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H U M A N I S M
IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY
EUROPE

edited by

DAVID RUNDLE

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

In each chapter, the name of any Italian humanist who appears in the Biographical Appendix is placed in small caps at its first mention.

- BAV Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
- BL London: British Library
- BnF Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France
- CE* P. G. Bietenholz & T. B. Deutscher ed., *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, 3 vols (Toronto, 1985–87)
- CTC* P. O. Kristeller, F. E. Cranz & V. Brown ed., *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum: mediaeval and Renaissance Latin translations and commentaries*, 8 vols to date (Washington D. C., 1960–)
- IMU* *Italia medioevale e umanistica*
- ISTC British Library Incunabula Short Title Catalogue, available on-line at:
<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc/index.html>
- ITRL I Tatti Renaissance Library
- ÖNB Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

- T&T* L. D. Reynolds et al., *Texts and Transmission. A Survey of the Latin Classics* (Oxford, 1983).
- Weiss⁴ R. Weiss, *Humanism in England during the Fifteenth Century*, 4th edn, ed. D. Rundle and A. J. Lappin (Oxford, 2010), available on-line at:
[http://mediumaevum.modhist.ox.ac.uk/
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HUMANISM ACROSS EUROPE: THE STRUCTURES OF CONTACTS

DAVID RUNDLE

At some moment near the very mid-point of the fifteenth century, a Genoese merchant, based in France, received a letter from his compatriot, BARTOLOMEO FACIO. The latter, based in Naples at the court of Alfonso V of Aragon and, indeed, historian of that king, importuned his correspondent to tell him whether there were any among the French who knew the name and works of Facio. Not, he insisted, that he held out much hope – ‘for’, he said, ‘eloquence has hardly ever been able to penetrate beyond the confines of Italy, frightened off, as I take it, by the height of the mountains and the shivering of the snow.’¹ The evidence gathered in this volume has surely done enough to disprove Facio’s assumption: whatever the magnitude of mountains and however distant the destination within Christendom, eloquence was not daunted: humanism travelled. International engagements were a repeated occurrence in the history of humanism, but they were not simply that – I would argue that they were fundamental to the self-definition of the humanist enterprise.

¹ G.-B. Mittarelli, *Bibliotheca codicum manuscriptorum monasterii S. Michaelis Venetiarum prope Murianum...* (Venice, 1779), col. 376. The manuscript from which Mittarelli transcribed is now Venice: Biblioteca Marciana, MS. lat. XI 80 (3057), on which see G. Albanese and M. Bulleri, ‘L’Epistolario’ in G. Albanese ed., *Studi su Bartolomeo Facio* (Pisa, 2000), pp. 133–214, esp. pp. 169–71 and pp. 185, 186 & 206 dating the correspondence to 1449 / 50, a date corroborated by the likelihood that the reference to unrest in London [col. 374] relates to Jack Cade’s rebellion of 1450.

We are already adept at appreciating the *studia humanitatis* as grounded, as highly conscious of its Italian locales. The oft-cited *locus classicus* is LEONARDO BRUNI's celebration of his adoptive city of Florence in his earliest publications. The humanist who styled himself 'Leonardus Aretinus' opens his *Dialogi ad Petrum Paulum Histrum* deploring the decline of his home-town, Arezzo, but consoling himself by the fact that he lives in a *civitas* – and here he echoes his own *Laudatio Florentinae Urbis* – with such a bustle of people, a splendour of buildings, and a greatness of deeds already done that it is the most flourishing city.² Yet, even this preface, with its emphasis on the author's physical presence, is defined also by a sense of absence.³ As the work's title emphasises, it is addressed to PIER PAOLO VERGERIO, a native of the Venetian Balkan dependency of Capodistria; he had been a member of the same coterie in Florence but had, by the time Bruni came to write his *Dialogi*, taken up employment in the papal curia at Rome.⁴ Like Facio later imagining the Alps as a barrier to contact, Bruni bemoaned that 'mountains and valleys separate your body from us' but, he went on, Vergerio remained with them in their memory. That memory was not merely a mental faculty, since it gained some sort of lasting real presence through the written word – and this, of course, was the secular miracle at the centre

² Leonardo Bruni, *Dialogi ad Petrum Paulum Histrum*, ed. S. U. Baldassarri (Florence, 1994), p. 235 (1, ll. 7–12); cf. Leonardo Bruni, *Laudatio Florentine urbis*, ed. S. U. Baldassarri (Florence, 2000). As James Hankins points out to me, Bruni came to designate himself 'Leonardus Arretinus', insisting on the double-r in the loconym.

³ I concentrate in the next sentences on an acknowledged absence; there is another, silent but defining, absence at the heart of the work, if we accept the persuasive argument of R. Fubini, 'All'uscita dalla scolastica medievale: Salutati, Bruni e i "Dialogi ad Petrum Histrum"' in id., *L'Umanesimo italiano e i suoi storici* (Milan, 2001), pp. 75–103 [reproduced from *Archivio storico italiano*, cl (1992)].

⁴ On Vergerio, see D. Robey, 'P. P. Vergerio the Elder: republicanism and civic values in the work of an early humanist', *Past & Present*, lviii (1973), pp. 3–37; J. McManamon, *Pier Paolo Vergerio the Elder: humanist as orator* (Tempe, AZ, 1996), and p. 150 above.

of the humanist enterprise: accomplishing a level of eloquence that could persuade not just those sitting in front of you, but even those miles from where you stood. Mountains were made low as perceived distance was smoothed away and as the potential for continuing friendships (and enmities) beyond the face-to-face was realised. It might fairly be pointed out that this was no new miracle; it is true that quattrocento humanists followed where previous scholars had ventured in their correspondence and circulation of their writings. But there was, for many, a determination to test the limits of their skill, to prove that their eloquence was not bounded by the borders of the Italian peninsula. Some of those international achievements have been delineated in this volume; from them, I would urge, we should draw the conclusion that the *studia humanitatis* were less about genius of place than mastery over space.

My remit in the following paragraphs is to consider the mechanics or the methods by which these long-distance contacts were achieved by Italian humanists and by others – how, in other words, Italian Renaissance humanism was forged as an international enterprise.⁵ The most obvious means was for a humanist himself to travel beyond the Alps. Too often an assumption is made that, as the humanist movement over-produced, it was those who were less able that were pushed out of the home market (as if ‘the invisible hand’ could add intellectual discernment to its prodigious array of supposed competences). In some cases, it even seems as if the suggestion is that taking employment abroad could be the death-knell of a humanist’s talent: Bruni’s friend, Pier Paolo Vergerio, was most famous for his popular tract on education, *De ingenuis moribus*; in 1418, he entered the employment of the Emperor Sigismund, travelling with him to Buda and so, it is said,

⁵ This is a subject that is more usually discussed through *obiter dicta* than sustained study; note, however, the characteristically insightful essay of P. O. Kristeller, ‘The European Diffusion of Humanism’ in id., *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters*, 4 vols (Rome, 1954–96), ii (1985), pp. 147–165 [first printed in *Italica*, xxxix (1962), pp. 1–20].

‘disappeared into obscurity’.⁶ Vergerio himself might have been surprised to hear his promotion to imperial employment expressed in such terms; it is true that his translations of the Greek historian Arrian, undertaken in Sigismund’s household, did not meet the standards expected by the next generation of scholars but that he produced them reminds us that his departure from Italy was no farewell to scholarship: locations beyond the peninsula could be sites of humanist invention.⁷ More generally, contemporaries may have been less sure of themselves than historians seem to be in ordering their peers into some sort of league table of humanists, but Pier Paolo Vergerio should stand alongside the likes of ÆNEAS SYLVIUS PICCOLOMINI and POGGIO BRACCIOLINI as evidence to counter the assertion that ‘no first-rate humanist went to teach outside Italy or served at a foreign court’.⁸

It might also be noted that in at least two of the cases just mentioned – Poggio and Vergerio – their move abroad occurred before there was any over-supply of humanists in Italy itself. For each of them, there was a positive decision to seek long-term employment with a foreign prince; they, as it were, jumped at the chance rather than being pushed to it. Yet, long-term residence at a court far from their hometowns could have its disadvantages: it not only placed them beyond the face-to-face

⁶ George Holmes in J. R. Hale ed., *The Thames and Hudson Dictionary of The Italian Renaissance* (London, 1981), p. 331. On his time in Buda, see McManamon, *Vergerio the Elder*, pp. 153–67.

⁷ On this translation, see P. A. Stadter, ‘Arrianus’ in *CTC*, iii (1976), pp. 1–20 at pp. 3–6, and for its fortuna, also my *England and the Identity of Italian Renaissance Humanism* (forthcoming). Note that Vergerio also produced two works, now lost: see Z. Kiséry, ‘Vergerio et Sigismond de Luxembourg’ in I. Takács ed., *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator. Art et culture au temps de Sigismond de Luxembourg 1387–1437* (Mainz, 2006), pp. 292–94.

⁸ R. Weiss, ‘Italian Humanism in Western Europe’ in E. F. Jacob ed., *Italian Renaissance Studies. A tribute to the late Cecilia M. Ady* (London, 1960), pp. 69–93 at p. 70; cf. P. Burke, ‘The Spread of Italian Humanism’ in A. Goodman & A. MacKay ed., *The Impact of Humanism on Western Europe* (London, 1990), pp. 1–22 at p. 5.

contact possible in their earlier urban context – a practical counter-balance to their rhetorical confidence that, however far away they were, their eloquence could keep them present – but it also concentrated their attention on their prince and those around him. Humanists often supplemented their income by cultivating a plurality of patrons – a strategy that few of those in foreign courts imitated, with the result that their lifestyle may have been comfortable but inconspicuous.⁹ Others who sought work abroad eschewed such a focused allegiance, preferring a more nomadic existence. For instance, STEFANO SURIGONE has been mentioned in the pages above for his time in England, where he produced writings in prose and verse, but his career was by no means confined to north of the Channel: between the 1450s and 1470s, this Milanese member of the Humiliati travelled between the university towns of Oxford, Louvain and Cologne, in all places presumably making his living primarily by teaching.¹⁰

Yet more extensive were the slightly later travels of GIROLAMO BALBI, though his movements were inspired as much by rivalry among Italians as by wanderlust.¹¹ Along with FAUSTO ANDRELINI and CORNELIO VITELLI, he taught at the University of Paris in 1489, but relations between the three were no advertisement for the internal harmony of an ex-pat community; their squabbling not only pushed Vitelli to move to England, where he had already been, but also sent Andrelini

⁹ For discussion of some of these strategies, see my *England and Identity of Humanism*.

¹⁰ On Surigone, see pp. 275–76 above. See also Weiss⁴, pp. 211–213. The evidence for Surigone's time on the continent comes primarily from his poems, preserved at London: BL, MS. Arundel 249, fol. 94–117^v.

¹¹ On Balbi, P. S. Allen, 'Hieronymus Balbus in Paris', *English Historical Review*, xvii (1902), pp. 417–28 remains fundamental; see also *CE*, i, pp. 88–89, and the articles of Gilbert Tournoy: 'L'œuvre poétique de Jérôme Balbi après son arrivée dans le Saint-Empire Romain' in *L'Humanisme allemand (1480–1540)* (Munich, 1979), pp. 321–337, and id., 'The literary production of Hieronymus Balbus at Paris', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, [liii] (1978), pp. 70–77.

off to teach in Toulouse and Poitiers, only for him to return, and force Balbi himself to leave; while Andrelini found favour at the French court, Balbi (after his own brief spell in England) sought advancement further east, first at the University of Vienna and then at the court of Ladislaus II Jagiellon (1471–1516) in Prague.¹² Balbi's career might be read as an example of how one might progress from itinerant teacher to an insider at court, or it could be taken as evidence of how a humanist could retreat from a place more visited to a corner which they could make their own. There was, in short, more than one route open to the cosmopolitan humanist.

The examples that I have mentioned here could be grouped into three categories, forming a sort of sliding scale of mobility: the émigré, who settles in one place (Vergerio); the migrant, whose career involves movement between a few foreign locations (Surigone), and the instinctively migratory, for whom travel itself becomes a lifestyle. Often given a brief name-check in this last category is the poet known as JOHANNES MICHAEL NAGONIUS, whose wanderings, perhaps at times paid for as diplomatic trips, gave him opportunity to produce manuscripts in order to seek royal favour in cities as far apart as London and Buda.¹³ An earlier example of the migratory could be TITO

¹² On Andrelini, see *CE*, i, pp. 53–56 and G. Tournoy-Thoen, 'Fausto Andrelini et la cour de France' in *L'Humanisme français au début de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1973), pp. 65–79. On Vitelli, see R. Weiss, 'Cornelio Vitelli in France and England', *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, ii (1939), pp. 219–26; C. Clough, 'Thomas Linacre, Cornelio Vitelli, and Humanistic Studies at Oxford' in F. Maddison et al. ed., *Linacre Studies. Essays on the life and work of Thomas Linacre c. 1460–1524* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 1–23 and id., 'New Light on Cornelio Vitelli and Humanistic Studies at Oxford University in the late Fifteenth Century', *The Ricardian*, xii (2000), pp. 94–119.

¹³ Nagonius is mentioned, for instance, by P. O. Kristeller, 'European Diffusion', p. 153. For full discussion, see now P. Gwynne, *Poets and Princes. The panegyric poetry of Johannes Michael Nagonius* (Turnhout, 2012); see also id., "'Tu alter Caesar eris': Maximilian I, Vladislav II, Johannes Michael Nagonius and the *renovatio imperii*", *Renaissance Studies*, x (1996), pp. 56–71.

LIVIO FRULOVISI, who seemed to prefer to be outside Italy rather than in it: he is best known for his time as secretary to Humfrey, duke of Gloucester, but after his English employment ended and he had returned to his homeland, he did not stay long, his later career as a medical doctor taking him to Toulouse and Barcelona.¹⁴ Like Balbi, his travels might not have been entirely directed by his own choice and this should remind us how contingent – or (as they might have put it themselves) subject to fortune – humanists' travels were. We record the dates and places of those that occurred but have to overlook those journeys that were cut short or did not take place: what would have happened to Poggio if, on his return to Italy from England, he had attained the Hungarian employment it seems he hoped to gain?¹⁵ How different would the fortunes of AURELIO BRANDOLINI been if Matthias Corvinus had not died soon after his own arrival in Buda?¹⁶

Instead of dwelling on the counter-factual, however, let us emphasise an obvious truth: those humanists who did experience Europe beyond the Alps were a minority. For others, there may have been a simple practical disincentive to following their example: travel could be life-threatening. Piccolomini told

¹⁴ I outline his career in D. Rundle, 'Tito Livio Frulovisi, and the place of comedies in the formation of a humanist's career', *Studi Umanistici Picensi*, xxiv (2004), pp. 193–202; see also id., 'The Unoriginality of Tito Livio Frulovisi's *Vita Henrici Quinti*', *English Historical Review*, cxxiii (2008), pp. 1109–31.

¹⁵ M. C. Davies, 'Poggio as Rhetorician and Historian: unpublished pieces', *Rinascimento*, 2nd ser., xxii (1982), pp. 153–182, esp. pp. 167–68.

¹⁶ Nowadays his best-known work is *De comparatione rei publicae et regni*, which is available in Aurelio Lippo Brandolini, *Republics and Kingdoms Compared*, ed. J. Hankins [IRTL, lx] (Cambridge, 2009); for his biography, the seminal work remains E. Mayer, *Un umanista italiano della corte di Mattio Corvino. Aurelio Brandolini Lippo* [Biblioteca dell'Accademia d'Ungheria di Roma, xiv] (Rome, 1938), but see also S. M. Mitchell, 'The *De comparatione rei publicae et regni* (1490) of Aurelio Brandolini' (unpublished M.Phil. thesis, Warburg Institute, University of London, 1985), pp. 22–58.

in writing of his misfortunes en route to (and within) Scotland, though they did not stop his perambulations around northern and central Europe.¹⁷ On the other hand, GUINIFORTE BARZIZZA, son of the famous teacher, Gasparino, having accompanied his master, Alfonso the Magnanimous, from Aragon to Tunisia and then gone on to Milan, fell into such ill health he could not return to his master; henceforth, his career was to be less adventurous.¹⁸ With such examples before them, we may have sympathy for those humanists who decided that they could more safely cultivate international contacts from the comfort of their desk, and that is what many did. The long life of the leading Milanese humanist PIER CANDIDO DECEMBRIO, for example, involved few journeys beyond the Italian peninsula but his desire for patronage was not as confined as his travel patterns.¹⁹ Indeed, he made a point of announcing how his works had reached as far away as Spain and even the ends of the

¹⁷ Piccolomini's comments on Scotland are most usefully collected together in Pius II, *De Europa*, ed. A. van Heck [Studi e Testi, cccxcviii] (Vatican City, 2001), pp. 184–87.

¹⁸ These years of Guiniforte's life are reconstructed by A. Sottili, 'Note biografiche sui petrarchisti Giacomo Publicio e Guiniforte Barzizza e sull'umanista valenziano Giovanni Serra' in F. Schalk ed., *Petrarca 1304–1374. Beiträge zu Werk und Wirkung* (Frankfurt, 1975), pp. 270–86 at pp. 277–82. For the intellectual continuities from the father Barzizza to his son, see G. Albanese, 'I "Commentarii in Epistolas Seneca" di Gasparino Barzizza' in L. Gualdo Rosa ed., *Gasparino Barzizza e la rinascita degli studi classici: fra continuità e rinnovamento* [Annali dell'Istituto universitario orientale di Napoli, xxi] (Naples, 1999), pp. 9–83 at pp. 46–53.

¹⁹ On Decembrio, the works of Vittorio Zaccaria remain fundamental, particularly his 'Sulle opere di Pier Candido Decembrio', *Rinascimento*, 1st ser., vii (1956) pp. 13–74, and id., 'L'Epistolario di Pier Candido Decembrio', *Rinascimento*, 1st ser., iii (1952), pp. 85–118. Decembrio made at least one journey to northern Europe: in the autograph copy of his *volgare* translation of another humanist's biography of a barbarian prince, the aforementioned Frulovisi's *Vita Henrici Quinti*, Decembrio adds a marginal note, reading 'Questo philippo [of Burgundy] e lo ducha presente dal quale fu mandato io candido in 1434 da philippo maria a praticare de farlo Imperatore...' [ÖNB, MS. 2610, fol. 46].

world – that is, England – and that was not without, it should be said, his own assistance.²⁰ He sought out associations both with Humfrey, duke of Gloucester and with Juan II, king of Castile, to mention only the most distinguished of his foreign dedicatees.²¹ Decembrio was far from alone in wanting to proclaim the wide extent of his fame. During his few years at the papal curia, one of his colleagues was FLAVIO BIONDO, who associated his own identity most particularly with the city of Rome – with the physical remains of its past greatness and with its present renaissance, of which (he said) the throng of visitors who daily clustered in Christendom's centre provided evidence.²² At the same time, it was also to Biondo's purpose to emphasise how his works reached far beyond his own location. In 1461, he boasted of his *Roma Triumphans* that 'England, France, Spain, and a range of cities in Italy already have highly embellished copies of the work'.²³ It was his claim that he had overseen a group of scribes who had quickly produced

²⁰ A. Sammut, *Unfredo duca di Gloucester e gli umanisti italiani* (Padua, 1980), p. 191, ll. 40–44; cf. M. Borsa, 'Pier Candido Decembrio e l'umanesimo in Lombardia', *Archivio storico lombardo*, 2nd ser., x (1893), pp. 5–75 & 358–441 at p. 432.

²¹ On his relations with Humfrey, see Weiss⁴, pp. 85–95; I discuss the subject in *England and the Identity of Humanism*; see also pp. 273–75 above. On Decembrio and Juan II, see C. Fabiano, 'Pier Candido Decembrio traduttore d'Omero', *Aevum*, xxiii (1949), pp. 36–51; Zaccaria, 'Sulle opere', esp. pp. 22–24; P. S. Suarez-Somonte and T. Gonzalez Rolan, 'Sobre la presencia en España de la versión latina de la "Ilíada". Edición de la "Vita Homeri" y de su traducción castellana', *Cuadernos de filología clásica*, xxi (1988), pp. 319–44, and M. Pade, 'The *Fortuna of Leontius Pilatus's* Homer. With an Edition of Pier Candido Decembrio's "Why Homer's Greek Verses are rendered in Latin Prose"' in F. T. Coulson and A. A. Grotans ed., *Classica et Beneventana. Essays presented to Virginia Brown on the occasion of her 65th birthday* (Turnhout, 2008), pp. 149–71 at pp. 160–61 & 168–72. See also p. 1 above.

²² See, in particular, F. Biondo, 'Roma Instaurata' in id., *Opera* (Basel, 1531), pp. 222–272 at p. 272.

²³ B. Nogara, *Scritti inediti e rari di Biondo Flavio* [Studi e Testi, xlvi] (Rome, 1927), p. 208.

manuscripts of his new book so it could achieve such a wide dissemination.

We might ask why these humanists and others – for the examples could be multiplied – bothered to strive to reach foreign audiences. After all, as both Decembrio and Leonardo Bruni found when seeking the patronage of the same English royal duke, the process was both costly and fraught with practical difficulties; the methods of contact, sending manuscripts via trading ships or in diplomatic baggage, did not provide an efficient or even a reliable form of communication.²⁴ That they and others did try might suggest they perceived the outlay to be worth it – that there were, in other words, rich pickings on the horizon. If, though, they imagined their rewards were to be pecuniary, they would often have been disappointed as such long-distance financial transactions could prove elusive. Yet, there was perhaps another non-financial incentive, one related to a humanist's cultural capital. As I suggested earlier, at the heart of the humanist enterprise was a determination to demonstrate the power of one's eloquence, and long-distance communications could well prove that ability. But this was distance measured not just by miles, horizontally across space, but also vertically across cultural divides, in which the Italian humanists depicted themselves as of more worthy stock than the barbarian peoples elsewhere in Europe.²⁵ The advantage, then, of foreign contacts was that they could present a humanist as reaching both out and down, beyond and below, creating a fame that they could claim was wide and deep. By those

²⁴ I highlight this in *England and Identity of Humanism*.

²⁵ E. Garin, 'La cultura fiorentina nella seconda metà del '300 e i "barbari britanni"', *La Rassegna della letteratura italiana*, lxiv (1960) pp. 181–195; see also P. Boitani, 'Petrarch and the "barbari Britanni"' in M. McLaughlin and L. Panizza ed., *Petrarch in Britain. Interpreters, imitators, and translators over 700 Years* [Proceedings of the British Academy, cxlvi] (Oxford, 2007), pp. 9–25, and, for some of the later history of the concept, D. Hay, 'Italy and Barbarian Europe' in id., *Renaissance Essays* (London, 1988), pp. 353–73 [first published in E. F. Jacob ed., *Italian Renaissance Studies. A tribute to the late Cecilia M. Ady* (London, 1960), pp. 48–67].

contacts, they could demonstrate that their eloquence had purchase not just among their peers but even with those they deemed less civilised – while, of course, in reality, they were most often approaching their social betters. Consequently, competing rhetorics of submission, of ‘friendship’ and of superiority can sometimes been seen to jostle for space in their letters – letters which often would not just be sent to their recipient abroad but would also circulate among colleagues within Italy. Foreign connexions, then, could be valuable to a local persona, assisting the self-construction of a humanist’s reputation as international to impress those close to home.

The far reach of one’s fame was, therefore, a humanist topos of praise; it could be facilitated by advances to foreign patrons but it had a further variant. The alternative was to celebrate how a humanist’s repute proved an irresistible pull to foreigners, impelling them to traverse Europe to be in his presence. As Biondo praised the city of Rome for the attraction it held to the peoples of Europe and beyond, so others lauded an individual scholar for a fame or charisma that brought barbarians to sit at his feet. The scholar in question was most often GUARINO DA VERONA, the school-master and lecturer whose later years were spent in the d’Este city of Ferrara. Around him there seems to have developed a particular cult which celebrated not only his ability, as LUDOVICO CARBONE put it, to liberate foreigners from their barbarity, but also his international fame that drew the distant peoples to him.²⁶ So, Janus Pannonius declared how men came ‘from all the ends of the earth’ to Ferrara in order to hear Guarino – and he goes on to demonstrate his grasp of arcane Latin geographical terms as he lists the regions, from Dalmatia to Britain (via Rhodes and Crete), that have become enthralled by this humanist.²⁷ Historians, it must be said, have tended to read such praise ingenuously, taking it as evidence of

²⁶ *Prosatori latini del quattrocento*, ed. E. Garin (Milan, 1952), p. 398.

²⁷ *Panegyricus in Guarinum* in I. Thomson, *Humanist Pietas: the panegyric of Ianus Pannonius on Guarinus Veronensis* (Bloomington, 1988), p. 148 (ll. 473–486). On Pannonius, see pp. 146–48 and 160–62 above.

the esteem in which Guarino was already held but I wonder whether we would be better advised to see it as constructing and moulding that esteem.²⁸ It is notable that those who praise him were, in the first place, his students, men like Pannonius or the Englishman John Free. As the latter wrote to Guarino when claiming the reason he had travelled to Italy was the humanist's fame, it is the duty of every liberal man to praise the deserving – a mark of good manners that presumably he learnt from Guarino himself.²⁹

Whether or not the barbarians peacefully invaded Italy in the mid-fifteenth century in order to submit themselves to Guarino's teaching, it is certainly the case that there were foreigners in the peninsula who became active participants in the humanist agenda. This is the counter-balance or the complement to considering the presence of the *studia humanitatis* in lands beyond Italy: humanist activities, even in its homeland, were a cosmopolitan enterprise. I leave aside the issue of the Greeks, who held a special status as the source of precious knowledge but whose cultural role, as John Monfasani has shown, should not be seen solely in terms of humanist interests.³⁰ It might similarly be said that we cannot adduce from the mere fact of their presence at an Italian university that a foreign student was bound to be infected (to use Stephen Milner's virus metaphor) by any strain of humanism.³¹ Yet, as previous chapters have shown, there were non-Italians whose time in the peninsula contributed to or inspired their literary studies. I want briefly to highlight a particular group of foreigners, that is those who were humanist collaborators by

²⁸ I expand on this point in D. Rundle, 'Beyond the classroom: international interest in the *studia humanitatis* in the university towns of Quattrocento Italy', *Renaissance Studies* (forthcoming).

²⁹ J. E. Spingarn, 'Unpublished Letters of an English Humanist', *Journal of Comparative Literature*, i (1903), pp. 47–65 at p. 55.

³⁰ See pp. 31–55 above.

³¹ See p. 4 above.

adopting the script and style of manuscript presentation favoured by the humanists.

It was Poggio Bracciolini who first constructed the archaising bookhand that was to become known as *littera antiqua* – a style of script that, adopted and adapted in print, was to remain with western civilisation for centuries; it belies its classicising origins in the designation sometimes used for it of ‘Roman’.³² It – and the accompanying style of *bianchi girari* (‘white vine-stem’) illumination – became, as it were, the face of Renaissance manuscripts, so much so that we are inclined to consider them particularly ‘Italian’. From the start, however, the producers of humanist script were not only Poggio’s countrymen: his first student of *littera antiqua* was the person he described as the ‘good French scribe’.³³ The name of that Gallic pioneer is now lost to us, but he had many successors. In a survey of just over four hundred copyists who signed and dated humanist manuscripts they produced in Italy, a sixth of the scribes is identifiably non-Italian.³⁴ The evidence holds out the prospect of being able to quantify these partners in the humanist enterprise by geographical origin, broadly defined:

German	35	50%
Netherlandish	19	27%

³² B. L. Ullman, *The Origin and Development of Humanistic Script* (Rome, 1960); A. C. de la Mare, *Handwriting of the Italian Humanists*, i / 1 (Oxford, 1973).

³³ On whom, see de la Mare, *Handwriting*, pp. 82–84, with a tentative identification of the scribe.

³⁴ I base the data on A. Derolez, *Codicologie des manuscrits en écriture humanistique sur parchemin*, 2 vols (Turnhout, 1984), i, pp. 124–63. The full details are as follows: Bohemian (scribe 289); Dalmatian (138); French (158, 159, 180, 193, 218, 300, 367); German (8, 50, 90, 91, 123, 133, 137, 149, 155, 165, 182, 185, 187, 189, 202, 209, 214, 215, 217, 219, 221, 227, 234, 238, 247, 248, 253, 260, 288, 298, 301, 321, 327, 352, 401); Greek (26, 251); Netherlandish (51, 124, 141, 147, 148, 162, 164, 170, 211, 213, 222, 225, 245, 262, 307, 322, 353, 357, 391); Scottish (136); Spanish (12, 125, 145); unidentified foreigner (146).

French	7	10%
Spanish	3	4.25%
Greek	2	3%
Bohemian, Dalmatian & Scottish	1 each	4.25% in all
Unidentified	1	1.5%
TOTAL	70	

Such bald percentages obviously have to come with several caveats. In the first place, the overall figure hides variation from city to city. The papal capital of Rome was well-known for its cosmopolitan nature and something near a half of its scribes may have been from outside the peninsula.³⁵ At the other extreme, Florence, the hometown of *littera antiqua*, could supply its needs mainly through local copyists, though, even there, about one in ten named humanist scribes were foreign, with the largest proportion (once again) being German.³⁶ Given the extent of the German-speaking lands, it would be natural for the greatest number to hail from there, but there may be other factors in play. The data we have is self-selecting: it depends on the scribe deciding to reveal their identity, and many chose not to; the

³⁵ For a discussion of this international milieu in Rome, see E. Caldelli, *Copisti a Roma* (Rome, 2006), pp. 25–32, esp. p. 28 (n. 19); her precious listing of scribes in Rome, identified via explicitly localised manuscripts, does not, however, distinguish between humanist and non-humanist scribes.

³⁶ A. C. de la Mare, 'New Research on humanistic scribes in Florence' in A. Garzelli ed., *Miniatura fiorentina del Rinascimento*, 2 vols (Florence, 1985), i, pp. 393–600. In her list of seventy-two named scribes, there are eight foreigners: one French (scribe 33), five German (32?, 34, 35, 56, 69), one Netherlandish (63) and one Spanish (31).

choice might be personal or might be a cultural habit.³⁷ None in the lists of humanist copyists who signed themselves was, for instance, English and, while there were only a few, we know some were active, like Thomas Candour, who never announced his name in the colophons to his manuscripts.³⁸ This also alerts us to a wider truth: the identification of a humanist manuscript as by a non-Italian scribe requires explicit evidence and, in the absence of that, the tendency is to assume its creator was indeed Italian. The level of foreign engagement with these practices suggests that tendency might not always be wise. It also suggests that the evidence we have to date provides estimates closer to the minimum than the maximum of foreign engagement with 'Roman' script.

Copying texts in a humanist book-hand might be said not to make one a humanist, and it is certainly the case that many fashionable scribes – Italian or not – were less interested in textual accuracy than the *studia humanitatis* should have hoped. But even if we may, in some cases, doubt the scribe's personal commitment to the intellectual programme that found visual expression in the 'antique' mise-en-page, we cannot deny that the patrons who were often their employers and who were often themselves Italian patently did not see the practice of humanist book production as being a closed shop from which any non-Italian was excluded. Nor were the other activities that characterise humanism confined, even in the peninsula of its birth, to those who were also born there. Previous chapters have mentioned the likes of Rudolf Agricola, some of whose translations from Greek into Latin were produced while he was employed in Ferrara, and John Free, all of whose oeuvre was composed while he was in Padua or in Rome, the place of his

³⁷ A. Derolez, 'Pourquoi les copistes signaient-ils leurs manuscrits?' in E. Condello & G. De Gregorio ed., *Scribi e Colofoni* (Spoleto, 1995), pp. 37–56.

³⁸ D. Rundle, 'The Scribe Thomas Candour and the making of Poggio Bracciolini's English reputation', *English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700*, xii (2005), pp. 1–25.

premature death.³⁹ The geographical range could be stretched further, to include both the rather obscure Portuguese scholar ‘Valascus Lisbonensis’ and the better-known Dalmatian humanist and bishop, Nicholas of Modrus (c. 1427–1480), book-collector and historian of the Goths.⁴⁰ Each of these may be considered exceptional but together and alongside the humanist scribes just mentioned, they remind us that, not only beyond Italy but also within it, humanism could not avoid being an international enterprise.

So far in this chapter, I have discussed humanist activities in courtly and civic contexts, but not in congresses, those international diplomatic gatherings that could greatly swell a town’s population for weeks or months or years. One specific type of congress is often given a privileged position in narratives of the success story of humanism: the General Councils of the Church that met in the first half of the fifteenth century, intent on healing a disunited church and then on reforming it nearly to the point of renewed disunity. Of these Councils – Pisa (1409), Constance (1414–18), Pavia–Siena (1423–24), Basel (1431–49), Ferrara–Florence (1438–39) – Constance is particularly mentioned, most often for the escapades of Poggio Bracciolini. It was on a trip away from the main business of the Council that he and his colleagues famously ‘liberated’ the complete text of Quintilian’s *Institutes of Oratory* from its ‘dungeon’ in the monastery of St Gall; it was at the Council that he made a display of Ciceronian eloquence, orating on the death of Cardinal Francesco Zabarella; it was from there that he

³⁹ See pp. 1 and 1–1 above.

⁴⁰ On the first, see A. de la Mare, ‘Notes on Portuguese Patrons of the Florentine Book Trade in the Fifteenth Century’ in K. J. P. Lowe, *Cultural Links between Portugal and Italy in the Renaissance* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 167–81 at pp. 171–72. On Nicholas of Modrus, we look forward to the study by Luka Špoljarić (Central European University, Budapest); for the time being, see G. Mercati, ‘Notizie varie sopra Niccoló Modrussense’ in id., *Opere minori*, 6 vols [Studi e testi, lxxvi–lxxx & ccxcvi] (Vatican City, 1937–84), iv (1937), pp. 205–67.

entertained friends back in Italy with tales of his adventures, both intellectual and earthier.⁴¹ A Council like Constance could also act as a stimulus to textual exchange, a nodal point for the circulation of books.⁴² These works could include refound classical texts, like Quintilian, or witnesses to the *studia humanitatis*, like Poggio's oration on Zabarella, but this humanist element – we should remember – was only ever one small part in the welter of cultural activities which were the stuff and show of these events: the ceremonies, the services, their music, their physical setting, the acts of cultural display, let alone the intellectual debates that defined their sessions. The vast majority of the orations at Constance, for instance, while they may have been eloquent and persuasive, were certainly not given in the style which was being promoted by Leonardo Bruni and his fellow trailblazers.⁴³ This is not to deny the possibility that the content or presentation of humanist rhetoric may have had some influence on non-humanist speeches at such an occasion – a point that demonstrates that Daniel Wakelin's distinction in this volume between pure and diffuse

⁴¹ Poggio's finds at St Gall – in the company of Cencio de' Rusticci and Bartolomeo da Montepulciano – can be best read in his own words: *Lettere*, ed. H. Harth, 3 vols (Florence, 1984–87), ii, pp. 153–56 (and cf. pp. 444–447); see also R. Sabbadini, *Le Scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne' secoli xiv e xv* (Florence, 1905), pp. 77–79. On his Zabarella oration, see J. McManamon, *Funeral Oratory and the Cultural Ideals of Italian Humanism* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1989), pp. 11–12. For his letters from Constance, see also Poggio, *Lettere*, ed. Harth, i, pp. 128–35 & ii, pp. 157–63. The relevant letters are accessible in English translation: *Two Renaissance Book Hunters. The letters of Poggius Braccolini to Nicolaus de Niccolis*, trans. P. W. Goodhart Gordon (New York, 1974), pp. 24–31 and 187–213.

⁴² See, for instance, D. Marcotte ed., *Humanisme et culture géographique à l'époque du Concile de Constance autour de Guillaume Fillastre* (Turnhout, 2002).

⁴³ A most useful relevant resource now available is the website by C. Nighman and P. Stump, 'A Bibliographical Register of the Sermons and other Orations delivered at the Council of Constance (1414–1418)', available on-line at <http://www.bibsocamer.org/BibSite/Nighman-Stump/index.html> [accessed 21st September 2011].

humanism has relevance far beyond the English examples which are his remit here.⁴⁴ But, while events that took place at Constance or other General Councils may have been important for the self-identity of the *studia humanitatis*, humanism was hardly essential to the Councils. Furthermore, these gatherings may have been the largest and the most cosmopolitan – a cosmopolitanism which could reach beyond western Europe to the Greeks and yet further, to embrace, for instance, Ethiopians – but they are best considered as one subset of those international congresses that were seen as useful recourse in attempting to resolve contention, secular as well as ecclesiastical.⁴⁵ So, in this definition are to be included not only Pius II's vain attempt at Mantua in 1459 to rally European princes to a new crusade, or those imperial Diets where the Ottoman threat was high on the agenda (for instance at Frankfurt in 1454 or Regensburg in 1471), but also those events occasioned by other conflicts, like the meetings designed to end the Hundred Years War, most notably the Congress of Arras (1435).⁴⁶ For all of these, we might find the general pattern to involve the presence of some humanists and the sound of some Ciceronian oratory but always subsumed within

⁴⁴ See pp. 289–306 above. For an example of this 'diffusion', see C. L. Nighman, 'Reform and Humanism in the Sermons of Richard Fleming at the Council of Constance (1417)' (PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 1996) which is available on-line at: <https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/handle/1807/12882> [accessed 21st September 2011].

⁴⁵ On the Council of Ferrara–Florence, see p. 42 above, with the bibliography there. For the presence of Greeks and Ethiopians not only there but at Constance as well, see J. Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge, 1959), pp. 21–22 and cf. pp. 321–328.

⁴⁶ For the uncertain possibility that it was at Frankfurt that Piccolomini caught sight of the first printed Bibles, see M. C. Davies, 'Juan de Carvajal and Early Printing: the 42-line Bible and the Sweynheim and Pannartz Aquinas', *The Library*, 6th ser., xviii (1996), pp. 193–215; at Regensburg, the papal delegation, led by Francesco Todeschini–Piccolomini, included Giovanni Antonio Campano. I discuss the Congress of Arras in my *England and the Identity of Humanism*.

a wider range of cultural display, and usually frankly marginal to the intellectual exchange that was the purpose of the event.

Congresses were also, of course, by their nature exceptional occasions; I would like, before closing this chapter, to draw attention to a more humdrum, quotidian factor that is given less consideration than it should be. Half a century ago, Paul Oskar Kristeller noted that, in the exchange of persons that facilitated the movement of humanist activities, a role was played by Italian ‘bankers and businessmen’ abroad, many of whom ‘had scholarly interests and contacts’.⁴⁷ He himself cited one example of this phenomenon which he had studied himself: Francesco Tedaldi (d. 1518), Florentine silk merchant who was also a correspondent of MARSILIO FICINO and who, during his long sojourn in France (in places as disparate as Brittany and Avignon), found time to pen a short novella in humanist Latin.⁴⁸ Few have followed up Kristeller’s suggestive general comment, perhaps under the impression that hard-nosed capitalists far from their homeland would have little use for the fashionable Latin being paraded by the literati in their native towns. Yet, learned contact is often a parasite travelling on the back of international commerce, and merchants at times did assist the humanist enterprise, not only by being conduits but also by being correspondents and collaborators in it. Let me give three examples.

The first involves an Englishman who, when he travelled in Italy, was fêted as a member of the royal family, though his

⁴⁷ Kristeller, ‘European Diffusion’, p. 151.

⁴⁸ P. O. Kristeller, ‘Una novella latina e il suo autore Francesco Tedaldi, mercante fiorentino del quattrocento’ in id., *Studies*, ii, pp. 385–402 [first published in *Studi Letterari. Miscellanea in onore di Emilio Santini* (Palermo, 1956), pp. 159–80]. For his correspondence with Ficino, in which the latter berates Tedaldi for his travelling and alludes to a philosophical work, apparently of Tedaldi’s, ‘in quo occidentalium philosophorum disputationes de anima recensentur’, see Marsilio Ficino, *Opera omnia* [reprint of the Basel edition of 1576], 2 vols in 4 (Turin, 1959), i / 2, pp. 635, 653 [English translation available in *The Letters of Marsilio Ficino*, 8 vols to date (London, 1975–2009), i (1975), pp. 99 & 148–49].

genealogy gave him little reason to make that boast. William Gray (c. 1414–78), later to be bishop of Ely, was a student at Padua and Ferrara (sitting at Guarino's feet) and then the English royal proctor in Rome.⁴⁹ He certainly deported himself so as to appear princely, travelling with a large retinue and opening his house to scholars like NICCOLÒ PEROTTI.⁵⁰ It begs the question: how did he come by the money with which he was lavish? We can at least have some sense of how he avoided cash-flow problems: it appears that he arranged transfers of money from London via the Venetian bank of Giovanni Marcanova, who had himself been based in England for some years.⁵¹ This was not the only Venetian of that name known to Gray: one of the witnesses at his academic ceremonies in Padua in September 1445 was Giovanni Marcanova, humanist and cousin to the banking merchant.⁵² Marcanova was an already established figure at the University but it is surely legitimate to wonder whether the financial association that Gray had with his family oiled the acquaintance the Englishman developed with him. We are aware of merchants as conduits in the sense of carrying books in their bags or being used as diplomatic couriers, but this example might suggest more active personal agency, a merchant consciously facilitating humanist contacts.

The second example comes from later in the century and involves another English cleric: William Sellyng, monk and later

⁴⁹ I discuss the 'pretensions' of William Gray in *England and Humanism*. See also Weiss⁴, pp. 132–48, and R. A. B. Mynors, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College Oxford* (Oxford, 1963), pp. xxiv–xlv.

⁵⁰ On Perotti in Gray's household, see Mynors, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol*, p. xxx.

⁵¹ E. Barile, P. C. Clarke and G. Nordio, *Cittadini veneziani del quattrocento: I due Giovanni Marcanova, il mercante e l'umanista* (Venice, 2006), pp. 22 and 333–34, discussing Giovanni Marcanova's tax return of 1446. This is a uniquely rich document for Marcanova's activities; it is reasonable to assume Gray made more frequent use of this method to transfer money from London to north-east Italy.

⁵² *Acta graduum academicorum gymnasii Patavini ab anno 1406 ad annum 1450*, ed. C. Zonta & G. Brotto (Padua, 1922), no. 1968, noted by Weiss⁴, p. 136.

prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, about whom – including his teaching by Stefano Surigone – much has already been said in this volume.⁵³ Some years later, around 1470, Sellyng was in contact with another Italian, Umfredo Gentili, a Lucchese merchant based in London. His purpose in writing, in fashionable Latin, was to prevail upon Gentili's *humanitas* so that he would show a friend the copy of Livy's *Decades* that he owned.⁵⁴ Gentili, then, was a manuscript-owner of classical works whom others thought it appropriate to importune in humanist tones; we seem to be getting close to an example of a merchant as humanist collaborator.⁵⁵

This is all the more evident with our final example, which returns us to the opening of this chapter. We saw Bartolomeo

⁵³ See pp. 293–302 above.

⁵⁴ W. A. Pantin, *Canterbury College, Oxford*, 4 vols [Oxford Historical Society, new series, vi–viii & xxx] (Oxford, 1947–85), iii (1950), p. 109, transcribing from London: BL, MS. Cotton Julius F. vii, fol. 205 (notebook of William Worcester). Given the provenance of the manuscript, the suggestion that the unnamed friend was Worcester is attractive but unlikely since he was not, at this point, 'cuiusdam venerabilis viri familiaris', as described in the letter: for the suggestion, see C. Clough 'Selling, William (c. 1430–1494)' in the on-line *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [accessed 30th November 2011]. Gentili's identity as a merchant is revealed by the 1472 pardon to him enrolled at Kew: National Archives, C66 / 528, membrane 4, calendared at *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1467–77* (London, 1900), p. 312.

⁵⁵ The *terminus post quem non* of Sellyng's letter (which, as he signs himself 'monachus', is September 1472, when he was made prior) makes it impossible entirely to exclude the possibility that Gentili's Livy was one of the incunables printed in Italy in 1469 and 1470 [ISTC, nos il00236000, il00237000 and il00238000], but the phrasing of the letter certainly implies that Gentili's ownership of the volume was not part of the trade in printed books then beginning; on that trade see L. Hellinga, 'Importation of Books Printed on the Continent into England and Scotland before c. 1520' in S. Hindman ed., *Printing the Written Word. The social history of books, circa 1450–1520* (Ithaca, 1991), pp. 205–224, and the comments I make in D. Rundle, 'English books and the continent' in D. Wakelin and A. Gillespie ed., *The Production of Books in England 1350–1500* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 276–91.

Facio writing to a Genoese merchant, who was then in France, but this was not a one-sided correspondence. We have letters from the merchant, Gian Giacomo Spinola, and they show him matching Facio in their style of Latin. He opens one letter, for instance, in good humanist style, begging his correspondent to attribute his silence ‘*curae mercaturae nostrae, quae nullam habet intermissionem ... potius quam negligentiae*’ (‘to our mercantile business, which gives no let-up, rather than to neglect’). However, it is not only in his Latin style that Spinola wants to match Facio; he goes on in his letter, interspersing news about his family with a description of his own pastimes:

Nulli aut perpauca sunt apud hos Gallos qui eloquentiae studiis delectentur, aut iis operam dent. Multi autem Italici fuerunt, qui Ciceronis opera, maxime *de re publica*, summa diligentia quaesierunt, sed frustra. Ego quidem semper dedi operam, ut aliquid novum invenirem, sed nihil reperi in eloquentia.⁵⁶

There are none or very few among these French who are interested in the study of eloquence or give effort to it. On the other hand, there have been many Italians who have searched very hard for the works of Cicero, particularly his *De re publica*, but in vain. I, indeed, have always put in the effort so that I might find something new, but I have found nothing of eloquence.

He was a merchant, in other words, who, in what few hours business allowed, liked to act out the humanist activity of searching for lost classical manuscripts. Nor, clearly, did his association with the *studia humanitatis* end when he crossed over from Italy to France. It might fairly be said that Spinola was no petit bourgeois salesman: a member of one of the leading families of Genoa, he was both a former student of Facio and a dedicatee of some of the humanist’s works.⁵⁷ However, while he

⁵⁶ Mittarelli, *Bibliotheca ... monasterii S. Michaelis Venetiarum prope Murianum*, col. 374.

⁵⁷ On him, see F. Gabotto, ‘Un nuovo contributo alla storia dell’umanesimo ligure’, *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, xxiv (1892), pp. 5–331 at pp. 22–25, and G. Albanese and D. Pietragalla, “In honorem regis edidit”: lo scrittoio di Bartolomeo Facio alla corte

may have been outstanding in his status and his literary pretensions, similar interests were certainly shared by others among the Genoese mercantile community.⁵⁸ None of this, however, is to claim that his affectations may have been displayed to his French hosts: his correspondence with Facio could be an example of what I have dubbed the ‘ex-pat problem’, where those of one nation in a foreign land communicate with each or with those back home at the expense of cultural intercourse with the locals.⁵⁹ Moreover, Spinola laces his rhetoric with that disdain for the intellectual aptitude of foreigners which is a humanist trope and which later scholarship has all too often found persuasive: it should not blind us to the reality of humanism’s identity as an international enterprise in which the uses of ‘beyond Italy’ included its potential for providing not just employment or audiences for humanists but also locales in which their creativity could occur.

Yet, even stereotypes, remarkably resilient though they are in the face of facts, are not immutable. They can develop in response to their own logic, so that humanist *prepotenza* towards barbarian foreigners inspired its own backlash: the Italians stood accused of arrogance in the eyes of Rudolf Agricola and others.⁶⁰ Or stereotypes could succumb to the force of changing circumstances: as John Flood has shown, in the last third of the fifteenth century German inventiveness became a humanist topos of praise, thanks to the printing press.⁶¹ This may seem to us so common-sensical that we fail to consider why authors like Ludovico Carbone made such a strong linkage between the Germans, print and learning. Certainly, movable type was not

napoletana di Alfonso il Magnanimo’ in Albanese, *Studi su Facio*, pp. 1–44 at p. 4.

⁵⁸ I give further examples in *England and the Identity of Humanism*.

⁵⁹ I briefly discuss the ‘ex-pat problem’ in D. Rundle, ‘Polydore Vergil and the *Translatio studiorum*: the tradition of Italian humanists in England’ in R. Bacchielli ed., *Polidoro Virgili e la cultura umanistica europea* (Urbino, 2003), pp. 53–74 at pp. 62–63.

⁶⁰ See p. 88 above.

⁶¹ See pp. 106–16 above.

only born in Mainz, it was also exported to most other countries by Germans, with Italy being no exception. The clerics Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz first set up their press in the monastery of Subiaco, some forty miles east of Rome, in 1465, and, two years later, moved into the papal city itself.⁶² Their publications were to include humanist, patristic and classical texts, some edited by GIOVANNI ANDREA BUSSI, but the new technology had no particular affection for humanist eloquence; on the contrary, the commercial calculations that needed to drive a successful printing house favoured works less learned and more popular than those provided by the *studia humanitatis* – as several early printers, including Sweynheym and Pannartz and, later, ALDUS MANUTIUS learnt only when the spectre of bankruptcy overshadowed them.⁶³ Nor did print create *ex nihilo* a book-trade on which humanism could capitalise: publication was certainly possible in manuscript culture, as the example of Flavio Biondo already mentioned demonstrates; hand-written codices could also, as we have seen, cross Europe in diplomatic bags or a ship's cargo; and speculative production of volumes could occur, as when Vespasiano da Bisticci compromised quality for speed in producing supplies that he hoped to sell at the Congress of Mantua.⁶⁴ However, what was unprecedented was the quantity of copies that print made possible to be transported, turning the book

⁶² On Sweynheym and Pannartz, see E. Hall, *Sweynheym & Pannartz and the Origins of Printing in Italy* (McMinnville OR, 1991). On their relations with Bussi, see *Prefazioni alle edizioni di Sweynheym e Pannartz prototipografi romani*, ed. M. Miglio (Milan, 1978).

⁶³ A point recently emphasised by A. Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven, CT, 2010), esp. 49–62.

⁶⁴ See pp. 315–16 above; A. C. de la Mare, 'Vespasiano da Bisticci as a Producer of Classical Manuscripts in Fifteenth-Century Florence' in C. A. Chavannes-Mazel & M. M. Smith ed., *Medieval Manuscripts of the Latin Classics: Production and Use* (Los Altos Hills, CA, 1996), pp. 166–207 at pp. 201–202.

into a relatively cheap commodity.⁶⁵ The book, that is to say, became more attractive to, and more reliant upon, the structures of commerce. From this, further changes flowed, at swift pace.

For humanists intent on forging the reputation of themselves as individuals and as coteries, print provided new possibilities. It may have been Erasmus in the early sixteenth century who was the most artful at constructing his charisma through the new medium but he was not the first.⁶⁶ For instance, the Dutch humanist himself is a witness to the fame of FILIPPO BEROALDO, a fame shaped by his use of the press, particularly in his hometown of Bologna, but also in Paris when Beroaldo was briefly there.⁶⁷ However, print was not only about promotion of oneself. It could also be an act of pietas, as when Iacopo Antiquari (1452/55–1512), a student of the late GIOVANNI ANTONIO CAMPANO, conceived a plan to have all his master's works published, resulting in the Roman edition of 1495, complete with a biography of Campano by Antiquari's friend, Michele Ferno (1465–1513), who also added indices and saw the work through the press; the edition was reprinted by Aldus Manutius in 1502.⁶⁸ This example, though, can also hint at the potential dangers of print: its ability to mould reputation was also one which decreased the author's own already-vulnerable control of the process. The living could also

⁶⁵ For insightful comment on the problematic status of book as commodity, J. L. Flood, "Volentes sibi comparare infrascriptos libros impressos..." Printed books as commercial commodity in the fifteenth century' in K. Jensen ed., *Incunabula and their Readers. Printing, selling and using books in the fifteenth century* (London, 2003), pp. 139–51.

⁶⁶ I allude, of course, to L. Jardine, *Erasmus, Man of Letters. The construction of charisma in print* (Princeton, NJ, 1993), on which see the review by Jill Kraye in *The Library*, 6th ser., xvii (1995), pp. 77–80. See also the methodical survey of Erasmus' engagement with the press given by K. Crousaz, *Érasme et le pouvoir de l'imprimerie* (Lausanne, 2005).

⁶⁷ Erasmus, *Epistolae*, ed. P. S. Allen, 12 vols (Oxford, 1906–58), v (1924), p. 244 [ep. 1347, ll. 220–224]. The printings from Beroaldo's time in Paris are ISTC, nos ib00488800, ic00552000, is00065000, and iv00160800. For his influence in Poland, see p. 140 above.

⁶⁸ The first edition is ISTC, no. ic00073000.

find that the image they wished to broadcast could be distorted by the hiss and hum of others' interventions, as Niccolò Perotti was to find when criticising the classical scholarship of DOMENICO CALDERINI.⁶⁹ More neutrally, the reputation of a humanist of an earlier generation could be re-fashioned by what went into print. A notorious example involves a text often now cited by scholars and mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, one which had a Europe-wide success in manuscript but which did not appear in print until the twentieth century: Leonardo Bruni's *Laudatio Florentinae urbis*.⁷⁰ Or consider Bruni's friend, Poggio, of whose writings the best-known now are probably his dialogues in Ciceronian style; like the *Laudatio*, these circulated internationally in manuscript but if we were to judge this humanist by his incunable identity, it would not be these well-crafted works that made his name.⁷¹ Instead, the one

⁶⁹ See F.-R. Hausmann, 'Martial in Italien', *Studi medievali*, 3rd ser., xvii (1976), pp. 173–218 at pp. 201–216; id., 'Martialis' in *CTC*, iv (1980), pp. 249–96 at pp. 253–54 & 261–71. As the detail of that spat demonstrates, harsh criticism was not reserved solely for print in this incunable period; for a further set of examples, see V. Fera, 'Polemiche filologiche intorno allo Svetonio del Beroaldo' in A. C. Dionisotti et al., *The Uses of Greek and Latin* (London, 1988), pp. 71–87.

⁷⁰ Hans Baron provided the 'first printed edition' in his *From Petrarch to Leonardo Bruni* (Chicago, 1968), pp. 217–63 (noting its earlier lack of print fortuna at pp. 151–55); there had, in fact, been two partial editions produced in 1889: see Bruni, *Laudatio*, ed. Baldassarri, pp. xxiii–xxvii.

⁷¹ Only two of the dialogues saw their way into print in the fifteenth century: there were two editions of *De infelicitate principum* [ISTC, nos ip00875300 (Paris, c. 1473) and ip00875500 (Louvain, c. 1480)], on which work, see the edition by Davide Canfora (Rome, 1998), with his listing of manuscript witnesses suggesting the international circulation of the work; and there was one of *De nobilitate* [ISTC, no. ip00877000 (Antwerp, 1489)]. Other dialogues, including *De avaritia*, had to wait until the early sixteenth century to receive a printed edition; I discuss the English interest in this work in D. Rundle, 'On the Difference between Virtue and Weiss: humanist texts in England during the fifteenth century' in D. Dunn ed., *Courts, Counties and the Capital in the Later Middle Ages* (Stroud, 1996), pp. 181–203 at pp. 195–201.

work of his that was frequently republished was his collection of ribald tales, the *Facetiae*, which received over thirty printed editions in the fifteenth century, not just in Italy but also in France, the Low Countries, Germany and Poland.⁷²

Print, in other words, did not simply quicken the pace of circulation of works by certain humanists; in the process, it could contort a humanist's corpus, mis-shaping an identity previously presented. To the examples already given, let me add another: a work we often consider the classic quattrocento exposition of good Latin, the *Elegantiae* of LORENZO VALLA, secured a relatively modest circulation in hand-written copies, and only became something of a best-seller through the printing press.⁷³ First printed in 1471, there was a particular concentration of editions produced in Paris in the last decade of its fifteenth century; in the same years, a work entitled *Elegantiae terminorum* and announcing its debt to Valla was regularly printed in Deventer.⁷⁴ The popularity of Valla's work – and that of a work like AGOSTINO DATI's *Elegantiolae* – suggests another possibility that flowed from the increased availability of copies: reform of the teaching of Latin in schools beyond Italy.⁷⁵ As several chapters, particularly that of Jacqueline Glomski, have mentioned, the dominant pattern of fifteenth-century educational engagement with humanism was that individuals in particular establishments showed interest but

⁷² L. Sozzi, 'Le "Facezie" e la loro fortuna europea' in *Poggio Bracciolini 1380–1980* (Florence, 1982), pp. 235–59; I have used the listing of printings in ISTC. The work is readily available in, for instance, Poggio Bracciolini, *Facezie*, trans. M. Ciccuto (Milan, 1983).

⁷³ On the *Elegantiae* in England, see D. Rundle, 'Humanist Eloquence among the Barbarians in Fifteenth-Century England' in C. Burnett and N. Mann ed., *Britannia Latina. Latin in the culture of Great Britain from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century* (London, 2005), pp. 68–85 at p. 84. For a manuscript copy in Scotland, see p. 253 above.

⁷⁴ Paris editions: ISTC, nos iv00052000, iv00062500, iv00064000, iv00065500, iv00068200, iv00068300 (and see p. 1 above); the Deventer editions of *Elegantiae terminorum*: ISTC, nos ie00028800–ie00029150.

⁷⁵ On Dati, see pp. 138, 204 above.

this rarely translated into the sort of curricular reform that we are inclined to set as a litmus-test for the presence of the *studia humanitatis*. This, in turn, may seem justification for a narrative of the slow spread of humanism seeping out of its Italian strongholds – but only if we make what may be an unwarranted assumption about an early and widespread adoption of humanist methods in Italian schools and universities.⁷⁶ Instead, it would be better to recognise the development of humanist educational practice as more faltering in Italy and less resistant elsewhere than sometimes acknowledged. The last third of the fifteenth century saw increased possibilities for humanist education, partly because of the availability of suitable teachers but all the more because the products of the printing press made the wherewithal on which to base the teaching available. It was in this context that the activities of a Guillaume Tardif in Paris or John Anwykyll in Oxford could take place.⁷⁷

This brings us finally to a question begged by the title of this volume: do the chronological boundaries of a century isolate a set of practices that form a unified and distinct identity? Was there, in short, fifteenth-century humanism? The patterns that emerge from the preceding paragraphs depict a tradition of travel and intellectual encounters which lasted through our period but was by no means confined to it. At the same time, those paragraphs do suggest that there are dividing points in the fifteenth century, albeit not the old ones of the fall of Constantinople of 1453 or the onset of the Italian Wars in 1494.⁷⁸ Instead, there would seem to be three phases: the

⁷⁶ R. Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge, 2001), and see his ‘Italian Renaissance Education: changing perspectives and continuing controversies’, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, lii (1991), pp. 315–34 (and cf. pp. 335–37 & 519–20).

⁷⁷ On Tardif, see Craig Taylor’s comments at pp. 223 and 225 above; on Anwykyll, see N. Orme, *Education in Early Tudor England: Magdalen College Oxford and its School 1480–1540* (Oxford, 1988).

⁷⁸ On 1453, see p. 32 above; on 1494, see Rundle, ‘Polydore Vergil and the *translatio studiorum*’.

opening decade and a half in which Bruni and his colleagues moulded the *studia humanitatis* as a self-conscious break with the past was also overshadowed by the continuing Schism of the church; it was only with the outcome of the Council of Constance that Avignon finally lost much of the significance it had had in Petrarch's life-time and Rome could become something close to an unrivalled centre for ecclesiastical diplomacy. If, then, we see a shift originating in the mid-1410s, the next phase might be said to last for about half a century. The end of the 1450s saw, with the deaths of Valla, Poggio and Guarino, both the passing of a generation, and a change in intellectual interests; upset upon these was, from the middle of the 1460s, the transformative – I resist writing revolutionary – impact of print. When did that third phase close? Perhaps only with the new fissures and associations wrought by the confessional struggles that scarred Europe from the 1520s. The decades beyond that might be seen as the fulfilment of the potential of the preceding period, as the arrival in the Promised Land – or they could be seen as the age following The Fall, the bitter-sweet aftertaste left by the sharing of the fruits of humanist genius. From this perspective, this volume needs no epilogue: that is provided by the sixteenth century.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ I would like to thank Oren Margolis and John Monfasani who gave sage advice on an earlier draft of this chapter.