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TERRANOVAM NATALE MEUM SOLUM



Remarks on the textual history of Poggio Bracciolini's *Historiae Florentini populi*

By Outi Merisalo

*Poggio Bracciolini's last work, the *Historiae Florentini populi*, was edited and dedicated to Federico di Montefeltro by Jacopo di Poggio in 1472. Jacopo also translated the work into the volgare and had it printed in Venice in 1476. In the light of the manuscript tradition, Jacopo's editorial changes were more considerable than has hitherto been thought. The propagation of his edition and translation would seem to be intimately connected with his political aspirations ending in his unfortunate participation in the Pazzi conspiracy of 1478.*

Poggio Bracciolini's last work, the *Historiae Florentini populi*,¹ has been preserved in five manuscripts, all of Italian origin and four of the fifteenth century. Poggio's son, Jacopo Bracciolini, the unfortunate revolutionary of the Pazzi conspiracy,² made an edition of the Latin text, which he dedicated to Federico di Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino,³ and translated his edition into the vernacular with the title *Istoria fiorentina*, published in Venice in 1476.⁴ The Latin text was first printed in 1715 by G.B. Recanati, who also gave it the title *Historia Florentina*, by which it has since been known.⁵ In this article, I shall examine the manuscript tradition in order give a preliminary outline of the textual history of this work.⁶

¹ I am currently preparing a critical edition of the text for the Edizione nazionale di storiografia umanistica coordinated by G. Albanese, to be published in 2008.

² See Martines 2003.

³ Merisalo 2004, 181-191.

⁴ H *13172 and, in the revised edition of 1492, 13173; GW 5613, paid for by Girolamo di Carlo Strozzi (De La Mare 1985, 458 and n. 295-296) and printed by Jacobus Rubeus (Jacques Le Rouge), who had published Bruni's *Historiae Florentini populi* in Acciaiuoli's translation in the preceding month (Michelini Tocci 1981, 527 n. 72.; De La Mare 1985, 458).

⁵ Bracciolini 1715.

⁶ I have not yet seen the fifth ms. of the text, Naples, BN V.G. 34.

Very little is known of the genesis of *Historiae Florentini populi*. In the summer of 1458, Poggio alludes to a work he is preparing:

Sed cum multa recenseantur, a quibus proficisci potuerit scribendi tarditas, una omissa res est, que precipua me occupatum tenuit diutius in scribendo, **ut cum finis iam adesset, cupidus ac studiosus incubui ad absolvendum inceptum opus, quod, tanquam in tela accidit, tantummodo sum orsus. Textura adhuc caret; sed ea brevi, ut spero, perficietur.** Sepius enim repetere iubemur que scribimus antequam edantur, ne qua detur detractoribus obloquendi occasio. Hec causa extitit que me ab reliquis distraheret curis. (*ep.* 9.45.7-19 Harth).

(But while many things may be listed as having delayed my writing, one thing has been left unsaid. It has rather long kept me particularly busy, as, the end approaching, I set willingly and industriously set out to finish the work that I had begun and for which, as it happens with weaving a web, I had only put the threads in place. It is still lacking a well-defined structure, but I hope to complete it soon. Of course, we are told to revise our text several times before publication in order not to expose ourselves to slanderers. This reason has kept me from attending to other business.)

Cum finis iam adesset most probably refers to Poggio's advanced age despite which he has started on a new work. He has only "woven" (*tantummodo sum orsus*) the "web" (*tela*), but the work is still lacking *textura*.⁷ *Textura* (which is lacking here, according to Poggio) is rare in Classical texts, occurring seven times in Lucretius and one or two times in Plautus, Propertius, Lucan, Seneca minor, Ammianus Marcellinus and Martianus Capella each. It is used both in a concrete sense for e.g. a spider's web (Plautus and Seneca) and a structure (Lucan and Ammianus); Lucretius uses it for the structure of the universe.⁸ In sense of 'construction, structure', it also occurs in the Vulgate.⁹ Consequently, it should here be understood as a well-defined, finished structure. Poggio then refers to his fear of *detractores*, no doubt in reference to his recent skirmishes with Valla and his disciples,¹⁰ which stimulates him to repolish his text with particular care; he is confident

⁷ For metaphorical uses of the more common derivatives of *texere*, see Viljamaa 2007.

⁸ E.g. Lewis-Short s.v. *textura*: 'A web, texture': *aranearum*, Plt. *Stich.* 2, 2, 24 : "Minervae", Prop. 4 (5), 5, 23; Sen. 20.121.22 ("Non vides quam nulli mortalium imitabilis illa aranei textura"); figuratively, 'a construction, structure': "quam tenui constet textura (*i.e.* animi natura)", Lucr. 3.209 ; Luc. 9.777 ("uincula neruorum et laterum textura"); Amm. 22.11 ("contegitur coriis bubulis virgarumque recenti textura atque limo asperguntur").

⁹ Jerome, Vulg. Ex. 28.8 ("ipsaque textura et cuncta operis varietas erit ex auro et hyacintho et purpura coccoque bis tincto et bysso retorta") and 15.

¹⁰ For the famous exchange of invectives, see now Merisalo, forthcoming 2007.

that this will not take up too much time (“sed ea brevi, ut spero, perficietur”).

Although Poggio mentions neither the subject nor the contents of the *opus absolvendum*, we do not know of any other major or minor work that he would have been engaged in shortly before his death. It is therefore reasonable to assume that he is referring to what was to be edited by his son, Jacopo di Poggio, who states in his preface:

Poggius enim ingrauescente etate tamquam emeritis stipendiis, cum Roma, ubi magna cum laude uixerat, uenia a Pontifice impetrata in patriam reuertisset, ut memorie tante urbis consuleret, inter priuata publicaque negocia **commentaria rerum Florentinarum**, a primo bello cum Iohanne Mediolanensi Archiepiscopo usque ad pacem cum Alfonso per Nicolaum pontificem factam, **morte preuentus reliquit** (Venice, Marc. Z.392(=1684), f. 3v).

(Poggio, getting on in years, retiring, as it were, from business, was given leave by the Pope to return from Rome to his native country. In order to enhance the memory of such an eminent city he wrote the first draft of a history of Florence from the first war with John, Archbishop of Milan, until the peace made with Alfonso through the mediation of Pope Nicholas. He left this work incomplete at his death.)

Jacopo uses the word *commentarium*, which emphasises the non-finished character¹¹ of what was left by his father, *morte preuentus*. This would indicate that despite his assessment of the extent of work to be completed, Poggio had not succeeded in constructing his *textura*. With a different terminology but the same semantics, Jacopo explains in the preface of his *volgarizzamento*:

Auendo adunque nostro padre nella ultima eta, per gloria et honore della patria, scripta **una hystoria fiorentina** dalla prima guerra auuta collo arcivescouo Giouanni de Bisconti nel McccL.ta : fino alla pace facta a Napoli appresso al Re Alfonso, et quella **preuenuto dalla morte lasciata imperfecta** (Florence, BNC, Pal. Baldovinetti 62 f. 2v).

(Since our father had written in his old age, to the glory and honour of his native country, a history of Florence from the first war with Archbishop John Visconti in 1350 until the peace made with Naples and King Alfonso, and he had left that work incomplete at his death.)

¹¹ Lewis-Short, *s.v. commentarius*, ‘As the title of a book on any subject, but esp. historical, which is only sketched down or written without care’, the best-known examples being no doubt Caesar, *BG* and *BC*.

“Una hystoria [...] dalla morte lasciata imperfecta” corresponds exactly to *commentaria* and *morte praeventus*. Poggio never managed to finish his text.¹²

The *Historia Florentini populi* was edited by Jacopo and dedicated to Federico di Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino, most probably in 1472, since the editor refers to Federico’s quenching the rebellion of Volterra in that year:

Cumque **hoc anno** tua uirtute **Volaterrani**, antiquissima Etrurie ciuitas, montis asperitate et loci natura freti imperio nostro **rebelles sub iugum uenerint** (Venice, Marc. Z.392(=1684), f. 4)

(And since this year, thanks to your valour, the Volaterrans, a most ancient people of Etruria, who, trusting the difficult mountain ground and the very nature of the site, had rebelled against us, were subjected to our power.)

The dedication copy is BAV, Urb. lat. 491, a luxury manuscript copied by Gundisalvus Hispanus (identifying himself on f. 163v by the colophon *Deo gratias. G. Hispanus*), i.e. Gundissalvus Fernandez de Heredia (d. 1511), apostolic protonotary who studied Canon Law at Pisa in 1473-1474 and was ordained bishop of Barcelona in 1478 and of Tarragona in 1490. He worked as a professional scribe for Federico di Montefeltro between 1469 and 1474 (one ms.) and again between 1475 and 1482 (two mss.), for Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary (three mss.), Lorenzo de’ Medici (four mss.), Pierfrancesco de’ Medici (two mss.) and Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, son of King Ferdinand (two mss.), employed by Vespasiano da Bisticci.¹³ Jacopo’s elegant hand is present in the margins of almost every folio.¹⁴ The volume is richly decorated by the *Maestro del Senofonte Hamilton*, active between 1460 and 1480, and working in the bottega of Francesco d’Antonio del Chierico in Florence at least until 1478. Among other tasks he collaborated at the decoration of the celebrated Urbino Bible (BAV, Urb. Lat. 1).¹⁵

The dedication manuscript contains a version in eight books of the *Historiae Florentini populi* preceded by a preface by Jacopo. The preface contains remarks on the usefulness of history, e.g.

¹² This does not exclude Poggio making his materials available to other scholars. Rubinstein 1958-1964, 20 and n. suggested that Saint Antoninus, working on his *Chronicle* in 1457, would have had access to the last book of the *Historiae*.

¹³ De La Mare 1985, 503, no. 31.

¹⁴ As already pointed out by Michelini Tocci 1981, 527 and n. 74 as well as De La Mare 1985, 503, no. 31.

¹⁵ Garzelli 1985, 157ff.

Hinc quantum utilitatis generi humano historia fidissima rerum custos afferat, quantumque omnes, qui haud in obscuro aetatem egere illi debeant, cum ea sola presentes nobis illos semper faciat, intelligi potest. Cuius e cognitione clarissimorum facinorum memoria ad immortalitatis studium excitemur, atque ex aliorum operibus et uniuscuiusque uita, consilia, mores, fortunae uarietates, et incertos bellorum euentus cognoscamus (Venice, Marc. Z. 392 (= 1684), f. 1v).

(From this, the great usefulness to mankind of history, [that] most faithful guardian of things, may be gauged, as well as the degree to which those having led most famous lives, are in her debt, since she alone keeps them constantly in our minds. Through the knowledge of history, let us be inspired by the memory of famous deeds to strive after immortality and learn from other people's deeds and individuals' lives the[ir] plans, manners, fortune's changes and uncertain outcomes of wars.)

This passage closely follows Poggio's introductory remarks to *De varietate fortunae*: "Magnam igitur utilitatem afferre mortalibus historia censeri debet" (VF Proemium 4-5)¹⁶ corresponds to "quantum utilitatis generi humano; Hec diligens custos et fida preteritorum memoria" (VF Proemium 7-8) corresponds to "historia fidissima rerum custos"; and

hec sola illustrium uirorum facta uirtutesque nostro in conspectu ad imitandum proponit [...] cuius ope preterita representantur nobis et que uetustas solet delere, reddit tanquam recentia. Nullus quippe priscas et ab etate nostra remotas excellentium uirorum gestas res nosset, nisi litterarum monumentis et historie munere in luce hominum uersarentur (VF Proemium).

([History] alone brings into our view the deeds and virtues of famous men so that we may imitate them. Through history, things past are brought again before our eyes and those habitually destroyed by antiquity are brought back as if they were new. It may well be said that nobody would know anything about ancient deeds of excellent men far removed from our own time, if they were not brought to people's attention by works of literature and history.)

should be compared to *quantum* [...] *cognoscamus*. The phrase *fortunae uarietates* is an obvious wink at the source text. Jacopo then proceeds to deploring the passing of the great patrons of learned men, mentioning Alfonso of Aragon and Nicholas V. The choice of dedicatee for his edition of Poggio's last work was, according to Jacopo, downright self-evident: Federico was not only *the* last remaining great patron of learning but a great in-

¹⁶ Bracciolini 1993.

tellektual in his own right. In addition, he had been a close friend of Poggio's.¹⁷ We may note here the conspicuous absence of any reference to Jacopo's employers, the Medici family.¹⁸

Jacopo makes the remarks on the state of Poggio's text at his death quoted above and describes his own contribution as follows:

Mihi uero, ut primum per etatem licuit, ne nostre rei publice plurimorumque clarorum uirorum memoria deperiret, nihil fuit potius quam **omnia in octo digesta libros summa cum diligentia in unum corpus redigere** ac legenda posteris tradere (Venice, Marc. Z. 392(=1684), f. 3v).

(My main occupation, as soon as my age would permit it, has been to preserve the memory of our state and the memory of many famous men. Thus, I have built up a text out of one divided into eight books and handed it over to posterity to read.)

In "omnia in octo digesta libros [...] in unum corpus redigere", the participle *digesta* may be interpreted as referring either to Poggio's original revi-

¹⁷ "Cum quo sanctissimo ac sapientissimo homine [= Nicholas V] Latinas simul et Grecas litteras periisse merito dicere non dubitarem, nisi tu post supremum illius diem bonis omnibus deflendum unus extitisses, qui prestanti ingenio uiros tuis opibus sustentares dispersosque ac tanti uiri morte pene attonitos tuis uerbis et cohortationibus bene sperare ac bono esse animo iuberis. Itaque, Illustrissime Princeps Federice, cum solus hac nostra etate sis, qui non modo ingeniis faueas, uerum etiam ad rei militaris scientiam, eloquentiam, et dicendi copiam addideris, in philosophia tantum profeceris, quantum ocioso homini uix conceditur, assidueque domi, ac militie aliquid scribas, aut legas, historias uero preteritorum temporum ita teneas, ut nihil tibi incognitum esse constet, ne quid omnino nouum animo tuo sit, optimi parentis uigilias quibus proxime etatis per Italiam res geste continentur, ad te mittere decreui. Cui enim illa potius dedicarem, quam ei qui et familiaritate secum iunctus fuit, et doctus ipse doctos colit et obseruat?" (Venice, Marc. Z. 392(=1684), f. 3-3v) (I would not doubt that with the passing of this very holy and wise man [=Nicholas V] both Latin and Greek letters could with good reason be said to have perished, unless, after the death of this man, deplored, by all the good people, you had not set out, alone among your contemporaries, to support gifted men with your wealth and tell them, by word and encouragement, to keep faith and not be demoralised. Thus, glorious Prince Frederick, since you are the only one of our age not merely encouraging intellects but also combining military science with eloquence and rhetoric, having progressed in philosophy to a point that it is almost impossible to reach for a man employed in other business, regularly writing texts both at home and at war, so that you seem to ignore nothing, nor should anything be totally new to your mind, I have decided to send you the work of my most excellent father, which contains the recent history of Italy. To whom should I dedicate it rather than a person who was his friend and, being himself a learned man, supports and follows up learned men?)

¹⁸ For the political implications of Jacopo's literary activities, see Merisalo 2004.

sion or to Jacopo's editorial work. Jacopo's volgarizzamento seems somewhat clearer:

come prima et per l'eta et per molte occupationi m'e stato licito, achioche la memoria della cicta nostra et le opere di molti prestantissimi huomini per Ytalia non manchassi, a nessuna altra cosa o piu dato opera che **a ridurla insieme, et diuisola con somma diligentia in octo libri**, mandarla in luce et farne copia a ciascuno desideroso d'intendere (Florence, BNC, Pal. Baldovinetti 62, f. 2v).

(as soon as [my] age and many occupations would permit me, in order to preserve the memory of our city and the deeds of many excellent men in Italy, I have concentrated on making a continuous narrative of [the text], and after having divided it into eight books with the greatest care, publishing it and giving a copy of it to whomever would wish to be informed.)

The participle *diuisola* would seem to indicate that Jacopo was not only responsible for making Poggio's *commentaria* into a homogeneous text ("in unum corpus redigere/a ridurla insieme") but also for the division in eight books. We shall see, however, that the situation is more complex in the light of the manuscript tradition.

Jacopo's edition, complete with the dedicatory preface to Federico, was soon copied in an obviously Florentine luxury parchment manuscript now at the Marciana library in Venice. The textual hand is an elegant Italic; in addition, there is a near-contemporary correcting hand present in the margins and occasionally in the text, as well as a third, seventeenth-eighteenth-century hand. The putti on f. 1 closely resemble those by Mariano del Buono, working for Vespasiano da Bisticci between 1470 and 1480,¹⁹ as well as those of his bottega.²⁰ The arms on f. 1 have not yet been identified with certainty.²¹ The ms. belonged to G.B. Recanati (1687-1734),²² who used it for his 1715 edition.

¹⁹ For Mariano, see Garzelli 1985b, plate 689 = Garzelli 1985a, 193: a *Corvinianus*, New York Library, Spencer Collection 27, posterior to 1464.

²⁰ I.e. the Maestro del Lattanzio Riccardiano, cf. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashb. 845, f. 152, Garzelli 1985b, 413, no. 706 (= De La Mare 1985, 487, 6. iii b) no. 52.

²¹ They are not Recanati arms, contrary to Valentinelli's supposition (VI. 280, *ad Cod.* 314 membr., saec. XV, a. 293, l. 200 [Z.L., CCCXCII]. P.).

²² For Recanati, scholar and bibliophile, friend of Apostolo Zeno, see Lugato 1993. The ms. entered the library in 1735, Lugato 1993, 88. I have the pleasure of thanking Dott.ssa Elisabetta Lugato for sharing her expertise on the Recanati library, as well as Dott.ssa Susy Marcon and the staff of the Marciana for their generosity and helpfulness during my stay at the library in January 2007.

The Marciana ms. presents a very exact copy of the Urbino ms., the differences being restricted to occasional spelling variants (especially presence vs. absence of diphthongs).

The only copy of the *Historiae* present in Medici collections is from the beginning of the sixteenth century. The paper ms. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. LXV, 40, entered the private library of the Medici in 1568, together with the rest of the important collection owned by Canon Antonio Petrei (d. 1570; ex-libris on f. 1: *A[n]t. petrej can. floren.*). It is characterised by a large number of hands, some of whom rather inexperienced, to the point of the whole resembling a series of writing exercises. Petrei was a teacher and bibliophile who purchased, among others, autographs of Boccaccio and Petrarca.²³ His ms. contains a copy of Jacopo's version derived from the Urbino-Marciana version.

These three manuscripts do not throw light on the extent of Jacopo's editorial work. There is, however, a modest fifteenth-century paper manuscript now at the Biblioteca nazionale centrale of Florence, the Palatino Capponiano 64. The library of Marquess Vincenzo Capponi, containing the rich manuscript collection put together in the eighteenth century by Canon Giovan Vincenzo Capponi, entered the Palatine library in 1854.²⁴ On ff. 1-88, the Capponi ms. contains the first four books of Poggio's text. This codicological unit is bound together with two others, also from the fifteenth century, containing parts of Leonardo Bruni's *corpus Demosthenicum*²⁵ and excerpts in volgare from Petrarch's *De remediis utriusque fortune*. Poggio's text lacks both title and Jacopo's preface. Instead, book 1 is preceded by a preface by the author himself, as it would seem, speaking in the first person:

Imitatus quorundam scriptorum industriam qui certa bella aut tempora suis historiis sunt complexi, opus mihi desumpsi quod et urbi nostre nomen, et auctori laudem aliquam uideretur apud posteros allaturum. **Paulo namque supra centesimum annum** Florentini bella populi tum repulsa tum illata recensere institui **que sunt in octo libros digesta**, neque uero hystoriam rerum gestarum pondere leuem, sed quae recenti fere memoria constet et digna profecto res si qua apud Ytalos aliqua his seculis fuere que merito posteritatis memorie mandetur (Florence, BNC, Pal. Capp. 64, f. 1).

²³ Morandini 1986, 23.

²⁴ Fava 1939, 123.

²⁵ I have the pleasure of thanking Marianne Pade for this identification (personal communication, 25 April 2007).

(Following the industrious example of some writers who have described in historical works certain wars or a certain period of time, I have set out to compose a work which would seem to enhance the reputation of our city and the glory of the [present] author [in the eyes of] posterity. I have decided to describe, in eight books, the wars of the Florentine people, both those of defense and those of aggression, over a period of a little more than one hundred years. It is not a history of deeds of little significance, but of such as are fresh in memory and, among events befallen the Italians during the past few centuries, worthy of being preserved in the memory of posterity.)

Despite the Capponi manuscript only containing the first four books, the preface explicitly states that the whole of the text covers the same time period, i.e. 1350-1454, as the text edited by Jacopo, and that it is divided into eight books. This puts Jacopo's ambiguous formulation, reported above, into a new light – *digesta* and *diuiso* would seem to have been the work of Poggio himself. A detailed comparison of the text of the Capponi manuscript with Jacopo's edition reveals a significant number of differences, which may be generally categorised as follows:

1. Changes in word order, e.g.

usque ad primum ceptum bellum urbis nostre statum (Capp. f. 1v)

urbis nostrae statum usque ad primum cum Archiepiscopo bellum (Marc. Z. 392, Vat.Urb.lat.491)

2. More synthetical structures in Jacopo's version, e.g.

Variis tum Fesulanorum noue urbi inuidentium, tum aliorum finitiorum bellis lacessiti se suaque egregie tutati sunt. Subditi imperatoribus, qui post Carolum regnarunt, a quorundam pretoribus regebantur paruos intra fines coacti (Capp. f. 2).

(While being harassed with different wars both by Faesulans, invidious of the new city, and by other neighbours, they defended themselves and their possessions brilliantly. Subject to the emperors reigning after Charlemagne, they were governed, confined to a reduced space, by some praetors.)

Variis cum Fesulanorum noue urbi inuidentium, tum aliorum finitiorum bellis lacessiti sub imperatoribus, qui post Carolum regnarunt, a quorum pretoribus regebantur paruos intra fines coacti se suaque egregie defendentes vixere (Marc. Z 392 (=1684), Vat. Urb. lat. 491).

(While being harassed with different wars both by Faesulans, invidious of the new city, and by other neighbours under the rule of the emperors who reigned after Charlemagne, [and] by whose praetors they

were governed, confined to a reduced space, they lived brilliantly defending themselves and their possessions.)

3. More concision in Jacopo's version, e.g.

Primus ex Vicecomitum familia tyrannidem inuasit Mafeus, senior frater Johannis archiepiscopi, quanquam Mafeus nomine, re Johannes urbi imperitaret. Post cuius obitum (Capponi, f. 3v).

(The first of the house of Visconti to become tyrant was Matthew, elder brother to Archbishop John – although Matthew ruled the city in name and John in fact. After Matthew's death)

Maffeo seniore mortuo (Marc. 392 (=1684), Vat. Urb. lat. 491)

(After Matthew's death)

4. Re-organisation, e.g.

Presidium ergo a Florentinis postulatum[1] est ab oppidi (= Scarperia) propugnatoribus[2] iam uigiliis et laboribus et continua oppugnatione fessis[3] Conuenerant ad duo equitum, peditum uero quattuor milia[4] in presidium Florentinorum. His adiunctis octingenti milites a Senensibus missi[5]. Expectabantur equites VI.c. a Perusinis[6], qui cum tribus milibus passuum prope Aretium (locus Ulmus dicitur)[7] consedisent. Fraude Petri Sacconii, cui due ale equitum ab archiepiscopo misse erant,[8] nil hostile timentes[9] ob eamque rem incautius ac licentius uersati intercepti sunt armisque et equis spoliati[10] Perusium redeunt[11] (Capponi, f. 8v-9).

(The Florentines requested military aid from the defenders of the town [= Scarperia], already exhausted by guard-duty, toil and continuous siege. As many as two thousand horse and four thousand foot had gathered to help the Florentines. Additionally, the Sienese had sent eight hundred foot. Six hundred horse were expected from the Perugians, who had settled down at three thousand *passus* near Arezzo (the place is called Olmo). The latter, not expecting any enemy action and therefore imprudent and rather careless in their actions, were attacked and robbed of their arms and horses through the betrayal of Pietro Sacconio, to whom the Archbishop had sent two wings of horse. They returned to Perugia.)

cum oppidani[2] uigiliis laboribus et continua oppugnatione fessi[3] ad Florentinos mittunt, qui auxilium petant[1] denuntiantque obsidionem diutius tollerari non posse, ni subsidium mature submittatur (Marc. Z. 392 (=1684), Vat. Urb. lat. 491).

(When the inhabitants [= of Scarperia], exhausted through guard-duty, toil and continuous siege, sent ambassadros to the Florentines to ask

for help and declare that the siege was not to be suffered any longer unless aid was rapidly forthcoming.)

cum hiis copijs castra exaduersum hostibus locare acieque decernere, sed ammisso Perusinorum subsidio **alia ratione bellum gerendum**[12] (Capponi, f. 9).

(With these troops the camp was to be pitched opposite the enemy and the situation to be solved through battle, but after the loss of the Perugian aid they decided on another course of action.)

comparato exercitu, in quo **ad duo equitum, peditum uero quator milia**[4] censebantur, **milites insuper octingenti a Senensibus missi**[5], cum primum **sexcenti equites a Perusinis**[6] aduenirent, castra hostibus opponere ac signis collatis fortunam belli temptare. Verum cum intellexissent **tribus passuum milibus prope Aretium loco qui Ulmus dicitur**,[7] **Sacconi dolis atque insidiis, cui ale equitum due ab Archiepiscopo misse erant**,[8] eos **nihil hostile timentes**[9] interceptos atque armis equisque amissis magna **accepta strage**[10] **Perusum rediisse**,[11] sententiam mutare ac **alia ratione bellum gerere**[12] (Marc.lat. Z. 392(=1684), Vat. Urb. lat. 491).

(Upon assembling an army with as many as two thousand horse and four thousand foot as well as eight hundred foot sent by the Siense, and as soon as the six hundred horse from the Perugians would arrive, they were to pitch camp opposite the enemy and raising their banners to try the fortune of war. However, when they learnt that at three hundred passus near Aretium in a plae called Olmo, the Perugians, not expecting any enemy action, had been attacked and lost their arms and horses to extraordinary losses through scheming and ambushing by Sacconio, and returned to Perugia, they changed their minds and decided on another course of action.)

5. Terminology, e.g. politico-geographical terms:

a Ludouico rege **Neapolitanorum** (Capponi, f. 4v)

a Ludouico **Sicilie** rege (Marc. lat. Z. 392 (=1684), Vat. Urb. lat. 491)

tum qui citra Appenninum, tum qui in **Tuscia** Flaminiaque erant (Capponi, f. 4v)

Etrurie omnis ac Flamminie (Marc. lat. Z. 392 (=1684), Vat. Urb. lat. 491)

It may be noted that Jacopo's edition has a text which is, on the whole, more classicising than the Capponi one, as regards both syntax and nomenclature (e.g. *Etruria* for medieval *Tuscia*). There are changes in almost every sentence. The interesting question is whether all, some or none of these changes

originate in Poggio, who is documented as having been engaged in revision work in 1458. Although it might be impossible to establish the history of all the changes, there are some passages where a fairly strong case may be made for Jacopo. Consider the following:

Terranouam, natale meum solum, acri certamine frustra oppugnarunt pluribus sauciis, multis interfectis. Abeuntes in Aretinum primo, tum in Cortonensem, postea in Senensem agros populabundi transiere. Deinde in territorium Pisanum per uallem Nebule reuersi sunt (Capponi, f. 14).

(They fought a hard battle laying in vain siege to Terranuova, the village of my birth, and many were wounded, many killed. When going away they passed first to the Aretine, then to the area of Cortona, and afterwards to that of Siena, intending to pillage the country. Then they returned to Pisan territory through the Valdinebbia.)

Aretino, Cortonensi Senensique agro populato in Pisanorum fines qua uenerant uia reuertuntur (Marciana, lat. Z. 392 (=1684), Vat. Urb. lat. 491).

(After pillaging the areas of Arezzo, Cortona and Siena they returned to the lands of the Pisans the same way that they had come.)

The passage in the Capponi version is vintage Poggio, with a characteristic autobiographical reference to Terranuova, his native village. Typically, the events concerning Terranuova are described very much in detail. It is difficult to imagine Poggio reducing this passage to the concise statement of troop movements, omitting Terranuova altogether, in Jacopo's edition.

To conclude: Poggio was revising his *opus* in 1458, but only left behind *commentaria* in eight books on his death in 1459. Jacopo Bracciolini took up this text, probably subjecting it to some heavy editing and producing a text in elegant Humanist Latin that he not only dedicated to Poggio's old friend Federico di Montefeltro but also translated into volgare. In this way, Poggio's work became an instrument in Jacopo's political struggle, a fact also borne out by the textual history of *Historiae Florentini populi*.

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