulamur et ipsum quoque iterum atque iterum de suo illo optimo et generoso proposito laudamus ac mirabiliter commendamus. Nam si regina Austri nomine Saba propterea a sacris scriptoribus summopere laudata est quod audita sapientia Salomonis de finibus terre profecta visendi sui causa Hierosolimam usque contenderet,²⁴⁰

²³⁵ On Alfonso's triumphal entry into Naples on February 26, 1443, see the bibliography reported in DOMENGE I MESQUIDA, *La gran sala* cit., and BALDASSARRI, *Giannozzo Manetti e Alfonso il Magnanimo* cit., pp. 65-66 n. 49.

²³⁶ The MS erroneously reads «pervgate».

²³⁷ On Manetti's mission in Rome and Naples for Frederick III's imperial coronation and the latter's successive visit to Alfonso see BALDASSARRI-FIGLIUOLO, *Manettiana* cit., pp. 55-59, 125-129 and the bibliography reported therein.

²³⁸ On Frederick III's trip to Italy and his visit to Alfonso in Naples see B. BALDI, *Il "cardinale tedesco": Enea Silvio Piccolomini fra impero, papato, Europa (1442-1455)*, Milan, UNICOPLI, 2012, esp. pp. 173-179 with related bibliography. Still useful is the article by LAZZERONI, *Il viaggio* cit., pp. 271-397.

²³⁹ Manetti seems to suggest a similarity with the ancient anecdote of those Spaniards who went to Rome only to see Livy. On it see above, note 109 to the text.

²⁴⁰ Cfr. III Reg. 10:1-9. See also parr. 124 below. The parallel with Solomon is a feature that Manetti transfers from his praise of Pope Nicholas V to that of Alfonso. See the following articles in the conference proceedings *Dignitas et excellentia hominis* cit.: M. MIGLIO, *Da san Tommaso a Tommaso, a Niccolò V: la biografia del pontefice*, pp. 221-230 and M. MODIGLIANI, *Il testamento di Niccolò V: la rielaborazione di Manetti nella biografia del Papa*, pp. 231-259.

cur nos etiam Federicum nostrum laudare et commendare negabimus, quoniam admirabilibus Alfonsi regis virtutibus increbrescente fama aperte intellectis planeque cognitis ex urbe Roma usque Neapolim visendi tui causa proficisceretur? Quin imo et ipsum laudamus et commendamus ac nomen suum, ob hoc unum pre ceteris memoratu dignum, laudibus ad celum usque extollemus, quod cum tibi per celeberrimos Iacobi Constantiensis prestantissimi oratoris tui tabellarios innotuisset dici non potest quantum exinde gaudii leticieque suscipere debuisti. [112] Paulo post ad gloriosissimam quandam maiestatis sue susceptionem ceteris posthabitis te totum convertisti ac cuncta queque ad id ipsum necessaria et utilia mirabiliter preparasti.²⁴¹ Nam plures egregios tui principes, magna ornatissimorum iuvenum comitante caterva, obviam premisisti. Filium deinde tuum, inclitum Calabrie ducem, ingentibus ornamentis peditum ut proficisceretur constituisti. [113] Tu insuper admirabilibus pompis et maximis preparationibus usque Capuam gloriosissime obviasti atque ubi ipsum per celeberrima compita et per nobilitata urbis atria incredibilibus omnium pomparum generibus perductum una cum Lionora – nepte tua, uxore sua – et simul cum duobus circiter equitum milibus in castro capuano, magnifice nimis ac genereose, collocasti atque in spatio quindecim dierum, quibus Neapoli commoratus est, nihil aliud curasti quam ut universa familia sua egregiis epulis ac suavibus vinis optime et abundantissime pasceretur eiusque persona variis omnium honestarum voluptatum generibus mirum (*21r*) in modum caperetur. [114] Nam et coreis et cantibus et sonis ac diversis cunctorum ludorum modulationibus ita ipsum oblectasti ut mens sua – una cum sensibus corporeis magna talium ac tantarum oblectationum varietate titillata – de temporis spacio nunquam cogitare potuerit. Sed quoniam has et huiusmodi preparationes tuas, fama undique intonante, tantas et tam admirabiles fuisse scimus, ut eas cogitatione nedum calamo assequi valeremus, idcirco singula queque – uno duntaxat excepto, quod ceteris mirabilius apparuit – perpetuo silentio preteribimus.

[115] Locus est, quatuor circiter milia passuum distans a Neapoli, “Agnanum” incolae vocant, quem natura – parens rerum – amenum, mirabilem ac venerationibus aptissimum creavit et fecit.²⁴² Nam amplum quoddam et circulare spatium in lato campo situm a duobus eius lateribus duobus parvis lacubus parumper ablutum et a tertio, unica silvuncula peditum, in formam cuiusdam – ceu vulgo dicitur – catini redactum mirabiliter apparet. Quippe varii colliculi gradatim, instar graduum humanitus institutorum, ita deinceps ordinati videntur ut humana industria locus ille fabricatus et constitutus fuisse existimetur. Nam predicti colles per ordinem gradatim in hunc modum ascendentes paulatim usque ad altos montes elevantur. [116] Hunc locum suapte natura institu-

²⁴¹ On the lavish reception and the entertainments that the Aragonese king prepared for the emperor’s visit see RYDER, *Alfonso* cit., pp. 349-357. Among humanist sources contemporary to Manetti, see above all FACIO, *Rerum gestarum Alfonsi* cit., IX.151-168, pp. 458-465.

²⁴² A very similar *descriptio loci* is in FACIO, *Rerum gestarum Alfonsi* cit., IX.161-162, pp. 460-463.

tum et ordinatum cum romani, rerum domini, ut ego arbitror, diligenter et accurate considerassent, magnum quoddam in urbe Roma amphitheatrum ad ludos spectandos instar sui construxerunt, cuius adhuc aliquot ingentia et admiranda vestigia remanserunt. Talis insuper locus – partim herbis, quibus omnium quidem tempore, ob magnam regionis fertilitate, apprime abundabat, partim aquis, quibus referctissimus est, partim silvis ac nemoribus,²⁴³ unde pluribus omnium ferarum generibus redundat – amenissimus aspectuque venustissimus efficitur. [117] Ut ergo imperatorius animus quadam etiam venatoria voluptate oblectaretur ad mirabilem venationem in hunc pene modum instituiti. Primo nanque ut omnes fere per viginti circiter milia passuum hinc inde pascentes et aberrantes in hunc locum conducerentur diligenter accurateque commisisti. Quo facto plures hominum cetus in altis illis montibus cum variis telis ita deinceps constituiti ut ne lepus quidem unus aufugere et evadere valuisset.²⁴⁴ [118] Hunc amphitheatrum locum tapetibus, tentoriis, stragulis vestibibus mirabiliter ornasti. Plura undique et magna vasa vinaria per vias et compita quibuscunque viatoribus publice collocata videbantur. Duo preterea fontes prope imperatorium (21v) tentorium apparebant, ex quibus alba diversorum gustium ac saporum vina continue scatebant ac semper pullulabant. [119] Ad hoc tam admirabile, tam varium ac tam splendidum cunctarum rerum spectaculum tanta diverse etatis et conditionis hominum multitudo perhibetur ut supra viginti milia crederetur. Hora vero venationi constituta, plures varii generis fere – partim apri, partim capree, partim cervi – vehementer canibus irritati locis undique circumseptis frustra fugere conabantur. [120] Unum quasi maioris oblectationis gratia de industria fieret tacitus preterire non possum. Inter multos enim apros diversis canum morsibus agitato forte quidam ita fugam arripuit ut per quecunque loca fugiens obvios quosque vitaret; ac per hunc modum – cunctis qui aderant ridentibus, cachinantibus et applaudentibus – tandem aliquando effugeret.

[121] Quid plura de hac tam admirabili venatione dicemus? Profecto cuncti aspicientes in capiendis multis diversorum generum feris maxima voluptate potiebantur. Hoc etiam tacere non possum, quod ceteris mirabiliter apparuit. Nam ex tanta hominum multitudine nullus fuit qui cibo et potu imo pretiosis dapibus et suavibus vinis usque ad satietatem non impleretur. Et tamen cunctis quibusque satiatis plurime fragmentorum reliquie – mirabile dictu – remanserunt. Multa insuper alia huiusmodi – honoris gratia – fecisti, de quibus si singillatim diceremus, profecto nimis longum esset. [122] Ceterum, ne de hac imperatoria visitatione – que ad singularem quendam glorie tue cumulum vel maxime pertinebat – aliquatenus ingratus habereris, multa ipse et magna quidem munera donasti. Nam et stolam illam albam de qua superius mentionem fecimus²⁴⁵ illum et Albertum ducem, eius germanum, inprimis decorasti; in quo quidem Ferdi-

²⁴³ The MS erroneously reads «memoribus».

²⁴⁴ Facio, too, devotes particular attention to the hunting organized for Frederick III's visit; see FACIO, *Rerum gestarum Alfonsi* cit., IX.160-163, pp. 460-463.

²⁴⁵ See paragraph 14 above.

nandum²⁴⁶ preclarum genitorem tuum imitari voluisti, qui Sigismundum imperatorem – auferendorum scismatum causa, que ea tempestate in catholica ecclesia vigeant, de Germania in Galliam per Citeriorem Hispaniam proficiscentem atque forte Perpignani aliquot dies requiescendi gratia commorantem – de regia sua ad ipsum visendum venit atque cum simili stola postea ornavit. Sed ille in susceptione ipsius nondum imperii coronam, quemadmodum noster Federicus, assumpserat.²⁴⁷ [123] Hanc stolam, cum illum die sabbati de more accinctum – dum e Neapoli reverteretur – urbem Romam ingredientem vir quidam facetissimus videret, sese continere non potuit quin, cum quibusdam amicis ingressum suum conspicientibus, in hunc modum (22r) iocaretur: «Respicite, queso, respicite, inquam, Federicum nostrum qui ex hoc loco Neapolim imperator contendit atque exinde nunc miles effectus rediit!».²⁴⁸

[124] Pluribus deinde aureis torquibus una cum quibusdam pretiosis gemmis et unionibus ipsum honorasti. Atque hec tanta et tam singularia dona ceteris omnibus, honoris gratia, antea factis idcirco adhibuisti: partim ne forte ingratus videreris, partim etiam ut Salomonem sapientissimum regem – quemadmodum ego arbitror – a regina Saba visitatum aliquatenus superares. Ille enim plura magnifica²⁴⁹ et ampla dona dum viseretur ab eadem regina suscepit. Tu vero inter visendum non modo non suscepisti sed plurima quoque et ea quidem amplissima munera liberalissime simul atque magnificentissime tradidisti. Hec nanque in secundo *Regum* sacri textus verba sunt: «Regina Saba, audita fama Salomonis, venit et ingressa est cum comitatu multo Hierusalem et cum divitiis et camelis portantibus aromata et aurum infinitum nimis et gemmas pretiosas» et reliqua.²⁵⁰ Et paulo post ita scribitur: «Dedit ergo centum viginti talenta auri et aromata multa nimis et gemmas pretiosas».²⁵¹ [125] Quid plura? Non sunt collata aromata tam multa quam ea que dedit regina Saba regi Salomoni; qui licet magna et ampla dona ipsi regine largiretur, abs te tamen in hiis saltem duobus longe superatus fuisse videtur. Nam primo ipse a muliere, quamquam regina, visitatus fuit; tu vero a viro et eo quidem imperatore visus es. Ille deinde a femina donatus; tu vero e contra imperatori donator et non donatus evasisti.

[126] Quid plura? Tu cum voluptatibus et honoribus, tu humanis conversationibus tum maximis donis pretiosisque muneribus, postremo sapientibus colloquiis ac prudentissimis collationibus et consiliis usque adeo ei satisfaci-

²⁴⁶ The MS erroneously reads «Ferinandum».

²⁴⁷ It is worth noting that Valla does not mention this episode in his *Gesta Ferdinandi regis* cit. He probably considered it one of those minor things that were not worth reporting, to borrow his closing formula for the account of the meeting between Ferdinand and Sigismund at Perpignan on August 21, 1415 (*ibid.*, p. 172).

²⁴⁸ The same anecdote is reported in DA BISTICCI, *La vita di re Alfonso* cit., pp. 107-108. The rubric reads: «Come i' re dette la 'mpresa de la banda a lo 'mperadore». The same pages offer a short account of the emperor's visit to Alfonso in Naples.

²⁴⁹ The MS erroneously reads «magifica».

²⁵⁰ III *Reg.* 10:1-2.

²⁵¹ III *Reg.* 10:10.

sti ut non secus de virtutibus tuis retulisse videatur quam de sapientia Salomonis a predicta regina – ut ex sacris litteris legitur – relatum fuisse constiterit,²⁵² que longe minorem de sapientia sua rumore extitisse testata est quam veritas ipsa procul dubio extitisset, quod quidem experta fuisse plane et aperte predicabat. [127] Ita pariter Federico nostro in hac tua visitatione ac congressione contigisse et evenisse existimatur et creditur, quippe magnam plurimarum admirabilium virtutum tuarum excellentiam supra quam dici potest admiratus ipsas multo plures ac maiores quam generalis earum fama increbuerit asserere et confirmare non dubitavit.

[128] Qua propter cum (22*v*) nos, devotissimi et fidissimi maiestatis tue famuli, hec omnia que super commemoravimus ad singularem quendam et precipuum ingentis glorie tue cumulum apprime spectare et plurimum pertinere censeremus, nostrapte natura satis superque satis letati, gavisii fuimus ut ulterius letari et vehementius gaudere non valeremus. Atqui quemadmodum inter nos tantopere letati et gavisii sumus, ita pariter nos ipsos continere non potuimus quin tibi de hoc tam novo ac tam inusitato felicitatis et glorie tue cumulo per hec scripta nostra apprime ac feliciter congratularemur. [129] Quod ut faceremus duabus de causis adducti et provocati sumus. Primum ut certum quoddam singularis nostre erga maiestatem tuam devotionis signum ac firmum veri amoris pignus preberemus. Deinde ut hoc novum humane felicitatis genus absentibus et posteris et eternis litterarum monumentis ad perpetuam quandam et sempiternam nominis tui gloriam meridiana, ut dicitur, luce clarius significarem.

[130] Vale, Italie decus, ac Iannotii fidissimi ac verissimi famuli tui quesumus nonnumquam meminisse digneris, si quando a multis et magnis plurimorum regnorum tuorum occupationibus requiescendi gratia respiraveris.

²⁵² III *Reg.* 10:6-7.

Direttore : GIULIANO PINTO

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50123 Firenze

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«Tiferno Grafica» - 06012 Città di Castello

