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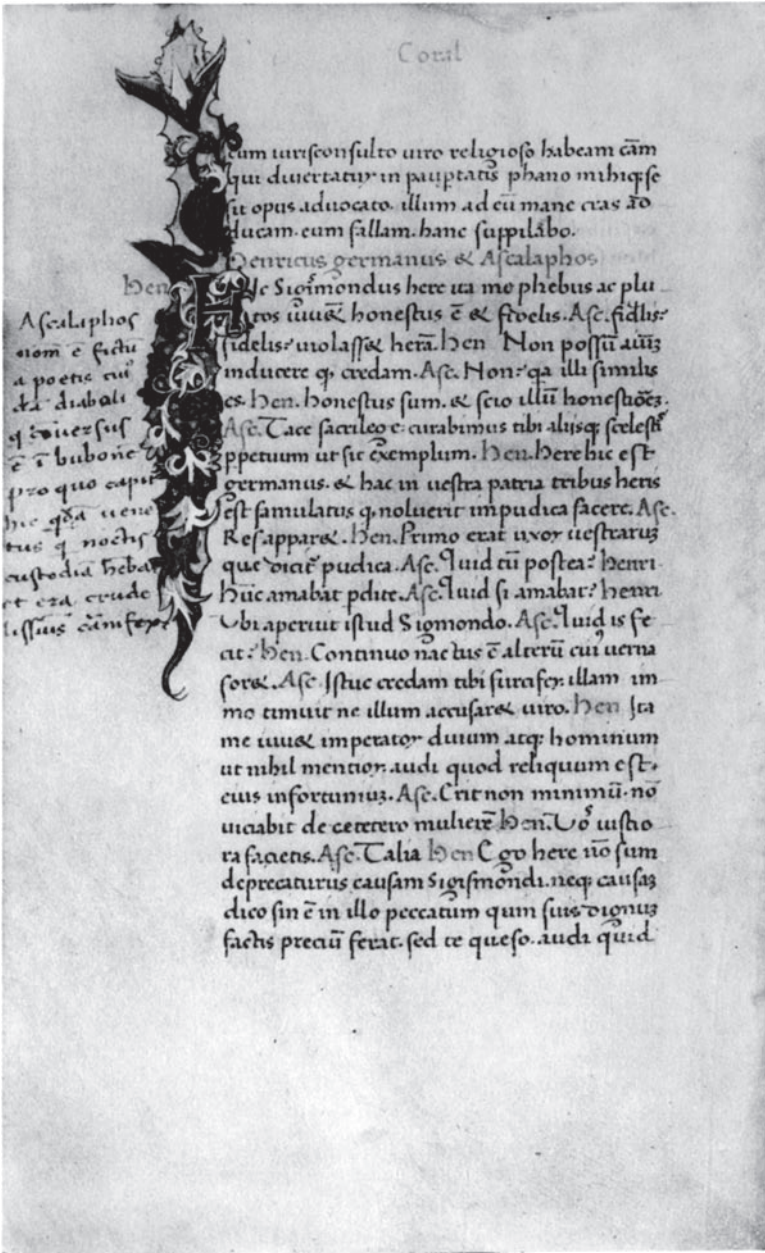
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OPERA
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DE FERRARIA

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Corallaria, Scene 8

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PREFACE

The editor's warm thanks are due to a number of friends who in different ways have furthered this edition: to Professor G. C. Moore-Smith, to Mr E. E. Sikes, President of St John's College, to Mr T. R. Glover, the Public Orator, and to Professor W. M. Lindsay. They have, of course, no responsibility for the result. I wish also to express my obligations to Mr Leonard Smith, who with rare kindness obtained for me the rotograph of *De Republica*, and information on the Signori di Notte at Venice; to the Podest  of Reggio-Emilia and to Professor Virginio Mazzelli, Librarian of the Biblioteca Municipale, for the generous permission to have the rotograph executed and for facilitating the deposit of the manuscript at Parma for the purpose; to Dr Pietro Zorzonello, Director of the R. Biblioteca Palatina of Parma, who kindly took charge of the manuscript at Parma. The rotograph was admirably executed by Signor M. Pisseri of Parma.

I also owe a special word of thanks to Professor M. Lehnardt of K nigsberg, who, when he heard of the imminence of this edition, has not only deferred his own article on Frulovisi till its appearance, but also sent me his own transcript of *Corallaria* from a rotograph, which has been of great value to me. This and the ready assistance which has been given me in Italy are renewed proofs of the European fraternity of scholarship.

Lastly, I am deeply indebted as on other occasions to the compositors and readers of the University Press who have spared no pains to ensure the accuracy of the edition.

C. W. P.-O.

October 1931

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I. LIFE OF FRULOVISI

Tito Livio dei Frulovisi was born in Ferrara, to which city his family belonged.¹ His father's name was Domenico.² Whether Tito Livio was his baptismal name or assumed owing to his humanistic tastes, there is no evidence to show, but it seems quite possible that his father may have been, like other Italians of the fourteenth century, a devotee of the historian Livy, and have chosen the name for his son at baptism. The date of the son's birth is nowhere given, but he was already an independent schoolmaster in 1429, and he says himself that he learnt Greek from Emmanuel Chrysoloras.³ As the famous reintroducer of Greek into Italy was in Venice in 1404, 1408, 1409, and 1410, he may well have given lessons to a promising boy, and Frulovisi's statement that he had heard the fame of Henry V of England (acceded 1413) "from his earliest years" from his father⁴ should be read in this light: Frulovisi would be born about 1400.

Although born at Ferrara, Frulovisi must have come with his father to Venice at an early age, one of the many immigrants who made a prosperous livelihood there.⁵ He was a

¹ See below, "natali patria" (pp. 295, 296), "animum civis habebō" (p. 389). In titles he calls himself "Ferrariensis" or "de Ferrara." The "Veronensis" of the next note must be either a misreading, or due to his association with Guarino. Perhaps, too, he came to Venice from Verona, not from Ferrara direct. The name Frulovisi is the same as the modern Italian name Forlivesi. Presumably the family came originally from Forlì.

² See E. Bertanza and G. dalla Santa, *Doc. per la storia della cultura in Venezia* (Monumenti Storici pubbl. per la R. Deputazione di Storia Patria, Ser. I, Document. Vol. XII), I, p. 315: "1429 Apr. 12, testes Titus Livius de Perlovisiis (*sic*) quondam Dominici veronensis (*sic*) rector scholarum in contrata S. Bassi (Sez. Not. Misc. Testamenti, busta 25, no. 1702)."

³ "Si quid paululum grece ex doctissimo ac in primis humanissimo preceptore nostro Emanuele Chrisolora degustavimus" (*De Orthographia*, Part III).

⁴ "Cum a primis annis de parente meo, suis et aequalibus crebrius auditum fando meminissim" (*Vit. Hen. V*, ed. Hearne, p. 1).

⁵ See below, "A primis annis semper Venetiis vixi. Bene vixi, libere vixi" (below, p. 297).

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scholar of the humanist, Guarino Veronese,¹ who taught at Venice from 1414 to 1418. He began life as a notary,² but the passion of humanism led him away to other studies. We find him next in April 1429 as a schoolmaster in the little parish of S. Basso close to St Mark's,³ and as a physician.⁴ He clearly prospered, although there is a hint of borrowing from moneylenders,⁵ and was given, like many others, the Venetian citizenship.⁶ Among his pupils may have been members of the Venetian medical family of Da Ponte.⁷ But he disliked teaching,⁸ and the rivalries among the numerous schoolmasters of Venice seem to have been bitter. Frulovisi himself recommends one government schoolmaster for each quarter.⁹

It was in connexion with his school that Frulovisi turned playwright. He was an enthusiastic admirer of Plautus, as well as of Terence, and though he did not perhaps at this time know more than the seven comedies accessible in the Middle Ages, the rediscovery of the twelve lost plays by Nicholas of Cues in 1429 may have stimulated his zeal for his author. The idea of imitating the Latin comedies, too, was in the air. Leone Battista Alberti had already written his *Philodoxeos*, and the Venetian Jacopo Langosco, professor at

¹ "De quibus (use of the aspirates and "i") certior factus fui a Guarino veronensi emanuelis Chrisolora discipulo" (*De Orthographia*, Part I [c. 2 n.]). He saw King Eric in Venice in August 1424 (see below, p. 387 and note).

² See below, "Possem adhaerere notariae... mea prima opera fuit" (p. 369). This agrees with his knowledge of law and the form of legal documents in *Emporia* (below, pp. 80-88).

³ See above, p. 1, n. 2. The school was probably middle-class. All Frulovisi's sympathies are with the "populares." The church, with 400 parishioners c. 1660, lay between St Mark's and the Orologio (Sansovino, *Venetia*, ed. Martinioni, 1663).

⁴ See Agostini, *Scrittori Viniziani*, I, p. 66, though this is of later date. Cf. the inside knowledge of medical practice, below, p. 320.

⁵ See for his earnings below, p. 369, "pecuniam multam in hac iuventute mea iam quaesisse." See for his debts the long description and denunciation of usury, below, pp. 344-6.

⁶ See below, "Abs quibus audiverant me civitate donatum" (p. 295); "Patriam... istam, qua te donare Veneti, tibi honori ducis" (p. 374).

⁷ Girolamo and Antonio, who recited *Corallaria*, *Emporia*, and *Oratoria*. For the genealogy of the earlier Da Ponte see G. Monticolo, *I capitoli delle arti veneziane* (Fonti per la storia d'Italia), I, p. 335.

⁸ See below, "ingrata tamen semper" (p. 352). The rivalries, *ibid.*, and cf. the prologues to *Corallaria*, *Claudi Duo*, and *Emporia*, and the pedagogue of *Claudi Duo*.

⁹ See below, p. 354. He says that there were a hundred schoolmasters at Venice.

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Padua, 1423–31, had written a comedy it seems, the plot of which Frulovisi was said to have plagiarized in his *Corallaria*.¹ However that may be, it appears that on certain holidays the Venetian schoolmasters gave entertainments to their pupils and their parents,² and instead of the usual programme of sports, dancing and refreshments, Frulovisi gave in the one year 1432–3 three plays, *Corallaria*, *Claudi Duo*, and *Emporia*. They must have had the same effect as a dumb-show on almost all the audience, but the contents leaked out, and brought a hornets' nest about the playwright's ears. Rival humanists were up in arms: they said, and truly, that the style was bad, that the old comedies were better, and that he had plagiarized a new one (which he denied); he was wasting his pupils' time.³ He also roused enmities needlessly by personal and general satire. He had almost too keen an eye for abuses. Benedetto Venier, the *signore di notte* who appears as Ascalaphus in *Corallaria*, the unnamed, limping pedagogue and physician of *Claudi Duo*, Tremolo the versifying notary of *Emporia*,⁴ cannot have been pleased. The attack, headed probably by the lame pedagogue, began on *Corallaria*, and when it became known that *Claudi Duo* had heathen gods among its characters, a powerful foe arose in Fra Leone, a Dominican, who preached against humanist poets as destined to damnation and accused Frulovisi of "nova superstitio" to the Bishop of Castello.⁵ Frulovisi exculpated himself, but at a price. *Corallaria* had been acted by professionals with scenery. *Claudi Duo* was only allowed to be performed by the pupils without scenery and in their ordinary dress, and Frulovisi does not seem to have employed actors again,⁶

¹ See the prologues to *Claudi Duo* and *Oratoria*.

² Prologue, *Corallaria*.

³ See the prologues to *Corallaria*, *Claudi Duo*, and *Oratoria*.

⁴ Tremolo's real name may have been Pontremolo; persons of this surname appear at Venice at the time.

⁵ I assume Fra Leone was in the attack on *Claudi Duo* (cf. the references to friars in *De Republica* below, p. 357), but he is not mentioned until the Prologue of *Oratoria*.

⁶ Prol. *Corallaria*, "nostrum studium placere adolescentulis nostris discipulis uobisque et populo." Prol. *Claudi Duo*, "Si desunt histriones, ornatus supplebit argentum industria et ingenium adolescentum nostrorum discipulorum." Prol. *Symmachus* refers clearly to the acting of the pupils; so does Prol. *Oratoria*. Characteristically Frulovisi satirizes the *ioculatores* in *Claudi Duo*.

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though scenery and costume were restored in *Emporia*. Before *Emporia* was performed, however, the rival schoolmasters had produced a cooperative play of their own, *Magistrea*, written, it seems, in hexameters, and acted by a crowd of professionals. But Frulovisi tells us that *Magistrea* met the fate its authors deserved.¹

It is not surprising that Frulovisi thought the opportunity had come to spend his savings in foreign travel. Probably in the winter of 1433–4, he journeyed *via* Florence, it may be,² to Rome—the Pope was then a Venetian, Eugenius IV—and then to Capua and Naples.³ There he lived at considerable expense and in the society of the leading nobles. With two of them, the Count of Buccino and the Chancellor Ottino Caracciolo, he held, he says, the dialogue which he shaped into *De Republica*. But he got nothing, it is clear, and was soon obliged to make his way to Barletta and take ship to Venice to resume his task as schoolmaster. By dedicating his *De Republica* to Leonello of Este, he was obviously aiming at securing a post in his native city of Ferrara. But Leonello turned a deaf ear—Guarino, perhaps, was not in his former pupil’s favour.

The performance of *Symmachus* in 1433–4,⁴ with its satire on the pride of the Venetian patricians, seems to have caused a new outburst. Fra Leone led the way, seconded by the supporters of the old-fashioned scholastic learning, and followed by the women alarmed at sending their children to be taught by the heathen, radical poet. Frulovisi’s school and

¹ See Prol. *Emporia*, and Prol. *Oratoria*; that *Magistrea* was in hexameters is implied in *Emporia*, below, pp. 85–8.

² At least he speaks favourably of the Florentines, below, p. 318; and this would account for his acquaintance with Leonardo Bruni Aretino, the Florentine chancellor, which Bruni refers to: “In quibus (Frulovisi’s letter) multa sapienter et amanter a te scribuntur de mutuo amore conjunctioneque nostra. Haec igitur rata sint ac perpetua” (*Epistolae*, Lib. VII, 9, ed. Mehus, II, p. 98). Cf. below, p. xiv, n. 3.

³ Proemium, *De Republica*, below, p. 295.

⁴ The “recitator” was Paolo di Andrea, “rector scholarum” in the parish of S. Giovanni Bragora, close to the Riva degli Schiavoni. He appears in documents, 1429–36. His wife was Maria, daughter of Lorenzo and Christina Michiel, who died in 1435; they had two daughters, Andriana and Helena. (Bertanza and dalla Santa, *op. cit.* pp. 315–19.) So Frulovisi had friends among schoolmasters.

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livelihood were evidently decaying fast,¹ when he gave his last comedy *Oratoria* between November 1434 and August 1435. Only an intending emigrant would have dared to pen and have publicly performed the slashing satire on Fra Leone. It was a Parthian arrow and his masterpiece.

There seems to be an interval between the close of Frulovisi's schoolmastership in Venice and his journey to England, an interval which may be partly filled by deductions from his constant habit of bringing his own recent experiences in some shape or other into his comedies. It is, therefore, noteworthy that scenes in his next comedy, *Peregrinatio*, are laid in Rhodes, Crete, and Britain, and that it contains a few sentences of spoken Greek. We may reasonably conjecture that Frulovisi at this time paid a visit to the Venetian possession of Crete, and to Rhodes (which he detested), then the outpost of Latin Christendom in the Levant under the Knights Hospitallers. The journey did not last long, for by March 1437 he had been some little time in England in the service of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester.

How Humphrey heard of him we do not know, but the duke's physician, Giovanni dei Signorelli, was also a Ferrarese,² and Piero da Monte (born 1405), papal collector in England 1435–40, was a Venetian Doctor of Law, a humanist, a pupil of Guarino, and the duke's friend.³ From these two and especially the latter, who from his age might probably be an old schoolfellow of his,⁴ the introduction of Frulovisi to Duke Humphrey with some likelihood took its origin. Frulovisi himself states that he came to England, drawn by the fame of the dead Henry V in arms and of Humphrey in letters.⁵ The meeting with Humphrey may have come about

¹ Prol. *Oratoria*, "Nos iam fugiunt omnes." *Vi. Hen. V*, p. 2 (C.C.C. MS), "Peculiarum mearum consumptio, vel, ut verius loquar, et in patria totius, quanquam non mediocris, emolumenti mei exterminium."

² He was naturalized, 8 July 1433 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1420–36, p. 294; *Rot. Parl.* iv, p. 473).

³ See W. F. Schirmer, *Der englische Frühhumanismus*, pp. 44–8.

⁴ Jurists in the Comedies are regularly good characters. We may guess that Frulovisi's best friends at Venice were of this profession.

⁵ *Vi. Hen. V* p. 2 (C.C.C. MS), "Hunc et Hunfredum duce[m] in literarum et omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum studiis caeteros principes quantum est qui vivant superantem. Hinc amor itineris, hinc tanti labores...."

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in Flanders, where the duke made a short campaign in August 1436.¹ Humphrey took him into his service as his “Poet and Orator,” and obtained his naturalization on 7 March 1437.² About this time I would place the composition of *Peregrinatio*, in the prologue of which he speaks as one newly arrived. It was quickly followed by *Eugenius*, his last comedy: here he praises fervently his new employer, he appears himself as Synetus, and insinuates his desire for a permanent pension, “securum ocium.” But there are signs of anxiety: he excuses himself from writing of the duke’s deeds, “quod novus sit,” and in the play the steward or butler, Aphron, is Synetus’s enemy. It seems likely that Duke Humphrey found his Latin too colloquially idiomatic and his Greek too superficial—there is no translation by him from the Greek—and Frulovisi was clearly apt to fall out with his neighbours. The appointment³ ended with being merely temporary, and when Frulovisi wrote the *Vita Henrici V* at the duke’s command, and partly from his information, perhaps in 1438, he was already preparing to leave England.⁴ He had been treated well, he says,⁵ but it almost looks as if he were dismissed, for we find him in the *Encomium Episcopi Bathoniensis* appealing for help to Humphrey’s far from friend the Chancellor John Stafford. Frulovisi had expensive tastes, e.g. for beautifully decorated books. He says that he is deep in debt, and cannot even depart for Italy. Will the bishop get him employment under the King, or at least enable him to go

¹ K. H. Vickers, *Humphrey Duke of Gloucester*, pp. 251–3. In *Peregrinatio* Frulovisi shows some trifling knowledge of Flanders.

² Rymer, *Foedera*, x, p. 661.

³ Frulovisi acted as Humphrey’s secretary in writing to Leonardo Bruni Aretino to ask for the prompt dispatch of Bruni’s promised translation of Aristotle’s *Politics* to Humphrey through the Borromei, who seem to have acted as an international parcel-post agency (see above, p. xii n. 2). Frulovisi’s letter is dated “xxii Kal. Sept.” (? 11 Aug. or really “xvii,” i.e. 16 Aug.) from London. Bruni answered 13 Dec. 1437 (see H. Baron, *Lion. Bruni Aretino, Humanistisch-philosophische Schriften*, 1928, p. 212).

⁴ *Vi. Hen. V*, p. 2 (C.C.C. MS), “Modo cum mihi iam instaret in patriam meam reditus, quanquam in regia tua (Henry VI) domesticus hic non vixerim, rogatu supplicationibusque meis illustrissimus patruus Hunfredus...tanti regis vitam praeclara gestaque mihi scribenda mandavit...tum quod et indigenatu Angliae regni ducis huius patrum tui rogatu suasuque me donaveras....”

⁵ *Vi. Hen. V*, p. 2, “Regnum hoc ad patruum tuum adii, qui me nutrit et honestavit satis.”

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free to his own country? The prayer may have been heard, for he did get away, leaving the fair copy of his plays behind him.

Our next information of Frulovisi's adventures is derived from a letter he wrote to his fellow humanist, Pier Candido Decembri, secretary of Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan.¹ It may have been written in or about 1442, for it mentions that Decembri had already sent Duke Humphrey a copy of Cornelius Celsus, *De Medicina*, which he was asking for in 1440.² In it Frulovisi says he has left Milan, nauseated with princes, to live among "populares." He speaks respectfully of Gloucester, and, as Decembri in his reply refers to the favouritism of princes in granting promotion, we may infer that it was Filippo Maria who had now refused employment to his friend. In any case Frulovisi tells us that he has journeyed to Toulouse, where he has received the degrees of Doctor of Physic and Arts, and then to Barcelona, where the plague is raging, but he is not practising.³ He sends his Life of Henry V through the Borromei, who are in business at Barcelona, and asks Decembri to send him a Celsus and Galen, *De simplicibus medicina*, for which he will pay. He salutes his friend Pietro Mantegazzi. Decembri in his answer sends the books and drily recommends him to lead a quiet life and earn money.⁴ It was twenty years after, in November 1463, that he translated his friend's *Vita Henrici V* into Italian and dedicated it to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.⁵

It seems that Frulovisi, at last disillusioned of the career of humanism and patron-hunting, followed his friend's advice,

¹ M. Borsa, "Pier Candido Decembri e l'umanesimo in Lombardia" (*Archivio storico lombardo*, Ser. II, Vol. x, Anno xx), pp. 63, 428-9. Signor Borsa prints the letters.

² M. Borsa, "Correspondence of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester and P. C. Decembri" (*English Hist. Rev.* xix, pp. 509 ff.).

³ "Ego a vobis abiens, ut verum non inficiat, ex principibus nauseans adeo stomachatus sum ut ipsorum ieiunium aliquantisper sit habendum cum popularibus viventi...et Bargusiae viget praeterea pestilentia, quod mihi non parvo fuit incommodo; nam ruralia colo neque infirmum ullum visito."

⁴ "Tu modo cura ut bene vivas et vitam quiete secureque traducas: quod partim facultate consequeris, partim sapientiam et moribus adipisci poteris. Unum in te est, alterum ex te pendet, si ita vixeris ut te omnes dignum quovis bono deputent."

⁵ See Wylie cited below, p. xix, n. 1.

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for the last we hear of him is from Venice in 1456, when the Venetian patrician and author, Lodovico Foscarini, applied to him in three letters for medical advice in a stubborn ailment.¹ During these years he may have written his sound and learned work *De Orthographia*, which was printed at Cologne about 1480. It is a pleasant conclusion that, after so many storms and vain endeavours, he probably died in peace in what was in reality his native city.

II. THE WORKS AND THEIR TRADITION

The compositions of Frulovisi known to me are, with one exception which contains no internal evidence of date, written within the ten years 1430–40. The earliest are the Comedies, *Corallaria*, *Claudi Duo*, and *Emporia*, acted, as the names of the Procurators of St Mark and the XIth indiction show, between September 1432 and August 1433. They were followed by *De Republica*, seemingly written early in 1434. Then came the next two Comedies, *Symmachus* acted in the XIIth indiction between September 1433 and August 1434, and *Oratoria* acted in the XIIIth indiction between November 1434 and August 1435. The two plays written in England, *Peregrinatio* and *Eugenius*, seem to be the next works in date, and to be succeeded by the *Vita Henrici V*. The *Encomium* to Bishop Stafford of Bath and Wells may fall shortly before Frulovisi left England. Last of all, perhaps, comes the *De Orthographia*.

(1) The *Comediae* are contained in, and here printed from the, I believe, unique MS No. 60 of St John's College, Cambridge. There are at least three hands visible, all of the new style introduced by the Italian humanists. The first hand writes in black the text of the first five plays. Its graceful ease and sense of form suggest an Italian. The scribe was ac-

¹ G. degli Agostini, *Scrittori Viniziani*, 1, p. 66, with reference to three MS letters of Foscarini, cxxxiv, cxxxv, and cxxxix. I suspect that Frulovisi was dead by 1463 when Decembri translated the *Vita Henrici V*. Foscarini, who was procurator of St Mark, did not die till 1478. In his will he speaks of his library, "in qua consistit omnis mea felicitas" (Cecchetti, "Libri, scuole, maestri...in Venezia nei secoli xiv e xv," *Arch. Veneto*, n.s. xxxii, p. 338).

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customed to the medieval “e” for the diphthong “ae” and of “ci” for “ti,” and these spellings slip in occasionally, although the revived classical spelling was evidently prescribed to him, and the “e” in *Symmachus* and *Oratoria* is sometimes made “ae” in red ink. The script of the last two plays imitates this hand with varying success, as if the scribe’s usual hand were the old-fashioned book-hand of the time. There is something cramped and forced in its execution, and e.g. the double “i” in such words as “alii” is written with a tall second “i” which recalls the customary “j” in such a position. A further peculiarity of the second hand is that, while it more frequently retains the medieval “e” for the diphthong “ae” than the first, it writes the “ae” when used commonly in two letters “ae” and not with the ligature “æ.” In *Eugenius*, however, the “æ” returns to favour. The writing grows more smooth especially when the surface of the parchment is favourable. This hand I suggest to be that of an English scribe. The punctuation throughout is consistent and, according to its method, excellent. Clauses are separated by a light slanting stroke, sharper pauses by a full stop, marked divisions in a sentence by a colon, questions and exclamations by a ? mark. The rubrics, the names of the speakers, the glosses, and a number of the corrections are written in red; and this hand, in the five earlier plays at any rate, I should attribute to Frulovisi himself. The Greek they contain was his much prized acquirement and the glosses from their position are evidently autograph notes. The decorations throughout are artistic compositions, chiefly in blue and red, made up of a most inventive and complicated variety of bands, leaf-like forms, and streamers, intermixed with grotesque birds, beasts’ muzzles, and a few men’s heads. One or two of the latter show a handsome white-bearded face, which may well be that of Frulovisi.¹ Whoever the artist may be, we may conclude that he worked in England, and it is striking that the sole miniature in the Corpus Christi College MS of the *Vita Henrici V* is by the same hand in the same style, though not there grotesque. The MS measures

¹ See Plate III.

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cm. 24.5 × cm. 16. The binding is English (Cambridge) of the early seventeenth century.

The volume was given to St John's College by Hilkieh Croke, M.D., in 1631, and may at some previous time have belonged to John Gunthorpe, Dean of Wells (*ob.* 1498), but of this there is no proof. It bears every appearance of being Frulovisi's own fair copy of his plays, left behind, perhaps seized for debt, when he left England.

(2) There seems to have been a MS of *De Republica* in the possession of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, the "Titum livium de republica," which he gave to the University of Oxford in 1443.¹ This manuscript has vanished, but the work is preserved in a MS (Coll. Turri F. 92) of the Biblioteca Municipale of Reggio-Emilia, from a rotograph of which it is here printed. This MS measures cm. 19.08 × cm. 12.07, and consists of six folios of contents and 138 numbered pages of text. It is most beautifully written in a fifteenth-century humanistic hand and equally well decorated. I conjecture that it was the presentation copy to Leonello d'Este. It was left to the Biblioteca Municipale by Giuseppe Turri di Pellegrino (1802–79), and is said to have come from the collection of the Torelli, signori of Guastalla.²

The book shows no trace of being composed later than 1434 (see below, p. 396, n. 16). Leonello was declared heir to Ferrara in 1431; and a treatise on government was a suitable bid for the favour of the future ruler who was also a humanist.

(3) The *Vita Henrici V*, composed about 1437–8 for the Duke of Gloucester, was printed by Thomas Hearne in 1716. Unfortunately, Hearne reproduced the text from a bad copy by an English scribe in Cotton MS Claudius E. iii. He gave, however, in footnotes the superior readings of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 285. The latter, decorated by the artist of the *Comediae* miniatures, is written in a beautiful Italian humanistic hand, and shows all Frulovisi's peculiarities of spelling and punctuation. On the flyleaf

¹ Anstey, *Munimenta Oxon.* II, p. 771.

² V. Ferrari in *Studi di storia, di letteratura e d'arte in onore di Naborre Campanini*, Reggio-Emilia, 1921.

appear in red, in Frulovisi's hand in all probability, the lines

Hoc tuus exiguo te munere donat amator.
 Nemo carens magnis tradere magna potest.

I see in it Frulovisi's fair copy of his work. There also exists in the College of Arms (Arundel MS 12) a MS written in a humanistic hand, and perhaps Gloucester's own copy, for it has a miniature of his arms. It is much to be desired that the work should be republished from these two authentic MSS, disregarding the debased text of the Cotton MS.

We must add two lost MSS, the presentation copy to Henry VI, and the copy given to Decembri *c.* 1442, and the sixteenth-century MS 100 in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Decembri's Italian translation exists in the Viennese MS 2610.¹

(4) The Cotton MS Claudius E. iii. contains at the end of the *Vita Henrici V* the unique copy of the *Encomium Episcopi Bathoniensis*. It is a careless, ignorant copy, seemingly from a damaged original written shortly before Frulovisi left England. A full stop is placed at the ends of the lines, but some few other traces of the author's punctuation are preserved.

(5) *De Orthographia* was printed at Cologne *c.* 1480 by Johann Koelhoff the Elder.² It may have been edited by Anthonius Liber of Soest, for an epigram by him is prefixed:

Qui cupit errantem linguam renovare latinam
 Romanosque libros scriptaque prisca sequi,
 Barbarico Livium pulso sermone sequatur,
 Cuius habet veram hec Orthographia fidem.

It is curious that the rules Frulovisi inculcates, e.g. the use of the diphthong "ae" instead of the late medieval "e," are systematically disregarded by the compositor, even when printing his arguments in their favour.

(6) The letter of Frulovisi to Decembri and the latter's reply have been printed by Dr M. Borsa from Codex Ric-

¹ J. H. Wylie, "Decembri's Version of the *Vita Henrici Quinti* by Tito Livio" (*English Hist. Rev.* xxiv, pp. 84 ff.).

² *Catalogue of Books printed in the XVth century, now in the British Museum*, Part I, no. IB 3530, p. 223.

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cardi 827 fos. 83 and 84.¹ The *Oratio in laudem Regis Angliae* printed in Girolamo Donzellini's *Epistolae Principum, Rerumpublicarum ac Sapientum Virorum* (Venice, 1574), p. 391, which has been attributed to Frulovisi, is too smooth in style, and too vague and impersonal in matter to be his. Donzellini calls it Guarino's in his text and in a supplementary index, and Leonardo Bruni Aretino's in his main index. This latter attribution seems the more probable.

III. THE COMEDIES

The interest of Frulovisi's Latin plays, here published, is twofold. They throw fresh light on the history of the modern drama, and they have merits of their own in dialogue, character, and the portrayal of fifteenth-century life at Venice.

In the history of the drama, they—or rather the first five—are I believe the first purely secular plays imitated from the classic playwrights, yet drawing their theme from contemporary life and character, which are known to have been really performed, and they afford evidence that a rival comedy, *Magistrea*, was also put on the stage at Venice. They are thus not only very early representatives of the hybrid neo-Latin comedy, but show that it was already not a mere entertainment for its readers but designed for practical performance to an audience. And it is remarkable how much these plays of Frulovisi anticipate the very mixture of conventional classic borrowing and contemporary manners which we find in the Italian comedies, seventy years later, of his countryman Ariosto. Further, the other source of the later drama is illustrated by at least two, *Claudi Duo* and *Eugenius*. That is the morality play, where personified passions and qualities jostle on the boards their human characters.

The plays also inform us of the early development of the stage. It is fairly clear that there were two doorways at the back,² which could on occasion represent the entrance to different houses, and that there was a gallery, or balcony,

¹ See above, p. xv, n. 1.

² See, e.g. *Claudi Duo*, Sc. 7, 8, 10, where one door is the house of Philaphrodita, one that of Plusipenus.

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above them, where part of the action could take place, especially that supposed to take place within one of the houses. One peculiarity, due partly to a misconception of their classic originals, partly perhaps to the use of Latin not very intelligible to the actors or audience, seems to have been that the players acted in dumb-show. Their speeches were read for them by the *recitator*. This at least must have been the case with *Corallaria*, which was acted by professionals, who could hardly rise to Latin, and may have been the intention for the plays written in England, which after all were never performed. But I harbour a strong suspicion that the later Venetian plays, acted by Frulovisi's pupils, may have been spoken by them. Committing long passages to memory was an essential part of the curriculum of humanist schools, and in the prologue of *Claudi Duo* the sentence, "Comice disceptabunt hodie nostri discipuli de divitiis et paupertate," seems to imply that they spoke their speeches. Similarly, the *recitator* in *Emporia* says, "Serui, qui primo uenient, maximam aperient. Eos adducam. E me nec aliud quicquam expectetis," and in *Symmachus*, "Nostros interdum oratores mittimus, dico, ad magnos principes. Adulescentis disertos adducimus uobis et peritos. Quod ab istac aetate coeperit, quum opus fuat, non est desperandum illos facturos magis." It may be urged that the *recitator* was becoming the prompter.

In the five plays acted at Venice Frulovisi was careful to preserve the unity of place for each play. Action which takes place elsewhere is narrated by letters or ambassadors or told in conversation. But this unity is merely nominal. In *Corallaria*, the scene varies between the fronts of the houses of Facetus, Claudipotis, and Miles. In *Claudi Duo*, we have the houses of Porna, Philaphrodita, and Plusipenus, not to mention scenes before Jupiter in heaven and with Plutus. In *Emporia*, the scene wavers between the houses of Aphrodite, Paraphron, and perhaps Tremulus, which are evidently not side by side. In *Symmachus*, it is true, the scene seems to be mainly before the house of Danistes, probably with Geraeus living next door. In *Oratoria*, it is within San Giovanni e Paolo, before the house of Omus, and in a piazza. It is

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evident that Frulovisi thought it enough if the action took place in one town.¹ But in *Peregrinatio* he deliberately threw over this convention, and the action is transferred from country to country.² Although he reverted to his former practice in *Eugenius*, the scene still varies in front of the houses of Endoxus, Mataeus, and Eunus, and the port of Ravenna. In any case he must be reckoned as one of the experimenters in the varied scene of modern comedy.

There is no effort to preserve the unity of time: the action of *Emporia*, *Symmachus*, *Peregrinatio*, and perhaps *Eugenius* is spread over several months. But Frulovisi shows his prentice hand in the difficulty he finds in contriving a consecutive action in his scenes. As we might expect, the confusion is greatest in his first play, *Corallaria*: in Scene 1 Miles already has the corals, in Scene 9 he has just obtained them. In *Oratoria*, Scene 1, events are narrated which occur in Scenes 3, 4, and 5. The object is the same, to place the spectators in possession of the situation, but the device is crude. Similarly in *Emporia* the true place of Scene 1 is after Scene 7.

Save in the hexameter contract in *Emporia* and the Prologues to *Peregrinatio* and *Eugenius*, Frulovisi's manuscript contains no indication of verse, and I have not attempted to supply it. Mere imitation of Plautus's style might produce fragments in scansion. In the later plays from *Symmachus* onward, however, the feeling of rhythm is more pronounced, but it did not seem advisable to reconstruct verse which the author did not show in his manuscript.

The sedulous imitation of the language, style, characters, and situations of Plautus and Terence is evident throughout. How successful Frulovisi was in his endeavour to write the Latin of his favourite authors must be left to classical scholars to determine. It must be remembered that he was under the handicap of the manuscript or so, with their corruptions, of his models which he might possess or have the use of, and

¹ No doubt in Plautus the characters, however improbably, are made next-door neighbours owing to the exigencies of the scene; but Frulovisi seems definitely to place in the same scene places he treats as at some distance from one another.

² He is conscious of the innovation. See Prol. *Peregrinatio*.

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that it was hard to slough off late medieval usages, even when he and his contemporaries were conscious of their non-classic character.¹ He made a consistent effort to revive the diphthong “ae,” but he did not always detect his scribe’s errors in this particular, and it is possible that he himself wrote “ve” for “vae,” “sevicia” for “saevicia,” and “hereo” for “haereo.” Some difficulties in the text are undoubtedly due to undetected errors of the scribe²; others are probably the result of Frulovisi imitating a corrupt text of his models.

The plot of each play may now be described.

(1) *Corallaria*.

Cleobula, the wife of Miles, who in real life was a “knight” in attendance on a podestà of some town subject to Venice, explains to her friend Johanna that her husband is pretending to bring about the marriage of Claudipotis, a wealthy old widow, to the elderly noble Facetus. He has made Cleobula sham illness and has borrowed from Facetus some corals which were believed to have curative virtues.³ Claudipotis’s love-affair has got about through her own loquacity, and her two kinsmen protest against her folly. She has, however, a decrepit suitor, Heuclyo, who wants her money and holds a far too frank dialogue with his son Pecuphilus on the subject. As a separate plot, we find that Facetus has two German servants, Sigismondus who is really the girl Hernia in disguise, and Henricus; his daughter has fallen in love with the feigned Sigismondus, and on finding her obdurate, like Potiphar’s wife, accuses her of attempted rape. The tyrannous police-officer Ascalaphus thereupon arrests Henricus who attempts to justify his friend. Meantime, Miles has decoyed Facetus to the Franciscan Church where Claudipotis has come to be seen by him in Italian fashion. He then, unknown

¹ His use of “se” and “iste” and “de” is non-classic at times. Occasionally he seems to get a word from a gloss or vocabulary, e.g. “caespito” (below, p. 203, l. 9).

² Frulovisi made a number of small corrections in red, e.g. in *Symmachus*. They are chiefly the insertion of omitted suspension or punctuation marks, although occasionally more important. I have only noted a few specimens of the minor corrections in the text.

³ Cf. Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. Shilleto, II, pp. 251–2.

to Facetus, gives the corals to Claudipotis as a betrothal gift, and obtains from her a large sum on the pretext that it is for Facetus. Miles and his wife thereupon decamp with the booty. The play is wound up by explanations. Facetus denies the betrothal, and, finding out Hernia's real sex, marries her to avert scandal. Claudipotis for the same motive marries Heuclyo. The play is little better than a series of scenes, filled with untimely explanations of the plot. Only one character stands out, the bloodthirsty Ascalaphus, like Miles a real personage, and a Venetian, though the scene is nominally at Pisa.

(2) *Claudi Duo*.

The plot is even slighter. Plusipenus of Ravenna has ruined himself by profligacy, and has now turned wise and good, but very discontented at his poverty. His friends try to console him by hollow platitudes. A young brute, Philaphrodita, wishes to enjoy the prostitute Porna, but his wealthy mother allows him no money, and his tutor, a lame physician and humanist, tells on him. Jupiter at last orders Plutus, the lame god of wealth, to return to Plusipenus, and Mercury is to see him do it. On the way Plutus pleases himself by favouring Philaphrodita, whose mother dies, and whose pedagogue is beaten and surrenders to be his henchman. A long argument ensues between Plutus and Mercury, and the Virtues who dwell with Poverty and Plusipenus. But Plutus finally enters as the servant of the reformed Plusipenus. Prostitutes and *ioculatores* form a background from the underworld. The dialogue is far more vivacious and skilful than in *Corallaria*, and there is a modicum of characterization in Plutus and others. The pedagogue, a real rival and critic of Frulovisi, is drawn as a mere pretender; the *ioculatores*, forbidden to the dramatist, appear as vermin feeding on the vices of the rich.

(3) *Emporia*.

This play too has a simple plot and underplot, but they are more artfully woven together, in spite of their absurdities, than in *Corallaria*. Euthymus, a young plebeian from

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Austria, has a love affair with Adelphe, daughter of the Venetian patrician, Paraphron, and she becomes pregnant. Meanwhile, her brother Leros is deep in an intrigue with Aphrodite, but his money gives out and she declines to receive him save for more. At this critical moment, Paraphron has an altercation with the reckless Euthymus over his daughter's seduction; Euthymus alarms the whole family by his threats. Loedoros, the artful friend of Leros, and the faithful slave Chrisolus then devise the sale after which the play is named. They pretend to the Spanish merchant Emporos that Euthymus is Leros's talented but violent slave, sell him, and get him forced on board Emporos's ship by the police. With the price Leros placates Aphrodite. Then messengers come from Euthymus's father Symulus to seek him. They are followed by another searching for them, whom he does not know, to tell that the ship was wrecked and Euthymus safely escaped to Austria. The Council of Ten are to be informed, and Euthymus is following to take vengeance. The letter is intercepted, and Leros, who is a cool hand, awaits events. Those events are that Adelphe bears a son, who miraculously announces past, present, and future. Euthymus arrives, marries Adelphe, and all are reconciled.

The play is better than its predecessors. The dialogue is more supple and varied. The bargaining scene is lifelike enough. The characters of the swashbuckler Euthymus, the spirited Adelphe, the enamoured Leros, the mercenary Aphrodite, have a comparative relief. There is a biographical interest in Frulovisi's rival, the notary Tremulus, with his deed of sale in hexameters; and a social one in the grim description of child-murder in nunneries. Frulovisi must be almost unique among dramatists in making a birth take place on the stage¹; it must have been in the balcony at the back. This is realism indeed.

(4) *Symmachus*.

This play once more reveals its audience and something of Frulovisi's own views. Symmachus, the valiant young

¹ Doubtless he was imitating the less startling scene in *Aulularia*, where Phaedria is heard in childbirth once off the stage.

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plebeian, kills the timid patrician Alazo who is his rival in love, and takes to flight for Syria. At the news, the cause of the quarrel, Piste, daughter of the usurer patrician Danistes, a pre-natal Jessica, along with her maid assumes male attire, robs her father of a large sum, and takes ship to Syria after her lover. Soon news comes by letter that Symmachus has been captured by pirates and is a slave at Salonika. His tearful father Geraeus is promised the money for his ransom by a generous friend. On the heels of Symmachus's letter, however, comes an embassy of two Salonikan nobles to Danistes: Symmachus has distinguished himself in a war of Turks (Friges) and Mameluks (Assyrii), and has been promoted by the Sultan to be Despot of Salonika; he asks for Piste's hand. Danistes, who has heard that Piste has prospered as a merchant in Syria, and is on her way back, says she is ill, but on her recovery he will bring her to Salonika. To his dismay he next hears of her capture by Turkish pirates; when the situation suddenly changes again by the triumphant return of Symmachus and Piste. The pirates had taken her to Salonika, where Symmachus saw and married her. The scene is at Venice throughout.

The interest of the play, burdened with this feeble plot feebly worked out, lies in its satiric scenes and characters. The purse-proud ungrateful hunk Danistes, his bold and modern daughter Piste, her melting friend Agape, determined to love somebody, are real creations in a small way. And the scenes between the servants and parasites, Erithacis, Stomylus, Kinaedus, Symphorus and the rest, between Piste and Stigna, Alazo's wrathful aunt, between Danistes and the ambassadors, have their merit. The rancour of a plebeian against the overbearing patricians is evident—Symmachus might be a 'prentice hero in an Elizabethan play. But Frulovisi was clearly concerned to show to incredulous critics that he could write flowing Latin prose by the letter and the ambassador's speech. The examples probably carried no conviction. More didactic is the intention to commend politeness and generosity and the discarding of undue racial pride to his pupils.

(5) *Oratoria.*

This play is better and more boldly constructed, though fundamentally incredible in its machinery. Frulovisi for the first time brings the action really on the stage. Exochus, a Neapolitan count, has seen Hagna, daughter of a Venetian patrician Omus, in a dream and has fallen madly in love. He has had her portrait painted in many replicas from his description, and has sent slaves with copies to many towns to find her from the resemblance. One, the painter Grapheus, comes to Venice, and sits in the Dominican Church watching the women, and pretending to sell pictures. Thither to confession comes Hagna, who enrages her father, quite a Capulet, by her zeal for sanctity and celibacy. The confessor, the friar Leocyon, attempts to seduce her, and she flees with outcries. There is now a triple broil. Grapheus writes to Exochus that he has found the lady of the dream, and Exochus hurries to Venice, but they do not know who she is. Omus in transports of rage orders his daughter to marry, and after much to-do she is worked on to agree to a foreign husband, to which Omus, still raging, objects. Thirdly, Leocyon, informed of this, on the advice of the procuress Cypris, disguises himself as a Roman noble and shouts his love under Hagna's window. Cypris betrays him and he is arrested by order of the bishop. Exochus finds out who Hagna is, and is gladly accepted as son-in-law by Omus, much impressed by his rank and wealth. Leocyon breaks prison and flees, and all ends happily in this marvellous tale.

Frulovisi in the play showed his gratitude for his friends at Naples, and his revenge for Fra Leone's attack on him. The gratitude was weaker than the revenge. There is genuine untrained power in the figure of the hypocrite Leocyon, in his oily love-making, in the mock-sermon—a back-handed defence of humanism—which, quite out of the plot, he is made to deliver; though it must be admitted that Frulovisi makes him describe himself from the outside, like the elementary dramatist he was. Omus, the very heavy father, and the devout Hagna, both have some life in them; so in less degree have the malicious Cypris and the chattering maidservant

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Phaula. The rest are lay figures, but there is no mistaking the satiric verve and veracity of this pioneer drama.

(6) *Peregrinatio*.

Frulovisi's dramatic talent shows a decline after his departure from Venice. The lack of a fit stage to act his plays on in England, the constraint of writing for an orthodox patron, and the absence of personal satire to point his pen may have chilled him. At any rate, *Peregrinatio* has no real characters in it. But the story is told more clearly, and each event is marked by its scene; there is no disorder in time. We are introduced first to the hero, Clerus, who, accompanied by his faithful slave and mentor, Aristopistes, has reached Rhodes in search of his father Rhistes. This Rhistes is a Cretan, who in his youth had journeyed to Britain and married Erichia there, the mother of Clerus; he had promptly deserted her before the birth of her son. Erichia has always refused to tell Clerus his father's native country for fear he should wish to go there, but in spite of all he has set off to make a general search of the Levant. At Rhodes Aristopistes gets imprisoned on a false charge, and Clerus, who has given him all their joint cash, and has stolen a prostitute's pallium, finds himself obliged to flee to Crete with the price of the pallium. To Crete Aristopistes also escapes with his gaoler Lorarius, whom he has suborned by lying accounts of his own lofty parentage. In Crete dwells Rhistes, who has contracted a bigamous marriage with a widow. He is tormented by conscience, and has sent Presbites to Britain to find out about his son. Presbites comes back to say that Clerus has left Britain and that Erichia is dead of grief. Now Rhistes meets Clerus, who conceals his name and parentage, and engages him as his steward. Anapausis, Rhistes's step-daughter, falls violently in love with Clerus, and their marriage is arranged. It only remains for Evangelus to come from Britain to identify Clerus, free Aristopistes from the pursuit of the naturally enraged Lorarius, and make everybody happy. Even more clearly than in the other plays the plot has a merely forced construction; there is no reason for any event or coincidence but the will of

the playwright. The redeeming features are the conjugal friction between Rhistes and his second wife, and the throes of the love-lorn Anapausis. So far as lay figures can create aversion, the other characters achieve this end.

(7) *Eugenius*.

A taste for the allegory which had already marked *Claudi Duo* reappeared in *Peregrinatio* in the half-symbolic characters of Erichia (Wealth) and her fellow Britonesses, Dynamis (Fortitude) and Macrothyma (Patience). *Eugenius* is in intent a kind of morality play. The plot is straightforward and well worked out. Eugenius, who in a vague way represents the Duke of Gloucester, is devoted to literature and high thinking, which he pursues with his servant, Synetus, a watered-down and idealized Frulovisi. His father Endoxus, a Sir Anthony Absolute, ardently desires him to marry, and after long discourse on the disadvantages of the married state Eugenius gives way and promises to marry after his father's return from a journey to fetch his orphan ward Stephanus. During his father's absence he marries Macrothyma (Patience) daughter of Eunus (Goodness) and Penia (Poverty). On his return Endoxus insists on a divorce and on Eugenius's remarriage to Erichia (Wealth), daughter of Mataeus (Vanity) and Hyperiphania (Pride). Macrothyma endures the trials of the patient Griselda, but Erichia and her parents prove so intolerable to Endoxus, that he entreats Eugenius with Synetus's counsel to arrange a second divorce and to remarry the gentle Macrothyma. Her mother Penia is, however, to be kept at a respectful distance.

Overweighted with his allegory, Frulovisi did not here succeed in creating any real character save the testy, despotic Endoxus. There is, however, a little life in the flighty, wanton steward Aphron, who perhaps parodies a real person, and there is vigorous, if elementary, comedy in the scenes where Mataeus, Hyperiphania, and their riotous symbolic attendants justify their names. But Frulovisi's forte lay in the concrete world and the satire of it, not in the alien garb of Piers Plowman and his personified abstractions.

IV. DE REPUBLICA

It cannot be claimed for Frulovisi's political tract that it makes any important contribution to the growth of modern political thought. It is a jejune production, in which fundamentals are not really discussed, and which but feebly handles even the practical construction of a constitution. At every step it betrays the humanist schoolmaster of the second rank anxious to impress with pedantic learning the aims and measures which he desires on a future ruler of a state, Leonello d'Este of Ferrara. Yet its symptomatic value is considerable. We are in at the death in Italy of medieval theories of the State; we are at the transition from the instinctive policy of a medieval Italian commune to the State intentionally moulded by its ruler in the fashion commended by Machiavelli; we find the emergence of the humanistic enthusiasm for letters and classic education; and we are faced with a creditable example of the new humanistic standards of life and government divorced entirely and deliberately from ecclesiastical tradition. Frulovisi commends, indeed, the formal observance of the Christian religion, much like Guicciardini in his *Ricordi*, but he really looks on the Church as a State-instrument for the maintenance of morals and good-living.

The form of the work needs the briefest notice. It is written as a dialogue between Frulovisi and two great Neapolitan nobles, leaders of their faction, the Count of Buccino and Ottino Caracciolo. In their mouths the more daring speeches and the too few clear allusions to contemporary events are placed. Save for the tedium of the classic illustrations, employed in the way later used by Machiavelli, without his genius and style, the dialogue is deftly managed. The characters of the elderly, sententious, authoritative Count, always afraid of catching cold, and the hot-headed unscrupulous Ottino, with his *penchant* for arbitrary violence, stand in faint relief, while the unintentional self-revelation of Frulovisi in a kind of fawning dignity as an apostle and mendicant of learning, poor and spendthrift, timid and ostentatious,