LIVING IN A WORLD OF WORDS: HUMANIST FRIENDSHIPS AND BOOK CULTURE IN QUATTROCENTO ROME, 1440-1480.

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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

GRADUATE PROGRAM IN HISTORY

YORK UNIVERSITY

TORONTO, ONTARIO

MAY 2024

ABSTRACTUS

This dissertation examines the friendships and social networks of some of the humanist scholars who lived and worked in Rome in the decades between 1440 and 1480. By studying their friendships and community formations as a social process, and how they interacted with each other through exchanging books as gifts, I show that the humanists in Rome relied upon their friendships and networks to support their academic works and lives. Their intellectual production, praised and analyzed for their contributions to many avenues of political, cultural, and philosophical history, was buttressed and supported not just by their patrons or their contributions to intellectual culture, but also by the many socio-cultural habits and behaviours of premodern friendships, rivalries, and networks. By narrating some of these friendships and taking a microhistorical lens to humanist life and behaviour, this dissertation argues for the importance of studying humanism as a lived practice and a performance in early modernity, rather than only as an intellectual movement that was obsessed with the transformation of classical antiquity in and for their world.

The first chapter grounds this dissertation within the long histories of both intellectual and social history of early modern Italy and highlights a path forward for the study of fifteenth-century humanism. The second chapter studies the humanist genre of the dedicatory letter from a social perspective, and using two examples, argues that this famous genre of humanist writing should also be studied for how it builds, shapes, and informs humanist communities, and not just for how humanists used prefaces to seek patronage. The third chapter studies the printed prefaces of the humanist bishop Giovanni Andrea Bussi, and how he brokered and negotiated the communities of scholars, elites, and humanism itself in mid-fifteenth-century Rome through his prefaces, his editing, and his work with the printers Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz. The last chapter looks at the creation of Pius II's famous memoir, *The Commentaries,* as a humanist and political

text, arguing that there were many authors involved in the creation of its manuscripts and planned circulation. Subsequently, the pope planned for its multiple authorship and coordinated its many hands and voices to create a singular image of himself that could be used and defended by his associates after his death.

AGNITIONES

This entire dissertation and my intellectual work have been done on Indigenous land, particularly the territory covered by Treaty 13, the territory of the Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation. The Haudenosaunee, Huron-Wendat, and Anishinaabe nations and peoples have also been inhabitants and caretakers of this land and are custodians of this territory. All my learning, living, and development has been done on land that my settler ancestors helped colonize. I want to acknowledge these many historic and contemporary wrongs to settle this land, and I hope that my work as a historian continues to work to correct these wrongs.

Much of this work was written during the COVID-19 pandemic, and done through multiple rounds of online consultation, research, discussion, reading, and presentation. I am thankful to everybody who has worked to try and mitigate the effects of this pandemic. I want to extend my sincerest gratitude to everybody working in public health, with the public, with libraries who went digital very quickly, and for everybody who is attempting to make a pandemic world a functional and hopefully more positive space.

As a scholar, I am entirely indebted to my supervisor and *doktorvater*, Thomas Cohen. A true scholar with the deepest sense of intellectualism, integrity, and kindness, he has helped me along with every methodological challenge, linguistic query, and palaeographical and historical mess. Along with his rich knowledge of the past and present, his kindness as a supervisor cannot be matched. Both he and his wife, Elizabeth Cohen, opened their home for intellectual curiosity, paleographical training, and lunch. I owe them both, deeply, for their intellectual and emotional support for completing this dissertation. Rachel Koopmans has been an exceptional second reader and mentor for the entirety of my graduate work. I have learned much from her on how to teach, present research, and how to work in a way that is accessible for a wider audience, and I am constantly thankful for her mentorship. Antonio Ricci was an important committee member, assisting me with my book history questions, stylistic and content errors, and general support. At my defence, Leslie Korrick and Margaret Meserve provided extensive and important help, much of which informed the dissertation along with my work as a historian. Any errors that may remain in this work, despite Professors Cohen, Koopmans, Ricci, Korrick, and Meserve, remain mine and mine alone.

My topic has taken me to many places and institutions for research. I would like to especially thank the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana and its archivists, librarians, and staff for both physical access to the trove of fifteenth-century manuscripts they hold, and for their incredible digital collection and wonderful cafeteria! Along with the Biblioteca Vaticana, the Archivio di Stato di Roma and its archivists were wonderful to work and study with. The Scott Library at York University and the Interlibrary Loan Staff, the Morgan Library in New York City, the association *Roma nel Rinascimento*, the Biblioteca Angelica and the Biblioteca Corsiniana in Rome, the University of Toronto and its associated research centres and libraries (a special thank you to Pat MacDougall at the Massey College Library!), the Centre for Renaissance and Reformation Studies, and the Toronto Renaissance and Reformation Colloquium have all provided their resources and support for my project. An important thank-you to Marco Petoletti, Flavia Bruni, Elena Brizio and Anthony Majanlahti, who helped immensely in accessing manuscripts in Italy while, during the pandemic, such manuscripts were inaccessible.

My dissertation studies the social and cultural histories of a few of the manuscripts produced by humanists in the 1400s. As such, I must thank the scholars who offered their friendships and supported my work: Marlee Couling, Flavia De Nicola, Erin Dolmage, Katharine Fellows, Mary Franks, Virginia Grimaldi, John Hunt, Laura Ingallinella, Victoria Jackson,

Anthony Majanlahti, Brian Maxson, Elizabeth McCahill, Aaron Miedema, Tierney Mullins, Kari North, Joanna Pearce, Nicholas Pearson, Alexandria Petit-Thorne, Alyssa Rusonik, Brooke Sales-Lee, Margaret Schotte, Aaron Segal, Hannah Segrave, Heather Smith, Hannah Sparwasser Soroka, Elisa Tersigni, Tracey Thomas, Chris Vogel, Sarah Wilk, Christine Zappella Papanastassiou, and Angela Zhang. The early modernists at York University deserve a special mention for their friendship, care, intellectual curiosity, and get-togethers over the years; thank you to Marlee Couling, Angela Zhang, Aaron Miedema, and Sarah Wilk! Nelson Marques Mastracci II has been a very important friend over many years of learning and living. A very special thank you to Jennifer Mara DeSilva for her generosity, her kindness, co-authorship, mentorship, and friendship. Another special thank you to Ada Palmer, who as a friend, a very-supportive RSA mentor, and a colleague, continues to provide some very good advice on how to live and work as an academic. Kathryn McPherson, Deborah Neill, Chris Nighman, Jason Sager, Kathy Behrendt, Rebekah Johnston, and Jens Wollesen (rest in peace) have been important teachers over the years. Outside of academia, I also need to thank the staff of the Curly Hair Institute and of MicroScope Editing Services for reminding me that scholars did work in a wider world (and why I need to as well). Because early modern friendships were both instrumental and expressive, I hope that my expressions here reveal the instrumentality and lived experiences behind them.

Just as Pope Paul II Barbo's treatment of the humanists in Rome inspired their work, I must acknowledge York University for providing me an institutional home to complete this work, and to remain very close to my friends and colleagues for support. However, the Department of History at York University holds a very special place in my heart. Thank you to the members of the Department of History for supporting and shaping my research as well as dealing with an over-excited and energetic academic, and the staff members of the Department, particularly Karen Dancy, for helping me through hundreds of challenges, especially technological ones. I would also like to thank my former union, CUPE 3903, for continuing to fight for protections for academic workers. They have fought for one of the strongest contracts in the sector for under-employed academics, a contract that I richly benefited from and that helped fund my studies abroad.

I have only been able to pursue academic study due to the unflagging support of my family. My husband Frank Cormier, my parents Jonathan and Janet Torch, my sister Casey Torch, my dog Diefenbarker, and my wider family have listened to far more about early modern Rome than they ever wanted to hear, but they have continued to do so unfailingly. Their support is unmeasurable, their love boundless, and their interest in anything Renaissance has probably run out. An eternal thank you to them, whose stubbornness to see me finish this dissertation probably rivals my own. For my nephew Leo, born during the COVID19 pandemic, you don't need to read this work.

For my grandparents, Benjamin Torch z"l and Gertrude Torch z"l, and Frieda and Allan Schaffel z"l, this dissertation is not quite as good as being able to win Jeopardy or filling out a New York Times Crossword all by myself, but I hope it suffices. This work is for you.

Barry Torch

Toronto 2024

DEDICATIO

בֶּן זוֹמָא אוֹמֵר, אֵיזֶהוּ חָכָם, הַלּוֹמֵד מִכָּל אָדָם, שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר (תהלים קיט)

Ben Zoma said: Who is wise? He who learns from every man, as it is said: “From all who taught me have I gained understanding” (Psalms 119:99). – Pirkei Avot 4:1.

This dissertation is dedicated to my grandparents,

Frieda and Allan Schaffel z”l
Gertrude z”l and Benjamin Torch z”l

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PROEMIVM:

***Mox tu mihi in mentem venisti*, or, soon you came to mind.**[1]

In November of 2021, I travelled to Italy to present at the conference *Early Modern Rome 4*. While in Rome for the conference, I did what is traditionally expected of a historian on the go: I went to archives and worked on this dissertation, I presented my conference paper, and I made sure to make time to have dinner with a friend and colleague, the art historian Flavia De Nicola, who had just begun her doctoral research at the University of Rome Tor Vergata. The year prior, I had encouraged Flavia to present her research on Michelangelo for a panel I had organized on humanism and sociability at the Renaissance Society of America Virtual Conference. So as a gift of thanks for our friendship and support for each other's scholarship, Flavia gave me a copy of a book for which she had contributed a chapter.[2] As part of her gift, she wrote in the cover, "With gratitude, respect and affection," and gave me the book at a pizzeria dinner in the Trastevere neighbourhood of Rome.

Why did Flavia give me a book in thanks for our friendship? Why does one give books to one's friends at all, especially as gifts? Following sociologists and anthropologists, the historian Natalie Zemon Davis has famously argued that the gift and gifting culture in early modern Europe was as much a collective action as it was an exchange of a single item between two individuals.[3] She suggests that the giving of a book to patrons or to friends stated that the subject matter of the book was important knowledge to share, but more importantly, she argued that there was also the

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[1] Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (hereafter, BAV), Vat. Lat. 3350, Letter to Giovanni Bussi from Theodore Gaza, 1v. Translation is mine.

[2] Flavia De Nicola, "Equus infoelicitatis: analisi iconografica di una xilografia dell'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili fra testo e immagine, xilografie n.6" in *Icoxilopoli 2: Iconografia delle xilografie del Polifilo*, eds. Alessandra Bertuzzi, Elisabetta Caputo, Stefano Colonna, Flavia De Nicola, Francesco De Santis, Alessia Dessì. Biblioteca di Cultura 755 (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 2020): 59-118.

[3] Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France*, Curti Lecture Series (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2000).

belief that "property in a book was as much collective and private … the book was at its best when given, should not be sold beyond a just price and never be hoarded."[4] As the book – in this case, an edited collection – represents knowledge greater than just Flavia's single contribution, it is a fitting gift between scholars to suggest participation in a wider scholarly community. Flavia's chapter and her gift of the book are not merely academic contributions existing in a solely intellectual space; rather, they were transformed into personal gifts, deliberately linking two scholars who are globally separated. It helps that it was a good book, but, as Davis noted, the subject of the book does not need to matter. The giving of a book is much more about connection and community building than it is about information transfer, and that is how Flavia intended it when she gave me a copy of her edited collection.

Scholars have been giving books to each other for a long time, especially to build and maintain their communities and their friendships over wide distances. The humanist scholar Desiderius Erasmus, the "prince of the humanists," frequently gifted books to his friends, explicitly remarking on his friendships as part of his gift and distribution of his work.[5] In his giving of a book to the philosopher Pieter Gillis in 1514 (who helped Erasmus sell his works) Erasmus notes that the book he gave to Gillis is "no common present, for you are no common friend, but many jewels in one small book."[6] Half a century earlier, in 1456, the humanist Francesco Filelfo reproached a friend of his, the teacher of Greek Andronicus Callistus, for getting irritated with him for his request of the copying and production of a book. In a letter: Filelfo wrote, "It seems to me that you have not taken it too well that I have written to you asking you to make a copy of Plato's *Laws*,

[4] Natalie Zemon Davis, "Beyond the Market: Books as Gifts in Sixteenth-Century France: The Prothero Lecture," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 33 (1983): 72.

[5] Lisa Jardine, *Erasmus, Man of Letters: The Construction of Charisma in Print* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015).

[6] Davis, "Beyond the Market," 77.

but I do not regret it, since I am making a request, as a friend, to a friend. Or would you perhaps not agree that friends have all things in common?"[7] As books were the key tools of their trade, scholars in premodern Europe placed great emphasis on the production and movement of books between each other as a major part of their friendships and their communities. They wanted to be where the books were, in libraries where books were held, and in the print shop alongside other scholars where books were made.[8] The creation and giving of books in premodern Europe was a fundamental part of how scholarly communities worked.

But scholars then, like scholars now, did not work in worlds removed from a wider context. Indeed, right after Filelfo described his need for a copy of Plato's *Laws*, he teased Callistus and told him to only share a copy of the manuscript, and not "that terrible chronic disease of yours, which you have written about, and your persistent headaches! I would really like such troubles to leave you at once, but I would not at all want them ever to come to me!"[9] Addressing scholarly and worldly concerns, Filelfo's letter reveals how scholars engaged in both worlds, and more importantly, entangled them together in their quest to build and maintain friendships with other scholars. His letter reveals that scholarly friendship could be both negotiated by classicizing rhetoric – the phrase, "friends hold all things in common" comes from Pythagoras and Plato, and was later made famous by Erasmus[10] – while also addressing secular, worldly concerns like illness, friendship, and more human interests. Humanists were famous for this Janus-like perspective in their letters where they faced both intellectual and worldly concerns. It is this dual vision of

[7] Francesco Filelfo, *Collected Letters («Epistolarum Libri» XLVIII)*, ed. Jeroen De Keyser, 4 vols., Hellenica 54 (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2015): 665-666.

[8] Anthony Grafton, *Inky Fingers: The Making of Books in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2020); Anne Goldgar, *Impolite Learning: Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters, 1680-1750* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

[9] Filelfo, *Collected Letters*, 666.

[10] Kathy Eden, *Friends Hold All Things in Common: Tradition, Intellectual Property, and the 'Adages' of Erasmus* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001): 5.

community formation and friendship building done through the sharing of books, and through premodern norms of sociability, that this dissertation addresses: all through studying the humanists of fifteenth-century Rome and their negotiated and most important items, their books.

The Argument and Structure

This dissertation argues that the intellectual production of the humanist scholars in Quattrocento Rome was underpinned and supported by the many socio-cultural habits and behaviours of friendship, rivalry, and collegiality in premodern Europe. To more fully understand how the intellectual and cultural movement known as humanism entered, developed, and flourished in papal and curial Rome, and its famous *renovatio* and renewal of the later fifteenth century, humanism needs to be studied in terms of its social dynamics and behaviours for how these scholars lived and worked in the city, focusing on both their elite and their wider social and intellectual networks and communities. Through close studies of individual humanists and their exchange of and manipulation of books while also engaging in humanist practices of authorship and book production, I argue that, in a particularly formative period for humanism in Rome, these scholars engaged in a world of intellectual production where they struggled for reputation and authority, but they relied on each other, and their friendships and networks, to do so.

To make this argument, I focus on narrating, and then analyzing, the behaviour of the humanists living and working in Quattrocento Rome, from approximately 1440 to 1480, behaviour that they recorded in their books. Following the approach laid out in Chapter One of this dissertation, along with scholars informed by both European and Indigenous methods of storytelling and narrative, I assert the methodological value of using stories about people to highlight historical experiences. Among many others, cultural critic Hayden White in *Metahistory* (1973) and Indigenous novelist Thomas King in *The Truth About Stories* (2003) argue for the

importance of story and the role of the narrator and narrative voice in the writing of history and the shaping of identity, rather than for reducing or neglecting the historian's role in narrating stories about those in the past; that narrative is important for history and vice versa, reflecting historical writing that is not just an analysis of data points presented without a narrator. Thomas King famously argued in his CBC Massey Lectures that "the truth about stories is that that's all we are,"[11] stressing the importance of using stories to access the humanity of many pasts and presents, of historical persons and of the authors of history, from both Indigenous and European sources.[12] I am also inspired by microhistorians and their eye for detailed narratives, for the importance of the historical actor, and for the value of following the story. With an eye to perspectives on History as Narrative, from Anglo-American historiography and to Thomas King, with his descriptions of the impact of stories for historical value, I focus on telling and analyzing stories about the humanists and situating these stories into the worlds they inhabited, rather than search for humanist community formation by way of their philosophical or classicizing contributions.[13]

By narrating humanist lives and studying these interactions for meaning, I follow scholars like Ingrid Rowland, Brian Maxson, and Sarah Ross, among many others, who study humanists in their societies and in the many social worlds and spheres that they inhabited.[14] Placing humanists

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[11] Thomas King, *The Truth About Stories: A Native Narrative* (Toronto: House of Anansi, 2003): 32

[12] King, *The Truth About Stories*, 32: "The truth about stories is that that's all we are. 'You can't understand the world without telling a story,' the Anishinabe writer Gerald Vizenor tells us. 'There isn't any center to the world but a story.'" Also consult the historical theorist Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973).

[13] For microhistory as a method, consult Sigurður Gylfi Magnússon and István M. Szijártó, *What Is Microhistory?: Theory and Practice* (New York: Routledge, 2013); Thomas V. Cohen, "The Macrohistory of Microhistory," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 47, no. 1 (January 1, 2017): 53–73; and for the classic microhistories, Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, trans. John Tedeschi and Anne Tedeschi (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980) and Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1984). For the importance of Narrative in History, see White, *Metahistory*; King, *The Truth About Stories*; Lawrence Stone, "The Revival of Narrative: Reflections on a New Old History," *Past & Present*, no. 85 (1979): 3–24.

[14] Ingrid Rowland, *The Culture of the High Renaissance: Ancients and Moderns in Sixteenth Century Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Brian Jeffrey Maxson, *The Humanist World of Renaissance*

back into their elite worlds of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Europe and the cultural history of scholarship, reading, and book production, recent scholarship has suggested that the importance of humanists can be found not just in their intellectual contributions, but also in how their participation in their wider world shaped how European societies developed. My work follows and contributes to this scholarship: by telling stories about these humanists, the humanists are made human. They are historicized and put back into the world that they lived in, and that their scholarship affected.

Chapter One, "Humanizing Humanists," puts this dissertation into discussion with the large fields of both early modern intellectual and social history by looking at how these two historiographies have evolved with and without an analysis of humanism as a topic. As Quattrocento humanism is most widely understood as a cultural and intellectual movement and a context in which intellectuals worked, its flexibility of definitions makes it a rich venue of which both to analyze humanism in its historical context, and to reflect on one's own scholarly environment as well.[15] Thus, Chapter One describes the stories that historians have told during the twentieth century about Quattrocento humanism, and asks why there has been a gap between scholars who study intellectual contributions and scholars who study social behaviours. In this chapter, I argue that the lenses of analysis used by both intellectual history and social history each unintentionally neglect the other field. However, by studying the social patterns and behaviours of intellectuals in the past using anthropological methods – particularly Pierre Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*, or the unconscious replication of wider behaviours by agents working in multiple contexts – the divide between structure and process can be overcome to move the study of humanism and

Florence (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Sarah Gwyneth Ross, *Everyday Renaissances: The Quest for Cultural Legitimacy in Venice* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2015).

[15] Maxson, *The Humanist World,* 10.

humanists forward.[16] I then suggest a path forward for how the study of humanism and humanist behaviour can benefit by bridging social and intellectual historiography together for positive results for both fields, and I put this dissertation into recent and fruitful arguments in the many subfields I engage with – particularly important for the discipline of humanist studies.[17]

The second chapter follows this larger discussion of and engagement with humanism, and investigates one of the more fascinating, if broader sites of humanists' behaviour and engagement in their world by looking at the genre of humanist prefaces: the introductions and elaborate defenses they wrote for the books they commented on and authored. While as a genre the preface dates back long before the 1400s and roams far beyond the borders of Europe, the humanist use of prefaces extended their encounter with and transformations of the classical world into engaging with contemporary environments and behaviours, an extension of their *habitus*.[18] The humanists' prefaces to translations or commentaries reflected their devotion to the classical world in search of virtue for their own time, so they used their prefaces to engage with each other as well with their patrons, doing so through both competition and collaboration, treating the preface as almost its own text. Through a study of two prefaces sent between friends, and not to patrons – one from Theodore Gaza to Giovanni Bussi, and one from Bartolomeo Platina to Agostino Maffei, both from between 1460 to 1475 – we see how, outside of their attention to classical knowledge and its use in their world, these prefaces reflect patterns of community formation and friendship seen in other

[16] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

[17] Appropriately, as humanism traditionally is understood as those who studied five distinct disciplines (moral philosophy, history, poetry, rhetoric, and grammar), the study of humanism and humanists has almost become a discipline of its own, with its own discipline representative at the major organization for Renaissance studies in the United States, the Renaissance Society of America.

[18] For humanism as a transformation of antiquity instead of considering it as only the reproduction and reception of the classical heritage, consult Patrick Baker, Johannes Helmrath, and Craig Kallendorf, eds., *Beyond Reception: Renaissance Humanism and the Transformation of Classical Antiquity*, Transformationen Der Antike 62 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019).

premodern environments, but the humanists shrouded their social behaviours in classical rhetoric and an appeal to and use of classical texts. By reading these prefaces for their community interactions instead of their analysis of classical texts and philosophy, Chapter Two argues that the humanist preface as a category need not be understood as merely a didactic tool for humanist education, or a tool of patronage for premodern intellectuals, as patronage is an expansive concept for early modern society. Reading these two prefaces both with and through their classicizing rhetoric, I argue that, in addition to their search for patronage, these two prefaces reveal that prefaces were sites where the humanists networked with and pleaded for help from their friends and colleagues, as prefaces followed and expanded on the epistolary culture that humanists much more famously engaged in.[19]

Chapter Three moves from talking about prefaces as a genre, and turns to confront them *in situ* and from a single author in a specific context. It studies the collection of prefaces written by Giovanni Andrea Bussi (1417-1475). A minor bishop and intellectual living and working in Rome, from 1468 to 1472 Bussi was the editor of an early printing press in Rome, run by the German printers Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz. In his position as editor, he not only aided in the production of classical texts through the printing process, but also wrote twenty prefaces for these works, dedicating these works to elites in Rome, mostly the reigning pope, Paul II Barbo. I argue in Chapter Three that Bussi, taking stock of the position of humanists and humanism in Quattrocento Rome, used his prefaces to inform the Pope and the readers of these books of the importance of supporting humanism and scholarship. Acting as a broker for humanists and

[19] Cecil Clough, "The Cult of Antiquity: Letters and Letter Collections," in *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance: Essays in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, ed. Cecil Clough (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976), 33–67; Timothy Kircher, "The Community of Letters in Renaissance Italy," *Antike und Abendland* 68, no. 1 (December 1, 2022): 37–58; Paula Findlen and Suzanne Sutherland, eds., *The Renaissance of Letters: Knowledge and Community in Italy, 1300-1650* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019).

humanism in Rome through his prefaces, Bussi stressed the importance and communities of humanism, and argued for the necessity of supporting fellow scholars, financially and culturally. Studying a few of his prefaces across the four years he was writing them, and positioning them within moments of crisis for humanists in Rome (including the arrest and imprisonment of fellow humanists in 1468, and the theological conflicts between scholars at the curia), I show how Bussi methodically brokered between scholars and persons in positions of authority in Rome, and why his written support and brokerage through his prefaces was important for humanism to succeed in the networks of curial Rome, right at the advent of print culture in the Eternal City.

Chapter Four follows up on this discussion of print history and book production in fifteenth-century Rome, and asks an innocuous question about an important humanist work: Who wrote Pius II's *Commentaries*? At over 500 folio pages and written in thirteen books, twelve of which are complete, Pius II's famous memoir from c. 1464 is, in its rough copy, a collage of hands, narratives, and voices that Pius (born Enea Silvio Piccolomini) intentionally absorbed and smoothed over to promote both his own authority and the crusade he planned to lead.[20] By studying the *Commentaries* as a material item with its own paratexts and moving parts, and laying out the process of its creation and manipulation by not just Pius, but also by a community of intellectuals invested in the politics of papal reputation in Quattrocento Rome, I argue that the *Commentaries* were not just written by the man associated with it. Pius II choreographed his memoir very well, but he was not its only author and contributor. Rather, the creation of the *Commentaries* in its two manuscripts and eventual printing was a co-ordinated effort by many to shape the reputation of the

[20] Pope Pius II, *Commentarii Rerum Memorabilium Que Temporibus Suis Contigerunt*, ed. Adrianus van Heck, 2 vols., Studi e Testi 312 and 313 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1984). Cf. Barry Torch and Jennifer Mara DeSilva, "Pius II and the Andreis (1462): Textual Circulation, Crusade Promotion and Papal Power," *Renaissance Studies* 36, no. 4 (2022): 590–609.

Piccolomini pope after his death in the literary and political environment in Quattrocento Rome. Studying its plural prefaces, its appendix and editing process, and the politics of its immediate circulation and image-making in the early sixteenth century, I stress how many authors and agents were involved in shaping Pius' reputation through the making and remaking of his memoir. This chapter follows the others, and reiterates how important book culture was in the political and cultural worlds of fifteenth-century curial Rome, and for intellectuals who were hoping to make their mark and reputations.[21]

Tying these chapters together is a concern and care for the lived experience of scholars who worked in mid- to late-fifteenth-century Rome. I am concerned with not only their individual lives, biographical details, and their production of humanist manuscripts and philosophies, but also their friendships, their networks – kin networks and others – and what their most important items, their books, meant to them when they shared their manuscripts to enhance their work, to bring their books to print, and to affect change in their world. Using the analytical lenses of bibliography and book history, along with the rich worlds of social and cultural historical methods, I treat the habits and behaviours of scholars as an increasingly rich topic of investigation, for both their individual lives and production and their community engagements.[22] My dissertation turns to a small group of these scholars in a very precise place and time, and asks how these men practiced and performed their humanistic habits in a wider and complicated world of patronage, social networking, and competition.

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[21] For a publication that does similar work, consult Margaret Meserve's magisterial *Papal Bull: Print, Politics, and Propaganda in Renaissance Rome* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2021).

[22] Goldgar, *Impolite Learning*; Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994); Ingeborg van Vugt, "Networking in the Republic of Letters: Magliabechi and the Dutch Republic," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 53, no. 1 (2022): 117–41.

Terms, and Stakes of the Dissertation

The genre of dissertation writing demands specificity of subject matter, so a few terms and concepts that I will use throughout this work need both definition and discussion here, especially concerning their use. For much of what I argue here, these concepts have a long history – for some, 500 years' worth of analysis. These concepts need identification and discussion both for why I use them, and for what my use of these terms contributes to these very long historiographical discussions.

While humanism as a concept and term is defined and given its own history in Chapter One, especially to show how the arguments about premodern humanism are major parts of how historiography has developed, a brief justification is needed here. Understandably, humanists have often been grouped with scholastics, intellectuals, natural philosophers, and scientists as a part of a wider intellectual history of European thought. As members of the literate elite in Europe, they did not receive social analysis as part of social historians' interests in those hidden from traditional historical narratives, although this has changed in recent historiography.[23] As the humanists were scholars, their lives and their worlds reasonably belong to the many worlds of scholarship and intellectual history, rarely addressed by social historians. To counter this neglect, I study humanists by virtue of their participation in a wider society: how they lived as scholars in a wider world, not only for their production or elite interactions but also for their wider behaviour. Gently following John Jeffries Martin's idea of the five performed selves in early modernity in his *Myths of Renaissance Individualism*, and the many recent works that place scholars in dialogue with the

[23]The two best introductions to Quattrocento humanism are Jill Kraye, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), and David Rundle, ed., *Humanism in Fifteenth-Century Europe*, Medium Aevum Monographs, XXX (Oxford: Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 2012).

many intellectual and cultural currents of their day, I argue that humanists performed their scholarship as a distinct performance within the wider world of early modern Italy.[24] By stressing the humanity of these scholars and studying them as individuals in a wider world, I bridge the gap between "scholars" and "society" that historiography has developed (see Chapter One). Meanwhile, limiting my study to the humanists lets me investigate the particularities of this precise and self-fashioned intellectual group, rather than making an argument for all the intellectuals who worked in fifteenth-century Rome: scholastics, scholars belonging to mendicant and other religious orders, antiquarians, academicians, theologians, humanists, and many more. I borrow the use and definition of "humanism" and "humanist" from Kenneth Gouwens', Brian Maxson's, and Sarah Gwyneth Ross' works; they propose that a humanist is someone who participated in the cultural contexts of Quattrocento humanism and its striving for legitimacy in early modernity by having a narrow focus on the study of Latin, "a focus on the application of learning in the active life," and a distinct focus on the importance of the Greco-Roman heritage in fifteenth-century Italy.[25]

I believe we can demarcate four phases for the history of humanist Rome. The first one involves the introduction of Paduan and Tuscan humanism into Rome via the culmination of the conciliar crises, beginning around 1420, with the return of the papacy to Rome, and stretching towards the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottoman Empire in 1453.[26] This period of the

[24] John Jeffries Martin, *Myths of Renaissance Individualism*, Early Modern History: Society and Culture (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004). The humanists were famously self reflective on what they were doing and the newness of their intellectual approach. Consult Patrick Baker, *Italian Renaissance Humanism in the Mirror* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

[25] Kenneth Gouwens, "Perceiving the Past: Renaissance Humanism after the 'Cognitive Turn,'" *The American Historical Review* 103, no. 1 (February 1, 1998): 55–82; Maxson, *The Humanist World*, 9-10; Ross, *The Quest for Cultural Legitimacy*.

[26] For the origins of humanism as both Paduan and Tuscan, consult Ronald G. Witt, *"In the Footsteps of the Ancients": The Origins of Humanism from Lovato to Bruni* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

development of humanism and its Roman manifestation is covered in remarkable detail by scholars such as Elizabeth McCahill, Clémence Revest, and Arnold Esch, who focus on intellectual networks and on community formation by way of engaging in the classical heritage that humanists were actively discovering and refining.[27] The next phase of humanist Rome is the one this dissertation addresses. This phase is the period from approximately the late 1440s to the 1480s, where humanism in Rome was highly dependent on the fortunes of the papacy and on its intellectual interests.[28] The humanists in Rome, buoyed by the influx of Greek scholars fleeing the Ottoman Empire, the beginning of a print culture in the 1460s, and institutional growth in the curia and other papal offices, created "families" for and with each other in an effort to stabilize and secure their positions, rather than rely only on the fortune of a benevolent patron.[29] With my concern for the social behaviours and practices of humanists and for how they lived and made connections within Rome, this is the period that my dissertation covers, joining the work of Margaret Meserve, Anna Modigliani, Anthony D'Elia, Concetta Bianca, and Jennifer Mara DeSilva, among many others.[30]

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[27] Elizabeth McCahill, *Reviving the Eternal City: Rome and the Papal Court, 1420-1447*, I Tatti Studies in Italian Renaissance History (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2013); Clémence Revest, *Romam veni: Humanisme et papauté à la fin du Grand Schisme* (Ceyzérieu: Champ Vallon, 2021); Arnold Esch, *Rom: Vom Mittelalter zur Renaissance, 1378-1484* (Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck, 2016).

[28] Paolo Brezzi and Maristella De Panizza Lorch, eds., *Umanesimo a Roma nel Quattrocento: Atti del convengo su umanesimo a Roma nel Quattrocento* (Rome and New York: Istituto di Studi Romani and Barnard College, 1984).

[29] For curial families, consult John D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome: Humanists and Churchmen on the Eve of the Reformation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983): 38.

[30] Meserve, *Papal Bull*; idem, "News from Negroponte: Politics, Popular Opinion, and Information Exchange in the First Decade of the Italian Press," *Renaissance Quarterly* 59, no. 2 (Summer 2006): 440–80; Anna Modigliani, *Disegni sulla città nel primo Rinascimento Romano: Paolo II*, RR Inedita 40 (Rome: Roma nel Rinascimento, 2009); Anthony D'Elia, *A Sudden Terror: The Plot to Murder the Pope in Renaissance Rome* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2009); Concetta Bianca, "Le strade della 'sancta ars': la stampa e la curia a Roma nel XV secolo," in *La stampa romana nella città dei papi e in Europa*, Studi e Testi 506 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2016), 1–8; Jennifer Mara DeSilva, *The Office of Ceremonies and Advancement in Curial Rome, 1466–1528*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions 230 (Leiden: Brill, 2022); idem, "The Roman Clerical Household as a Site for Provision to Office, Respectability, and Clerical Masculinity," in *Patriarchy, Honour, and Violence: Masculinities in Premodern Europe*, ed. Jacqueline Murray, Essays and Studies 57 (Toronto: Centre for Renaissance and Reformation Studies, 2022), 241–65.

The next phase of humanist Rome involved an entrenching and flowering of humanist culture in the late fifteenth century and sixteenth century, particularly surrounding the pontificates of Sixtus IV della Rovere, Alexander VI Borja, Julius II della Rovere, and Leo X Medici, stretching approximately to the Sack of Rome in 1527 under Clement VII Medici. This period was covered by John D'Amico in his *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome* (1983), and more recently, by Ingrid Rowland's important work, *The Culture of the High Renaissance: Ancients and Moderns in Sixteenth-Century Rome* (2000).[31] Additionally, this is the period where most accounts of early modern Rome begin.[32] The last phase of humanist Rome comes after the Sack of Rome when, trying to recover what was lost, humanism re-entrenched itself in Rome by tying itself more directly to the institutions of the papacy and Church, helping these major institutions develop and to face the Reformations and their many effects head on. This period is covered in depth by Kenneth Gouwens, Julia Gaig Haisser, and Charles Stinger, among others.[33] The phase of humanism in Rome from approximately the 1440s to the 1480s, when humanism was not yet institutionalized but had a presence in the city, is the period this dissertation addresses. I assert we can understand the successes of humanism in Rome and in its urban environments by seeing how the humanists created and shaped their communities of friends and rivals.

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[31] John D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome: Humanists and Churchmen on the Eve of the Reformation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983); Rowland, *The Culture of the High Renaissance*.

[32] Pamela Jones, Barbara Wisch, and Simon Ditchfield, eds., *A Companion to Early Modern Rome, 1492-1692*, Brill's Companion to European History 17 (Leiden: Brill, 2019); Peter Partner, *Renaissance Rome, 1500-1559: A Portrait of a Society* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976). Antonio Pinelli, ed., *Roma del Rinascimento* (Rome: Laterza, 2001) covers the fifteenth century as well as the sixteenth, but the dominant narrative of the Renaissance in Rome is from the late fifteenth century forward.

[33] Kenneth Gouwens, "Ciceronianism and Collective Identity: Defining the Boundaries of the Roman Academy, 1525," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 23, no. 2 (Spring 1993): 173–95; idem, *Remembering the Renaissance: Humanist Narratives of the Sack of Rome*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 85 (Leiden: Brill, 1998); Julia Haig Gaisser, *Piero Valeriano on the Ill Fortune of Learned Men: A Renaissance Humanist and His World*, Recentiores: Later Latin Texts and Contexts (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1999); Charles Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome*, Second Edition (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998).

The period 1440 to 1480 was a particularly unstable time for humanism in Rome. The influx of humanists after the conciliar era and the conquering of Constantinople created a period of flux in the many curial offices as scholars, Greek and Latin, competed for patronage which was never guaranteed. Within this competitive environment, scholars made families and networks, having intellectual arguments from entrenched camps that mirrored their constructed families, while still always searching for more stable employment and connections to the city and its institutions. By studying these communities of scholars as communities with their own habits and particularities, and narrating the growth of humanist communities with an eye to the collegialities and the competitions of humanists on a social basis, we can see how the humanists relied on the social norms they understood and performed. We can also see how humanists, with their roles in the city as itinerant scholars, enforced these vulnerable communities and their networks with wider premodern social behaviours of friendships and rivalries. In their fight for these positions to gain and become patrons, and to entrench themselves into Rome at all, the humanists used both humanist productivity as well as their wider social networks to benefit the bureaucracies of Rome. This is why John D'Amico calls the entry of humanism into Rome as "the most spectacular success story in the history of Italian humanism."[34] To understand this success, we need to understand its most liminal period, to see how the humanists fought and then succeeded in the incredibly unstable world of Quattrocento Rome.

Lastly, the terminology that scholars use for the period and people I study needs a brief discussion for how they are used in this dissertation. I have tried to avoid the use of the term "Renaissance" in this dissertation, but not the term "humanist." Both terms are anachronisms:

[34] John F. D'Amico, "Humanism in Rome," in *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, ed. Albert Rabil Jr. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988): 264.

"Renaissance" was used by Jules Michelet in his 1855 work, *Histoire de France*, to describe the period, and was set in stone in Jacob Burckhardt's famous 1860 publication, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (in German, *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien*). Similarly, "humanist" was a term first used in the sixteenth century as a colloquial nickname to describe a teacher of the liberal arts as an *umanista*.[35] While I have continued to use humanist as an easy catch-all for the scholars of the classical tradition and the liberal arts of fifteenth-century Europe (also using the terms "scholars" and "intellectuals" interchangeably, following its use as a category by Jacques Le Goff[36]), the term "Renaissance" is far too broad a category, and far too weighed down with historical and contemporary expectations, for it to have any helpful meaning in my discussions of time and context. Instead, throughout this dissertation I use "fifteenth century," the Italian term "Quattrocento," "early modern," or "premodern," which are closer to describing the period under investigation. While these phrases have their own implications and difficulties of use – especially concerning "what is modern" and how does one establish modernity – these phrases come closer to addressing periods and decades I study, which "Renaissance," stretching anywhere from 1250 to 1750 depending on where and what is studied, does not do.[37]

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[35] For "Renaissance," consult Guido Ruggiero, *The Renaissance in Italy: A Social and Cultural History of the Rinascimento* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015): 9-11, and Wallace Ferguson, Chapter VI: "Conflicting Trends and the Beginnings of a Periodic Concept," in *The Renaissance in Historical Thought*, RSART: Renaissance Society of America Reprint Text Series (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 2006): 133-178. For humanism, consult Chapter One of this dissertation, as well as Vito R. Giustiniani, "Homo, Humanus, and the Meanings of 'Humanism,'" *Journal of the History of Ideas* 46, no. 2 (April 1985): 167–95; Patrick Baker, *Italian Renaissance Humanism in the Mirror* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

[36] Jacques Le Goff, *Intellectuals in the Middle Ages*, trans. Theresa Lavender Fagan (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1993).

[37] Thanks to Christine Zappella Papanastassiou, who has discussed this topic at length with me. Additional thanks to Ada Palmer, whose blog post about "The Renaissance" and COVID-19 has been very helpful in framing this discussion, along with many discussions I've had with her. Palmer is working on a forthcoming popular history about these topics titled *Inventing the Renaissance*. Consult Ada Palmer, "Black Death, COVID, and Why We Keep Telling the Myth of a Renaissance Golden Age and Bad Middle Ages." *Ex Urbe* blog. https://www.exurbe.com/black-death-covid-and-why-we-keep-telling-the-myth-of-a-renaissance-golden-age-and-bad-middle-ages/

Coda

Studying the behaviour and lives of the humanists who worked and lived in Rome in the mid-fifteenth century, this dissertation asks, "how do we understand how intellectuals behaved, and why does it matter?" In 2021, Flavia De Nicola engaged in a rich, long tradition of giving me a book, not simply to share knowledge with a friend or to share her own intellectual production, but to create and enhance a friendship that stretches across global and national boundaries. The fifteenth-century humanists did the same thing, practicing their citizenship in the Republic of Letters before the printing press revolutionized and expanded it in the early sixteenth century.[38]

Building many communities for themselves and orchestrating the dynamics of friendship along intellectual and classicizing lines, the humanists were not removed from their wider, early modern worlds. This dissertation shows that, to build their friendships, they were engaging in many habits and performances that were similar for the non-elite, non-scholarly cultures of fifteenth-century Europe.[39] Putting the humanists back into their worlds – both scholarly and worldly – I fundamentally argue that these premodern men were deeply involved in their worlds, and deeply aware of how they were trying to negotiate and improve them. While the humanist project of reviving and enhancing classical virtue for early modernity was a project that these men were engaged in and influenced by, I believe that to understand humanism and its goals, we need to see how humanists behaved and how humanism worked in practice, much as Brian Maxson, Lauro Martines, Anthony Grafton, and Lisa Jardine have done.[40] This dissertation tells those stories of

[38] Because of the ease of producing books that the printing press created, most studies of the Republic of Letters only begin circa 1500, and neglect to study the fifteenth century and the scholars creating their own communities of letters before 1500.

[39] Elizabeth Storr Cohen and Thomas Vance Cohen, *Daily Life in Renaissance Italy* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2001).

[40] Maxson, *The Humanist World*; Lauro Martines, *The Social World of the Florentine Humanists 1390-1460* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963); Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the*

how the humanists built their communities in the important, culturally overwhelming, and deeply competitive city of Quattrocento Rome.

Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth and Sixteenth-Century Europe (London, England: Duckworth Press, 1986).

CAPITVLVM PRIMVM: Humanizing Humanists: Historiography and the Methods of Humanist Scholarship

Introduction

"The truth about stories is that that's all we are."[1] There are many wonderful, aggrandizing, important, and powerful stories told about the Italian intellectuals known as humanists who lived from the 1200s to the 1600s, stories that have gone on to, in many ways, define what we think of the period known as the "Renaissance" or the early modern.[2] In studying the past, many scholars write stories about these humanists. There are the more traditional and laudatory stories told of the discovery or rediscovery of ancient manuscripts long lost during an imagined "darker age," and bringing the knowledge back to life to be shared and transformed, heralding and helping to define modernity.[3] There are other narratives told about intellectual debates based on these rediscovered manuscripts in a rapidly changing environment, using classical wisdom in their world to refine and reform the public and ruling elite.[4] And there are stories told about the genesis of political and ethical thought in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and how this new thought, by these new thinkers, affected the growth of states, the ascendance of political and natural philosophy, and the development of our world today and what it means to be modern.[5]

These narratives about the past, constructed by historians, created both positive and negative accounts that inform our understanding of the development of the Western world, and

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[1] Thomas King, *The Truth About Stories*, *A Native Narrative* (Toronto: House of Anansi, 2003), 2.

[2] Ronald G. Witt, *"In the Footsteps of the Ancients": The Origins of Humanism from Lovato to Bruni* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

[3] Alison Brown, *The Return of Lucretius in Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2010).

[4] Ada Palmer, *Reading Lucretius in the Renaissance*, I Tatti Studies in Italian Renaissance History (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2014).

[5] Joanne Paul, *Counsel and Command in Early Modern English Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

encouraged ideas of Western exceptionalism, triumph, and dominance that still affect our world today. The most famous of these narratives, Jacob Burckhardt's study of the Italian Renaissance published in 1860, suggested that the Renaissance was arguably a negative thing for the development of a modern world whose direction troubled him.[6] The stories told by historians affect how we understand the past, and how we understand ourselves, especially in relation to the past and historical knowledge. The stories about humanists become, to quote Indigenous novelist Thomas King, what we are, particularly for those completing academic work in a liberal arts discipline.[7]

Many of these stories about the scholars of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are well rehearsed, described, and applauded or decried by contemporary historians, who seek to amplify the stories from the past that we know and use. In his *The Lost Italian Renaissance: Humanists, Historians, and Latin's Legacy* (2004), Christopher Celenza investigates the stories that historians from the nineteenth century onward have told about humanism, asking why the stories about this movement were written, used, and developed at all, and how such scholarship was largely ignored and lost to the wider historical discipline in the twentieth century. Yet the stories about humanism are not the only ones worth investigating. The ways historians have thought and written about these intellectuals are stories as well, especially when the historiography of this subfield stretches across several centuries, places, and historical schools.[8] This chapter thus investigates the stories

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[6] Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S. G. C. Middlemore (New York: Modern Library, 2002). Burckhardt never outright argues that the Renaissance was a negative development for how his world came into existence, but he finds the roots of things he detests in his world in the Italian Renaissance. Cf. Oren Margolis, "After Baron, Back to Burckhardt?" in *After Civic Humanism: Learning and Politics in Renaissance Italy*, eds. Nicholas Scott Baker and Brian Jeffrey Maxson (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2015): 41.

[7] King, *The Truth About Stories*, 2. Cf. Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), especially Ch. 6: "Burckhardt: Historical Realism as Satire."

[8] Wallace Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought*, RSART: Renaissance Society of America Reprint Text Series (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 2006).

that have been told *about* humanism: stories about historians seeking to understand the people and worlds of the past. The accounts of how intellectual historians think and write about humanism, or how social historians do (or do not) address humanists in their work are stories of how the disciplines of history and early modern studies have evolved: they have implications for how we understand these historical disciplines today. Here, I tell the story of how humanism has been studied by scholars. Historiographical narratives need to be described and discussed. They, as their own stories about the past, affect who we are.

In *The Lost Italian Renaissance*, Celenza argues that there is no wider historiographical divide than that between the social historians and the intellectual historians of the Italian Renaissance.[9] He links this divide to several major historiographical schools and sociological theorists, referring frequently to Richard Rorty and Pierre Bourdieu and their theories of how knowledge and culture are expressed in the world, especially by scholars. Celenza cites Rorty's highlighting a tripartite relationship between 1) the expression of ideas in the past, 2) the state of affairs in the world that being expressed by those ideas, and 3) the intellectual communities who were doing the expressing.[10] Celenza then uses Bourdieu for his arguments on "think[ing] relationally and not in terms of ideal categories," to stress the relationship of intellectual communities within these three categories and with their historical circumstances, instead of as static and separate categories.[11] Celenza then all but begs the readers of *The Lost Italian*

[9] Christopher Celenza, *The Lost Italian Renaissance: Humanists, Historians, and Latin's Legacy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006): 69. Celenza writes, "Intellectuals in the past lived as we do, within interpretive communities. How can we understand their world? Through what lenses can we see the past? … I propose that we must think collaboratively and bridge the gap in Italian Renaissance studies, which is wider than in almost any other historical field, between social and intellectual historians."

[10] Celenza, *The Lost Italian Renaissance*, 68: "The language one uses to describe the world in which one is interested (the Renaissance, say) is symbolic in that it evokes rather than represents the past; it gives validity to the past world one is trying to evoke; and it makes sense within an interpretive community … a philosopher is supposed to be part of a conversation that leads to the development of useful consensuses."

[11] Celenza, *The Lost Italian Renaissance*, 76-78: "As Bourdieu wrote, 'to think in terms of field is to think relationally'. A field, in other words, is a network within which we can situate a thinker and her or his intellectual

Renaissance to heed the connections between the intellectual and the social worlds of premodern Italy, and recommends the use of critical theory and its application to the actions, utterances, and worlds of intellectuals in the fifteenth century, using the style of microhistory and its fondness for telling stories as a guiding method.[12] Because the movement of culture in the premodern world is more reciprocal than either top-down or bottom-up, as Celenza (and social historians) posit, then it should seem reasonable for historians of humanism to situate the intellectuals they study into their wider cultural behaviours.[13] While the trend of situating humanists into their wider social worlds has begun, especially in the twenty-first century, to illuminate the cultures of premodern Europe, the sociability, routines, and practices of humanism in Italy remain an under-studied area.

This chapter investigates why historians of humanism have remained largely unaware of developments in social history and historiography. It tells the history of how the many histories of humanism developed, describes some of the definitive battles about the definitions of "humanism" and disciplinary territories, and then discusses how the analysis about humanism can continue to develop – and indeed, is developing and is a very vivacious field. It then shows how the recent movements towards studying the practices of humanism - a *commercium litterarum,* or commerce of letters - in fifteenth-century Italy *via* communities of scholarship has enlivened the understanding of intellectual culture in a wider social setting, a study sometimes referred to as a sociology of intellectuals.[14] While humanist historiography started with and remains close to developments in the study of intellectual culture and political and institutional history (with good

products … There is thus a subjective element, the thinker, and the objective exterior world, the field, with which that thinker interacts on many levels."

[12] Celenza, *The Lost Italian Renaissance*, Ch. 4, "A Microhistory of Intellectuals".

[13] Thomas Cohen and Elizabeth Cohen, *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome: Six Trials before the Papal Magistrates* (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1993): 3-4.

[14] Celenza, *The Lost Italian Renaissance*, 75. For more on the history of scholarship, Anthony Grafton, *Commerce with the Classics: Ancient Books and Renaissance Readers*, Thomas Spencer Jerome Lectures (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1997).

reason), this chapter suggests potential new directions for the field, and situates my research in the multiplicity of recent work being done in the histories of scholarship, reading, book culture, and elite culture.

Scholarship's wider social and cultural turns in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries affected how scholars read and work with humanist texts and lives. Still there remains a methodological and perspectival gap between the study of intellectuals and their ideas on the one hand, and that of their behaviour as social characters in a wider world on the other. Indeed, this divide says more about how medieval and early modern studies have developed as disciplines than it does about scholarly life in the fifteenth century.[15] In this chapter, I outline the history of studies on the humanists, and I provide the approach to studying humanism that my dissertation will use. I describe the current scholarship on humanist and intellectual culture for Quattrocento Rome. I then situate the research of this dissertation in this wide world of humanist studies, suggesting that one should use methods of storytelling, and narratives about the humanists, to understand the precise dynamics of scholarly life in the fluid environments of Quattrocento Rome.[16]

In very general terms, this chapter simultaneously relies on, and yet firmly challenges, a distinct separation between social history and intellectual history based predominantly on scholars' research questions and approaches. Social history, originally concerned with an often Marxian approach of "history from below" and focused on power along with political and economic

[15] Two recent works on humanist thought and Renaissance society barely mention the other historiography. James Hankins, *Virtue Politics: Soulcraft and Statecraft in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2019), professes to write a full interpretation of Renaissance humanism and political thought affecting Renaissance Italy, while only referencing social-historical work and perspectives from the 1980s. Cf. Guido Ruggiero, *The Renaissance in Italy: A Social and Cultural History of the Rinascimento* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015): 206, writes "There were no humanists" for the period stretching 1350-1475, and Ruggiero appears to discount the existence of humanism as a distinct intellectual movement entirely.

[16] A work of this nature is Anthony D'Elia's, *A Sudden Terror: The Plot to Murder the Pope in Renaissance Rome* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), telling the story of the perceived assassination of the Pope by the humanists in Rome, and the possible reasons behind said attempt.

authority, tends to frame its concerns as relational, asking how people in the past related to each other and to their societies on axes of power, gender, class, or race.[17] Social historians have asked questions about the daily life, habits, and dynamics of life for non-elites in the past, trying to understand both their existence and their worlds, rather than simply counting non-elite individuals in historical documents and inferring their existence in a static world.[18] Intellectual history, on the other hand, has been interested in the power of ideas in history, and in how contexts, people, places, and dialogues have affected these ideas and their intellectual movements, be they normative, orthodox, heterodox, or entirely heretical.[19] Intellectual historians ask questions of their sources that frame the movement, transformation, and structure of ideas and trace their practitioners in their worlds, a method that necessarily lends itself to a fairly structural and static analysis of both ideas and persons: ideas existing in a world, and intellectuals as part of that world of ideas.

I suggest that these two fields can richly learn from each other by thinking each with the other's methods: social historians can benefit by thinking structurally as well as relationally, and vice versa for intellectual historians. This operation has been done with great success by historians of science, of reading, of scholarship, and of religion, among other approaches.[20] Steven Shapin's *A Social History of Truth* (1994) argues that the development of "science" in seventeenth-century

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[17] Celenza, *The Lost Italian Renaissance*, 76-78. The term "relational" comes from Bourdieu, in how one should think "relationally" and not in terms of distinct categories operating in the world independent of others. A particularly good example of the debate between stasis and relationality in social history is seen in the *Signs* debate between Linda Gordon and Joan Wallach Scott regarding women and their representation in a wider world. Joan W. Scott, book review, *Heroes of Their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence* by Linda Gordon; Linda Gordon, "Response to Scott"; Linda Gordon, book review, *Gender and the Politics of History* by Joan Wallach Scott; Joan W. Scott, "Response to Gordon," *Signs* 15, no. 4 (1990): 853-860.

[18] Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975).

[19] Alexander Bevilacqua and Frederick Clark, *Thinking in the Past Tense* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2019)

[20] For the history of science, Shapin, *A Social History of Truth*; For the history of reading, Anthony Grafton, *Inky Fingers: The Making of Books in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2020); For the history of religion, Emily Michelson, *The Pulpit and the Press in Reformation Italy*, I Tatti Studies in Italian Renaissance History (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2013).

England was informed not just by mathematical and scientific development, but more importantly, by the civility and patterned interactions of the gentlemen-scientists of the Royal Society. The trust, communality, and belief in integrity held between these scholars created a sense of reliability, so that their interactions and friendliness informed and shaped their scientific acumen and production.[21] The same approach of studying the lives and behaviours of scholars can richly benefit the history and historiography of Quattrocento humanism.

Quattrocento humanism was not simply an intellectual practice. As participants in a movement, its practitioners were performative and self-conscious, famously self-analytical, and self-promotional in their approaches and methods.[22] Their performance of humanism relied on larger narratives of behaviour and recognition of these behaviours by other scholars; studying humanism as a performed behaviour lets scholars see humanists both as actors in their world, and as informed by these wider patterns of behaviour. As the humanists truly believed in the importance of their own movement, it seems counterintuitive to deny the humanists their self-made identity by negating humanism and reducing it to a bailiwick of intellectual and elite pleasures. It is important to recognize the existence of the humanists, to acknowledge humanism as an intellectual movement and to understand the essence of their program. That program developed within a world with a pre-existing intellectual hegemony, that of scholasticism, a mode of reasoning and thinking associated with the medieval universities, the Church, and the legal and medical professions, and with the rigors of logic and philosophy.[23] Humanism battled with and triumphed over scholasticism through a very long process of catering to the courts of the elite and becoming the new hegemonic

[21] Shapin, *A Social History of Truth*.

[22] Patrick Baker, *Italian Renaissance Humanism in the Mirror* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015)

[23] Ronald G. Witt, *The Two Latin Cultures and the Foundation of Renaissance Humanism in Medieval Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

model of education, a mode associated with elite and bourgeois classes until at least the nineteenth century.[24] Humanism and humanists did exist in the fifteenth century as part of urban life and culture, but humanism was not the all-encompassing cultural movement that it has often been understood to be.

This chapter, thinking with Pierre Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*, stresses how the humanists performed and self-fashioned themselves, to use Stephen Greenblatt's, Natalie Davis', and John Martin's famous phrase of "self fashioning".[25] Therefore, their identities as humanists fit within a world of affect and performed identities. Rather than being either the awakened Italian individual of Burckhardt's narrative,[26] or the altogether determined person shaped entirely by external worlds, the humanists created their own self identity in a world where identity itself depended on multiple factors, internal and external.[27] Yet, I believe the humanist movement was not in and of itself a *habitus*. Rather, the humanists relied on the numerous and varied worlds and structures they lived in, both their self-fashioned communities, and the fifteenth-century cities they inhabited. Therefore, "humanism" as an educational and cultural program becomes part of an affective, performed behaviour, one that relies on performance within wider and more cultural modes of behaviours rather than on an innate sense of self and communal identity.[28] These

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[24] Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986): xii-xiii. Cf. Margaret King, "The Social Role of Intellectuals: Antonio Gramsci and the Italian Renaissance," *Soundings: An Interdisciplinary Journal* LXI, no. 1 (Spring 1978): 23–46. One could argue that humanist tenets remained the model for education and a proper upbringing until the mid-twentieth century, when the traditional canon of classical works started expanding to cover more global literature. However, such an analysis is outside the scope of this note and this dissertation.

[25] Bourdieu's definition of *habitus* can be found in his *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977). Cf. Celenza, *The Lost Italian Renaissance*, 77-78. For self-fashioning, consult below.

[26] Burckhardt, *The Civilization*, 94.

[27] Martin, *Myths of Renaissance* Individualism, 14. "I approach the self not as a thing … but rather as a relation."

[28] Kenneth Gouwens, "Perceiving the Past: Renaissance Humanism after the 'Cognitive Turn,'" *The American Historical Review* 103, no. 1 (February 1, 1998): 81: "We must take into account the fact that for many

humanists could (and did) view themselves as being distinct from their world and the world they left behind, that of what they called the Middle Ages.[29] Much of this analysis will be discussed later in the chapter, from the definition of "humanism" to the use of *habitus*, and the discussion of humanist identity in a wider world.

The History of Humanism

The most useful definition of premodern humanism is broad and simple. The clearest definition relies on the root of the word humanist. While the word and concept was formalized by nineteenth-century German scholarship, the word "humanist" dates back to the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[30] The Italian word *umanista* referred to a teacher of the liberal arts, and was a sixteenth-century slang word largely used by students to describe their teachers.[31] The term links back to the teachers of the *studia humanitatis* for the elite schools in the Quattrocento; these disciplines are also referred to as the liberal arts, described in humanist texts as the *bonae artes, artes liberales,* or *bonae litterae,* learned from studying classical texts.[32] The *umanisti* cared more about the study of good writing and erudition than they did about suggesting a single, unified, and discernible metaphysical position. This stance made humanist educators different from the philosophers of the medieval universities and schools. As part of a now-dated idea of a firm break

humanists, the study of the classics was not just a mechanical approach to texts but was instead an activity laden with affect and even potentially transformative."

[29] Giovanni Andrea Bussi, *Prefazioni: Alle edizioni di Sweynheym e Pannartz, Prototipographi Romani*, ed. Massimo Miglio, Documenti sulle Arti del Libro 12 (Milan: Edizioni il Polifilo, 1978): 17. Bussi notes the "mediae tempestatis," or the Middle Ages, when describing what his former *paterfamilias* Nicholas of Cusa knew of history.

[30] James Hankins, "Renaissance Humanism and Historiography today," in *Palgrave Advances in Renaissance Historiography*, ed. Jonathan Woolfson (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005): 73-96. My thanks to Mark Jurdjevic and Ada Palmer for grounding in the development of humanist historiography. Cf. Mark Jurdjevic, "Hedgehogs and Foxes: The Present and Future of Italian Renaissance Intellectual History," *Past and Present* 195 (May 2007): 241–68.

[31] Augusto Campana, "The Origin of the Word 'Humanist'" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 9 (1946): 60.

[32] Eckhard Keßler, "Renaissance Humanism: The Rhetorical Turn" in *Interpretations of Renaissance Humanism*, ed. Angelo Mazzocco (Leiden: Brill, 2006): 188. Quoting Guarino of Verona, Keßler writes that when a student was given a humanist education, he had achieved instruction into "the good arts", "nos 'eruditionem institutionemque in bonas artes' dicimus."

between the Middle Ages and the "Renaissance," the constantly evolving definition of humanism was one of the defining discussions of the historiography of premodern Europe, as the spirit of renewal and "rebirth" associated with the "Renaissance" has its origins and development in how fifteenth-century individuals approached and engaged with their classical past. The two concepts of "Renaissance" and "humanism" are thus inextricably linked.[33] While the sharp distinction between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance has mostly been rejected by academics, the study of humanism has kept this distinction limping along; the concept of a rebirth of the classical tradition inherent in early modern humanism has maintained that, somehow, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries "something happened" that made that era different from the medieval period.[34] Therefore, the story of humanism, in its many definitions, becomes important to how a "Renaissance" is understood, even while there is no clear and sharp divide between the medieval and Renaissance periods in other categories or places.

While scholars have linked the humanist development of proper writing (both stylistic and graphic), Latinity, and eloquence to ethical and political concerns, as part of a development in Italian politics and political behaviour, the humanists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries also took their skills in erudition to any manner of governing bodies - republican or oligarchic - across Europe. Humanism, far from espousing any firm political doctrine, could and did adapt to the various regimes of early modern Italy, regardless of the qualms or principles of individual humanists. One witnesses the development of humanist scholarship both in the famous republics

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[33] Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought*, 157. The discussion of the relationship between "Humanism" and the "Renaissance" dates to 1841 with the publication of Karl Hagen's *Germany's Religious and Literary Relations in the Age of the Reformation*. Cf. Angelo Mazzocco, "Introduction," in *Interpretations of Renaissance Humanism*, 1n2. My thanks to Ada Palmer, who has helped me understand the historiographical connection between the two loaded terms.

[34] Stephen Greenblatt, *The Swerve: How the World Became Modern* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2011): 9. Cf Hankins, *Virtue Politics*, 2, for the discussion on how the Europeans of the 1300s changed their perspectives regarding their past and its role in their contemporary world.

of Florence and Venice, and in the oligarchic and autocratic states of Naples, Rome, and Milan.[35] Quattrocento humanism, then, is more a set of the intellectual and linguistic interests of early modern scholars, than a single and discernible philosophical standpoint about the value of humanity in the world.[36] This definition, qualifying as humanists those who wrote and cared about the liberal arts and about their role in society in the fifteenth century, men (and a few women) with a particular care for Latin style, is the approach that this chapter and dissertation will follow.[37] The *habitus* associated with the humanists is therefore found most clearly in their use of books and letters to make commentaries on classical authors, and in their own understandings of their world in their prefaces, their letters, and their interactions.[38]

The understandings of humanists and of humanism in society most referenced by scholars today come from the mid-twentieth century and the political and academic atmospheres following the Second World War.[39] The effects of the Second World War on academia cannot be overstated, but with regards to the study of humanism, three notable attempts to describe and define it were directly affected by the politics and migrations of twentieth-century Europe.[40] The definitions of

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[35] For Naples, Jerry Bentley, *Politics and Culture in Renaissance Naples* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); For Milan, Diana Robin, *Filelfo in Milan: Writings 1451-1477* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); For Rome, consult below.

[36] Despite the similarity between the words, Renaissance humanism bears only a small relationship to the contemporary philosophical schools of Humanism. What is interesting is that, in his recent appraisal of Renaissance humanism, James Hankins suggests that humanists cared about "virtue politics," that a classical education and training can make princes and politicians better rulers - but he makes this case without referring to a single mode of state, republic, or political model.

[37] Brian Maxson, *The Humanist World of Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014): 9. Kenneth Gouwen's definition as described by Maxson, from his "Perceiving the Past," 80: "humanism is best conceived not as the narrowly defined studia humanitatis of Kristeller but as the cultural context (or, discursive field) with which exceptionally visible figures such as Petrarch and Raphael operated". As this dissertation tries to describe the world that humanists lived and worked in, I balance both Maxson's and Gouwens' recent approaches to humanists and humanism writ large.

[38] Maxson, *The Humanist World*, 4; 8-9. Maxson recognizes that much of the world of humanism comes from the world of literature, yet he also posits the existence of "amateur" or social humanists, non-literary humanists who participated in this *habitus* while not writing about it.

[39] Baker, *Italian Renaissance Humanism*, Introduction, esp. 6-15. Cf. James Hankins, "Renaissance Humanism and Historiography Today."

[40] Celenza, *The Lost Italian Renaissance*, particularly chapters 1 and 2.

humanism created by Hans Baron, Paul Oskar Kristeller, and Eugenio Garin all came from close studies of fifteenth-century documents and persons. However, the scholars' own lives and the convulsions of European academia before, during, and after the Second World War deeply affected the history these three practiced, and the definitions of humanism they created. Scholarship on humanism has recently begun to move past the formulations drawn up by Baron, Kristeller, and Garin.[41] Yet much of the discussion in both Anglo-American and European scholarship is still deeply affected by the work of these scholars: each definition and where it overlapped or intertwined with the other two has shaped the field since the middle of the twentieth century.

The first discussion of humanism to be affected by the Second World War was launched by Hans Baron (1900-1988), who began publishing in the late 1920s.[42] The easiest place to find his definition is in his magnum opus, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance* (1955; reprinted in 1965), but his core thesis was formulated as early as 1920.[43] In his works, Baron argued that humanism played a decisive role in both the political rhetoric and philosophy of fifteenth-century Florence, and that humanist literature developed from the Florentine effort to save their republic from the autocratic Milanese empire of Giangaleazzo Visconti.[44] Placing the wealth of humanist texts from early fifteenth-century Florence under the umbrella term "civic humanism" (linking the literature of the period directly to the political world it was created in and for), Baron argued for a clear and direct link between literature and politics in early Quattrocento Italy, and for the birth of

[41] Christopher Celenza, *The Intellectual World of the Italian Renaissance. Language, Philosophy, and the Search for Meaning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), does not use Baron at all in his discussion of Renaissance humanism. Cf. Gouwens, "Perceiving the Past," 81 for a cultural definition of humanism.

[42] Riccardo Fubini, "Renaissance Historian: The Career of Hans Baron," ed. Anne C. Tedeschi and John Tedeschi*, The Journal of Modern History* 64, no. 3 (1992): 541–74. Cf. James Hankins, "Introduction," in James Hankins, ed. *Renaissance Civic Humanism: Reappraisals and Reflections* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1, dates the term to 1925.

[43] Fubini, "Renaissance Historian," 543-544.

[44] Hans Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955; Republished 1965).

republicanism in fifteenth-century Italy as coming from their interpretation of classical sources.[45] Civic humanism, for Baron, was a philosophy which united most of republican political thinking from this period, and civic humanism played a direct role in the formation of modern states and governments: a particularly nineteenth-century German reading of history, one which focused on the necessity and importance of state-building, with a nostalgia for the liberal strivings of 1848.[46]

The second discussion of humanism to offer a typology of the intellectual movement comes from another German emigre fleeing the Nazi regime, Paul Oskar Kristeller (1905-1999).[47] Kristeller's body of work is massive; his *Iter Italicum* (1963-1997), an index of humanist manuscripts in libraries and archives around the world, remains an important resource for scholars searching for little-known humanist manuscripts.[48] In his quest to understand humanism as something fundamentally different from the philosophy and metaphysical studies written during the fifteenth century, Kristeller created a definition of humanism that catalogues it by the disciplines in which the humanists studied and wrote.[49] Kristeller posited that what we call humanism came directly from the *studia humanitatis*, defining humanism as:

> a clearly defined cycle of scholarly disciplines, namely grammar, rhetoric, history, poetry, and moral philosophy … Renaissance humanism was not as

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[45] Baron's first use of the term 'civic humanism' comes from 1928, with his *Leonardo Bruni Arentino. Humanistisch-philosophische Schriften* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1928), although its most powerful impact in the Anglophone world comes from his *Crisis* (see note 43). Cf. Baron, *The Crisis*, 6-7.

[46] Fubini, "Renaissance Historian," 543: "How German all this sounds, and how reminiscent of the national-liberal intellectualism of the Wilhelmine period, mildly nostalgic for the liberal ideals of 1848!"

[47] There have been three Festschriften written to honour Kristeller, his thesis, and his legacy for early modern studies. Cecil Clough, ed. *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance - Essays in Honour of Paul Oskar Kristeller* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976); Edward P. Mahoney, ed. *Philosophy and Humanism: Renaissance Essays in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976); Heiko Oberman and Thomas A. Brady, eds. *Itinerarium Italicum: The Profile of the Italian Renaissance in the Mirror of its European Transformations - Dedicated to Paul Oskar Kristeller on the occasion of his 70th birthday* (Leiden: Brill, 1975). Cf. Maryanne Horowitz, "Paul Oskar Kristeller's Impact on Renaissance Studies," *Journal of the History of Ideas* Vol 39, No. 4 (1978): 677-683.

[48] Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Iter Italicum. A Finding List of Uncatalogued or Incompletely Catalogued Humanistic Manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and Other Libraries*. 7 Volumes (Leiden: Brill, 1963-1993), accessible at https://www.itergateway.org/resources/iter-italicum1.

[49] Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought: The Classic, Scholastic, and Humanist Strains* (New York: Harper and Row, 1961).

> such a philosophical tendency or system, but rather a cultural and educational program which emphasized and developed an important but limited area of studies.[50]

For Kristeller, humanism emerged from the legal and secretarial modes of writing during the Middle Ages known as the *ars dictaminis*, or the teaching of the art of letter writing.[51] With a focus on writing, humanists could take their literary skills and decorous knowledge of antiquity to any court or place of employment, regardless of political or philosophical affiliation. Coming from an academic training in German Idealist philosophy, throughout his work Kristeller repeatedly stressed that humanism and philosophy were two very different enterprises, even as they affected each other.

The third discussion of humanism comes from Eugenio Garin (1909-2004) and from the world of Italian academia from the 1920s onward.[52] Garin described humanism as "the expression of an entirely changed human attitude" in fifteenth-century Italy, thus merging humanism with a wider renewal of early modern culture and a "Renaissance" of classicism after the medieval period.[53] Growing up amidst the rise of Fascism and of Mussolini, Garin looked to the history of the nation. He linked humanism to the history and development of Italian philosophy and to the history of ideas. The humanism discussed and studied by Italian academics remains tied to Italy and to the philosophical works that the humanists wrote and the ideas they came up with, suggesting that the development of humanism is a key to understanding the modern world.[54] The humanism that Garin studied was to his eyes very much a philosophical movement that helped

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[50] Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought*, 10.

[51] Ronald Witt continues Kristeller's argument, doing two rich studies on the emergence of humanism from the Latin schools of Medieval Italy. Cf. Witt, *In the Footsteps*., and Witt, *The Two Latin Cultures*.

[52] Eugenio Garin, *Italian Humanism: Philosophy and Civic Life in the Renaissance.* Translated by Peter Munz (New York: Harper and Row, 1965).

[53] Garin, *Italian Humanism*, 3.

[54] Riccardo Fubini, *Humanism and Secularization: From Petrarch to Valla*, trans. Martha King (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

shape the modern world, thus placing Italy in a key and formative position in the history of knowledge and of philosophy. This thinking is depicted particularly clearly in Garin's and Kristeller's friendship and correspondence.[55] Kristeller remained adamant that, although philosophers such as Lorenzo Valla, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Pietro Pomponazzi, and Marsilio Ficino (among others) participated in humanism and were trained as humanists, they were (more importantly) philosophers. Garin argued the opposite: that humanists were actively philosophers, engaged in shaping the history of philosophy, and thus, the nature of the present world, for better or for worse.

The definitions espoused by Hans Baron, Paul Kristeller, and Eugenio Garin - three titans in the historiography of humanism - remain important to how humanism has been studied for the rest of the twentieth century and up to today. While all three approaches have their limits and problems, as Patrick Baker reveals in his study of humanist self-identification, their definitions of humanism continue to affect the study of humanism and to encourage the historiography's fascination with its own definition of itself.[56] Thanks to Baron and Garin, for example, the study of humanism and its connection to the political history and *fortunae* of the many Italian states remains a rich field of study due to the importance that both scholars give to the writings and philosophies of the humanists they study.[57] Moreover, interest in humanism's many connections to the wider institutional and intellectual developments of premodern worlds comes directly from Kristeller's wide-ranging definition of humanism, which includes Jesuits, politicians, and artists

[55] James Hankins, "Garin and Paul Oskar Kristeller: Existentialism, Neo-Kantianism, and the Post-War Interpretation of Renaissance Humanism" in *Eugenio Garin: Dal Rinascimaneto all'Illuminismo: Atti del Convengo Firenze, 6-8 marzo 2009*, a cura di Olivia Catanorchi e Valentina Lepri (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2011), found at https://www.academia.edu/22667930/Eugenio_Garin_e_Paul_Oskar_Kristeller . Cf. Celenza, *The Lost Italian Renaissance*, Ch 2, "Italian Renaissance Humanism in the Twentieth Century: Eugenio Garin and Paul Oskar Kristeller."

[56] Baker, *Italian Renaissance Humanism*, 6-10.

[57] Baker, *Italian Renaissance Humanism*, 9, notes a firm divide between the Italian academics, who follow Garin's interpretation, and the Anglo-American scholars who work with Kristeller's definition.

as humanists, among many others. Kristeller's many articles and discussions of how different men and women in different circumstances can all be considered humanists, and in what way, is based on his wide-ranging definitions of who was a humanist. However, an important flaw remains in each of these three approaches: all of them, devised before the 1960s, remain linked to the more traditional forms of political and institutional history - or "kings and things"- neglecting to address the social worlds of intellectual life in a wide and complex society.

Since the Second World War, there has been much Anglophone interest in developing and expanding Kristeller's narrow definition to understand better the role that humanism played in a wider society.[58] Sarah Ross, recently studying the diffusion of humanist thought into the mercantile worlds of early modern Venice, outright revises Kristeller's criterion and moves from it to discover humanists who do not fit his narrow definition of proper grammarians obsessed with good Latin and writing in the *studia humanitatis*.[59] Moving from, and largely dismissing, Hans Baron's civic humanism, many historians have so deconstructed Baron's concept of civic humanism that the term itself has very little weight outside of its immediate Florentine environment - and is of small use even for scholarship on Florentine humanism.[60] Kristeller's definition of humanism gave scholars an easy and flexible classification of who was and was not a humanist, what the boundaries of humanism looked like, and why – and showed why humanism mattered for the history of rhetoric, the history of philosophy, and wider cultural history. Subsequent boundary disputes have led to wider investigations into humanist writings both in Latin and in the vernacular; studies on women humanists and their writings to other humanists and studies on gender; and to

[58] Hanna H. Gray, "Renaissance Humanism: The Pursuit of Eloquence," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 24, no. 4 (1963): 497–514.

[59] Sarah Gwyneth Ross, *Everyday Renaissances: The Quest for Cultural Legitimacy in Venice* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016): 19.

[60] Baker and Maxson, *After Civic Humanism*, especially their introduction, 16-17.

discussions of how a wide range of humanists tried to reform their world and their immediate environment through a focus on the classics. Kristeller's definition, while seemingly missing a philosophical justification for why societies both then and now should care about the humanists, remains helpful as an easy way to qualify itinerant intellectuals working on the Italian peninsula. If they wrote in Latin and studied the *studia humanitatis* with an interest in the past and their world, they can thus be classified as one of the *umanisti.* Kristeller's definition has been expanded since his work, as intellectual historians do not want to leave humanism as just a philological approach to texts, but his emphasis on those who study the liberal arts remains an important starting point.[61]

Looking outside the traditional borders of humanist historiography, we see that studies of humanism seem to have ignored, and been completely ignored by, the development and subsequent waves of social history instigated by the *Annales* School, the British Marxists, the Italian and American microhistorians, and the Anglo-American social historians (among many others).[62] While social historians, informed by such scholars such as Natalie Zemon Davis and Mikhail Bakhtin, used high literature and humanist texts as a lens to understanding the non-elite world, the studies of humanists and humanism have remained tied to the intellectual and political world of the upper classes.[63] Very little of the developing social history and social theory was applied to the lives and writings of the humanists. When these studies emerged, as with Lauro Martines' *The Social World of the Florentine Humanists, 1390-1460* in 1963, and Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine's *From Humanism to the Humanities* in 1986, they remained more an outlier than part of

[61] Jill Kraye, "Preface," in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*, ed. Jill Kraye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996): xv. "A further aim in producing this book is to counter the view that Renaissance humanism was a narrowly philological enterprise, concerned with only the technicalities of classical scholarship and with ad finale curriculum consisting of grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history, and moral philosophy."

[62] Geoff Eley, *A Crooked Line* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2005).

[63] Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre*; Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984).

a new trend to socialize the humanists into their wider socio-economic worlds.[64] Scholars who use literature as historical evidence have tended to use literary materials, and not wholly address the cultural *habitus* of the authors they reference: turning to Natalie Davis, her work on the print shops of Lyon in her *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* is a deep investigation into the lives of artisans and those largely missing from the traditional historical record.[65] In doing this work, she relied on descriptions of peasants, women, and townsfolk found in French literary works from the period. While a useful approach (one buttressed by her rich archival work), her concern is not with the texts or the authors and those worlds, but rather with how they talk about and depict peasant culture.[66] This is not a poor approach, as it reveals much about peasant culture and beliefs, and about how peasants were described and considered by wider elite culture, but it displays how humanist texts and authors are used by social historians for different concerns and questions. The humanists themselves, and humanism as a cultural program, do not get the social-historical treatment.[67]

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[64] Lauro Martines, *The Social World of the Florentine Humanists, 1390-1460* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963); Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities*. There was a debate following the publication of Grafton and Jardine's book. Grafton has described the response to *From Humanism*: "Even though we succeeded in stimulating debate over what had previously been a staid realm of Renaissance studies, much of it hardly followed the paths we had expected, and not all of it was productive." Anthony Grafton, "The Revival of Antiquity: A Fan's Notes on Recent Work" in *The American Historical Review* 103, no. 1 (February 1, 1998): 120. Cf. James Hankins, "Renaissance Humanism and Historiography Today," 85, where he asserts, "Grafton and Jardine's negative view of humanist education, an artefact of New Left radicalism in America, has hardly gone unchallenged."

[65] Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France*.

[66] It is important to remember that Davis read popular culture through elite literature largely because she was not able to do a lot of the archival work necessary for more "traditional" social history. When writing her dissertation, Davis' husband, Chandler Davis brought before the House Un-American Activities Committee when he was a professor at the University of Michigan. Both Chandler Davis and Natalie Davis' passports were taken away. She subsequently was unable to travel, leading her to work at the Rare Book libraries in North America. Cf. Natalie Zemon Davis and Denis Crouzet, *A Passion for History: Conversations with Denis Crouzet* (Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2010): 140-141.

[67] In *The Return of Martin Guerre* (1983), Natalie Davis is attentive to the character of Jean de Coras, but Davis does not tell the reader of a humanist training when de Coras was in Padua. Her other main source, Guillaume le Sueur, is described as "hop[ing] to rise within the world of law and legal rhetorical culture, and that he also had literary and classical interests of his own." In *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim Between Worlds* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006), Davis investigates the writings of Leon Africanus/al-Hazan al-Wazzan, in particular his *La Descrittione dell'Africa* (1550). While his humanist training in papal Rome clearly played a role in how Leon

Nevertheless, the studies on humanism in the latter half of the twentieth century have not simply rehashed old studies or contextualized and analyzed different humanist texts. With the wide dissemination of humanist texts (in part thanks to Kristeller's *Iter Italicum*), and with prosopography and more computerized reconstructions of populations,[68] the works on humanism and humanist scholars from the 1960s onwards becomes far richer and better focused on intellectual and political production as part of elite culture in premodern Europe. Margaret King's famous study on humanism in Venice, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance,* clearly outlines the economic worlds and cultures that humanists participated in, closely linked to the councils of governance and to both the citizens and the patricians of early modern Venice.[69] Kenneth Gouwens' work on humanist narratives of the Sack of Rome shows what the humanists themselves thought about their culture and its relationship to the wider world, tying the humanists to chaotic events and to their lives in Rome.[70] These two studies, among others, move from defining and codifying who were humanists, to interpreting instead the cultural worlds that these humanists actively wrote in and for, showing how they participated in these circles.

The emergence of book history and the history of print culture more generally in the 1980s brought a new material and intellectual lens to the study of humanism, as the attention to which books and items the humanists were studying produced new theories about how humanists worked in their world and about the physical materials they worked with.[71] Reinvigorating the study of

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Africanus translated Islam for a Christian and European audience, Davis barely mentions the cultures, ethics, people, or methods of humanism.

[68] David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Tuscans and their Families: A Study of the Florentine Catasto* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

[69] Margaret King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986)

[70] Kenneth Gouwens, *Remembering the Renaissance: Humanist Narratives of the Sack of Rome* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

[71] Elizabeth Eisenstein*, The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, 2 Volumes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

humanist scholarship and of how it came about, humanist historiography became vivacious, no longer asking only how humanists understood particular classical texts in relation to their world, but also how humanists understood the institutional culture and book culture in which they lived. One only need look at Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton's "How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy" (1990), Ada Palmer's recent "The Use and Defense of the Classical Canon in Pomponio Leto's biography of Lucretius" (2015), and Craig Kallendorf's "Humanism, Painting, and the Book as Physical Object in Renaissance Culture" (2020) to see how the study of the humanist book, with its annotations, marginalia, and edits, can illuminate the lived experience of humanist scholars and how they worked.[72] With the turn to the study of paratexts and of books as objects (especially after Gérard Genette's *Seuils* was published in 1987 and translated into English as *Paratexts* in 1997)[73], the historiography of humanism is now fascinated by how humanists understood their own world and the material items they studied and produced, and historians are skilled at placing these intellectuals into their wider academic worlds. This work is most easily done through the study of book production, of the physical acts of writing and annotation in humanist script and of reading, and of the book and print trade, putting the humanists back into the material worlds they lived and participated in.[74]

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[72] Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "'Studied for Action': How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy," *Past & Present*, no. 129 (1990): 30–78.; Cf. Ada Palmer, "The Use and Defense of the Classical Canon in Pomponio Leto's Biography of Lucretius," *Renaessanceforum: Tidsskrift for Renaessanceforskning, Journal of Renaissance Studies* 9 (2015): 87–106; Craig Kallendorf, "Humanism, Painting, and the Book as Physical Object in Renaissance Culture," *Book History* Volume 23 (October 2020): 1-39.

[73] Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane Lewin (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Cf. Helen Smith and Louise Wilson, eds., *Renaissance Paratexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

[74] Consult the work of Albinia de la Mare, David Rundle, and the recent collection of essays by Robert Black, Jill Kraye, and Laura Nuvoloni, eds. *Paleography, Manuscript Illumination and Humanism in Renaissance Italy: Studies in Memory of A. C. de la Mare*. Warburg Institute Colloquia 28 (London: Warburg Institute, 2016), and the copious work of Anthony Grafton, especially Anthony Grafton, *Inky Fingers: The Making of Books in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2020).

Meanwhile, throughout the twentieth century, the methods and themes of social history grew exponentially, becoming ever more encompassing. With numerous anthropological and sociological theories being applied to understanding the past, the last half of the twentieth century, particularly in the Anglo-American world, saw social history's "Renaissance." Much has been written on the development, directions, and motivations behind social history.[75] Yet social historians, aside from sometimes using humanist texts to illustrate the wider culture in which they are situating their studies, tend to place the humanists into the elite culture that they often try to move their studies away from - although more recently social historians have turned towards the culture and worlds of the elites as participants in a wide social world.[76] For social historians, humanists and humanism developed as a literary movement only relevant to the very few in power: when humanism or humanists are studied, it is as part of a pedagogical movement that bolsters the strength and actions of elites.[77]

A humanist education is recognized for its importance to individual elites, but never interrogated as to what it means to, and in, society and culture. As an illustrative example, in *Trent 1475: Stories of a Ritual Murder Trial*, Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia describes the world of the main antagonist against the Jewish community, bishop Johannes Hinderbach. In his description, Hsia highlights the many authoritative positions that Hinderbach occupied as well as his humanist education. Hsia then suggests that the bishop's worldview informed how he eventually rallied fifteenth-century Catholic opinion against the Jews in Trent, but Hinderbach's humanist education, as well as his reliance on other humanists for help, seems a small fact – these facts are not fully

[75] Lynn Hunt, ed., *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1989); Eley, *The Crooked Line*.

[76] Jennifer Mara DeSilva, "Articulating Work and Family: Lay Papal Relatives in the Papal States, 1420–1549," *Renaissance Quarterly* 69, no. 1 (2016): 1–39.

[77] Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities*, xiv.

interrogated as to their contribution to his worldview and his antisemitism.[78] Part of this approach might come from the latent Marxist tendencies that remain in social history, which often studies those with cultural and economic power set against those without it.[79] But with the 1980s and the near rejection of the label of a "Renaissance," and of that term's ramifications, social historians continue to avoid humanism and the humanists, leaving them to the scholars of intellectual culture.

A significant exception is found in the many studies done on women humanists such as Isotta Nogarola and Cassandra Fedele, many of whom have been consistently studied and situated into wider patterns of gender and society since the feminist turn in the 1970s.[80] Moving from Paul Oskar Kristeller's catalogues and investigations, and provoked by the ground-breaking essay "Did Women Have a Renaissance" by Joan Kelly-Gadol in 1977, scholars such as Margaret King, Sarah Gwyneth Ross, and Diana Robin have investigated several humanist women, and tracked ideas about women in humanist thought.[81] In "Book-Lined Cells: Women and Humanism in the Italian Renaissance" (1988), Margaret King outlines and explores the many ways that women humanists were prevented from participating in the intellectual worlds surrounding them, suggesting that their gender and its perceived oddity in intellectual spheres barred them.[82] Similarly, Lisa Jardine investigated in detail the lives and circles of five female humanists, suggesting that the romanticism of previous historians for the trope of the "Intellectual Woman" has glossed over the

[78] Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, *Trent 1475: Stories of a Ritual Murder Trial* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992): 7-8.

[79] Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene Genovese, "The Political Crisis of Social History" *Journal of Social History* 10 (Winter 1976): 205-220, where they define the "social" part of social history as studying the relationship between those who have power, and those who do not.

[80] Margaret King, "Book-Lined Cells: Women and Humanism in the Early Italian Renaissance," in *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, ed. Albert Rabil Jr., vol. 1, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), 434–53; Sarah Gwyneth Ross, *The Birth of Feminism: Woman as Intellect in Renaissance Italy and England* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2009).

[81] Joan Kelly-Gadol, "Did Women Have a Renaissance" in *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*, eds. Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1977), 148-52, 154-61.

[82] King, "Book-Lined Cells."

lives and contexts of these women in their worlds, where prior historians used the existence of intellectual women as a barometer for equality in early modern intellectual life.[83] A recent study by Sarah Ross, *The Birth of Feminism: Women as Intellect in Renaissance Italy and England*, uses the model of the "intellectual family" to discuss the process of how (with help from their fathers) a few elite women became intellectuals known for their education and erudition in premodern Italy and England.[84] She continues this work of understanding humanist women in a wider perspective informed by social and gender historical methods. Use of social theories - especially gender theory - as lenses of analyses has started to move into studies of humanism more generally, especially as studies of masculinity have started affecting these fields.

We further see the development of studies of the humanists in their milieu, intellectual and otherwise.[85] With the distinct rejection of Hegelian idealism by academics, and the rise of poststructuralism as a mode of thinking, humanist historians seem more interested in the subjective experiences and lives of humanists, than in historiographical battles and definitions.[86] Whether this is due to the growing dissemination of bilingual humanist texts in both English and the original through the *I Tatti* and the *Other Voice* series of publications, to a response by humanist historians to a flourishing social historiography, to the widening of "Renaissance studies" to include the "eastern" worlds and the Middle Ages, or to something else entirely, humanist historiography has started to address topics that are more culturally oriented.[87] Margaret Meserve's work on how the Quattrocento humanists understood the Ottoman world is a clear example of how to encapsulate

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[83] Jardine, "O Decus Italiae Virgo," 800.
[84] Ross, *The Birth of Feminism*, 2.
[85] Jurdjevic, "Hedgehogs and Foxes," 242.
[86] Baker, *Italian Renaissance Humanism*, 30.
[87] Anthony Grafton, "Rediscovering a Lost Continent," *The New York Review of Books*, October 5, 2006. For the *Other Voice in Early Modern Europe*, a series of publications that translate and contextualize women's voices and contributions to intellectual debates in the early modern period, Jurdjevic, "Hedgehogs and Foxes," 242; The series website shows that it is now at over 60 volumes, found at https://press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/series/OVIEME.htm

the wider Mediterranean and its peoples in a study of Italian humanists.[88] Meanwhile Ada Palmer's work on the humanist reception of Lucretius and his *De Rerum Natura* moves with both traditional humanist historiography and book history, merging the two to help us understand how humanists edited, read, and sought to understand a text very far outside their mental world.[89]

While neither Meserve's or Palmer's work or research questions are immediately social-historical, their questions are largely relational: Meserve's study seeks to understand humanist thinking about the Ottoman Empire and the Turks as it evolves over the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. She studies how humanists relied on Greco-Roman understandings of the East and on their own views of contemporary political and cultural dynamics in the Quattrocento - and how the Italian and European polities responded to the Ottoman advance from within these many different frameworks.[90] Thus, her work interrogates many humanist works, placing them in a world where the Ottoman threat is increasing, and the humanists were responding to it in the many ways they knew. Palmer's work addresses humanist commentaries on, responses to, and printing of Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura*, and she reveals how Lucretius was understood in the early modern period as an inappropriate and incredibly heretical classical text, yet one still important for the humanist and political milieus.[91] By studying the marginalia on both manuscript and print copies of Lucretius, she looks at how heterodox thinking circulated not only in traditional intellectual debates, but also in the wider environments of early modern classrooms, studies, and bookstores. Both Meserve and Palmer, asking questions of the past and of sources traditionally associated with

[88] Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2008).
[89] Palmer, *Reading Lucretius in the Renaissanc*e.
[90] Meserve, *Empires of Islam*, 3.
[91] Palmer, *Reading Lucretius in the Renaissance*, xi.

intellectual history, study the relational dynamics of social behaviour to bolster their studies of how intellectuals worked, thought, and contributed to wider intellectual culture.

While the older work of critically understanding humanist texts and setting them in their historical, political, and institutional worlds is still a thriving and important genre of humanist historiography, particularly among European scholars trained in philology, scholarship on humanism seems to be eagerly responding to Celenza's call to synthesize the social and intellectual worlds of early modern Italy. More recent studies have emphasized the creation and diffusion of humanism in the vernacular as versus works written in Latin, and, with the renewal of keen studies of political culture, work on the link between humanism and politics has been re-energized.[92] A recent study by Robert Clines suggests that the study of Renaissance humanists and humanist texts shows how the "Orient" is constructed, used, and abused by humanists both past and contemporary.[93] His study of Cyriac of Ancona's and Biondo Flavio's works and of the use of language surrounding the landscape of the "East" reveals how humanist works justified a Western imperial approach to the Middle East, and how humanism then justified imperial politics.[94] His situating of humanism into a wider world of cultural difference and of the growth of imperialism, along with many of the recent works listed above, does the work that Celenza asked for in 2004.

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[92] For humanism in the vernacular and its diffusion into the social sphere, Maxson, *The Humanist World*, and the work being done on Renaissance Aristotelianism in the "vulgar" by David Lines and the universities of Warwick and Ca'Foscari. Additionally, Catherine Fletcher, *Diplomacy in Renaissance Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), particularly Chapter 3, "The ritual world of the curia," and the continuing work of Brian Maxson including and since *The Humanist World.*

[93] Robert Clines, "Edward W. Said, Renaissance Orientalism, and Imaginative Geographies of a Classical Mediterranean," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 65 (2020): 481–533.

[94] Clines, "Renaissance Orientalism". For Clines, the humanist understanding of the Orient fits into the historical/transhistorical development of Said's "Orientalism," or the "ideological suppositions, images, and fantasies about a region of the world called the Orient." (Clines, 490). Clines argues that to not situate humanism into the imperial dynamics of its time, "presents Renaissance humanism as hermetically sealed off from larger discourses of cultural difference, power, and empire that existed in the early modern period and that became the intellectual foundation of modern imperialism. This, I think, does a major disservice to these authors and their texts." (Clines, 528).

The field of humanist historiography, with its turn towards the cultural effects and diffusion of humanism, seems very fruitful and may well play a key role in how historians understand the 1400s and 1500s more generally. Clémence Revest, coming from the French *Annales* historical school and tradition, has argued for understanding the development of humanism by situating humanism within its broad intellectual and societal milieu, suggesting that "humanism was a ruling culture and a culture for rulers."[95] She suggests the importance of understanding humanism by way of network theory, to track wider societal reverberations of humanist engagement. Her work sheds new and important light on how the conciliar movement of the early fifteenth century was understood, especially for how humanists engaged in the conciliar movement, and how the councils developed through the interactions of the humanists and theologians at their deliberations.[96]

By using network theory, thinking relationally, and adopting the questions of social history, humanist historiography continues to address the historicity and worldview of these intellectuals in their worlds and in their environments, and to do so in increasingly socially informed ways. This dissertation contributes to this work. By situating the humanists of mid-1400s Rome into their networks, their workplaces, and their curial families and friendships, and then following the stories of their friendships and rivalries, I join recent scholarship in studying the daily life of humanists. In order to understand and enrich the study of the intellectual production of these humanists, their daily lives, concerns, and biases, and their humanity need to be narrated and understood as well.

[95] Clémence Revest, "The Birth of the Humanist Movement at the Turn of the Fifteenth Century", *Editions de l'E.H.E.S.S: Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 68:3 (2013): 455.

[96] Clémence Revest, *Romam veni: Humanisme et papauté à la fin du Grand Schisme* (Ceyzérieu: Champ Vallon, 2021). Portions of her work were presented at the 2018 Renaissance Society of America meeting.

Roman Humanism, or the Importance of the Particular

As briefly outlined above, much of humanist historiography has tried to address humanism writ large. However, as part of a much wider interest in Florence as the *primus inter pares* of early modern Italian cities, much of this scholarship has focused on humanism in Florence, taking the temperature of humanism from its Florentine incarnation. This trend is most recently seen in a recent thoughtful survey of humanism in early modern Italy, *The Intellectual World of the Italian Renaissance* by Christopher Celenza.[97] In a review of this work, I suggested that even in a wide-encompassing and cultural study of humanism, the bias tended towards studying humanism in Florence perhaps reflects the very pro-Florentine orientation of Anglo-American scholarship.[98] In the wider historiography on early modern Italy, the focus for publications for the period 1550-1800 has been on Venice, then Rome, then Florence, but that is for all studies across many historiographies in French and English, not solely for fifteenth-century humanism or intellectual history.[99] However, this bias towards Florence as the centre of humanist culture was clearly noted in nearly fifty years ago in the 1980s by John Francis D'Amico, in his important work on humanism in Rome: *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome: Humanists and Churchmen on the Eve of the Reformation* (1983).[100] This work (and D'Amico's other works) in many ways helped

[97] Celenza, *The Intellectual World of the Italian Renaissance*.

[98] On the Anglo-American love of Florence as a Renaissance city, see Edward Muir, "The Italian Renaissance in America," *The American Historical Review* Vol. 100, No. 4 (Oct. 1995). For the book review evaluating the Florentine bias of Celenza's work, see Barry Torch, review of *The Intellectual World of the Italian Renaissance: Language, Philosophy, and the Search for Meaning*, by Christopher Celenza, *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réformé* Vol 41 No. 4 (2018): 221-223.

[99] Gregory Hanlon, *Early Modern Italy 1550-1800: A Comprehensive Bibliography of titles in English and French*, 12th ed. (Summer 2016): 15-16. "It is Venice that comes first as the object of the most studies, in the most rubrics. Behind it comes Rome. Florence and Naples are also well served." Hanlon's work is available here: https://www.academia.edu/7820421/Early_Modern_Italy_1550-1790_A_Comprehensive_Bibliography_of_titles_in_English_and_French_12th_edition_2016

[100] D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome.*

kickstart Anglophone interest in the local elements of humanism in Rome.[101] It remains an important benchmark for how to study Roman examples of humanist thought and scholarship.

D'Amico's work spans the latter half of the fifteenth century and the early sixteenth century, a period when the papacy was firmly established in Rome after the papal schism and conciliar period. His analysis, stretching from approximately the pontificate of Sixtus IV della Rovere (r. 1471-1484) to the Sack of Rome in 1527, stays very close to the literary accomplishments of the humanists working for the popes, cardinals, and curial bureaucracies. He sketches a brief prosopography of the important humanists and their families living in Rome, and his work has two dominant arguments. First, D'Amico argues that the humanists in Rome were not irreverent Christians, but rather, that they made important theological and humanistic arguments within the Church they worked in.[102] This argument reacts against the dominant historiography of the late twentieth century, a historiography largely Protestant-informed and coming from German and Anglo-American scholars. This group argued that before the Reformation, Roman humanists cared little for theological or religious argumentation, and were embroiled in secular church politics informed by the Borgia and Medici papacies, helping the secular and weakly Christian church usher in the Reformation a few decades later.[103] D'Amico argued against this bias, instead arguing for, and revealing, the genuine theological concerns held by the Roman humanists.

His second argument is subtler and runs through his book. D'Amico suggests, in direct contrast to Hans Baron, that humanism had a distinctly Roman manifestation. That is, Roman

[101] D'Amico's life was cut short by a heart attack which killed him in 1987. He published only one other book with Paul Grendler, comparing Roman and German Humanism, and a few essays on the typology of humanism in Rome, referring to it as "curial humanism".

[102] D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome*, xvii, 115.

[103] Jennifer Mara DeSilva, ed., *The Borgia Family: Rumor and Representation* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019).

humanism was informed by the political and social networks within the papal city and relied upon the curial families run by cardinals and upon the intellectuals they sponsored. D'Amico argues that, to understand the literary output of these intellectuals, one must understand their position in courtly life and politics. Through a case study of Paolo Cortesi and his *De Cardinalatu* (1510), this argument stresses the local nature of humanism in Rome, and D'Amico links the world of Roman humanism to the political and theological worlds of the papacy and of Latin Christendom just before the Reformation. D'Amico thus made an argument that is central to my work: that to understand humanism in Rome, one needs to truly focus on Rome – not simply take the temperature of how humanism worked from its "success" elsewhere and then compare an abstract (and probably Florentine) humanism to the Eternal City and its machinations that affect intellectual and cultural movements. Humanism, while it very quickly became an international phenomenon both inside and outside of Italy, did have a distinctly Roman manifestation.

At the same time as the publication of John D'Amico's work, a conference was held in New York in 1981, co-hosted by the Istituto di Studi Romani and Barnard College at Columbia University.[104] Bringing together both North American and European scholars to talk about humanism in Rome in the fifteenth century, the conference undertook to investigate a period of culture and history in Rome that had not received attention from scholars in the way events in Florence and Venice had.[105] The conference brought together major themes that define the manifestations of humanism in Rome: mainly, literary culture and figures tied largely to the curial offices, and art-historical topics, looking at the impulse to invest in art that reproduced humanist

[104] The proceedings were subsequently published. Paolo Brezzi and Maristella De Panizza Lorch, eds., *Umanesimo a Roma nel Quattrocento* (New York: Barnard College, 1984).

[105] Brezzi and Lorch, "Premessa," in *Umanesimo a Roma nel Quattrocento* (New York: Barnard College, 1984): 9. "Lo scopo prefissosi dal Convegno era quello di unire un buon numero di forze culturali rivolte ad indagare un periodo della storia e della cultura di Roma che da vario tempo non aveva ricevuto quell'attenzione, né era stato un centro d'interesse per gli studiosi, come invece si era verificato, ad es., per Firenze o Venezia."

culture. These two analytical frameworks - curial humanism and humanism in art - have continued largely to define how Roman humanism is studied, as these two approaches rely on a thorough grounding in a wider economic world.[106] Humanism associated with the curial offices has remained a vivacious field of study, especially for the humanists who worked for the cardinals, as they are very visible in the historical record.[107] Humanism in art and media, similarly, has left quite a paper trail in the form of commissions, receipts, and physical objects representing or working with humanist culture, as Arnold Esch has shown by studying fifteenth-century import records to Rome for craft items like marble and leather.[108] It seems that, starting in the 1980s, academics have renewed their attention to the Roman idiom of humanism, a subject now rapidly developing in its own right, distinct from the Florentine model.

Studying humanism in Rome has been almost necessarily tied to the procedures and development of the papal monarchy and its institutions.[109] But, in no small part, the study of Roman humanism in the 1400s has been profoundly affected by the Sack of Rome by the armies of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V in 1527.[110] With the rampant destruction that, for John D'Amico, signified the end of the "Renaissance" in Rome, scholars can only imagine the sources that Quattrocento Rome had that were lost, possibly sources like those available from other

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[106] The two largest sections of *Umanesimo a Roma*, following the table of contents, are "Roma e la Curia", and "Roma e le Arti". What is interesting is that the very productive divide between art historians and historians remains when one looks at early modern Rome overall. Cf. Jones, Wisch, and Ditchfield, eds., *A Companion to Early Modern Rome, 1492-1692*, p. 10: "And yet because each field has its specific interests and requires its own specialist training … many scholars carried out their work largely on the basis of separate questions and evidence (both written and visual) peculiar to their own fields."

[107] Carol Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome: Cardinals in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

[108] Arnold Esch, "Roman Customs Registers 1470-80: Items of Interest to Historians of Art and Material Culture," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 58 (1995): 72–87.

[109] The key work on addressing the development of the papal monarchy is Paolo Prodi, *The Papal Prince: One Body and Two Souls. The Papal Monarchy in Early Modern Europe*, trans. Susan Haskins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). For arguments against of Prodi's thesis and its implications, see Anthony Wright, *The Early Modern Papacy: From the Council of Trent to the French Revolution* (New York: Longman, 2000) and Simon Ditchfield's article, "Papal Prince or Papal Pastor: Beyond the Prodi Paradigm," *Archivium historicae pontificae* Vol 51, 8 (2019): 117-132.

[110] Gouwens, *Remembering the Renaissance: Humanist Narratives of the Sack of Rome*.

premodern cities.[111] However, even with this paucity of sources, several scholars, many of them Italians and Europeans who are 'on the ground' in Rome, so to speak,[112] are able to explore social life in Quattrocento Rome from sources as varied as tax and shipment records, letters, diaries, visiting ambassadors' reports and pilgrims' accounts, art, and literature.[113] Anna Modigliani has written one of the most significant works of this type: her *Disegno sulla Città nel primo Rinascimento Romano* (2009), a spatial and urban analysis of the construction of Quattrocento Rome under Pope Paul II, uses a wide range of historical sources to analyze the rapidly-expanding redesign of the city in the 1450s through 1470s.[114]

Moreover, with the establishment of the Vatican Library under Nicholas V Parentucelli, and then again under Sixtus IV, many of the humanist texts were kept safe in its walls.[115] There are hundreds of manuscripts written by and commissioned for humanists in Rome. Many of them date from the re-instituted papal library of Sixtus IV onward, highlighting the latter half of the fifteenth century.[116] The wide range of sources has informed most scholarship on humanism; aside from Italian and German scholarship (coming from *Associazione Roma nel Rinascimento*, among other research institutions), most English scholarship, rather than covering the earlier 1400s, has focused on the later period of humanism in Quattrocento Rome, from Sixtus IV into the sixteenth century,

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[111] I am eternally envious of the source base for fifteenth-century Florentine and Venetian historians of intellectual culture. Cf. Edward Muir, "The Italian Renaissance in America," 1113, describing Florence as that "most documented of late medieval cities."

[112] Some very good socio-historical work from Rome comes from the French, British, Danish, Dutch, German, and Italian institutes in Rome. Cf. James A. Palmer, "Medieval and Renaissance Rome: Mending the Divide," *History Compass* 15, no. 11 (2017): 5.

[113] Arnold Esch, *Rom: Vom Mittelalter Zur Renaissance, 1378-1484* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2016).

[114] Anna Modigliani, *Disegni sulla città nel primo Rinascimento Romano: Paolo II*, RR Inedita 40 (Rome, Italy: Roma nel Rinascimento, 2009).

[115] Carmela Vircillo Franklin, "'Pro communi doctorum virorum comodo': The Vatican Library and Its Service to Scholarship," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 146, 4 (2002): 363-384

[116] The Vatican Library was re-dedicated and institutionalized by Sixtus IV in 1475. See Antonio Manfredi, ed. *Le origini della Biblioteca Vaticana tra umanesimo e Rinascimento (1447-1534)*, Storia della Biblioteca Apostolica I (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2010). For the effect of Pope Sixtus IV on intellectual and civic development in Rome, Egmont Lee, *Pope Sixtus IV and Men of Letters* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1978).

covered by the documents available in the papal library and the archives.[117] There are notable exceptions though: Anthony Grafton's work on Leon Battista Alberti focuses on his life and studies in Rome in the 1430s,[118] and Elizabeth McCahill's work on humanism in Rome during the pontificates of Martin V (r. 1417-1431) and Eugenius IV (r. 1431-1447) highlights the importance of humanist texts in reviving the city of Rome and its papal power immediately after the schism ended in 1420.[119]

Elizabeth McCahill's *Reviving the Eternal City* is an important re-appraisal and discussion of humanist culture in early 1400s Rome. Moving from Anna Modigliani's work on Paul II, and Christopher Celenza's study on Lapo da Castiglionchio the Younger (1405-1438) and his failed career with the papal curia, McCahill asks about the tripartite relationship between the humanists, the papal curia and the late-medieval city it returned to in 1420.[120] Studying humanist letters, dedications, and writings, and artwork, she focuses on humanists and humanism during the pontificates of Martin V and Eugenius IV, showing how the popes re-established their many relationships with the city to domesticate and revive it - and how humanist literature and behaviour buttressed this papal revival. Her study stresses the movement of humanists in and out of Rome, as many of the men she studied had important ties elsewhere (particularly to Florence).[121] Her picture of Roman humanism shows that both humanism and the city of Rome were in a liminal phase, constantly in flux, and slowly expanding thanks to the attention paid to the city not only by the institutional authority of the papacy, but also by the humanists themselves. *Reviving the Eternal*

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[117] Ingrid Rowland, *The Culture of the High Renaissance: Ancients and Moderns in Sixteenth Century Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

[118] Anthony Grafton, *Leon Battista Alberti: Master Builder of the Italian Renaissance* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).

[119] McCahill, *Reviving the Eternal City.* 1420 is the year Martin V entered Rome after his election in 1417 at the Council of Constance.

[120] McCahill, *Reviving the Eternal City*, 15.

[121] One of the most important characters in McCahill's study, Poggio Bracciolini, was papal secretary to Eugenius IV, who spent most of his pontificate in Florence. See McCahill, *Reviving the Eternal City*, 112.

City, with little attention paid to the social behaviour of humanists, reveals the distinctly "Roman" nature of the humanist endeavour, among men who would move in and out of Rome as their curial careers began or ended.

"Roman culture, or culture in Rome?" Massimo Miglio asks in his opening to the collected prefaces of Giovanni Andrea Bussi.[122] While Miglio focuses on the intellectual culture of Quattrocento Rome, his question can be applied to this intellectual movement: *Umanesimo Romano o umanesimo a Roma*? Is it Roman humanism, or humanism in Rome? The two are different. Possibly as a side effect of Kristeller's and Garin's portrayal of a humanism not tied to any particular political institution, and of the recognition of the general mobility of humanists in Italy as a whole,[123] scholars of humanism have tended to stress that humanism in Rome did not belong to Rome as a city in the way that Florentine humanism seems to have been distinctly Florentine, especially given the importance in Rome of immigrants and of communities informed by origin.[124] D'Amico is an example of this discussion: he calls "the integration of humanism into [Rome]… the most spectacular success story in the history of Italian humanism."[125] Whether or not D'Amico is correct, whether Roman humanism and its ideas were either inherent to, or participatory in, Roman society remains an important question.

During the fifteenth century, Italy, as well as most of Europe, was dominated by communities that were exceptionally local and community based.[126] Humanists not only joined these local worlds, but they created worlds for themselves as well in their curial and intellectual

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[122] Massimo Miglio, introduction to *Prefazioni alle Edizioni di Sweynheym e Pannartz* by Giovanni Andrea Bussi, ed. Massimo Miglio (Milan: Il Polifolo, 1978): XI, "cultura romana o cultura a Roma?"

[123] Robert Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001): 4.

[124] Egmont Lee, "Foreigners in Quattrocento Rome," *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme* 7, no. 2 (1983): 135–46.

[125] D'Amico, "Humanism in Rome," 264.

[126] Edward Muir, "The 2001 Josephine Waters Bennett Lecture: The Idea of Community in Renaissance Italy," *Renaissance Quarterly* 55, no. 1 (2002): 1–18.

families. If premodern individuals fashioned their own identities and selves, it was always in relation to local communities, neighbourhoods, families, and rivals. The humanists, brought up in these worlds, were no different.[127] Answering the question of "Roman humanism or humanism in Rome" relies on understanding how the humanists understood their relationship with, and in, the city: how they built their communities, how they incorporated new arrivals or expelled members, and how they worked with patrons and spaces in the city to sustain themselves.[128] Therefore, it is a question worth asking, and one to try and answer.

Situating Scholars into the *Abitato*

Scholars of Roman humanism have attempted to answer the question of humanism *in* Rome versus humanism *of* Rome using three distinct-yet-overlapping analytical frameworks: 1) through the investigation of early modern patronage systems; 2) through the study of the "curial family"; and 3) through the study of what would become the Republic of Letters.[129] When using these approaches, scholars studying humanism in Rome tend rely on facts of sociability and biography to situate individual humanists into a static place rather than trying to situate relational connections alongside these scholars and their worlds. That is, to understand humanists and their role in Rome, scholars have relied on static formulations of social worlds and relations between individuals and institutions, rather than trying to see these institutions and people in constant flux and as relying on many different codes of conduct and *habitus*. An example of this is Charles Stinger's *The Renaissance in Rome* (1985) where, while he moves across pontificates and persons, he tends to

[127] Martin, *Myths of Renaissance Individualism*.

[128] Kenneth Gouwens, "Ciceronianism and Collective Identity: Defining the Boundaries of the Roman Academy, 1525," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 23, no. 2 (Spring 1993): 173–95.

[129] Ingeborg van Vugt, "Networking in the Republic of Letters: Magliabechi and the Dutch Republic," *Journal of Interdisciplinary* History LIII: I (Summer 2002): 117. Most studies of the Republic of Letters start with Erasmus, the sixteenth century, and the rise of an epistolary and print culture between intellectuals.

approach the ideas that the Roman humanists figured as static subjects, rather than as persons deeply enmeshed in the living rhythms of people in Rome.[130]

In recent studies to correct this unbalanced approach, Brian Maxson and Sarah Ross have addressed how humanists wrote about, performed, engaged with, and relied on ritual and social behaviours, with their works focusing on the societies and institutions of Florence and Venice, respectively.[131] Largely due to its character as a theocratic-monarchical city with a popular identity of constantly-simmering republicanism, Rome had important political differences from other fifteenth-century Italian cities, with its own unique shifting and unstable social and political structures.[132] The relationships between its inhabitants and these structures requires a slightly different understanding of behaviour and responses from what was done by Maxson and Ross; a different *habitus* for the scholar in the world is required to investigate the Roman scholarly relationships.[133] However, scholars of Roman humanism continue to ask questions through the three analytical frameworks of patronage, curial families, and the Republic of Letters, all of which structure the living behaviour of premodern people and places, rather than watching these individuals move and live.

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[130] Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome*.

[131] Maxson, *The Humanist World*, particularly chapters 4 and 7: "The Humanist Demands of Ritual" and "Humanism as a Means to Social Status"; Idem, "The Certame Coronario as Performative Ritual," in *Rituals of Politics and Culture in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honour of Edward Muir*, eds. Mark Jurdjevic and Rolf Strøm-Olsen (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2016): 137-63; Ross, *Everyday Renaissances*; Idem, "Performing Humanism: The Andreini Family and the Republic of Letters in Counter-Reformation Italy" in Ann Blair and Anja-Silvia Goeing, eds., *For the Sake of Learning: Essays in Honor of Anthony Grafton*, 2 Volumes (Leiden: Brill, 2016): 140-156.

[132] James A. Palmer, *The Virtues of Economy: Governance, Power, and Piety in Late Medieval Rome* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2019). However, Palmer, as part of his argument, notes that Rome is not a completely unique city, that many of its political behaviours and cultures are found in other late medieval Italian cities. Studying the uniqueness of Rome hampers our understanding of it as a late medieval place – its cultures of politics and identity, while particular, are not divorced from political and social cultures found in cities across the Italian peninsula.

[133] McCahill, *Reviving the Eternal City*, 17, suggests the need to see Rome with the "endless fluidity and malleability of Rome's legacy."

The study of patronage for humanists is one of the clearest and most accessible ways into the study of humanism in Rome. Due to the constant shifting of popes, cardinals, curialists, and dignitaries in Rome, the humanists were constantly in search of a patron who would support them. In response to this patronage (or lack of it), the humanists continually published words and orations of praise, or condemnation, of the worlds of patronage they lived in.[134] Many studies have situated individual humanists and their lives around certain cardinals, popes, or princes, and shown what value the humanists brought to the courts they worked in. A recent example of this is Anthony D'Elia's *A Sudden Terror: The Plot to Murder the Pope in Renaissance Rome* (2009).[135] D'Elia enters the world of Roman humanism by situating each of the humanists he looks at - Bartolomeo Platina, Pomponio Leto, Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo, and others - into the world of the elite Romans who sponsored them. D'Elia often prefaces his discussions of a humanist text with a discussion of the relationship between the humanist and his patron: this is seen especially clearly in his discussion of Platina's *Lives of the Popes*, his arrest by Pope Paul II, and his many works dedicated to the cardinal who failed to prevent his arrest, yet sponsored his freedom: Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga of Mantua.[136] For D'Elia's study, the patrons themselves are very marginal - he focuses on the voices of the humanists themselves and their documents - but his understanding of how intellectuals lived in Rome relies heavily on which patrons a humanist could or could not ally with.

Another recent example of how patronage is an important analytical framework comes from Elizabeth McCahill's work, mentioned earlier. *Reviving the Eternal City* focuses on how the

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[134] Christopher Celenza, *Renaissance Humanism and the Papal Curia: Lapo Da Castiglionchio the Younger's "De Curiae Commodis,"* Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome 4 (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2000).

[135] D'Elia, *A Sudden Terror*.

[136] D'Elia, *A Sudden Terror*, 10.

humanists worked during the pontificates of Martin V (1417-1431) and Eugenius IV (1431-1447) and aided these popes in their plans to revive, renew, and reconstruct the papal curia in Rome. The relationships between the papal and curial patrons and the humanists they employed are fundamental to McCahill's study, as she looks at how the desires and ambitions of the men in power were complemented by works written in their honour, or for their collections and homes. Patronage, one of the most important lenses to understand relationships between social classes in early modern Europe,[137] deeply shaped the living environment that the fifteenth-century humanists attempted to live and work in.[138] The principles of exchange that underlie patronage - the protection and advancement of the patron for whom the humanists authored panegyrics, orations, or histories - create a space for the humanist to live and work in. The mechanics of patronage, and the people who are involved, play a fundamental role in inserting scholars into a wide world of premodern exchange and supplication, especially concerning the patrons they hoped would support them.

The Curial Family is another useful analytical lens. As proposed by John D'Amico in 1983, the curial family is made of:

> those men … were employed to assist the lord in his religious, ceremonial, cultural, and personal duties. This *familia* was an accurate reflection and extension of the Curia and of Roman society … It ceased to exist at the death or departure from Rome of the man who founded it … it was completely dependent on the will and finances of its lord.[139]

Discussed by D'Amico as a site for patronage and support for humanists not bolstered by noble families such as the Colonna or the Orsini, the curial family maps quite neatly onto the way familial patronage and kin support worked in other environments, such as the Medici household and their

[137] Werner L. Gundersheimer, "Patronage in the Renaissance: An Explanatory Approach." In *Patronage in the Renaissance*, eds. Guy Fitch Lytle and Stephen Orgel (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981): 3-23.

[138] Elizabeth McCahill, "Finding a Job as a Humanist: The Epistolary Collection of Lapo Da Castiglionchio the Younger," *Renaissance Quarterly* 57, no. 4 (2004): 1308-45 at p. 1314.

[139] D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome*, 39-40.

circle of humanists, or even the neighbourhood networks of early modern Florence.[140] In a series of articles and books, John Monfasani has carefully reconstructed the curial families surrounding Cardinal Bessarion, as well as the curial families and worlds of the many other Greek emigres who migrated to Italy and Rome from the 1430s to the 1460s.[141]

Although Monfasani gives close and careful attention to the intellectual world of Bessarion and his rivals and colleagues in Rome, he never uses social or relational analyses. His work addresses the many intellectual feuds between Greeks and Latins, particularly concerning the Plato-Aristotle debates of mid-fifteenth century Rome, but always from a philological and philosophical approach, combing the marginalia and editing processes of texts to reveal the intellectual debates of fifteenth-century Italy.[142] The curial family becomes a lens of analysis, helping Monfasani to situate the world, works, and lives of these intellectuals - both scholastic and humanist - and to show how these persons related to each other, but Monfasani never stresses the living experiences of intellectual culture.[143] He uses the curial family more to show the multiplicity of intellectual perspectives and their alliances and rivalries in early modern Rome, than to suggest the social circles and dependencies of these scholars in creating a life for themselves.

Monfasani is joined in this perspective by many Italian scholars, most notably Massimo Miglio and Concetta Bianca, both of whose work reconstructs in quite close detail the intellectuals and circles of the curial families, and the movement of intellectuals between these families.[144]

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[140] Ronald Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Academic Press, 1982). For a recent discussion of the curial family and clerical masculinity, consult DeSilva, "The Roman Clerical Household."

[141] John Monfasani, *Bessarion Scholasticus: A Study of Cardinal Bessarion's Latin Library*, BYZANTIOΣ: Studies in Byzantine History and Civilization 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

[142] John Monfasani, "A Tale of Two Books: Bessarion's 'In Calumniatorem Platonis' and George of Trebizond's 'Comparatio Philosophorum Platonis et Aristotelis,'" *Renaissance Studies* 22, no. 1 (2008): 1–15.

[143] John Monfasani, *George of Trebizond: A Biography and a Study of His Rhetoric and Logic*, Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1976).

[144] Massimo Miglio, *Saggi Di Stampa: Tipografi e cultura a Roma nel Quattrocento*, ed. Anna Modigliani (Rome: Roma nel Rinascimento, 2009); Concetta Bianca, "La biblioteca romana di Niccolò Cusano," in *Scrittura,*

However, these reconstructions, predominantly biographical and stressing intellectual production and thought, always eye how these movements and behaviours affected the intellectual orientation and work of the humanists and their curial families. Their discussions of curial families do not address the worlds and behaviours of life in fifteenth-century Rome that these families lived in; the curial families are therefore studied as a static category, rather than reflect a constantly shifting and relational world.

A last approach used by scholars in a method of approaching intellectual life is to read the "Republic of Letters" back into the fifteenth century. Recently highlighted by Paula Findlen and Suzanne Sutherland's edited collection *The Renaissance of Letters*, the letter was in many ways its own genre for the humanists, used privately and publicly to build a network of correspondents, to display erudite learning, and to self-represent (and modify the representation of the self).[145] The later early modern "Republic of Letters" established between Erasmus and his friends, or Galileo and his colleagues in seventeenth-century Italy, had a late medieval heritage, and scholars of humanism care quite deeply about how the letters exchanged between scholars reveal (or hide) sociability. The last chapter of D'Elia's *A Sudden Terror* relies on the letters between the imprisoned humanists, to make a case for humanist community in the late 1460s,[146] while a study

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biblioteche, e stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento: Atti del 2° Seminario 6-8 Maggio 1982, ed. Massimo Miglio, Littera Antiqua 3 (Città del Vaticano: Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica, 1983), 669–708.

[145] Paula Findlen and Suzanne Sutherland, eds., *The Renaissance of Letters: Knowledge and Community in Italy, 1300-1650* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019). Cf. Cecil Clough, "The Cult of Antiquity: Letters and Letter Collections," in *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance: Essays in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, ed. Cecil Clough (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976), 33–67; Timothy Kircher, "At Play in the Republic of Letters: The Correspondence of Lapo Da Castiglionchio the Younger," *Renaissance Quarterly* 71, no. 3 (2018): 841–67; John M. Najemy, *Between Friends: Discourses of Power and Desire in the Machiavelli-Vettori Letters of 1513-1515* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); Marianne Pade, "Intertextuality as a Narrative Device. The Epistolographic Genre in the Renaissance" *in Fiction and Figuration in High and Late Medieval Literature*, ed. Marianne Pade et al., Analecta Romana Instituti Danici Supplementum XLVII (Rome, 2016), 31–40; Nancy Bisaha, "'Discourses of Power and Desire': The Letters of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini," in *Florence and Beyond: Culture, Society and Politics in Renaissance Italy. Essays in Honour of John M. Najemy*, ed. David S. Peterson and Daniel E. Bornstein, Essays and Studies 15 (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 121–34.

[146] D'Elia, *A Sudden Terror*, Ch. 7 "Humanism Imprisoned."

by Timothy Kircher reveals how Lapo da Castiglionchio the Younger edited and deliberately compiled his assorted letters to stress the benefits (and shortcomings) of the humanist pedagogical program at the beginning of the fifteenth century.[147]

Another example in reconstructing the Republic of Letters for humanist scholars comes from Susanna de Beer in her article on the Roman pseudo-Academy of Pomponio Leto: the group of scholars surrounding Leto and enjoying their shared connection to the classical past and to the environment surrounding them.[148] Studying Giovanni Antonio Campano's poetry and letters, de Beer stresses the scholarly networks developed by exchanging poetry and letters in mid-to-late fifteenth century Rome, suggesting that the group of scholars and friends whom Pomponio Leto invited over and taught could qualify as an early learned humanist academy. Her use of Campano's poetry reveals how the friendships that these humanists fostered relied on ancient precedents and on literary references that those in the academy would understand, and that referenced ideas and jokes within the "in" humanist group, to support the work and persons involved in their imagined world of academic pleasures and engagement.[149] Turning to the exchange of literary works between scholars, de Beer stresses the community-oriented nature of the intellectual world these scholars worked in – the sharing of poetry created networks and friendships between these many scholars.

The approach of working with the Republic of Letters for the fifteenth century helps to recreate the immediate environment these scholars worked in, and richly contextualizes the genres they wrote in. Yet this approach tends to rely on an unbroken epistolary connection between

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[147] Kircher, "At Play in the Republic of Letters."

[148] Susanna de Beer, "The Roman 'Academy' of Pomponio Leto: From an Informal Humanist Network to the Institution of a Literary Society.," in *Literary and Learned Societies in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Arjan van Dixhoorn and Susie Speakman Sutch, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2008). De Beer refers to Leto's first circle (From the 1460s) as an "informal humanist network" - his academy only comes later, in the 1480s and under Pope Sixtus IV.

[149] de Beer, "The Roman Academy," 199.

intellectuals (say, between Cicero and Atticus, or Petrarch and his friends) rather than expanding the horizons of the world they lived in. But the survival of letters and of scholarly production is needed to study this "Republic of Letters": the sources are the literary exchanges. The study of the Republic of Letters reflects a relational exchange, yes, but it is of scholarly work and intellectual communality. This approach of study then overlooks the non-literary and oral behaviour and exchanges - social, political, and economic - that premodern Europe is known for, and that the humanists clearly participated in just by virtue of living in fifteenth-century cities.

These three approaches of patronage, the curial family, and the early Republic of Letters offer scholars helpful lenses for studying the scholars of fifteenth-century Rome from a wider cultural perspective. One of the greatest benefits to these approaches is that they begin to give us access to what Pierre Bourdieu has called *habitus*, or "the organizing principle of their actions, and … a *modus operandi* informing all thought and actions … the durably installed generative principle of regulative improvisations."[150] Studying intellectuals and looking for wider words and shades of meaning and representation in their writings helps us understand intellectuals and how they thought, and gives us the important third-leg on which to understand how ideas move in wider society: a third leg of the historicized intellectual invested in creating and shaping the idea in a specific environment. Yet these approaches, used by intellectual historians to understand the transmission of ideas and themes between intellectuals, still tend to treat the relationships that they discuss and study as static facts and as rational, agential behaviours. If one studies in this way Lapo da Castiglionchio the Younger, his letters, and his *De curiae commodis* of 1438, Lapo and his world are frozen as a subject that can be analyzed, yet this approach does not reflect the ephemeral and

[150] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977) 18, 88.

emotional dynamics of a world of patronage, rivalries, and networks.[151] These three approaches listed above answer the questions that intellectual historians enjoy asking - how people and patrons work with ideas and how ideas are made manifest in society - while beginning to open many paths of investigation into more cultural and socio-historical approaches.

Socio-Relational Approaches

On 10 December 1513, political statesman Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527), exiled from Florence, wrote a letter to his friend Francesco Vettori (1474-1539). In his letter, Machiavelli described, in narrative detail, his life while in exile from Florence, and he famously mentioned a work on princes that he had written and intended to send to the Medici family in a bid to return to Florence.[152] Machiavelli describes his world outside of Florence: he discusses his hunting for thrushes, his reading, his daily routine and habits of gaming at the local pub, and then he asks Vettori how best he should present his work to the Medici, the better to return to Florence triumphantly. This work, *On Princedoms,* represented at least fifteen years of political thinking, and Machiavelli wished for the work to assist his return to political life.[153] Situated in a long correspondence between Vettori and Machiavelli, this particular letter has been deeply studied by scholars as it holds the first mention of what would become Machiavelli's best known work, *The Prince*.[154] But the letter also reveals Machiavelli's literary ability as he moves between mundane

[151] Dale Kent, *Friendship, Love, and Trust in Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2009).

[152] Niccolo Machiavelli, *Opere*, 3 vols. ed. C. Vivanti, Vol. 2: "Lettere" (Turin: Einaudi, 1999): 294-297. Translated in Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince with Related Documents*, trans. William J. Connell, 2nd Edition (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's Press, 2016): 130-136. This letter is famous as the earliest mention of *The Prince* (written by Machiavelli as *De Principatibus*). Cf. William J. Connell, "New Light on Machiavelli's Letter to Vettori, 10 December 1513," in *Europe e Italia, Studi in onore di Giorgio Chittolini / Europe and Italy, Studies in Honor of Giorgio Chittolini* (Florence: Florence University Press, 2011), 93–127.

[153] Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 136. "And, as for this thing, once it were read, it would be seen that the fifteen years I spent studying the art of the state were neither slept through nor gambled away…"

[154] Najemy, *Between Friends*.

informal letter writing with crass humour and sexual references, and high humanist epistolary art, something not commonly done in classical letters.[155] Machiavelli's letter, moving from a discussion of Dante and Ovid to the games he played with farmers in the pub, and back again to the court of the ancients, reveals a man operating on both elite philosophical levels, and deeply embedded in his own behavioural world.

In his letter, when he came back from the pub after his card games, Machiavelli described a learned routine and ritual that he engaged in. After coming home, Machiavelli changed from his daily clothes and described putting on the clothes that an ambassador would wear, then went to greet the ancients in a court that he imagined.[156] He would talk to the ancients, reflecting on what their personalities and their deeds have to teach him, and learning from their works.[157] He writes:

> When evening comes, I return home, and I enter into my study; and at the door I take off my everyday dress, full of mud and of clay, and I put on regal and courtly clothes; and decently dressed I enter into the ancient courts of ancient men, where, received lovingly by them, I eat the food that is mine alone, and for which I was born. There I am not ashamed to speak with them, and to ask them the reasons for their actions; and they, in their humanity, answer me. And for four hours at a time I feel no boredom.[158]

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[155] Guido Ruggiero, *Machiavelli in Love: Sex, Self, and Society in the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011): Ch. 5, "Machiavelli in Love: The Self-Presentation of an Aging Lover." For the letter to Vettori of 10 December 1513, see p. 121: "It's important to note, however, that all this was done in the context of the two friends exchanging pictures of their overly tranquil domestic lives as old men and an invitation from Vettori to Machiavelli to come live with him in Rome for a while … to enjoy the quiet life of pleasurable conversation and illicit sex which Vettori had promised."

[156] Machiavelli, *Opere*, 296: "et in su l'uscio mi spoglio quella veste cotidiana, piena di fango e di loto, e mi metto panni reali e curiali, e rivestito condecentemente entro nelle antique corti degli antiqui uomini, dove, da loro ricevuto amorevolmente, mi pasco di quel cibo, che solum è mio, e che io nacqui per lui; dove io non mi vergogno parlare con loro, e domandarli della ragione delle loro azioni; e quelli per loro umanità mi rispondono, e non sento per 4 ore di tempo alcuna noia, sdimentico ogni affanno, non temo la povertà, non mi sbigottisce la morte: tutto mi trasferisco in loro." Cf. Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 134-135. My thanks to Dr. Mark Jurdjevic for the citation.

[157] There are two clear examples of literary precedents in engaging with classical authors that Machiavelli would have known. Dante's *Inferno* Canto IV, Lines 73-151, have Dante engaging with the pagan poets and philosophers Homer, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, Electra, Aeneas, Caesar, Saladin, Aristotle, Plato, Orpheus, Cicero, Avicenna, and Averroes. The other literary example is to Petrarch in his *Letters* to Cicero, engaging with the Roman statesman and his ideas.

[158] Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 135.

However, these imagined interactions relied on relational, transactional events and behaviours based on the *habitus* of his era: a *habitus* both intellectual, focusing on the collaborative nature of humanist learning, and more widely cultural, relying on normative early modern social behaviour, where similar patterns of behaviour are seen in both the tavern and in statecraft. In this imagined dialogue with the past, Machiavelli unconsciously relied on and repeated the social behaviours that he (and Vettori) would recognize but are different from those of our world today. These relations, underpinning early modern communities and social life, seem to be largely neglected by historians of intellectual culture, as the study of these behaviours is largely outside the domain of the types of questions that they ask. Intellectual historians are not social historians and are not sociologists, yet to understand the world and lives of these scholars, their wider world of performed behaviour needs to be investigated. In humanist literature, the humanists sought to stabilize their very-fluid world by providing answers distilled and interpreted from ancient texts. But how does one study relational culture from individuals so set on making their world static and stable through their literature?

Book historians have begun to supply an answer to this question. The physical movement of manuscripts and incunables, books and pamphlets, and all sorts of printed materials between individuals and institutions can be tracked. This movement of items, through gifts or purchases, has given scholars an important framework for how to look at moving objects - the books themselves - instead of only studying the immobile text and its philosophical resonance. Ada Palmer's work on Lucretius reveals how traditional intellectual history is enriched by the methods of book historians.[159] By studying the marginalia, the palaeography and different authors and scripts, differing uses of texts and papers as bindings, and the changing owners of these items,

[159] Palmer, *Reading Lucretius in the Renaissance*.

among many other approaches, book historians have tracked the movement of items in society, and laid what that movement meant (behaviourally speaking) for societies and people in the past.[160] Their work has revealed, repeatedly, a world where items and people were constantly moving and imbued with meaning. The material turn that art historians have been so adept at has begun to affect how historians track the behaviour of people in the past, intellectual or otherwise, particularly from an anthropological perspective.[161] It makes sense then, that the quieter communities that humanists lived and worked in would be visible not just from the books that they wrote and sent to each other and to patrons, but also from the behaviours displayed in these transactions and relations, found predominantly in the dedications to these texts.[162]

Social historians, as outlined above, have been discussing and studying relational culture in different ways, to the point where that it might even seem a trope. Relational culture here refers to the dynamics of people of the past on their own terms and how they related to each other in a cultural and behavioural mode, rather than simply bean-counting their static existence in historical documents. Particularly for understanding the non-elites largely ignored by traditional methods and documents from the past, social historians have been far more interested in the relationships between non-elites in the past and their daily life, than in simply counting and acknowledging the existence of people outside of elite politicians and thinkers. But two approaches have dealt with wide, relational culture in very strong ways: The *Annalistes*, with their focus on wide social

[160] Daniel Bellingradt, Paul Nelles, and Jeroen Salman, *Books in Motion in Early Modern Europe: Beyond Production, Circulation and Consumption* (London: Springer, 2017); Lotte Hellinga, *Incunabula in Transit: People and Trade* (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

[161] Evelyn Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

[162] For scholarship on humanist dedications, see Chapter 2 below. Also consult Marianne Pade, "The Dedicatory Letter as a Genre: the Prefaces of Guarino Veronese's Translations of Plutarch," in A. Dalzell et alii (eds.), *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Torontonensis, Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Toronto 8 August to 13 August 1988* (Binghamton, NY: 1988): 559-568; Stefan Bauer, *The Censorship and Fortuna of Platina's Lives of the Popes in the Sixteenth Century*, Late Medieval and Early Modern Studies 9 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), and Revest, "The Birth of the Humanist Movement".

behaviours, the wide umbrellas covering connected cultures and ideas they called *mentalité*, barely affected by the actions of individuals;[163] and the microhistorians, with their focus on active participants within a communal culture of unspoken rules and reflexive behaviours in which everyone partook and that everybody understood (these patterns under investigation are similar to Pierre Bourdieu's *habitus*).[164] Focusing on how these common cultures informed how society ran, two historians' works show how the study of socio-relational behaviour can inform our understanding of how intellectuals lived and behaved: Natalie Zemon Davis' *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (2000), and Renata Ago's *Gusto for Things: A History of Objects in Seventeenth-Century Rome* (2013).[165]

In *The Gift*, and following anthropologist Marcel Mauss, Natalie Davis argues that there was a distinct "gift mode' in sixteenth-century France that persons used to "[soften] relations among people of the same status and of different status and for preventing their closure."[166] In *Gusto for Things,* Renata Ago looks at the movement and transmission of objects, and their markets, in seventeenth-century Rome, and how society's "gusto for things" shaped early modern identities - not just as individuals, but relationally, through the movement of items in a collective and participatory culture of commerce.[167] Ago argues that "Goods therefore embody continuity against the change that inevitably characterizes the individual and social life. They therefore transmit with the passage of time more than just an economic patrimony."[168] Both Davis and Ago

[163] Jacques Le Goff, "Mentalities: A New Field for Historians," *Social Science Information* 13 (Feb. 1974): 81-98.

[164] Thomas Cohen, "Bourdieu in Bed: The Seduction of Innocentia (Rome, 1570)," *Journal of Early Modern History* 7, no. 1 (January 1, 2003): 55–85.

[165] Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France*; Renata Ago, *Gusto for Things: A History of Objects in Seventeenth-Century Rome*, trans. Bradford Bouley, Corey Tazzara, and Paula Findlen (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013).

[166] Davis, *The Gift*, 6.

[167] Ago, *Gusto for Things*, 10.

[168] Ago, *Gusto for Things*, 6.

ask not about static structures, but rather, about movement and action - ironically asking these movement questions about objects and not people, suggesting that objects are not as static as historians have often thought. When they do this, items, including ideas-as-items, become subjects of scholarly inquiry, and their movement through space and time help to explain the societies that move them. An approach like that taken by Davis and Ago can apply as easily to ideas and their intellectuals as to goods and their purchasers, and gift givers.

To return very briefly to Machiavelli and the imagined encounter he described for Vettori, Machiavelli and his letter can be understood as part of this incredibly mobile and relational world. His use of thinking with classical men of action informing him relies on a concept that historians have approached, but not interrogated: a *commercium litterarum*.[169] Similar to the "republic of letters" mentioned earlier, the *commercium litterarum* implies not just a static exchange, but rather, a "communication, correspondence, fellowship" of letters.[170] This phrase evokes a world reliant not just on men and their writings but also on the *transmission* of these letters, a fellowship or correspondence that reflect not just the existence of these letters, but also their movement and reflection of a wider world. The *commercium litterarum* of the humanists was similar to the world Davis and Ago evoke, with their focus on the transmission that shaped the worlds of those transmitting.

For Machiavelli, his *commercium litterarum* involved not simply a beautiful depiction of how he treated his books sent to his friend, garnished with refined and vulgar jokes and allusions.

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[169] Hankins, *Virtue Politics*, 179, "Indeed, Petrarch's conception of the solitary life has a communal aspect: it is a virtual fellowship of learned men, bound by shared moral and spiritual values, sustained by moments of vivid personal contact but maintained also via a constant exchange of letters, books, and dedications - what the quattrocento would call the *commercium litterarum*, the commerce of letters (a phrase Petrarch would surely have detested)"; Compare with Anthony Grafton, *Commerce with the Classics: Ancient Books and Renaissance Readers* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1997). Cf. D'Elia, *A Sudden Terror*, Ch. 7: "Humanism Imprisoned."

[170] *A Latin Dictionary Founded on Andrews' Edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary*, ed. Charles Lewis and Charles Short (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879): s.v. "Commercium".

More importantly, the comprehension of his letter relied on Vettori and Machiavelli's both understanding how humanist scholarship worked.[171] Both Machiavelli and Vettori had to understand how the classical authorities were used and described; how one cited the past in relation to the present; how one read and cited authorities; and how one could use them in participating in the wider world. This letter, not simply a reception and repetition of classical authors, evokes a world not just between an individual and his books, but between an individual, his books, and a wider culture. To link back to the tripartite division of Rorty and Bourdieu that Celenza emphasized, Machiavelli's *commercium litterarum* relied on communities of humanists, intellectuals, and the wider world of early modern behavioural norms, all so that Vettori would understand what he was reading when Machiavelli wrote his friend a letter requesting help.[172] A social and relational approach is desperately needed to understand how intellectuals not only worked in their wider world, but also lived in it. This dissertation proposes to use this relational approach to humanism in Rome to understand how humanists lived and worked in a wider world, and what that meant.

Conclusion

This chapter argued for the need to understand the fifteenth-century humanist program, and the humanists themselves, from a social, behavioural, and relational perspective. Now that we have outlined the history of the study of humanism, the study of humanists' actions, beliefs, and behaviours need to be placed into the wider premodern world they lived in, recognized by Christopher Celenza in 2004, and addressed by many historians since his study. While there is

[171] Studying the 10 December letter from the history of reading, Anthony Grafton evokes the importance of book culture and Machiavelli's experience reading the classics through mediated, printed books. See Anthony Grafton, "The Humanist as Reader" in *A History of Reading in the West*, eds. Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, trans. Lydia Cochrane (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1999): particularly 179-181.

[172] Celenza, *The Lost Italian Renaissance*, 68.

important work being done on humanist ideas, philosophies, and texts, and this research does need to be done in order fully to understand the humanists in the world of fifteenth-century Europe, one needs to see how they lived in a society that was not just a world of political, ethical, and metaphysical ideas. These intellectuals were born into, and lived in, a world with much more involved than how classical texts were received, transformed, and understood. Historians of humanism have done an excellent job outlining the humanists' ideas and beliefs, particularly when it comes to religious belief and practice. This chapter suggests the continuation of this work but moves the humanists back into the communities in which they lived, moved, and worked.

In *Virtue Politics: Soulcraft and Statecraft in Renaissance Italy* (2019), James Hankins mentions that in spite of Petrarch's dismissal of the *vita activa,* for the Quattrocento humanists there was a distinct *commercium litterarum*, a world "of learned men, bound by shared moral and spiritual values, sustained by moments of vivid personal contact but maintained also through a constant exchange of letters, books, and dedications."[173] Hankins mentions the humanists' need to have communities, but never investigates their contours or procedures. These worlds still need close, deep studies, ones not simply based on the philosophical conversations of learned men. To understand more fully the world that humanism was born into, evolved with, and expanded from, humanism needs to be given roots not merely in the ancient worlds it studied and modeled, but also in the social worlds it was born into, and the social behaviours that its practitioners relied on. Their performative debates and feuds, their alliances, rivalries, and academies, and their communality have scripts, or *habitus*, that buttressed their intellectual performances.

This dissertation proposes that a method to access this *commercium litterarum* is to interrogate, and if necessary, describe stories about the humanists in Rome. By studying the

[173] Hankins, *Virtue Politics*, 179.

biographical details of these humanists, putting them on the ground in the fifteenth-century city they lived and worked in, and seeking out their friendships and rivalries through how they mentioned their colleagues in their prefaces and dedicatory letters, the stories of humanist lives are described and understood as part and parcel of a fifteenth-century environment. Studying the performative behaviour of humanism from their writings and reading who they were willing to publicly ally themselves with, reveals a constantly moving world of intellectuals who were deeply dependent on their social environment to survive in their world. Their friendships, not only informed by Cicero's *De Amicitia* and other classical texts on friendship, relied on normative early modern behaviours and habitual patterns.[174] This work seeks to recreate these stories and present a story of humanism as a performed identity both "classical," and premodern.

Humanist pedagogy, philosophy, and poetry triumphed over its scholastic rivals by the end of the seventeenth century due to its perceived importance by the elite and bourgeois classes who decided that a classical education was fundamentally important for their social worlds and cultures, and believed that investing in humanism was a good idea.[175] Humanism became the dominant pedagogical program and a necessary part of an elite education, an education that stressed the dominance of Greco-Roman culture and the worlds that inherited the Greco-Roman legacy, those of European nations. The word itself, *humanismus*, was originally used by F. J. Neithammer, a German educational reformer in the early nineteenth century. Niethammer argued that a strong civic and general education should express the "emphasis on the Greek and Latin classics in secondary education, as against the rising demands for a more practical and more scientific

[174] Peter Burke, "Humanism and Friendship in Sixteenth-Century Europe," in *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Julian Haseldine (Stroud: Sutton, 1999), 262–74.

[175] Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities*, xii-xiii. Cf. Erika Rummel, The *Humanist-Scholastic Debate in the Renaissance and the Reformation*, Harvard Historical Studies 120 (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1998).

training."[176] The successors and inheritors of fifteenth-century humanist pedagogy, both the Jesuits and those associated with the Republic of Letters and the later Enlightenment, took humanism around the world and with it, colonized the world and demanded that civilizations behave like Greco-Romans as part of this colonial practice.[177] To better understand why and how humanism succeeded in becoming the cultural force it was, its practitioners and its assumptions need to be socialized. Celenza's call for bridging the gap between intellectual and social historians of premodern Europe needs to be answered. These next chapters, focusing on the intricacies of a few humanists' lives, movements, and experiences, suggest a way that this can be done.

[176] F. J. Neithammer, *Der Streit des Philanthropinismus und Humanismus in der Theorie des Erziehungs-Unterrichts Unsrer Zeit* (Jena: Frommann, 1808.) Cited by Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and its Sources*, 22n2, referring to Walter Rüegg, *Cicero und der Humanismus* (Zurich: 1946), p. 1ff.

[177] Peter Burke, *Hybrid Renaissance: Culture, Language, Architecture,* Natalie Zemon Davis Annual Lectures Series (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2016), Ch. 7, "Music, Law, and Humanism."

CAPITVLVM SECVNDVM: PreFace-book: The Social History of the Dedicatory Letter in Quattrocento Rome

Introduction

For Italian humanists of the 1400s, the dedicatory letter to a text, often written as a preface and labelled as such, was a literary genre on its own.[1] Written for the humanists' own writings, as well as for their translations of classical texts and their commentaries – works such as individual chapters of Plutarch's *Lives*, or individual Platonic dialogues – prefaces to humanist texts became more and more prevalent additions in front of their works, becoming even more so after the invention of the printing press which made increasingly marketable the paratexts, either at the beginnings or ends of books.[2] The famous Florentine humanist Leonardo Bruni (1370-1444) made this paratextual genre of humanist literature popular for his colleagues, so that, especially from his works onwards, humanists imitated Bruni and wrote prefaces to engage directly in the political and patronage-based system of employment that they lived in, as well as to try ascend the scale of honour and to network in their world.

The dedicatory letter as a preface to a text was not unique to the humanists at all: as a genre, the preface dates back centuries to at least St. Jerome's prefaces for his church histories (381 C.E), and to Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews* (93/94 C.E), among many works written throughout the European Middle Ages. Nor was the preface a distinct creation of the humanist program of reform and classical education in search of virtue: In the preface to Peter Abelard's *The Story of My Calamities* (1132), Abelard notes that he wrote the work to comfort and inform his reader, an

[1] Stefania Fortuna, "The Prefaces to the First Humanist Medical Translations," *Traditio* 62 (2007): 324-327. Also consult Marco Paoli, *La dedica: storia di una strategia editoriale* (Lucca: Pacini Fazzi, 2009).

[2] Ada Palmer, *Reading Lucretius in the Renaissance.*, I Tatti Studies in Italian Renaissance History (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014).

unnamed friend whom he was addressing and to whom he was providing an example of a misfortunate, if important and self-aggrandizing life.[3] But the humanists of the fifteenth century, deeply engaged in the mercantile culture of Italy, increasingly exploited the possibilities of the genre, using the preface as a tool of negotiation in their worlds, one that could be used both vertically to attain patronage from civic or noble elites, and horizontally to bolster and manage their relationships with other scholars and colleagues.[4] One of the better known participants in this humanist culture of prefaces, particularly those that were printed, was the Venetian humanist and printer, Aldo Manuzio (1449-1515), who renewed a tradition of beginning books with prefaces that advertised the book they preceded, discussed its merits, and spoke directly to the reader, both elite and vernacular.[5]

By beginning their texts with a dedicatory letter and a statement of authorship or of the importance of translation, humanists used the dedication to "get the book read," and they also sought financial and political support from patrons higher up the social and economic ladder.[6] While the prefatory letter to a text follows many ancient and medieval models of dedication, the most famous example from early modern Italy is the dedication to *The Prince,* from Niccolò Machiavelli to Lorenzo de Medici, Duke of Urbino, where Machiavelli outlined what his little book was about and how it would help Lorenzo rule as a prince.[7] In this preface, Machiavelli

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[3] Betty Radice, ed., *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise* (London: Penguin, 2003). For examples and didactic literature in the Middle Ages, particularly in *exempla*, Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973): 57-61.

[4] Paul McLean, *The Art of the Network: Strategic Interaction and Patronage in Renaissance Florence* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).

[5] John N. Grant, Introduction to Aldus Manutius, *Humanism and the Latin Classics*, ed. and trans. John N. Grant. The I Tatti Renaissance Library 78 (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2017): xvii-xviii. Many of the Aldine prefaces begin, "*Aldus lectori s*," with s. meaning *salute*, or greetings to his reader. In his introduction to the volume, Grant uses the word "revived" to describe the phenomenon of printed texts beginning with letters by Giovanni Bussi, something that went out of style after Bussi left his editing position, and that was later revived by Manutius.

[6] Genette, *Paratexts*, 197.

[7] Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince with related documents*, ed. and trans. by William Connell (Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 2016): 37-39.

famously offers both himself and his work, "a work unworthy of presentation to you," to Lorenzo, and concludes his preface by subtly suggesting that he be freed from his exile, his "malignity of fortune," imposed by the Medici princes in Florence.[8] But these dedicatory letters, Machiavelli's included, were not merely didactic or job-seeking: when writing them, the humanists of the fifteenth century also tried to create, maintain, and reflect on networks with their colleagues, establishing a literary society on which the more famous Republic of Letters, traditionally marked as beginning around 1500 and with the humanist Erasmus, would later expand.[9]

Narrowing in on the humanist engagement with the genre of the dedicatory preface, and their use of letters in both the mercantile and epistolary worlds the humanists occupied, scholars today look at dedications as a zone where humanists engaged with their intellectual and political worlds. These texts tend to be studied as areas where humanists commented on the text being dedicated. The text in question was usually, but not always, a classical work, and scholars today are fascinated by how humanists brought a formerly lesser-known piece into light as part of their habitual endeavour of recovering or rediscovering classical literature.[10] The dedicatory letter as a preface was also where the humanists offered their own commentary on, among other topics, education, virtue, the ethics and politics of translation as an art, and the importance of certain forms of statecraft over others (usually the conduct of the state or of its prince to whom they were sending

[8] Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 39.

[9] Susanna de Beer, "The Roman 'Academy' of Pomponio Leto. From an informal Network to the Institution of a Literary Society" in *The Reach of the Republic of Letters: Learned and Literary Societies in Early Modern Europe*, 2 volumes, edited by Arjan van Dixhoorn and Suzie Speakman Sutch (Leiden: Brill, 2008): 181-218. For the Republic of Letters and its starting date, consult Ingeborg van Vugt, "Networking in the Republic of Letters: Magliabechi and the Dutch Republic," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 53, no. 1 (2022): 117.

[10] Marianne Pade, "The Dedicatory Letter as a Genre: the Prefaces of Guarino Veronese's Translations of Plutarch," in A. Dalzell et alii (eds.), *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Torontonensis, Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Toronto 8 August to 13 August 1988* (Binghamton, NY: 1988): 559-568; Bauer, *The Censorship and Fortuna*, and Clémence Revest, "The Birth of the Humanist Movement at the Turn of the Fifteenth Century," translated by Darla Gervais. *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* (2013/3): 665-696; Giancarlo Abbamonte et al., *Pratiques latines de la dédicace: Permanence et mutations, de l'Antiquité à la Renaissance*, Lectures de la Renaissance latine, n° 4 in Rencontres 265 (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2014).

the dedication). As a preface, the dedicatory letter was a site of communication for the humanists that allowed for a middle ground between a solely intellectual opinion of a scholar engaging sources, and the work being prefaced. It was also a site for social and political engagement in the elite circles of Italian humanism and politics. The dedicatory letter was thus simultaneously a philosophical commentary, a networking device, and a reflection on social or political realities.

This chapter argues that, for the humanists living in Rome in the mid-fifteenth century, the dedicatory letter was not only a means of negotiating patronage, employment, and entry into the literary societies and curial worlds surrounding them.[11] Rather, the prefatory letter also let scholars build, coordinate, and maintain friendships and social relations between themselves and other scholars, hoped-for allies on a more horizontal level of networking and engagement. As the fashioning of both themselves and their intellectual communities was done through the letter collections that humanists created and distributed, the dedicatory letter as a preface let them expand their intellectual interpretations of the books they prefaced, network and support themselves and other scholars, and negotiate a place for themselves in both an immediate *commercium litterarum* based on friendship, and on a wide world of patronage, to gain employment.[12] Here, through a close perusal of two case studies, two dedicatory letters from Rome between 1462 and 1472, I look at the social interests and connections between the author of the preface, the person receiving the book, and the work itself being prefaced, to entangle the dedicatory letter with the book as a material and cultural object. The two prefaces, from the humanist Bartolomeo Platina to the fellow humanist and minor noble Agostino Maffei from circa 1464, and from the translator Theodore

[11] Elizabeth McCahill's dissertation, "Humanism in the Theatre of Lies," is fundamentally useful for the many roles that dedicatory letters can play, both restricted to the intellectual circles of what humanists sought to accomplish, philosophically, and as social networking devices. I thank her for this resource.

[12] Timothy Kircher, "The Community of Letters in Renaissance Italy," *Antike und Abendland* 68, no. 1 (December 1, 2022): 37–58. Also consult, for humanist friendships through letters, John M. Najemy, *Between Friends: Discourses of Power and Desire in the Machiavelli-Vettori Letters of 1513-1515* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993).

Gaza to the bishop Giovanni Andrea Bussi from about 1471, try to connect their authors to wider circles of networks and patrons in Quattrocento Rome. However, these prefaces do so in ways that complicate understandings of dedicatory letters as only addressing upper-class patrons and as limited solely to a search for patronage.[13] While there are many other humanist prefaces to look at, and this chapter makes no attempt at exhaustiveness or large arguments, these two prefaces – from Platina and from Gaza – are excellent examples of prefaces shared between friends and used to build community between humanists, and not of humanists seeking patronage from wealthy patrons.

These letters and the books that they precede are themselves moving parts in the intensely-fluid world of Quattrocento Rome, where networks often came swiftly into being at the whim of the patron, and were dismantled just as quickly.[14] While 1400s Rome was not unique in Italy for how patronage structures worked, the ephemerality of the curial worlds and the ability of patrons to sponsor intellectuals at their courts, and remove them on a whim, both suggest how high the stakes were in Rome for Quattrocento humanists – almost an enhanced version of social dynamics in other cities, due to the impermanence of the networks created in curial Rome by ecclesiastics. This ephemerality of the curial family and the liability of its composition, the unclarity of when and how these positions were negotiated, created a culture where the stakes were high whenever scholars strove to find a place to belong to and to stay. They more often failed than succeeded.[15] The dedicatory letter thus became a "charismatic thing": an item, often a gifted item with its own

[13] For more of this complication of traditional patronage, consult Paul McLean, *The Art of the Network: Strategic Interaction and Patronage in Renaissance Florence* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007) and Natasha Constantinidou, "On Patronage, Fama and Court: Early Modern Political Culture," *Renaissance Studies* 24, no. 4 (2010): 597–610.

[14] John D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome: Humanists and Churchmen on the Eve of the Reformation* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), 38.

[15] Elizabeth McCahill, "Finding a Job as a Humanist: The Epistolary Collection of Lapo Da Castiglionchio the Younger," *Renaissance Quarterly* 57, no. 4 (2004): 1308–45.

risks, that lubricated and shaped the vulnerable social relations of friendship and trust between individuals, as well as a device for seeking patronage or formal employment at a court.[16] In writing these dedicatory prefaces, humanists not only sought secure positions or benefices in the Eternal City with their charismatic items of books. The y sought friendships and communities as well, and actively constructed them following humanist practice: through their letters that furthered the exchange of ideas in their humanist communities.

Bartolomeo Platina, to Agostino Maffei, sends his greetings.

Italian humanists knew how to do many things with their prefatory texts. While they discussed and created a literary and bookish world based on intellectual endeavours and ancient philosophy in their own male communities, they were also working with these texts in the profoundly communal world of early modern society.[17] The desire to shape and create a friendship through a book dedication is expressly seen in Bartolomeo Platina's epistolary dedication to a manuscript of Pliny's *Natural History*, written for his friend, the minor noble Agostino Maffei, in the early 1460s.[18] Platina gave Maffei this manuscript for both purposes mentioned above: to share a wealth of ancient and humanistic knowledge but to also to enrich and develop a friendship in their immediate worlds. Platina's short dedicatory letter reveals the dynamics of humanist

[16] Thomas Vance Cohen and Elizabeth Storr Cohen, "Postscript: Charismatic Things and Social Transaction in Renaissance Italy," ed. Fabrizio Nevola, *Urban History* 37, no. 3 (2010): 474–82.

[17] D'Elia, *A Sudden Terror*, Ch. 6; Christopher Celenza, *The Intellectual World of the Italian Renaissance: Language, Philosophy, and the Search for Meaning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017). For the use of letters to reflect corporate networking, and the techniques of authorship involved, consult McLean, *The Art of the Network*. The literature on the communality of corporate identities of Renaissance societies is vast, but as examples, see the *Early Modern Communities* online project, https://earlymoderncommunities.org, conducted by Fabrizio Nevola and David Rosenthal, and also Edward Muir, "The Idea of Community in Renaissance Italy," *Renaissance Quarterly* Vol. 55, No. 1 (Spring 2002): 1-18. For the typically-male communities of humanism, especially consult Dennis Looney, "Translations from the Greek of Angelo Poliziano (1454-1494)," *The Classical Outlook* 88, no. 2 (2011): 57, for how Poliziano responded to the female humanist Alessandra Scala, who was asking for consideration as an intellectual in Florentine circles.

[18] Bartolomeo Platina, *Ex primo [-quinto] C. Plinii Secundi libro De naturali historia epitome* (London, British Library, Harley MS 3475, 40 fols). For a modern edition of the dedication, see Bauer, *The Censorship and Fortuna*, Appendix 3 to Chapter 1, 87-88.

friendship on a social and intellectual level, encoding premodern friendship into classical commentary. Platina sent his friend a copy of Pliny, and a letter to precede it, to cement himself into the intensely patronal city of Quattrocento Rome. Studying the dedication letter and placing it into the circumstances of both Platina's and Maffei's lives at the time of the letter reveals how humanist friendships and sociability worked as a process, as a project by which an intellectual created and curried favour not only among patrons, but also among their friends.[19] For Platina, Maffei was both friend and broker – not a patron or *paterfamilias* in his own right, but a colleague and friend, someone working in the papal chancellery, and a colleague who could help him establish more tangible roots in Rome. A gift of a book would, for Platina, aid in this process.

The dedication to Pliny's *Natural History* is a short letter: It comprises one out of forty leaves in a manuscript compendium, and the dedication immediately follows a table of contents outlining what is in the work. The book itself is small: 300mm by 220mm, slightly larger than a sheet of eight-by-ten-inch sheet of paper, or a quarto printed work. This suggests that while not an immediately portable book like many a Book of Hours, it would be easy to file in a library to have on hand, or to pack in a travelling chest.[20] As well, the manuscript is not formally illuminated or written by a copyist; the manuscript is in Platina's own hand. There are paltry mistakes in Platina's Latin preface, such as where he writes *adisceres*, makes a mistake on the end of the word, crosses it out, and then writes the "es" ending.[21] Another error is on the next page, where Platina writes *malivorum* before adding the extra "lo" as a superscript to turn it into the correct *malivolorum*.[22] These simple mistakes left in the manuscript indicate that Platina was expressing familiarity with

[19] For more on friendship, favour, and exchanging letters as a social process, Richard Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980): 131-158.

[20] From Elisa Tersigni, personal correspondence. "You can say approximately the size of a quarto." For more on the physical item itself, as well as a short history of manuscript ownership see http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_3475

[21] British Museum, MS Harley 3475, 1v. Bauer, *The Censorship and Fortuna*, 87, writes it as "addisceres".

[22] British Museum, MS Harley 3475, 2r. Bauer, *The Censorship and Fortuna*, 88.

his friend, rather than only trying to impress or network with the noble humanist with a presentation copy of a classical text; they are, a rhetorical trope to indicate familiarity. Were this manuscript supposed to flatter or impress, it would be more polished, for the purposes of soliciting patronage. Its composition in Platina's own hand shows that he is offering a gift of his own labour to someone he views as on his level, where both patronage and friendship work together to suggest an instrumental *amicitia*, both classically informed and grounded in premodern social norms.[23]

The book is undated: estimates place the writing of the work between 1462 and 1464, when Platina had first come to Rome with his patron Francesco Gonzaga, the newly appointed Cardinal of Mantua, and during Pius II Piccolomini's pontificate.[24] This manuscript is a compendium: most of Pliny's larger work is missing from this book. Of the thirty-seven books of the *Natural History*, this work only covers Books I-V.[25] But Platina clearly knew and had read the entirety of Pliny's *Natural History*; his later famous cookbook, *De Honesta Voluptate et Valetudine* (1466-67) cites the *Natural History* quite frequently in the recipes and descriptions. Stefan Bauer has suggested that Platina had in hand a larger and fuller manuscript from which to work, inferring that Platina had chosen to write out this smaller section for Maffei.[26] So Platina was writing out a smaller version of the text, copying the astronomical, meteorological, and geographical sections. Platina refers to the small book he's writing as a "rivulet" that comes from the larger "fountain" of Pliny's

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[23] De Beer, *The Poetics of Patronage*, 114.

[24] The British Library website says 1462-1466. Bauer, *The Censorship and Fortuna*, says 1462-1466; Bartolomeo Platina, *On Right Pleasure and Good Health*, edited and translated by Mary Ella Milham. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 168 (Tempe: Arizona State University Press, 1998) suggests the composition date of the epitome to be 1462. It was probably written after Platina's and Gonzaga's moves to Rome in 1459, but before Pius II's death and Paul's pontificate, due to the affair with Platina, Paul II, and the annulment of the Office of Abbreviators, so a date range of 1460 to 1464.

[25] Bauer, *The Censorship and Fortuna*, 25. Bauer suggests that this compendium is part of a larger work that is lost.

[26] Platina, *On Right Pleasure*, 50. Cf. Martin Davies, "Making Sense of Pliny in the Quattrocento", *Renaissance Studies* 9 (1995): 241. Davies does not cite Platina directly, but rather, talks about the "Florentine humanists" whose methods of editing Pliny were "eager but amateurish."

wisdom, with Platina collecting the small rivers into a reduced, portable version so one could still learn from Pliny without carrying around the entire work.[27] The composing of this manuscript falls into a period when Platina was writing tracts on education and on its importance, vaunting the value of a humanist education and telling what one could do with it.[28] Platina's Pliny was meant for Maffei to bring with him on his travels, to learn from as he travelled across Europe, to refer to, and have on hand to think with. The work's small dimensions thus make sense.

What work was Maffei doing that required a Pliny? What would Pliny do for Maffei at all? Pliny's *Natural History* is an almost encyclopedic and ethnographic survey of Europe and the known world at the time of its writing (circa 77 CE), so for the two humanists, Pliny could offer a great deal of ancient wisdom about their fifteenth-century world.[29] So why create a compilation? Platina answers this question when he remarks that Pliny's literary citations and facts will help Maffei understand what he sees when he travels. "What you read, what you perceive, what you will learn, you will see in plenty in this book, and it will excite the intellect from docility" he writes, highlighting the importance of having an encyclopedia when one travels or works.[30] Platina, educated at the humanist school of Guarino and knowing his Pliny well, was familiar with the important parts of the work and knew what to refer to. While Pliny does not supply the tacit knowledge of the contemporary world that early modern authors tried to convey in their own work, Platina addresses the value of having ancient knowledge that his friend should know when on his travels for the papal curia, and stresses the education they both had, and the importance of using the liberal arts in a practical sense. Platina's gifting of the Pliny seems to be as a gesture of

[27] Platina, *De naturali historia*, 2r. Cf. Bauer, *The Censorship and Fortuna*, 88: "Reliquosque siqui forte petierint, ad integros Plinii libros remittas, ne obmisso fonte ad rivulos sitim deponant."

[28] Bauer, *The Censorship and Fortuna*, 26.

[29] Davies, "Making Sense of Pliny", 240.

[30] Bauer, *The Censorship and Fortuna*, "Illic enim quid legas, quid percipias, quid ediscas, copiosus intueberis veluti quibusdam praeludiis excitato ad docitilitatem animo"

goodwill, either for an imagined trip that Maffei would go on, or to have the work just as a part of Maffei's well-known humanist library.[31]

In 1462, Maffei was living in Rome with his brother in a house on the Via della Pigna. As part of the Veronese branch of the noble Roman Maffei family, he easily found himself a post in Rome with his brother due to the gentle intervention of his uncles, one of whom was the General of the Order of Regular Canons of the Lateran and a member of the Roman civic nobility.[32] A bibliophile, humanist, and member of the papal chancellery, Maffei was known for his collection of books, and he used his home as a place for humanists to gather, as a lending-library for his friends, and as a peaceful place to try to isolate the intellectuals from the wider world of violence in Rome.[33] His post as apostolic scriptor, along with this reputation and his association with Roman nobility, made him a good friend to have.[34] Platina would later name Maffei in his cookbook under the nickname "Antonius Rufus" as one of his friends who would come to his house, and would "embrace poverty of their own free wills," so clearly the two were close enough within the Roman Academy that Platina could jest with Maffei in his later work.[35] The Maffei were a newer noble family in Rome, more famous for their later curial members in the late fifteenth- and early

[31] Pamela Smith. "Why write a book? From Lived Experience to the Written Word in Early Modern Europe." *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 47 (Fall 2010): 26, 50.

[32] Giorgia Castiglione, "MAFFEI, Agostino", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* Volume 67 (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 2006).

[33] Patricia Osmond, "Agostino Maffei" in the *Repertorium Pomponianum*. Written 2008, Accessed 2019. http://www.repertoriumpomponianum.it/pomponiani/maffei_agostino.ht. Cf. Lee, *Sixtus IV*, 197-198 for the mention of Maffei's library as a tranquil place for intellectuals to escape the "latent violence" in Rome in the late 1400s. Lee uses Sigismondo de' Conti's account of a *vendetta* in the 1480s, and its development, to ground the humanist literary societies in a culture of ambient violence: "Even men who, like Pomponius and the brothers Agostino and Benedetto Maffei, who made an effort to create a more peaceful and undisturbed environment for themselves in the midst of general turbulence never quite managed to isolate themselves from the outside world."

[34] Giorgia Castiglione, "MAFFEI", writes "1455 fu conferita al Maffei la carica di scrittore e registratore delle lettere apostoliche."

[35] Bartolomeo Platina, *On Right Pleasure*, Book V, Chapter I. "Fabium Narniensem, Antonium Rufum, Glaucum et Tacitum non reiicio, qui paupertatem sponte amplectuntur". Milham translates this as: "I do not reject Fabius of Narnia, Antonius Rufus, Glaucus, and Tacitus, who embrace poverty of their own free wills".

sixteenth-centuries.[36] But, with a place in Rome, a job in the curia, and a link to a noble name and the institutional strength it represented, he was a good ally for Platina to have. It helped that he had the same humanist training as Platina, a library of humanistic books, and knowledge of Pliny's work, the *Natural History*.

Born in Lombardy, in the early 1460s Platina had just come to Rome after his employment as a soldier and tutor for the Gonzaga family in Mantua.[37] His patron Francesco Gonzaga had taken the cardinal's cap at the Council of Mantua in 1459 under Pius II. To try to join his patron in curial circles, Platina had written an oration in honour of Pius II, a "thinly disguised application for a job at the curia."[38] But Rome was famously a city of foreigners in search of patronage, many of whom would fail. For the humanists, having a curial family and a *paterfamilias* linked to the curia led to several avenues of patronage, economic support, and ways to succeed in the city, both in an intellectual and economic sense.[39] A humanist could seek patronage in many circles and families, lest one fail and leave him without financial support, a network, or a *familia*.[40] While making sure to keep his link to the Gonzaga cardinal – an important relationship for Platina, who had tutored the cardinal – he tried to extend his own *familia* to fellow intellectuals. Platina's bid to connect himself to Maffei did work: the two were a part of Pomponio Leto's famous *academia Romana*, the first one, which was shut down by Paul II Barbo with his arrests in 1468. But, by writing this dedication to a humanist who was part of a noble family, Platina was clearly trying to insert himself into the many other circles of patronage and curial *familiae*. The group around the Gonzaga was

[36] D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome*, Ch. 3, discusses the later Maffei in the city, focusing on Girolamo and his four sons, with reference to Raphael Maffei.

[37] Bauer, *The Censorship and Fortuna,* 1-36.

[38] Bauer, *The Censorship and Fortuna*, 28.

[39] D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome*, 39.

[40] For an excellent study on a humanist who failed to gain patronage in Renaissance Rome, see Celenza, *Renaissance Humanism and the Papal Curia*.

one such circle, the papal circle of patronage was another, and his familial dedication to Maffei was an attempt to create a third.

Turning to the dedication itself, a linguistic point is helpful to begin with. While the dedication begins with the largely formulaic and classicizing address of S. P. D., *salutem plurimam dicit* or "sends many greetings," all the verbs and pronouns from Platina to Maffei in this dedication are in the second person singular: *Dicebas*, *tibi*, *te*, *addebas*, all of which indicate familiarity between the two men.[41] The two were certainly friends by the time of this preface, as Platina felt comfortable enough to address Maffei in such a friendly, albeit floridly Latinate, manner. It could also be that Platina deliberately shaped his Latin addressing to express a hoped-for familiarity between the two men. But, given that Maffei had been in Rome at least since 1455 and had been working in the papal offices as a *scriptor*, he would have been known by curialists, people whom Platina had already encountered through Gonzaga before writing this book. Platina's transcription of the Pliny for the purpose of Maffei having a copy to easily reference and bring along with him, along with the grammatical constructions suggesting familiarity, and the rough nature of the physical book itself, all suggest that Maffei and Platina would have known each other, and that Platina was trying to strengthen his own connection to Maffei and the world that Maffei participated in - that of the curial offices and families.

As part of this horizontal and friendly networking Platina does to move into Maffei's circles, his dedication is full of praise not for Maffei and his work as a scholar, but for the Pliny

[41] Pade, "From Medieval Latin to Neo-Latin," 5-19. In her chapter, Pade argues that while the humanists did recognize that the use of the vos, vobis form to address superiors was incorrect and medieval, they still made this mistake. She references Niccolo Perotti's manual for correct writing (published 1468), and then shows that Perotti makes this mistake when he uses the plural when referring to his dedicatee. This suggests that in the 1400s, the humanists were working "in several linguistic registers" and that there was no hard-and-fast rule for the use or non-use of the second-person singular or plural to indicate familiarity/superiority. It was considered good Latin until the end of the fifteenth century, when the humanists attempted to reform it - but given its usage in premodern French and Italian, this assumption seems alright to make. My thanks to Thomas Hendrickson, Brad Blankemeyer, Ada Palmer, Christine Zappella Papanastassiou, and Brian Maxson for their counsel on this topic.

that will follow his letter, as Platina does not need to praise the recipient in a dedicatory letter to a friend. Beginning with the salutary and classical "*Salutem Plurimam Dicit*," Platina starts by repeatedly complimenting Pliny's work, calling it "sharp," "full of very great vigilance and excellent learning … which we should have celebrated almost daily" when referring to the *Naturalis Historia* directly.[42] Describing how Maffei now has in his hands the copy of Pliny that he has asked Platina for – "what we had in hand, you asked of me"[43] – Platina describes how he shortened Pliny to offer only a selection to Maffei, the small rivulets of the fountain of Pliny mentioned earlier. While spending his short letter praising the work that it precedes, Platina continues to refer to both himself and Maffei in the familiar "you" and "me" dynamic, referring to the process of not just offering a Pliny as one would offer a gifted book (see Figure 1 for a manuscript depiction of the scholar offering a gifted text to a more elite patron), but suggesting a much more living relationship between the two scholars, a relationship that was actively

[42] Platina, *De Naturali Historia*, 1r: "Cum Plinii Secundi acre ingenium, summam vigilantiam, excellentem doctrinam, incredibile studium miris laudibus fere quotidie celebraremus…" Bauer, *The Censorship and Fortuna*, 87.

[43] Platina, *De Naturali Historia*, 1r. "quod in manibus habebamus, rogasti me…" Bauer, *The Censorship and Fortuna*, 87.

participating in the intensely patronal world of Quattrocento Rome, but still among semi-equals, made equal through the sharing of books.

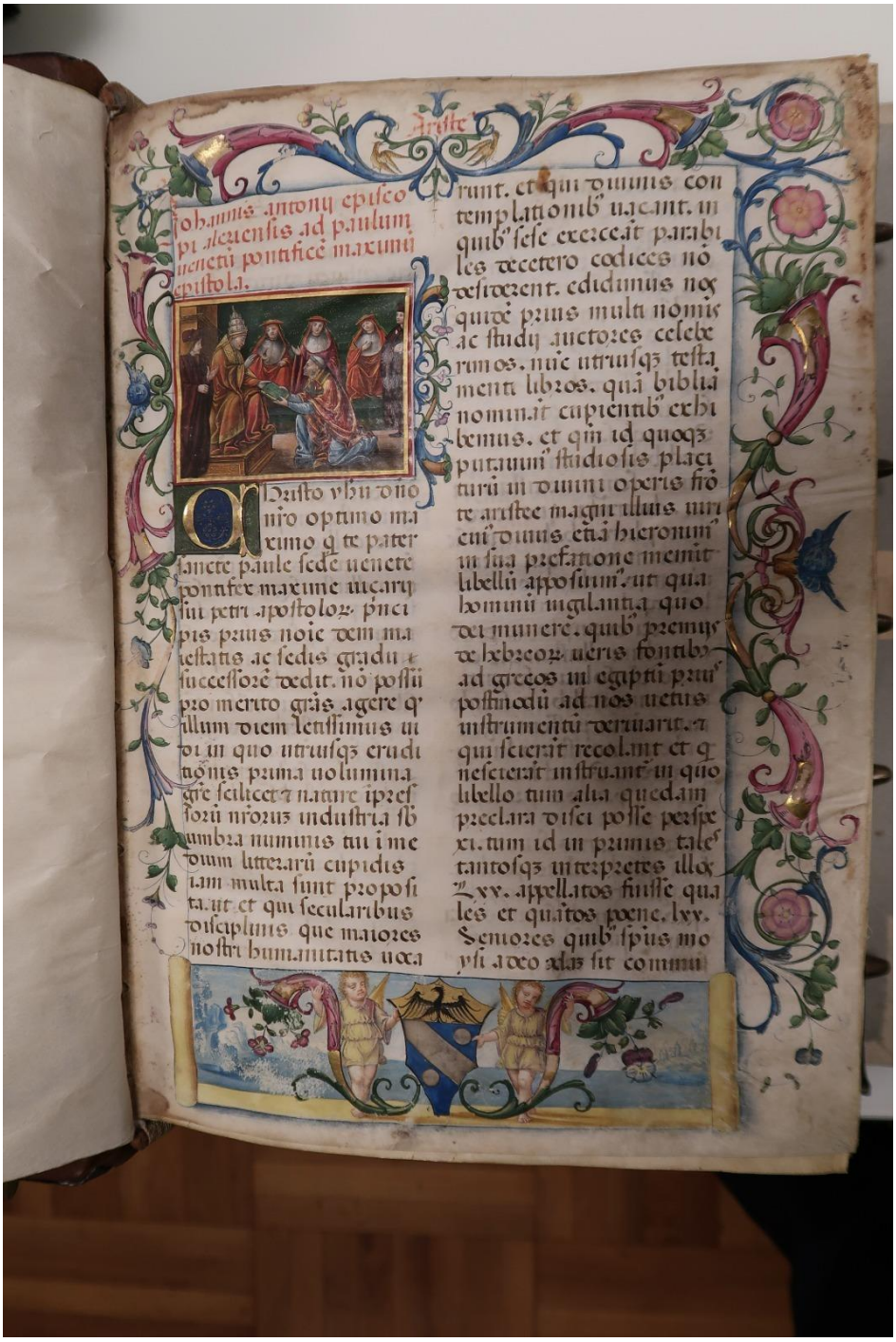

Figure 1: *Giovanni Bussi offering a book to Pope Paul II as a gift of patronage.* Milan, Archivio Capitolare della Basilica di Sant'Ambrogio. *Johannis Antonii Episcopi Aleriensis ad Paulum Venetum pontificem maximum epistola*. M44, c 4r.

Near the end of the dedication, Platina justifies the writing of a compendium instead of sending the full Pliny - which would have resulted in a much larger book. But in the last paragraph, Platina's phrasing becomes much more personal. He begs Maffei to keep the Pliny with him instead of filing it away, writing that "there is one thing I ask of you: that you keep these commentaries with you (referring to the Pliny); that you carry them with you, that you keep on reading them whenever you would encounter them, and that you do not allow anyone else (with the exception of friends and those whose virtue is well respected) to read them, lest we fall into the tittle-tattle of ill wishers."[44] While hiding behind the humanist literary tropes of flattery and a call for virtue, a gentle begging for approval, and solicitation, Platina uses the dedicatory letter to give the book to Maffei. By emphasizing the importance of the book and how it could be used by the reader, along with its transfer, a friendship can be built, with the book additionally acting as stand in for Platina, to be kept alongside Maffei as a friend. Platina's use of this compendium to shape a friendship shows that the dedication, and the book, had a cultural cachet. While Platina does not stress the materiality of the book, suggesting the importance of Pliny as a "fountain of knowledge," Platina's dedication and discussion of Pliny reveals the importance of the gifted object as well as what is written inside the book.[45] Essentially suggesting to Maffei that he had a book that Platina both edited and introduced, so he should think of Platina constantly when he carries and reads it, Platina relied the book to endear himself to Maffei. Platina used this dedication and the social weight it represented to obtain access to Maffei's intellectual and professional networks.

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[44] Platina, *De Naturali Historia*, 1v. "Verum abs te hoc unum posco, ut et hos commentarios tecum habeas, tecum deferas, si coieris, tecum lectites, neque alliis, nisi amicis et quorum spectata modestia sit, permittas ne in voculas malivolorum indicamus.": Bauer, *The Censorship and Fortuna*, 88.

[45] For more on the gifting and consumption of books as items in early modernity, see Lisa Jardine, "Book Ventures, Cultural Capital, and Enduring Reputation in the Italian Renaissance", in *Across Boundaries: The Book in Culture and Commerce*, eds. Bill Bell, Philip Bennett, and Jonquil Bevan (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 2000) and Renata Ago, *Gusto for Things: A History of Objects in Seventeenth-Century Rome*, translated by Bradford Bouley, Corey Tazzara, and Paula Findlen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), particularly Chapter 8.

The gifting of a book, seen through a dedication, suggests that there are social, performed, and ritual elements to the movement of items in a world.[46] The premodern culture of gifting a book is more than a mere reflection of the patron-supplicant relationship:[47] The book in transit between two individuals - not just between patron and supplicant, but also in many other dynamics - reflected and created interactions that were loaded with social and community tensions: would Maffei accept this gift and reciprocate it with an increased familiarity with Platina? This idea is expressly seen in the anxiety of Quattrocento Rome, when academies of intellectuals were very unorganized, and Platina sought to amplify his connections within the city. It was not enough only to be connected to the curial *familia* of Cardinal Gonzaga. Seeking friendship and integration into a wider community of intellectuals, Platina relied on the social dynamics of giving a very culturally laden item, a book, to a fellow intellectual and "foreigner" in Rome, both hailing from Lombardy. As we shall see, by sending a book to a friend, trusting in both the intellectual and the social mores of his world, Platina made a pitch to a friend that appeared to work for him to entangle himself into the city's intellectual world.

By 1468, after the dedication was written and the book was prepared, Maffei and Platina were close friends. They studied together, graffitied the ancient catacombs together,[48] celebrated what they thought were ancient, pagan holidays at Pomponio Leto's house on the Quirinal hill,[49]

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[46] Davis, "Beyond the Market", 69-88.

[47] Davis, 72.

[48] Richard Palmerino, in his survey of the graffiti done by the Academicians, does not find Maffei's name in the graffiti in the catacombs (he does find Platina's, along with two of Pomponio Leto's, possibly). However, Palermino does find a "Ruffum", which, if we follow Milham's suggestions, indicates that Agostino Rufus Maffei was in the group with Platina, Leto, and the other academicians. In Milham's overview of the manuscript editions and changes to Bartolomeo Platina's cookbook, Agostino Maffei, under the Latin name "Augustinianus" does appear in his list of people who were associated with Leto's circle, is in jail with the other humanists, and does stay in Rome after his release. See Richard Palmerino, "The Roman Academy, The Catacombs, and the Conspiracy of 1468", *Archivium Historicae Pontificae* 18 (1980): 117-155, especially Appendix III; Cf. Platina, *On Right Pleasure*, intro. by Milham, p. 50.

[49] de Beer, "The Roman Academy", 207.

and were later imprisoned together in Castel Sant'Angelo as members of the famous pseudo-conspiracy for attempting to murder Paul II in 1468.[50] But while the culture of humanist friendship has been interrogated by Peter Burke and Elizabeth McCahill, among others, with much attention paid to its ancient precedents of Ciceronean *amicitia* and elite culture,[51] the social elements of Maffei and Platina's friendship, revealed in this particular dedication, show the dynamics and dimensions of how friendships came about and what power they had. Friendship in premodern Europe was hardly devoid of wider societal meaning: governments and high politics, along with social dynamics, were determined by the alliances that friendships helped to negotiate.[52]

Maffei and Platina, despite a two-year long imprisonment, maintained their friendship through their time in prison, and helped each other thrive in the city after their release: both had their jobs returned to them after the arrests of 1468, and both attained even more prestige during Sixtus IV's pontificate: Platina became the papal librarian to run the opening of the Vatican Library in 1475, and Maffei returned to his career in the papal chancellery. This dedication, operating as a "charismatic thing" to link together the careers and lives of two intellectuals, laden with the power to link together several tentative circles of patronage and curial power, clearly worked.[53] An old book led to a new friendship, one reflected by Platina's later writings, and their friendship when they were in prison.[54] The humanist friendship of Agostino Maffei and Bartolomeo Platina,

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[50] See Osmond, "Maffei," and Castiglione, "Maffei," for Maffei as one of the members of the Academy who were arrested. Oddly, D'Elia does not mention Maffei as one of the conspirators, preferring to focus on the "leaders" of the conspiracy, Pomponio Leto, Callimachus, and Bartolomeo Platina.

[51] Burke, "Humanism and Friendship," 251-261. More recently, this is seen in the familiar letters between humanists reflecting Atticus' and Cicero's friendships. See Elizabeth McCahill, "Civility and Secularism in the Ambit of the Papal Court" in *After Civic Humanism: Learning and Politics in Renaissance Italy*, edited by Nicholas Scott Baker and Brian Jeffrey Maxson (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2015): 131-151. Consult also Steven Baker, "*Ad comunis epystole lectionem:* Pan-Italian *Familiaritas* and Petrarch's Community of Friends," in *Friendship and Sociability in Premodern Europe: Contexts, Concepts, and Expressions*, eds. Amyrose McCue Gill and Sarah Rolfe Prodan (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2014): 125.

[52] Kent, *Friendship*. Consult also Gill and Prodan, eds., *Friendship and Sociability in Premodern Europe*.

[53] Cohen and Cohen. "Postscript," 474-482.

[54] Castiglione, "MAFFEI," notes that Maffei was imprisoned with Platina, and yet was the humanist who was imprisoned the longest: released in July of 1470.

necessarily understood through the lens of an ancient text made contemporary, relied on early modern social norms and negotiations, with the book itself playing its role as the moving part, the gifted and charismatic item, in the affirmation of a vulnerable friendship in the unstable world of curial Rome.

Theodore Gaza to Giovanni Bussi, Friends with Benefices[55]

The death of a pope deeply shook the political and social dynamics of curial Rome. Upon election, a new pope brought a new agenda and new familiars with whom he filled the curia and offices, surrounding himself with allies and persons he could trust. And following the norms of premodern patronage systems, recommendations were needed within curial Rome to enlist friends and allies into the papal offices and new administration, especially for those offices the pope left open, or created for his new reign.[56] This section tells the story of the humanist Theodore Gaza's attempt to obtain one of these seats of employment from the new pope, Sixtus IV della Rovere (r. 1471-1484) at the beginning of his pontificate, through a recommendation from his friend, the papal librarian Giovanni Andrea Bussi.[57] Gaza, following contemporary social behaviour, attempted to network for a job by gifting his friend a translated manuscript: a chapter from Plutarch's *Moralia*. Gaza translated this chapter of Plutarch between 1471 and 1472, and wrote a long preface to the chapter, his prefatory letter comprising about half of the entire volume.[58]

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[55] This section has been published as "Do I Have a Book for You! The Friendship of Theodore Gaza, Giovanni Bussi, and a Gifted Book," in *Making Stories in Early Modern Italy and Beyond: Essays in Honour of Elizabeth S. Cohen and Thomas V. Cohen*, ed. John Christopoulos and John Hunt, Essays and Studies 59 (Toronto: Centre for Renaissance and Reformation Studies, 2024), 31–47. It has been altered and augmented for this dissertation.

[56] D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome,* 38.

[57] Egmont Lee, *Sixtus IV and Men of Letters* (Rome, Italy: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1978), Ch. 1. Chapter 3 of this dissertation, "Prefacing a Commercium Litterarum," lays out Bussi's life in much greater detail.

[58] BAV, Vat. Lat. 3350, 1r-4v; Claudio Bevegni, "Teodoro Gaza traduttore del 'Maxime cum principibus philosopho esse disserendum' di Plutarco: primi appunti per un'edizionne critica con particolare riguardo alla lettera dedicatoria ad Andrea Bussi," in *Mosaico; studi in onore di Umberto Albini dedicati al D.AR.FI.CL.ET. "F. Della Corte,"* ed. Simonetta Feraboli, Nuova Seria 148 (Genoa: Università di Genova, 1993), 33–42. The dedication will now be cited as Gaza, with page number from Bevegni.

The Plutarch chapter and Gaza's preface both address the topic of what an ideal relationship between the prince and the philosopher who works for him should look like. However, Gaza's preface and deliberate gifting of this book implied that, as the philosopher that Plutarch describes, Bussi should use his connections at the prince's court to help Gaza attain employment under the new papacy. Displaying his expertise at translation, itself a valuable service, Gaza's little book was a gift to Bussi, an entangled one that carried expectations from its giver and obligations to its receiver. It was a humanist gift of a book, but it was underwritten by a premodern culture that defined their intellectual friendship in terms of social utility and patronage.[59] While his gift did not result in any employment – Gaza famously never was gainfully employed by Sixtus IV – his gift to Bussi remains emblematic of how humanist friendship and exchange worked in the late fifteenth century.

Gaza's little book can be analyzed as a charismatic thing. In premodern Europe, the charismatic thing was an item that "galvanized collective and individual action and enabled exchanges that tied people together."[60] The purpose of these charismatic things was to help mediate the development of premodern relationships and encounters that were never completed and finished; every exchange between premodern individuals was deeply steeped in a transactional culture that rarely fully concluded their individual encounters. Premodern relationships, constantly in flux, were shaped by friendships, envies, hatreds, alliances, and rivalries, so the exchange of these charismatic things – items with cultural weight invested in them by their donors and receivers – moderated these inclusions and exclusions from community relationships. Thomas and Elizabeth Cohen's analysis of the charismatic thing thus shows how an item, itself lacking agency, can

[59] Dale Kent, *Friendship, Love, and Trust in Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 2009), 57-58.

[60] Cohen and Cohen, "Postscript," 478.

mediate and determine how these relationships arise and proceed, investing the item with the weight of the cultural world that it was a part of.

The charismatic thing stresses the multiplicity of community relationships, suggesting that early modern Europeans were part of many communities all within the same neighborhood and town. Thus, this item created, moderated, and lubricated the processes of all types of these communities, with the movement of these items as important in community formation as the existence of the item itself.[61] One of these constantly evolving and created communities was the curial *familia*, the official households of the pope, cardinals, and prelates, and a temporary institution for scholars in Rome.[62] The temporality of the curial *familia* needs to be stressed here: as John D'Amico writes, "This structured institution had a limited life span. It ceased to exist at the death or departure from Rome of the man who founded it."[63] The curial family was so centered on the existence and participation of its patron that the relationships involved were constantly up for negotiation and re-negotiation. These processes were more fluid in curial circles than in other early modern cities (or even outside of Curial Rome), where kinship and communities were at the very least affected by blood, family, and neighborhood ties, connections that were harder to maintain in the nominally celibate and non-familial communities of curial Rome. These curial families were an important site for scholarly engagement and patronage, so they were worth investing in by scholars hoping to make a name for themselves.[64]

Participation in these curial families was managed by the exchange of goods and services. In 1463, the Milanese humanist Francesco Filelfo sought to join the curial family of Cardinal

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[61] Cohen and Cohen, "Postscript", 478-479.
[62] D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome*, 38.
[63] D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome,* 39.
[64] Christopher Celenza, *Renaissance Humanism & the Papal Curia: Lapo da Castiglionchio the Younger's 'De curiae commodis'* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1999), 16-17, 23.

Nicholas Cusanus. In a letter to Cusanus' secretary at the time, Bussi, Filelfo began his letter by apologizing to Bussi that he had no book of Diogenes to lend him.[65] Filelfo then asked Bussi directly to commend him for employment by the cardinal to join his cardinal family, relying on the exchange of items as a pitch for entry: he writes that Bussi commend him, "commendatum reddas," for employment at the German cardinal's court.[66] So for humanists, the book and its dedicatory letter, with many cultural expectations, helped manage their relationships as much as the charismatic thing moderated relationships in the markets and homes of early modern Europeans.

The manuscript that Gaza gifted to Bussi was one of these charismatic things that would aid in the creation and shaping of early modern communities. As a gifted translation, Gaza's book was an item laden with wider cultural meanings. As Marcel Mauss outlined in his important study on the anthropology of the gift and gifting cultures, Gaza's book and its exchange was conspicuously understood by both members of the exchange.[67] Studying both the movement of the book as a gifted item, as well as Gaza's long dedication to Bussi outlining the reason for the gift, gives a peek into the private lives of humanists who hid behind their Latin and intellectual posturing.[68] By entangling a dedication into its wider transactional culture, we see how Gaza

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[65] Francesco Filelfo, *Collected Letters («Epistolarum Libri» XLVIII)*, ed. Jeroen De Keyser, 4 vols., Hellenica 54 (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2015): 904, "Quod de Diogene Laertio familiariter et pro vetere nostra benevolentia ad me scripsisti … si eius ad te dandi fuisset mihi facultas ulla. Sed huiusmodi apud me Diogenes nullus est."

[66] Filelfo, *Epistolarum*, 904: "Reliquum es tu me reverendissimo communique patri, cardinali Germano, viro sapientissimo atque integerrimo, commendatum reddas."

[67] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. Ian Cunnison (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1967), 8-10. For more recent interpretations of the gift in premodern Europe, consult Cohen and Cohen, "Postscript", 474-482; Natalie Zemon Davis, "Beyond the Market: Books as Gifts in Sixteenth-Century France: The Prothero Lecture," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 33 (1983): 74; idem, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France*, Curti Lecture Series (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2000); Gadi Algazi, "Doing Things with Gifts," in *Negotiating the Gift: Pre-Modern Figurations of Exchange*, ed. Gadi Algazi, Valentin Groebner, and Bernhard Jussen (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 9–27.

[68] Ada Palmer, "The Effects of Authorial Strategies for Transforming Antiquity on the Place of the Renaissance in the Philosophical Canon," in *Beyond Reception: Renaissance Humanism and the Transformation of Classical Antiquity*, ed. Patrick Baker, Johannes Helmrath, and Craig Kallendorf (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009), 187.

sought to make his personal friendship affect wider political networking. Gaza wrote a humanist dedication and relied on the behaviour of intellectual friendships for it to work.[69]

While the politics and procedure of the gift failed to win Gaza a benefice, the process of Gaza giving a chapter of Plutarch to Bussi to help with his quest for patronage remains important to study for understanding humanist behaviour.[70] Focusing on middling humanists in Venice, Sarah Ross has described "friendship economies" in the early modern world, where the gift-giving of texts between friends served "as displays of literary and philosophical depth," for the sake of prestige and legitimacy.[71] More directly, for humanist Rome, Elizabeth McCahill has addressed the ambiguous interactions of friendship and patronage for early fifteenth-century humanists, concluding that a translated book gift created an expectation of reciprocation, normally resulting in a job or a benefice.[72] Unfortunately, that job or benefice was not given to Gaza. But importantly, the humanist movement relied on communities of scholarly friends and an instrumental nature to their friendships, but how these communities worked in practice, and in a wider social world, remains murky: most studies of dedications address the patron-client relationship, not focusing on the dynamic between friends or a zone of *amicitia* where either the friends were on the same social level, or one friend had more political authority than the other.[73] Gaza dedicated his translation not

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[69] Pade, "The Dedicatory Letter as a Genre," 559-568. This is also explicitly seen in another letter of Francesco Filelfo's, asking Gaza through his friendship with Bussi to get a few manuscripts for Filelfo. Filelfo, *Epistolarium*, 638. I thank John Hunt for counsel on the importance of intellectual vs. non-intellectual friendships in the early modern period.

[70] Bevegni, "Teodoro Gaza traduttore", 37; Davis, *The Gift*, 36, 47, Ch. 6: "Gifts, Bribes, and Kings".

[71] Sarah Gwyneth Ross, *Everyday Renaissances: The Quest for Cultural Legitimacy in Venice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015): 118.

[72] Elizabeth McCahill, "Finding a Job as a Humanist: The Epistolary Collection of Lapo Da Castiglionchio the Younger," *Renaissance Quarterly* 57, no. 4 (2004): 1315; idem, *Reviving the Eternal City: Rome and the Papal Court, 1420-1447*, I Tatti Studies in Italian Renaissance History (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013): 52-55.

[73] Anthony D'Elia, *A Sudden Terror: The Plot to Murder the Pope in Renaissance Rome* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2009), addresses humanist communities in a time of crisis; Peter Burke, "Humanism and Friendship in Sixteenth-Century Europe," in *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Julian Haseldine (Stroud: Sutton, 1999), 262–74 addresses humanist epistolary friendships and not dedications; James Hankins, *Virtue Politics: Soulcraft and Statecraft in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2019):

to the pope he hoped would hire him, but to his friend Bussi, suggesting a dynamic of reciprocation among friends that was understood by all participants in the exchange. The humanist republic of letters existed in an antagonistic world that needed friendship ties to mitigate rivalries and feuds, where these friendships would follow a habitual script and be performed, and both alliances and enmities were well known in their world.[74] Gaza's search for patronage from Sixtus, and his hopes for Bussi's help with his own employment, reveal a world where a scholarly identity was performed. This performance was an important aspect of self-fashioning inside established intellectual communities, done in part through intellectual friendships, friendships caught between both wider social behaviour and the distinct behaviour and self-fashioning of Quattrocento humanists and humanism.[75]

In 1471, Bussi and Gaza had been friends for about thirty years. They were colleagues at Vittorino da Feltre's humanist school in the 1440s, and both men were affiliated with Cardinal Bessarion's *familia* in Rome. Giovanni Bussi, a bishop, a humanist, and the editor of the first Roman print house, came to Bessarion's circle by the mid-1460s to support Bessarion's Neoplatonic work, and found his friend Gaza in the same circle of Greek émigré scholars that Bessarion sponsored.[76] The two humanists maintained a close friendship from their school days until their deaths in 1475. Working closely together, they collaborated on the printed edition of

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179, describes the "commerce" of letters of humanism, but without addressing wider premodern social behaviours. For this analysis of *amicitia*, consult Susanna de Beer, *The Poetics of Patronage: Poetry as Self-Advancement in Giannantonio Campano* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 114.

[74] John Monfasani, "The Humanists and the Plato-Aristotle Controversy of the Fifteenth Century," in *Testi e contesti: Per Amedeo Quondam*, ed. Chiara Continisio and Marcello Fantoni (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 2015), 88-89.

[75] Patrick Baker, *Italian Renaissance Humanism in the Mirror* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Sarah Gwyneth Ross, "Weird Humanists," *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 22, no. 2 (2019): 348; Elizabeth Storr Cohen and Thomas Vance Cohen, *Daily Life in Renaissance Italy* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2001): 64-65.

[76] Bevegni, "Teodoro Gaza, traduttore", 37; Concetta Bianca, "GAZA, Teodoro," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1999), https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/teodoro-gaza_(Dizionario-Biografico). Massimo Miglio, "BUSSI, Giovanni Andrea," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1972), http://www.treccani.it//enciclopedia/giovanni-andrea-bussi_(Dizionario-Biografico)..

Pliny's *Natural History* of 1470.[77] Bussi lived in Rome as the editor of a printing press, as a papal employee, and as the absentee bishop of Aleria in Corsica. Meanwhile, Gaza frequently traveled to southern Italy as he negotiated both monastic life in the Regno, and the Plato-Aristotle controversies of fifteenth-century scholarly life.[78] Despite geographic distance, their close friendship is attested to by both their co-editing of classical texts, as well as by Bussi's directing letters from other colleagues to the constantly wandering Gaza, and by Gaza's being asked by fellow scholars to consult Bussi for favours and duties to be done in Rome.[79]

After Paul II's death in July 1471 and the election of Sixtus IV a month later, relationships and positions in the Curia were up for reassignment under the new Franciscan pope. Bussi had maintained his position as librarian through the regime change, and he was given more responsibilities by Sixtus as the Vatican Library began to open.[80] As a librarian, Bussi sought to acquire books for the Vatican Library.[81] Gaza clearly thought it wise to give his friend a copy of a classical text, newly translated from Greek, to endear himself to the new pope and to help him get placed in a papal office. The offering of a dedicated book to a patron, in search of patronage was a common practice: a few years earlier, Platina had tried (and failed) to gain employment under Pius II by writing him an oration, while Gaza himself would translate and dedicate a book to Sixtus in the same year as this gift to Bussi.[82] Gaza hoped that, given a new papacy, with a pope who

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[77] Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia* (Rome: Sweynheym and Pannartz, 1470); John Monfasani, "The First Call for Press Censorship: Niccolo Perotti, Giovanni Andrea Bussi, Antonio Moreto, and the Editing of Pliny's Natural History," *Renaissance Quarterly* 41, no. 1 (Spring 1988): 4; Adriana Marucchi, "Note sul manoscritto [Vat. lat. 5991] di cui si e servito Giovanni Andrea Bussi per l'edizione di Plinio del 1470," *Bulletin d'information de l'Institut de Recherce et d'Histoire des Texts* bulletin n.15 (1967-1968) (1969): 175–176.

[78] Bianca, "GAZA". Also consult Monfasani, "The Humanists and the Plato-Aristotle Controversy."

[79] Bianca, "GAZA"; Miglio, "BUSSI"; Filelfo, *Epistolarum*, 1413, for Bussi being asked by Filelfo to direct letters to Gaza.

[80] Lee, *Sixtus IV*, 109; Edwin Hall, *Sweynheym and Pannartz and the Origins of Printing in Italy: German Technology and Italian Humanism in Renaissance Rome* (McMinnville, OR: Bird and Bull Press, 1991): 29.

[81] Lee, *Sixtus IV*,110; Victor Scholderer, "The Petition of Sweynheym and Pannartz to Sixtus IV," *The Library* s3-VI, no. 22 (April 1, 1915): 186–90.

[82] McCahill, *Reviving the Eternal City*, 54-55; Idem, "Finding A Job", 1315; Bauer, *The Censorship and Fortuna*, 28-30. The manuscript translated by Gaza and sent to Sixtus was Aristotle's *Historia animalium*, now BAV

cared for intellectual pursuits, his translations would win him a job from Sixtus, especially when aided by a friend in the curia.

Gaza's book he gave to Giovanni Bussi is a small document of eighteen folio pages, a translation of Plutarch's oration, "That a philosopher ought to converse especially with men in power" (*Maxime cum principibus philosopho esse disserendum*). The content itself comes from chapter 52 of Plutarch's *Moralia* and suggests the benefits to his friend Bussi of his being a philosopher working for a prince.[83] Gaza's translation dates to the year between August 1471 and August 1472, after the ascension of Sixtus IV and, before the day when, in a letter to a cousin, Gaza complained about how Sixtus' nepotistic politics had deprived him of employment.[84] The book itself is small, measuring 20 cm by 13 cm. A few illuminated capitals throughout the manuscript suggest that it was prepared and put together as a valued piece, illuminated and done in minimal *bianchi girari*-style, the humanistic illumination mode that features white vines entangling the depicted letters.[85] The dedicatory preface makes up four folio pages, while the Plutarch chapter takes up six folio pages: thus, almost half the manuscript is the letter from Gaza to Bussi. The light annotations by both Gaza and Bussi, along with its brevity, indicate that the book was given from one friend to another as a personal gift, one displaying the exchange of knowledge between the two, as its annotations by them both reflect their deep intellectual friendship.[86]

Vat. Lat. 2094. Consult John Monfasani, "Aristotle as Scribe of Nature: The Title-Page of MS Vat. Lat. 2094," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 69 (2006): 193–205.

[83] Plutarch, *Moralia X*, with an English Translation by Harold North Fowler (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936) 10; Geert Roskam, *Plutarch's "Maxime cum principibus philosopho esse disserendum": An Interpretation with Commentary* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2009).

[84] Bevegni, "Teodoro Gaza, traduttore", 38.

[85] The illuminated capitals can be found on BAV Vat. Lat. 3350, 1r and 5r. Pierre de Nolhac, *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini: Contributions a l'histoire des collections d'Italie et a l'etude de la Renaissance* (Paris: F. Vieweg, Libraire-Éditeur, 1887): 363 describes it as 4°, or quarto format, and bound in silk. My thanks to Dr. Elisa Tersigni.

[86] Bevegni, "Teodoro Gaza, traduttore", 38. The literature on humanists using their skills for any number of political courts or offering classical works to educate princes is vast, tying in politics with education and literature

Plutarch's works were important sources for political theory in the fifteenth century, but Gaza did not translate the entirety of Plutarch's *Moralia*.[87] Rather, Gaza offered one chapter as a stand-alone text. It described how important it was to a prince that a philosopher have with him a good relationship. This was a helpful topic for intellectuals searching for employment.[88] Bussi did read this book, as his handwriting is found throughout his friend's Latin in black ink, a different colour from that of the ink of the work itself.[89] By translating a single chapter of Plutarch's larger work, and writing a preface nearly as long as the text itself, Gaza both commented on and offered Plutarch's advice on how an intellectual could converse with and work with men in power. Gaza implied that the philosopher needing this advice was Bussi, and hopefully, could be Gaza as well. The book, translated from Greek to Latin, displays the skill of translation that Gaza was known for. The choice of Plutarch served to demonstrate his ability to curate and translate important classical works from Greek for the Vatican Library that Bussi now curated and Sixtus IV had begun to re-institute.

Throughout the work, Gaza annotated the margins lightly, writing marginal glosses showing the famous and largely Greek thinkers Plutarch cited. In his preface, on folio 3v, Gaza points out Plutarch's use of a Greek proverb, writing "proverbium graecum" in the margins to note its spot in the main text. The marginalia suggested to the reader (at least Bussi) that Gaza's knowledge of Greek proverbs, particularly from Plutarch was worth noting.[90] On the sixth folio,

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for princes. Nicholas Scott Baker and Brian Jeffrey Maxson, eds., *After Civic Humanism: Learning and Politics in Renaissance Italy*, Essays and Studies 35 (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2015), especially their introduction.

[87] Marianne Pade, "The Reception of Plutarch from Antiquity to the Italian Renaissance," in *A Companion to Plutarch*, ed. Mark Beck (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013). 531-542; Pade, *"The Reception of Plutarch's 'Lives'*.

[88] Bevegni, "Teodoro Gaza, traduttore", 33, 35.

[89] BAV, Vat. Lat. 3350, f. 6r.

[90] BAV, Vat. Lat. 3350, f. 3v: "… et proverbium illud graecis tritum admodum probo, ne puero gladium, ne viro improbo potestatem." The proverb, "ne puero gladium," "do not give a child a sword," is also Plutarchian. Plutarch, "Moralia, Fragments from Other Named Works" in *Moralia, XV: Fragments*. Translated by Francis Henry

in Plutarch's text, Gaza noted Plutarch's description of Homer and Plato in the first sentence, and in quick succession further down on the page, Gaza wrote the names of Anaxagoras, Pericles, Plato, Dionysius, and Pythagoras in the margins in red to make the famous philosophers' names easy to find in the text itself, referring to Plutarch's discussion of them.[91] Plutarch situated the famous philosophers in relationship to the rulers they served: Anaxagoras served Pericles, Plato worked for Dionysius I, and Pythagoras gave advice to the princes of Italy: all the named philosophers aided and maintained a friendship with their respective rulers. Gaza wrote the names of the philosophers in the margins to draw attention to the examples that Plutarch used in discussing the relationship between ruler and intellectual.[92] These running marginal glosses throughout made Gaza's little book even more searchable for its classical references, and also for the examples Plutarch used to emphasize the ideal ruler-intellectual relationship. But Gaza's running commentary through the manuscript is mostly bibliographic in nature, suggesting writings that Bussi might want to read and cite. Gaza's statements on the nature of the ruler-intellectual relationship are much more visible in his dedication, written as a letter to his close friend, and that is where his bid for employment truly takes place.

In his dedication, Gaza argues that Plutarch's essay is a helpful work for an intellectual to read and repeatedly cite. Linking Plutarch's ethics to the position that Bussi held at court, establishing Bussi as the intellectual that Plutarch refers to, Gaza suggested that even having a sample of Plutarch could be helpful to a working scholar.[93] Gaza begins his preface by immediately noting how Bussi was the one who came to mind when reading this topic. He writes, "By chance,

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Sandbach. Loeb Classical Library 429 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), 246-247. My thanks to Drs. Sarah Wilk, Chris Celenza, Timothy Perry, and Matt Simonton for their help.

[91] BAV Vat. Lat. 3350, 6r-6v, "Homerum etiam audimus minorem iovis opportuni maximi orestes appellantem. Hoc est ut Plato exponit collocutorem et familiarem,", "Ut Anaxagoras cum Pericle familiaritate coniunctus Plato cum Dioysio. Pythagoras cum Principibus terrae italiae fructum ad multos potuit propagare."

[92] Plutarch, *Moralia*, 33; BAV Vat. Lat. 3350, 6r.

[93] Gaza, 41. Cf. Bevegni, "Teodoro Gaza traduttore," 37.

I read something that would be nice to repeat as counsel. Soon you came to mind, with whom I very often came to discuss the matter: whether it is fitting for a man of philosophy to seek the familiarity of a prince and whether he should want to live habitually joined to the prince,"[94] referring to the close relationship between Bussi and Sixtus, his prince. Gaza then inserted himself into the intellectual dynamic between Bussi and Sixtus by stressing his own abilities: "Since I saw that this little work had not yet been translated into Latin, I decided that it should be translated, and should be sent to you," directly noting the processes of intellectual engagement and sharing of books and classical knowledge.[95]

Gaza did not offer just the selection of Plutarch to Bussi. More importantly, he offered both the text and his act of translation from Greek as a gift, as a precious item, and noted that it was his translation that should be sent to Bussi to help him. Gaza suggested that Bussi use Plutarch's guidance for his work at court and his giving advice to the ruling prince, noting that Bussi's work was "acting in accord with Plutarch, a good author."[96] Gaza then amplified Plutarch's assertions that philosophers should be in dialogue with and be surrounded by men of power, going so far as to live in the same household as the prince. For Plutarch, intellectuals who were close to a ruler could do good work by advising the prince in matters of state instead of retreating into their own scholarship and lives. Gaza editorializes on this perspective by comparing Plutarch's philosopher with the Cynic philosopher Diogenes, who withdrew from Greek society.[97] In his letter to Bussi, Gaza stressed Plutarch's ancient concerns and translated the philosopher through time and space

[94] Gaza, 41: "Legi casu quod saepius consilio repetitum placeret; mox tu mihi in mentem venisti, quicum saepenumero in eam incidi quaestionem: an deceat hominem philosophum quaerere principum familiaritatem et consuetudine iunctum cum principe velle vivere."

[95] Gaza, 39: "Cumque opusculum hoc nundum conversum in latinum viderem, convertendum mittendumque ad te duxi,"

[96] Gaza, 39, "… disputando defendere nitebaris, ex Plutarchi etiam sententia, boni auctoris, te agere intelligeres."

[97] Gaza, 39-40.

to make him relevant for fifteenth-century Rome: an intellectual should not retreat from a prince, but rather, advise him.

Gaza repeatedly warns Bussi, as "the philosopher," to think about other philosophers who rejected living with a prince. Contrasting the Plutarchian philosopher at court with the Cynics, who rejected both the gifts that Nature gave to men and to philosophers – gifts such as the "inner quality" that makes Man different from animals – and the role that philosophers had in their society as teachers, Gaza stressed the active role of philosophy in improving princes: "For my part, I judge no one so unrestrained that he would not submit to the teachings of Philosophy if they are conveyed prudently, if he who teaches would not be unreasonably harsh or excessively severe, but he should act in the fashion of the most clever physician, and who should cure not only safely but also pleasantly."[98] Addressing the wicked prince who needs curing through philosophy, Gaza personalizes Plutarch's argument and makes it immediately applicable to what Bussi and himself hoped to do: to work for a ruler and to improve him and his policies through moral education.[99] Bussi was already employed at the papal court at the time of this dedication; Gaza, in hopes of a job, aspired to improve the ruler too.

Ending his dedication by discussing what a philosopher owes to his city and wider world, Gaza referred to Bussi's life, noting that Bussi lived with a prince and that he could do the good work of an intellectual: "You live, namely, with the best prince who is an example of strength to others, he himself should have no need of an example of living from elsewhere."[100] For the humanists, their scholarly work was best done not in isolation, but rather, as part of an active life

[98] Gaza, 41: "Equidem neminem tam effrenatum arbitror ne praeceptis philosophiae pareat si prudenter afferantur, si non acerbus intempestive aut severus niumium sit quae praecipit, sed more ingeniosi medici agat qui curet non modo tute verum etiam iocunde."

[99] Hankins, *Virtue Politics*, XIII: "The humanists were reformers actively engaged in educating and advising elites, and they used every means at their disposal…"

[100] Gaza, 41. "vivis enim cum principe optimo qui virtutis exemplo aliis est, non exemplum vivendi aliunde ipse desideret."

and put to good use by tutoring the best princes and rulers. This was the life desired by the humanists: to use their knowledge of the classics and put it into practice to reform the virtue of the ruling class and of their respective governments.[101] Gaza makes this desire in his letter and his gift even more immediate for Bussi. He writes that:

> For, because we often wished that there would be restored finally to the position of pontifex maximus a man with morals and outstanding education, I now see it happened when Sixtus is appointed to that very rulership, a man whose life, customs, genius, and knowledge we not only always praised, but also that we were contemplating it, admiring it as the greatest example of a blessed life.[102]

Gaza saw Bussi as working with the prince most receptive to the work of scholars, Sixtus IV, the prince that "we often wished" for.[103] Gaza suggested that his translation explained Plutarch's relationship between intellectual and ruler, noting the worth of his translation for Bussi to learn from.[104] He ended his letter by praising Bussi for how his worth was recognized by Sixtus, and how Bussi was doing the work that Plutarch suggested needed to be done. Gaza's entire dedicatory letter reads as largely instructive in Plutarchian moral philosophy, and always, he cloaked his private ambitions in humanist classicizing language.[105]

Claudio Bevegni and Marianne Pade have analyzed the use of Plutarch's work by humanists for political and pedagogical reasons, stressing the importance of Plutarch's individual "Lives," translated and used by scholars as virtuous examples for princes to follow.[106] Bevegni

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[101] Hankins, *Virtue Politics*, especially Ch. 6: "Should A Good Man Participate In A Corrupt Government," 183.

[102] Gaza, 41: "Nam, quod saepe optavimus ut ad pontificatem maximam aliquando reciperetur, vir moribus et doctrina praestans, id contigisse iam video quando Sixtus in eo ipso principatu constitutus est, cuius vitam, mores, ingenium et scientiam semper non modo laudavimus, sed etiam ut summum vitae beatae exemplum admirantes contemplabamur."

[103] Bussi explicitly expressed this wish as well: Consult Giovanni Andrea Bussi, *Prefazioni: Alle edizioni di Sweynheym e Pannartz, Prototipographi Romani*, ed. Massimo Miglio, Documenti sulle Arti del Libro 12 (Milan: Edizioni il Polifilo, 1978), 19:70, his first preface for Sixtus IV from 1471.

[104] Gaza, 41: "cum te interpretem"

[105] Palmer, "The Effects of Authorial Strategies," 187.

[106] Bevegni, "Teodoro Gaza traduttore", 38; Pade, *The Reception of Plutarch's 'Lives'*. Consult also Celenza, "Parallel Lives".

described how Gaza wrote his dedication and did the translation of Plutarch directly to "win the favour of the new pontiff," suggesting that Gaza's friendship with Bussi would aid, or reward, Gaza with stable employment.[107] I follow Bevegni and Pade and suggest this dedication should be seen as an item in an exchange. There were many underlying expectations for how gifts worked and for the cultural weight that they bore in the early modern period. Unlike many of the bids for patronage from the humanists, Gaza's work was not a direct supplication to a patron.[108] Instead of sending this book directly to Sixtus IV with a preface glorifying the Pope, Gaza sent it to his friend and, according to the curial familial structure in Quattrocento Rome, his kin-brother, Giovanni Bussi.[109]

The ties of friendship between Gaza and Bussi were unofficial substitutions for family structures of fifteenth-century Italy. Lacking marriage ties that would entangle families, noble and otherwise, to each other, individuals in a curial family invested their internal dynamics with similar weight to that of premodern kinship bonds against feuds and threats. Notably, the contemporary scholarly feuds in Italy over interpretations of Plato and Aristotle were more quarrels based around reputation, kin-alliances, and camps than they were philosophical arguments.[110] Bussi and Gaza were linked through their loose ties to Bessarion's curial family and through their intellectual friendship and exchange.[111] Gaza was well known in Italy as a translator of Greek texts, and Bussi

[107] Bevegni, "Teodoro Gaza traduttore", 38, "Gaza si aspettava certamente – grazie all'influenza dell'amico Bussi – di ottenere il favore del nuovo pontefice e di trovare una sistemazione stabile e gratificante presso la Curia."

[108] McCahill, *Reviving the Eternal City*, 54.

[109] D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome*, 39; Laurie Nussdorfer, "Masculine Hierarchies in Roman Ecclesiastical Households," *European Review of History: Revue Européenne d'histoire* 22, no. 4 (2015): 621.

[110] D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome*, 38; Roisin Cossar, *Clerical Households in Late Medieval Italy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017): 61; Jennifer Mara DeSilva, "Articulating Work and Family: Lay Papal Relatives in the Papal States, 1420–1549," *Renaissance Quarterly* 69, no. 1 (2016): 1–39; John Monfasani, *George of Trebizond: A Biography and a Study of His Rhetoric and Logic*, Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 228.

[111] D'Elia, *A Sudden Terror*, Ch. 6.

had relied on Gaza's reputation as a translator for his publication of Pliny's *Natural History*.[112] Their friendship was both instrumental and expressive: each could help the other, and their friendship was expressed through dedications and literary flourishes.[113] Gaza relied on his friendship to Bussi to connect him to the papal curia, much as Bussi relied on Gaza to make his editions of classical texts acceptable for print. While no letters exist between the two, their friendship is remarked upon by other humanists, and Bussi noted Gaza's intelligence and translation abilities in his preface to the Pliny in 1470.[114] Their friendship, buttressed by a history of co-operative labour, by belonging to the same curial family, and by intellectual exchange, was instrumental for Gaza's search for patronage. Gaza thus reflected the conspicuous nature of their friendship by gifting his friend a book.

The friendship between these two humanists was based largely on the exchange of literary goods and the services that intellectuals can provide for rulers. Gaza's choice to translate a Greek intellectual (Plutarch) who made a life for himself in Rome emphasized that intellectuals could create familiar bonds across nationality that fostered a scholarly community – Plutarch did, so Gaza could try as well. These actions fit into the wider understandings of patronage and its effects in fifteenth-century Europe. The dedication and gifting of a book from Gaza to Bussi reveals a story of how humanists worked and moved in practice, rather than in a static and simple patron and client relationship: friendship and networking seen as a structure and as a process, all through the lens of humanist language and concerns. Gaza used classical rhetoric and political philosophy in his preface to a friend to comment on contemporary politics. He then gave Bussi both his preface and the book containing it to link himself both politically and socially to his friend, and all in

[112] Monfasani, "First Call", 26.
[113] Kent, *Friendship*, 57.
[114] Filelfo, *Epistolarum*, 1413; Marucci, "Note sul Manoscritto", 180. For more on Bussi's promotion of Gaza, consult Chapter 3, especially the section "The Prefaces"

search of a career.[115] Humanist language and the preface provided the medium, then the gifted book entered a world of premodern reciprocity where intellectual friendship was a model that they both recognized.

Like Machiavelli's *Prince*, and many other humanist works, Gaza's gift failed to get him the job at the papal court that he was hoping for.[116] But it succeeded in maintaining a friendship, in spite of its lack of immediate career benefits for Gaza. In August 1472, Gaza complained about Sixtus' nepotism, and wrote to that he was only able to stay in Rome thanks to Cardinal Bessarion's financial support.[117] At the beginning of his pontificate, Sixtus IV had more concerns than the hiring of a single Greek intellectual in his curia; he was concerned with promoting his own family, and beginning the massive projects of urban renovation and renewal for the jubilee.[118] Even when Sixtus IV did pay for some of Gaza's work – Gaza dedicated an edition of Aristotle's *Historia Animalium* to Sixtus IV in 1473 – Sixtus paid him with 50 gold pieces, whereupon Gaza, offended by the sum, gossips the humanist Valeriano, threw the coins into the Tiber.[119] Plausible gossip from Valeriano or not, Gaza did not respond positively to Sixtus's not giving him a benefice. He

[115] Craig Kallendorf, "Humanism, Painting, and the Book as Physical Object in Renaissance Culture," *Book History* 23, no. 1 (2020): 38.

[116] Monfasani, "The humanists and the Plato-Aristotle Controversy," 90.

[117] Bianca, "GAZA".

[118] Jill E. Blondin, "Power Made Visible: Pope Sixtus IV as Urbis Restaurator in Quattrocento Rome," *The Catholic Historical Review* 91, no. 9 (January 2005): 1–25.

[119] Julia Haig Gaisser, ed. *Pierio Valeriano on the Ill Fortune of Learned Men: A Renaissance Humanist and His World*. Recentiores: Later Latin Texts and Contexts (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1999): 212-213. In English, "This man, whose learning had no peer for many years in any of the Greeks (in the Latins either, I dare say), had dedicated to Pope Sixtus IV his nearly divine labors on Aristotle's *Historia Animalium,* which he had translated for reading in Latin, evidently hoping to win from the kindness of that prince the generous stipend he had earned through such great effort. But he brought back no more than fifty gold pieces (as if it were a great sum) from the man by whom he hoped to be covered completely with gold. Scorning his studies because he had been paid such a niggardly return for his long nights of toil, first he threw the coins into the Tiber, and then, inflamed by the injustice of the thing, he wasted away with inconsolable grief." This anecdote is repeated in the scholarly literature on Gaza: consult John Monfasani, "Aristotle as Scribe of Nature: The Title-Page of MS Vat. Lat. 2094," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 69 (2006): 201.

eventually left Rome that same year and died in by early 1476 in a Calabrian monastery held in *commenda*, a post that was yet another gift from his former *paterfamilias*, Cardinal Bessarion.[120]

Despite the failure of this gift, Gaza remained friends with Bussi. Before they died, Gaza translated Aristotle's *De Animalibus* in 1475 and dedicated the book to his friend, who marked up the margins with annotations.[121] It seems that, instead of relying on the exchange of letters often seen in the self-fashioning of Quattrocento humanists, Bussi and Gaza exchanged books instead, books used as gifts and exchanges between friends. Gaza's early Greek translations in Vittorino's school in the 1440s, to the Pliny of 1470, to the Plutarch of 1471-2, and the Aristotle book of 1475 all suggest a friendship built around book production and exchange. While the gift itself failed to gain secure employment for Gaza, there were many expectations for their friendship that did not fail: the instrumental and familiar nature of their friendship responded as expected for early modern behaviour. Gaza and Bussi, entangled in a world of exchange and obligation that was never stated, knew their roles. But the search for employment from Sixtus is only part of the story in this manuscript. What is also significant is how each protagonist – including the book itself – navigated these worlds. Gaza's gift, amidst his friendship with Bussi, embedded in the wider world of gift culture, reflected the hope for expected behaviour amidst the dynamics of a new political context. The politics of court changed, but the friendship did not. The book which Gaza translated and prefaced linked the humanist habits of presenting classical texts for patronage to a wider world of friendship. The book as a gift entangled Gaza and Bussi together; it reveals the instrumental

[120] Bianca, "GAZA"; Bianca notes the discrepancy of Gaza's death date, anywhere from late 1475 to early 1476. The DBI reports that another curialist, Mattia Palmieri, notes Gaza's death in Calabria: "Tenendo conto di queste date, e pur volendo considerare tempi particolarmente lunghi, è però probabile che il G. sia morto nel 1476, come ricorda tra l'altro Mattia Palmieri, curiale di antica data, che nel suo *Opus de temporibus suis* segnala tra gli avvenimenti del 1476 la morte del G. avvenuta in Calabria"

[121] Bianca, "GAZA"; Bevegni, "Teodoro Gaza traduttore", 38; Miglio, "BUSSI."

mechanics of intellectual friendships in Quattrocento Rome, exposing Gaza's bid for Bussi's care for Gaza's fortunes in Sistine Rome.

Conclusion

This chapter described two examples of how humanists in fifteenth-century Rome managed and negotiated their friendships, desires, and their world through dedicatory prefaces that they wrote for books, and as gifts for their friends. By writing these dedicatory prefaces, the humanists were not only looking for immediate benefits, economic, political, or otherwise. They were necessarily relying on long-established social norms where the dedication "represented a commitment to a particular relationship,"[122] and all the participants in the friendship were expected to respond in kind: in these cases, and others, it would be a response based on premodern norms of friendship. Whether or not the dedicatory letter and gift worked swiftly for the humanists, or at all, is largely irrelevant for understanding how intellectual friendships worked – although it mattered for those who did not achieve their goals! While Gaza's gifted translation of Plutarch's *Moralia* did not give him the benefice he desired from Sixtus, and while we do not know the immediate aftereffects of Platina's gift to Maffei, both Gaza and Platina used dedicatory letters to persuade their allies to action, and to negotiate a change in status and relationship. For the humanists, the dedicatory letter was not only a tool for those in search of patronage. By constructing and negotiating their own status in their world, the humanists were engaging in their own habits of social participation through rich and elite literary description and prestigious genres.

[122] McCahill, "Humanism in the Theatre of Lies," 75.

CAPITVLVM TERTIVM: Prefacing a Commercium Litterarum – Giovanni Bussi and his Prefaces

Introduction

As Thomas King states at the outset of each of his Massey lectures, the truth about stories is that they're all we are.[1] Stories can edify, particularly when telling (hi)stories about the past, where history can be made relevant through the storytellers' connecting the past to the present, revealing their unconscious perspectives on how they tell the story.[2] So is it with describing the worlds of intellectuals in mid-fifteenth century Rome. Many scholars who study the intellectual history of Quattrocento Rome gleefully describe battles and feuds, particularly between the papacy and the protagonist intellectuals fighting for their scholarship.[3] The most famous story told by scholars of this period recounts the alleged conspiracy by humanists to murder the Pope in 1468.[4] On the last night of Carnival in early 1468, Pope Paul II Barbo was warned by masked men that there was a conspiracy afoot for his murder. Reacting quickly, the Pope threw the alleged conspirators in jail: he arrested scholars who were part of the pseudo-academy under the humanist and antiquarian Pomponio Leto and whom Paul II believed were conspirators, and threw them into Castel Sant'Angelo (the papal prison). The scholars remained imprisoned and under judicial

[1] Thomas King, *The Truth About Stories: A Native Narrative* (Toronto: House of Anansi, 2003).

[2] Consult Chapter 1, particularly the discussion of Hans Baron, Paul Oskar Kristeller, and Eugenio Garin, as immediate examples of erudite scholars with unconscious perspectives informing their work.

[3] David Lines, Marc Laureys, and Jill Kraye, eds. *Forms of Conflict and Rivalries in Renaissance Europe* (Bonn: Bonn University Press, 2015).

[4] Anthony D'Elia, *A Sudden Terror: The Plot to Murder the Pope in Renaissance Rome* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2009). For the traditional narrative, consult Mandall Creighton's *A History of the Papacy from the Great Schism to the Sack of Rome*, Vol 4 (London: Longmans, 1901), and Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages: Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and other original sources*, ed. Frederick Ignatius Antrobus, Vol 4 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co. Ltd, 1900); 38-66. John D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome: Humanists and Churchmen on the Eve of the Reformation* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983)., 92-97; Richard Palermino, "The Roman Academy, The Catacombs, and the Conspiracy of 1468," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 18 (1980): 117–55.

torture for about a year. Eventually released for lack of evidence, many of these scholars went back to producing scholarship for Paul II, being much more careful in the future about what they wrote, whom they associated with, and what scholarship they produced.

The narrative described about Paul II by these scholars - especially by one of the most famous and most belligerent scholars in fifteenth-century Rome, the humanist historian Bartolomeo Platina - has gone on to define his pontificate. In many ways, Platina's description of Paul II in his famous *Lives of the Popes* of 1475, quite frankly an attack on Paul II, is the account repeated and imitated by modern scholars.[5] Platina's tale of Paul II' creating an oppressive environment for scholars in the late 1460s sets the stage for a triumph of humanistic Rome under Pope Sixtus IV, the pope to whom the *Lives of the Popes* is dedicated; Platina's account depicted mid-Quattrocento Rome under Paul's reign as a dangerous place for scholars, to be rescued by Pope Sixtus IV's pontificate.[6] These stories about humanist scholars without institutional support, oppressed by the "medieval" institution of the papacy (and by a pope who, it is alleged, particularly disliked humanism), would later be repeated and enshrined by modern scholars; historians posit that the "Renaissance" in Rome traditionally begins after Nicholas V's pontificate, stalls with Paul II's reign, and begins anew with Sixtus IV's pontificate.[7] Platina's story of humanists *contra* the late medieval papacy, especially in light of the Reformation and its intellectual heritages, has

[5] One of the few works written to defend Paul II's reputation after Platina's attack is Roberto Weiss, *Un Umanista Veneziano: Papa Paolo II* (Venice, Italy: Istituto per la Collaborazione Culturale, 1958). More recently, Anna Modigliani's work has contextualized Paul II into the wider world of urban and institutional life in Rome, narrating a pope beyond the image of him presented by Bartolomeo Platina. Anna Modigliani, *Disegni sulla città nel primo Rinascimento Romano: Paolo II*, RR Inedita 40 (Rome: Roma nel Rinascimento, 2009).

[6] Thomas Hendrickson et al., *Lives of the Popes: Paul II: An Intermediate Reader of Renaissance Latin; Latin Text with Running Vocabulary and Commentary* (Oxford, Ohio: Faenum Publishing, 2017), and, more generally, Bartolomeo Platina, *The Lives of the Popes*, ed. Anthony D'Elia, Vol. 1: Antiquity, The I Tatti Renaissance Library 30 (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2008).

[7] While scholars recognize the return of Martin V to Rome as the beginning of the "Renaissance" in Rome, scholars give Sixtus IV's pontificate primacy, a pontificate that comes about 50 years after Martin V's reign. See Charles Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 9: "For the ideology and culture of the Roman Renaissance, Sixtus IV's long pontificate was the most significant since Nicholas V's".

become a powerful one for describing intellectual life in pre-Reformation Rome. It is not to be easily trusted.

This chapter revises the account of the humanists *contra* the papacy in mid-Quattrocento Rome by inverting the story, and studying how humanists negotiated *with* the institution of the papacy and its offices to bolster their position in the city, particularly in Rome's scholarly worlds. This work has already begun, done by scholars looking to move past the simplistic narrative of a medieval institution disliking newer modes of scholarship, historians such as Margaret Meserve, Anthony D'Elia, Susanna de Beer, Massimo Miglio, Anna Modigliani, and Ingrid Rowland (among many others).[8] In this chapter, I look past the possibly conspiratorial humanists and narrate instead a different story from Quattrocento Rome. I use a lesser-known humanist scholar, the Reverend Giovanni Andrea Bussi, to describe a complex world where scholars moved not against their patrons, but in tandem with them and, more importantly, with other scholars. Here, to describe fifteenth-century Rome and its scholarly scene more fully, I tell of a single man of letters who used his scholarship to broker and shape relations with other scholars and their patrons. The life and circumstances of Giovanni Bussi illustrated the multiplicity of what a life of the pen was and could be in Quattrocento Rome.

The model of understanding a scholarly world through the story of one individual has a rich and storied methodology in its own right. In 1976, Carlo Ginzburg famously claimed that the

[8] Margaret Meserve, *Papal Bull: Print, Politics, and Propaganda in Renaissance Rome* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2021). Cf. D'Elia, *A Sudden Terror*, where he does not suggest a conflict between the "medieval" institution of the church and the early modern scholars it was persecuting; his conclusions are much more oriented to political disagreements between the papacy and the humanists who promoted republican ideals. Susanna de Beer, "The Roman 'Academy' of Pomponio Leto: From an Informal Humanist Network to the Institution of a Literary Society," in *Literary and Learned Societies in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Arjan van Dixhoorn and Susie Speakman Sutch, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2008); Massimo Miglio, *Saggi Di Stampa: Tipografi e Cultura a Roma Nel Quattrocento*, ed. Anna Modigliani (Rome: Roma nel Rinascimento, 2009); Modigliani, *Disegni sulla città*; Ingrid Rowland, *The Culture of the High Renaissance: Ancients and Moderns in Sixteenth Century Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

study of the miller Menocchio's books and his court testimony "permits us to perceive a previously untapped level of popular beliefs, of obscure peasant mythologies".[9] Ginzburg thus narrated Menocchio's life and told readers of an underlying popular premodern belief system that newer institutions and beliefs were imposed on top of. More recently, Jan Machielsen has studied Martin Delrio's works on both witchcraft and on his own life, situating Delrio's life and autobiographical works into the scholarly and social worlds of Counter-Reformation Europe during the age of the witch-trials.[10] Machielsen tells the story of Delrio's travels and writings to describe the larger intellectual world of witchcraft theory that Delrio studied. When this storytelling is done carefully (and not as a hagiography), the study of one individual leans into the practice of microhistory, an attempt to understand broad cultural historical knowledge from very specific actions, phrases, and habits in a particular time, space, context, and person.[11]

Individuals' records reveal not only what they created and what they did in their world, but also how they were affected by their actions. Ann Blair's work on Jean Bodin and on early modern science and its methods is another strong example of how wider worlds can be understood by a study of one individual scholar's writings.[12] While cultural historians have studied texts, often disputatious, to narrate intellectual stories, social stories can be pulled from these dynamics as well, studies of how an intellectual relates to other persons in their confined worlds.[13] Consequently, a single intellectual's life and creations can be studied both intellectually and

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[9] Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, trans. John Tedeschi and Anne Tedeschi (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980): xix.

[10] Jan Machielsen, *Martin Delrio: Demonology and Scholarship in the Counter-Reformation* (Oxford: The British Academy, 2015).

[11] Thomas Cohen, "The Macrohistory of Microhistory," in Microhistory and the Historical Imagination: New Frontiers, in *The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* Vol. 47, No. 1 (January 2017): 54.

[12] Ann Blair, *The Theater of Nature: Jean Bodin and Renaissance Science* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

[13] Lisa Jardine, *Erasmus, Man of Letters: The Construction of Charisma in Print* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015).

socially to reveal wider patterns of habits and behaviours, or the cultures and shared understandings of everyday relations and negotiations, what Bourdieu calls *habitus*.[14]

The Reverend Giovanni Andrea Bussi (1417-1475), a bishop of a minor see in Corsica and a scholar trained in both scholastic and humanist pedagogies, was also the editor-in-chief for the first printing press in Rome, that of Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz (from 1464 in Subiaco, moving to Rome in 1468, and disbanded by 1473/4).[15] As a bishop, papal secretary, librarian, editor of a printing house, and participant in several curial and intellectual circles around cardinals and scholars, Bussi failed to dominate any single social environment as a man of thought, letters, or action. Yet his participation in these many different cultural environments let him negotiate the fifteenth-century city as an auxiliary insider to the busy politics of a Rome filled with scholars. Bussi was not a part of the alleged anti-papal conspiracy, and he had no traceable interactions with Platina. That is not his story. However, he lived in the same world as those arrested scholars, and knew them and worked with them – he shared one papal office with Bartolomeo Platina, who became the papal librarian after his death in February of 1475. Bussi's representations of this world complicate historians' narratives of fifteenth-century Rome, a Rome caught between late medieval and early modern, and a Rome that did more with its communities of scholars than just hound them.

As a minor scholar who cared more about his roles in the ecclesiastical hierarchy than about his own scholarly productivity, Bussi did not leave the letter collection that would be expected

[14] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977): 88. Consult Chapter 1 for the discussion of why *habitus* is an important lens for intellectual culture, as well as Christopher Celenza, *The Lost Italian Renaissance: Humanists, Historians, and Latin's Legacy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006): 78.

[15] Edwin Hall, *Sweynheym and Pannartz and the Origins of Printing in Italy: German Technology and Italian Humanism in Renaissance Rome* (McMinnville, Oregon: Bird and Bull Press, 1991) is the best English language treatment of the press.

were he a better-known humanist.[16] While only a few letters exist from him, we know that he wrote to other eminent scholars of his day, and others requested his views on various matters of interest, particularly regarding ecclesiastical networking as well as access to classical texts; his access to many libraries made him a wonderful colleague for other scholars.[17] Without many surviving letters or scholarly works of his own (one thinks of the famous commentaries by other classical scholars of his era such as Pomponio Leto), Bussi's perspectives and his story would remain largely unknown, were it not for the extremely rich sources that he left as part of his work with the printing press. Following a long precedent where authors like St. Jerome would directly engage their readers in a largely panegyrical preface, Bussi attached his own quickly-written prefaces to most of the works printed by the Sweynheym and Pannartz press.[18] Twenty of the books printed under Bussi's tenure as editor have from him a preface that was generally long, wordy, and reflective onto and of the scholarly world of fifteenth-century Rome.[19]

Bussi's prefaces came at a complex and transformative moment in premodern history, as they are some of the first prefaces to be printed and rapidly shared following Gutenberg's

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[16] Timothy Kircher, "At Play in the Republic of Letters: The Correspondence of Lapo Da Castiglionchio the Younger," *Renaissance Quarterly* 71, no. 3 (2018): 841–67.

[17] Giovanni Andrea Bussi*, Prefazioni: Alle edizioni di Sweynheym e Pannartz, Prototipographi Romani,* ed. Massimo Miglio*, Documenti sulle arti del libro 12* (Milan: Edizioni il Polifilo, 1978), xxii-xxii. Hereafter, this will be cited as "Bussi, *Prefazioni*, with the preface number, then the page number. For letters to Bussi, Francesco Filelfo*, Collected Letters («Epistolarum Libri» XLVIII)*, ed. Jeroen De Keyser, 4 vols., Hellenica 54 (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2015). For additional letters about Bussi (particularly his estrangement from Sforza), Felice Fossati, "Nuovi Particolari su Giovanni Andrea De'Bussi," *VIGLEVANUM: Rivista della Società Vigevanese di Lettere, Storia ed Arte* 1 (1907): 232–43.

[18] For the social history of the preface, consult Chapter 2 of this dissertation. Cf. Marianne Pade, "Intertextuality as a Narrative Device. The Epistolographic Genre in the Renaissance," in *Fiction and Figuration in High and Late Medieval Literature*, ed. Marianne Pade et al., Analecta Romana Instituti Danici Supplementum XLVII (Rome, 2015), 31–40; Idem, "The Dedicatory Letter as a Genre: the Prefaces of Guarino Veronese's Translations of Plutarch," in A. Dalzell et alii (eds.), *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Torontonensis, Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Toronto 8 August to 13 August 1988* (Binghamton, NY: 1988): 559-568; Stefan Bauer, *The Censorship and Fortuna of Platina's Lives of the Popes in the Sixteenth Century*, Late Medieval and Early Modern Studies 9 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), and Clémence Revest, "The Birth of the Humanist Movement at the Turn of the Fifteenth Century." Translated by Darla Gervais. *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* (2013/3): 665-696.

[19] Consult Appendix II for the full list of Sweynheym and Pannartz printed books. Bolded titles have a Bussi preface.

"invention of the printing press," and the spread of print technology across Western Europe. The press run of around 275 copies per book meant that the books printed by Sweynheym and Pannartz, and their respective prefaces, could enjoy a wider reading audience than a manuscript would have, and possibly a more anonymous readership.[20] Bussi was aware of the possibilities of the sacred art of print, and of how it could make books cheaper for poorer scholars.[21] So in prefacing the books he edited, he emphasized this value. Bussi's prefaces, while having a long-standing precedent from many medieval texts, were a venue to make his thoughts on a wide range of matters more public than previously expected.[22] Therefore, his prefaces, in many ways, reflected the scholars and other audiences he hoped would read his editions.

I argue that in his prefaces, Bussi did not have a doctrinal or categorical political program. Rather than trying to place Bussi's works into the narratives of political dynamics in Quattrocento Rome (such as the purported conspiracy to murder the Pope), I suggest reading Bussi's prefaces as responses to his immediate world. Caught in the near-frantic pace of competing with other printers for literary and cultural legitimacy based on the speed of publication of each *editio princeps* of a classical text, Bussi more often reflected on contemporary scholarly life in Rome than he argued for a specific political point. While his prefaces did display to readers humanists'

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[20] The widespread sharing of information and books is part of the tripartite argument that Elizabeth Eisenstein made in her important *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979). Anthony Grafton's response to Eisenstein argues against the assumptions Eisenstein made in creating a firm break between medieval manuscript culture and early modern print culture in his "The Importance of Being Printed," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* Vol 11, No. 2 (Autumn 1980), 265-286. Grafton challenges Eisenstein's assumption that books spread more widely due to print than in manuscript format, and dozens of scholars have shown the slow shift between manuscript and print since Grafton's review essay, stressing a widespread reading culture of late medieval Europe where both manuscript and print worked together instead of print culture replacing manuscript culture immediately. Cf. Sonja Drimmer, *The Art of Allusion: Illuminators and the Making of English Literature, 1403-1476* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), especially for how non-printed vernacular culture was created and shared during the manuscript era.

[21] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 1:4

[22] Pade, "Intertextuality as a Narrative Device," 35. Pade notes that the traditional starting point for humanist prefaces is, as always, Petrarch: "According to Gualdo Rosa, Petrarch was the first to take up the use of the dedicatory letter, whereas Leonardo Bruni brought the genre to perfection and contributed greatly to its popularity."

skills and show the importance of their program, and did also stress the strengths of Neoplatonism and the virtues of its practitioners, Bussi's writings were responses to his world, not records of his trying to manipulate it. Bussi acted as a broker between many circles and persons of interest.[23] His prefaces, then, reflected and responded to the politics of the everyday scholarly scene, more than creating an argument for supporting humanists and the humanist program directly. This chapter tells his story.

The *vita* of Giovanni Andrea Bussi

In mid-fifteenth century Rome, Giovanni Andrea Bussi was a minor humanist, more known and respected as a bishop than for his intellectual activity or production.[24] He was not the leader of a curial family or of a scholarly academy, he was not a cardinal, nor was he Roman, or a member of the aristocracy. However, he was an active participant in, and broker of, many circles of patronage, communities, and friendships in Quattrocento Rome. To understand Bussi's prefaces and how they reveal an interconnected and pluralistic intellectual world, Bussi needs to be placed into his world as a participant and broker in the friendship economies of premodern Rome.[25]

The definition of "broker" offered by anthropologist Jeremy Boissevain is helpful here. He defines a broker as one who "places people in touch with each other directly or indirectly for

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[23] For more on humanist brokerage as a concept, consult Susanna de Beer, *The Poetics of Patronage: Poetry as Self-Advancement in Giannantonio Campano* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), especially her introduction.

[24] Hall, 29: "… and until his death, following the convention of the time whereby curial prelates used titles in preference to names, Bussi is commonly called simply, 'the bishop of Aleria'."

[25] For friendship economies, Sarah Ross, *Everyday Renaissances: The Quest for Cultural Legitimacy in Venice* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016), 6-8, 54-55, 116-117, stresses the social nature of early modern material exchanges, calling the practice of giving books (in her case study, Plutarch), a "common humanist practice … to cement patronage and friendship ties." Citing Christopher Celenza, she argues that this humanist brokerage, where the movement of books reflects and reinforces friendships, formed a fundamental part of the cultural life of middling elites. Cf. Renata Ago, *Gusto for Things: A History of Objects in Seventeenth-Century Rome*, trans. Bradford Bouley, Corey Tazzara, and Paula Findlen (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013), especially Chapter 8, "Books" for the importance of collecting books and how libraries created reputation for those who owned them. For more on "brokerage" consult Barbara Furlotti, *Antiquities in motion: from excavation sites to Renaissance collections* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2019) and Sharon Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers, and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), particularly Ch. 2, "Brokers".

profit," a definition that stretches "profit" much further than simple pecuniary profit or benefit.[26] Acting for their own benefit (pecuniary and otherwise), brokers exchange goods and information to serve themselves but to also benefit their networks. Thus, brokers need to be careful about when and how they convert their immediate connections into simple personal profit: much of the profit they make should be re-invested into the networks that support them. As a broker of humanism, Bussi invested his own education, his connections to his friends and business associates, and his work with the prefaces, all to stabilize an institutional environment in Quattrocento Rome. His prefaces, investments of sorts, display these connections, and Bussi describes a pluralistic world of scholarly communities in the Eternal City, with hope for pecuniary and political benefit from his papal patron.

Brokers know that their manipulation of information and communication channels needs to benefit both themselves and the world around them; this was also a necessary technique for managing fifteenth-century curial life.[27] Like many humanists in the fifteenth century (and now), Bussi struggled to find employment that would pay for his scribal work and his editing. Turning to the Church, he ended up with several positions, some with duties, others sinecures, in the ecclesiastical hierarchy and in curial offices.[28] He constantly complained of money problems, yet he was also consistently linked to powerful patrons, their books, and their circles of power and

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[26] Jeremy Boissevain, *Friends of Friends: Networks, Manipulators, and Coalitions* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1974): 148.

[27] Boissevain, 163. Boissevain uses both rural Malta and an Irish trader in the 20th century as his case studies, but, given the fluctuating nature of late medieval curial life, this model can work for those invested in managing information and communication in the premodern world. Compare Boissevain's model to the politics of patronage engaged in by multiple humanists, especially Giovanni Antonio Campano, as de Beer has studied extensively.

[28] Christopher Celenza, *Renaissance Humanism and the Papal Curia: Lapo Da Castiglionchio the Younger's "De Curiae Commodis,"* Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome 4 (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 2000), describes the "failed" humanist, Lapo da Castiglionchio the Younger and his world. Lapo did not attain one of the (few) positions for humanists at the papal curia, and his *De Curiae Commodis* from 1438 is one of the more revelatory documents describing the world of the curia and the role that intellectuals could play in it.

families.[29] While a barely recognized scholar, he was deeply enmeshed in scholarly dynamics of Quattrocento Rome, and he brokered these dynamics enough to sustain himself with his poor bishopric and his appointments to curial offices.

In his prefaces, Bussi sought to entangle himself in the wide world of scholarly activity in Quattrocento Rome, and to entangle the entire humanist program with Rome and with his major patron, Paul II.[30] Bussi reflected on and brokered humanism to link together the hybrid audiences of pope and public, and justified the intellectual labour of his colleagues. But his prefaces can only be understood by seeing the positions that he worked from and the persons to whom he was connected. His many institutional positions gave him a cultural legitimacy in the city, and a perch recognized by famous intellectuals across Italy.[31] Two letters from the Milanese humanist Francesco Filelfo to Bussi demonstrate the cultural legitimacy Bussi had as a scholar: one from 1463 (when Bussi was a minor bishop and secretary to the famous philosopher and cardinal, Nicholas Cusanus) and one from 1471 (when Bussi was a bishop of a different see, and papal secretary). In both these letters, Filelfo asked Bussi to recommend him for employment in the Roman Curia, revealing how Filelfo perceived Bussi's position and ability to network.[32]

Bussi was born in 1417 at Vigevano in Lombardy, a territory ruled by the Visconti of Milan. Born to a family of local importance in the Milanese dominion, one of four brothers, he studied at

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[29] The best biographies of Giovanni Bussi are by Massimo Miglio. See Massimo Miglio, "BUSSI, Giovanni Andrea," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1972), http://www.treccani.it//enciclopedia/giovanni-andrea-bussi_(Dizionario-Biografico) (Hereafter cited as Miglio, "BUSSI") and in Bussi, *Prefazioni*, xvi-lxxi. There is a brief biographical entry on him in David Rundle, editor, *Humanism in Fifteenth-Century Europe*, Medium Aevum Monographs XXX (Oxford: Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 2012): 356.

[30] Ross, *Everyday Renaissances*, 118: "In particular, younger humanists aiming to ingratiate themselves with potential patrons or with more established colleagues often made recipients gifts of their translations … as erudite introductions and displays of literary and philosophical depth."

[31] For the concept of "cultural legitimacy," consult Sarah Ross, *Everyday Renaissances*, 5-11.

[32] Filelfo, *Collected Letters*, 904; 1658. Francesco Filelfo's ten letters to Bussi have an interesting evolution, one that begins with Filelfo advising Bussi, to seeking Bussi's recommendation to the Pope to hire Filelfo.

the University of Paris in the 1430s, then came back to Italy, studying at the humanist school of Vittorino da Feltre in Mantua in the mid-1440s.[33] At Vittorino's school, he met many of his longest-lasting friends and colleagues, including both Filelfo, and Theodore Gaza, a Greek emigre who taught Greek with Vittorino at the school.[34] Educated as a scholastic in Paris, and as a humanist in Vittorino's academy, Bussi then moved to Genoa and began to teach the humanist program to young men while moving into a clerical career; employment in the church allowed many fifteenth-century humanists to survive. Through the late 1440s and 1450s, Bussi worked as a humanist tutor in Genoa, where he was friends with the humanist chancellor of the city, Giacomo Bracelli.[35] For this teaching, he received both an annual salary of 125 pounds from the city, with additional income from private families for his tutoring.[36]

Bussi's pursuit of a career outside Milan's orbit may have owed to the actions of his father, Antonio Bussi. After the death of the Milanese Visconti prince Filippo Maria in 1447, there was a short war of succession, ending with the triumph of mercenary-captain Francesco Sforza as the new Duke of Milan in 1450.[37] As a local office holder in Vigevano, Bussi's father Antonio allied with the short-lived Ambrosian Republic, where he took part in an insurrection against Sforza.[38] Sforza was irked by this, and in 1449 when Bussi's father moved from supporting the anti-Sforza Ambrosian Republic to supporting the House of Savoy (still against Sforza), Sforza's dislike

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[33] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, xviii. For more on Vittorino da Feltre, consult William Harrison Woodward, *Vittorino da Feltre and Other Humanist Educators*. RSART: Renaissance Society of America Reprint Text Series, Vol. 5 (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1996).

[34] The length of the friendship between Bussi and Gaza can be seen from their translation of Pliny in 1470, and in BAV Vat.Lat.3350, a work gifted to Bussi by Gaza seeking employment in 1471-2, nearly 30 years after their initial meeting. Concetta Bianca, "GAZA, Teodoro," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1999), https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/teodoro-gaza_(Dizionario-Biografico).

[35] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, xix.

[36] Miglio, "BUSSI," "e dove il 30 maggio 1450 gli era concesso, con un contratto quinquennale, un salario annuo di 125 libbre (oltre quanto riceveva dai privati)."

[37] Pier Candido Decembrio, *Lives of the Milanese Tyrants*, trans. and ed. by Gary Ianziti and Massimo Zaggia. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2019) for fifteenth-century biographies of Filippo Maria and Francesco Sforza.

[38] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, xviii.

hardened, and the case against Bussi's family grew even stronger.[39] With his victory in 1450, Sforza became particularly powerful in Italy until his sudden death in 1466. Once Milan was firmly in hand, Sforza pursued slights by his rivals, and Bussi's burgeoning career was in his sights. Giovanni Bussi was described in a letter of 1455 to Sforza by Gerardo dei Colli, an Vigevanese ally of Francesco Sforza.[40] In the letter, Colli noted that "[Bussi's] father and his brother turned towards the Savoy" suggesting an animus against the Bussi family.[41] Giovanni Bussi could not work in Sforziad Milan, so he went elsewhere.

Bussi's ecclesiastical career began soon after his education ended. While working in Genoa, Bussi was consecrated in minor orders by Pope Nicholas V in 1451. He moved between Genoa and Rome as his new role demanded, attending to manuscript copying for the churches he worked in.[42] But Bussi's financial problems recurred when the following Pope, Callistus III, made him a canon of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan in 1455, and the next year a papal secretary.[43] Investing his secretary with income from the abbey of Santa Giustina in Piedmont, Callistus III renewed what Massimo Miglio called the "cross of [Bussi's] life": resurrecting Bussi's feud with Sforza.[44] Sforza strongly opposed Bussi's holding the abbey and drawing income from it, as the abbey was in Milanese territory. Sforza was not to be swayed. Despite a flurry of letters from friends, former

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[39] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, xviii.

[40] Franca Petrucci, "COLLI, Gerardo," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1982), https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/gerardo-colli_(Dizionario-Biografico. For the letters, see Fossati, "Nuovi Particolari," 240-243.

[41] Miglio, "BUSSI." The letter is from 1455: "dal fatto che in occasione della cessione di Vigevano allo Sforza "suo patre et suo fratelo... erano a la volta de Savoya" (Fossati, p. 241)." Hall, 25, refers to this animus as an "enduring enmity."

[42] Miglio, "BUSSI." Cf. Kirsi Salonen and Jussi Hanska, *Entering a Clerical Career at the Roman Curia, 1458-1471* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2013): 7. My thanks to Katharine Fellows for discussions on the orders of the clergy. Hall, 26, writes, "Exactly what Bussi did in these positions is somewhat obscure, but apparently his employment was at least in part as a manuscript copyist."

[43] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, xx.

[44] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, xx. "Era pontefice Callisto III, che involontariamente introduceva il Bussi in una vicenda che diventerà la croce della sua vita…"; Marià Carbonell Buades, "El Sepulcre de Calixt III Borja: Hipòtesi Atributiva. Una Contribució al Vè Centenari de La Mort d'Andrea Bregno", *Revista Borja. Revista de l'Institut Internacional d'Estudis Borgians* 1 (2007): 56.

teachers, and school colleagues, to both Callistus III and Francesco Sforza, attesting to Bussi's character, the pope succumbed to Sforza's pressure and did not intervene.[45]

Bussi never became a canon at Sant'Ambrogio in Milan. Instead, he was appointed as a deacon of Santa Maria in Via Lata in Rome.[46] He was still supposed to draw some income from the abbey of Santa Giustina, but he never received it due to the abbey's alliance with Sforza.[47] A letter to Sforza from Bussi in 1458, where Bussi denounced the duke's decision to give the abbey to someone else, did not work well for him either. Trying to sway the duke through flattery, Bussi stubbornly signed his name as the "Abbot of Santa Giustina".[48] By 1458, Bussi was living in Rome without much immediate income. However, he entered the curial family of Cardinal Nicholas Cusanus as his secretary, joining the household of one of the most eminent philosophers and intellectuals of his day.[49]

As a secretary to Cusanus for six years, from 1458 to 1464, Bussi began arguably the most important period for his intellectual life.[50] Working as the cardinal's secretary put Bussi in touch with many of the classical texts that he went on to edit and write prefaces for.[51] During this period,

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[45] Some of these letters exist from Bussi as well. Consult Erich Meuthen, "Briefe des Aleriensis an die Sforza," *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeshichte* Vol 59 (1964): 96-99.

[46] Miglio, "BUSSI." "Il B. è designato dal papa quale "familiaris noster" e "continuus commensalis", e dal documento risulta inoltre 'decanus ecclesiae Sancte Marie in via Lata'."

[47] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, xxi. Cf. Miglio, "BUSSI."

[48] Milan, Archivio di Stato di Milano, Carteggio Visconteo-Sforzesco, Potenze estere, c. 48. A reproduction of the letter is in Bussi, *Prefazioni*, Tavola XII (with a transcription on pp. xxii-xxiii) - where Bussi signs his name, "Ioannes Andreas abbas monasterii Sanctae Iustinae…"

[49] Nicholas of Cusa was one of the most important philosophers of the fifteenth century. His work, reputation, and historiography are massive. Scholars variously refer to him as "Cusa," "Cusanus," or "Nicholas of Cusa." Mormichi Watanabe, "Giovanni Andrea Bussi", in *Nicholas of Cusa: A Companion to his Life and his Times*, eds. Gerald Christianson and Thomas Izbicki (Abigdon: Routledge, 2011): 89-94 has one of the few English biographies of Bussi and situates him into Nicholas of Cusa's life and world.

[50] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, xxiii: "L'incontro con Niccolò Cusano ed i cinque anni successivi di vita in comune in qualità di suo segretario sono il momento più importante per la biografia intellettuale del Bussi."

[51] Concetta Bianca, "La Biblioteca Romana di Niccolò Cusano," in *Scrittura, Biblioteche, e Stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento: Atti del 2° Seminario 6-8 Maggio 1982*, ed. Massimo Miglio, Lettera Antiqua 3 (Città del Vaticano: Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica, 1983), 696-97. Cf. Pasquale Arfé, "The Annotations of Nicholas Cusanus and Giovanni Andrea Bussi on the Asclepius." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 62 (1999): 29–59

Bussi was also appointed bishop of Acci, in Corsica, by Pius II Piccolomini. Although Acci was a poor diocese, Bussi's appointment as a bishop reflected the humanistic circles of patronage that Pius II was famous for, and the intellectual worlds in which Bussi, Cusanus, and Pius II worked.[52] Pius, well known as a humanist poet before his pontificate, supported many humanists at his court. His appointment of Bussi as a bishop reflected this desire to have more humanists in church offices. Noting this new position, in a 1462 manuscript of Strabo's *Geographica* from Cusanus' library, the humanist described himself as the bishop of Acci, working in the Roman home of Cusanus. He writes: "Giovanni Bussi, Bishop of Acci, revised and carefully corrected [this work] on the 2nd day of May, 1462, in the house of my lord, Nicholas of Cusa, Cardinal Priest of St. Peter ad Vincula [San Pietro in Vincoli], in Rome, over 16 days." Bussi's later prefaced edition of Strabo's *Geographica* would be printed in 1469.[53]

Bussi's career with Cusanus also gave him familiarity with the new technology of the printing press, a technology ushered into Italy with Cusanus' knowledge and possibly resting on his connections between Germany and Italy.[54] Bussi's post as secretary and his connection to

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[52] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, xxiii, "… dove il nuovo pontefice Pio II, umanista in prima persona, conosceva il Bussi, per lo meno come copista e trascrittore di manoscritti. Queste coincidenaze favoriscono la sua elezione al vescovato di Acci in Corsica (18 gennaio 1461), che e pero beneficio povero."

[53] BAV, Vat.Lat.2049, 336r, "Johannes Andreas Episcopus Acciensis recognovit et attentissime emendavit 1462. die secunda Maii. In Domo Romani domini mei Nicolai de Cusza S. Petri ad vincula presbyteri cardinalis diebus XVI." Cf. Adriana Marucchi, "Note sul manoscritto [Vat. lat. 5991] di cui si e servito Giovanni Andrea Bussi per l'edizione di Plinio del 1470," *Bulletin d'information de l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes bulletin* no. 15 (1967-1968) (1969): 180, Plate I, "sottoscrizione della mano di uno scriba."

[54] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 1:4. While I do believe that Cusanus helped in bringing print from Germany to Italy, the evidence is particularly lacking. There is no direct evidence of Cusanus being in Mainz, talking to Gutenberg, or directly bringing print to Italy. However, Bussi refers to Cusanus bringing the "sacred art" of print from Germany to Rome. Cusanus' link with the Sweynheym and Pannartz printing press is a particularly contested point in historiography. See Watanabe, 91: "… available sources do not clearly establish that Cusanus was ever in touch with Gutenberg in Mainz or elsewhere, or that he was directly involved in the introduction of the printing press into Italy." Valentino Romani disagrees. In his "Origines typographicae: le origini europee della tipografia italiana." *Bibliothecae.it* 4, no. 1 (2015): 117-118, Romani states that Cusanus "certainly knew Gutenberg and his experiments," with Romani placing emphasis on Cusanus' German legation's bringing Sweynheym and Pannartz into Italy. Moreover, Johannes Röll notes a coat of arms similar to Cusanus' in a cloister at S. Scolastica in Subiaco, where the first press was situated, inferring that Cusanus was involved both in supporting the monastery, and, thus, in its use by the German printers. Consult Johannes Röll "A Crayfish in Subiaco: A Hint of Nicholas of Cusa's Involvement in Early Printing?" *The Library* s6-16, no. 2 (June 1994): 140, "It could be regarded as the link

Cusanus also introduced him to Plato and Neoplatonic philosophy, an asset for his later work with curialists, intellectuals, and philosophers in Rome.[55] The German cardinal attempted to help his secretary, writing to Sforza to salvage Bussi's pension from Santa Giustina, but to no avail. However, Bussi's connection with Cusanus had led to his appointment as a bishop.[56] Bussi worked for Cusanus in his *familia* until the cardinal's death in 1464 and Pius' death that same year, when the economic struggles caused by his feud with Sforza caught him up again.[57]

As a bishop of a distant poor diocese that barely paid his bills, Bussi sought additional employment in the papal Curia. To regain some of the income lost from the failed pension, Bussi was appointed vicar-general of the archdiocese of Genoa (most likely a sinecure) before being named bishop of the larger Corsican diocese of Aleria by the next pope, Paul II, in 1466. Most likely, Bussi never went to Corsica to visit either of his sees, Acci or Aleria.[58] Most of his life from 1458 took place in Rome.[59] However, there was a trip to Venice, where Bussi worked for the papal legate Cardinal Juan Carvajal on his Venetian legation from 20 August 1466 to 17 September of

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between Nicholas of Cusa's slenderly documented attachment to the monastery and his reported interest in the 'sancta ars'. The cardinal's untimely death, as Bussi suggests, may have prevented him from seeing the fruits of his efforts, but it now appears that he was more actively involved in the life of the monastery where the first Italian books were printed than was previously assumed."

[55] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, xxiii-xxiv. Compare with also Arfé, "The Annotations of Nicholas Cusanus," 50.

[56] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, xxiii. Cf. Vat.Lat.2049, 336r, where Bussi describes himself as "Episcopus Acciensis."

[57] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, xxv.

[58] Claudia Sanna addressed the possibility of Bussi visiting Corsica to authorize the expansion of a church under Bussi's control, but she notes that he probably never visited and the church was run by a vicar general. Claudia Sanna, "L'identità Del 'Donatore' Sugli Affreschi Di Santa Cristina a Valle Di Campoloro in Corsica: Monaco o Vescovo?," in *VIII Ciclo Di Studi Medievali: Atti Del Convegno* (Florence: NUME: Gruppo di Ricerca sul Medioevo Latino, 2022), 406-407, https://www.academia.edu/94647193/L_identit%C3%A0_del_donatore_sugli_affreschi_di_Santa_Cristina_a_Valle_di_Campoloro_in_Corsica_monaco_o_vescovo.

[59] Hall, 28. "In 1466 Paul transferred him to another Corsican see, the bishopric of Aleria. A vicar was duly appointed to administer the see…"

1467.[60] Just as Bussi respected Cusanus and praised him in later prefaces, he would dedicate a later preface to Carvajal, in a book printed after the cardinal's death in 1469.[61]

Once back in Rome, Bussi joined the print shop of Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz as their editor and as the man who selected the texts and corrected the prints.[62] All three men had been recent proteges of Cardinal Cusanus: Bussi was his secretary from 1458 to the cardinal's death, and the two Germans appear to have known Cusanus at Santa Scolastica in Subiaco, the monastery where they began printing in 1464 and where Cusanus was affiliated.[63] Bussi spent four years with Sweynheym and Pannartz, starting in November-December of 1468 (with a first preface from Bussi by 13 December), and formally ending his position with them in May of 1472 to become a full-time papal librarian for Sixtus IV. Historians disagree about when Bussi was appointed papal librarian, but by 1471, Bussi had become a librarian for Sixtus IV, calling himself "bibliothecarius" in the preface to the first volume of the Nicholas of Lyra.[64] Bussi spent the rest of his life in Rome, working as secretary and papal librarian for the soon-to-be-

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[60] Martin Davies, "Juan de Carvajal and Early Printing: The 42-line Bible and the Sweynheym and Pannartz Press," *The Library* Sixth Series, Volume XVIII, No. 3 (September 1996): 203-206."What is hitherto been unknown is the great debt Bussi felt he had contracted towards the Spanish cardinal, and his requital of that debt in the preface to Thomas Aquinas, Catena Aurea printed by Sweynhyem and Pannartz at the end of 1470". My thanks for this reference to Leonard Horsch, whose presentation on the cultural conformity of Venetian humanism for the Renaissance Society of America Virtual Conference of 2021 used Carvajal's legation as a case study.

[61] This preface is to St. Thomas Aquinas' *Catena Aurea*. Davies, "Juan de Carvajal and Early Printing," 205: "In the present instance there was obviously no intention to personalize a copy for the dedicatee, since Juan de Carvajal died on 6 December 1469 and the preface is dated 5 December 1470. This is the only example known to me from the fifteenth century of a book being addressed to a dead patron." Bussi, *Prefazioni*, does not have a copy of this preface, yet the preface is an appendix in Davies' article.

[62] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, xxvi. Cf. Hall, 29, 60.

[63] Röll, 136-137. "A document of 8 July 1459 in the archive of S. Scolastica refers to the consecration of an altar … by 'Nicolas … apostolice sedis legatus universis'" It is worth noting that the commendatory abbot of S. Scolastica was Juan Torquemada, and there is much historiographical discussion on whether Cusanus or Torquemada helped usher Sweynheym and Pannartz to Rome.

[64] The biographies by Miglio do not indicate a set date for Bussi's becoming papal librarian, with Miglio 1978 suggesting an appointment "in those years" of Sixtus IV ("In quegli anni") and the Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani entry suggesting between 1471 and 1472. Egmont Lee, *Sixtus IV and Men of Letters*, 109 suggests Pope Paul II appoints him papal librarian in 1467. Rundle, *Humanism in Fifteenth-Century Europe*, 356, states that Bussi became the Vatican librarian in 1471 (with no indication of month, so it is either by Pope Paul II or Sixtus IV). Vat. Lat. 3350 indicates that between 1471 and 1472, Bussi was the librarian for the Vatican.

formalized Vatican Library, an institution that grew from the collections of first at the Lateran Palace and then in Avignon , expanded by Pope Nicholas V, and finally formalized as an institution in June of 1475 by Sixtus IV.[65] Bussi's death in February 1475, mere months before Sixtus IV's institution of the formal Vatican Library, prevented him from being widely recognized as the first official Vatican librarian.[66] Bussi was buried at San Pietro in Vincoli, the church of his former *paterfamilias* Nicholas Cusanus. Bussi's epitaph, composed by his brother, notes his work as a bishop, papal librarian, and papal secretary. His monument survives, tucked to the left of the church's front door, in the same corner of the church as his former patron's tomb.[67]

Having had a long career in the church hierarchy (from 1451 to 1475), Bussi was the bishop of a small diocese, and a familiar of major cardinals and popes, as secretary and librarian. Connecting all those worlds was a proximity to books and a focus on literary erudition, both distinct interests of Bussi. From his early instruction in the two dominant pedagogical methods of the fifteenth century, to his work in libraries of famous intellectuals, Bussi's wealth lay not in palaces or lands, but rather, in books he read and either owned, or could lay hand on.[68] The

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[65] Antonio Manfredi, ed, *Storia della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. 1: Le origini della Biblitoeca vaticana tra umanesimo e Rinascimento, 1447-1534* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2010). Cf. Leonard Boyle, O. P. "The Vatican Library," Preface to *Rome Reborn: The Vatican Library and Renaissance Culture*, ed. Anthony Grafton (Washington D. C.: The Library of Congress, 1993): xi-xx.

[66] Hall, 29. The official "foundation" date of the Vatican Library is 15 June 1475, with the papal bull *Ad Decorem Militantis Ecclesiae* by Sixtus IV. For an outlined schedule of the formation of the Vatican Library, see Appendice 4 in Bartolomeo Platina, *Lettere: Introduzione e edizione critica*, ed. Damiana Vecchia (Rome: Roma nel Rinascimento, 2017), 353-354.

[67] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, xxix. His epitaph reads: "Io. An. Epo. Alerien. Gne. De. Buxis. Patria. Viglevanen. Xysti IIII. Pon. Max. Rep. Bybliot. Secretarioque venerando Senatui ac toti Ecclesiae caro qui fuit pietate litteraris insignis de patria parentibus amicis et omnibus bene meritus Iacobus Fr. Ger. Pientissime Vix. An. LVII M. VI D. VII. Obiit An. Iobelei MCCCCLXXV Prid. Non. Febr." My thanks to Karie Schwartz who confirmed the placement of both Bussi's and Cusanus' tomb monuments. It has also been suggested by Carlo La Bella that Bussi's tomb monument was designed by Andrea Bregno, the same artist/sculptor who did the tomb of Cardinal Nicholas Cusanus', right next to his. Consult Carlo La Bella, "Un'attribuzione ad Andrea Bregno e sulla tomba del Vescovo Giovanni Andrea Bussi a San Pietro in Vincoli," in *Andrea Bregno: Il senso della forma nella cultura artistica del Rinascimento*, eds. Claudio Crescentini, and Claudio Strinati (Florence: Maschietto editore, 2008): 226-243.

[68] Miglio, "BUSSI," especially the sections "Opere" and "Fonti" for the books used by Bussi found in libraries across Italy. Miglio notes that BAV Vat. Lat. 1815 contains the heraldic shield of Bussi, as also noted by Ruysschaert.

Reverend Giovanni Andrea, while not a productive author in his own right, brokered for his world through his connections to what could be read, collected, and published in Quattrocento Rome. He used his access to books and men to benefit both himself and the wider world where he both offered, and benefited from, cultural legitimacy.

Bussi in Rome

After the death of Cusanus in 1464, Bussi found himself without an immediate patron or curial family. His education with Vittorino da Feltre in the 1440s had introduced him to his long-time friend Gaza, who by the 1460s had returned to Rome from Naples, and joined Cardinal Bessarion's curial family.[69] A Platonist himself, Bussi was drawn to Bessarion and the learned group of academicians whom Bessarion supported in his family: an academy keen to translate Greek works into Latin.[70] Bussi joined Bessarion's circles as a loose member of his circle. He was never officially employed by Bessarion or enrolled in Bessarion's curial *familia*, yet Bussi remained part of the wider circle of Bessarion's networks and communities.[71]

Cardinal Bessarion's famous defense of Platonic philosophy against its detractors (particularly George of Trebizond), his *In Calumniatorem Platonis*, was printed by Sweynheym and Pannartz in 1469, with Bussi's emendations and edits visible in the manuscript copies, alongside the hand of Bussi's main rival and Bessarion' secretary, Niccolò Perotti, archbishop of

[69] Bianca, "GAZA," notes that Gaza had been part of Bessarion's circle since 1450, with assorted trips and stays in Naples through the 1450s. Both Bessarion and Gaza were Greek emigres; their collegiality and connection makes sense.

[70] For Bussi's Platonism, consult Arfé, "The Annotations of Nicholas Cusanus," 50. For Bessarion's interests, John Monfasani, *Bessarion Scholasticus: A Study of Cardinal Bessarion's Latin Library* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

[71] John Monfasani, *George of Trebizond: A Biography and a Study of His Rhetoric and Logic*, Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 216, describing Bussi: "However, during the reign of Callixtus III he had gone to Naples with Gaza and subsequently had gravitated towards the Bessarion circle. He probably saw the ICP through the press."

Siponto.[72] Egmont Lee suggests from his reading of papal registers that during the period of Bussi's association with Bessarion, Bussi was renewed as papal secretary by Pope Paul II and appointed papal librarian by him as well, which gave Bussi another source of work and income – this was employment, not a sinecure.[73] By 1468, Bussi was living comfortably, his economic problems largely behind him, and connected to Bessarion's Neoplatonic circle.

After his trip to Venice with Carvajal, Bussi came back to Rome and joined Sweynheym and Pannartz at their printing press as their editor.[74] Bussi quickly brought the humanist program to his work there. With the two German clerics, he oversaw the printing of twenty-seven volumes, for twenty of which he wrote a preface, fifteen of these books being classical texts.[75] To procure manuscript versions of these books, Bussi leveraged his many scholarly circles and his connections to the cardinals he had served. He had access to the libraries of Cusanus, Bessarion, and the

[72] Basilios Bessarion, *In Calumniatorem Platonis* (Rome: Sweynheym and Pannartz, 1469). Cf. John Monfasani, "Niccolò Perotti and Bessarion's 'In Calumniatorem Platonis,'" *Renaessanceforum: Tidsskrift for Renaessanceforskning, Journal of Renaissance Studies* 7 (2011): 184.

[73] Lee, *Sixtus IV*, 57; 109-110. Bussi's name appears on a few papal documents, so the position was not just a sinecure.

[74] Hall, 57-59. Hall notes an "advertising circular" for the press, written by Hartmann Schedel: "Books which are being made at Rome near the Campo de' Fiori in the house of Pietro and Francesco dei Massimi by the German masters Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz, after correction by the reverend father in Christ, the Lord Giovanni Andrea, bishop of Aleria." Most of the colophons to the Sweynheym and Pannartz books mention the house of the Massimo family. The Jerome print, BAV Inc.S.2-3 331r. mentions: "Rome in domo magnifici viri Petri di Maximo"; Bessarion's *In Calumniatorem Platonis* (BAV Inc.II.4), 225r says "Rome impresserunt talia multa simul Petrus cum fratre Francisco Maximus ambo huic operi aptatam contribuere domum". For Cardinal Carvajal's trip to Venice, see Davies, 203.

[75] The fifteen classical texts printed by Sweynheym and Pannartz with Bussi prefaces are Livy's *Historiae*; Strabo's *Geographia*; Lucan's *Pharsalia*; Vergil's *Opera*; Apuleius' *Opera*; Aulus Gellius' *Noctes Atticae*; Caesar's *Commentarii*; Pliny the Younger's *Historia Naturalis*; Cicero's *Epistulae ad M. Brutum, T. Pomponium Atticum*, *Octavium*; Lactantius' *Opera*, Quintilian's *Institutiones*; Suetonius' *Vitae*; Cyprian's *Opera*; Cicero's *Orationes*; and Ovid's *Opera*. The non-classical texts prefaced by Bussi are Jerome's *Epistolae*; Leo the Great's *Sermones*; the *Biblia Latina*; St. Thomas Aquinas' *Catena Aurea*, and Nicholas of Lyra's *Postilla Super Totam Bibliam*. There are a few prints by Sweynheym and Pannartz and edited by Bussi, but without prefaces, from 1468-1472. These are Cicero's *Brutus, Orator*; Cicero's *De Officiis, Paradoxa. Laelius, sive De Amicitia*; Cardinal Bessarion's *In Calumniatorem Platonis*; Silius Italicus' *Punica*; Calpurnius' *Bucolica*; Hesiod's *Opera et dies*; Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*; and Cicero's *Questiones Tusculanae*. For the full list of Sweynheym and Pannartz' editorial program, see Appendix II.

Vatican,[76] and he used his own big, valuable library (which in 1471 he estimated was worth more than 4000 *ducats*).[77]

The use of these libraries, and Bussi's interest in Platonic philosophy, are both seen in the catalogue printed by Sweynheym and Pannartz, two clerics with little connection to humanism. Bussi remarks in the edition of Cyprianus of Carthage's *Opera* from 1471 that he copied the text "from an older copy I had transcribed for myself" from a manuscript found during his student days in Paris.[78] Thus, Bussi seems to have played a very large role in the print shop beyond simply editing texts for print. Bussi chose texts to publish (predominantly humanistic and neoplatonic ones), he edited poorly written texts, and, from his own library, he made fairer editions to publish (especially the Pliny of 1470). He also worked with the printers to bring editions of books to fruition, while Sweynheym and Pannartz had a say in Bussi's editorial program of what the three printed.[79] Put simply, Bussi and the two Germans printed what Bussi had access to. They could

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[76] Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes, From the Close of the Middle Ages, Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources*, ed. Frederick Ignatius Antrobus, vol. 4, 6 vols. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co. Ltd., 1894), 71: "The friendly attitude of the Pope towards the new art and the extraordinary liberality with which he allowed Bussi to make use of the precious Manuscripts in the Vatican Library, greatly contributed to promote the success of the Bishop's efforts."

[77] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, xlvii-lxviii. The letter is kept in Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Riccardiana 834, 23r. My thanks to Elena Brizio for photographing this document. The 4000-plus *ducati* total comes from an evaluation done by Bussi and Nicodemo Tranchedini to sell Bussi's library in 1471 (an estimate possibly written while Bussi was moving to become papal librarian.) While we do not know what came of this negotiation, Bussi describes his library in a letter, a library enhanced by that of his former paterfamilias Cusanus: "habeo inter libros, et eiusmodi domini auxilio, ex parte mea valorem quattuor milium ducatos et ultra; vos intelligitis satis. Valete." The 4000-plus *ducati* estimate is his own, and probably does not reflect the actual worth of his books. However, this letter (and price) reveals that his library was enhanced by his connections to Cusanus and others.

[78] This is Cyprianus of Carthage, a third century bishop. Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 15:53: "et eius Epistolas in manibus sumpsi, fidentiore ob id conoscientia quod olim adolescens famatissimis in scholis Parisiensibus agens, quo propter urbis celebritatem et studiorum fervorem atque animi cultum capessendum concesseram, **ex vetustiore exemplari eas manu mea descripseram**, ratus (quod ita evenit) minus me in eo codice difficultatis et tamen apud tuam sanctitatem et doctissimorum hominum mentes non minus gratiae habiturum." Bolding is mine. Consult also Victor Scholderer, "The Petition of Sweynheym and Pannartz to Sixtus IV," in *Fifty Essays in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Bibliography*, ed. Dennis E. Rhodes (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger and Company, 1966), 72–73.

[79] Hall, 63-65: "During the years he was associated with the two German printers, many of the editorial decisions seem to have been made by Bussi." … "Sweynheym and Pannartz were nevertheless at times directly involved in decisions as to what was to be published … Pomponio Leto documents the active participation of the two printers, noting that 'Giovanni Andrea, bishop of Aleria, most diligently corrected [the Pharsalia] in our time,

sell to curial circles in Rome, and the selection of books printed made sense in the context of the humanist program that Bussi cared about.[80]

Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz had moved their press from Subiaco to Rome in 1468.[81] Having first established a small press at the monastery of Santa Scholastica at Subiaco in 1464, they moved to Rome to be closer to the people to whom they sold their books. It helped that the press was already linked to the papal curia through the patronage of the monastery by Cardinal Torquemada and its association with Cusanus.[82] Sweynheym and Pannartz established their shop on the first floor of the Massimo palace, owned by Pietro and Francesco Massimo, on the then *Via Papale* and close to the Campo de' Fiori, a major marketplace in Rome. The colophon to their first print in Rome, Cicero's *Epistolae*, states, "Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz, comrades from the German nation, working together in a house in Rome, in a wondrous manner have prepared this work", and refers to their location "In the house of Pietro Massimo."[83] Their first prints in Rome were reprints of works from Subiaco. The first new work printed in Rome appeared in March of 1468: the *Speculum Humanae Vitae*, an autobiographical and moralistic collection of reminiscences by a bishop and papal employee, Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo (also known as

having been asked to do so by Conrad and Arnold who, so that the Latin language may not perish, printed books by a praiseworthy invention."

[80] Consult Appendix II for the full list of printed books by Sweynheym and Pannartz.

[81] Hall, *Sweynheym and Pannartz*, is the best English-language treatment of the history of the press. Miglio's introduction to Bussi, *Prefazioni*, covers the history of the press in some depth, and Feld, *Printing and Humanism*, delves quite deeply into the history - both bibliographic and intellectual - of the Sweynheym and Pannartz press and their output. Compare also with Margaret Meserve, *Papal Bull: Print, Politics, and Propaganda in Renaissance Rome* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2021), especially her second chapter, for the wider humanist and printer milieu in Rome that Sweynheym and Pannartz worked in.

[82] Feld, *Printing and Humanism*, 120. Juan de Torquemada lived nearby as well; he was associated with the Dominican church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva.

[83] BAV, Inc.III.1, 246r. "Hoc Conradus opus suueynheym ordine miro Arnoldusque, simul pannarts una aede colendi Gente theotonica: romae expediere sodales. In domo Petri de Maximo. M. CCCC. LXVII."

Rodericus Zamorensis). Notably, Arévalo oversaw the papal prison and the humanists who were jailed in Castel Sant'Angelo from 1468-1470.[84]

Sweynheym and Pannartz's printing program was already vaguely classically-informed when they moved to Rome, as they aimed to create and enter a new, particularly humanistic market for printed books. The first four years of their printing, from 1464-1468, before their move to Rome, shows them printing Donatus' grammar, Cicero's *De Oratore*, Lactantius' *Opera*, and Augustine of Hippo's *De civitate Dei*.[85] But it is only with Bussi's joining the two in Rome in 1468 and suggesting a coordinated program of printed books that Sweynheym and Pannartz's output becomes more fully "humanistic" and focused on Greco-Roman classics.[86] Maury Feld argues that Sweynheym and Pannartz published Zamorensis' work to placate the jailer of the humanists after the conspiracy of 1468, but provides no evidence.[87] Moreover, the timing does not work: the humanists were arrested on Fat Tuesday 1468 (1 March 1468),[88] and the *Speculum* was published by March; if Feld's argument is correct, that would require Sweynheym and Pannartz to print the *Speculum* almost immediately. However, the two German clerics clearly did see benefit in aligning themselves with the humanist communities and the curialists in Rome, if only to cater to an easily

[84] D'Elia, *A Sudden Terror*, 166-182 has information on Zamorensis; See also Feld, *Printing and Humanism*, 182. The humanists were imprisoned by the Pope in February 1468; Zamorensis' book appears a month later. Feld assumes that Sweynheym and Pannartz printed the *Speculum* to please Zamorensis as he was the jailer of the humanists.

[85] Consult Appendix II.

[86] Feld, 74-80, suggests that Sweynheym and Pannartz were following Leonardo Bruni's guide to humanist studies in his *De studiis et litteris tractatulus ad Baptistam de Malatestis* (1426) by comparing their Subiaco and Rome editions to Leonardo Bruni's course of study. No other connection is given between Bruni's work and the production of Sweynheym and Pannartz. More recent scholars disagree with Feld, instead emphasizing that Bussi brought the humanist programme to the press - I think this emphasis is the correct one, given the absence of humanistic publications in Subiaco, where only one easily identifiable "classic" was printed.

[87] Feld, 182. "Some of the alleged conspirators were in all likelihood instrumental in these printers' move to Rome in 1467. Sweynheym and Pannartz must, at any rate, have been apprehensive and have taken steps to protect themselves through the only means at their disposal. It is reasonable in these circumstances to assume that the editio princeps of *Speculum vitae humanae* was a propitiatory offering to its author, Rodericus Zamorensis."

[88] Adriano Cappelli, *Cronologia, Cronografia e Calendario Perpetuo: Dal principio dell'Era Cristiana ai giorni nostri.* 2nd Edition (Milan: Hoepli, 1930), p. 88 puts "Le Ceneri" on 2 March 1468, which suggests Fat Tuesday was 1 March that year. Many historians say Late February 1468.

identifiable market.[89] Their two editors, first Bussi (until 1472) and afterwards, Niccolò Perotti (from 1473 on) were both humanists who rejected scholasticism and were deeply enmeshed in Roman intellectual communities.

The relationship between Giovanni Bussi and the two German printers was particularly heavy-handed on Bussi's part, but also friendly. Referring to a remark of Bussi's from 1471, Edwin Hall argues that Bussi worked directly with the two printers among their day-to-day operations in the Palazzo Massimo. Bussi described editing texts while being "secluded as it were within the confines of a paper seller's prison", writing his prefaces while inside the print shop and with the printers.[90] Egmont Lee addresses this friendly relationship as well when he suggests that, based on a phrase in the metered colophon preface for Aulus Gellius' *Noctes Atticae*, Bussi's editing for the two printers was done for free.[91] Bussi wrote in the colophon to the Gellius, "Ut nova pressarent clari monumenta magistri, Edidimus gratis. Sit procul invidia", or "Since they were printing new editions of a famous master, we have published (*edidimus*) it for free. So be off with you, Envy!"[92] The "we" here is probably the royal "we", referring to Bussi as the author of the preface and the main editor of the texts, while the "they" of *pressarent* refers to Sweynheym and Pannartz. "New monuments" refers to the books being printed, but whether it is the entire printing program that Bussi directed, or more simply, just the *monumenta* of the Aulus Gellius edition, is unclear. The work itself does not help matters: Aulus Gellius' *Noctes Atticae* is a work recording Roman literary

[89] Feld, 183.

[90] Hall, 60. "His comment that he worked, "secluded as it were within the confines of a paper prison" ("quasi in custodia carceris chartarii reclusum") is a wonderful evocation of what the print shop in the Palazzo Massimo must have looked like". This comes from the Cyprianus print of 1471.

[91] Lee, *Sixtus IV*, 108: "There is indeed no reason to doubt that Bussi derived little personal or material advantage from the vast amount of work he did for the Roman 'prototypographers'. He himself claims to have received no compensation from the printers."

[92] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 3:27. I thank Shadi Bartsch and Chris Caterine for a discussion of this translation. Consult Charlton Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary Founded on Andrews' Edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1879), 626: "edo, didi, ditum, 3, v. a., to give out, put forth, bring forth … to bring forth anything new, to produce, beget, form, etc."

life and monuments, so it is likely that given the economics of print before the sixteenth century, just this particular book was edited and prefaced by Bussi for free. Adjoining this comment to another one Bussi made about the benefits of the printing press for poor scholars in letting them buy books much cheaper, he argues that he did some of his editing work for "gratis", for free, and for the favour of his immediate patron and employer, Pope Paul II.[93]

Whether he did all the prefaces for free, or (more likely), just the Gellius preface, Bussi's concern for editing texts, writing their prefaces, and helping Sweynheym and Pannartz print them was not just a pecuniary interest of his. Bussi had a vested interest in the humanist programme, and in how to make these texts more available to scholars through the technology of print. Given how quickly he both edited texts and wrote prefaces for them, Bussi's concern for editing and for the humanistic program was not the painstaking philological campaign stressed by many of his fellow intellectuals in Rome.[94] Rather, Bussi wished to make these books accessible to many readers for cheaper prices than manuscripts. The speed of editing, the collaboration of colleagues (especially Theodore Gaza) who helped with editing, and the distinctly humanist works he brought out, all indicate Bussi's concern for making classical works widely available, instead of focusing on intense philological scrutiny and accuracy.[95] In 1470, this speed would be noted: Bussi would be reprimanded for his haste and his amateur editorial work by Perotti, in a successful attempt to vie for reputation in Bessarion's circles.[96]

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[93] Hall, 72. "In the preface for Cicero's Letters to Atticus ... He defends the practice of adding his own prefaces and ends by telling the pope that he derives sufficient satisfaction from his editorial work in the benefits it brings to poor scholars."

[94] Kenneth Gouwens, "Ciceronianism and collective identity: defining the boundaries of the Roman Academy, 1525" *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 23:2 (1993): 173-195. Compare with D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome*, 76, where he stresses the "severe classicism" and Ciceroneanism of Roman humanist language and behaviour.

[95] BAV, Vat. Lat. 5991, 358v. "Auxiliis Thedori Gazae, philosophi Graeci a Io. An. Epo. Alerien."

[96] Monfasani, "Press Censorship." Please note the etymology of amateur coming from *amator*, Latin for "an enthusiastic lover/admirer of something." Bussi's editorial work was largely done out of interest and intellectual justification, not simply as a job.

Where Bussi lived in Rome is not known. Modern biographers give no details, and the Sack of Rome in 1527 destroyed much of the fifteenth-century city. The Sweynheym and Pannartz printing house was located in the former Palazzo Massimo on the now-destroyed *Via Papale,* across the street from the current Massimo palace from the 1530s.[97] Bussi's most direct patron and employer, Pope Paul II, lived close to the press at Palazzo Venezia, moving there immediately after the pseudo-conspiracy to assassinate him in early 1468.[98] Also close to the press, as well as Paul's residence at Palazzo Venezia was Cardinal Bessarion's church and palace at the Santi Dodici Apostoli, where he ran his learned academy and where he is now buried. Giovanni Bussi had several ties to these particular Roman neighbourhoods, and therefore likely lived nearby.

Giovanni Bussi was an insider to the variety of intellectual communities of Rome, but never a direct leader of an *accademia*. While working in several authoritative positions (including as papal secretary and librarian), after 1464 Bussi lacked a direct *paterfamilias.* He was not part of the curial family or academy surrounding Cardinal Bessarion. Bussi also had very few ties to the famous humanist proto-academy surrounding Pomponio Leto.[99] While one of Bussi's prefaces does describe Leto as the "unfortunate Pomponio," reversing his Latin play-name, *laetus*, meaning happy or fortunate, and addresses him as "much loved," Bussi was never involved in Leto's circle, and he was never too familiar with the humanist scholars arrested by Paul II in 1468.[100]

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[97] The original Massimi palace was destroyed in the Sack of Rome in 1527; it was rebuilt afterwards. Valeria Cafà, "The via Papalis in Early Cinquecento Rome: A Contested Space between Roman Families and Curials," *Urban History* 37, no. 3 (2010): 434–51.

[98] Modigliani, *Disegni sulla città*, 102. "Della definitiva decisione di stabilire la propria residenza a San Marco per tutta la sua vita si è già detto a sufficienza. Altrettanto si è parlato, a margine del documento della Camera Apostolica del 9 dicembre 1467, della decisione del papa di transferire mercanti e banchieri Romanam curiam sequentes a San Marco." Cf. Anna Modigliani, "PAOLO II, papa," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 2014), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/papa-paolo-ii_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29. For more on the alleged conspiracy to murder Paul II, see D'Elia, *A Sudden Terror*.

[99] de Beer, "The Roman 'Academy'."

[100] Bussi, *Prefazioni* 8:41-42. See the salutation of the preface for the Pope, "Ioannis Andreae episcope Aleriensis in Cyrno idest Corsica insula in secundam Virgilii impressionem ad Pomponium Infortunatum suum epistola", and later in the preface, "amantissime Pomponi…"

Coincidentally, his dedication probably gave Bussi more credibility with Paul II than had the scholars who were made redundant in the Curia and arrested. As a humanist not linked to Leto, Bussi could be trusted by the pope. Bussi would then endorse humanism as an intellectual program for the pope who, it seemed, disliked humanism.[101]

A step removed from the Roman intellectual academies, Bussi brokered his connections between several different people, books, and spaces of production: the papacy and curial offices, many different libraries, the printing press, and in his connections to Cusanus and Bessarion, and within Rome itself. He brokered this world by writing his famous prefaces. His dedications, networks, and elaborate descriptions all knit him together with the wider worlds of intellectual culture, and placed him and these prefaces into the constantly-changing spaces of fifteenth-century Rome.

Roma Intellectualis

In an article describing the positive and friendly interactions in Rome between Giovanni Andrea Bussi and a scholastic scholar, Henricus de Zomeren, John Monfasani argued that there is a pressing need to study a *Roma Scholastica*: a Rome filled with scholastics and theologians, instead of focusing on just the "Renaissance" successes of the humanists.[102] Monfasani is correct: with the papal Curia attracting both humanistic and scholastic scholars alike, Quattrocento Rome was never simply a battleground for the two intellectual movements, but an active site of employment for them both.[103] To quote Monfasani, "Humanism and scholasticism were not intrinsically antagonistic," and to understand the full range of what intellectual life looked like in

[101] For Paul II as a pope who distrusted the humanists in Rome, see D'Elia, *A Sudden Terror*, 37-39, 184.

[102] John Monfasani, "The Humanist and the Scholastic: Giovanni Andrea Bussi and Henricus de Zomeren" *Humanistica Lovaniensa*, no. 65 (2016): 36.

[103] Monfasani, "The Humanist and the Scholastic," and Lee, *Sixtus IV*, are both careful in describing both humanist, and scholastic Rome.

Quattrocento Rome, a study on "the teaching, the institutions, and the leading figures…" of the city is needed, a study incorporating both scholastic and humanist scholars.[104] This section sketches what an intellectual Rome looked like for Bussi and for other scholastic and humanist scholars who sought patronage and a career in the Eternal City.

In the 1460s and 1470s, Rome was in rapid institutional and social flux.[105] After the return of the papacy from Avignon to Rome in 1377 and the immediate ecclesiastical schism until 1417, and the slow growth of the papal princedom, Rome was rapidly transforming into an early modern city.[106] This transformation happened in large part due to a distinctly top-down renovation program, driven predominantly by two distinct, but related, desires. The first desire was governmental, as successive popes tried to claim sovereignty and authority over Rome throughout the fifteenth century from 1420 onward, until their more famous sixteenth-century successes.[107]

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[104] Monfasani, "The Humanist and the Scholastic," ends his article focusing directly on the need for a *Roma* Scholastica to address the wealth of scholarship on humanists in Rome, but not their counterparts.

[105] Arnold Esch, *Rom: Vom Mittelalter zur Renaissance, 1378-1484* (Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck, 2016). In English, Charles Stinger's *The Renaissance in Rome* does a survey of fifteenth-century Rome, and is the traditional starting point, yet Stinger focuses on the more traditional "Roman" Renaissance of the later 1480s forward. For the earlier fifteenth century, consult Elizabeth McCahill, *Reviving the Eternal City: Rome and the Papal Curia* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2013). While problems have plagued the term "Renaissance" since at least the 1920s, the implications of a renewal/renovation of artistic life, led by noble, governmental, and state development, does apply (in a slow, slow process) to fifteenth-century Rome. However, this study avoids using the term, as I wish to avoid the implications of a worse "medieval Rome" that needs to be revived - especially since behavioural norms take much longer to change than a "Renaissance" would imply.

[106] The historiographies on both the Avignon papacy and the Great Schism, lasting from 1309-1417, are too massive to comprehensively list here. For recent scholarship on the Avignon papacy, consult both Joëlle Rollo-Koster, *Avignon and its Papacy (1309-1417)* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015) and Unn Falkeid, *The Avignon Papacy Contested: An Intellectual History from Dante to Catherine of Siena* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2017); For the Great Schism, the conciliar era, and conciliarism more generally, consult Norman Tanner, *The Church in the Later Middle Ages* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2008). For Rome immediately after the Council of Constance ended, consult McCahill, *Reviving the Eternal City*, especially the Introduction. For more on the Roman renovation as a Renaissance, consult Stinger's *The Renaissance in Rome*. I arbitrarily chose 1460 as an end date of the conciliar process because it is easy to mark: the papal bull *Execrabilis* by Pope Pius II condemned conciliarism and tried to assert the supremacy of the Pope in all church matters. Pius' *Execrabilis* failed: there were important church councils afterwards such as the Fifth Lateran in 1517, and the famous Council of Trent in 1563. For the text of *Execrabilis*, see *Reject Aeneas, Accept Pius*, 391-392.

[107] For the traditional narrative of expanding papal dominance in the city, see Paolo Prodi, *The Papal Prince, One Body and Two Souls: The Papal Monarchy in Early Modern Europe*, trans. Susan Haskins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). Cf. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome*, and Gianvittorio Signoretto and Maria Antonietta Visceglia, eds. *Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

The second desire, more ephemeral, traced to the increasing presence of scholars and artists in the city, creating literature and art that buttressed both the importance of the city, and the claims to authority preached by the papacy, the cardinals, and the Roman and foreign nobility.[108] These two desires of both political and cultural authorities worked together under the increasing secular authority of the papacy. Furthermore, many elites, including the nobility and the many foreign ambassadors, attempted to domesticate the city alongside the papacy, to try to catch up to other early modern cities in urban development and institutional authority.[109]

While much urban development occurred after the Sack of Rome in 1527, the papal developmental effort started earlier, in the mid-fifteenth century, most clearly with the urban renovations of Popes Paul II and Sixtus IV.[110] This *renovatio* happened quickly and haphazardly: Roman urban, governmental, and artistic development was quick, sporadic, and tilted in favour of grand efforts and buildings over city infrastructure.[111] The halting nature of this developmental strategy created major tensions between the church elite of cardinals and curialists, the common Romans (the *popolo*) and foreigners in the city, the baronial classes, and the civic nobility. This friction is seen in consistent popular support for the many mercenary-captains, noble families, and rebels in the city who fought against the encroaching and increasingly absolutist papal

[108] Kenneth Gouwens and Sheryl E. Reiss, eds. *The Pontificate of Clement VII: History, Politics, Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005)

[109] James A. Palmer, *The Virtues of Economy: Governance, Power, and Piety in Late Medieval Rome* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2019), 20, makes the important point that Rome was not inherently different from any other premodern city, and nor was its history or its development of centralization. Cf. Catherine Fletcher, *Diplomacy in Renaissance Rome: The Rise of the Resident Ambassador* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

[110] For the urban renovations of Pope Paul II, see Anna Modigliani, *Disegni sulla città*. For the literature on Pope Sixtus IV, see both Jill E. Blondin, "Power Made Visible: Pope Sixtus IV as Urbis Restaurator in Quattrocento Rome," *The Catholic Historical Review* 91, no. 9 (January 2005): 1–25, and Eunice D Howe, *Art and Culture at the Sistine Court: Platina's "Life of Sixtus IV" and the Frescoes of the Hospital of Santo Spirito*, Studi e Testi 422 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2005).

[111] The focus on infrastructure would come in the sixteenth century. Pamela Long, *Engineering the Eternal City: Infrastructure, Topography, and the Culture of Knowledge in Late Sixteenth-Century Rome* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2018).

monarchy.[112] But much of this *renovatio* came from the curialists and the nobility, and re-started in earnest after 1527.[113]

This world was simultaneously a battleground and a collegial space for scholastics and humanists. Intellectuals found homes wherever they could find economic support. Many humanists, drawn to the papal court for the offices of the secretariat and writing opportunities, very quickly found that the Curia and papacy did not make supporting a new intellectual program a priority.[114] Pope Nicholas V, the most famous of the humanist popes, cared more for the accumulation of ancient Greek and Roman texts for the Vatican Library and for being the custodian of ancient knowledge than he did for sponsoring any new, or developing, humanist scholarship.[115] Pius II, famously a humanist poet before his reign began, was likewise more concerned with a crusade and with sponsoring and promoting his own family and familiars, than he was invested with promoting the *studia humanitatis* directly.[116]

The most famous example of papal indifference to intellectual production was Paul II, who before the arrest of the humanists, radically curtailed the office of abbreviators, a major site of intellectual employment in the Curia. This led to a famous feud between the pope and the Roman scholars culminating in the "conspiracy" to assassinate him.[117] This lack of consistent patronage from the papacy affected the development of scholarship in Rome, particularly as two distinct

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[112] Anthony F. 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, no. 2 (2007): 207–31. For the moral economy of lower-class Romans, consult Palmer, *The Virtues of Economy*, especially the introduction.

[113] Peter Partner, *Renaissance Rome, 1500-1559: A Portrait of a Society* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1976). One of the most famous of these domesticating efforts is the institution of the Jewish Ghetto in Rome - beginning in Venice in 1517, but only established in Rome in 1555. Consult Rudolph Bell, *Street Life in Renaissance Rome: A Brief History with Documents* (Bedford/St. Martin's Press, 2012).

[114] Celenza, *Renaissance Humanism and the Papal Curia.*

[115] John Monfasani, "Popes, Cardinals, Humanists: Notes on the Vatican Library as a Repository of Humanist Manuscripts," *Manuscripta* 62, no. 2 (January 1, 2018): 213–48.

[116] Richard B. Hilary, "The Nepotism of Pope Pius II, 1458-1464," *The Catholic Historical Review* 64, no. 1 (1978): 33–35.

[117] D'Elia, *A Sudden Terror*, 36; Cf. D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome*, 92-97.

groups — humanists and scholastics — vied for positions in the Curia. Scholasticism, having been firmly entrenched in the medieval world, was supported by the entry of Byzantine scholars into Rome (scholars already well-aware of ancient philosophy, particularly Aristotle and Plato). Scholastics and their peers already fit within the institutional framework of the fifteenth-century papal Curia. Meanwhile, humanist educators sought to entangle themselves into the elite and middling classes of premodern cities by writing for governmental offices, and tutoring young children in ethics, comportment, and oratorical skills.[118]

Scholastic and humanist antagonism took a lively form in fifteenth-century Rome, and centred on a debate concerning the authority of either Plato or Aristotle for Catholic theology.[119] With the rise of Platonic and Neoplatonic scholarship in fifteenth-century Italy, from both Greek emigres and Florentine humanists translating some of Plato's texts for the first time, scholars had to determine who would have pride of place for theological discussions.[120] Would theologians turn to Plato and his idealism, and to an infinite and perfect God who created perfect, unchanging forms? Or would Catholic theology continue to rely on Aristotle's understanding of the world and its inherent *telos* for humanity and the natural world? The humanists tended to support the Platonist interpretation, while the scholastics maintained their intellectual support of "the philosopher," Aristotle. Starting with Gemisthius Pletho's assertion at the Council of Florence in 1439 that Plato

[118] For the process of humanist entanglement in Florence, consult Brian Jeffrey Maxson, *The Humanist World of Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

[119] Monfasani, *George of Trebizond*, especially Chapter 7: The Plato-Aristotle Controversy.

[120] James Hankins and Ada Palmer, *The Recovery of Ancient Philosophy in the Renaissance: A Brief Guide*. Quaderni di Rinascimento 44. (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2008): 10. "The only text of Plato regularly commented on (and mostly before the 1230s) was the Timaeus in Calcidius' partial version, to 53C … by far the most important achievement of the humanist philosophical scholarship in the fifteenth century was the gradual recovery and translation of the Platonic corpus into Latin." While Plato was known partially through both pagan and early Christian readers and responders such as Augustine, Plato only began to affect the European philosophical world after Petrarch. James Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols., Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 17 (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 4: "The period from Petrarch to Ficino was in fact an epoch when the philosophy of Plato was valued and studied more than at any time since Justinian closed the Athenian Academy in A. D. 529."

was a better metaphysician than Aristotle, the Plato-Aristotle feuds moved to, and then dominated, the Roman scholarly scene.[121]

This feud came to a head in the 1450s and 60s with the arguments of George of Trebizond (with his *Comparatio*) in favour of Aristotle, and of Cardinal Bessarion (with his *In Calumniatorem*) in favour of Plato.[122] Tensions were high, and alliances among the scholarly camps relied on both intellectual dynamics with the Greek emigres, and wider networks of scholars in Rome.[123] The debate was largely concluded by the publication of Bessarion's *In Calumniatorem Platonis* in 1469, as the cardinal had not only likened Plato's thought to Christian theology, but had also merged Aristotle's works into Platonic thought.[124] While the Aristotelians attempted a response, the merging of Platonic and Aristotelian thought encapsulated by Bessarion's *In Calumniatorem Platonis* largely ended the controversy.

The Platonists (and humanists) won the debate, mostly due to their networks and to the circulation of texts they sustained. Monfasani notes that the "triumph" of the Platonic victory was because 1) Bessarion's death in 1472 ended the discussion, and 2) the arguments were artificially inflated and brought into Italy by Byzantine scholars.[125] The Platonists' triumph did not mean the eradication of Aristotle; the philosopher remained relevant long into the seventeenth century and beyond.[126] But while the feud was built up by Byzantine scholars, and had impressive effects on

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[121] Monfasani, *George of Trebizond*, 201: "its most intense moment began precisely in the fifteenth century with the publication of the *De differentiis Aristotelis et Platonis* of Gemistus Pletho at Florence during the Council in the first half of 1439."

[122] The full title of these works are as follows: George of Trebizond's *Comparatio Philosophorum Platonis et Aristotelis* (1458), and Cardinal Bessarion's *In Calumniatorem Platonis* (1469). Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, 210. See also Monfasani, "A tale of two books".

[123] Jeroen De Keyser, "Perotti and Friends. Generating Rave Reviews for Bessarion's 'In Calumniatorem Platonis,'" *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 52 (2011): 103–37.

[124] Monfasani, *George of Trebizond*, 219-220, "In his many volumes, Aristotle did not so much diverge from Plato as put in writing the oral teaching of his mentor … Bessarion thus restored Plato to Christianity as its chief philosophical buttress."

[125] Monfasani, *George of Trebizond*, 228.

[126] Eugenio Refini, *The Vernacular Aristotle: Translation as Reception in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

the history of philosophy in Western Europe, the debates reveal that scholars understood the value of integrating their rivalries and fights with their wider friendships, books, and declarations.[127]

These scholarly fights helped scholars to join the fluid world of curial Rome. Both Greek and Latin scholars used these debates as leverage to expand their own networks and circles of patronage: a triumph in these disputes created respectability and honour that other scholars sought to attach themselves to.[128] Intellectual and philosophical production thus carried material importance. The publication of Bessarion's *In Calumniatorem Platonis* relied on the reputations of supporters, found in letters of commendation from scholars across Italy that were published alongside Bessarion's work. These connections allowed Bessarion's allies and Platonist colleagues to thrive. Meanwhile, many Aristotelians simply stopped trying to refute Plato, focusing instead on Aristotle's science.[129] Humanist and scholastic scholars alike realized that to survive in a world of indeterminate patronage, they should turn to other available venues to support their work: both the public world of intellectual debate, and the economic support of their curial family.

As outlined in Chapter 1, the curial *familia,* or "curial family" was a uniquely Roman manifestation of premodern familial networks, obligations, and communities.[130] Early modern Rome was predominantly a city of men. This was not simply because of the clerics who had moved to the city, but was also due to Rome's nature as a major diplomatic centre: a place of business,

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[127] Monfasani, *George of Trebizond*, 215-216 notes Giovanni Bussi's friendship-turned-fight with George of Trebizond. Bussi was a friend and scribe for George, but had allied with Bessarion after 1464. In his preface to the Apuleius, Bussi insulted George of Trebizond; Trebizond's son, Andreas, responded by insulting Giovanni Bussi's intellect.

[128] Lines, Laureys and Kraye, *Forms of Conflict and Rivalries.*

[129] Monfasani, *George of Trebizond*, 228-229. Of Bessarion's allies, Niccolo Perotti became the editor of the Sweynheym and Pannartz printing press after Giovanni Bussi; Domizio Calderini became a professor at the University of Rome; Guillaume Fichet came to Rome to focus on his career, and Platonism famously thrived in Florence under the Medicean court with Marsilio Ficino.

[130] D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome*, 38; Roisin Cossar, *Clerical Households in Late Medieval Italy* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2017).

trade, and intellectual life; and an economic world that both the city and papacy fostered.[131] The traditional obligations and community formations around neighbourhoods and families linked by marriages and god-parentage seen in other premodern cities did not manifest so easily for the foreigners in Rome, so they had to construct their own communities in the city. For instance, foreigners established clusters of Florentine, German, or Portuguese households with distinct heads, and servants, in distinct neighbourhoods, while cardinalate and curial courts were much more international.[132] When intellectuals came to Rome, they sought connections to a cardinalate, noble, or curial court that imitated the connections they would have to their family and kin members in their other premodern worlds. Premodern networking and social behaviour relied on who was and was not included or excluded from these kin networks. People understood the value of the inherent political and cultural capital invested in such connections, then reinforced and socialized this capital through collective rituals.[133] These processes of community and belonging helped scholars find and create important relationships to people, and centres of power. These relationships, and the families created by them, can be called the curial *familias*: a "family" connected by expectations of obligation, solidarity, and responsibility.

The curial *familiae* usually surrounded cardinals or important curialists, or nobility who needed a large court to reinforce their own authority as a *paterfamilias,* a head of the household.

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[131] The masculine nature of Rome is both well established by census data and attested to in general perceptions of life in Rome. Consult Egmont Lee, "Foreigners in Quattrocento Rome," *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme* 7, no. 2 (1983): 135–46, Fletcher, *Diplomacy in Renaissance Rome*, and the edited volume of *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, "Gender in Early Modern Rome", edited by Julia Hairston, Vol 17, No. 1 (Spring 2014).

[132] For studies on the community norms and behaviours seen elsewhere in Italy, see Christiane Klapisch-Zuber*, Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, trans. Lydia Cochrane (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Dale Kent, *Friendship, Love, and Trust in Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 2009).

[133] Edward Muir, "The 2001 Josephine Waters Bennett Lecture: The Idea of Community in Renaissance Italy," *Renaissance Quarterly* 55, no. 1 (2002): 1–18. Consult also the "Urban Communities in Early Modern Europe" project edited by Fabrizio Nevola and David Rosenthal, as well as Ronald Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance* Florence (New York: Academic Press, 1980).

These curial families, and especially the gendered networking between men of differing status within these households, have been described for sixteenth and seventeenth century establishments; the fifteenth-century humanists and curialists relied on such arrangements heavily as well.[134] In a curial *familia,* intellectuals could expect pecuniary, material, and intellectual communal support. For being employed at a court, they were offered room and board, and in return, they offered their *paterfamilias* a "carefully built reputation and prudently lubricated patronage."[135] The intellectuals in a *familia* were brokers, using their abilities to negotiate, banking on not only their own reputations, but also that of their *paterfamilias*. These *familiae* acted as homes for wandering *literati*, especially if they were searching for a safer environment, as at the curial family of Cardinal Bessarion.

Fleeing the conquests of the Ottoman Empire, many Greeks came to Italy, hoping to create a safe world for themselves, and also to persuade the Italians to take back Greece from the Ottomans.[136] Many of these intellectuals came to Rome, as the quasi-theological and ancient character of the city suggested fertile ground for their own intellectual endeavours. Greek scholars, finding themselves distanced from the Italians, created their own curial families, particularly around the figure of Bessarion, the Orthodox-turned-Catholic cardinal who had been promoting a crusade since the 1430s.[137] Bessarion's curial family was one of the largest in Rome, as it not only

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[134] Laurie Nussdorfer, "Masculine Hierarchies in Roman Ecclesiastical Households," *European Review of History: Revue Européenne d'histoire* 22, no. 4 (2015): 620–42. Nussdorfer, while emphasizing the same-gendered nature of these houses, does note the different meanings of male identity in the different social classes within the *famiglie*. For late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century models, consult Jennifer Mara DeSilva, "The Roman Clerical Household as a Site for Provision to Office, Respectability, and Clerical Masculinity," in *Patriarchy, Honour, and Violence: Masculinities in Premodern Europe*, ed. Jacqueline Murray, Essays and Studies 57 (Toronto: Centre for Renaissance and Reformation Studies, 2022), 241–65.

[135] Nussdorfer, "Masculine Hierarchies", 621.

[136] John Monfasani, *Greek Scholars between East and West in the Fifteenth Century*, Variorum Collected Studies (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016).

[137] The best biography of Cardinal Bessarion is still Ludwig Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmaan.* 3 Vols. (Paderborn: F: Schöning, 1923-1942). Also consult Concetta Bianca, *Da Bisanzio a Roma: studi sul cardinale Bessarione*, RR inedita 15 (Rome: Roma nel Rinascimento, 1999).

attracted many Greek emigres, but was also a major player in the Plato-Aristotle theological feuds.[138] Bessarion's curial family created a space of support for Greek intellectuals and Italian Platonists as they sought work elsewhere, and a place to return to if they lacked a more direct patron. Theodore Gaza, a member of Bessarion's *familia*, moved in and out of Rome, always having a berth to return to before finally retiring to a monastery in the south of Italy, a final gift at Bessarion's hand.[139] Giovanni Bussi, although not immediately employed by Bessarion, maintained links to the cardinal as well. The curial *familiae* and the networks there defined how intellectuals lived in the Eternal City.

Rome was not the same place for Bussi that it had been for the earlier, failed, humanist, Lapo da Castiglionchio the Younger. When Lapo died in 1438, a humanist could not thrive in Rome without the immediate patronage of the papacy.[140] That had changed by the 1460s.[141] The importance of the curial families of the cardinalate and nobility, who paid for humanists in their miniature courts, created a *Roma Intellectualis* where scholars could live in Rome without direct employment by the papacy, yet could still thrive and create intellectual work for their patrons.[142] This development created space for humanists to work outside of the church and Curia, where they could interact with each other and with the ancient ruins they came to study, and work in a world where scholarly letters became a currency in its own right. The *Roma Intellectualis* that Bussi entered in 1458 was a world of a living *commercium litterarum*, a world where he learned to broker, and a world to which he directly responded and participated in.

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[138] D'Amico, 45, 53.
[139] Bianca, "GAZA."
[140] Celenza, *Renaissance Humanism and the Papal Curia*.
[141] McCahill, *Reviving the Eternal City*, traces this change quite well.
[142] Easily the most famous example of this is Bartolomeo Platina, who was employed by Cardinal Gonzaga of Mantua as a tutor and educator and dedicating several important works to him. See the first chapter of Bauer, *The Censorship and Fortuna*.

The Prefaces

In 1472, Bussi was at the end of his editorial career with Sweynheym and Pannartz and taking on duties as a papal secretary and librarian. Having been papal librarian (*bibliothecarius*) during Paul's pontificate, Bussi used his position to appeal to the new pope, Sixtus IV, for a bailout for Sweynheym and Pannartz as individuals and printers; the press had incurred massive expenses to purchase printing resources and the process of printing had bankrupted the printers.[143] To support his former colleagues, Bussi wrote a preface for the pope where he described the importance of what the printers had accomplished, and listed the twenty-seven books published. Bussi placed both the petition for financial support and the list of published books in his preface to the last volume of their most recent print, Nicholas of Lyra's *Postilla Super Totam Bibliam* (printed in five volumes, ending by 20 March 1472) and dedicated it to Sixtus IV.[144] Of the books on this list, Bussi had written prefaces for twenty of the twenty-seven. His prefaces have subsequently been collected in more modern editions by Cardinal Angelo Querini in a *vita* of Paul II from 1740; by the antiquarian, bibliographer, and MP Beriah Botfield in 1861; and by the modern historian Massimo Miglio in a study of Bussi, Sweynheym, and Pannartz in 1978.[145]

Bussi's prefaces reflected not only on the book's topic, but also and even more on the world that the book was entering and to which it was catering. He directed his prefaces to a dual audience of both pope and a wider public, addressing both and brokering his many communities in his descriptions of scholarly interactions. When writing these prefaces, Bussi described the topic that

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[143] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 19:83.

[144] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 19:83-84. For the dating of the prefaces, Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 19:70.

[145] Michael Canensius and Angelo Querini, *Pauli II. Veneti, Pont. Max., vita ex codice Angelicae Bibliothecae desumpta: praemissis ipsius Sanctissimi Pontificis vindiciis adversus Platinam aliosque obtrectatores* (Romae: Typis Antonii de Rubeis, 1740), where several Bussi prefaces are appended (107-273) to a previously written vita of Paul II (written by Michael Canensius, d. 1480); Beriah Botfield, *Prefaces to the First Editions of the Greek and Roman Classics and of the Sacred Scriptures* (London: H G Bohn, 1861); Miglio's collection from 1978 is cited as Bussi, *Prefazioni*. Miglio's collection is missing one preface (consult Appendix II). I thank Virginia Reinburg for her help in accessing Querini's book.

the books addressed, and in good humanist fashion, described how humanistic study could better both the dedicatee and the reader. This is what James Hankins has called the "virtue politics" of humanism, where, "the humanists were reformers actively engaged in educating and advising elites," through the focus on classical education and on a moral reform of the prince or ruler through advice and humanist education.[146] Bussi wrote these prefaces to advise his readers as to the value of a humanist education, and to show what good an education in classical texts could do. That is how these humanist prefaces have been traditionally understood. However, Bussi also composed them to describe and broker a multivalent world of patronage, the world of fifteenth-century Rome in which he lived, and to which he was deeply connected. Using his skills as a copyist and editor to produce printed works swiftly, Bussi reinvested in and remarked on the collegiality and communality of scholarship in Rome, building up his own communities through the almost bully pulpit that the prefaces gave him, and that the printing press aided.

Sixteen of Bussi's twenty prefaces were dedicated to Paul II, whom Bussi served as secretary in the papal Curia. Only two of Bussi's prefaces did not have a direct dedicatee. Of the remaining two, one was dedicated to the late Cardinal Juan de Carvajal,[147] and the last book from Bussi's editorship was dedicated to Sixtus IV.[148] Bussi's first preface came out for St. Jerome's *Epistolae* on 13 December 1468, and his last was from 20 March 1472 for Nicholas of Lyra's *Postilla*. Most likely, these prefaces were written in the "paper-seller's prison" of the print shop at the Palazzo Massimo instead of at one of Rome's many libraries: Bussi used the phrase, "paper-seller's prison" to describe the inside of an early print shop, and the paucity of citations in his

[146] James Hankins, *Virtue Politics: Soulcraft and Statecraft in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2019), XIII.

[147] Davies, "Juan de Carvajal," 208-215. Bussi, *Prefazioni*, does not include this preface.

[148] The two prefaces not dedicated to anyone are both labeled an *Epistola*, written for Caesar's *Commentarii* and Ovid's *Opera*.

prefaces indicates scant access to libraries from which he could cite other works. In the prefaces, Bussi suggests the speed with which he edited these volumes: for one of the non-prefaced works that he edited, Silius Italicus' *Punica* of 1471, Bussi had no time to write a preface. He had to edit the volume, along with Calpurnius' *Bucolica*, to print in two weeks, faster than he wanted.[149] Note, too, the speed that it took to edit Books 18 to 37 of Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*: a mere four months from manuscript to print.[150] Bussi did his textual editing and preface-writing quite quickly, made easier due to his lack of investment in philological accuracy.[151]

Like many a good Roman humanist, Bussi wrote his prefaces in florid Latin. Colleagues noted the length and elaborateness of his prefaces, with one particularly vicious critique coming from within Bussi's circle, from Bessarion's secretary, Niccolò Perotti.[152] In a letter to Francesco Guarneri from 1470, Perotti attacked both the quality of Bussi's editing, and in addition, the general practice of attaching prefaces to classical texts. Perotti also noted that he himself regularly erased the "deformity" of the preface from works he owned.[153] But, in Perotti's letter, Bussi's prefaces and editing was his focus: Perotti savagely attacked Bussi's editorship for its poor translation of Greek phrases and clumsy citations of Greek scholars, for the philological quality of the edition, and for the preface he wrote for Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis Historia*. Of Bussi's preface, Perotti rhetorically asked, "What indeed could seem more base … what is more shameful, than to put a

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[149] Hall, 68. Consult Miglio, "BUSSI", "ma, anche, in quindici giorni apprestava l'edizione di Silio Italico e di Calpurnio, e altrettanto frettolosamente: 'nos ipsi satis arctati temporum angustiis, necessitati potius paruimus, quam nostro desiderio'".

[150] Marucchi, "Note sul manoscritto." This printing process is also described in Lotte Hellinga, *Texts in Transit: Manuscript to Proof and Print in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2014): 71-72.

[151] BAV, Vat.Lat. 5991, 358v, indicates ending the preparation of Pliny's Natural History by 8 April. It was printed by the end of August 1470. The *Incunable Short Title Catalogue* notes, "Bussi completed the 'recognitio' of the printer's copy of Books 18-37 on 8 April".

[152] Monfasani, "The Humanist and the Scholastic," 35: "Ironically, the only hostility he experienced from members of the Bessarion circle came from fellow humanists."

[153] John Monfasani, "The First Call for Press Censorship: Niccolò Perotti, Giovanni Andrea Bussi, Antonio Moreto, and the Editing of Pliny's Natural History," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 41, No. 1 (Spring 1988): 4, and p. 6 for the dating of the letter.

sewer next to an altar?"[154] Bussi registered the critiques of his prefaces in the next preface he wrote, to Cicero's *Epistolae* in August of 1470; while he did not address Perotti directly, he just noted that he had been told about the critiques.[155] His 1471 print of Cyprian also addresses Perotti's critique – he spends a large part of this preface describing the editorial and philological changes he made to Cyprian to improve the Latin original.[156] These responses show a probably-feigned equanimity: Bussi seems unbothered by Perotti's attack. While Perotti's concern with classical texts was philological accuracy, Bussi's was not. Instead, his prefaces reflected on the vivacity and importance of intellectual life and collegiality in Rome.

The first preface Bussi wrote in December 1468 promoted humanism as a common intellectual program where collegiality meant more than argumentation.[157] Written for St. Jerome's *Epistolae*, Bussi's preface is understandably laudatory; he stressed the introduction and the importance of the printing press for his patron, and used this first preface as an advertisement for the new industry of print. But instead of simply describing the value and importance of print, Bussi employed the prefaces to the two volumes of Jerome's *Epistolae* to expound how printed books did good service and how their scholarly purchasers and patrons should be imitated by the papacy and its offices. Bussi began his preface with a long praise of both Paul II and the church: much of

[154] Hall, 71. Cf. Monfasani, "Press Censorship," 25: "quid enim turpius videri potest, quid magis indignum quam are cloacam iungere?"

[155] Monfasani, "Press Censorship", 6-7 and 6n22, "… Bussi specifically states that he had been told about the practice of his critics … and is still waiting for them to reveal themselves." Cf. Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 10:47-48.

[156] Bussi, *Prefazioni,* 15:54-55.

[157] It is worth noting here that humanism in Rome, and across Europe more generally, was well known for its invectives and emotional dramas as scholars feuded for social status and intellectual importance. Bartolomeo Platina was famously antagonistic; In an earlier generation of scholars, Lorenzo Valla's and Poggio Bracciolini's feuds in Rome pulled in other scholars such as Francesco Filelfo. Consult Concetta Bianca, "Contentiosae disputationes agli esordi della stampa" in *Forms of Conflict and Rivalries in Renaissance Europe*, eds. David Lines, Marc Laureys, and Jill Kraye (Bonn: Bonn University Press, 2015): 29-39, and Jeroen de Keyser, "Francesco Filelfo's Feud with Poggio Bracciolini" in the same volume, pp. 13-28.

the preface to Jerome's *Epistolae* referred to the role of the church in its custodianship of books.[158] He described the papal role in acquiring and caring for the most precious books in a library (referring to the Vatican Library begun by Nicholas V),[159] and stressed the importance of classical authorities for ecclesiastical history. He took care to note not just the example of Jerome, but also that of other Christian authors of whose books the Church had protected, as had many others, citing them: "as did Pamphilus, Eusebius, Hilary, and Origen before them, and as did all popes worthy of God with great care."[160] Bussi consistently emphasized not just the individual goodness of Paul's pontificate, but, rather, the importance of what the papacy was doing in maintaining a library. He described the Church Fathers as good models for Paul to follow as the collectors of ancient wisdom. This preface placed the pope into the wider intellectual tradition of the papacy's custodianship of its ancient heritage - a major reason for the popes to invest in humanism.

Bussi then described the invention of print, linking it to the figure of his former *paterfamilias*, Nicholas Cusanus. While Cusanus' direct link to the printing press is much debated by modern scholars, Bussi stressed his role in the movement of print to Italy, and gave great credit to his former patron for this triumphant move. This preface provides our clearest evidence anywhere of Cusanus' role in the spread of print from Germany to Italy, and as his former secretary, Bussi could indeed have known of Cusanus' direct links to print.[161] However, it could instead be a statement meant to enhance his former patron's reputation. Bussi described print as a "sacred art,"

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[158] Massimo Miglio, "Curial Humanism seen through the prism of the Papal Library," in *Interpretations of Renaissance Humanism*, ed. Angelo Mazzocco (Leiden: Brill, 2006): 110, notes the need for Bussi to promote the work of the popes in creating and supporting a library.

[159] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 1:3. "ut preciosissimam librorum supellectilem diligenter semper exquireret, diligientius vero congregatam, cura bibliothecario iniuncta, conservaret." Cf. Monfasani, "Popes, Cardinals, Humanists," 213-248.

[160] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 1:3, "Quicunque in Ecclesia Dei maxime floruerunt impenso studio semper id egerunt ut, coacervatis undique catholicis praecipue voluminibus, sedes suas exornarent. Sic Pamphilius, sic Eusebius, sic Hylarius, sic ante eos Origenes, sic omnes Deo digni pontifices omni cura egerunt."

[161] Röll, "A Crayfish in Subiaco," 136: "Bussi reports that Nicholas always wanted the art of printing … to come to Rome."

and suggested that Cusanus had *hoped* to bring this technology to Rome: "So that sacred art, which was seen to appear in Germany, he hoped would be brought to Rome."[162] Cusanus died before this could happen, letting his former secretary shape his posthumous reputation.

Bussi then turned to Paul's papacy directly, noting that print was brought to "your feet," and cited the pope as supporting this new art. Bussi tied him to his Venetian and papal lineage by way of his uncle, the late Eugenius IV, to stress the pope's role in supporting this work.[163] "Under the pontificate of Paul II … at Rome this art and human industry had begun to be exercised."[164] Bussi praised the printing press for making books cheaper, as one could now buy a whole book for what binding a manuscript cost. In this preface Bussi suggests that the print industry needed to be supported by the Church due to the Church's role in the custodianship of scholarship; thus, the sacred art of print should be brought under the arm of the papacy in its role as custodian of ancient culture, both Christian and pagan. While Bussi's pragmatic goals are never made clear, he drives home that the papacy ought to support this world of book and print culture thriving in Rome.[165]

The Jerome preface needed to be laudatory and to describe the world of intellectual culture in Rome, as Bussi tried to justify the scholarly enterprises that the papacy should fund. In the preface to the second volume printed of Jerome's *Epistolae* (the letters came out in two volumes),

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[162] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 1:4. "Hoc est quod semper gloriosa illa et caelo digna anima Nicolai Cusensis, cardinalis Sancti Petri ad Vincula, peroptabat, ut haec sancta ars, quae oriri tunc videbatur in Germania, Romam deduceretur."

[163] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 1:6, "Tuus pontificatus ceteris ex partibus gloriossisimus, hac arte ad tuos sanctos pedes advecta, oblivionem in hominum memoria nunquam accipiet nisi si quando esse desinet mentio litterarum. Magnum est te Venitiis natum ex clarissima Barborum domo, Eugenii IIII pontificis nepotem, tantae sedi quasi iure hereditario ponteficem maximum successisse"

[164] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 1:5, "Sub Pauli secundi Veneti pontificatu, Romae artem exercere coepisse tanto artificio et industria hominum, gratia nobis hac caelitus per divinum pastorem importa ut minoris libri emi fere possint quam alias soleret redimi ligatura."

[165] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 1:3, "Possem de gentium quoque philosophis, et prudentissimis saeculi hominibus, Aristotele et Varrone idem dicere.", and later, "Verum cum doctioribus et maioris industriae viris illam muneris dignioris partem concedi oportere censuerim, de alienis linguis, Hebraea scilicet, Punica, Arabica, Graeca et ceteris in nostram linguam clarissimorum scripta in omni facultate traducendi…" for works that the Vatican had that needed to be translated. Many of these languages are not Christian (Punica may be Aramaic) and reflect the wide sources that Paul II inherited from Nicholas' Vatican Library.

Bussi described his program of intended printed books: mostly Neoplatonic authors including Apuleius and Macrobius, with Jerome (whose Neoplatonism came from studying Plotinus), as well as a defence of Plato that he knew was being prepared for print.[166] In short, Bussi's program with Sweynheym and Pannartz was to print predominantly classical, non-Christian authors, important works for humanist scholars to read.

The two Jerome prefaces are distinct in their offerings: The first describes the technology of print and its benefit to the church as a custodian of the past, while the second outlines Bussi's intentions and program of texts as the editor of the Sweynheym and Pannartz press. In the second preface (alongside much attention to Jerome's letters as the text at hand) Bussi described his future editing work, wanting to make classical texts more widely available. While Bussi lauds his patron in these prefaces to Jerome's *Epistolae*, his praise for the pope is always in relation to his support of scholarly development. Instead of describing Paul II's theological or political accomplishments, as one would normally see in a panegyric, or telling how the pope or the Church could be improved by the study of Jerome, Bussi described the many accomplishments, past and contemporary, of intellectual production, and tells how this good work would continue with the new medium of print.[167]

Notably for an introductory preface, Bussi referred not just to his own intellectual work, but to the work of other colleagues in Rome. We have seen him citing both his current and former patron (the pope and Cusanus), but Bussi also noted the labour of his colleagues. He notes the work of Theodore Lelli, "Theodoro Tarvisino [from Treviso]" (1427-1466), a papal secretary who

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[166] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 1:10.

[167] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 1:10, describing the accomplishments of Vittorino da Feltre, his former humanist teacher. "Unde factum esse reor ut tam ingenia, quam studia, rubigine quadam quasi callo obdurata persorduerint, tam diu in squalore mersa, donec nati sunt, suoque prope ipsi Marte delimati, Gasparrini illi praeceptores et iis tersiores locuplectioresque Victoriani Guarrini et ceteri…"

served alongside him at the court of Paul II.[168] Lelli had compiled the letters of Jerome into the manuscript that Bussi worked from, an assembly that Bussi described as made from a prior collection that Lelli put in sure order (*in certum ordinem*), that was the first collection of Jerome's letters to be well done and worth reproducing in his edition.[169] Establishing the work of his colleagues as a model to follow, and thus, indicating the importance of scholarly work, was a consistent theme for Bussi as a broker; using Lelli's name and praising his work strengthened Lelli's reputation at court and among fellow scholars. We will see Bussi's brokerage in other prefaces.

Another important link Bussi made to colleagues in this first preface to Jerome was where he asked the pope to protect the "most useful art" of printing: he urged Paul to protect the printers, referring to Sweynheym and Pannartz.[170] Bussi mentioned them in both prefaces to the *Epistolae,* describing them as the bringers and providers of the art of printing, and describes the two clerics as being under "your protection," and as persons whom "you nurture".[171] Bussi mentioned Sweynheym and Pannartz at the end of many prefaces, reinforcing the close relationship he had with the two printers and situating his own intellectual productivity vis-a-vis their work as printers. Bussi stressed the importance of having the two working in the ambit of the Curia by constantly reiterating their roles, and consistently mentioning them throughout his many prefaces, not just the Jerome.

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[168] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 1:4. Bussi refers to him as "Theodoro Tarvisino." For more on Lelli, consult Diego Quaglioni, "DE LELLIS, Teodoro," In *Dizionario Biografico Degli Italiani*. Vol. 36 (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1988) https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/teodoro-de-lellis_(Dizionario-Biografico).

[169] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 1:3-4. "Nuperrime vero cum divii Hieronymi libellos epistolasque perplures mendose satis scriptas et ex diversissimis codicibus prius collectas, in certum ordinem a doctissimo et optimo patre Theodoro Tarvisino episcopo redactas…"

[170] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 1:5. Bussi gives them their first names, "Conradum et Arnoldum Germanos homines"

[171] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 1:5, "Et fove artis huius utilissime sub tua protectione Conrad et Arnoldum Germanos homines, arte imprimendo praestantes advectores"

The second preface to volume two of Jerome's *Epistolae*, published at the same time as the first volume on 13 December 1468, took the same approach as the first: it was laudatory, it justified both the work that Bussi put into the volumes and into editing for print more generally, and it described the work of his colleagues. These two prefaces are most-known for their listing books that Bussi, Sweynheym, and Pannartz would soon print: Bussi gave the reader a sense of what he cared about, and would soon produce. Bussi noted the upcoming publication of Aulus Gellius' *Noctes Atticae*, Macrobius' works (in fact never printed), Apuleius' *Opera*, and a *Defence of Plato,* all but the Macrobius books to be published in the next few months.[172] Bussi cited the editorial and intellectual work of his close friend Gaza, mentioned his own humanistic schooling under Vittorino, and noted the importance of reading and learning from ancient authors such as Varro, Statius, and Plautus, scholars read by Jerome, to emphasize the role of classical authorities for the intellectual program that he was promoting.[173] As a set, both of the Jerome prefaces emphasize the relationality of humanism in Rome: that is, the sharing of information, books, and ideas that built scholarship. Bussi establishes humanism as a distinct educational paradigm, and he emphasizes the relationships between scholars past and present and with each other. Bussi linked the study of the liberal arts to contemporaries whom readers knew, and suggested an intellectual program supported by the new technology of print and printed books. But humanism was also important because of its relationships to illustrious men and scholars who were actively doing that work. In short, Bussi aimed to broadcast the vivacity of Roman scholarly life by stressing its communality.

[172] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 1:10, "Ea nunc tanquam Dei mensas atque altaria bellariis quibusdam ac floribus conspergentes, studiorum quoque humanitatis difficiliores elegantioresque in eo genere autores delegimus A. Gellium, Macrobium, Apuleium, Platonis defensionem et denique Declamationes quasdam elegantissimas, quibus nonnullas eius generis doctrinae appendices forsitan copulabimus."

[173] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 1:8, "ex quo etiam ut de Homero Aristarchus, de nostro Plauto M. Varro, de multis item plerique, ita ipse in scriptis suis fecit de Hieronymo; quae hoc loco ideo commemoranda tantum non eciam explicanda putavi, ne nimium me crassa et praecipiti emendationis Minerva usum quispiam arguendum existimaret."

The next Bussi preface is for the one-volume *Opera* of Apuleius, published by 28 February 1469.[174] This preface was largely a panegyric for two important neoplatonists, both of whom Bussi had served: Cardinals Basilios Bessarion (who was still alive) and Nicholas Cusanus (who had died in 1464).[175] The preface begins by promoting Bessarion in his role as a neoplatonist associated with the Church, then describes Bessarion's *Defence of Plato* (soon to be printed at the Sweynheym and Pannartz press), and then asserts the importance of reading and supporting Platonic theology in Rome. The publication date, by the 28th of February, puts the Apuleius print with Bussi's preface right at the time when the Plato-Aristotle conflict in Rome was reaching its peak. Bessarion's Platonic defence (the *In Calumniatorem Platonis*) printed by 28 August of the same year by Sweynheym and Pannartz, influenced the Neoplatonists' victory. Because the *In Calumniatorem Platonis* was published without a Bussi preface, Bussi used the printing of the slightly earlier Apuleius to defend and justify the Platonic position in scholarly Rome.[176] Bussi wrote this defence not to defend Plato and his works in detail, but to argue for Plato by exalting the reputations and lives of Bessarion and Cusanus.

Bussi also used his preface to defend Platonic theology from the attacks against it by George of Trebizond and the Aristotelians.[177] Bussi's defence is explicitly political in light of the publication schedule of Bessarion's *In Calumiatorem Platonis*. Jeroen de Keyser has argued that Bessarion's book was purposely circulated without a preface. Rather, the printed edition contains several letters extolling the book from Marsilio Ficino, Francesco Filelfo, Niccolò Perotti, and Antonio Beccadelli (known as Panormita), Platonists who used their intellectual reputation to

[174] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 2:11-19.
[175] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 2:11-19. Cardinal Bessarion died on 18 November 1472.
[176] Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, 215.
[177] Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, 214 notes this in full, particularly in footnote 126. Ironically, before 1464 Bussi was friends with George of Trebizond working on a few manuscripts with the man; by 1469, this had clearly changed.

support Bessarion and broadcast his work.[178] All these letter writers were selected by Bessarion's secretary, Niccolò Perotti, to amplify Bessarion's Neoplatonic arguments and to lend Bessarion's work credibility.[179] Perotti's exclusion of Bussi was probably intentional.[180]

John Monfasani has tracked the writing history of the *In Calumniatorem Platonis*, and has stressed the role of Niccolò Perotti as an active editor, working closely with Bessarion to make the Latin stronger (Bessarion having written in Greek), and to compile the dedicatory letters.[181] As the editor of the print shop that printed the *In Caluminatorem Platonis*, Bussi clearly knew that Bessarion's book was being printed. Either excluded from the list of authors supporting Bessarion's work by Perotti as part of a wider rivalry, or deciding to pre-empt the book's publication in order to justify the work to the pope directly, Bussi used the preface to the Apuleius, a classical neoplatonist, to write his own rave review of Bessarion and of the world of Platonism in Rome.[182]

Bussi's preface began with a declaration of what Bessarion had accomplished over his long life and by working with Platonic theology. In the dedication addressing the pope, Bussi described how wonderful it was to have Bessarion around at the papal Curia. He related the roles that Bessarion occupied as a cardinal-bishop, described the Greek world from which he had come and told how he had learned of Plato. He then labelled Bessarion's upcoming Platonic defence as part and parcel of the "divine philosophy" that Plato produced and Bessarion expanded on – subtly

[178] De Keyser, "Perotti and Friends," 104. The most famous Platonist of this group is Marsilio Ficino, translator of the entirety of Plato's opera into Latin.

[179] De Keyser, "Perotti and Friends," 118.

[180] This intention is just an assumption, given the dislike between the two. However, Monfasani, *George of Trebizond*, 215-217 notes the pre-existing relationships that Bussi had with both Bessarion, and George of Trebizond. Bussi had at least worked with George of Trebizond as a manuscript copyist, but "gravitated towards the Bessarion circle." Bussi praised Bessarion over George of Trebizond in the Apuleius preface; George of Trebizond's son Andreas responded by insulting Bussi in his own work.

[181] Monfasani, "Niccolò Perotti and Bessarion's 'In Calumniatorem Platonis'".

[182] Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, 214.

comparing Plato's "divine" philosophy with Aristotle's descriptions of Nature, placing Plato above Aristotle.[183] His accolade to Bessarion continued throughout the preface, stressing the important work that the cardinal was doing with his defence of Plato, and arguing for the importance of Plato for understanding Christian thought and doctrine. Bussi explicitly links Plato and Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* about halfway through the preface, suggesting Augustine's reliance on Platonic thought for Augustinian theology.[184]

Bussi then moved on from proclaiming the virtues of Bessarion's studying Plato and bringing Plato into the Church's theological orbit, to connect Cusanus (his former patron) and Bessarion together through the study of Plato: "I showed at the beginning of my preface that Bessarion, cardinal of Nicaea, the most excellent of men, was with good reason very well disposed towards Plato, and I have shown the same also in the case of Nicholas of Cusa, while he lived, Cardinal of San Pietro [in Vincoli]."[185] Linking the two famous cardinals in their interest in Platonic theology, all in a preface for an author who, while comic, ascribed to neoplatonic ideas, stressed the contemporary interest in Platonic theology by laudable men. Bussi suggested to Paul II that these ideas, transmitted through Apuleius and other Neoplatonic thinkers (such as Bessarion and Cusanus) were worth papal support. Bessarion's *Platonic Defence*, published later that year, entered a world that was already prepared for it.[186] Bussi's preface to Apuleius' *Opera* helped to make a political defence of both Plato and Bessarion, and his neoplatonist ally.

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[183] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 2:11, "defensionis Platonicae, immo divinae philosophiae… libro super scribere aggressus". Cf. Monfasani, *George of Trebizond*, 215: "Its editor, Giovanni Andrea de' Bussi, took advantage of some Neoplatonic opuscula in the edition to announce in his preface to Pope Paul II the imminent publication of Bessarion's ICP. George had once called Aristotle the "naturae scriba." Bussi now went one better, describing Plato in the preface as the ipse divinitatis secretarius."

[184] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 2:15.

[185] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 2:18, "Ostendi initio mea praefationis virum excellentissimum Bessarionem, cardinalam Nicaenum, Platoni magna ratione esse affectissimum. Idipsum et de Nicolao Cusensi, cardinale, dum viveret, Sancti Petri, declaravi." A translation of this is found in Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, 214-215.

[186] John Monfasani's many articles have tracked the publication history, writing, and reception of the ICP. Consult Monfasani, "A tale of two books."

The preface to Vergil's *Opera* came alongside the Apuleius, published around 28 February 1469. While the dedicatory letter was addressed the pope, it did not mention him by name in the title as other prefaces do. Instead of a papal focus in this preface, and as with the Apuleius, Bussi spends much of the letter reflecting on the work of Vergil, and on his reception in Quattrocento Rome by its scholarly communities.[187] This volume, the *editio princeps* for Vergil's *Opera*, was both wanted and helped by the academicians in Rome, particularly by the scholar whom the preface highlights, Giulio Pomponio Leto (1428-1498).[188] Leto (latinized as Julius Pomponius Laetus) headed a famous academic *sodalitas* in Rome, the *Accademia Romana*, a group imitating an ancient academy and not linked to a any cardinalate court. Leto's *accademia* strove to make classical texts and culture more popular, so this edition of Vergil was important to them.

Leto had a house on the Quirinal hill where scholars would meet in imitation of the ancient academies.[189] As a famous scholar of antiquity and antiquarian, Leto acted as *paterfamilias* of this proto-academy. Famously, the group would perform ancient plays and imitate Roman banquets, and they etched their Latinized names into the Roman catacombs.[190] These were the scholars arrested by Pope Paul II on trumped-up charges in February 1468, as described by one of Leto's more famous students, Bartolomeo Platina.[191] Leto was in Venice when his circle was imprisoned, but, sent back to Rome by Venice, he spent a year in the Castel Sant'Angelo prison under charges of heresy and sodomy. Released by May 1469, he slowly re-entered scholarly life, re-established

[187] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 8:41-43.

[188] Craig Kallendorf, *The Protean Virgil: Material Form and the Reception of the Classics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 15. For Leto and the world of the Roman academics, consult Rowland, *The Culture of the High Renaissance*, especially Chapter 1, and the *Repertorium Pomponianum* at https://repertoriumpomponianum.it.

[189] This group is described throughout Bartolomeo Platina's famous cookbook, *De Honesta Voluptate et Valetudine*. Bartolomeo Platina, *On Right Pleasure and Good Health: A Critical Edition and Translation of "De honesta voluptate et valetudine,"* ed. Mary Ella Milham, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 168 (Tempe, AZ: Arizona University Press, 1998).

[190] Palermino, "The Roman Academy," 117–55. Cf. Rowland, *The Culture of the High Renaissance*, 18-25.

[191] Hendrickson et al., *Lives of the Popes*. Cf. D'Elia, *A Sudden Terror*, 38-39.

his academy, and took part in the rapidly developing antiquarian and humanist culture under Sixtus IV.[192]

While still forbidden from running another *accademia* by Paul II, Leto was appointed a professor at Rome's university by Sixtus IV. Leto lived a noteworthy life for a scholar in Rome. Re-instituting his *accademia* as a more patently Christian *sodalitas*, Leto made a name for himself as an antiquarian, professor at the university, and scholar; he later (in 1480) wrote a commentary on Vergil's *Georgics* and the *Aeneid*. As his commentary on Vergil's works was in development, Bussi's description of Pomponio's work on Vergil makes some sense: the entire *Opera* would have been used by scholars such as Pomponio Leto, so Bussi informed his readers of the contemporary reception of and scholarship on the Mantuan poet's work.[193] The *Opera*, printed by Sweynheym and Pannartz, was the first complete printing of Vergil's works. Its emergence in 1469 reflects the importance of Vergil for scholars in Rome.

However, there are two prefaces for Vergil's *Opera*, one per edition. Sweynheym and Pannartz printed Vergil's *Opera* twice: in 1469 and as a reprint in 1471. Massimo Miglio lists them as A and B in his collection. The first edition from 1469 has the dedicated letter to Paul II about Pomponio Leto and Vergil, while the second edition from 1471 adds a second, non-dedicated, postscript written directly to Leto.[194] The preface from the 1469 volume begins with Bussi's

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[192] Maria Accame, "POMPONIO LETO, Giulio," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 2015), https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giulio-pomponio-leto_(Dizionario-Biografico). Accame writes, "e nel 1469 (prima di maggio) venne rilasciato a causa della mancanza di prove." Cf. Rowland, *The High Culture of the Renaissance*; For Leto's links to both antiquarian culture and the culture of artistic productivity, consult Flavia De Nicola, "Nuove acquisizioni sulla prima attività romana di Michelangelo Buonarroti connessa con l'Umanesimo dei Pomponiani", in *BTA - Bollettino telematico dell'arte*, n. 856 (26 Settembre 2018), available at https://www.bta.it/txt/a0/08/bta00856.html

[193] Fabio Stok, "Il commento di Pomponio Leto all'Eneide di Virgilio", in *Studi Umanistici Piceni* 29 (2009): 251-273.

[194] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 8:41-43. Cf. Paola Casciano, "L'edizione Romana del 1471 di Virgilio di Sweynheym e Pannartz", in *Scrittura, biblioteche, e stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento: Atti del 2° Seminario 6-8 Maggio 1982*, ed. Massimo Miglio (Città del Vaticano: Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica, e Archivistica, 1983): 655.

address to Paul, writing, "a letter of Giovanni Andrea … following the impression of Vergil for Pomponio the Unfortunate," a deliberate play on Pomponio Leto's Latin moniker of being the "happy" one, or "laetus," but intentionally inverted due to Leto's arrest the year prior.[195] Unlike Bussi's other dedications to Paul, where the pope is listed immediately by name in the dedicatory opening, this epistle mentions the pope only in the dedication, and describes the creation of the Vergil *for* Leto, connecting the Pope with the scholar he had arrested. Bussi's first Vergil preface from 1469, the one to Paul, commends Vergil's famous works and praises the Mantuan poet for the revelation of classical ideas and fine poetry, areas that the unfortunate and incarcerated Leto studied.

The second preface, from the 1471 re-issue, begins simply and reverses the misfortune of Leto: he is described as the "most loved" Pomponio.[196] This preface, written as a short note from Bussi to Leto, does not mention the conspiracy or the reason for Leto's arrest. Indeed, Miglio dates it as "[appearing] in the period of the *Sede Vacante* after the death of Paul II (after 28 July and before 9 August 1471)."[197] This preface describes the changes that Bussi made to the edition of Vergil, and the scholarship that Bussi considered, as Vergil's *Opera* was to be used by scholars. Leto, the primary scholar of Vergil in Rome at the time, is addressed here as an authority and as someone to please, revealing a dynamic of intellectual life where revisions and intellectual communality go hand in hand. Bussi made edits to Vergil's *Opera* based on how Leto used the first edition, and in this short note to the 1471 edition, he describes those changes to his colleague.

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[195] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 8:41, "Ioannis Andreae episcopi Aleriensis in Cyrno idest Corsica insula in secundam Virgilii impressionem ad Pomponium Infortunatum suum epistola"

[196] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 8:43, "amantissime Pomponi"

[197] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, LVIII: "… alla seconda edizione del Virgilio, che appare in periodo di sede vacante per la morte di Paolo II (dopo il 28 luglio del 1471 e prima del 9 agosto 1471), con la postilla nella prefazione a Pomponio Leto…" For the social turmoil in Rome following a pope's death, and the networking that occurred during *Sede Vacante*, consult John M. Hunt, *The Vacant See in Early Modern Rome: A Social History of the Papal Interregnum* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

In the short note to Leto, Bussi offered an improved Vergil edition, made better by Leto's edits. Bussi describes how this edition emerged from the mistakes of the prior one, and praises Leto for all of his emendations and for the corrections he made to the previous work: "Thus, I had enclosed the letter, most beloved Pomponio, in the publishing of the earlier Vergilian publication, in which matter, you are the best witness, our workers were less alert than is their usual custom."[198] Describing the relationship between Leto and antiquity as a relationship of devotion - *amicicior,* or one to be loyal to, enhanced from *amicus* and a comparative adjective - Bussi refers to the work that Pomponio Leto did with Vergil, with the prior edition, and with the study of antiquity as a whole, along with Leto's authorship of the exemplary manuscript which this edition was based on, all to stress his colleague's role in both editing, then improving an edition of Vergil to print.[199] The focus here is not on the politics of mid-Quattrocento Rome, nor on Pomponio Leto's *fortuna* before or after Paul; Bussi flatters Leto, and treats him as the eminent scholar he was, and praises him in this public preface to Vergil's *Opera* only a year after Leto was released from prison, shamed by his arrest. The Vergil print and Bussi's letter thus attempted to rehabilitate Leto's reputation, and situated Bussi's work alongside the work of a more famous Roman scholar – possibly to distract from the original mistakes he made in his edition, thanking Leto for fixing them.

Bussi's most famous work, the printing of Books 18 to 37 of Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* of August 1470, was philologically speaking his worst edition of a classical text.[200] It was also the work that other scholars cited as an example of how not to edit a classical work. The edition was printed to compete with the *editio princeps* of Pliny from 1469 (from Johann and Wendelin of

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[198] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 8:43, "Hucusque epistolam cluseram, amantissime Pomponi, in superiore edenda impressione Virgiliana, in qua tu testis es optimus nostros artifices plus, nescio quomodo, quam communiter solent, dormitasse."

[199] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 8:43: "Dein ipse antiquitatis totius studiosissimus, Maronis tamen aliquanto amicicior, dedisti operam ut ex manibus tuis antiquissimum Virgilii exemplar, maiusculis characteribus descriptum, vix carptim"

[200] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 9:44-46. This reputation hounds Bussi's scholarship.

Speyer, in Venice).[201] The entire process from finishing a transcription (from a poorly-written copy) to preparing a copy for the press (the *archetypus)*, then setting the text and printing the book took, at most, eight months.[202] In the colophon to the earliest manuscript of the *Naturalis Historia* that he was then working with (a 1460 copy), Bussi noted that it was a "most difficult thing" to create an edition of Pliny, and he asked the reader's grace and forebearance for his work, so it is ironic that this edition was his worst received.[203] This book provoked Niccolò Perotti's letter: Perotti attacked not just Bussi's prefaces, but the idea of prefaces and poor editing more generally, and called for papal censorship to maintain quality in humanist (re)production of classical works and for stricter philological measures.[204] Despite the effort of editing and prefacing the Pliny, Bussi's work was not well received.

But this editing was not just Bussi's work, and he makes the communal editing effort very clear. On the two manuscript texts that Bussi used to prepare the work for print, there are marginalia and notes that signal an diligent editorial process for creating a printed Roman edition.[205] The manuscript edition of Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* that Bussi emended is currently in the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome, MS 1097. It was edited by Bussi, but transcribed by Ieronimus de Botis, a monk

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[201] Gaius Plinius Secundus, *Historia naturalis* (Venice: Johannes de Spira, 1469), ISTC no. ip00786000

[202] Marucchi, "Note sul manoscritti," 178. The first manuscript with Bussi's edits was finished by December of 1469, the second manuscript where Bussi prepared the archetype for print was done by April 1470, and the book was published by August 1470.

[203] BAV, Vat. Lat. 5991, 358v. "Laus deo, Ad aeternitatis memoriam difficillima Plynii absoluta recognitio est die viii Aprilis 1470 Romae auxilio Theodori Gazae philosophi Graeci a Io. An. Episcopo Alerien — — (two words are crossed out) dictus in secula. Amen." Cf. Marucchi, 180. For a modified translation of the colophon, consult Anthony Grafton, *Bring Out Your Dead: The Past as Revelation* (Harvard University Press, 2001), 149.

[204] Monfasani, "Press Censorship" 4n10 suggests that contemporaries aside from Perotti had a bit of disdain for Bussi's work. Monfasani notes, "For instance, in his critique of Perotti's edition of the Natural History, Cornelio Vitelli chided Perotti for not giving Bussi his due as the first recognized printer of Pliny". While Bussi's work is given credibility as being the editio princeps (which it was not), it was recognized as being a problematic edition. It is also suggested by Charles Nauert, in "Humanists, Scientists, and Pliny: Changing Approaches to a Classical Author", *The American Historical Review* Vol 84:1 (February 1979): 76-77, that Ermolao Barbaro in his Castigationes Plinianae, "claimed to have corrected some five-thousand errors in the two earlier editions that he made the basis for his emendations", but Nauert does not reveal which editions Barbaro worked with.

[205] Grafton, *Bring Out Your Dead*, 149-150.

with poor Latin.[206] Based on the de Botis text, there is another manuscript - Vat. Lat. 5991 - of the improved Pliny text in another copyist's humanist hand, much easier to read. Vat. Lat. 5991 also has Bussi's edits in the margins, which instead of being philological and grammatical, set up the archetype for the printed version for Sweynheym and Pannartz to use.[207] There are paragraph and chapter breaks throughout, minor grammatical fixes to the Latin, and notes on setting the text for print.[208] However, the editing on the de Botis manuscript was done by two distinct hands: Bussi's, and that of his old friend Gaza. Gaza played such a heavy role in the editing of the *Naturalis Historia* (mostly by working with the snippets of the Greek found in Pliny's descriptions) that he is mentioned three times by name as the source of help (*auxilio)* to Bussi in preparing the text: in both manuscript editions of the work, and importantly, in the preface to the printed edition.[209] As we have seen in other prefaces, while Bussi dedicated the edition to Paul II, he spoke of his friend throughout the preface itself.

Noting Gaza's help, Bussi described Gaza in his preface to Pliny as "a man of greatest erudition and wisdom, my Theodore Gaza",[210] stressing the busy and intimate relationship between the two. By 1470, Gaza was well established as an editor and translator of Greek texts, having translated many classical texts at Vittorino's school and in Rome.[211] Not only was Gaza a prominent scholar; he was also Bussi's long-time friend, and member of Bessarion's loose

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[206] Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, Manoscritti, ms. 1097. For the attribution to de Botis, 483v, "Deo gratias Amen. Qui scripsit scribat semper cum Domino vivat. Meum nomen non pono quia me laudare nolo. Sed si vultis scire Jeronimus de botis fuit ille. Actum 1460."

[207] BAV, Vat. Lat. 5991.

[208] Marucchi, "Note sul manoscritto", 178-182, proves the connection between the three texts: Bib. Angelica MS 1097, BAV Vat. Lat. 5991, and the final Roman edition of Pliny from 1470.

[209] Marucchi, "Note sul manoscritto", 180.

[210] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 9:44, "Iuvit sane ac mirifice iuvit conatus meos (quod minime dissimulandum arbitror) vir summae eruditionis et sapientiae, Theodorus meus Gaza, atque ita quidem ut absque illo neque ego nec (paene dixerim) mundus hoc munus fuerit impleturus."

[211] Bianca, "GAZA," notes that Gaza's first work of translation was back in 1433 for Vittorino da Feltre, the Praecepta nupitialia, attributed to Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Consult also, John Monfasani, "Aristotle as Scribe of Nature: The Title-Page of MS Vat. Lat. 2094." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 69 (2006): 193-205.

accademia as a translator of Aristotle and contributor to the Plato-Aristotle debates. To recognize this work, Bussi used his preface to commend and support the work of his colleague and good friend. This repeated citation of Gaza, for both his help and his intellectual reputation, gave Bussi's great and most difficult work with Pliny (and other prefaces) a buttress in the antagonistic world of Quattrocento Rome. Bussi benefited from his connections and friendship with Gaza, and negotiated himself and his friend into the scholarly communities of Rome: Bussi needed help with the Greek, while Gaza needed help, outside of his support from Bessarion. Gaza's reputation as a scholar supported Bussi's editorial work, especially for the Pliny.

Semi-ironically, Perotti's attack on Bussi's preface and editorial skills ignored Bussi's descriptions of Gaza's contribution entirely. Perotti should have read Bussi's preface instead of writing that he should remove prefaces entirely. In his letter to Guarneri, Perotti asked why Bussi did not use Gaza's advice when editing this text, affirming that Bussi had access to Gaza's wisdom as a translator but clearly did not use it.[212] Perotti assumed that where Bussi erred, it was because he did not follow Gaza's advice. This statement misunderstands the collegial effort of both Bussi and Gaza to transform the Pliny, and depicts scholarly work as individual labour instead of as collective. Yet, in his preface to Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*, Bussi took pains to stress the collective labour it took to bring this book to print, and deliberately enhanced his description of the great labour of editing Pliny by referring to the work of his friends who worked with him.

The 1470 Pliny print reveals the collective nature of scholarly work in Rome, especially because of the evidence suggesting the transformation of the Pliny manuscript into a printed edition.[213] But Gaza's name does show up elsewhere as Bussi reveals his friendships in his

[212] Monfasani, "Press Censorship", 26. "Quodsi prohoemio solo tot errores deprehendemus, quid in reliquo opere poterimus sperare, quamquam scio multa illic et intellecta acute et emendata diligenter a Theodoro Gaze, Bessarione Academie principe, cuius presidio usi sunt correctores?"

[213] Consult Marucchi and Casciano for the manuscript history of the printed Pliny edition.

prefaces: Gaza's name and labour surface in Jerome's *Epistolae*, in Aulus Gellius' *Noctes Atticae*, in Strabo's *Geographia*, and in the Pliny, as seen above.[214] While Bussi was competent in Greek, for any texts that had a significant amount of Greek references and discussion, he relied on his friend as a translator and as a helper; Bussi consistently referred to Gaza as "My Theodore Gaza", and "a most learned man" (*doctissimus*).[215] While there is no explicit reference to Gaza in any of Bussi's prefaces after the publication of Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*, the two did remain friends: Gaza dedicates a manuscript to Bussi once Sixtus IV becomes pope in mid-1471, and another one in 1474, both of which have Bussi's notes in the margins.[216] The works edited by Bussi after 1470 are all Latin works, so he did not need to rely on Gaza's Greek. But the consistent mentioning of Gaza throughout the early prefaces up to Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* suggests that Bussi understood editing as a communal endeavour: he relied on his friendship with a well-known translator to do the work. This all highlights the collaborative nature of scholarly work that was displayed by Bussi in his prefaces as part of his brokerage of humanist communities.

The last preface that Bussi wrote for the press was for the edition of Nicholas of Lyra's *Postilla Super Totam Bibliam* (1472). This print was a massive undertaking: The *Postilla* was printed in five volumes, starting 18 November 1471 and stretching to 20 March 1472, and there were 1100 copies printed of this text. Bussi wrote three prefaces for these volumes, listed in Miglio as A, B, and C, respectively. The work was also massive: The *Postilla* was a complete exegesis of the Bible done by a Franciscan scholar, Nicholas of Lyra (1270-1349). Nicholas of Lyra's exegesis was largely literal, where he decried the methods of contemporary attempts to understand the Bible

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[214] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 1:7, 10; 3:20; 4:35, 9:44.

[215] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 9:44. Bussi rarely uses "meus" when describing friends other than Gaza; this suggests that his friendship with Gaza was one of his closest relationships.

[216] Claudio Bevegni, "Teodoro Gaza traduttore del 'Maxime cum principibus philosopho esse disserendum' di Plutarco: primi appunti per un'edizione critica con particolare riguardo alla lettera dedicatoria ad Andrea Bussi," in *Mosaico: studi in onore di Umberto Albini dedicati al D.AR.FI.CL.ET. "F. Della Corte,"* ed. Simonetta Feraboli, Nuova Seria 148 (Genoa: Università di Genova, 1993), 38. Cf Torch, "Do I Have a Book for You, 31–47.

from many corrupt sources.[217] For Sweynheym and Pannartz, publishing the *Postilla* in five volumes over several months took up many resources of the press. No new books came from their press until several months after the final Lyra print. The five printed books immediately following the *Postilla* were reprints of previously successful books, to make more money from works the printers knew would sell well.[218]

Massimo Miglio argues that the printing of the *Postilla* precipitated "the editorial crisis of 1472".[219] He discusses Hartmann Schedel's 1470 advertisement of how much Sweynheym and Pannartz's books cost, and links the prices to the economic crisis facing the two German printers, addressing the need for papal fiscal support to sustain the press. Miglio argues that while Sweynheym and Pannartz had invested about 40,000 ducats into book printing by 1472, printing costs (along with slowing sales) were too expensive for them to continue without papal patronage.[220] Miglio's use of Schedel's price list supports this conclusion. The most expensive book listed for sale is Cicero's *De Oratore* at 19 ducats for a copy; most books were sold for less than ten ducats.[221] The cheap costs of their books, compared with what Sweynheym and Pannartz invested into their print shop, created the paper-seller's prison that Bussi so eloquently described; books were printed, and then left unbound without purchasers. In their petition to the Pope written by Bussi, Sweynheym and Pannartz asked Sixtus to cover both individual and business expenses. They asked that Sixtus both purchase the remaining stock of Sweynheym and Pannartz books, and assign both of them benefices from a canonry and a prebend at cathedrals, preferably metropolitan

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[217] Philip D. W. Krey, and Lesley Smith, eds. *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of Scripture* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

[218] Hall, 96-102. Those books are Livy's *Historiae Romanae Decades*, Aulus Gellius' *Noctes Atticae*, Caesar's *Commentarii*, Cicero's *Epistolae*, and Suetonius' *Vitae Caesarum*.

[219] This is, in fact, a whole chapter in the Introduction to Bussi, *Prefazioni*: "Il prezzo dei libri e la crisi editoriale del 1472", pp. lv-lxiv.

[220] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, lviii: "Per i volumi di cui conosciamo i prezzi, e quindi soltanto fino al 1470, e calcolando per le ristampe successiva ancora secondo i prezzi del 1470, abbiamo un investimento che prevedeva un incasso totale, final al 1472, molto vicino ai 40.000 ducati."

[221] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, lvii.

ones.[222] To quote Miglio's assessment, "the *fiat* ["it should be done"] of the Pope, marked in the register, seemed to resolve for the moment, at least in part, the typographers' problems."[223]

Bussi's prefaces to the Nicholas of Lyra, dedicated to the new pope, imitate the laudatory nature of his Jerome prefaces. Already employed by Sixtus as his secretary and librarian, Bussi praises Sixtus' papal initiatives in his preface.[224] Beginning with an immediate praise likening Sixtus IV to a farmer who urges things to grow and flourish, Bussi extolled Sixtus as an individual and lauded the greatness he would bring to the pontificate.[225] Sixtus's Franciscan heritage is brought up with a short discussion of the greatness of Sixtus' office within his order, and Sixtus IV is compared to Paul (with Sixtus emerging favourably, according to Bussi.)[226] Celebrating the new pontiff, and his role as a librarian within the new pontificate, these prefaces praised Sixtus highly, commending him as the one who would support intellectuals in Rome.[227]

What emerges throughout the Nicholas of Lyra prefaces, before the Sweynheym and Pannartz' petition, is Bussi's naming powerful men in Rome whose goals and actions aligned with Sixtus' papacy and politics. There are descriptions of Cardinal Bessarion (who was still alive and working for Sixtus), Sixtus' vice-chancellor Rodrigo Borgia (later Alexander VI), Marco Barbo, praetor, or high ranking official, of St. Mark's in Rome (and Paul II's nephew), Cardinals Dominico Capranica and Oliviero Caraffa (who were major players in Roman politics) and most notably, of

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[222] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, lvii, "Eisdem Conrado et Arnoldo provideri dignemini de gratia speciali cum non obstantibus et clausulis oportunis … et ad canonicatus et praebendas in cathedralibus etiam metropolitanis; et ad dignitates ac supradictas praebendas in eisdem."

[223] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, lvii, "Il fiat del pontefice, segnato nel registro, sembra risolvere per il momento, almeno in parte, i problemi dei tipografi."

[224] Miglio, "BUSSI".

[225] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 19:70. "Agricultoribus, pater beatissime, felicis soli semper est grata foecunditas." For Sixtus as an individual, consult Ch. 1 of Lee, *Sixtus IV*.

[226] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 19:71, "Salve proles vera stigmatigeri divi Francisci, primus post tanti nominis gloriossimum sanctum huius nominis in pulcherrima Minorum religione generalis!" … "Attonita quidem erat supra modum inopinato et exemplo carente Pauli II pontificis subitario excessu Romana Curia ex omni christianarum nationum non postrema gente congregata."

[227] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 19:70, 73, 82. Each of the three Lyra prefaces begins with "Ioannis Andreae Aleriensis episcopi domini nostri papae bibliothecarii ad Xystum IIII".

Pietro Riario, the nephew of Sixtus IV and head of a curial family of his own.[228] Bussi links all of these men and their strengths to Sixtus' pontificate, stressing the pontiff's role in how each of them has benefited in the new Rome that Sixtus brought in. In his discussion of Marco Barbo, a relative of the former pope, Bussi stresses how Sixtus has benefited Barbo and points to what Barbo can bring to Sistine Rome.[229] Unlike Paul II, whose family had already had a pontifical heritage, Sixtus IV had to construct his own networks and worlds in Rome.[230] Bussi's prefaces described the worlds and people that Sixtus IV had surrounding him, supporting his pontificate. In describing all these men, their roles, and their importance in the political worlds of Rome, Bussi reflected these connections that the Pope created.

By describing all the people, worlds, and networks that existed in scholarly Rome, Bussi's prefaces did not just argue for a simple defence of one or two humanists. Rather, his consistent relying on the authority of names and persons with whom he worked stressed the multiple actors involved in the movements and development of *Roma Intellectualis*. His prefaces, rather than dwelling on philological accuracy or reflecting on the book's immediate author or topic, stressed the development of the functioning commerce of letters that he knew existed in the city. His prefaces should therefore be read and understood as reflecting this intellectual vivacity in mid-Quattrocento Rome.

Conclusion

There is an illustrated manuscript from 1507 at the Archivio Capitolare della Basilica di Sant'Ambrogio in Milan, a small archive affiliated with the much-larger cathedral archive (Consult

[228] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 19:76-77.

[229] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 19:76: "Tu quoque, Marce Venete Sancti Marci cardinalis, tuo moerito in altissimi magistratus et fortunae culmine unde facillime morum qualitas elucescit, et sapientissimus comprobatus et modestissimus non ab re ingentissimus occurris, et oneras huius inopis facundiae mutitatem tantae dignitatis excellentia."

[230] Lee, *Sixtus IV*, particularly Chapter 1.

Figure 1, page 82).[231] Consisting of both an edition of the Bible and the Letter to Aristeas (a letter describing the creation of the Septuagint), the work was commissioned by one of Pope Paul II's wider associates, Pietro Casola, a canon of the basilica of Sant'Ambrogio and a member of the Milanese legation to the papal curia in the 1460s.[232] Preceding the work is a handwritten copy of Bussi's preface to the Bible: his dedicatory letter to Pope Paul II from 1471, accompanied by a manuscript illustration.[233] The illustration depicts a man with a tonsure (a man who has taken holy orders) kneeling in a supplicant position. He offers a bound and prepared book to the pope, who is sitting on his throne, and in front of a few cardinals and members of the papal family in the background. The illustration, found between the salutation and the dedicatory letter it precedes, depicts Giovanni Bussi ("Johannis Antonii", highlighting his father's name) offering one of his bound and printed books to the Pope to whom he dedicated so many of his volumes.

Indeed, most of Bussi's prefaces were dedicated to Paul II, the man whom he worked for as his secretary and papal librarian, and the pope who had Bussi's colleagues arrested in 1468. This image was created years after Bussi, Paul, and many of his colleagues had died, yet it still depicts Bussi offering his work to the pope, the dedicated letter and preface illustrated by a depiction of the gift and patronal culture of early modern Europe.[234] Bussi's prefaces, read harshly by his colleagues, brokered his world for the pope. This was a widely habitual and recognizable exchange

[231] On 8 March 2020, Marco Petoletti of the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore went to the Archivio Capitolare and took a few photographs of this manuscript after a personal correspondence and request. Italy shut down for COVID-19 quarantine the very next day. I owe Dr. Petoletti my many thanks for the photographs of this document, which is here as Figure 1. A reproduction of this manuscript's frontispiece is also found in Bussi, *Prefazioni*, Tavola 32. Consult Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Iter Italicum: A Finding list of Uncatalogued or Incompletely Catalogued Humanistic MSS. Volume 1: Italy, Agrigento-Novara.* (Leiden: Brill, 1977): 276.

[232] Stefania Rossi Minutelli, "CASOLA, Pietro," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1978), https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/pietro-casola_(Dizionario-Biografico)/.

[233] For the preface to the Bible from 1471, Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 16:56-57.

[234] Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France*, Curti Lecture Series (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2000).

in the premodern Italian world of patronage: this is the exchange depicted by the Milanese manuscript.

However, the image depicted a complete fantasy. Bussi knew that his prefaces would be ignored by Paul II. He writes in the preface to the *Postilla* (dedicated to Sixtus), that Paul would not read his letters or prefaces, painting Paul as anti-intellectual.[235] But regardless of whether or not the Venetian pope actually read the books, Bussi's dedication of his books to the pope with little expectation that the papacy would pay for or read the volumes implies that there was a deeper concern for writing these dedicated prefaces than simply economic concerns and patronage.[236] In fact, the very display of the book being offered (in the manuscript image) depicts the action of gift-giving through books as much more public than it probably was in actuality, at least for Bussi.[237] It is only under Sixtus IV that Bussi indicated any need for papal support for the press, a request that was granted. So, we must explore the reasons why Bussi wrote these elaborate prefaces at all, if to not only write panegyrics for the popes. If Paul II did not read these dedications, and Bussi knew that, why would he write them? I argued that Bussi's knowingly-public prefaces suggested to an imagined papal audience, and an audience beyond the Pope, that scholarly life was a very important element of Quattrocento Rome and should be both recognized and invested in.

With a population estimated at about 55,000,[238] Quattrocento Rome was particularly small and centred on the *abitato*, the flat and heavily populated plain of the *Campo Marzio* along the bends of the Tiber River where there was water to maintain the population, and quickly dispersing

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[235] Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 19:73. "Epistolas meas cum ad Paulum II pontificem, gloriosum praedecessorem tuum, in librorum quos recognoscebam initiis scriberem, ab eo tamen lectum iri non putabam; gratis me, quod ad illum attineret, magna ex parte laborare ab eo prius accepta non potui absque reprehensione negligere."

[236] Lee, *Sixtus IV*, 108.

[237] Natalie Zemon Davis, "Beyond the Market: Books as Gifts in Sixteenth-Century France: the Prothero Lecture," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 33 (1983): 69-99. More generally, Davis, *The Gift*. Consult also Drimmer, *The Art of Allusion*, particularly Ch. 4, "Lydgate Ex Voto".

[238] Lee, "Foreigners in Quattrocento Rome," 136

into the famous Seven Hills of Rome as ecclesiastical communities. The places mentioned earlier in this chapter — the Palazzo Massimo which housed the Sweynheym and Pannartz press, the Palazzo Venezia where Pope Paul II made his home, Pomponio Leto's home on the Quirinal hill, Cardinal Bessarion's palace at the Santi Apostoli church, and the famous market in the Campo de' Fiori — were all within a short distance from each other, easily walkable in the medieval city, and all were important places for intellectuals to congregate. Working in these places, and bridging together the networks of scholars, the papacy, the Curia, and the book trade and market, Giovanni Bussi and Sweynheym and Pannartz were in an important spot to manage their worlds, both physically and intellectually. The prefaces were meant to do just that brokerage.

In a chapter describing the connection between humanism and the Vatican Library, Massimo Miglio argues:

> The Roman press revealed an emphasis on the revival of the culture of antiquity as well as a need for the recovery and re-appropriation of medieval traditions. The emphasis on the revival of antiquity and the reconsideration of medieval traditions coupled with issues raised by curial humanism, which was by now fully developed, gave rise to the awareness of living in a diverse age and in a new society.[239]

Engaging in this transformation that, Janus-like, looked both towards antiquity and towards his world and its emergent future, Bussi used his prefaces and the press to broker his own worlds between multiple scholarly communities and his patron with the power and money to sustain them. Bussi's dedications and labour with the press came at a time when humanism writ large was still in an unstable economic environment and had yet to entrench itself in the largely-scholastic institutions of Rome, something that would only occur in the sixteenth century.[240] His prefaces,

[239] Miglio, "Curial Humanism," 112.

[240] D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome*. Egmont Lee's *Sixtus IV* posits that, while the pope was interested in intellectual development, he was still pragmatic in his choice of whom he hired and supported - i.e., his humanistic interests only served a wider pontificate, and were not an end in and of itself. Humanistic Rome only truly shines starting with the pontificates of Julius II and Leo X. Ingrid Rowland's focus on humanism and

addressed to the papacy without overt intent of economic renumeration for expenses incurred, were written for an important social reason. Bussi wrote his prefaces to defend humanism as an educational program, but more importantly, to broker, manage, and support the work of the many intellectuals seeking a life in the city.

This chapter argued that Giovanni Bussi deliberately used his position and his writings to broker and describe the intellectual worlds he lived in. There is no evidence that Paul II read any of the prefaces dedicated to him. Nor is there any smoking gun suggesting that it is only thanks to the heroic efforts of Bussi that the Roman humanists were released from prison, or that humanism thrived in Rome because of this bishop and his prefaces. However, that was not the argument that this chapter made. Rather than reading Bussi's prefaces as direct agents in the conspiracy and its repercussions in fifteenth-century Rome, these prefaces should be read as a barometer for understanding how the many worlds of intellectual life in Rome interacted and relied upon each other.

In his prefaces, Bussi captured a moment of time when the humanist programme needed defending. Not defending from the perceived immediate existential threat of Paul II, but rather from a world that Bussi perceived was transforming from medieval to something else. Therefore, this chapter argued that Bussi's elaborate prefaces defended not a few precise intellectuals who had upset their patron, but the fifteenth-century intellectual world overall. By doing so through his prefaces, transformed by the printing press into something more public than a "private" dedication, Bussi linked the pope to this wide world of intellectuals and the classical traditions that Bussi cared about. He argued to support the humanistic program, and suggested that the papacy and its

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classicism in Rome in *The Culture of the High Renaissance* starts from the late 1400s, as does Charles Stinger's *The Renaissance in Rome*. Recent appraisals of fifteenth-century Roman scholarly life have started to evaluate the beginning of the fifteenth century (especially consult Elizabeth McCahill's *Reviving the Eternal City*), but for the 1450s to early 1470s, there is yet no comprehensive discussion in English.

institutions should care about Bessarion, the Platonic tradition, and the classical education that humanists were fighting for. Scholarly activity, and its benefits to the papacy, would not thrive without this support.

CAPITVLVM QUARTVM: Who Wrote *The Commentaries*?

As the only memoir to come from the early modern papal throne, the *Commentaries* of Pope Pius II, written from 1462-1464, is a rich source for understanding the life and perspective of the Pope, but also is filled with hundreds of descriptions of fifteenth-century Italian lives, cultures, and politics. Written in a third-person perspective to commemorate his pontificate into literary memory and church history, as well as to inform audiences about the pope and his political perspectives, the *Commentaries* (in thirteen books and more than 500 folio pages) presents us with a wealth of stories from fifteenth-century Europe, addressing a huge range of topics from the Wars of the Roses and Joan of Arc, to boat races and ecclesiastical mid-century politicking. More importantly, the *Commentaries* were deliberately written as an *apologia* for Pius, and to argue for his main priority as a pope: a crusade against the Ottoman Empire to take back Constantinople for Latin Christendom after its sack in 1453.[1]

Both literary and informative, the work delves into the immediacy of papal politics from a very pro-Piccolomini stance, rewriting and re-orienting the life of the Pope. While doing so, its authors also imitate scenes and actions from classical sources like Vergil and Caesar, copying them nearly word for word at times to appeal to its intellectual audience and to play with the cultural cache of Quattrocento humanistic literary and political thought.[2] This complexity of the document itself makes the *Commentaries* a difficult source to summarize fully or understand, but a very engrossing document to read, study, and work with.

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[1] Emily O'Brien, *"The Commentaries" of Pope Pius II (1458-1464) and the Crisis of the Fifteenth-Century Papacy* (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 2015).

[2] O'Brien, *"The Commentaries*," 202-203.

Written in the last two years of his pontificate, *The Commentaries* is a history of the life of Pope Pius II (r. 1458-1464). Born Enea Silvio Piccolomini to a noble Sienese family in exile, Piccolomini worked at the centres of power in Europe for a long time before he was elected Pope.[3] Travelling across the Alps at the employ of a cardinal to join the theological and ecclesiastical political battles of the day immediately after finishing his studies at the University of Siena, Piccolomini became a courtier, a diplomat, and was moreover appointed poet laureate by the Holy Roman Emperor in 1442. As a diplomat and orator, Piccolomini took both sides of the conciliar movement gripping the fifteenth-century church, quickly moving from his anti-papal stance to side with the papacy under Eugenius IV Condulmaro and helping the papacy triumph against the conciliar movement by the mid-fifteenth century. Working in curial circles, he quickly joined and rose through the church hierarchy: he was appointed bishop in 1447, cardinal in 1456, and then, after the death of Pope Callistus III in 1458, Piccolomini took the throne as Pius II, reigning almost six years before dying in 1464 while attempting personally to lead a crusade against the Ottoman Empire from the port city of Ancona.

Trained in humanist letters while a young man, Piccolomini was widely recognized in his day as an author rather than a politician. Indeed, much of his enduring reputation, both early modern and present, comes from his written works: his *Commentaries*, his orations both before and during his pontificate, his papal bulls, his letters, his poetry, and his erotic novella.[4] As he was

[3] One of the best biographies of Pius II in English is Rosamond Joscelyne Mitchell, *The Laurels and the Tiara: Pope Pius II 1458-1464* (London: Harvill Press, 1962). A more recent study of Pius' life, although not as detailed, is Arthur White, *Plague and Pleasure: The Renaissance World of Pius II* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2014). Also consult Stefan Bauer, "Enea Silvio Piccolomini," in *Il contributo italiano alla storia del pensiero: storia e politica*, ed. Giuseppe Galasso et al. (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2013): 137-43.

[4] Zweder von Martels and Arjo J. Vanderjagt, eds., *Pius II - "El Più Expeditivo Pontifice": Selected Studies on Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (1405-1464)*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 117 (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

a writer of humanist texts, a "poet in Peter's place,"[5] his written work has subsequently eclipsed the accomplishments of his pontificate and his failed crusade. His *Commentaries* has left historians with a rich and incredibly complex document to analyze for fifteenth-century elite culture, humanist authorship, and the politics and machinations of reputation in early modern letters. But such a rich document comes with many, many difficulties for comprehension.

Many works about the *Commentaries*, including Emily O'Brien's important study from 2015, grapple with this enticing but difficult work by placing it into its immediate context of historical and political writing, and investigate the intellectual genesis of the document, trying to understand why Piccolomini wrote the *Commentaries*, what he intended for such a rich and complex document, and how the work as a whole reflected on and contributed to the intellectual worlds of fifteenth-century Europe.[6] Other scholarly works have carefully placed the *Commentaries* into Piccolomini's own intellectual heritage, alongside his orations, books, and letters, to understand the mentality and influence of an important politician and scholar in the turbulent world of fifteenth-century ecclesiastical and state politics.[7] Staying closer to the *Commentaries* as a descriptive text, other scholars have followed the *Commentaries* and its perspective much more deliberately, trusting Piccolomini at his word and using his memoir and his recollections to frame an analysis of the worlds that he lived and participated in, with his

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[5] Pope Pius II, *The Commentaries of Pope Pius II*, ed. Margaret Meserve and Marcello Simonetta, Vol. 1: Books I-II, The I Tatti Renaissance Library 12 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2004): 181.

[6] Along with O'Brien, "*The 'Commentaries,"* also consult Martels and Vanderjagt, "*El Più Expeditivo Pontifice*."

[7] Anna Modigliani, "Pio II e Roma," in *Il sogno di Pio II e il viaggio da Roma a Mantova, Atti del Convengo internazionale (Mantova, 13-15 aprile 2000)*, ed. Arturo Calzona et al., Ingenium 5 (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2003), 77–108, and the volume it is a part of. Also consult Fabrizio Nevola, ed., *Pio II Piccolomini: il Papa del Rinascimento a Siena; atti di convengo internazionale di studi, 5-7 maggio 2005* (Siena: Colle Val d'Elsa, 2009), and Nancy Bisaha, "'Discourses of Power and Desire': The Letters of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini," in *Florence and Beyond: Culture, Society and Politics in Renaissance Italy. Essays in Honour of John M. Najemy*, ed. David S. Peterson and Daniel E. Bornstein, Essays and Studies 15 (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 121–34.

descriptions of people and events adding beautiful ballast to studies outside the realm of fifteenth-century papal politics.[8] Given how descriptive, difficult to categorize and understand, and unwieldy the *Commentaries* can be as a document in and of itself, of course such a fragmented historiography has developed around the text.[9] And because the *Commentaries* was not immediately circulated after its writing but became a part of the Piccolomini library, very few of these studies have tracked the heritage of Pius' autobiographical account of his papacy or traced what happened to this document, and to his image, after his death. Instead, scholars prefer to use the *Commentaries* without addressing its afterlife – a difficult afterlife to follow, predominantly because of the nature of the work's immediate reception and its use after the pope's death.

This chapter aims to answer the questions of who authored Pope Pius II's *Commentaries,* what happened to the memoir after he died, and what he and his fellows intended for it. Following O'Brien's analysis of the *Commentaries* as a text deeply entrenched in the ecclesiastical politics and intellectual cultures of the mid-fifteenth century, I ask who wrote the *Commentaries,* and for what reasons – because it was not just the pope who wrote his famous memoir, even if he played a large role in its compilation and orchestration. What did Pius II hope to do with such a massive text written in his name and image? I suggest that, in his own writing as well as his orchestration and his compilation of the *Commentaries*, Pius II was not only writing an *apologia* for his rule and for a crusade to the Eastern Mediterranean, however much this was a priority for him during his lifetime. Rather, I argue that he and his fellow intellectuals deliberately wrote the *Commentaries* to fashion a particularly humanist and politically effective image of Pope Pius II to circulate after

[8] Mitchell, *The Laurels and the Tiara*; White, *Plague and Pleasure*, Peter Godman, "Pius II in the Bath: Papal Ceremony and Cultural History," *The English Historical Review* CXXIX, no. 539 (2014): 808–29. A particularly strong example of this reading is Catherine Fletcher's *Diplomacy in Renaissance Rome: The Rise of the Resident Ambassador* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), who while not focusing on Pius II, uses his *Commentaries* quite a bit as descriptive and narrative evidence.

[9] O'Brien, "*The 'Commentaries"* notes this fragmentation, 7-10.

his death, relying on the behaviour of early modern humanist readers and an audience to circulate the texts, and thus, to propagate an image of Pius II that would last after his own death. Pius and his collaborators created this strong papal image and its corresponding document for a small, elite audience of his followers, known as the *Pieschi*, who then were expected to circulate the text selectively to bolster both their own authority and, more importantly, that of the Piccolomini name after his death. These *Pieschi* included elite men such as Pius II's nephew, Cardinal Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini (the future Pope Pius III), who, before his death in 1503, commissioned the artist Pinturicchio in 1508 to create a fresco-cycle of Pius II's life based on his *Commentaries* in Siena and who was trusted to keep the manuscript safe and circulate it.[10] Other men who fell into the *Pieschi* camp were bishops and nobles who cared about their own careers and the *studia humanitatis*, and who were patronized by Pius II, men such as the bishop Giovanni Antonio Campano and Cardinal Giacomo Ammannati Piccolomini.[11] The *Pieschi* did not just extend to cardinals: scholars and curialists in Quattrocento Rome (particularly those with Sienese heritage, much like Pius II) benefited from having an intellectual on the papal throne, and enjoyed the humanistic patronage that could result from an humanistic pope, men such as bishops Alessio de Cesari and Agostino Patrizi.[12]

This attempt at posthumous politicking and at fashioning the pope's reputation was the norm in curial Rome, as curialists who were appointed by individual popes frequently had to vie

[10] Emily O'Brien, "The Politics of Painting: Cardinal Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, Pope Pius II, and the Frescoes of the Piccolomini Library," in *From Florence to the Mediterranean and Beyond: Essays in Honor of Anthony Molho*, ed. Diogo Ramada Curto et al., vol. 1, 2 vols. (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2009), 427–46.

[11] Susanna de Beer, *The Poetics of Patronage: Poetry as Self-Advancement in Giannantonio Campano* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).

[12] Barry Torch and Jennifer Mara DeSilva, "Pius II and the Andreis (1462): Textual Circulation, Crusade Promotion and Papal Power," *Renaissance Studies* 36, no. 4 (2022): 590–609; Anthony D'Elia, *A Sudden Terror: The Plot to Murder the Pope in Renaissance Rome* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009).

for new or better positions after that particular pope's death, and the sudden change of patronage.[13] Piccolomini's writing of the *Commentaries* with the intent that it circulate makes sense in a world where the memory of each pope was in the hands of his partisans after his death. The *Commentaries* as a text, then, was a powerful weapon for Pius and his fellows to use and circulate to fight on behalf of Piccolomini authority in Rome, after the *paterfamilias* had died. As it was a device to fashion the papal image, the authors of the *Commentaries* deliberately took advantage of the processes of manuscript circulation, to promote the image of their pope in early modern Rome for their own benefit, and for the benefit of the Piccolomini name.

To answer this "what next" question for what happened to Pius' memoir and why, I turn to both book- and cultural-historical methods to talk about the *Commentaries* as a whole, addressing it in its manuscripts and as a material object and a moving item within a larger world. I thus look to the paratexts and book history of Pius' work: not just at the internal text itself, but also at what was attached to it after its writing and how it was shared and circulated in the small world of Roman curialists and humanists.[14] I begin by looking at the rougher version of the *Commentaries*, and the plural prefaces in them that Pius II wrote, where he addressed his readers. These two prefaces are where Pius turned to the reader directly before the memoir properly began, and where he wrote to and for an implied reader, expecting their knowledge of his life and anticipating their reception of his text – an implied reader that was assumed by the author to have the knowledge

[13] For more on the politics of papal reigns ending, and what happens after a Pope's death, consult Chapter 2 of this dissertation, as well as Amedeo De Vincentiis, *Battaglie di memoria. Gruppi, intellettuali, testi e la discontinuità del potere papale alla metà del Quattrocento. Con l'edizione del "regno" di Leodrisio Crivelli*, RR Inedita 25 (Rome: Roma nel Rinascimento, 2002); John M. Hunt, *The Vacant See in Early Modern Rome: A Social History of the Papal Interregnum* (Brill, 2016); Agostino Paravicini-Bagliani, *The Pope's Body*, trans. David S. Peterson (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000)

[14] For paratexts as a concept, consult Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), and more recently, Helen Smith and Louise Wilson, eds., *Renaissance Paratexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

necessary to both read and respond to the text in its immediate context. The rougher manuscript of the *Commentaries*, written by many hands, and filled with additions, and annotations, reflects the many authors whom Pius II used and then absorbed into the *Commentaries* to present his work as a cohesive whole for his readers. The two prefaces, then, written by the pope himself, established a relationship between the writer and the implied reader whom Pius deliberately cultivated.[15]

The next section looks at the process of what it means to standardize and authenticate a papal memoir – but not by the pope. Leaving to go on crusade, Pius tasked his court familiar, Giovanni Antonio Campano, with editing and shaping the entire memoir, hiring a scribe to make it into a prettier version, and attaching in an appendix an authentication letter at the end of the *Commentaries* to authenticate it. This letter was addressed to Giacomo Ammannati Piccolomini, fellow member of the *Pieschi* and the Cardinal of Pavia. Campano's authentication letter attempted to add credit and believability to the *Commentaries*, lending the work more authenticity and weight through a confirmation of Pius' authorship and literary skill, and inserting the work directly into the movement of people and positions in curial Rome immediately after Pius II's death. I then detail what happened to the *Commentaries* as a prepared manuscript in its libraries and offices by narrating its own history, discussing what happened to Pius' famous account after his death, and showing how this movement affected the later evaluation of the Piccolomini pope. By treating the *Commentaries* as a material book**,** and talking about the item as a part of the politics of reputation among scholars in early modern Rome, I move from an internal analysis of Pius' own words and of what he hoped to accomplish to tracing the effects of how a massive work tried to affect political

[15] For the "implied reader," Wolfgang Iser, *The Implied Reader: Patterns of Communication in Prose Fiction from Bunyan to Beckett* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974). I thank Antonio Ricci for a discussion and recommendation of this theoretical framework.

culture in early modern Rome – and somewhat succeeded.[16] While not having the effect that Piccolomini desired, the circulation of the *Commentaries* did have implications for him and his familiars after his death, both for their employment and for maintaining the Piccolomini presence in Rome, as well as, more culturally, for the humanist pope's memory.

Tracing the *Commentaries*' impact as a book shows us not only a pope and how he coordinated books and fellow writers to shape an image of himself, but also how the politics of a work itself rested on a wide culture of manuscript authorship, production, and circulation. All of this reveals the daily habits and patterns of scholars and book-producers at work and shows their many different priorities, both dedicated to a *paterfamilias* and otherwise. By following the *Commentaries* from Piccolomini's and Patrizi's pens to bound and illuminated editions, and seeing how his familiars understood the humanist pope and tried to manipulate his reputation for their own sake, this chapter merges the ecclesiastical politics of Pius' day with the book and social cultures of fifteenth-century Rome right when printed texts were starting to participate in the world of elite and popular culture.[17] *The Commentaries* of Pope Pius II is a document worth paying attention to, for both its own politics, as well as for the politics of how it worked after its creation.

Two manuscripts of the *Commentaries* are considered the original text. One is at the Vatican Library, catalogued as Reginensi Latini 1995. This is the version that I refer to as the rougher copy of the work. Alongside Pius II's handwriting, Reg. Lat. 1995 is filled with many

[16] Margaret Meserve, *Papal Bull: Print, Politics, and Propaganda in Renaissance Rome* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2021).

[17] The standard date for the start of printing in Italy is 1464 with Konrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz's press at Subiaco. Consult Chapter 3 of this dissertation, and Margaret Meserve, *Papal Bull: Print, Politics, and Propaganda in Renaissance Rome* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2021), as well as Edwin Hall, *Sweynheym and Pannartz and the Origins of Printing in Italy: German Technology and Italian Humanism in Renaissance Rome* (McMinnville, Oregon: Bird and Bull Press, 1991). For Piccolomini's engagement with the printing press, Martin Davies, "Juan de Carvajal and Early Printing: The 42-Line Bible and the Sweynheym and Pannartz Aquinas," *The Library*, Sixth Series, XVIII, no. 3 (1996): 193–215.

hands and many contributors, and its creation was orchestrated by the pope directly. The second is an illuminated and elegantly prepared manuscript now at the Biblioteca Corsiniana in Rome, catalogued as MS. Cors. 147, edited by Pius's familiars, and written in one scribal hand and ready for hopeful circulation. This is the manuscript that most scholars refer to when discussing the *Commentaries*, as it is the version that "Pius intended to be the final version of the *Commentaries*."[18] I will be describing both these manuscripts, along with their heritage and circulation, more fully in this chapter, but it is important to note that they were both "completed" and meant for use by the *Pieschi* upon Piccolomini's death in August of 1464. Immediately after his death, both of these versions moved into the Piccolomini library in Siena, and were split up in the mid-sixteenth century, for reasons described below.

Pius' Plural Prefaces

In a 1450 book addressed to his friend Cardinal Juan Carvajal and written before his pontificate began, Enea Silvio Piccolomini ended his prefatory letter to his historical account of the Council of Basel, "We who have written this brief history should not compose a long preface."[19] Clearly aware of the power of narrative and of how a preface affected an implied reader and their opinions of a text, Piccolomini's letter to his more powerful friend Carvajal reads as someone addressing a close friend, with the conscious intent to put a better light on his narrated actions. The book he wrote contains his letter to Carvajal and his history of the Council of Basel (*De rebus basiliae gestis commentarius*), where he narrated the history of the Council in order to

[18] Margaret Meserve and Marcello Simonetta, "Notes on the Text and Translation," in Pius II, *Commentaries,* eds. Margaret Meserve and Marcello Simonetta, I Tatti Renaissance Library 12 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003): 379.

[19] *Reject Aeneas, Accept Pius: Selected Letters of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II)*, trans. Thomas Izbicki, Philip Krey, and Gerald Christianson (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2011): 321.

dismiss the pro-conciliar movement and the anti-Pope Felix V, for whom he had worked before turning to side with and defend the Roman papacy.[20] His letter to a friend, and not directly to a wider audience, was meant to convince his reader, a cardinal associated with the politics of Rome and against the pope elected at Basel, that he was merely depicting what happened at the council. He writes, "You know all these things; and, if I have erred, it will be corrected by your acute judgment without argument."[21]

Depicting himself as an author who was merely chronicling the council, Piccolomini wrote his letter to Carvajal as the preface for the *De rebus basiliae.* In the prefatory letter, he suggested that he had simply recorded what happened. If there was an error in his account, it would be fixed by his friend Carvajal. Piccolomini thus consciously solicited Carvajal's input, reflecting the dynamic of supplication between ranked ecclesiastics, between a bishop and a cardinal.[22] Piccolomini depicted himself as an author with no visible political agenda; a clear falsehood that was understood by both Piccolomini and Carvajal, given how involved they both were in church politics and in the events that Piccolomini recorded, and how he depicted himself in such tumultuous political events after they had happened.[23] Clearly, Piccolomini was well-aware of the power of the preface to shape the opinions of his readers about his own actions at the council, even early in his ecclesiastical career.

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[20] For the text of this preface, consult Piccolomini, *Reject Aeneas, Accept Pius*, 321. O'Brien, "*The 'Commentaries,"* 66-70 for the *De Rebus* and Piccolomini's calculated authorship to depict himself as a pro-papal participant. Cf. Pius II, *De Gestis Concilii Basiliensis Commentariorum Libri II*, ed. Denys Hay. Oxford Medieval Texts (Clarendon: Oxford University Press, 1992).

[21] Piccolomini, *Reject Aeneas, Accept Pius*, 321.

[22] For more on this epistolary and amicable relationship between Carvajal and Piccolomini, consult O'Brien, Emily O'Brien, "Letters of Alliance and an Alliance of Letters: Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, Juan de Carvajal, and the Conciliar Crisis," *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme* 42, no. 3 (2019): 73–103.

[23] O'Brien, "*The Commentaries*,*"* 66-70. The entirety of her first chapter is an excellent summary of the conciliar crisis, and of Piccolomini's participation in the many events of the conciliar era.

Piccolomini's knowledge of how to use prefaces to affect readership is on display in the prefaces to his *Commentaries*. Just as in his approach in the letter to Carvajal where he rejected long prefaces and clearly described what he was doing, in the *Commentaries* Piccolomini told the reader what he intended to do with his memoir: he wanted to describe his reign and to mark himself as an illustrious man and pope, using the genre of historical writing to do so. Following his obvious lead, the *Commentaries* has subsequently been recognized for the *apologia* it is, and studied as such, to understand what Piccolomini hoped to accomplish with his work, and how and why he wrote it.[24] Nevertheless, the prefaces to his memoir have not been studied or analyzed for who they were written for, why, and when, or who Pius thought he was writing to, and how that reader would commemorate his papacy.

Piccolomini wrote two short prefaces for the *Commentaries*. The first appears at the very beginning before Book I, distinctly labeled as a *Praefatio* for his work: the prepared manuscript in the Corsiniana distinctly describes it as the "Comentariorum Pii Secundi Pontificis Maximi Praefatio," in the scribal hand, demarcating this short work from the text of the *Commentaries* that begins with his family history (See Figure 2)[25]

[24] The definitive English language study on Pius II is O'Brien, *"The Commentaries,"* but also consult the introduction to Margaret Meserve and Marcello Simonetta's edition.

[25] Piccolomini, *Commentarii Rerum Memorabilium Que Temporibus Suis Contigerunt*, ed. Adrianus van Heck, 2 vols., Studi e Testi 312 and 313 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1984), 37 describes this section as a Praefatio, as does the Meserve and Simonetta translation. Hereafter, this edition will be cited as "Piccolomini, *Commentarii*," BAV Reg. Lat. 1995 does not start the *Commentaries* with the word "praefatio," only having "Iesus" at the top of the page before beginning with "Si perit…". The Cors. 147 manuscript begins with the quoted text, before beginning the text proper with an illuminated "SI," the S depicting Piccolomini offering the book to the reader. For the illustration of the frontispiece, consult Figure 2.

Figure 2: *Frontispiece of Pope Pius II's 'Commentarii'*. Rome, Biblioteca dell'Accademia dei Lincei e Corsiniana, *MS. Corsiniano (Cors) 147*. Photo courtesy of the Biblioteca Corsiniana and Anthony Majanlahti

Pius' second preface appears as a short introduction to a new work entirely, at the very beginning of Book XIII. It is not remarked upon by the author or distinctly titled as a separate section of the *Commentaries*. This passage is only found in the rough edition in the Vatican copy, as the prepared

manuscript does not contain the thirteenth book at all.[26] While both these prefaces are short introductions to the much larger work – at longest, a page and a half in the manuscript – Piccolomini directly addressed his implied reader in both prefaces: he referred to himself in the first person plural, the "Nos," and employed first person plural verb endings, while using the second person singular "Tu" and second person singular verb endings to establish familiarity with the reader.[27] This direct addressing only happens in the prefaces; in the rest of his memoir, Piccolomini wrote in a third-person narrative style, something that allowed others later to obfuscate his authorship and assign the entire work to a different author, distancing it from its papal hand.[28]

By writing his prefaces directly to the reader, Pius established a relationship between himself and his audience, where Piccolomini depicted himself as the single, princely author of this work – but importantly, also as a supplicant seeking external evaluation. He offered his writing directly to the reader for their opinion and evaluation, their credit, as it were. Piccolomini gave an *apologia* of his pontificate through the *Commentaries* as clever narrative truths, but he gave credit and evaluative authority to the reader directly when he offered his writing to them before the text even began. For Piccolomini, his implied reader was ideally someone already in his circles and able to fashion his papal reputation after his death, so they would be reading his *Commentaries* with a political expectation and with, he hoped, a positive evaluation of Pius and his reign.

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[26] Piccolomini, *Commentarii*, 37-38, for the first preface; 793-794 for the second preface.

[27] Piccolomini, *Selected Letters*, 1, Piccolomini wrote to Sigismund of Austria on 5 December 1443. In his letter, he notes, "I felt a keen desire to write to you but was held back by a present-day practice everyone employs but which I personally dislike: using the plural number in writing to one person." The use of the second-person singular pronoun in Latin letters is, for much of the fifteenth-century, contested as to what is "proper" epistolary culture (consult Ch. 2 of this dissertation, especially regarding Platina to Maffei, or Gaza to Bussi, and the work of Marianne Pade cited there). Piccolomini was directly engaged in this discussion, and because of his desire to remain familiar with his readers, he used the second person singular liberally. In each of these prefaces, he refers to the readers as "Tu": Piccolomini, *Commentarii*, 38: "Tu qui haec aliquando legeris…" 794: "tu qui lecturus es…"

[28] Consult below, "Fashioning the Papal Image."

Piccolomini asserted his perspective and defended his narrative, and then asked his readers for a positive evaluation of his pontificate. How he interacted with these implied readers as an author, and who he thought his readers were at all, is a key place to look for his self-fashioning by way of early-modern historical writing. His prefaces are important sites for both finding and evaluating this dynamic, and for discerning who Piccolomini imagined his readers to be.[29] This section offers a reading of how Piccolomini addressed his imagined readers directly in the prefaces. He did not simply ask for his reader's evaluation, but quite deliberately tried to shape it in favour of his memory and his pontificate.

The version of the *Commentaries* that contains both of Pius' prefaces is the Reginensi Latini manuscript (Reg. Lat. 1995), currently in the Vatican Library.[30] The manuscript was predominantly written down by Patrizi, Pius' secretary, who took dictation from the Pope, while Piccolomini heavily annotated the margins on where to add more detail, where to expand on content, and where to insert different parts. Furthermore, throughout the work, there are passages of poetry written by Pius' court-poet Campano, and an entirely separate section all on a new quire for the processions for St. Andrew's head relic, written or compiled by de Cesari, and there are other minor additions to the text not written by Piccolomini or Patrizi.[31] Written on 595 foliated pages, Reg. Lat. 1995 is the manuscript that Pius, according to Campano, dictated to his secretary at nightfall and in other snatches of time.[32] The work is remarkably consistent in the dialogue

[29] Genette, *Paratexts,* 197.

[30] BAV, Reg. Lat. 1995.

[31] For the different scribal hands found in Reg. Lat. 1995, consult Hans Kramer, "Untersuchungen über die Commentarii des Papstes Pius II", *Mitteilungen des Oesterreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung* 158 (1934): 62-70. Cf. Piccolomini, *Commentarii Rerum Memorabilium*, particularly van Heck's introduction. Also consult Torch and DeSilva, "Pius II and the Andreis," 593-594.

[32] Pius II, *The Commentaries of Pius II*, ed. Leona C. Gabel, trans. Florence A. Gragg, vol. 22, Smith College Studies in History (Northampton: Department of History of Smith College, 1937): 4: "Campano, his biographer and court-poet, reminds us that the Pope was seldom able to give so much as two consecutive hours to the work, often stolen from hours of sleep."

between Patrizi's handwriting and Pius' entries; as Anthony Grafton notes, "[Pius'] most pungent additions to the text came in the form of marginal corrections and additions."[33]

Scholars agree that Pius began working on his apologetic project in 1462, after the entry of St. Andrew's head relic into Rome that April, an event narrated in Book VIII of the *Commentaries*.[34] Transcribed from 1462 to 1464, the Reg. Lat. 1995 manuscript was completed in its twelve books by spring of 1464, while Pius was still alive and about to leave on crusade. Upon his departure for Ancona in spring of 1464, the manuscript was most likely given to Campano and the scribe Johannes Gobellinus of Linz to create a more polished version of the work, while Pius was on the crusade and starting his next *historia* as well, with Book XIII to possibly be attached to this new manuscript after Pius' death in Ancona.[35] Starting his memoir so late into his pontificate allowed Pius narrate his life as both a commentary on, and an *apologia* for, his reign, using his knowledge of what had happened in his life up to and including 1464. Writing his work as a commentary, along with his rhetorical skills from his humanist studies, let him create and shape a text and then coordinate its circulation as part of an image-making and self-fashioning enterprise.[36]

It is unknown what happened to this manuscript immediately after Pius' death. Book XIII was clearly added to this manuscript after Pius II died, most likely under the curatorship of Campano, its editor. Reg. Lat. 1995 was only rediscovered in the Vatican archives by Giuseppe Cugnoni, the librarian of the Chigi library, who described what was omitted from the sixteenth-century printed version of the *Commentaries* in his 1883 publication, *The Unedited Works of*

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[33] Anthony Grafton, *Inky Fingers: The Making of Books in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2020): 49.

[34] O'Brien, "*The 'Commentaries"*, 15-17.

[35] Concetta Bianca, "La Terza Edizione Moderna Dei Commentarii Di Pio II," *Roma Nel Rinascimento*, 1995: 5-6.

[36] Gary Ianziti, *Writing History in Renaissance Italy: Leonardo Bruni and the Uses of the Past*, I Tatti Studies in Italian Renaissance History (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2012):193.

Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini….[37] Cugnoni's discovery of the manuscript was also noted soon afterwards by the famous papal historian, Ludwig von Pastor, whose name has been associated with the manuscript ever since.[38] In the appendix to Volume III of *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, Pastor described his discovery:

> Professor Cugnoni founded his edition of these omissions (published in Rome in 1883), only on a Manuscript in the Chigi Library, and did not consult the Vatican Codices. After a careful examination of these Codices, made in March, 1883, I believe that in Cod. Regin. 1995, MS. chart. Fol. sec. XV. fol. 595, I have found the original of the "Memoirs" written in part by the hand of Pius II. himself, and the Manuscript seems to be the one entrusted to Campanus for correction. This was certainly done when the 12 Books of the Commentaries were completed.[39]

The manuscript was clearly in the Vatican Library's collection before the archive was opened for scholarly use in the 1880s. It seems that, after Pius' death in August of 1464, this manuscript with its thirteenth book entered the library of Cardinal Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini as part of his inheritance of Pius' effects, and the manuscript remained in Piccolomini hands until his family gave it to the Vatican Library sometime in the sixteenth century, after Todeschini Piccolomini's death in 1503. But when precisely it moved to the Vatican Library is unknown. One suggestion, offered by Pastor, is that the *Commentaries* joined the book collection of the Theatines, along with the Piccolomini donation of their palace to that religious order in the late 1500s.[40] The manuscript

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[37] Pius II, *Aeneas Silvii Piccolomini Senensis qui postea fuit Pius II Pont. Max. Opera inedita descripsit ex codicibus christianis vulgavit notisque illustravit Josephus Cugnoni, Chisianae bibliothecae praefectus*, ed. G. Cugnoni (Rome, 1883): 495-549. Consult Margaret Meserve and Marcello Simonetta's "Note on the Text and Translation," in Pius II, *The Commentaries,* 380.

[38] Pius II, *The Commentaries*, Gabel and Gragg, 5. It is Pastor's discovery and publication of the manuscript, not Cugnoni's, that historians have recognized and repeated. Heck's introduction to the Vatican critical edition of Pius' Commentaries, however, also notes Cugnoni's work. Piccolomini, *Commentarii*, 11: "Praetereundum non est Iosephum Cugnoni, praefectum olim Bibliothecae Chisianae, eodem anno quo Ludwig von Pastor codicem Reginensem extulit, locos (maioris ambitus), quibus editor interuenerat, separatim edidisse."

[39] Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes From the Close of the Middle Ages, Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources*, translated by Frederick Ignatius Antrobus (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co, 1894): 3:415.

[40] Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, 418: "The statement here made, that the Codex came from the Library of S. Andrea at Rome, is of importance. According to De Rossi (Bibl. Vat. 365), the Codices from the Library of Pius II, now preserved in the Vatican, were brought from the magnificent Library which the Theatines had at S. Andrea

probably then moved into the Vatican Library collection from the Theatines as part of the Reginensi and Theatine collection of the Sant Andrea Della Valle library, then housed on the urban plot where the old palace once had stood.[41] This collection is best known for its association with Queen Cristina of Sweden's donation ("Reginense" referring to the Queen herself), but this register includes many other works outside of the Queen's donations.[42] However, there are works that note the use of the *Commentaries* as a source for historical writing before the Piccolomini donation in the late sixteenth century, as will be described below, so the precise answer to when the Reg. Lat. 1995 manuscript entered the Vatican Library is unknown.

In Reg. Lat. 1995, the rougher edition of the *Commentaries*, Pius wrote that he completed the narrative of his life and pontificate, and began a new work describing his crusade, a work that would later be appended to the *Commentaries* as Book XIII after the pope's death. The first part concludes quite deliberately on 584v with:

> Here we have what in the still unfinished sixth year of his pontificate, we have written of his doings, arranged in 12 books, the last of which was finished on the last day before the Kalends of January, in the year of our salvation 1463, the twelfth and final book of the Commentaries of Pontifex Maximus Pius II ends well.[43]

This firm conclusion, and the short preface at the start of Book XIII, suggests that Book XIII was to be a separate work entirely of Pius' creation, one that focused on Pius II's crusade from Ancona.

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della Valle (Blume, III., 141); the Manuscript, therefore, is from the Pope's private Library, a circumstance which yet further confirms the opinion I have expressed."

[41] Bianca, "La Terza Edizione," 5n6.

[42] Paolo Vian, "Manoscritti di chiese teatine romane nei fondi Reginense latino e Reginense greco detto di Pio II della Biblioteca Vaticana: 1. S. Andrea della Valle", in *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae 6*. (Citta del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1998): 577-706.

[43] BAV Reg. Lat. 1995, 584v; Pius II, *Commentarii*, 790: "Hec habuimus que ad annum sextum pontificates sui nondum exactum de rebus eius scriberemus in libros digestis duodecim, quorum ultimis pridie Kalendas Ianuarias finem accepit anno salutis millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo tertio. Commentariorium Pii pontificis maximi liber duodecimus et ultimus feliciter finit."

The bulk of Reg. Lat. 1995, up to this conclusion, was intended as the copy from which Gobellinus might transcribe the twelve books. The second manuscript of the *Commentaries* now in the Biblioteca Corsiniana, in humanist script and illuminated by Andrea da Firenze, would then become "the archetypus from which other transcriptions were to be made" while Reg. Lat. 1995 remained the rougher version, written in several hands and reflecting several contributors.[44]

It is ironic, then, that the Reg. Lat. 1995 manuscript is the version that seems to have circulated most widely. Emily O'Brien notes that, "The vast majority of [manuscripts of the *Commentaries*] dating to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries descend from Reg. Lat. 1995, a pattern suggesting that Cors. 147 circulated for some time only in very restricted circles."[45] This is corroborated by the early papal historian Onofrio Panvinio, who for the writing of his *De varia creatione Romani Pontificis* ("On the Various Ways of Electing the Roman Pope") of 1559, had access to the Vatican library for his research, and thus to Reg. Lat 1995 before the Theatine donation was made. This suggests that the donation of the original manuscript by the Piccolomini family of the *Commentaries* was not to the Theatines but directly to the Vatican library, as it was a source that Panvinio already had on hand. In his book on Panvinio and his historical writing of the mid-sixteenth century, Stefan Bauer argues that Panvinio had as his sources, "Stefano Infessura's *Diario* ... [and] Pius II's *Commentarii* (for the election of Callixtus III and Pius' own election)."[46] Panvinio's secretary noted in the margins of Panvinio's *De varia creatione* that, when Panvinio was reporting on Callistus' election, the information came "Ex Pii II Comm," (from Pius II's *Commentaries*), and shows that the manuscript of the *Commentaries* was read and used before

[44] O'Brien, "*The 'Commentaries,"* 17. Pius' method of sharing his apologia through the deliberate circulation of manuscripts is addressed in Torch and DeSilva, "Pius II and the Andreis."

[45] O'Brien, "*The 'Commentaries"*, 17.

[46] Stefan Bauer, *The Invention of Papal History: Onofrio Panvinio between Renaissance and Catholic Reform* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020): 125.

its first printing in 1584.[47] While sections of Pius' memoir did circulate in manuscript form before the 1464 completion of the *Commentaries*, sections such as the account of Pius II's conclave, or the entry of St. Andrew's head relic into Rome, the entire Reg. Lat. 1995 manuscript was definitely in the Vatican Library by the end of the sixteenth century; Panvinio may have had access to a section of Pius' conclave narrative that circulated outside of Reg. Lat. 1995, or seen the manuscript before its donation.[48] The manuscript was then wholly dormant until Cugnoni and von Pastor mentioned the work in their late nineteenth-century writings, as all earlier published accounts and uses of Pius' work had relied on the sixteenth-century and seventeenth-century printed editions.

As Hans Kramer, Adrianus van Heck, Remo Cesarani, Kenneth Setton, and Susanna de Beer have conclusively shown, Reg. Lat. 1995 contains many hands and many authors contributing to Pope Pius II's original manuscript.[49] John Monfasani, Emily O'Brien, Jennifer Mara DeSilva and I have added to this discussion, suggesting that the process of writing and shaping the *Commentaries* and Pius' image, especially in a rough copy, was consciously slower and more deliberate than the writing out and circulation of his well-known orations, many of which were copied and shared across Europe while the *Commentaries* only circulated piecemeal and very slowly.[50] So it is Reg. Lat. 1995 where Pius II consciously collected different authors and perspectives to present his work from a seemingly-omniscient perspective, and it is where he

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[47] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek CLM 151, 3v. https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/details:bsb00120465. Beside the title, "Conclave quo Callistus III papa creatus est", it notes in a similar hand, "Ex Pii II comm." My sincerest and highest thank-you to Dr. Bauer for this citation, link, and discussion of Panvinio.

[48] Torch and DeSilva, "Pius II and the Andreis," 605-606 for a discussion of the *Andreis* that was written and then given to a French Cardinal, Alain de Coetivy, during Pius' life.

[49] Kramer, "Untersuchungen über die Commentarii des Papstes Pius II"; Van Heck, "Praefatio Editoris," in Pius II, *Commentarii Rerum Memorabilium Que Temporibus Suis Contigerunt*, Vol. 1 (Citta del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1984); Kenneth Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571) Volume II: The Fifteenth Century* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1978), 229n103; Susanna de Beer, *The Poetics of Patronage: Poetry as Self-Advancement in Giannantonio Campano* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 80-85

[50] John Monfasani, "Bessarion Latinus," *Rinascimento* s. 2, 21 (1981): 165-209; O'Brien, *'The Commentaries'*; Torch and DeSilva, "Pius II and the Andreis," 597. For Pius' orations and their wide circulation, consult Michael von Cotta-Schönberg, ed., *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II.*, 6th ed., vol. 1, 3 vols. (Scholars' Press, 2019), https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01707661.

fashioned an image of himself as a good ruler, one worth commemorating in a historical text. He then introduced this work – and his later crusading text as well – with his own prefaces, writing directly to the reader in a direct voice to solicit their positive evaluation. Contrasting with the prefaces, which are in Pius' immediate voice, much of the *Commentaries* is written in Pius' voice but also constructed piecemeal from other hands and writers, suggesting that it was Pius who collected and orchestrated all these many different voices into one long account, a work to be edited, with its authorship flattened, and then circulated as his own, single-authored creation.[51]

A quick note about genre and historical authorship is important. During his lifetime, Piccolomini was an established writer and poet. As a humanist author, he was trained in writing history and in its parallel genres of rhetoric and poetry. Following classical precedent and genre-writing, he had written a work on the lives of illustrious men (*De Viris Illustribus*, c. 1447),[52] and well-received histories: those of the Council of Basel (rewritten after the collapse of the Council, to put himself into a better light),[53] and those about Europe, Bohemia, and Asia.[54] His narrative voice was also honed in an epistolary novel full of erotic imagery published before his pontificate, titled "the History of Two Lovers", the *De Duobus Amantibus Historia* (1444), along with a comedy called the *Chrysis* and a wide range of poems and songs, which aided in his appointment as poet laureate by the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III in 1442.[55] But the *Commentaries* are

[51] Torch and DeSilva, "Pius II and the Andreis", 597.

[52] Pius II, Pope. *Enee Silvii Piccolominei, postea Pii PP II: De Viris Illustribus*, ed. Adrianus van Heck, Studi e Testi 341 (Citta del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1991); Cf. Pius II, Pope, *De Viris Illustribus and other biographical writings of Enea Silvio Piccolomini*, ed. and trans. Michael Von Cotta Schönberg (Generis, 2021, https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-03339021).

[53] While not his proper history of the Council of Basel, his letter to Cardinal Carvajal that opened this chapter played a part in this refashioning of Piccolomini' image after his rejection of conciliarism.

[54] Pius II, *De Viris Illustribus*. For Piccolomini II as historian, consult Benedikt Konrad Vollmann, "Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini as a Historiographer: Asia" in Piccolomini, 'El Più Expeditivo Pontefice': Selected Studies on Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (1450-1464), eds. Zweder von Martels and Arjo Vanderjagt (Leiden: Brill, 2003), who notes several "histories" written by Piccolomini: The *Historica Bohemica*, *De Europa*, De *Asia*, and, of course, the *Commentaries*.

[55] For many of these poems, consult Pope Pius II, *Enee Silvii Piccolominei, postea Pii PP II: Carmina*, ed. Adrianus van Heck, Studi e testi 364 (Vatican City, Citta del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1994).

not known as a *historia*, but rather, as *commentarii,* a distinct genre of humanist historical writing in the late medieval period.[56] Directly referencing Julius Caesar's works of the same title, his *Gallic Wars* (*Commentarii belli Gallici*) and his *Civil War* (*Commentarii belli Civilis*), Piccolomini's *Commentarii* imitated Caesarean and other classical works, and focused predominantly on narrating the political and military achievements of the men they described.[57] Pius' *Commentaries* followed the precedent of other humanist histories and commentaries from the period, notably Leonardo Bruni's *Commentarii de primo bello punico* (1422) and, contemporary in writing to Piccolomini's history but published later, Giovanni Simonetta's *Commentarii rerum gestarum Francisci Sfortiae* (1482).[58]

Emily O'Brien and Gary Ianziti have repeatedly stressed the importance of the genre of "commentaries as historiography" in the fifteenth century, with Piccolomini's famous work being only one of many commentaries to come from Italian humanist scholars such as Leonardo Bruni, Francesco Filelfo, and Giovanni Simonetta, with these commentaries being informed directly by Caesar's work and historical method.[59] Gary Ianziti noted the difference, for early modern authors, between writing *historia*, which came from a wide array and range of sources both ancient and contemporary, and writing a *commentarii*, where the authors did not have much by way of ancient sources to rely on. Thus, early modern historians and authors had to "comment" on the narrative account being written using contemporary information and lived experience instead of

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[56] Gianna Pomata and Nancy G. Siraisi, eds. *Historia: Empiricism and Erudition in Early Modern Europe.* Transformations: Studies in the History of Science and Technology (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2005).

[57] Emily O'Brien, "Arms and Letters: Julius Caesar, the Commentaries of Pope Piccolomini II, and the Politicization of Papal Imagery," *Renaissance Quarterly* 62, no. 4 (2009): 1057–97. Cf. Ianziti, *Writing History.*

[58] Gary Ianziti, "A Humanist Historian and His Documents: Giovanni Simonetta, Secretary to the Sforzas," *Renaissance Quarterly* 34, no. 4 (1981): 491–516.

[59] O'Brien, "*The 'Commentaries",* 192-193. Cf. Gary Ianziti, "I Commentarii: Appunti per la storia di un genere storiographico quattrocentesco," *Archivio storico italiano* 150, no. 4 (1992): 1029-1063. For humanist historical method, consult Anthony Grafton, *What Was History: The Art of History in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

documentary evidence that they could cite. Thus, "commentary writing was a way of dealing with the paucity of information" from historical sources, so authors would use their own experiences and information gleaned from their own times.[60] But Piccolomini was not only writing a political or military descriptive narrative. Marrying the *res gestae* narrative form seen in Caesar's *Commentaries* and with a literary mode directly from Vergil's *Aeneid*, *Eclogues*, and *Georgics*, along with his own experiences in writing prose, Piccolomini was richly engaged in the historiographical tradition of fifteenth-century Italy, pulling from ancient sources and using historical and present analysis to bolster the importance of the ruling prince.[61] In writing his own memoir as a humanist secretary to himself, he was also responding to several historical texts emerging both before and during the writing of the *Commentaries*.[62] Writing his work and distinctly giving his memoir the title of "commentaries" directly engaged a historical method where "history" and "commentaries" were related, yet different, genres that attempted to do different things: histories told a political narrative and set the world into a calculated and possibly divine plan, while commentaries remarked on a wide range of practices, behaviours, cultures, and information from the author's present time. This use of both "history" and "commentary" ensured that his readers would understand what he and his colleagues were doing as authors. The full title of his *Commentaries*, the "Commentaries on Memorable Things which Happened in His Time"

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[60] Ianziti, *Writing History*, 276. The full quote refers to Bruni's writing on the first Punic War and relying on Polybius. "It will be recalled that Bruni originally developed the concept of commentary writing as a way of dealing with the paucity of information provided by Polybius on the first Punic War. Bruni essentially lacked confidence with respect to whether the material available on the first Punic War was sufficiently copious to support a full-scale historia … It is entirely possible that Bruni - faced by dilemmas of this kind, and eager to make rapid progress - fell back upon his previously devised category of commentary writing as a solution for the treatment of strictly contemporary affairs."

[61] O'Brien, "Arms and Letters," "Piccolomini read the writings of at least one ancient historian for how he wrote as much as for what he wrote, and by contending that the apologetic strategies he borrowed played a crucial role in shaping his own image in his Commentaries. … Piccolomini's relationship to ancient histories was shaped to some degree by how his fellow humanist historians received them. Indeed, it is likely that Piccolomini was drawn in part to Caesar's Commentaries as a model because of their contemporary political currency."

[62] O'Brien, "*The 'Commentaries"*, particularly Chapter 6: "Portraits of Princes in the Portrait of Piccolomini II".

(*Commentarii Rerum Memorabilium Que Temporibus Suis Contigerunt*) reflects this desire to move beyond the *res gestae* method of historical and chronicle writing. Not all the *res gestae* needed to be political for Piccolomini: they just needed to be memorable and touched upon by its author, following a tradition where other commentaries were about lived political events that the authors went through, could and did shape, and continued to shape through their authorial rendition.[63]

Now for the prefaces that he wrote to begin his work. Piccolomini wrote two prefaces for his *Commentaries*: the first one to open the work, and the second to start Book XIII and beginning it as a separate text entirely that would narrate his crusade. Both prefaces were most likely written by the Spring of 1464, as the first preface suggests that the *Commentaries* is a complete document, and begins with an exhortation to the reader, while the second preface begins a new work that would immediately follow the *Commentaries*. Both prefaces, like most of the Reg. Lat. 1995 MS, are written in Patrizi's hand, with very minor Latin additions and notes by Pius in the margins, but Patrizi was not the author of these prefaces, only the scribe.[64] The second preface is not textually detached as cleanly from the text as the first preface, which in the manuscript is on a separate page entirely. The second preface also only briefly introduces the reader to the new subject of the second work, while the first preface introduces Piccolomini's memoir as an entire work.

The first *Praefatio* to the *Commentaries* begins with a direct display of classical knowledge to show off to the reader. Piccolomini opined on the heretical, yet in vogue, reception of Epicurus

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[63] O'Brien, "Arms and Letters", 1057: "The remarkable breadth of this work may help to explain its rather generic title, loosely translated as Commentaries on Memorable Things that Happened in [Pius'] Age. Most of the words in Piccolomini's title offer only the vaguest impression of the book's contents and even less about their significance, but in the very first word there is much to discover." The Latin word *contigerunt*, "had happened" or "have touched upon", is translated by scholars in the first sense of things that have happened.

[64] BAV, Reg. Lat. 1995, 1r, "mortuus laudatur --- vivus accusatur,"; 585r, "omnis Italica pacis dulcedine fruebatur." Van Heck's edition does not make mention of the annotations in the margins: Piccolomini, *Commentarii,* 38; 793.

and Lucretius, revealing his knowledge of contemporary classical reception and humanist reading.[65] Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* ("On the Nature of Things") re-discovered in a German monastery by the humanist Poggio Bracciolini in 1417, was for humanists a new source of knowledge of ancient moral and natural philosophy, particularly for the Epicurean philosophical school. The work very quickly became popular for many humanists to read, annotate, and address.[66] Wanting his work to participate in the circles he knew, addressing a reader who would have read works similarly to what he would have seen, and reading both humanist works as well as classical texts as he had, Piccolomini described his desire to record his own illustrious life for posterity in alliance with the intellectual currents of his own day, recognizing that readers expected authors to broadcast their knowledge of ancient works.

Piccolomini began his *Commentaries* immediately by declaring the opinions of Epicurus as false or "wrongly supposed." He writes, "If the soul dies with the body, as Epicurus falsely suggested, there is nothing that fame can give to it."[67] In the following sentences, Piccolomini describes the importance of achieving the glory of a good name, for the sake of a soul that lives past death and collects *fama,* personal and otherwise, a philosophy that goes directly against Epicurean thought regarding the mortality of the soul. There was no need for Piccolomini to

[65] For the rediscovery of Lucretius and its immediate implications in Renaissance Florence, consult Alison Brown, *The Return of Lucretius to Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010). For the discrepancy between the heretical opinions of Lucretius and Epicurus, and yet the popularity of these works in the fifteenth century, consult Ada Palmer, *Reading Lucretius in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014): 49, "That Lucretius was considered acceptable reading for clerics is established by two copies that belonged to bishops of Padua, to Jacopo Zeno and to Petrus Barocius, who copied the poem out himself, and by the two copies created for Popes Piccolomini II and Sixtus IV." Palmer argues that Lucretius was largely in vogue and received by humanists post-1417 and Bracciolini's re-discovery of the manuscript, but by 1517 Lucretius and Lucretian thought had been banned.

[66] Palmer, *Reading Lucretius*, 73-77. Palmer here notes that most of the annotations and copies of Lucretius cared about the words used, the poetry itself, and the moral philosophy the work expounded, rather than the atomism that Epicureanism argued - that it was the poets and antiquarians, in a Christian world, who cared about Lucretius before the scientists, atomists, and philosophers did.

[67] Piccolomini, *Commentarii*, 37. "Si perit morte animus, ut falso censuit Epicurus, nihil habet fama quod ei conferat."

describe or note Epicurean philosophy at the outset of his memoir, except for his recognizing the cultural capital invested in alluding to ancient thinkers in humanist works. The philosophy of Epicurus, through Lucretius' famous poem, was very popular among humanists in the middle of the fifteenth century, before the poem was officially banned in Florence in 1517.[68] However, Piccolomini knew his contemporary readers expected to find ancient philosophy in humanist works, and Piccolomini, as the intellectual on display in the *Commentaries*, met those expectations and began his work with a literary flourish that displayed his knowledge of both antiquity, and what was currently popular for humanist readers.

Assuming that his readers were in the world of his papal influence and office, and writing for them as implied readers, Piccolomini continues by addressing the political world that he and they both knew. He lists the popes whose reigns he not only lived through but also learned from, linking himself directly to the papal institution that he directed and to its pro-papal politics. He writes, "We have seen Martin V, and Eugenius IV, and also Nicholas V and Callistus III, whom while they lived the public damned, and exalted when dead by uttering great praise."[69] All the popes before him whom he listed had expanded papal power in Rome and in Europe, and Martin V and Eugenius IV had expanded papal power directly against the councils and conciliar movement - a priority for Piccolomini as well. By the time he had started the *Commentaries*, he had both rejected the power of councils entirely in the bull *Execrabilis* of 1459, and also rejected his own anti-papal history in the bull *In Minoribus* of 1463.[70] By linking himself to these earlier popes, with three of whom he had had political disagreements, Piccolomini stressed the inherited

[68] Palmer, *Reading Lucretius*, 49. There was a copy of Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* made for Piccolomini while he was pope.

[69] Piccolomini, *Commentarii*, 37, "Martinum Quintum vidimus et Eugenium Quartum et Nicolaum item Quintum et Calistum Tertium quos, dum vixere, damnavit populus, fato defunctos magnis extulit preconiis."

[70] Both documents can be found in Piccolomini, *Reject Aeneas, Accept Pius*, 391-406.

position he had as pope, linked himself to the former monarchs whom he and his readers knew, and emphasized the role of the papal monarch and noted how popes were praised after their deaths for their actions. His audience knew what these popes had done and accomplished - they would have lived through much of it - so his readers would recognize the narrative of papal power that Piccolomini established in his preface, and maintained throughout his entire *Commentaries*.[71]

Piccolomini then ended this first preface by stating his intention to write down the history of his pontificate, and to correct those who would speak poorly about him: "Envy will cease after death, and with the removal of private emotions that pervert men's judgments, truth will triumph and will place Pius among the illustrious popes. Meanwhile, we will write (nos… scribemus) the history of his pontificate…"[72] After declaring to the reader these intentions to write his own history (using the Latin word *historiam*), he ended the first preface directly by directing his words to the reader. "You, who ever will have read these words, give them as much respect that you would deny one who tells a lie."[73] Piccolomini commands his readers by outright asking for their judgment and trust, but implicitly, he has already accepted their praise, respect, and agreement. In this preface, Piccolomini reveals that he is aware of the reader's judgment, and wants to divine, appraise, and then shape it. Expecting his *Commentaries* to be read and criticized by the people who had lived through many, if not all, of the events he described, the preface assumes the reader will agree with Piccolomini's narrative of papal power. For in the fifteenth century, as Ianziti argues about early modern historiography, "history was an image-making (or breaking) enterprise."[74] Piccolomini asked how the reader would assess his pontificate by offering his reputation to his

[71] For more on Pius II and his crusade for papal power, O'Brien, *"The Commentaries."*

[72] Piccolomini, *Commentarii*, 38, "Cessabit inuidia post obitum et sublatis qui iudicia peruertunt priuatis affectibus uera resurget fama Piumque inter claros pontifices collocabit. Interea nos de pontificatu suo historiam scribemus…"

[73] Piccolomini, *Commentarii*, 38, "Tu qui hec aliquando legeris, ita demum boni consule, ut mentienti nihil ignoscas." Translation is mine.

[74] Ianziti, *Writing History*, 193.

reader, to ask for their evaluation, but then he assured his reader that the portrait presented in the *Commentaries* is the most accurate one and to judge him if it were not. In doing this, Piccolomini did not just offer his history to his readers as a supplicant, he outright tried ot shape the estimation that his readers would give his work. While outwardly challenging his readers to find lies or errors in his history, he understood that his implied reader would already be primed to accept his account as factual.

Pius's second preface is much shorter than the first. Not labelled at all as a separate piece of paratext, this second preface is only two paragraphs of the beginning of Book XIII, as Pius did not have the time to polish and shape this narrative that he invested in the first twelve books of his *Commentaries*. At the time of writing the thirteenth book, estimated to the late spring and early summer of 1464 – when the rest of the *Commentaries* had already been written – Piccolomini was writing a new work entirely, a history of his crusade while he was on campaign, and he needed to introduce it. Piccolomini began this second preface by referring to the *Commentaries* as a whole: "With the finishing of the *Commentaries* (*Commentariorum*) of Pope Pius II in twelve books, we seemed to have brought an end to the work."[75] Piccolomini treats this preface as a new start to a new work. He had finished the *Commentaries* with the subjugation of Sigismondo Malatesta and the conclusion of many baronial feuds both in the papal states and against him directly inside Rome, and everything seemed peaceful within Italy, so it seemed to Piccolomini a good place to conclude his work. In this new preface then, he then described his desire to remain tranquil and at peace, a life of humanist *otium*, but then wrote that, weighed down by the crusade, Piccolomini and his narrative must continue: "Our mind recoiled from rest and purposed to write the history of the Turkish war if life should last. We did not refuse. We will begin and so long as Heaven permits,

[75] Piccolomini, *Commentarii*, 793, "Absolutis Commentariorum Pii II pontificis maximi duodecim libris finem operi videbamur imposuisse…"

we will continue."[76] Clearly aware that he was engaged in a series of new projects – a crusade and a new literary work – Piccolomini described his work not as a continuation of his *Commentaries*, but as a new undertaking with new concerns, from the same third-person omniscient perspective, and with similar readers.

The second part of the second preface was where Piccolomini addressed both his audience and the genre that he was working in. He noted that he was quite deliberately not writing a narrative about a distant past, as "We however must approach an event hardly begun and certainly far from ended … We shall begin … and set down whatever worth recording may take place from day to day."[77] He continues to isolate the genre of what he was writing, as in his first preface, by turning to the reader: "You who are to read, though you will not be reading history (since we are setting down recent events), must yet understand that we have kept the law of history, not to depart from the truth."[78] There is an echo to how he referred to the reader in the first preface: "You who will someday have read these things("tu qui hec aliquando legeris,") versus "You who are to read" ("tu qui lecturus es,").[79] These phrases tie the readership of these two prefaces together, but Piccolomini made it very clear that this is a different work, yet read by the same audience who would understand both this parallel, and what he was doing. One text would be eventually read (The *Commentaries*) while the new work would be more immediately read and circulated, as a narrative of the crusade. This follows patterns of circulation of shorter texts, patterns that Pius already knew about and took advantage of, seen in both the *Andreis* as well as his shorter orations.[80] This short introduction to

[76] Piccolomini, *Commentarii*, 793. "…Turcis indicto bello in dies parans, horruit animus quietem, bellumque turconicum scribere, si vita comes fuerit, meditatus est. Non abnuimus; incepiemus et quantum ex alto dabitur, prosequemur." Translation from *The Commentaries of Pius II, Books X-XIII*, eds. Florence Gragg and Leona Gabel, 845.

[77] Piccolomini, *Commentarii*, 793-4, Gragg and Gabel, 845.

[78] Piccolomini, *Commentarii*, 794, "tu qui lecturus es, quamuis non leges historiam qua res nouas exponimus, historie tamen legem seruatam scito, cuius est a veritate non aberrare." English from Gragg and Gabel, 845.

[79] Piccolomini, *Commentarii*, 38, 794.

[80] Meserve, *Papal Bull*; Torch and DeSilva, "Pius II and the Andreis (1462)".

his new work, which would be a history of the Turkish war (called a *historiam*) – a war begun in the papal bull *Ezechielis prophetae* of 1463 – links the reader of the *Commentaries* to the reader of this new work. Piccolomini had the same readers and the same expectations from them: to support his actions both in text, and in the wider world. So, he kept a similar form for his next book.

Piccolomini expected his readers to understand the conventions of early modern commentary, and how it contributed to political culture. In the prefaces, he took advantage of these expectations for the prefaces themselves, for both the circulation of his orations, and for the reading and circulation of his larger work, the *Commentaries.*[81] Emily O'Brien has carefully noted that Piccolomini did not expect a wide world of princes and powerful men to read his work, and argued that even calling the *Commentaries* "propaganda" assumes a wider audience than the pope expected. She writes, "the term propaganda implies a level of publicity incongruous with the intellectual culture of this age … The *Commentaries* were not only meant to be a work of self promotion with a controlled circulation, but that, at least to some extent, they succeeded in fulfilling this goal."[82] Similarly, Amodeo de Vincentiis' *Battaglie di Memoria* stresses how the followers of Pius II, in particular the *Pieschi* Cardinal Giacomo Ammannati Piccolomini, used the texts made for and about Pius II to fight for his memory and for their own position at the curia in Rome after his death – where Ammannati Piccolomini and the members of the *Pieschi* immediately responded to the Pope's death and started to shape the memory of his pontificate.[83] Both O'Brien's and de Vincentiis' work indicate that the premodern readers of Piccolomini's works were a restricted audience who then knew how use these texts as political weapons to shape both

[81] Torch and DeSilva, "Pius II and the Andreis (1462)", 597, 601.
[82] O'Brien, "*The Commentaries"*, 17.
[83] de Vincentiis, *Battaglie di Memoria,* 95.

Piccolomini's posthumous memory, and their own power in Rome and in the curia.[84] Pius knew how to write for these implied readers, so his prefaces addressed them directly with his constructed image of authority in the *Commentaries*.

Aware of textual circulation and the power of the written word, Piccolomini deliberately attempted to shape his audience's recollections of his memory, his goals, and his person, all to maintain the image of himself as a good, powerful, anti-conciliar pope. Here, I studied how he both compiled the rough copy of the Commentaries, as well as wrote his two prefaces to address the readers of the *Commentaries* directly, pre-empting their concerns and addressing them through how he catered to the reader. Studying how Piccolomini addressed his readers, not only as a supplicant but as a deliberate shaper of opinion, and our knowing that his readers were members of a small circle who would circulate his texts after his death, lets us see how his colleagues and friends had both the ability and the knowledge to manage this information and his texts in a wider world. But who would read this work, and gain access to it? A strong defender of the *Commentaries* and of Pius II' memory into the 1470s, Giovanni Antonio Campano, reveals how this work would be promoted immediately after Pius' death.

Commending The Commentaries

Piccolomini intended his *Commentaries* to be read by others and circulated within a small world of fellow intellectuals and curialists to fashion an image of himself; that much is clear. But what audience did Piccolomini expect he would have, and who would receive this document with its elaborate self-fashioning after Pius' death? As mentioned earlier, Emily O'Brien carefully argues that the *Commentaries* cannot be viewed as propaganda, as we today understand it.[85] She

[84] de Vincentiis, *Battaglie di Memoria*, 17-40, "Le reliquie di Pio II".
[85] O'Brien, *The "Commentaries*," 17.

then describes Pius as intending the *Commentaries* to have what she calls a "controlled circulation," where Pius had a targeted audience who would then expand and share this narrated pope in their own circles.[86] To understand how Pius' plan would work, and how multiple authors fashioned Pope Pius' reputation while he was on crusade, we must turn to the curator of the *Commentaries*, Giovanni Antonio Campano, the bishop of Teramo, Neapolitan-born humanist, and close familiar and court poet for Pius II.[87]

Born in 1429 and spending much of Piccolomini's pontificate in Rome in search of patronage from the humanist pope, Campano participated in the writing of the *Commentaries*, and both authenticated and circulated it after the Pope's death. This section asks how Campano participated in the writing and editing of the *Commentaries*, how he edited the papal image, and what he hoped to accomplish in doing so. I suggest that his editorship of the *Commentaries* gave both Pius' memoir and his reputation some added authenticity and credibility for the reader's evaluation, especially in fifteenth-century curial Rome, where competing for the memory of each papal reign was consistent and necessary after each pope's death, and where Campano was respected for his scholarly abilities.[88] In both editing Pius' work and authenticating it with a letter at the end as an appendix, Campano contributed first to its authorship and then to its importance as a humanist work in its own immediate circles, and added his credibility to that of the pope, in order to fight for Piccolomini's status and importance once the pope had died.

Along with Agostino Patrizi, Pius' secretary and scribe, Campano was one of Piccolomini's closest familiars. He actively participated in the writing of the *Commentaries* by

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[86] O'Brien, *The "Commentaries*," 17.

[87] Frank Rutger Hausmann, "CAMPANO, Giovanni Antonio," *in Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani,* Vol. 17 (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1974), https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-antonio-campano_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/. Consult de Beer, *The Poetics of Patronage,* especially Chapters 1 and 2.

[88] de Vincentiis, *Battaglie di Memoria*.

inserting his own poetry into the text (with Piccolomini absorbing Campano's poetry into his narrated account and under his commentary) and he was in the loose circle of *Pieschi* who spent time with Piccolomini at his palace in Pienza indulging in humanist pleasures.[89] As a humanist bishop in Rome, Campano was linked both to Pius' world as his familiar, and to the Roman academy of Pomponio Leto. Campano remained part of the Piccolomini circles after Pius' death: he wrote a funeral oration for the pope, and accompanied his nephew (and future pope) Todeschini Piccolomini in his self-imposed exile and travels through Italy and Germany after Pius II died.[90] Campano also attempted to maintain Pius' reputation and commemoration in Rome after the pope's death in 1464, upsetting the following pope in his efforts to do so.

Susanna de Beer has argued for the closeness of Campano's and Pius' relationship, based on the placement of Campano's poetry into the *Commentaries*, on their sharing poetry as part of their humanist model of friendship, and on their mutual love for the *studia humanitatis*. De Beer suggests that these poems "must have aimed at conveying a certain image of Pius,"[91] so Piccolomini understood the importance of having his court poet insert his own poetry, works that evaluated Pius II as a pope, into the *Commentaries* to add to its literary impact– enhancing Pius' account with classicizing poems as reactions to events that Pius narrated. It makes sense that Pius wanted Campano to edit his memoir, and aid in its circulation after his death, as unlike Patrizi or de Cesari, Campano was a direct contributor to the pope's memoir and image through his own writings.[92]

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[89] For Campano's close relationship with Pius, as well as the poems inserted into the *Commentaries*, consult de Beer, *The Poetics of Patronage*, 83-84. Pius II, *Commentarii,* 453; For the *Pieschi*, consult O'Brien, "The Politics of Painting," 440.

[90] Matteo Sanfilippo, "PIO III, papa" *in Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 85 (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 2015), https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/papa-pio-iii_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/.

[91] de Beer, *The Poetics of Patronage*, 84.

[92] de Beer, *The Poetics of Patronage*, 84. Cf. Torch and DeSilva, 593.

Campano had an important task. He had to edit the *Commentaries* into a prepared volume while Pius was on crusade, narrate it in an authentication letter to conclude the work, and help disseminate Pius' memoir for a select group of readers to solidify Piccolomini's authority as both pope and poet. While the *Commentaries* was justified to the reader by the pope himself in the preface, the additional authentication by a well-known and respected humanist bishop would both bolster its reception among fellow intellectuals, and assure entry after Pius' death into the circle of scholars that Piccolomini was addressing. This group of readers would, Pius hoped, help solidify his reputation after his death. This process would both commemorate Pius' pontificate, as well as entrench the individual positions of the *Pieschi* in the incredibly turbulent politics of fifteenth-century curial Rome.[93]

Campano's first role was to edit the *Commentaries* into a prepared and beautiful manuscript edition. Having received the original manuscript (Reg. Lat. 1995) from the pope in early 1464, Campano and the hired scribe Johannes Gobellinus prepared a manuscript intended to have a large effect on Pius II's posthumous reputation. This manuscript, currently in the Biblioteca Corsiniana in Rome (MS. Cors. 147), was the copy that Pius intended to be the *archetypus* from which all other copies and circulation would come, so he trusted his court poet to coordinate the project while he was away. Campano's editing and correcting of the entire document, in the single hand of the scribe, and the illumination by Andrea of Firenze, was done by June of 1464.[94] Gobellinus' scribal hand, and Campano's attached letter describing the completion of this work, also created

[93] de Vincentiis, *Battaglie di Memorie*, especially for Leodrisio Crivelli's work doing similar work for Pius' memory. Cf. Hunt, *The Vacant See in Early Modern Rome*.

[94] de Beer, *The Poetics of Patronage,* particularly Chapter 1 for the relationship between Campano and Pius II. For the dating of the finishing of the Commentaries: the Corsiniana manuscript finishes the Commentaries with "Divo Pio Secundo pontifice maximo volente Iohannes Gobellinus di Lins, vicarius Bonnensis Coloniensis diocesis hoc opus anno Domini M-o CCCCo LXIII-o die XII mensis Iunii excripsi foeliciter." This suggests a finishing of the text by Pius and Patrizi in early 1464, with Gobellinus then transcribing the work by June 1464.

the false narrative that this book was not Piccolomini's recollections of his life, but rather, those of someone else: this authorship was assigned to Gobellinus, who as part of his transcription, described Piccolomini's pontificate in the third person, the rhetorical perspective that Piccolomini used in his memoir. This deception was only uncovered when Pastor published his discovery of the rough copy of the *Commentaries* in 1883, with all its annotations and many hands throughout.[95]

Emily O'Brien notes that the Corsiniano manuscript entered the Piccolomini library in the spring of 1464, right before his trip to Ancona, where Pius would die waiting for ships for his crusade.[96] After Pius' death, this library became part of Cardinal Todeschini Piccolomini's library, and Todeschini Piccolomini took both the rough and the prepared manuscripts back to Siena with him along with Pius' other books. O'Brien has convincingly argued that it was the Corsiniano manuscript that Pinturicchio consulted (under Todeschini Piccolomini's ownership and the guidance of Andrea Todeschini Piccolomini, his brother) to create the fresco program of the pope's life for the Piccolomini Library, attached to Siena's cathedral and painted from 1502 to 1508.[97] It is most likely that Pius' *Commentaries* were in Siena at the time, as the library was being decorated specifically to hold the former Pope's library. To decorate the library and surround the books with depictions of their former owner, Pinturicchio's paintings, as O'Brien argues, follow the stories in the *Commentaries*. Thanks to the commission of Todeschini Piccolomini and the help of his

[95] Pius II, *The Commentaries*, Gragg and Gabel, 4-5. "In this form, the Commentaries were given in 1464 to Johann Gobellinus, a German cleric, who was commissioned to make a copy. The copy made, Gobellinus signed his name, thereby unwittingly furnishing the basis for a long-lived misunderstanding concerning the authorship of the work. The credit for perpetuating this error belongs to Francesco Bandini de' Piccolomini … declaring Gobellinus to have been the author." We know very little about Gobellinus. Elisabetta Caldelli, *Copisti a Roma nel Quattrocento*, Scritture e libri del medioevo 4 (Rome: Viella, 2006): 117 has a brief discussion on him, where Caldelli suggests that it is probably Pius II who made him a vicar of Bonn, and notes his career working for a few cardinals before entering the household of Pius II, where he wrote a few works for the Pope before being entrusted with the *Commentaries*.

[96] O'Brien, "*The 'Commentaries"*, 15-16.

[97] O'Brien, "The Politics of Painting: Cardinal Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, Pope Pius II, and the Frescoes of the Piccolomini Library."

brother, the paintings reproduce narratives from Pius' memoir faithfully, as well as the perspective that their authors took. It is worth noting that Pinturicchio did not paint the section written and circulated by de Cesari in the *Commentaries*, the parade of St. Andrew's head; perhaps this was a distinct choice to depict Pius II as only a humanistic orator giving a performance, along with only what was written in the pope's and Patrizi's hands, and not a work by a different person with many speakers and participants.[98] The fresco cycle, even with its omission of the St. Andrew's head procession, thus fits perfectly with Pius' and the *Pieschi's* desires to emphasize the Pope and family's glory.[99]

The entire fresco cycle in the Piccolomini Library at the cathedral of Siena reflects Pius II's authority and power, especially in its depictions of Pius' oratory and humanistic skills. The image of the oratorical strength of the Piccolomini Pope is clearly on display in the fresco devoted to Pius' complicated failure: "Pope Pius II at the Congress of Mantua" (Figure 3):

[98] Pius as an orator, and the depictions of him as such in the Piccolomini Library, arose in discussions with Professor Jennifer Mara DeSilva. She presented her research on Pius II depicted as a Master of Ceremonies and an orator in the Piccolomini Library frescoes at the Sixteenth Century Society Conference in Baltimore, 2023. I thank DeSilva for her help with Pius II and his reception.

[99] O'Brien, "The Politics of Painting," 430.

Figure 3: *Pope Pius II at the Congress of Mantua.* Siena, Piccolomini Library, Duomo, 1502-1508, by Pinturicchio and his workshop. Photo courtesy of the Web Gallery of Art, https://www.wga.hu/html_m/p/pinturic/siena/08mantu.html

To show Pius' skills as an orator, paralleling the depictions of him as a humanist orator before his papacy in the other frescoes in the cycle, Pius is presented at the Congress of Mantua as sitting higher than the other participants and almost singlehandedly leading the congress and the princes who were devoted to the crusade against the Ottoman Empire. Conversely to how it is depicted in the library fresco and the *Commentaries*, the Congress of Mantua was an abject failure for the pope: fewer princes and states than expected signed up to join the crusade, and the strength of the

papacy at the command of the crusade was not what convinced the few princes who swore fealty to do so; they were much more concerned with the many powers around the Mediterranean and the economic advantages of trading with the Ottomans instead of crusading against them. However, Pinturicchio's fresco reflects Pius' skills and authority in the same way as the *Commentaries* do, by focusing on the humanistic majesty of Pius II, and "transforms an embarrassing failure into a powerful statement both of the pope's majesty and of his diplomatic superiority on the world stage."[100]

The entire cycle of Pinturicchio's frescos is clearly informed by the *Commentaries*, both in content and in perspective, so the manuscripts were most likely around for consultation while at least the preparatory sketches were being done for the library. It is likely that the *Commentaries* were held in the Sienese library and used to create the entire fresco cycle, which ended in 1508. From there, the *Commentaries* remained in Piccolomini hands, later to be published by a later family member in 1584, and it stayed in private hands until, at some point, it ended up in the Biblioteca Corsiniana. While sections of the rougher manuscript did circulate and inform other historical works, as mentioned above, the Corsiniano MS seems to have stayed in the close circles for which it was intended; this was the manuscript used for its later publication, and it stayed in private hands and libraries for much of its history.[101]

In the final version of the *Commentaries* that Campano edited and prepared, the work ends after the twelfth book with an authentication letter from Campano attached to the end of the work, a letter for the cardinal Giacomo Ammannati Piccolomini.[102] This letter was not included in the

[100] O'Brien, "The Politics of Painting," 439.

[101] Pius II, *The Commentaries*, Gragg and Gabel, 4-5. See also Meserve and Simonetta, "Note on the Text," 379.

[102] Rome, Biblioteca dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Cors. 147, 427r-431v. My thanks to Anthony Majanlahti for help in attaining a reproduction of this letter from the Biblioteca Corsiniana. The letter itself is also found as an appendix to Pius II, *Pii Secundi pontificis maximi Commentarii*, eds. Ibolya Bellus and Ivan Boronkai, Volume 2 (Budapest: Balassi Kiado, 1993-1994): 619-624, to which I owe thanks to Dr. Marlene Gaynair

1584 publication, even as it was based on the Corsiniano MS of *Commentaries* that had the letter attached.[103] But this letter, written between friends and fellow *Pieschi*, not only described the *Commentaries* along with Piccolomini's other work, but outright continued the *apologia* that Piccolomini described in his own memoir.[104] Campano's authentication letter, asserting that the entirety of the *Commentaries* is true, is an important element in any discussion of the *Commentaries* and how it should be read, because its own appendix promoted its acceptability and importance.

The summer of 1464 is a good date to suggest for the writing of the letter, as Campano would have needed to see the complete *Commentaries* to describe it fully for Ammannati Piccolomini, as well as have the letter done with enough time for Gobellinus to transcribe it into the Corsiniano manuscript; it is written in the same hand as the rest of the *Commentaries* and is part of the same volume.[105] Based on internal evidence from the letter – the lack of any indication of Pius having passed away – it seems that this letter was written while Piccolomini was still alive, putting it to before August of 1464, which also corresponds with Gobellinus finishing the transcription of the entire volume by 12 June 1464, while Pius was still alive, and putting his finishing note after both Pius' memoir and Campano's letter, which is also in Gobellinus' hand.[106]

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for help in accessing this work. Also consult R. Avesani, "Pio II e la lettera del Campano al cardinal Ammannati Piccolomini," in *Nymphilexis. Enea Silvio Piccolomini, l'umanesimo e la geografia: manoscritti, stampati, monete, medaglie, ceramiche, catalogo*, a cura di C. Crescentini e M. Palumbo (Rome: Edizioni dell'Associazione culturale Shakespeare and company 2, 2005): 123-135.

[103] Bianca, "La Terza Edizione," 5-16, and Sara Honegger Chiari, "L'edizione del 1584 dei « Commentarii » di Pio II e la duplice revisione di Francesco Bandini (analisi del libro primo)," *Archivio storico italiano* 149, no. 3 (549) (1991): 585–612.

[104] For a brief discussion on this letter, consult Bianca, "La terza edizione," 7-8.

[105] Cors. 147, 426v-427r. This is clearly visible in the Corsiniana manuscript. An archivist has added Campano's letter to the Table of Contents in a later cataloguing hand.

[106] Pius II, *Pii Secundi*, 624. Biblioteca Corsiniana, Cors. 147, 431r.

As the editor of the *Commentaries*, Campano would have given the entire manuscript to Gobellinus to transcribe (without the thirteenth book) while the Pope went to Ancona to begin his crusade. The addressee of the letter also makes sense – both Campano and Cardinal Ammannati Piccolomini were established *Pieschi* in Rome, working to support Piccolomini's goals even when he was alive. In her chapter on Campano and Ammannati Piccolomini's friendship and networking through the sharing of poetry, Susanna de Beer shows that the alliance between Campano and Ammannati Piccolomini was steeped in premodern friendship, just as Campano's and Pius' was. This friendship was described in Campano's poetry as *amicitia,* reflecting not just a friendship between equals, but one where both men had a role to play in the development of the friendship in a world of patronage and networks that could sustain both economic and community bonds.[107]

Within this world of *amicitia* reflecting both patronage and friendship (as far as the two can be untangled) Cardinal Ammannati Piccolomini was widely respected as a friend to intellectuals in Rome, known for his relationships with and brokerage for intellectuals and artists, putting them in touch with patrons at the Roman Curia – if not patronizing them himself. His friendship with Campano reflected this dynamic: after the pope's death, Ammannati Piccolomini became an important patron of Campano and other scholars in early modern Rome.[108] Campano's letter to Ammannati Piccolomini before Pope Pius II died, advertising Piccolomini's *Commentaries*, needs to be understood in an environment where both men benefited from the *Commentaries'* being circulated and shared among scholars in Rome. The relationship between Campano and Ammannati Piccolomini, one of asymmetrical power in their immediate circles,

[107] de Beer, *The Poetics of Patronage*, 113-115. For more on the politics of friendship in the early modern period, Amyrose McCue Gill and Sarah Rolfe Prodan, editors, *Friendship and Sociability in Premodern Europe: Contexts, Concepts, and Expressions* (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2014).

[108] de Beer, *The Poetics of Patronage*, Chapter 2.

would improve with the circulation of their former patron's memory and image.[109] Ammannati Piccolomini, a cardinal raised by the Piccolomini pope and adopted into his family, would benefit from the maintained memory of the Sienese pope in curial and ecclesiastical circles, while Campano would benefit from his association as court poet for the former humanist pope. Campano's verification of the value and importance of the *Commentaries*, combined with a supplication letter to Ammannati Piccolomini makes sense in this context: Campano needed a new immediate patron when the pope went to Ancona on his crusade, Ammannati Piccolomini needed to entrench his authority as a cardinal and supporter of the arts, and the former Piccolomini pope wanted his *apologia* circled in these elite environments.

The title of the letter gives some indication as to why Campano wrote it. "Giovanni Antonio Campano, Bishop of Teramo, making judgment on the works of Pope Pius II."[110] The judgment here is important for those who would read this: Campano is authenticating the entire volume, giving it a mark of authority that parallels Piccolomini's writing in his prefaces. Just as Piccolomini asked his readers for their evaluation at the beginning of his work, Campano concluded the *Commentaries* with his own evaluation as a reader. The letter itself begins by talking about the *Commentaries* (like Piccolomini, distinctly calling it a *commentarios*,[111]) and situating it among the histories that Piccolomini had written as well. While the opening reflects that this letter describes Piccolomini as an author of more than just the *Commentaries* (the word *operibus*

[109] Much of the relationship between Campano and Ammannati Piccolomini can be found in de Beer, *The Poetics of Patronage*, Chapter 2, which focuses much more on the poetry that Campano wrote for Ammannati Piccolomini in search of a patron and broker, than on the letter at the end of the *Commentaries*. For a biography of Ammannati Piccolomini, consult Edith Pàsztor, "AMMANNATI, Iacopo" in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960), https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/iacopo-ammannati_(Dizionario-Biografico).

[110] Pius II, *Pii Secundi*, 619; Cors. 147, 427r; Pius II, *Pii Secundi ponteficis maximi Commentarii*, 610. "Iohannis Antonii Campani episcopi Aprutini epistola de operibus Pii Secundi pontificis maximi iudicium faciens."

[111] Pius II, *Pii Secundi*, 619. Cors. 147, 427r.

referring to many works, and referring to his *History of Germany* as well), Campano restricts his descriptions of what Piccolomini wrote to outline the memoir that his letter is attached to. His description of the *Commentaries* and of Piccolomini's authorial technique begins with a long salute to what Piccolomini had accomplished throughout his life and, more importantly, to his authorship in this document. Praising the pope and his literary craft quite deliberately, declaring that "the history is true" (*vera est historia*), Campano introduces the Pope and his work to Ammannati Piccolomini by praising Pius' ability to write proper history, unbiased enough to speak ill of his friends and well of his enemies. Campano thus narrates to the cardinal what the *Commentaries* described, and vouches for the veracity of Pius' memoir.[112]

Following the general order of what is covered in the *Commentaries*, Campano leads Ammannati Piccolomini through the books, showing what Piccolomini covered in his work. The pope's trips to England and Scotland are briefly mentioned, as is Pius' politicking with prior popes and emperors – both detailed in the first book of Pius' *Commentaries*, along with the preface he wrote for his reader. Campano describes Pius' longstanding feud with Sigismondo Malatesta, and the rebuilding of Rome and Pius' contribution to the reinstitution of papal monarchy is an important topic in the letter, with most of the emphasis falling on how Piccolomini stabilized and entrenched the papacy.[113] By narrating what is described in the *Commentaries* for Ammannati Piccolomini, Campano adds additional literary weight to Piccolomini's writing with his descriptions of what the Pope wrote about, essentially advertising Piccolomini's work to an audience primed to receive it and share it with others. Ammannati Piccolomini would have known about almost all these events: he had been associated with Pius' *familia* since 1460 (adopting his

[112] Pius II, *Pii Secundi*, 619. Cors. 147, 427r. "Vera est historia" … "Rumores in se hominum, adversariorum maledicta, convitia detractorum sic accumulat, ut ipsum sui factum accusatorem existimes, nec diluit quidem, cum facile possit."

[113] Pius II, *Pii Secundi*, 620. Cors. 147, 428v.

last name as part of his association with the Pope) and went to Ancona on crusade with him and to help in his illness.[114] Much of what Campano wrote about the Pope's life and *Commentaries*, Ammannati Piccolomini knew by virtue of being in the same circles. Campano's description of the pope's life and what he recorded in the *Commentaries* would not be new to him.

The letter itself does not necessarily follow the exact order of Pius' life or of the *Commentaries*. To drive home the theme of papal authority that both the *Commentaries* and Campano's letter hope to establish, Piccolomini's travels as writer and bishop are addressed first. Campano moves on to Pius' rivalry with the secular lords of Italy, and near the end of the letter, he addresses his fight against conciliarism. The (failed) council of Mantua is noted, with Campano describing how "our tears were caused" by the failure of this council, but notes how all of the princes of Christendom praised the upcoming crusade to Asia and against the Ottomans, swearing fealty to the pope.[115] This balancing of the pope's failure at the Congress of Mantua, with his success at attaining the fealty of princes afterwards re-emphasizes Campano's point and purpose for the letter: to suggest for the readers that the "history" is true. By providing a balanced assessment of Piccolomini's reign and accomplishments, Campano gives evaluative power to the reader in his letter. Thus, Campano created a work where the *Commentaries* and its appendix worked together to establish Piccolomini as a powerful, crusading Pope worth commemorating.

After Campano's letter, Johannes Gobellinus writes about his own role in transcribing the *Commentaries*. Adding a notation at the very end in red ink, Gobellinus finishes the Corsiniano MS by writing, "With the blessed Pope Pius II wanting it, I, Johannes Gobellinus of Linz, vicar of

[114] Pàsztor, "AMMANNATI, Iacopo,": "Assistendo Pio II nella sua ultima malattia ad Ancona …"

[115] Pius II, *Pii Secundi*, 623, Cors. 147, 430r: "Inde pontifex maximus creatus in conventu Mantuano quem impetum, quas lacrimas nobis excitavit, cum omnes Christiani orbis aut principes ipsi aut eorum legati convenissent, eosque ad expeditionem Asiaticam et Turcense bellum hortaretur!"

Bonn and Cologne, successfully finished writing out (*excripsi*) this work in the year of our lord 1464 on the 12th of June."[116] With that, the *Commentaries* and its appended letter concludes, to be bound as twelve books under one cover and then very carefully circulated and shared by Campano, Ammannati Piccolomini, and Todeschini Piccolomini, among other *Pieschi*. Campano's letter, adding credibility to Pius' account and supporting it with his letter of verification to the Cardinal, suggested that the reader of the *Commentaries* take this narrative seriously and treat it as truth – "the history is true", as it were. But following Pius' death, an "anti-intellectual" pope, Pope Paul II, took the throne, and the *Pieschi* were not able to defend the Piccolomini name the way they had expected. The *Commentaries* didn't quite disappear during Paul's pontificate, but they were kept more secluded, and in a different city, than Pius II had imagined when he was writing. What happened next to the *Commentaries* reveals an important history of manuscript circulation for the intellectual circles of fifteenth-century Rome.

Fashioning the Papal Image

When Pius II died in Ancona on 14 August 1464, his effects, including both manuscripts of the *Commentaries*, were given to his nephew, Cardinal Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini. But despite their careful planning and shaping of Pius II's image and reputation, the fortunes of the *Pieschi*, and of the *Commentaries*, after the death of the *paterfamilias* did not go according to plan. With the election of Paul II, Campano, Todeschini-Piccolomini, and Ammannati Piccolomini left Rome: while the two cardinals kept their red hats, the three were unable to keep Piccolomini authority in Rome, so they went back to their strongholds in Tuscany. But after Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini's 1503 pontificate of 26 days as Pius III Piccolomini, the Piccolomini

[116] Pius II, *Pii Secundi*, 624. Cors. 147, 431r.

maintained their importance as an established Roman family with a palace along the *Via Papale*. But in 1582, Costanza Piccolomini D'Aragona donated the Roman Piccolomini palace and its associated church to the Theatine order, making room for the construction of the large Sant'Andrea Della Valle basilica in 1593, where both Pius II and his nephew, Pius III, are entombed to this day, having been placed there after their prior tombs were moved to make way for the construction of Saint Peter's basilica.[117] Close to the time of the palace's demolition and Sant'Andrea Della Valle's construction, a relative of the family – Francesco Bandini-Piccolomini, the Archbishop of Siena – finally had the *Commentaries* published in Rome.[118] In the midst of the Counter-Reformation and in a culture of book censorship, the printed edition from 1584 (based on the Corsiniano manuscript, probably still in the household of the family) was attributed by Bandini-Piccolomini to Johannes Gobellinus as author, removing Pius II from authorship and making him, instead, the subject of the *Commentaries* as a biography.[119] This is noted in the extended title under which it was published, describing the *Commentaries* as "composed long ago by the Reverend Doctor Johannes Gobellinus, *vicarius* of Bonn."[120]

More importantly, this printed edition was heavily censored to remove any unflattering images of Pius II, the family, or the papacy. This censoring was not done as part of the wider Counter-Reformation approach typical of a Church Militant, but was instead motivated by Bandini-Piccolomini's solicitude for the rapidly-declining reputation of the Piccolomini family,

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[117] Carol Richardson, "The housing opportunities of a Renaissance cardinal," *Renaissance Studies* Vol 17, No. 4 (2003): 610-611. For the tombs of both Piccolomini popes, I. Kajanto and U. Halva-Nyberg, *Papal Epigraphy in Renaissance Rome*, Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae (Helsinki: Suomalainen tiedeakatemia, 1982). For Pius II's tomb, consult 63-69; for Pius III's tomb, consult 89-91.

[118] *Pii Secundi Pontificis Maximi commentarii rerum memorabilium, quae temporibus suis contigerunt, a R. D. Ioanne Gobellino vicario Bonnensi iam diu compositi, et a R. P. D. Francisco Bandino Piccolomineo Archiepiscopo Senensi ex vetusto originali recogniti* (Rome: Dominici Basa, 1584).

[119] From Bandini-Piccolomini's dedication to Gregorio XIII …, "continebantur a quodam Ioanne Gobellino ipsius Pii secundi familiari satis luculenter, ut ea erant tempora, in commentarium relatae, atque descriptae."

[120] "a R. D. Ioanne Gobellino vicario Bonnensi iam diu compositi".

especially given Florence's conquest of Siena, the Piccolomini's familial seat, in 1555.[121] Trying to assert the authority of the Piccolomini family, Bandini-Piccolomini released his long-considered edition of Piccolomini's *Commentaries*. However, he heavily censored it so as to show his illustrious ancestor in the best light possible to emphasize the authority of the Sienese family, but in an environment where censorship and information negotiation were common, and the manipulation of Pius' text would be much easier.[122] Bandini-Piccolomini's 1584 edition would be reprinted in 1589, then again in 1614 in Frankfurt, and would serve as the only known edition of the *Commentaries* until the rediscovery of the Vatican Library edition in 1883.

The *Commentaries* remained available only in Latin in the printed edition until the twentieth century, when Florence Alden Gragg and Leona Gabel translated it into English for the Smith College Studies in History, creating the first translation of the *Commentaries* into any modern language between 1933 to 1957.[123] Gragg and Gabel used the Vatican Library edition of the *Commentaries* for their translation, italicizing everything that the 1584 edition had censored to make clear to the reader what was removed in its initial publication. The classicist Adrianus van Heck published his critical edition of the Latin text in two volumes with the Vatican Library press in 1982, and in his introduction and edition, he notes the pagination of both the Reg. Lat. 1995 copy and the Corsiniano edition in the margins of the text. This has become the standard Latin edition for scholarly use.[124] A Latin-Italian edition of the text was edited and translated by Luigi Totaro in 1984, and a Hungarian critical edition was edited by Ibolya Bellus and Iván Boronkai in

[121] Chiari, "L'edizione Del 1584," 591.

[122] For this negotiation of information censorship and control, consult Hannah Marcus, *Forbidden Knowledge: Medicine, Science, and Censorship in Early Modern Italy* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2020).

[123] Pius II, *Commentaries*.

1993, with several key documents appended to their edition.[125] A new translation of the Latin text into English by Margaret Meserve and Marcello Simonetta is in process, published by Harvard University Press in the *I Tatti Renaissance Library* since 2004. All the editions since Gragg and Gabel's are based on the Corsiniano MS, following Pius' intention to have the Corsiniano manuscript circulated and shared and trusting his evaluation for the prepared manuscript being the final and truest edition of the work.[126]

Put more simply, the timeline of the *Commentaries*' manuscript circulations is as follows: Starting in 1462, Pius, his secretary Patrizi, and other close *Pieschi,* began the rough draft of the *Commentaries.* Pius finished the Ur-text, the Reg. Lat. 1995 volume, in Spring of 1464, finishing twelve books, and then Pius and Campano decided to pull many voices and hands into a single text: the Vatican manuscript. His rough draft of many hands and much work would be formalised into a finished edition by the scribe Johannes Gobellinus under the watch of Pius' familiar, Giovanni Antonio Campano, and produced by June of 1464. The work would continue briefly as Book XIII until Pius' death in August 1464, when both manuscripts would enter the inheritance of the Piccolomini family in both Siena and Rome. Remaining in manuscript form, the Corsiniano MS stayed within the family's holdings, while the Vatican MS was at least available for consultation by papal scholars, either within the Vatican Library or within the Piccolomini family's holdings as suggested earlier. The *Commentaries* were then printed in a very heavily censored edition in 1584 based on Corsiniano 147, and then reprinted in 1614 in Frankfurt, becoming the standard edition for use and consultation. The *Commentaries* would then re-enter the public

[125] Pius II*, I Commentarii*, 2 vols, ed. and trans. Luigi Totaro, Rev. ed (Milan: Adelphi, 2009); Pius II, *Pii Secundi pontificis maximi*, ed. Ibolya Bellus and Iván Boronkai. The letter to Campano is in Volume 2, pp. 619-624.

[126] Simonetta and Meserve, "Note on the Text and Translation," 379.

consciousness when the Vatican Library version was rediscovered in 1883 by Cugnoni and announced by von Pastor.

Through all these editions and transformations of the *Commentaries*, Pius' reputation and image remains a common theme. Beginning with his quote in the opening pages of the *Commentaries* where Pius asks for the readers' judgement for narrative truth, his posthumous reputation demanded the depiction of the Pope several decades afterwards in the frescoes of the Piccolomini Library, with his memoir informing the frescoes for his and his family's glory and the world's consumption. The concern for the political reputation of the Piccolomini family emerges in Bandini-Piccolomini's heavily censored Counter-Reformation edition of the late sixteenth century. Piccolomini is depicted as a tragic character, a failed crusader and ineffective pope in twentieth-century studies, resulting in several important reactions to the evaluation of Pius as a tragic figure in fifteenth-century Italy.[127] All of these depictions of Pius and his reputation come from the manuscripts and the *fortuna* of the *Commentaries*. The reputation of the man who told us to "reject Aeneas and accept Pius" is still being debated by historical scholarship, all coming back to his careful fifteenth-century *apologia* and to how his words have come to their contemporary readers.[128] But much of this *fortuna* would have been unimaginable to Pope Pius II as he was writing his autobiography for his own desired group of select and powerful readers.

Conclusion

[127] John Gordon Rowe, "The Tragedy of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II): An Interpretation", *Church History* Vol 30, No. 3 (September 1961), 228-313. Mitchell's biography of Pius, *The Laurels and the Tiara* also beautifully depicts a tragic appraisal of the Pope. In reaction to the broad interpretation of Pope Pius II as a "tragic" character, see especially O'Brien, "*The 'Commentaries*,*"* and for a recent reappraisal of Pius II as a historical actor and character to re-evaluate this "tragic" character, see von Martels and Vanderjagt, eds., *Pius II - "El Più Expeditivo Pontifice*.

[128] This quote comes from his papal bull "In Minoribus", his famous retraction bull, extolling all to reject the poet Aeneas Piccolomini and to accept Pius II as Pope. Consult Piccolomini, *Reject Aeneas, Accept Pius*, 393-406.

Very rarely does a book enter a world easily and then circulate with the impact that was intended by its author.[129] The *Commentaries* are no exception. With its complicated publication history, its deliberate search for and manipulation of an implied readership and audience, and its complex structure and creation, this famous papal autobiography was written to preserve the reputation of the pope, and to keep several reputations and persons powerful in Quattrocento Rome, but it had aftereffects unpredicted by its authors and its readers. Putting such an important document into its many intellectual heritages – immediate and otherwise – helps us to understand how the *Commentaries* were to be read and received – and then, at least following Piccolomini's motives, trusted as a source to use in historical writing.

This chapter argued, by looking at how Pius addressed his readers and how Campano described the *Commentaries* for them, that the *Commentaries* were written for an implied audience of Pius' familiars and allies surrounding him in Rome who would then use the *Commentaries* to shape and create a papal reputation and memory that would benefit them as well as the Piccolomini name. Because of the nature of papal regime change, and the violence and instability that often followed, papal and familial reputations needed to be defended if those who once had authority in Rome were to maintain that authority under the next Pope. By catering in his autobiography to a distinct group of readers who would then (ideally) take sections of the manuscript to circulate and share, Pius II and his immediate allies, the writers of Pius's *Commentaries* justified in these books both of Pius II's crusades: his failed one to reconquer Constantinople, and his much more successful one in establishing the authority of the Pope against his enemies, conciliar and otherwise.

[129] Grafton, *Inky Fingers*.

After Pius' death, the *Pieschi* named in this chapter had to adjust to a pontificate that had different aims from those of Pius II. Paul II Barbo was not nearly as nepotistic as the Piccolomini pope, and he invested much more in gaining the support of Romans than in filling the curia with friends, kin, and allies.[130] Cardinal Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini left Rome for a few years, travelling with Campano across Italy and Germany, and moved to Siena in 1502 to begin the work on the Piccolomini Library frescoes with Pinturicchio. Giovanni Antonio Campano found patronage first with Todeschini Piccolomini, and then with his friend, Cardinal Giacomo Ammannati Piccolomini. The two stayed in Rome through Paul's pontificate and remained largely unscathed by the suppression of the "conspiracy" of the Roman humanists, largely because Ammannati Piccolomini had such a powerful position in the church hierarchy. Due to the perceived slight against intellectual culture in Rome by Paul II (most likely a fallacy created and defined by the humanists who were arrested), the *Pieschi* remained linked to Rome but not nearly in the same authoritative positions they had enjoyed under the humanist pope. Yet, in circulating Pius' works – collections of his orations, and sections of *Commentaries* to other historical writers – they attempted to do what the deceased pope expected of them: they defended Pius' name and reputation in a curial Rome that had changed when the new pope took office.[131]

The *Commentaries* served two distinct purposes, then. It justified the crusading actions that Pope Pius II engaged in and defended his name and *fama* after he had died, particularly in the attempt to circulate the text after 1464, to some avail. As a text, it lives on in how Pius II was depicted in the frescos of Pinturicchio in the Piccolomini library, in its many current editions, and in the minds of its readers, historical and contemporary. While it had a slow start in its

[130] For Pius II's nepotism, consult Richard B. Hilary, "The Nepotism of Pope Pius II, 1458-1464," *The Catholic Historical Review* 64, no. 1 (1978): 33–35.

[131] de Vincentiis, *Battaglie di memoria*.

publication and circulation, Pius II's *Commentaries* continues to shape how the early modern papacy is studied and understood. Understanding its multiple authors, its multiple readers, and its complicated receptions, complicates the narrative that Pius II carefully constructed, and suggest that much more could be learned from this artfully deceptive and careful text.

CONCLUSIO

In 1475, as the Vatican library was being reinstituted and turned into a court library by Sixtus IV, the pope made Bartolomeo Platina its prefect.[1] Platina's investment with the title of *praefectus* of the library, as well as its opening, were commemorated in two fresco images: one by Melozzo da Forlì, one by unknown artists, and both painted by the end of 1478 (Figures 4 and 5).

Figure 4: *Sixtus IV Visits the Latin Room of the Vatican, together with his nephews and the librarian, Bartolomeo Platina.* Rome, Ospedale di Santo Spirito in Sassia, Sala Lancisi. Fresco, 1476-1477, by unknown artists. Photo courtesy of the Vatican Library, https://www.vaticanlibrary.va/it/la-biblioteca/la-storia-della-BAV.html

[1] For a timeline of the opening of the Vatican Library, consult Bartolomeo Platina, *Lettere*, ed. Damiana Vecchia, Inedita Saggi (Rome: Roma nel Rinascimento, 2017), "Appendice 4: Tavola Cronologia Platina praefectus della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana," 353-355. Also consult Antonio Manfredi, ed. *Le origini della Biblioteca Vaticana tra Umanesimo e Rinascimento (1447-1534)* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2011); for the life of Bartolomeo Platina, Stefan Bauer, *The Censorship and Fortuna of Platina's "Lives of the Popes" in the Sixteenth Century* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 78 for his association with the Vatican Library.

Figure 5: *Sixtus IV nominating Bartolomeo Platina the Prefect of the Vatican Library,* Musei Vaticani, Vatican City. Fresco by Melozzo da Forlì. c. 1477. Photo courtesy of the Musei Vaticani, https://m.museivaticani.va/content/museivaticani-mobile/it/collezioni/musei/la-pinacoteca/sala-iv---secolo-xv-xvi/melozzo-da-forli--sisto-iv-nomina-bartolomeo-platina-prefetto-de.html/

In the Forlì fresco, now in the paintings gallery of the Vatican Museum, Bartolomeo Platina is depicted kneeling in front of Sixtus IV as he is being invested with the position of librarian, with Sixtus' family watching, all as a part of the pope's investments in and for the city of Rome as described in the text underneath the image.[2] Meanwhile, in the fresco done by anonymous Roman

[2] Jill E. Blondin, "Power Made Visible: Pope Sixtus IV as Urbis Restaurator in Quattrocento Rome," *The Catholic Historical Review* 91, no. 9 (January 2005): 1–25.

painters in the Corsia Sistina of the Ospedale di Santo Spirito in Sassia, Platina is depicted differently: he is standing in front of the readers in the library, offering the library with its books on display to the visiting Pope and his family – again, the image done as part of a display of papal patronage and power.[3] But it is worth noting that for both of these images, while the power of the pope and his authority is clearly on display, when stressing the investment in a knowledgeable community, the scholars needed to be highlighted as well. Platina, and the fellow readers in the Vatican Library, are painted alongside the Pope, receiving the gift of Sixtus' investment in the liberal arts, and showing what good can be done with papal patronage.

Following his arrest and release by the prior pope in 1468, Platina's star was rising again under Sixtus IV: invested with a new title, finishing his monumental *Lives of the Popes* in 1475, and continuing to create scholarship while curating one of the important libraries of Europe, Platina was kept fairly busy with his new title and responsibilities – one of which was to transform the papal book collection into an institution like the great Italian libraries of Florence and Venice. So he got started early: he immediately began a register of expenses for the building of the Vatican Library and its holdings. Now held in the Archivio di Stato di Roma, this register notes the costs of several items and investments: payments for papyrus and paper for books, for lead for windows, for iron for book chains; all these materials "for the use of the library" (*pro usu bibliothecae)* are expensed quite frequently.[4] Platina also notes the payments for interior and exterior work on the building, done by master artisans from Milan, Florence, and by an artisan just identified as Herman

[3] Eunice D Howe, *Art and Culture at the Sistine Court: Platina's "Life of Sixtus IV" and the Frescoes of the Hospital of Santo Spirito*, Studi e Testi 422 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2005).

[4] Rome, Archivio di Stato di Roma, *Camerale I, Biblioteca Vaticana*, bb. 1497, 1498, 1499, Vol I., f. 34v. Consult also Paola Piacentini, *Platina, La Biblioteca Vaticana e i registri di Introitus ed Exitus, da una ricerca di Giuseppe Lombardi*, Inedita Saggi (Rome: Roma nel Rinascimento, 2009).

the German.[5] While his accounting may not be the cleanest, Platina notes how much they are paid for their work, and what they are paid for; art historians will note the payments to Domenico Thomassi the Florentine, the artist known as Ghirlandaio, employed to begin painting the interior of the library.[6] For such a big project, Platina wanted some of the best, as the investment in the library reflected the importance of the books that it cared for and kept on display, books depicted in the Corsia Sistina fresco to corroborate the power of the Pope.

For the humanists and their employers, books were some of their most precious items. Their care for books is why Platina commissioned artisans to decorate the library where these books were held, why Sixtus re-instituted the Vatican Library at all, aside from keeping it a papal collection, and why so much effort was expended in creating books that the humanists would either keep for their own library, or that that they would give to others. Their care for books was also not only selfish: they would share manuscripts with friends, consult with each other for edits and to make manuscript copies cleaner looking and more exact in Latin use, and circulate sections of books to establish and shape friendships, communities, and reputations of scholars and elites for wider consumption. Here, I have shown that books were so important for humanists that they built their entire communities through the use, production, and sharing of books with each other and with a wider premodern world. Through looking at the prefaces that humanists wrote as letters to each other, to their readers, and to their patrons; the margin notes that scholars left for each other; the process of editing a book for print but also for small and careful circulation; and other examples

[5] Camerale I, 34v. "Dedi Hermanno Theutonico ducatos duos die XIIII decembris 1475, quae pecuniae sunt computandae in salario suo." My husband Frank Cormier noted that "Herman the German" also refers to the German chieftain Arminius (18 BC to 21 CE), referred to in Tacitus' *Germania*. But Arminius would only be referred to as Herman starting in the sixteenth century, after Tacitus' *Germania* diffused into Europe after its discovery at Fulda in the 1420s and its appearance in the library of Pius II in Rome in the 1450s; consult Herbert W. Benario, "Arminius into Hermann: History into Legend," *Greece & Rome* 51, no. 1 (April 2004): 83–94.

[6] Camerale I, 33v, "Dedi ducatos x auri Dominico Thomassi pictori Florentino pro pictura bibliothecae quam incohavit die xxviii novembris 1475."

of how humanists both used and cared for books as items in their many cultural worlds, I argued that their engagement with texts ancient and contemporary was both intellectually and socially driven.

The humanist engagement with texts has, rightfully, been widely studied and argued about by contemporary scholars; their social engagement and interactions, much less so. But how humanists lived and worked with books, as depicted by papal propaganda and in their daily lives, plays a fundamental role in how they produced their texts: what works they had access to, how they read their works, and who they wrote for all has social and cultural habits as well as intellectual routines. As Thomas Izbicki has shown, Enea Silvio Piccolomini wrote a series of letters all badgering his friends for a copy of Leonardo Bruni's translation of Aristotle's *Politics*.[7] This friendly harassment by Piccolomini of his friends and colleagues followed well-rehearsed patterns of behaviour by humanists in search of books, and Piccolomini was well aware of the community of humanists and scholars surrounding him, and knew who would have what materials he could borrow and copy for in his own quest for ancient texts. This humanism, especially as a behaviour, was both living and performed by scholars in the fifteenth century, in a world where reputation, friendship, and communities were incredibly important, and one relied on one's friends and colleagues to manage and live in one's small, local, and oral worlds. The humanists lived in these worlds as much as they lived in their *respublicae litterarum*, and their behaviour and how they managed their relationships with their books reveal how they could be sociable as self-identifying intellectuals in a dangerous and constantly-shifting world.[8]

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[7] Thomas Izbicki, "Badgering for Books: Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini and Leonardo Bruni's Translation of Aristotle's Politics," in *Essays in Renaissance Thought and Letters: In Honour of John Monfasani*, ed. Alison Frazier and Patrick Nold, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 241 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 12–22.

[8] For humanist self identification, consult Patrick Baker, *Italian Renaissance Humanism in the Mirror* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

Much still needs to be done with humanists' sociability and their interactions, and in placing them into the wider world that they grew up in, were socialized into, and actively shaped. This dissertation has only looked at a few scholars in one distinct period of humanism in one city, and has consciously avoided looking at Florence, arguably the most important and most-productive stage for humanists in Quattrocento Italy. The humanists, although predominantly urban, came from several economic backgrounds, engaged in many intellectual feuds throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, discussed and practiced religion and politics in many different venues and were, in many cases, faithful Christians, and they fought hard to inform the many elites surrounding them on notions of virtuous behaviour affected by whoever they were reading and writing to and for. Their thousands of expansive networks, and how these networks behaved, all underpin the assumptions of the texts they produced, so to understand these rich humanistic works, their genesis, their perspectives on social matters, and how they are affected by social behaviours, need to be described in much more solid detail than through simple anecdotal evidence. What does it mean for George of Trebizond and his notions of virtue and rhetoric that he owned a slave and engaged in the premodern slave trade of Quattrocento Florence?[9] Or for Angelo Poliziano to write poetry back and forth to Alessandra Scala, who was hoping for entry into the Republic of Letters through her own humanist writings?[10] The humanists were not isolated from their wider world; in fact, they actively sought to reform it. Their participation in the societies they hoped to shape needs to be investigated as part and parcel of what it meant to live, work, and perform as a scholar in

[9] John Monfasani, *George of Trebizond: A Biography and a Study of His Rhetoric and Logic*, Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1976), "Appendix Thirteen: Notarial Act for George of Trebizond's Sale of a Slave, Florence, 5 Feb 1443 (Flor. Style, 1442)," 373-374. For humanism and its discussion and relationship with this premodern slave trade, consult Chapter 1 of Angela Zhang, "Investing in Infidels: Slavery in Trecento and Quattrocento Florence," PhD Dissertation, York University, 2022.

[10] Dennis Looney, "Translations from the Greek of Angelo Poliziano (1454-1494)," *The Classical Outlook* 88, no. 2 (2011): 57. For more on Alessandra Scala and the dynamics of male and female humanists, consult Lisa Jardine, "'O Decus Italiae Virgo', or The Myth of the Learned Lady in the Renaissance," *The Historical Journal* 28, no. 4 (1985): 799–819.

premodern Europe – a scholarly identity as a distinct persona and participating in the wider *vita activa*.

This dissertation argued that the humanists created their scholarly communities by using the creation and movement of books as cultural and charismatic items in their many networks and communities. By placing humanists back into the streets of early modernity, we get a stronger sense of how intellectuals lived not only in their wider world of competitions, but also as colleagues and collaborators in the pursuit of knowledge and in shaping their worlds. Whether it was Giovanni Bussi using the production of texts to support his fellow scholars in curial Rome, or Flavia giving me a book at a local pizzeria, these stories of intellectuals behaving – not behaving badly, poorly, or virtuously, but simply behaving – are important for how we understand intellectuals not just in the ivory tower, but also among the wider worlds they lived in. Writing this dissertation, narrating the stories of humanists from 500 years ago, and giving it to you, the reader, continues this tradition of a scholar engaging in the worlds of scholarship and wider cultures of giving, reputation, and exchange. Through this contribution, I participate in the centuries-old tradition of linking together the worlds of scholarship and sociability with a gift of a book-length object, a dissertation.

OPERA CITAVI

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: List of Renaissance Popes, from the Roman Renewal to the Sack of Rome (1417 -1527)

All names and dates taken from J. N. D. Kelly and Michael Walsh, editors. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Popes*, 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014
Dates given are Regnal Dates
Bolded names are the Popes mentioned in this study

Pope Martin V Colonna, 11 November 1417 - 20 February 1431. Rome (IT).

Pope Eugene IV Condulmaro, 3 March 1431 - 23 February 1447. Venice (IT).

Pope Nicholas V Parentucelli, 6 March 1447 - 24 March 1455. Sarzana (IT).

Pope Callistus III Borgia, 8 April 1455 - 6 August 1458. Jativa (ES).

Pope Pius II Piccolomini, 19 August 1458 - 15 August 1464. Corsignano/Pienza (IT).

Pope Paul II Barbo, 30 August 1464 - 25 July 1471. Venice (IT).

Pope Sixtus IV Della Rovere, 9 August 1471 - 12 August 1484. Savona (IT).

Pope Innocent VIII Cybo, 29 August 1484 - 25 July 1492. Genoa (IT).

Pope Alexander VI Borgia, 11 August 1492 - 18 August 1503. Jativa (ES).

Pope Pius III Piccolomini, 22 September 1503 to 18 October 1503. Siena (IT).

Pope Julius II Della Rovere, 1 November 1503 - 21 February 1513. Savona (IT).

Pope Leo X Medici, 11 March 1513 - 1 December 1521. Florence (IT).

Pope Hadrian VI Boeyens, 9 January 1522 - 14 September 1523. Utrecht (NE).

Pope Clement VIII Medici, 19 November 1523 - 25 September 1534. Florence (IT).

APPENDIX B: The printed books of Sweynheym and Pannartz, 1464-1473.

From Maury Feld, *Printing and Humanism in Renaissance Italy: Essays on the Revival of the Pagan Gods*. Edited with an Introduction by Cynthia M. Pyle, Foreword by Marino Zorzi. (Rome: Roma nel Rinascimento, 2015), pp. 69-72; Giovanni Andrea Bussi, *Prefazioni: alle Edizioni di Sweynheym e Pannartz, Prototipographi Romani*, edited by Massimo Miglio. Documenti sulle Arti del Libro 12 (Milan: Edizioni Il Polifilo, 1978); *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century Now In the British Museum, Part IV: Subiaco and Rome* (London: The British Museum, 1916).

Books with a Bussi preface are in **Bolded Font**

In Subiaco:

- Donatus, *Ars Minor*, 1465 (No known copy exists)
- Cicero, *De Oratore*, before 30 September 1465, ISTC Number ic00654000.
- Lanctantius, *Opera*, 29 October 1465, ISTC Number il00001000.
- Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, 12 June 1467, ISTC Number ia01230000.

In Rome

- Cicero, *Epistolae ad familiares*, 1467, ISTC Number ic00503500.
- Cicero, *De Oratore*, 1468 (Reprint), ISTC Number ic00656000.
- Lactantius, *Opera*, 1468 (Reprint), ISTC Number il00002000.
- Rodericus Zamorensis, *Speculum vitae humanae*, after 28 February 1468. ISTC Number ir00214000.
- Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, 1468 (Reprint), ISTC Number ia01231000.
- **Jerome, *Epistolae*, 13 December 1468, ISTC Number ih00161000.**
- Cicero, *Brutus, Orator*, 12 January 1469, ISTC Number ic00643000.
- Cicero, *De officiis, Paradoxa, Laelius sive De amicitia*, 24 January 1469, ISTC Number 00579500.
- **Apuleius, Opera, 28 February 1469. ISTC Number ia00934000.**
- **Vergil, *Opera*, 28 February 1469, ISTC Number iv00149000.**[11]
- **Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, 11 April 1469, ISTC Number ig00118000.**
- **Caesar, *Commentarii*, 12 May 1469, ISTC Number ic00016000.**
- Bessarion, *In Calumniatorem Platonis*, before 28 August 1469. ISTC Number ib00518000.
- Cicero, *Epistolae ad Familiares*, after 4 November 1469 (Reprint), ISTC Number ic00505500.
- **Livy, *Historiae Romanae decades*, 1469, ISTC Number il00236000.**
- **Strabo, *Geographia*, 1469, ISTC Number is00793000.**
- **Lucan, *Pharsalia*, 1469, ISTC Number il00292000.**
- **Pliny the Elder, *Historia naturalis*, Before 30 August 1470, ISTC Number ip00787000.**
- **Cicero, *Epistolae ad M. Brutum, T. Pomponium Atticum, etc.*, Before 30 August 1470, ISTC Number ic00499000.**
- Jerome, *Epistolae*, Before 30 August 1470 (Reprint), ISTC Number ih00164000.
- **Lactantius, *Opera*, Before 30 August 1470 (Reprint with added preface), ISTC Number il00003000.**

[11] For more on the discrepancies in Vergil's name, consult Roy C. Flickinger, "Vergil or Virgil?," *The Classical Journal* 25, no. 9 (1930): 658–60.

- Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, 1470 (Reprint), ISTC Number ia01232000.
- **Quintilian, *Institutiones Oratoriae*, After 30 August 1470, ISTC Number iq00025000.**
- **Leo the Great, *Sermones et Epistolae*, After 30 August 1470, ISTC Number il00129000.**
- **Thomas Aquinas, *Catena aurea*, 7 December 1470, ISTC Number it00225000.**[12]
- **Suetonius, *Vitae Caesarum*, After 30 August 1470, ISTC Number is00816000.**
- **Cyprianus, *Opera*, February or March 1471, ISTC Number ic01010000.**
- ***Biblia Latina*, After 15 March 1471, ISTC Number ib00535000.**
- Silius Italicus, *Punica;* Calpurnius, *Bucolica*, Hesiod, *Opera et dies*, after 5 April 1471, ISTC Number is00503000.
- Cicero, *Scripta Philosophica,* 27 April 1471, ISTC Number ic00558000.
- **Cicero, *Orationes* (May-July?) 1471, ISTC Number ic00541000.**
- **Ovid, *Opera*, After 18 July 1471, ISTC Number io00127000.**
- Vergil, *Opera*, 1471 (reprint), ISTC Number iv00151400.
- Cicero, *Questiones Tusculanae, etc*, 20 September 1471.[13]
- **Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla Super Totam Bibliam*, 13 November 1471 to 20 March 1472, ISTC Number in00131000.**
- Livy, *Historiae Romanae Decades*, 16 July 1472 (Reprint), ISTC Number il00239000.
- Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, 6 August 1472 (Reprint), ISTC Number ig00119000.
- Caesar, *Commentarii*, 25 August 1472 (Reprint), ISTC Number ic00018000.
- Cicero, *Epistolae ad familiares*, 5 September 1472 (Reprint), ISTC Number 00512000.
- Suetonius, *Vitae Caesarum*, 17 September 1472 (Reprint), ISTC is00818000.
- Justinus, *Epitome in Trogi Pompeii historias*, 26 September 1472, ISTC Number ij00615000.
- Terentius, *Comoediae*, 6 October 1472, ISTC Number it00065500.
- Roberto Caracciolo, *Sermones quadragesimila*, 17 November 1472, ISTC Number ic00166000.
- Donatus, *Commentarius in Terentiam*, 10 December 1472, ISTC Number id00353500.
- Polybius, *Historiae*, 31 December 1472, ISTC Number ip00907000.
- Aristotle, *Ethica*, 11 January 1473. ISTC Number ia00983500.
- Strabo, *Geographia*, 12 February 1473 (Reprint), ISTC Number is00795000.
- Nicholas Perotti, *Rudimenta grammaticae*, 19 March 1473, ISTC Number ip00300000
- Martial, *Epigrammata*, End of April 1473, ISTC Number im00299000
- Pliny the Elder, *Historia naturalis*, 7 May 1473 (Reprint), ISTC Number ip00789000.

Maury Feld's list in *Printing in Renaissance Italy* also lists an edition of Plutarch's *Vitae* from 1473. This book does not exist. It is not listed by Giovanni Bussi in his list to Sixtus IV in the Nicholas of Lyra edition. While Ludovico Hain does refer to it in the *Repertorium*

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[12] This preface is not in Bussi, *Prefazioni*. See Martin Davies, "Juan de Carvajal and Early Printing", 208-215 for the full dedication.

[13] No individual ISTC Number exists for this volume, as it appears that Cicero's *Questiones Tusculanae* was the second part of a two-volume book. The *Incunable Short Title Catalogue* lists Cicero's *Questiones Tusculanae* as part of the *Scripta Philosophica*: "In two parts, dated: I) 27 Apr. 1471; II) 20 Sept. 1471. The two parts are listed together as 'opera omnia in philosophia' in the list of the printers' works in N. de Lyra, vol. 5, and so were intended to form one whole (BMC)." Going to the *British Library Catalogue/BMC*, they describe Cicero's *Questiones Tusculanae etc* from 20 September 1471 as "Ad M. Brutum prefatio." This corresponds with Massimo Miglio's DBI entry for Bussi and his editing of the "*Epistolae ad Brutum di Cicerone* (Audiffredi p. 56, GKW., 6858)." As the ISTC notes, Cicero's *Questiones Tusculanae* is mentioned in Bussi's preface to the Nicholas of Lyra: Bussi, *Prefazioni*, 19:83, "M. Tul. Ciceronis operum omnium in philosophia volumina quingenta quinquaginta."

Bibliographicum: in quo libro omnes ab arte typographica inventa usque ad annum MD. Typis expressi, ordine alphabetico vel simpliciter enumerantur vel adcuratius recensentur (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta, 1826-38), entry number 13126, no ISTC Number exists for the volume. The book is not listed in Frederick Goff's *A Third Census of Fifteenth-Century Books Recorded in North American Collections* (New York: The Bibliographical Society of America, 1964): 499 for Plutarch's *Vitae* which lists only the 1470 Rome publication by Ulrich Han. Nor is it listed in Marianne Pade's *The Reception of Plutarch's 'Lives'* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2007). Charles de la Roncière's *Catalogue de la collection des Camps conservée au département des manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Revues des Bibliothèques (1896): 343, notes that it is dubious that this edition exists, while referring to Hain's work (inter editiones maxime dubias numeranda videtur Plutarchi editio per Sweynheym et Pannartz, sub anno 1473).