



*Princely Ambiguity:  
A Translation of Nikolaus of  
Modruš' Funeral Oration for  
Cardinal Pietro Riario: Oratio in  
funere Petri Cardinalis Sancti Sixti  
(1474)*

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**Princely Ambiguity: A Translation of Nikolaus of Modruš' Funeral  
Oration for Cardinal Pietro Riario: *Oratio in funere Petri Cardinalis Sancti  
Sixti (1474)***

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**Abstract:** This article provides an introduction to, and an English translation of, the Latin funeral oration written by Nikolaus, the bishop of Modruš (or Nicholas de Korto), on the occasion of Cardinal Pietro Riario's death in January 1474. The article opens with a contextualizing introduction to the oration, its author, and its subject, as well as the contemporary late-fifteenth-century trend in publishing funeral orations. Following this introduction is an English translation from, and comparison with, Neven Jovanović's open-access, peer-reviewed Latin transcription (*Croatiae Auctores Latini*) and the British Library's copy of the oration (ISTC No. in000488000), which was first printed in Rome in 1474 by Antonio and Raffaele Volterrano.

**Keywords:** cardinal; Pietro Riario; household; Nikolaus of Modruš; funeral oration; incunabula; papacy; Pope Sixtus IV.

**The Subject: Pietro Riario, the Cardinal of San Sisto (1445-1474)**

Looking back on the year 1474, Stefano Infessura, the author of the well-known *Diario della Città di Roma*, recounted only a single event.

Concerning 1474 on the 5th of January the cardinal of San Sisto [Pietro Riario] died, and was poisoned, and so our parties came to an end, with the death of one for whom every man wept. His body lay in the church of the Holy Apostle [St. Peter's Basilica, Rome].<sup>1</sup>

Although Infessura devotes comparatively little space to the early years of Sixtus IV's pontificate (1471-1484), the cardinal-nephew Pietro Riario (card. 1471-1474) looms large. Following the announcement of Sixtus' election, Infessura names the new *camerlengo*, details the

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<sup>1</sup> Stefano Infessura, *Diario della città di Roma di Stefano Infessura scribasenato*, ed. Oreste Tommasini (Rome: Forzani, 1890), 78: "De 1474 a di 5 di iennaro morse lo cardinal di Santo Sixto, et fo atossicato, et così fecemo fine alle feste nostre, della morte dello quale ogni homo ne pianse. Io corpo suo sta in Santo Apostolo."

distribution of benefices, and in closing notes that it was Riario who had facilitated both the election and the distribution.<sup>2</sup> Identifying a twenty-six-year-old Franciscan friar, who previously held no major office, as the source of political success seems odd, but it is in keeping with how Infessura depicted the Sistine pontificate, and the stereotype of the cardinal-nephew that developed in the early modern period. Infessura's pope is the source of patronage and prosperity for the inhabitants of Rome, European princes, and the clergy and laymen who populated the papal court, some of whom were also papal relatives. In Infessura's narrative, just as in Nikolaus of Modruš' oration, Pietro Riario's fame rests on his ability to negotiate office-holding and contribute to festive diplomacy (*politica festiva*).

Traditionally, these two roles have led to characterizations of Riario as a spendthrift princeling and an institutional fixer.<sup>3</sup> This mixed identity produces an ambiguity through the conflicting discourses of ecclesiastical virtue and wealth that have contributed to Pietro Riario's posthumous reputation as a relic of papal corruption. Infessura's account of Riario's activities offers evidence for the early modern understanding of how these discourses could align in the elite cleric's relations with visiting princes and ambassadors. Infessura's effusive account of Pietro Riario's role hosting Eleonora d'Aragona in Rome in June 1473 is a compelling example of how the cardinal's social prestige and household resources could inspire admiration and fulfill diplomatic goals. The *Diario* describes a banquet that the cardinal held in honour of Eleonora as "one of the most beautiful things that had ever been done in Rome and also outside of Rome."<sup>4</sup> Yet, a certain ambiguity appears in this account as Infessura also expressed some disapproval of Riario's expenses being borne by the Church, while recording the city's common grief at news of his death.<sup>5</sup> This divergent character of disapproval and admiration is emblematic of the conflicts and mixed identities navigated by early modern princely cardinals, and especially papal nephews.<sup>6</sup> Nikolaus of Modruš' oration performs a similar balancing act in his presentation of a controversial cardinal-nephew.

### **The Author: Bishop Nikolaus of Modruš (1427-1480)**

While other contemporaries also reflected on the cardinal's death privately, only a few made public declarations on his behalf. Giovanni Mercati identified two orations

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<sup>2</sup> Infessura, *Diario della città di Roma*, 74: "et questo fo per operatione di frate Pietro."

<sup>3</sup> In his biography of Riario, Isidoro Gatti provides a collection of judgments from historians that perpetuate a "black legend" about him. In the seventeenth century, this character ("the fixer") was sometimes also applied pejoratively to conclavists. See: Maria Antonietta Visceglia, "Factions in the Sacred College in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492-1700*, ed. Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 117-119; Ludwig von Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the close of the Middle Ages* (St. Louis, MO: B. Herder Book Co., 1923), 4:238-245; Isidoro Liberale Gatti, "«Domus eius ut musarum domicilium videbatur» Il mecenatismo del Card. Pietro Riario, nipote di Sisto IV," in *I Cardinali di Santa Romana Chiesa. Collezionisti e mecenati*, vol. 2, ed. Harula Economopoulos (Rome: Editrice Adel Grafica, 2003), 7-21; Isidoro Liberale Gatti, *Pietro Riario da Savona francescano cardinale vescovo di Treviso (1445-1474): profilo storico* (Padua: Centro Studi Antoniani, 2003), 6-7.

<sup>4</sup> Infessura, *Diario della città di Roma*, 77: "fo uno delle belle cose che mai fosse fatta in Roma, and anco fuori di Roma."

<sup>5</sup> Infessura, *Diario della città di Roma*, 77: "tra lo convito e et la festa ci sonno spesi parecchi migliara di ducati."

<sup>6</sup> On this subject, see the special issue of the *Royal Studies Journal* 4, no. 2 (2017), entitled "Princes of the Church: Renaissance Cardinals and Kings," and edited by Glenn Richardson.

memorializing Riario: one composed by the humanist bishop of Siponto, Niccolò Perotti (c.1429-1480), and another by the Croatian bishop, Nikolaus of Modruš.<sup>7</sup> Although both men were active in papal service during Sixtus IV's pontificate, the latter's oration appears to form part of a campaign for advancement that relied on texts dedicated to papal nephews. As Egmont Lee and Jill Blondin have shown, there was no shortage of compositions dedicated to Sixtus IV by humanists in hope of patronage, including Aurelio Brandolini, Raffaello Maffei, and Ludovico Lazzarelli.<sup>8</sup> Luka Špoljarić has noted that Nikolaus of Modruš targeted three of Sixtus' nephews in sequence.<sup>9</sup> Between Pietro Riario's death in January 1474 and Nikolaus' own death in the first half of 1480, the latter also wrote a preface dedicating his Latin translation of Isocrates' *To Nicocles* to Giovanni della Rovere (1476/77) and an oration directed at Raffaele Sansoni Riario (1478).<sup>10</sup> While the practical results of these efforts remain unclear, under the Franciscan pope, Sixtus IV, Nikolaus was appointed to a series of important positions within the Papal States, prompting Jadranka Neralić to characterize Nikolaus of Modruš as "a highly successful diplomat and man of letters."<sup>11</sup>

In addition, scholars have identified four other extant texts as products of his scholarship. Sometime during Pius II's pontificate (1458-1464), Nikolaus of Modruš wrote and dedicated to the pope a dialogue entitled *De mortalium felicitate* ("On the happiness of mortals").<sup>12</sup> G.W. McClure, and more recently Han Baltussen, have explored another text, *De consolatione*, a treatise in five books setting out a systematic and "clinical" exploration of how best to console the bereaved.<sup>13</sup> Nikolaus of Modruš likely wrote this treatise in 1465-1466 while in Viterbo, and soon after its dedicatee, Marco Barbo, a nephew of Pope Paul II, had become the bishop of Vicenza.<sup>14</sup> Alongside the texts that he sent to della Rovere and Riario's kinsmen, Nikolaus of Modruš also penned two texts dedicated to their patron, Pope Sixtus IV. Around 1473 he wrote *De bello Gothorum* ("On the war of the Goths"), which is preserved at the Biblioteca Corsiniana, bound together with a section of *De consolatione* and his Latin translation of Isocrates' *To Nicocles*.<sup>15</sup> Finally, not long before his death, Nikolaus completed

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<sup>7</sup> On this tradition of humanists or known rhetoricians providing the oration at princes', cardinals', and popes' funerals, see: Frederick J. McGuinness, *Right Thinking and Sacred Oratory in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 79-82. On Nikolaus of Modruš and Niccolò Perotti, see: Giovanni Mercati, "Notizie varie sopra Niccolò Modrussiese," *La Bibliofilia* 26 (1924-25): 165-179, 253-265, 289-299, 359-372; and Giovanni Mercati, *Per la cronologia della vita e degli scritti di Niccolò Perotti Arcivescovo di Siponto* (Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1925).

<sup>8</sup> Egmont Lee, *Sixtus IV and Men of Letters* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1978); Jill E. Blondin, "Power Made Visible: Pope Sixtus IV as 'Urbis Restaurator' in Quattrocento Rome," *Catholic Historical Review* 91, no. 1 (2005): 2-4, 12-14, 21-22.

<sup>9</sup> Luka Špoljarić, "Nicholas of Modruš and his Latin Translations of Isocrates' *To Nicocles* and *To Demonius*: Questions of Authorship, Sources and Dedication," *Colloquia Maruliana* 24 (2015): 25-26.

<sup>10</sup> Špoljarić, "Nicholas of Modruš," 24-26; Mercati, "Notizie varie sopra Niccolò Modrussiese," 294.

<sup>11</sup> Jadranka Neralić, "Nicholas of Modruš (1427-1480): Bishop, Man of Letters and Victim of Circumstances," *Bulletin of the Society for Renaissance Studies* 20, no. 2 (2003): 16-18.

<sup>12</sup> S. Hrkać, "Nicolai Modrusiensis De mortalium felicitate dialogus," *Dobri Pastir* 25 (1975): 141-200.

<sup>13</sup> G.W. McClure, "A Little Known Renaissance Manual of Consolation: Nicholas of Modrussiese's *De Consolatione* 1465-1466," in *Supplementum Festivum: Studies in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, ed. J. Hankins, J. Monfasani, and F. Purnell Jr. (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1987), 247-277.

<sup>14</sup> George W. McClure, *Sorrow and Consolation in Italian Humanism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 122.

<sup>15</sup> Rome, Corsiniana, MS Cors. 127 (43 E 3) includes *De bello Gothorum* (fols. 1r-79v), "De fructibus humilitatis"

*Defensio ecclesiasticae libertatis* ("In Defense of ecclestial freedom," 1479). This text followed his assignment to Florence, where he laboured on behalf of the adolescent Cardinal Raffaele Sansoni Riario, who was imprisoned in the wake of the disastrous Pazzi Conspiracy (1478).<sup>16</sup>

In order to better understand Nikolaus' transnational career, Luka Špoljarić has divided it into two phases, both of which are characterized by professional travel and shifting patronage. Born around 1425 into a prosperous family of Majine in the diocese of Kotor, Nikolaus was educated in Venice.<sup>17</sup> He earned a doctorate in arts and theology and as a young man left his native Croatia and the sponsorship of Stephen Frankapan, Lord of Modruš, to enter papal service and the Hungarian court. In November 1457, Pope Calixtus III confirmed him as the Bishop of Senj, and in March 1461 transferred him to the see of Modruš.<sup>18</sup> During these years Nikolaus acted on behalf of the Roman court, serving somewhat unsuccessfully as Pius II's envoy to the Bosnian king Stjepan Tomašević (September 1460-August 1461, and December 1462-June 1463).<sup>19</sup> After Sultan Mehmet II conquered Bosnia and executed the king, Nikolaus fled and Pius sent him to convince Mathias Corvinus of Hungary to counter the Ottoman threat. Although Nikolaus was successful in persuading the king, his time in Hungary was brief and ended abruptly with the revelation of a conspiracy against Corvinus that also threatened the papal envoy.<sup>20</sup>

In the years following his departure from Hungary, Nikolaus of Modruš fulfilled a variety of administrative positions within the Papal States. Rising from the post of castellan of Viterbo (mid 1464-late 1467), he served as governor of Ascoli, Fano, and Senigallia (early 1468-late 1470, and late 1470-late 1471).<sup>21</sup> Following participation in a papal naval expedition in the Aegean Sea, he returned to Rome and spent much of 1473 as a *familiaris* in Pietro Riario's household. After the cardinal's death, Nikolaus resumed his service as governor of Fano.<sup>22</sup> Over the next years he served as governor of Spoleto, and in 1478-1479 was the vice-legate to Perugia. At his death in 1480 he was a *familiaris* in Sixtus IV's household.<sup>23</sup> These positions indicate that Nikolaus was a valuable member of the papal administrative corps through three pontificates, confirming Jadranka Neralić's judgement.

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from *De consolatione* (fols. 80v-84v), and *Oratio paraenetica Isocratis in Latinum translata* (in two parts fols. 85r-91r and 91v-95v).

<sup>16</sup> McClure also states that Nikolaus wrote *De titulis et auctoribus Psalmorum* in 1479, presumedly just before his death: McClure, *Sorrow and Consolation in Italian Humanism*, 121.

<sup>17</sup> Variously, he is also called Nicholas de Korto, Nikola of Majine, Nicholas Machienensis, Nicolaus de Catharo, or Nicholas Cattarus.

<sup>18</sup> Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticana (hereafter ASV), Registrum Vaticanum (hereafter Reg. Vat.) 521, fols. 257r-258r; ASV, Reg. Vat. 562, fols. 66v-68v; Konrad Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi ... ab anno 1431 usque ad annum 1503 perducta* (Monasterii: Sumptibus et Typis Librariae Regensbergianae, 1914), 2:136, 237.

<sup>19</sup> Neralić, "Nicholas of Modruš (1427-1480)," 16-17.

<sup>20</sup> Neralić, "Nicholas of Modruš (1427-1480)," 17, 22-23.

<sup>21</sup> ASV, Reg. Vat. 544, fol. 186r; ASV, Reg. Vat. 542, fols. 203v-206v; ASV, Reg. Vat. 543, fol. 67v; ASV, Reg. Vat. 544, fol. 73v; Neralić, "Nicholas of Modruš (1427-1480)," 18.

<sup>22</sup> Neralić, "Nicholas of Modruš (1427-1480)," 18; Mercati, "Notizie varie sopra Niccolò Modrussense," 292-293.

<sup>23</sup> ASV, Reg. Vat. 656, fols. 144v-146v; Neralić, "Nicholas of Modruš (1427-1480)," 18-19; Mercati, "Notizie varie sopra Niccolò Modrussense," 293-294.

## The Oration's Bibliographic Context

Nikolaus of Modrus' text is also part of a series of funeral orations composed for relatives of della Rovere popes, many of which can be accessed in digital form online.<sup>24</sup> Chiefly published in Rome, this series, combined with several contemporary orations for other cardinals, is the earliest group of elite funeral *incunabula* extant.<sup>25</sup> Published immediately in Rome, and afterwards in both Rostock and Padua, Nikolaus's oration for Pietro Riario sets the stage for other texts that suggest a substantial public interest in both cardinals and the della Rovere dynasty.<sup>26</sup> Table 1 details the publication history of these texts, and places them alongside later published funeral orations that profiled Pope Sixtus IV's kinsmen. Following Pietro Riario's death in January 1474, on 11 November 1475 another papal nephew died. Leonardo della Rovere had been the Prefect of Rome, Duke of Sora and Arce, and newly married to a daughter of King Ferdinand of Naples.<sup>27</sup> The Bishop of Coria, Francesco da Toledo, provided a public eulogy for the young layman, which immediately went to press in Rome and appeared in several editions before 1500.<sup>28</sup> Only two years later a second cardinal-nephew, Cristoforo della Rovere died. Buried in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome and eulogized by the Bishop of Ventimiglia, Giovanni Battista de Giudici, the oration appeared in print, but only once.<sup>29</sup> This likely reflected the cardinal's lesser role in Sixtus' pontificate and the fact that he was not part of the core group of relatives who advised the pope. Nevertheless, the death of papal nephews continued to be proclaimed in print, even after the Pope's death, in 1484. In 1488, Pietro's brother, Girolamo Riario, the Lord of Imola and Count of Forlì, died and Pietro Marsi's funeral oration for him was printed in Bologna.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> In particular, *Europeana Collections* provides aggregated digital records and incunabula images from many open-access library platforms: <http://www.europeana.eu/portal/en>.

<sup>25</sup> To put these publications in context, Bernhard Perger's oration on the death of Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III appeared only months after his death (Rome: Stephan Planck, 1493; ISTC No. ip00283000). Orations for the Spanish royal family appeared in print soon after, with the death of Juan of Asturias (in Rome: Eucharius Silber, 1498, ISTC No. ii00079000; in Messina: Georg Ricker, 1498, ISTC No. im00810500; and Messina: Johannes Schade, c.1498, ISTC No. ic00989800) and Isabel of Castile (Rome: Johan Besicken, 1505; and Rome: Eucharius Silber, 1505). Printed funeral orations for English monarchs began with John Fisher's oration for Henry VII (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1509). The first oration for a French monarch was for Charles VIII (Paris: Antoine Denidel, for Robert de Gourmont, [not before 7 April 1498], ISTC No. in00002000), and for a Polish monarch was for Sigismund I Jagiellon (Kraków: Viduam Hiero. Victo, 1548).

<sup>26</sup> The seven known printed editions include: In domo Antonii et Raphaelis de Vulterris (Rome, not before 18 January 1474); Fratres Domus Horti Viridis ad S. Michaellem (Rostock, 1476); unnamed and undated (Rome); Stephan Planck (Rome, 1481-1487); Matheus Cerdo (Padua, 30 August 1482); B. Guldinbeck (Rome, c.1485); and unnamed (Rome, c.1500). There are also six known manuscript copies. See: John M. McManamon, "An Incipitarius of Funeral Orations and a Smattering of Other Panegyric Literature from the Italian Renaissance (ca. 1350-1550)," 96.

<sup>27</sup> Paolo Cherubini, "DELLA ROVERE, Leonardo," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 37 (1989), accessed 6 July 2017, [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/leonardo-della-rovere\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/leonardo-della-rovere_(Dizionario-Biografico)/).

<sup>28</sup> The five known printed editions include: Ulrich Han (Rome, after 11 November 1475); Bartholomäus Guldinbeck (Rome, after 11 November 1475); Stephan Planck (Rome, c.1481-1487); Eucharius Silber (Rome, 1483-1493); and Johann Schömberger (Rome, c.1483-1484). There are also four known manuscript copies. See: John M. McManamon, "An Incipitarius of Funeral Orations and a Smattering of Other Panegyric Literature from the Italian Renaissance (ca. 1350-1550)," 115.

<sup>29</sup> Georg Lauer (Rome, after 9 February 1478); McManamon, "An Incipitarius of Funeral Orations," 833.

<sup>30</sup> Pietro Marsi, *Oratio dicta in funere Hieronymi Forocornelensis et Forliviensis comitis* [Bologna: Platone de' Benedetti,

When Cristoforo della Rovere's brother Cardinal Domenico died in 1501, the brothers' corpses were reunited in their funeral chapel at Santa Maria del Popolo.<sup>31</sup> Like his brother before him, an oration by Raffaele Brandolini burnishing his posthumous reputation swiftly appeared for sale, but remained in only a single edition.<sup>32</sup>

Table 1: Printed Funeral Orations for Pope Sixtus IV's Kinsmen

Year of First Edition	Author, Title	Place: Printer (date of later editions)
1474	Nikolaus of Modruš, <i>Oratio in funere Petri Cardinalis Sancti Sixti</i>	Rome: In domo Antonii et Raphaelis de Vulterris <sup>33</sup>
		Rome: Johannes Gensberg (c.1474) <sup>34</sup>
		[Rostock: Fratres Domus Horti Viridis ad S. Michaellem, 1476] <sup>35</sup>
		Rome: Stephan Planck (1481-1487) <sup>36</sup>
		Padua: Matheus Cerdo (30 August 1482) <sup>37</sup>
		Rome: B. Guldinbeck (c.1485) <sup>38</sup>
		Rome: no name (c.1500)
[after 11 November 1475]	Francesco da Toledo, <i>Oratio in funere illustris domini Leonardi de Robore...</i>	Rome: Ulrich Han <sup>39</sup>
		Rome: Bartholomäus Guldinbeck <sup>40</sup>

after 14 April 1488]. Notably, in 1488, Nikolaus of Modruš resigned his position as administrator of the diocese of Skradin to Pietro Marsi, retaining an annual pension of 120 gold florins. ASV, Registrum Latinum 800, fols. 79r-79v.

<sup>31</sup> Coincidentally, this is also where Nikolaus of Modruš was buried in 1480. Forcella recorded that his burial inscription was still in place at the second half of the nineteenth century; Vincenzo Forcella, *Iscrizione delle chiese e d'altri edifici di Roma dal secolo XI fino ai giorni nostri* (Rome: Tipografia delle scienze, matematiche e fisiche, 1869), 1:368, no. 1421; Neralić, "Nicholas of Modruš (1427-1480)," 19-20.

<sup>32</sup> Eucharius Silber (Rome, 1501); McManamon, "An Incipitarium of Funeral Orations," 226.

<sup>33</sup> ISTC Nos. in00048800, in0048850.

<sup>34</sup> ISTC No. in00049000.

<sup>35</sup> ISTC No. in00049500.

<sup>36</sup> ISTC No. in00050000.

<sup>37</sup> ISTC No. in00051000.

<sup>38</sup> ISTC No. in00052000.

<sup>39</sup> ISTC No. if00301000.

<sup>40</sup> ISTC No. if00300500.

		Rome: Stephan Planck (c.1481-1487) <sup>41</sup>
		Rome: Eucharius Silber (1483-1493) <sup>42</sup>
		Rome: Johann Schömberger (c.1483-1484) <sup>43</sup>
[after 9 February 1478]	Giovanni Battista de Giudici, <i>Oratio in funere Christophori Rovere cardinalis</i>	Rome: Georg Lauer <sup>44</sup>
[after 14 April 1488]	Pietro Marsi, <i>Oratio dicta in funere Hieronymi Forocorneliensis et Forliviensis comitis</i>	[Bologna: Platone de' Benedetti] <sup>45</sup>
1501	Raffaele Brandolini, <i>Parentalis oratio de obitu Dominici Ruvere Sancti Clementis presbyteri cardinalis...</i>	Rome: Eucharius Silber

The publication in several editions of orations memorializing papal nephews parallels another trend in printing that grew in popularity during Sixtus IV's pontificate: the publication of eulogies for cardinals.<sup>46</sup> Indeed, Pietro Riario was not the first cardinal whose eulogy was printed and the time lapse between the cardinal's death and the publication of his oration provides an argument for more than a desire to memorialize individuals. Niccolò Capranica's oration for Cardinal Bessarion (died 1472) first appeared at the time of his burial and then was reprinted by Stephan Planck in 1480.<sup>47</sup> Likewise, Ludovico of Imola's oration for Cardinal Pedro Ferris (died 1478) appeared twice in quarto format: initially from the Roman printer Georg Lauer, and then a few years later from Stephan Planck.<sup>48</sup> When Cardinal Berardo Eruli died in April 1479, the Roman printer Johannes Bulle published a quarto edition of his funeral oration, which was followed by an edition from Eucharius Silber around 1482, and another edition from Stephan Planck around 1485.<sup>49</sup> Finally, when Cardinal Philibert Hugonet died in

<sup>41</sup> ISTC No. if00302000.

<sup>42</sup> ISTC No. if00303000.

<sup>43</sup> ISTC No. if00304000.

<sup>44</sup> ISTC No. ij00494500.

<sup>45</sup> ISTC No. im00285000.

<sup>46</sup> John McManamon, *Funeral oratory and the cultural ideals of Italian humanism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1989), 24-25.

<sup>47</sup> Nicolaus Capranica, *Oratio in funere Bessarionis Cardinalis habita* (Rome: In domo Antonii et Raphaelis de Vulterris, [after 10 December 1472]); Nicolaus Capranica, *Oratio in funere Bessarionis Cardinalis habita* (Rome: Stephan Planck, 1481-1487).

<sup>48</sup> Ludovicus Imolensis, *Oratio in funere Cardinalis Petri Ferrici* (Rome: Georgius Lauer, [c.1479]); Ludovicus Imolensis, *Oratio in funere Cardinalis Petri Ferrici* (Rome: Stephan Planck, [1481-1487]).

<sup>49</sup> Bernardus Herulus, [*Oratio in funere Cardinalis Spoletani*], [Rome: Johannes Bulle, after 2 April 1479]; *Oratio in funere Cardinalis Spoletani* [Rome: Eucharius Silber, c.1482]; *Oratio in funere Bernardi Heruli Cardinalis Spoletani* [Rome: Stephan Planck, c.1485].

September 1484, Stephan Planck produced the first and only edition of Antonio Lollo's funeral oration.<sup>50</sup> The similarities that connect these four funeral orations—all printed during Sixtus IV's pontificate, all profiling cardinals, all reprinted by Planck in the mid 1480s, and showing similar formats—also appear in Nikolaus of Modrus' oration for Pietro Riario.<sup>51</sup> Indeed, this text reflects the larger pattern seen across the group of orations memorializing cardinals, as shown in Table 2.<sup>52</sup> Although a thorough investigation of interest in printed funeral orations is beyond the scope of this introduction, a clear pattern emerges from these examples that suggests a greater cultural role for these printed texts in Sistine Rome and the creation of a market for elite funeral orations.<sup>53</sup>

Table 2: Printed Funeral Orations for Cardinals (excludes Sistine kin cardinals)

Year of First Edition	Author, Title	Place: Printer (date of later editions)
[after 10 December 1472]	Niccolò Capranica, <i>Oratio in funere Bessarionis Cardinalis habita</i>	Rome: In domo Antonii et Raphaelis de Vulterris <sup>54</sup>
		Rome: Stephan Planck (1481-87) <sup>55</sup>
c.1479	Ludovico of Imola, <i>Oratio in funere Cardinalis Petri Ferrici</i>	Rome: Georg Lauer <sup>56</sup>
		Rome: Stephan Planck (1481-1487) <sup>57</sup>
[after 2 April 1479]	Bernardus Herulus, [ <i>Oratio in funere Cardinalis Spoletani</i> ]	[Rome: Johannes Bulle] <sup>58</sup>
		[Rome: Eucharius Silber, c.1482] <sup>59</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Antonius Lollius, *Oratio habita in funere Philiberti cardinalis Matisconensis* (Rome: Stephan Planck, 1484).

<sup>51</sup> Scholars have noted that serial biography was revived between the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries. Stephan Planck's series of printed funeral orations from the 1480s appears to provide just such a set of biographies for cardinals. Alison K. Frazier, "Biography as a Genre of Moral Philosophy," in *Rethinking Virtue, Reforming Society: New Directions in Renaissance Ethics, c.1350-c.1650*, ed. David Lines and Sabrina Ebbesmeier (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 218.

<sup>52</sup> Notably, the orations for Cardinals Cristoforo and Domenico della Rovere do not meet all these criteria, since they appeared in a single edition and neither text was a product of Stephan Planck's printshop. This might indicate two trends—an interest in memorializing papal kin, and an interest in memorializing powerful cardinals—that coincided in Nikolaus of Modrus' oration for Pietro Riario.

<sup>53</sup> Around the same time appeared an oration for the Florentine nobleman Lorenzo de' Medici (Milan: Filippo Mantegazza, 1492, ISTC No. ib00667000) and a collection of Giovanni Lucido Cattanei's works (*Orationes varii*) that included orations for several Gonzaga noble rulers (Parma: Angelo Ugoletti, [after August 1493?], ISTC No. ic00278000).

<sup>54</sup> ISTC No. ic00124000.

<sup>55</sup> ISTC No. ic00125000.

<sup>56</sup> ISTC No. il00377000.

<sup>57</sup> ISTC No. il00378000.

<sup>58</sup> ISTC No. ih00129000.

<sup>59</sup> ISTC No. ih00130000.

		[Rome: Stephan Planck, c.1485] <sup>60</sup>
[after 30 September 1484]	Antonius Lollius, <i>Oratio habita in funere Philiberti cardinalis Matisconensis</i>	Rome: Stephan Planck <sup>61</sup>

## The Oration's Historical Context

Historians have hailed Sixtus IV's pontificate as the point at which the College of Cardinals began to grow precipitously. Marco Pellegrini has described some of the changes that Sixtus IV introduced to the College of Cardinals as the beginning of a strategy of *grande nepotismo* that established both clerical and lay papal kin in positions of governance, wealth, and social advancement.<sup>62</sup> Over the course of his thirteen-year pontificate, Sixtus raised more cardinals, in elevations that occurred more frequently, and that included more kin cardinals and political appointees (cardinals requested by Italian and other European princes), than ever before.<sup>63</sup>

Throughout this period, printed funeral orations presented cardinals as virtuous exemplars in the service of God, the Church, their state, and their friends and family, crafting a monologue that appealed to both popes and ruling families. Indeed, funeral orations reflect contemporary ideals and idealized relations. These texts built a burnished image of the deceased out of the genre's tropes and the cardinal's accomplishments. John McManamon has seen a similar process at work in orations commemorating deceased popes, within which he has identified a spectrum of virtues that he calls "courtly," reflecting further visions of patronage and papal monarchy.<sup>64</sup> Much as Nikolaus of Modruš presents Pietro Riario, McManamon describes the orations' pope as a chief patron, who was "deeply involved in the diplomatic and political realities around him" and in effect "worldly."<sup>65</sup> A similar collection of courtly virtues appear across orations profiling Sixtus IV and his nephew Pietro Riario, both of whom were vigorous builders, cultural patrons, and diplomats. The courtly virtues and celebrated activities depicted in their funeral eulogies also sit at the heart of the conflict between clerical ideals and elite ecclesiastical governance that has affected both men's posthumous reputations.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>60</sup> ISTC No. ih00131000.

<sup>61</sup> ISTC Nos. il00276000, il00277000, il00278000.

<sup>62</sup> Marco Pellegrini, *Il papato nel Rinascimento* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2010), 84-86.

<sup>63</sup> Pellegrini, *Il papato*, 84-85, 111-13; Jennifer Mara DeSilva, "Politics and Dynasty: Underaged Cardinals in the Catholic Church, 1420-1605," *Royal Studies Journal* 4, no. 2 (2017): 81-102.

<sup>64</sup> John M. McManamon, "The Ideal Renaissance Pope: funeral oration from the papal court," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 14 (1976): 34-35.

<sup>65</sup> Nikolaus of Modruš's oration explicitly frames Sixtus IV as Pietro Riario's patron, foster father, and the loving recipient of his nephew's loyalty, dedication, and toil: *Oratio in funere*, fol. 25v; McManamon, "The Ideal Renaissance Pope," 60-61.

<sup>66</sup> Flaminia Bardati has noted a similar perspective applied to a group of French cardinals that were active builders and diplomats in Rome in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: Flaminia Bardati, "National and Private Ambitions in the Patronage of French Cardinals at the Papal Court (Fifteenth to Sixteenth Centuries)," *Royal*

Within the oration's constructed perspective, the orator placed himself as an eyewitness to and grateful recipient of the deceased's wisdom and bounty, reinforcing his own status and justifying his authority as a knowledgeable judge.<sup>67</sup> The published oration presented the household as a pedagogical object by codifying and distributing the model. This allowed many more people to appreciate it than would have heard the oration firsthand. In the early decades of printing this type of work offered news, biography, and moral and philosophical reflection, as well as instruction.<sup>68</sup> As a type of epideictic oratory, funeral orations presented the deeds of the deceased as evidence for his virtues.<sup>69</sup> These virtues not only reflect aspects of his famed festive diplomacy, but also presage later discussions about the cardinal's role as a benefactor.<sup>70</sup> Indeed, much of Nikolaus' oration depicts Pietro Riario as a Christian exemplar, statesman, and patron or household leader. This profile suggests the relationships that readers might have had with the deceased. Readers might have included clergy and curialists, diplomats and princes, and Italian and other European governors. Supporting these activities is the presence of Riario's household, which also plays to a contemporary concern that elite dignity be reflected in an ample household and displays of public liberality and magnificence.<sup>71</sup> In this vein, Lisa Passaglia Bauman has argued that Pietro Riario was the first cardinal to appropriate "conspicuous opulence ... an idea previously reserved for secular princes."<sup>72</sup> Thus, just as the cardinalate was experiencing substantial growth and demographic change through Sixtus IV's pontificate, readers encountered a provocative cardinal prototype.

Crafted in the early stage of these changes, Nikolaus of Modruš' portrait combines traditional clerical models with princely models, presenting a figure full of tension to the modern reader. Within the oration's narrative Pietro Riario is a pious and wise child, a cultivator of his uncle's career, an intellectual and scholar, a builder of large-scale urban and

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*Studies Journal* 4, no. 2 (2017): 57-58.

<sup>67</sup> Here observers can see one of the "processes by which social capital is created, maintained, and transformed" in early modern Rome. The funeral oration contributes to the identity and social capital of Nikolaus of Modruš (as presenter) and Pietro Riario (as subject), as well as all other people with connections to the latter's household: Paul D. McLean, *The Art of the Network: Strategic Interaction and Patronage in Renaissance Florence* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 11-12. On social capital as a sociological concept, see: Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. J. G. Richardson (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 241-258.

<sup>68</sup> On the challenges of early modern life-writing as a non-standardized and multifaceted genre, see: Frazier, "Biography as a Genre of Moral Philosophy," 215-240.

<sup>69</sup> McManamon, *Funeral oratory*, 3, 5-34; John W. O'Malley, *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome: Rhetoric, Doctrine, and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, c. 1450-1521* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1979), 168-170.

<sup>70</sup> On the topic of festive diplomacy, see: Giulio Ferroni, "Appunti sulla politica festiva di Pietro Riario," in *Umanesimo a Roma nel Quattrocento: atti del Convegno su umanesimo a Roma nel Quattrocento, New York, 1-4 dicembre 1981*, ed. Paolo Brezzi and Maristella de Panizza Lorch (Rome: Istituto di Studi Romani, 1984), 47-65. On the topic of cardinals as magnificent patrons, see: David S. Chambers, "The Renaissance Cardinalate: from Paolo Cortesi's *De Cardinalatu* to the Present," in *The Possessions of a Cardinal: politics, piety and art, 1450-1700*, ed. Mary Hollingsworth and Carol M. Richardson (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), 17-24.

<sup>71</sup> On this topic, see: Gigliola Fragnito, "Le corti cardinalizie nella Roma del Cinquecento," *Rivista storica italiana* 106 (1994), 5-41; Gigliola Fragnito, "'Parenti' e 'familiari' nelle corti cardinalizie del Rinascimento," in *'Familia' del Principe*, ed. Cesare Mozzarelli (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1988), 565-587; and Lucinda M. C. Byatt, "The concept of hospitality in a cardinal's household in Renaissance Rome," *Renaissance Studies* 2, no. 2 (1988): 312-320.

<sup>72</sup> Lisa Passaglia Bauman, "Power and Image: della Rovere patronage in late Quattrocento Rome," (PhD thesis, Northwestern University, 1990), 1:96.

ecclesiastical projects, and an ascetic surrounded by luxury. This oration highlights the paradoxical ideals of elite Catholic clergy in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The same paradox existed within the Renaissance pope, who was simultaneously the humble heir of St. Peter and the good shepherd, as well as the prince of the Papal States and the *Pontifex Maximus*. In the decades following Pietro Riario's death, tensions born of these paradoxes escalated resulting in calls for reform across Europe. Sixtus would become known as the first Renaissance "pope-king," an unrepentant nepotist, and his nephews would be held up as willing collaborators in a corrupt and venal church.<sup>73</sup>

Nikolaus of Modruš' oration negotiates the tensions within these paradoxes, seeking a way to present his patron authentically, while using the models and ideals recognizable to contemporaries. Problematically, modern readers often identify the ascetic and aulic models as exclusionary. Yet, in using both sets of models and ideals, Nikolaus of Modruš offers a type that was attractive or familiar to European royalty and nobility. As the early modern period progressed, more scholars wrote about the ideal cardinal and more families jockeyed to obtain a *biretta* for a son or brother. Whether held up as a good or bad exemplar, Nikolaus of Modruš' depiction of Pietro Riario and his household typify the tension and ambiguity that characterize the ideal Renaissance cardinal.

At the center of this depiction of Riario sit his family of servants and advisors, or familiars (*familia* or *familiares*), and his palace. Vast, even by later standards, the cardinal's household is an uneasy balance of generosity and liberality, both Christian virtue and public performance. In a city of not yet 50,000 permanent residents, the household of 500 people identified by Nikolaus of Modruš represented 1 per cent of the population.<sup>74</sup> In spite of this, the oration presents the cardinal's personal habits as minimalist, even when surrounded by an extensive household and wielding great wealth and power. Nevertheless, contemporaries were well aware of Riario's investment in the urban economy through his building projects and provisioning his household. Many people had likely witnessed his entourage clogging the streets, attended the Turkish joust that he hosted in March 1473, or marveled at the palatial extension that he built for Eleonora d'Aragona's visit. While these events signaled the cardinal's urban activities, within the palace's well-appointed walls he cultivated a community of scholars who shared his curiosity and lacked only a patron and interlocutor. Nikolaus of Modruš presents a place in which funds flowed freely for diplomacy, scholarship, and public events, from one who sought only to "[serve] the needs of others day and night," including indigent scholars, the pope and his family, or the city.<sup>75</sup> Devoted entirely to Sixtus IV, the Papal States' needs, and ecclesiastical patronage, Pietro Riario appears as a man who lived for

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<sup>73</sup> Marco Pellegrini, "A Turning Point in the History of the Factional System in the Sacred College: the Power of the Pope and the Cardinals in the Age of Alexander VI," in *Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492-1700*, ed. Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 13.

<sup>74</sup> This far exceeds any of the cardinalatial households recorded in the census of 1526-1527. This census recorded that there were approximately 54,000 people living permanently in the city at that time. By 1545, the population had fallen to around 45,000 and in 1560 it was barely over 50,000 again. Peter Partner, *Renaissance Rome, 1500-1559: A Portrait of a Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 82-83. For a list of the households counted in that census, see *Descriptio urbis: the Roman census of 1527*, ed. Egmont Lee (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1985).

<sup>75</sup> *Oratio in funere*, fol. 24r.

others, rather than one who wore himself out with pleasure, as Ludwig von Pastor described.<sup>76</sup>

Indeed, two cardinals—one generous to all and self-effacing, the other liberal towards his clients and fearlessly self-promoting—stand side-by-side in this oration. They appear as the directors of a large household, which becomes a prop: a stage for displaying different virtues according to which cardinal is modeled. The self-effacing cardinal shelters all men within an ascetic house devoted to contemplation and study, while the self-promoting cardinal throws open the doors to host banquets for ambassadors and princes in the hope of acquiring their good will and joining their ranks.<sup>77</sup> On the cardinal's death the household disbanded and the palace passed to a different owner. However, in Nikolaus of Modruš' oration, Riario's household and its activities live on as both evidence of, and as an emblem for, his virtues. Thus, any conflict or ambiguity read in the cardinal is also read in the household, as the community that consumed ecclesiastical wealth and became a public sign of the cardinal-nephew's piety, profit, and power.

### The Oration's Vocabulary and Models of Virtue

As Nikolaus of Modruš tells his audience, it was customary for funeral orations to become “a final gift to the [deceased] friend, offering resounding praises for his fine deeds and the multitude of his splendid virtues.”<sup>78</sup> It is worth noting, in this context, that Nikolaus uses the same word, *munus* to signify both a service performed out of friendship, and an official position within the church.<sup>79</sup> As the orator eulogizes Riario, he positions elite clergy within the framework of patronage, ritualized gift-giving, and a larger Christian value system. Marcel Mauss' *Essai sur le don* (1923-1924) has proved useful to scholars seeking to understand how premoderns conceived of relationships of dependence that promised honour and advantage. In ecclesiastical circles these relationships intertwined virtue, wealth, and employment. Mauss articulated three conditions that regulated gift exchanges: reciprocity, an obligation to give and to receive, and the creation of a personal bond through reciprocal obligations.<sup>80</sup> Nikolaus of Modruš echoes these ideas as he describes how “in the exchange of favours” Riario “would always return something far grander than what he had received.”<sup>81</sup> As Sharon Kettering has noted in her study of French patronage, “to refuse to give or receive a gift is to refuse a personal relationship.”<sup>82</sup> Paul McLean has identified a similar dynamic at work in fifteenth-century Florence, where he argues “personal connections mattered intensely and individuals reflected upon the consequences of networking for themselves.”<sup>83</sup> Contemporary Rome offers

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<sup>76</sup> Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, 4:238-239, 252-253.

<sup>77</sup> *Oratio in funere*, fols. 21v-22r, 23v-24r.

<sup>78</sup> *Oratio in funere*, fol. 19r.

<sup>79</sup> For examples of *munus* as ‘gift’ in the oration, see fols. 19r, 20v, and 23r. In contrast, folios 21r, 21v, and 22v all provide examples of the same word essentially meaning ‘job’. In a similar fashion, *officium*, which normally signifies ‘duty’ or ‘official function’, can only be rendered as ‘gift’ or ‘favour’ in folio 23r.

<sup>80</sup> Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and functions of exchange in archaic societies*, trans. I. Cunnison (Glencoe, IL: The Free Press, 1934).

<sup>81</sup> *Oratio in funere*, fol. 23r: “Quibus tamen in acceptandis ea lege utebatur, ut multo ampliora rependeret quam acciperet. Testes sunt omnes qui hac officiorum uicissitudine cum eo decertare uoluerunt.”

<sup>82</sup> Sharon Kettering, “Gift-Giving and Patronage in Early Modern France,” *French History* 2, no. 2 (1988): 131.

<sup>83</sup> McLean, *The Art of the Network*, 3.

a close parallel, with a plethora of cardinalatial households, curial offices, and religious communities jockeying for place, patronage, and resources. Multiple social networks and patronage circles operated simultaneously and manifested themselves through the norms that Mauss, McLean, and Kettering describe. Pietro Riario's household functioned as a continuous process of gift-giving that was maintained by the cardinal-patron's willingness to provide food, shelter, and favour, and the client's hope to receive employment and profit. By printing this funeral oration and publicizing his patron's acts and virtues across Rome and beyond, Nikolaus of Modruš fulfilled the obligation to reciprocate that weighed on every client.<sup>84</sup>

In doing so, the oration aligns discourses about ecclesiastical virtue which present an apparent conflict to the modern reader. Because early modern patronage relationships provide "a reflection of social norms and value," Nikolaus of Modruš' rhetorical themes and vocabulary allow the reconstruction of what he valued in Riario.<sup>85</sup> It is thus interesting to note that despite his subject's lofty rank in an institution devoted to the spiritual welfare of Europe, Nikolaus makes almost no mention of the theological virtues of faith, hope, and charity in his encomium for his patron.<sup>86</sup> Even more surprisingly, the cardinal virtues of classical antiquity also find little place. Riario is hailed for *iustitia* (justice) only twice, and never for *temperantia* and *fortitudo* (temperance and fortitude).<sup>87</sup> Only wisdom is frequently attributed to him, and it is invariably *prudentia*, the practical, managerial wisdom of the politician and the bureaucrat, and never *sapientia*, the term more often associated with philosophical or spiritual insight.<sup>88</sup> Instead, Nikolaus emphasises his subject's *munificentia*, *liberalitas*, and *beneficentia*, all related terms for the generosity of elites towards their subordinates, as well as his cultivation of friendship, *amicitia*. Above all, the oration returns repeatedly to the theme of *cura*, a term better translated as 'responsibility,' than by its English cognate 'care.'<sup>89</sup> *Cura* and its related verb, *curare*, occur ten times in the brief span of the oration, underpinning Riario's entire career. It is *cura* that

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<sup>84</sup> This responsibility is reinforced by the fact that in the fifteenth century, as Han Baltussen argues, consolation had become "mostly a personal obligation from one individual to another," potentially highlighting identity and shared relationships: Han Baltussen, "Nicholas of Modruš's *De consolatione* (1465-1466): A New Approach to Grief Management," in *Ordering Emotions in Europe, 1100-1800*, ed. Susan Broomhall (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 106.

<sup>85</sup> Dale Kent, "The Dynamic of Power in Cosimo de' Medici's Florence," in *Patronage, Art and Society in Renaissance Italy*, ed. F.W. Kent and Patricia Simons (Canberra: Humanities Research Centre, 1987), 63; McLean, *The Art of the Network*, 36.

<sup>86</sup> The noun *fides* appears only once in folio 24r, in reference to the 'trust' that the rulers of Italy placed in Riario. In Riario's final words in folio 27r, he uses *caritas* to describe the deep affection he feels for the members of his household. He also references *spes*, 'hope', in a negative sense in the same section when he tells them not to place 'hope' in worldly riches.

<sup>87</sup> The only commendations of Riario's *iustitia* are found at the very beginning of the oration, when Nikolaus promises to discuss his subject's 'justice', and when he commemorates his restraint in the abuse of his power. *Oratio in funere*, fols. 19r and 24r.

<sup>88</sup> In contrast to the other cardinal virtues, *prudentia* and its corresponding adjectives and adverbs are attributed to Riario seven times. For more on the differences between *prudentia* and *sapientia*, as well as the long tradition of rendering both words with the English 'wisdom,' see: Brendan Cook, "Prudentia in More's *Utopia*: The Ethics of Foresight," *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme* 36, no. 1 (Winter 2013): 31-68.

<sup>89</sup> For example, see the passage in folio 20v, in which Nikolaus describes how the future Sixtus IV assumed 'responsibility' for his nephew's education: "sibi *curandum* statuit ut tam excellens ingenium per bonas artes excoleretur." When the word 'care' does appear in the English translation, it almost always corresponds not to *cura*, but *diligentia*. In folios 20v and 26v, the adverb *diligenter* is translated as 'faithfully,' and 'carelessness' in folios 22r and 26r is derived from *negligentia*.

motivates Riario in his devotion to his household, in his efforts to repair neglected churches, and in his clemency to those who have disappointed him, such as the vicar of Imola.<sup>90</sup> Even in the case of a single individual who ranks above him, his uncle the pope, the relationship is still informed by *cura*. We are told that there was never any son “[who was] so concerned”—the Latin is “*cui maior ... cura fuit*”—for his father as Riario was for Pope Sixtus.<sup>91</sup> In short, the virtues celebrated in Modruš' oration are not those associated with saintliness, or even Aristotelian *ἀρετή* (virtue, excellence), but rather the combination of worldly cunning and devotion to others demanded in the management and oversight of the emergent bureaucracies.

By emphasizing his subject's sense of responsibility, not to mention his managerial competence, Nikolaus of Modruš is able to present Riario's investment of wealth, energy, and interest in the most appealing light possible. In contrast to the cardinal's posthumous reputation as a spendthrift and producer of spectacles, there is little discussion in the oration of insolvency, banquets, or *politica festiva*.<sup>92</sup> Instead, Riario appears as “the supporter of good men,” “the father of generosity, of gratitude, and of every bounty,” “our benefactor,” and “our protector.”<sup>93</sup> In particular, the oration's treatment of kindness, friendship, favour, and benevolence overlaps with the language of clientage that Sharon Kettering has identified in relation to French patrons' bestowal of benefits (for example, *bienveillance*, *bonté*, *bienfaits*, *bon offices*, *grâces*).<sup>94</sup> There are also parallels in the oration with the discussions of honor, nobility and manhood (for example, *onore*, *onestà*, *honorevole come padre*, *nobilità*, *diligenza*) that Paul McLean has seen in Florentine patronage letters.<sup>95</sup> Indeed, Nikolaus of Modruš calls Riario “our kindest father,” declares that “the exemplary distinction of his virtues reflects more honor upon his ancestors than it receives,” and establishes him as “the common friend of all,” who succeeded in “serving the common interest, [while] he still seemed an advocate for each.”<sup>96</sup> This model of energetic and honest friendship, which brought honor and advantage to great and small, is consistent with the patterns described by scholars identifying extensive patronage as an early modern social virtue, even in clergy characterized by virtue and asceticism.

## The Latin Text and The English Translation

While the British Library's printed text of the oration (ISTC No. in000488000) was consulted, the Latin version presented here relies almost exclusively upon the edition of Neven

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<sup>90</sup> See *Oratio in funere*, fols. 20v, 25v, 26r.

<sup>91</sup> See *Oratio in funere*, fol. 26r.

<sup>92</sup> Although the oration praises public generosity (*magnificentia*, *liberalitas*), traditional luxury items or events, like clothing, money, and banquets (*vestimenta*, *pecunia*, *ornamenta*, *convivia*), appear only rarely and have a functional explanation. See *Oratio in funere*, fols. 22r, 23v, 25v-26r (“splendour of divine adornment”).

<sup>93</sup> *Oratio in funere*, fol. 19v: “Interiit omnium studiosorum praecipuus fautor, *cultor bonorum*, curiae splendor, ornamentum ciuitatis, et huius urbis diligentissimus restaurator. Corruit praeclarum magnanimitatis exemplar; cecidit *munificentiae*, *gratitudinis*, et *totius liberalitatis alumnus*. Cuius iactura cum uniuersis lugenda sit, tum mihi praecipue atque his infelicissimis conseruis meis, quibus haec crudelis et dira mors tam benignissimum abstulit dominum, interuertit *benefactorem*, ademit *praesidium*, et unico atque eodem piissimo patre nos acerba orbauit.” Italics added for emphasis.

<sup>94</sup> Kettering, “Gift-Giving and Patronage,” 137.

<sup>95</sup> McLean, *The Art of the Network*, 59-68, 78-88, 94-97.

<sup>96</sup> *Oratio in funere*, fols. 19v, 20r, 24r.

Jovanović, as it is presented online through *Croatiae auctores Latini*.<sup>97</sup> Therefore, the Latin text is Jovanović's, except when otherwise indicated in the footnotes. The current text also maintains Jovanović's very sensible orthography, representing *v* and *u* as the same letter—in keeping with the pronunciation of neoclassical Latin—while distinguishing between a single *e* and the diphthong *ae*. Since the Jovanović edition is not paginated in its online version, the British Library text has been used to provide page numbers for the document. The recto and verso numbers, placed precisely in the Latin text and approximately in the English text, are derived from the latter source.

The oration's style, while it is hardly brilliant or inspired, is fairly competent, and therefore a reasonably representative example of late-*Quattrocento* oratory. Nikolaus' classicizing diction—for example, *divus* for 'saint,' and *templum* for 'church'—exemplifies the anachronistic Latinity made fashionable by humanists. If his prose lacks the casual elegance and clear forward momentum evident in the writing of his colleague, Niccolò Perotti, he still succeeds in capturing the characteristic feeling of humanist Latin on a sentence-by-sentence basis. Nikolaus organizes his various clauses effectively, sometimes with reasonable sophistication. Perhaps more impressive, he commands the *copia*, the treasury of words and idioms, considered essential to the Renaissance orator. Despite the recurrence of certain formulas, such as *capere potuit/poterit*, he generally manages to vary his speech enough to give the impression of a deep familiarity with a wealth of Latin phrases.<sup>98</sup> If his writing rarely rises above the ordinary, this makes it all the more valuable as a specimen of neo-Latin rhetoric in the court of Sixtus IV.

As a rendering of the Modruš oration into English, the present translation is intended to be faithful not only to the author's meaning, but also to the feeling of his prose. So while accuracy is important, it is rarely achieved at the price of using several words in the place of one. Whenever possible, the English text is brief where the Latin text is brief. In fact, when the occasion has presented itself, the sense of the original has been conveyed in slightly fewer words. These efforts at economy are intended to balance those passages in which some sort of circumlocution has seemed unavoidable. For example, *scientia* cannot be conveyed accurately by the modern cognate *science*, but only by compounds such as *field of knowledge* or *intellectual discipline*.<sup>99</sup> In confronting the oration's syntax, the translation likewise strikes a balance between preserving the contorted patterns of the original and simplifying them in conformity with the conventions of modern English. A few of Nikolaus' massive sentences have been presented here essentially intact, as a lengthy series of phrases woven together by successive semicolons. In most cases, however, they have broken very naturally into smaller parts. For example, the sentences beginning "But great though his own renown may be," and "Instead I will discuss his piety," are derived from a single shambling structure of fifty-seven words.<sup>100</sup> In the same spirit, the translation preserves many of the parenthetical insertions that characterize the oration's prose, while sacrificing others when the effect is too awkward. In a few cases, these

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<sup>97</sup> "Nikola Modruški (c.1427-1480) [1474] *Oratio in funere Petri Riarii, versio electronica* (Rm), Verborum 4115, ed. Neven Jovanović," *Croatiae auctores Latini*, accessed 30 July 2017, <http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/klafile/croala/cgi-bin/navigate.pl?croala.66>.

<sup>98</sup> See *Oratio in funere*, fols. 25r, 27r, 28r.

<sup>99</sup> *Oratio in funere*, fol. 21r.

<sup>100</sup> *Oratio in funere*, fol. 20r.

efforts to clarify Nikolaus' meaning, while preserving his intended effects, have even led to the insertion of an additional verb. In the third full sentence of fol. 23v, the words "turned upon" have no equivalent in the Latin original.<sup>101</sup> They are added to satisfy the demands of the English language for a verb to orient the reader without compromising the author's desire to postpone the infinitive *lacerare* for dramatic purposes. Likewise, the phrase "I know" in the oration's opening line corresponds not to a verb, but to the conjunction *cum*. It reproduces the original not grammatically, but functionally, serving to signal that the information presented in the first clause (or sentence) will be qualified in those that follow.

This respect for the fundamental differences between modern English and *Quattrocento* Latin has resulted in a certain inconsistency in reproducing some of the oration's most distinctive tendencies, notably the frequent placement of verbs at the end of a clause rather than at the beginning. In the end, it is usually a matter of deciding whether the rhetorical effect of a given passage depends upon this arrangement. If it does not, the verb is placed at the beginning, which is more natural in English. Nikolaus' use of chiasmus in the placement of nouns and adjectives, and of nouns and verbs, has been inconsistently captured for the same reason. This device works very well with the extremely flexible word order of Latin, but the effect in English is often strange and awkward. Since this translation is intended above all to present the oration in language that is no less intelligible and elegant—and also no more—than the original, such devices have been avoided as often as they have been replicated.

### The English Translation

[19r] FUNERAL ORATION FOR THE REVEREND LORD, LORD PIETRO, CARDINAL OF SAN SISTO, DELIVERED BY NIKOLAUS, BISHOP OF MODRUS

It is true that in every funeral ceremony, exalted fathers, it has been the custom of our ancestors to practice two principal types of oratory. With the first, they would lift the downcast spirits of those who delighted in their friend's life too much to feel any joy in his death. The second served as a final gift to the friend, adorned with resounding praise for his fine deeds and the multitude of his splendid virtues. For me, the former mode of consolation has been utterly lost, as my own grief is too profound to offer or promise relief to another. And even had it remained in my power, I could still never conceive what manner of speech or what arguments would suffice, even for those considered preeminent in the art of eloquence, to relieve such a heavy blow as this to your sacred senate, or the public grief of the entire curia, in even the smallest part.

For you have lost, exalted fathers, an illustrious colleague, whose supremely pleasant character, collegiality, kindness, and generosity you constantly experienced, whose intellectual agility and astounding wisdom<sup>102</sup> in deliberation seemed more admirable with each passing day. You have lost the singular comfort of the highest pontiff, your most devoted father, and the favorite support of his hallowed old age, his partner in his private affairs, in public labors his collaborator, in his travels his companion, his relief in his worries, the one he relied upon to conduct his correspondence with princes across the world, sending and receiving messages

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<sup>101</sup> *Oratio in funere*, fol. 23v.

<sup>102</sup> This is the first of many instances of wisdom as the very practical *prudentia*, rather than the potentially abstract and philosophical *sapientia*. See footnote 88, above.

with perfect fidelity.<sup>103</sup> [19v] Away, then, with resentment, and let devouring spite at least spare his ashes! Here lies deceased the worthiest arts' most devoted lover. Here has perished every scholar's foremost friend, the supporter of good men, the splendor of the curia, the adornment of the state, and this city's most enthusiastic and assiduous rebuilder.<sup>104</sup> In life he was a shining example of greatness of spirit; in death the father of generosity, of gratitude, and of every bounty. And while his loss brings grief to all, it is especially hard for me and these my wretched fellow servants; for this cruel and dreadful death has robbed us of such a supremely gracious lord, cheated us of our benefactor, taken from us our protector, and painfully deprived us of at once our only and our kindest father. Therefore do not expect, illustrious fathers, that the sorrow and lamentation which I see now grips you, along with me and this whole pitiable family – enough for a lifetime! – should be mine to relieve. Instead, please be kind enough to pardon me in my grief if, overcome by its bitterness, I let my matter become disordered or my words unmeasured;<sup>105</sup> especially because I would sooner avoid this fault than beg your forgiveness for it, were I permitted to refuse the burden imposed upon me. I will nonetheless do what I can, fearing less to be censured for boldness than for ingratitude.

I shall speak, therefore, in praise of the most reverend lord, Lord Pietro, cardinal of San Sisto, whose lamentable funeral is conducted today. Anything I might say in praise of his ancestry or homeland, I prefer to omit here; and not because I thought it would be obscure or scant, since he was raised in the most honorable and the most noble family of his nation, in the renowned and ancient Ligurian town of Savona. [20r] It is rather because he himself honored and adorned them so much that across the whole world, to the utmost ends of the earth, they are now acclaimed in the utmost and glorified in the highest – an acclaim and a glory that shall endure in every future age! But although he is surely so renowned that the exemplary distinction of his virtues reflects more honor upon his ancestors than it receives, I will still treat it, along with the other deathless and all but divine glories of his soul, like the most generous gifts of fortune and the body: I will omit them as if they were not his. Instead, I will discuss his piety, his greatness of spirit, his generosity, wisdom, and modesty, as well as his

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<sup>103</sup> This description of Pietro Riario's supporting role in Sixtus IV's papacy mimics the characterization of cardinal-nephews charged as *quasi* secretaries of state in the later sixteenth century. See: Madeleine Laurain-Portemer, "Absolutisme et Népotisme: La Surintendance de l'État Ecclésiastique," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 131 (1973): 489-491, 493-494.

<sup>104</sup> "Urbis diligentissimus restaurator" echoes Sixtus IV's coins, medals, and papal arms, which read "SIXTVS IIII PONT MAX VRBE REST" (silver *grosso*, no date, 3.62 grams, 25.5 mm.), "SIXTVS.PP.III.VRBIS.RENOVATOR+" (bronze medal by Andrea Guazzalotti, 70 mm.) and "XYSTVS QVARTVS PONT MAX VRBIS RESTAVRATOR" (placed above the east portal of the Palazzo Senatorio on the Capitoline Hill in Rome from 1470s). See: Roberto Weiss, *The medals of Pope Sixtus IV (1471-1484)* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1961), 23; and Jill E. Blondin, "Power made Visible: Pope Sixtus IV as *urbis restaurator* in Quattrocento Rome," *The Catholic Historical Review* 91, no. 1 (2005): 7, 24. See Sixtus' *grosso* at the Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, CT: <http://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/180371>, accessed 10 July 2017. See Guazzalotti's medal at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, NY: <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/196771>, accessed 10 July 2017.

<sup>105</sup> While applied here to the orator's subject matter, the phrase *ordo rerum* still retains an earlier association, derived from the medieval idiom of scholastic philosophy, with the divinely instituted order of God. For an example, see the near-contemporary oration of Pope Pius II, fol. 166v: "Ordinata sunt, quae Deum auctorem habent; ubi ordo, ibi ad unum omnia ordinuntur." *Oration "Subjectam esse" of Pope Pius II (Autumn 1459, Mantua)* (Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 39), Preliminary edition, 3rd version, ed. and trans. Michael Cotta-Schonberg, 2015. Accessed 2 August 2017, <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01176043/document>.

justice, trying to briefly summarize his excellence in each.

His devotion towards God, and the splendid worship he would have rendered him, had he survived, was demonstrated brilliantly in his earliest childhood. At the age of twelve, as he was governing his fatherless family so wisely that neither his mother, the most illustrious of matrons, nor his brothers felt his father's loss, his heart, pledged to God, began to burn with the zeal of faith.<sup>106</sup> Even then, word was already spreading of that supremely pious and learned man, master Francesco, his fellow citizen and uncle, now the supreme pontiff, Pope Sixtus. He was in Siena at that time, interpreting the holy scriptures to his brothers.<sup>107</sup> The perfect schoolmaster of Christian warfare was selected by one who would prove the perfect student, a choice which, despite his boyish age, reflected a man's judgement. He was led to him by an old monk, after many prayers and without his mother's knowledge. It was God's will, I believe, that one destined to labour so tirelessly for the apostolate should be sent to one destined to occupy the apostolic seat. [20v] But when Francesco saw him, already in the attire of their order, which the youth had donned along the way to ingratiate himself more easily to his teacher, he encouraged him at length to return to his family and resume his responsibility for his mother and brothers, at least until he attained a riper age and was better able to bear the yoke of Christ.<sup>108</sup> But after the boy's determination had overcome his flattery, his pleading, and at last even his threats, he sensed in him, correctly, the presence of a divine gift. And with the brothers' encouragement, he initiated him in the holy rites of St. Francis. And following the traditionally sanctioned ceremonies of their order, the youth put on the garment of Christ.<sup>109</sup> Once he was so attired, he was so joyful and swift in mastering and completing the fundamentals of their novitiate, that one and all were convinced that only God's aid could have supplied him with such mental acuity and vigor beyond his years.

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<sup>106</sup> Notably, in his treatise *De consolatione* (1465-1466), Nikolaus of Modruš identified children as the most effective consolers (especially of their parents), although he names friends, parents or other "persons connected by some necessity" as being best able to console. It is not clear if this extends to financial necessity or dependence, as in patron-client relationships. *De consolatione*, 1.9.1 as quoted by Baltussen, "Nicholas of Modruš's *De consolatione* (1465-1466)," 116.

<sup>107</sup> By the time that Pietro was twelve years old, Francesco della Rovere, a Franciscan monk, was already lecturing on philosophy at the Studio of Perugia (1450-1461), with a brief visit to the Studio Generale of Siena (1457).

<sup>108</sup> The exact identity of Pietro's parents and his relationship with Sixtus IV varies across the sources. Gatti, however, suggests that his biological father, Paolo Riario, married several times, to Bianca Beccalla (a noblewoman of Savona), Violante della Rovere (a cousin of Sixtus), and Bianca della Rovere (a sister of Sixtus), before he died in 1457. Pietro's widow Bianca then turned to her brother Francesco, the future pope, for aid in raising the children. On Pietro's early years and family, see: Isidoro Liberale Gatti, *Pietro Riario da Savona francescano cardinale vescovo di Treviso (1445-1474): profilo storico* (Padua: Centro Studi Antoniani, 2003), 15-21, 23.

<sup>109</sup> The youthful Pietro's appearance in the plain robe of the Franciscan Order, popularly associated with worldly renunciation (*contemptus mundi*), contrasts with his later more ambiguous depiction as a cardinal. Nikolaus of Modruš employed the popular model of the wise and pious child to frame his close relationship with his unattached and pious uncle. However, as a cardinal whose political and cultural patronage was designed to cultivate an environment of splendid comfort and liberality, Pietro walks a fine line between material magnificence inappropriate to a friar and the sparing lifestyle that was admirable in a prelate, but considered unlikely in a cardinal-nephew. Maureen Miller has followed the increasing interest in a resplendent clergy through the Middle Ages, while Cordula van Wyhe has discussed the model behaviors that monastic habits embodied to early modern contemporaries. See: Maureen C. Miller, *Clothing the Clergy: Virtue and Power in Medieval Europe, c. 800-1200* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014), 96-140; and Cordula van Wyhe, "The Making and Meaning of the Monastic Habit at Spanish Habsburg Courts," in *Early Modern Habsburg Women: Transnational contexts, cultural conflicts, dynastic continuities*, ed. Anne J. Cruz and Maria Galli Stampino (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 243-248.

All of this left him cherished and beloved by everyone, but especially by his own uncle, who was wonderfully pleased with his divine gifts, and embraced him with perfect holiness and devotion. He therefore assumed responsibility for seeing that such an outstanding mind was nourished in the worthy arts. And so he sent him to study Latin literature with every learned grammarian in the parish. Having grasped this with remarkable speed, he was soon sent to Pavia, then to Padua, and after that to Venice, Bologna, Perugia, Siena, and Ferrara.<sup>110</sup> This was done so that wherever learning in the liberal arts or sacred literature flourished in Italy's most prestigious institutions of higher learning, he might imitate the industrious bee in gathering it from all sides and carefully storing it away inside the sacred chamber of his heart. And all of this was achieved within such a short span that it seemed impossible for a man inclined more to action than to contemplation to have so quickly grasped every field of knowledge.<sup>111</sup> [21r] I have here many witnesses on this account, his dear friends, unquestionably erudite men. After dinner, he would often discourse with them on the various learned disciplines; his responses to the matter at hand were so sharp, so swift as well as subtle, that you would believe all his days and nights were occupied with nothing but brooding over the volumes of the theologians and the philosophers.<sup>112</sup> His memory firmly grasped everything taught by his teachers from his earliest youth. He was esteemed especially for the astounding acuity of his mind; his perspicacity easily penetrated nature's remotest secrets. Once he had grasped the basic principles, he could resolve any problem of philosophy or theology, no matter how difficult, to the amazement of all observers. Many were the verses and grammatical texts, learned while he was still a child, which he later recited so readily that you would think he had memorized them only a few days earlier.<sup>113</sup> Once he had sprinted to a mastery of all the worthy arts, he returned

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<sup>110</sup> At both the Third Lateran Council (1179) and the Council of Trent (1545-1563), the conciliar fathers decreed that "No one is to be accepted for the administration of cathedral churches unless he is of legitimate birth, of mature age, and endowed with sound moral character and education." This expectation of education was so broadly defined that it could encompass the experience of most prelates, including men who received a "courtly" education and men whose university studies did not result in a degree. Nevertheless, concerns about preparation for elite office and similarly vague expectations persisted, even in the capitulations that cardinal-electors signed in conclave between 1458 and 1513. John A. F. Thomson, *Popes and Princes, 1417-1517: Politics and Polity in the Late Medieval Church* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1980), 65-70. On the topic of under-age cardinals and educational preparation, see DeSilva, "Politics and Dynasty"; *Decrees of the Ecumenical Council*, ed. Norman P. Tanner (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1990), Third Lateran Council "Canons," 1:212; Council of Trent, Session 7, "On reform" (3 March 1547), 2:687.

<sup>111</sup> At either the end of 1468, or the beginning of 1469, Pietro Riario graduated with a *laurea* in Philosophy and Theology, likely in Rome; Gatti, *Pietro Riario*, 28.

<sup>112</sup> Another eulogist, Niccolò Perotti, and the humanist Ottavio Cleofilo both affirm the presence of philosophers and scholars, both as visitors to and residents of Riario's household. This community included Bartolomeo Sacchi called Platina, Gianandrea Bussi, Domizio Calderini, Giovanni Antonio Campano, Marsilio Ficino, Demetrio Guazzelli, and Baccio Ugolino among others. Isidoro Liberale Gatti, "«Domus eius ut musarum domicilium videbatur». Il mecenatismo del Card. Pietro Riario, nipote di Sisto IV," in *I Cardinali di Santa Romana Chiesa. Collezionisti e mecenati*, vol. 2, ed. Harula Economopoulos (Rome: Editrice Adel Grafica, 2003), 8-10.

<sup>113</sup> The memorization of important texts was a common monastic and hagiographical trope, perhaps following St. Jerome, who advised "Read much, learn as much as you can by heart." Bishop Antonino Pierozzi of Florence memorized Gratian's *Decretum* as a prerequisite to joining a reformed Dominican house. Cardinal Cajetan memorized Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologica*. In the premodern period, monastic rules and the Psalms were often memorized as a way of meditating on content and messages. St. Jerome, "The Mirror of the Clergy," *Saint Jerome*, ed. Edward L. Cutts (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1878), 98; Ronald C. Finucane, *Contested Canonizations: The Last Medieval Saints, 1482-1523* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America

anxiously to his teacher, ready to excel in the office destined for him by Heaven. His mind possessed a certain divine nature able to foresee future events, and he received prior knowledge of so many things at rest that his dreams were regarded not as mere visions, but as certain prophecies.

While occupied with all of these things, he began to urge his uncle, pressing him with increasing insistence to find his way to Rome and make himself known in that city, where God, the omnipotent ruler of all things, had destined him to become the supreme pontiff. That he himself would receive the cardinalate from his uncle there, along with all the other honorable offices we have seen him execute, he predicted with remarkable assurance. [21v] I see here more than a few prelates, as well as distinguished men of other ranks, who have testified to me at length regarding his various deeds accomplished many years after he had foretold them. And so while his teacher yet resisted, declaring himself unworthy of such high office, he continued to press him until he drove him, overcome by many signs and wonders, to set off for Rome.<sup>114</sup> Once he was established there, he knew no rest until he had worthily accomplished the task assigned by highest providence, and seen his teacher climb from office to office until he had conquered the utmost peak of the apostolate. As a reward for these labors, and for such zealous and enthusiastic effort, that same Divine Providence, whose eternal practice has been to choose the weak things of this world in order to confound that which is strong, elected to glorify him with the splendor of the cardinalate, and to demonstrate to all the princes of the world what sort of servant, and of what humble origin, He had elected to employ in the adoption of His vicar.<sup>115</sup> This taught all men the certain truth of Nebuchadnezzar's confession, when, his kingdom and sanity restored, he humbly declared that all the kingdoms of the earth belong to the almighty God, to be bestowed upon whom He chooses, and that there is none who may resist His will or say to Him "Why have you done this?"<sup>116</sup>

Once Pietro had been installed this way, in a position that has always conferred prominence, he revealed himself such as we could scarcely have wished for, let alone hoped.<sup>117</sup> He assumed, along with his sublime office, a sublime disposition and a spirit befitting the majesty of such great authority, along with greatness of soul, kindness, generosity, and the other previously mentioned virtues of the powerful. By means of these qualities, he dared to contend

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Press, 2011), 169; Mark D. Jordan, *Rewritten Theology: Aquinas after his Readers* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 11; Duncan Robertson, *Lectio Divina: The Medieval Experience of Reading* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2011), xiv.

<sup>114</sup> In 1460, Francesco was named the Franciscan Order's Provincial Minister to Genoa, and then in quick succession he served as the vicar of the Order's Minister General, and from 1460 to 1464 the Order's Procurator General in Rome. In 1464, he succeeded Giacomo da Zarzuela as the Franciscan Order's Minister General, and three years later, in 1467, Pope Paul II elevated him to the College of Cardinals. His fame as a theologian, his administrative experience, and his friendship with Cardinal Bessarion are credited with his election as pope in August 1471. Egmont Lee, *Sixtus IV and Men of Letters* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1978), 11-24.

<sup>115</sup> Sixtus IV raised Pietro Riario and Giuliano della Rovere to the College of Cardinals in his first elevation on 16 December 1471.

<sup>116</sup> Daniel 4:2.

<sup>117</sup> After his elevation to the cardinalate in December 1471, Sixtus IV appointed Pietro "ministro degli Esteri" or "Segretario per i Rapporti con gli Stati." Later in the sixteenth century, the affairs of this important office were collected under the authority of the Secretary of State. For the evolution of that office and the role that cardinal-nephews played in it, see: Laurain-Portemer, "Absolutisme et Népotisme," 487-568; and Gatti, *Pietro Riario*, 33.

gloriously even with kings and princes, with as much zeal as if he had been born and raised among them;<sup>118</sup> all of this is proclaimed in the buildings he founded, in countless banquets magnificently provisioned, and in furnishings of imperial grandeur.<sup>119</sup> [22r] For he rightly considered it base and unworthy, that in this capital of the entire world, in this, the first seat of the Christian faith, to which emperors, kings, and every single prince on earth is regularly drawn to worship, that there should be no furnishings, no palaces erected such as should be suitable for the supreme pontiff to receive them honorably, and to honor them with a splendor befitting his dignity and theirs.<sup>120</sup> Therefore he would maintain that he had purchased all things for this purpose, and that all his arrangements had been made not for himself, but for the papacy. Wealth flowed in constantly, and every single Christian prince provided support in abundance. But while he received these riches for the purposes mentioned above, he remained mindful of the prophet's warning, and denied them a place in his heart, never letting himself become bound to them through greed. This is why he remained ignorant of his own accounts, and refused to know anything either of his holdings or expenses, never requiring his subordinates to present their costs, never requesting a reckoning.<sup>121</sup> Losses hurt him only to the extent that they arose from carelessness; the mistake grieved him more than its consequences. Once he began any business, no fear could alarm him, and no danger deter him. Truthful in word and faithful in deed, in purpose unwavering and in execution tireless, the fiercest keeper of secrets, and of promises the firmest; these are the outstanding pledges of his greatness of spirit. [22v]

But to my mind, this was all eclipsed by the fact that he never responded to any wrong, and seemed immune to all offenses, forgetting nothing more easily than a quarrel. He never wasted a thought on any rivals, and his first impulse was always to forgive the penitent, so removed from the lust for vengeance that he delighted in helping his enemies. He tolerated nothing false in himself, no slyness or deceit; and above all things, he hated the illusion of integrity. It was simply evil and wicked, he said, for a man's private conduct to fall short of his public reputation, for an honest man should overcome others not through deception but through integrity. And surely, in regard to his abundant liberality and generosity, is there anyone who has not experienced it, save those who did not wish or understand how to enjoy it? It

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<sup>118</sup> Lineage plays an important role in many discussions of the Riario and della Rovere families. Historians have shown how Pietro Riario and Sixtus IV's mercantile roots in Savona were papered over by emphasizing connections with the Piedmontese noble family, the della Rovere of Turin. In his oration on 3 December 1471, in a public consistory session in Rome, the Venetian humanist Bernardo Giustiniani asserted that Sixtus' nobility was established by his intellectual achievements and morality, implicitly instead of by noble birth: *Oratio habita apud Sixtum IV* (Rome: Georgius Lauer, 1471; Stephan Planck, 1481-87), unpaginated [fol. 3v]; Ludwig von Pastor, *The History of the Popes* (Saint Louis, MO: B. Herder Book Co., 1923), 4:204-205; Bauman, *Power and Image*, 1:17-20; Andrew C. Blume, "The Sistine Chapel, Dynastic Ambition, and the Cultural Patronage of Sixtus IV," in *Patronage and Dynasty: The Rise of the Della Rovere in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Ian F. Versteegen (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2007), 3-4.

<sup>119</sup> For a contemporary perspective on the mechanics of elite banquets, see: Giovanni Pontano's *De Conviventia* (1498) in *I Libri delle Virtù Sociali*, ed. Francesco Tateo (Rome: Bulzoni, 1999).

<sup>120</sup> As a cardinal, Pietro Riario lived at a palace adjacent to the church of Dodici Santi Apostoli, now Palazzo Colonna, in *rione Monti*, which was vacated after Cardinal Bessarion's death (in November 1472). On Pietro's death his cousin Giuliano della Rovere occupied the palace, which passed to the Colonna family after the marriage of Lucrezia Gara Franciotti della Rovere to Marcantonio Colonna in 1506. See Bauman, *Power and Image*, vol. 1.

<sup>121</sup> Platina claimed that Pietro Riario died with outstanding debts totaling 60,000 ducats: Bartolomeo [Sacchi] Platina, *Historia B. Platinae de Vitis Pontificum Romanorum* (Cologne: Apud Bernardum Gualtherium, 1600), 344.

inflamed him so fiercely that when men provoked his anger, and deservedly so, he continued to adorn them with gifts. I have been present, not once and not alone, when he justly chided some of his companions, and afterwards bestowed on them garments and offices. Sometimes the master of his household, on whose unfailing and devoted ministrations he rightly relied, would candidly inform him that his excessive indulgence and generosity had made his household servants insolent. To this he would respond in a pleasant voice: "It is for you to correct my companions for neglect of their duties, it is for me, however, to reward them appropriately for the love they bear me; thus each of us may best enjoy his respective office."<sup>122</sup> Oh noble words! Oh statement worthy of the highest prince! He neither endorsed leaving errors unpunished, nor allowed any misdeeds to separate the undeserving from his generosity. How happy were those able to enjoy it! Now the most wretched of men to have it snatched away by such a cruel fate! [23r]

He nourished no less than five hundred individuals in his household, some distinguished, others nobles, but all of honest birth: priests, soldiers, scholars, orators, poets, or men devoted to some other honest art.<sup>123</sup> To support so many, to bear such costs, this never burdened him. He would say that all good men were his guests, words truer than truth itself. For anyone who carefully scrutinizes the matter will surely find that all the cardinals' residences are nothing other than honest hostels, where the sons of upright men may dwell, either by need or for the cultivation of morality. Furthermore, he accepted gifts, not out of avarice, but for the sake of honor and to earn good will. And in accepting them, he followed this rule: that he would always return something far grander than what he had received.<sup>124</sup> This is confirmed by the testimony of all who chose to vie with him in this exchange of favors. There are surely many gathered here who recognize the truth of my words, and who after conferring significant honors upon him went away burdened with gifts.<sup>125</sup>

I saw him one evening, full of profound anger, his eyes drenched in tears, as he called in outrage upon the supremely good and mighty God as his witness. And although no man and certainly no circumstance demanded it, he called down the direst curses upon himself and upon his head if he had ever received either money or the rewards of treacherous Simony from a single one of those known to have been recently elected to this sacred apostolic senate, swearing faithfully that evil and envious men were responsible for this wicked and criminal

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<sup>122</sup> On the topic of hierarchy within noble households and advice offered to and by contemporary *maestri di casa*, see: Laurie Nussdorfer, "Masculine hierarchies in Roman ecclesiastical households," *European Review of History* 22, no. 4 (2015): 620-642.

<sup>123</sup> This estimate goes well beyond Paolo Cortesi's suggestion in 1510 that a cardinal's household have one hundred and forty members divided between sixty men in major offices and eighty men in minor offices: *Pauli Cortesii protonotarii apostolici in libros de cardinalatu ad Iulium secundum pont. Max. (Castrum Cortesium: 1510)*, Book 2, Chapter LVII: "De familia cardinalis."

<sup>124</sup> This strategy acknowledges the reciprocity inherent in early modern gift-giving and its use as a diplomatic and social strategy. Elite early moderns generally agreed with Leon Battista Alberti: "What is there that gifts cannot do? They can win you new friends, certainly, but they can also reconcile and recall even men filled with serious malice and hardened hate against you." Leon Battista Alberti, *The Family in Renaissance Florence*, ed. Renée Neu Watkins (Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, Inc., 1969), Book 4, 270.

<sup>125</sup> Ottavio Cleofilo confirmed this characterization, writing: "I have seen a prince who is more rich, but never one more generous than him." From Cleofilo's *Libellus ad Amicos Ferrarienses de rebus Romanis*, as quoted in Giuseppe Zippel, "Un apologia dimenticata di Pietro Riario," *Scritti di Storia di Filologia e d'Arte* (Naples: Riccardi, 1908), 329-346.

slander.<sup>126</sup> You would have seen him cruelly tormented, tortured the very depths of his soul, that the malice of his detractors prevented him, as he said, from assisting distinguished and deserving men. [23v] Where now are those blood-red, malevolent breasts? Where are those hearts dripping with lethal poison?<sup>127</sup> Where are the pestilential teeth of those rabid dogs, who in their unforgiving ferocity dared raise their heads against Heaven and condemn the deeds of the vicar of Christ, and of his brothers, so many noble and outstanding fathers, turning upon such distinguished men – chosen by the Lord who disposes all kingly dominions before the supreme pontiff declared them – to slash and to tear with diabolical impudence? Beware, deceitful tongue, lest God destroy you utterly, lest He pluck you up and remove you from His tabernacle, and your root from the land of the living!<sup>128</sup> But this has been their fate who have made their tongue a sharp blade, and conspired against their brothers all the day, hatching plots.<sup>129</sup> But this has been their fate.

But as for us, we shall bestow praise upon the remaining virtues of Pietro, not as he deserves, but as we are able. And so, in keeping with the order I set forth, let us now consider his wisdom, although our earlier remarks have done much towards revealing its excellence. For this reason, I will discuss it only in reference to his conduct among Christian princes, for it was such that if you considered the affection any one of them bore him individually, you would conclude that the rest must despise him. Indeed it is a law of friendship that we feel no affection for our friends' enemies. Yet this man still managed, through his prudence, to be universally beloved, and everyone went to great lengths to secure his friendship, and having won it, made every effort to cultivate it and cherish it. This was evident in his last legation, when all the peoples of Italy and their respective princes vied to their utmost to see who could receive and entertain him with more lavish honors,<sup>130</sup> the winner being whoever could bestow the most

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<sup>126</sup> Defined as the purchase and sale of ecclesiastical offices and graces, simony was a frequent accusation leveled at both popes and papal kin. Part of the great triad of early modern ecclesiastical abuses, along with pluralism and nepotism, simony was in some senses the most serious of them all. Rather than a mere sin, it was defined by doctors of the church, such as Aquinas, as a heresy. This meant that it placed the corrupt church official outside of the Christian communion. Sixtus IV was especially vulnerable to such charges because he was instrumental in expanding the number and type of venal offices. Pietro Riario's presence at conclave as his uncle's assistant, his subsequent rapid rise to the cardinalate, and his role as a papal liaison and spokesman, encouraged observers to assume that he acquired his offices through transactions. However, as Barbara McClung Hallman remarked, by the early sixteenth century simony "seems to have disappeared in the technical sense," replaced by the legal sale of venal offices and the mechanisms of resignation and regression: Barbara McClung Hallman, *Italian Cardinals, Reform, and the Church as Property, 1492-1563* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 166-167. See also Peter Partner, *The Pope's Men: The Papal Civil Service in the Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 197-202. For Aquinas' treatment of simony, see *Summa theologiae*, II-II, 100, 1c ad 1.

<sup>127</sup> The letters written by Cardinal Jacopo Ammannati Piccolomini (card. 1461-1479) offer a window onto this criticism of Riario during his lifetime and by his fellow cardinals. See: Jacopo Ammannati Piccolomini, *Epistolae et Commentarii Iacobi Piccolomini Cardinalis Papiensis* (Milan: Apud Alexandrum Minutianum, 1506).

<sup>128</sup> Psalm 120:2-3, Psalm 52:5.

<sup>129</sup> This passage depicts Pietro Riario as an early modern Joseph, whose "brothers," perhaps cardinals and others, criticized or worked against him. Combined with the earlier reference to Pietro's ability to see the future (see folio 21r), the characterization of this young and exceptionally favoured man as a Joseph-figure to Sixtus' Jacob appears likely. See Genesis 37-50.

<sup>130</sup> In 1473, Sixtus named Pietro legate to Umbria and all of Italy. He left Rome on 6 August and traveled through Umbria in the hope of ending unrest in Perugia and Spoleto and improving relations with papal vicars and states. In September he entered Florence and took possession of his new episcopal see. On 12 September Pietro entered Milan and negotiated with Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza for his brother Girolamo to receive the vicariate of

distinctions upon him.<sup>131</sup> [24r] In accepting these honors, he demonstrated such a prudent disposition that, while he was the common friend of all, each of them still believed he had won him for himself. And so they entrusted him with their business, and in every matter they did not hesitate to place their utmost faith in him. He deceived no one, and while serving the common interest, he still seemed an advocate for each.

He would retreat two or three times a day into his chamber, or some very private place, and there he spent hours pacing about, in quiet and solitary contemplation of the highest affairs of Christendom. For his soul's powers were entirely bent, after returning from his legation, on bringing peace to Italy and ruin to the treacherous Christian enemy.<sup>132</sup> This alone was his labor, this his design, to this he turned all his energies – he would have fulfilled his prayers had not this dire and cruel death snatched him so suddenly from us! He was cunning far beyond the wisdom of men, and he seemed born only for weightiest concerns of state; this was his first pleasure, and no other delights could divert him from it; its mere taste gave him joy, and he nourished himself with its crumbs.

He served the needs of others day and night, and still some charged him with indifference; in their ingratitude they accused him of being proud and difficult, when in reality he was incredibly gentle and easy.<sup>133</sup> His vast household knew this, as did his friends, and everyone else who enjoyed his acquaintance. In their company, whenever his public responsibilities allowed it, he showed himself to be calm, affable, pleasant—more like a companion than a lord. His temper was so mild that he was rarely angry, and once angered, he quickly recovered his good spirits. [24v] He abused no one, and of no man would he speak ill. Outside his own household, he took no interest in others' personal conduct. The closest he came to derision was when – and this very rarely – he chided someone in a refined and witty manner. He

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Imola. From there he proceeded to Venice where he sought to ratify a league against the Ottoman threat between the Signoria, Milan, and the papacy. In addition, Pietro visited Padua, Mantua, Bologna, and Ferrara, returning to Rome at the end of October 1473. Norman Housley, *Crusading and the Ottoman Threat 1453-1505* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 11-13, 32-36; Gatti, *Pietro Riario*, 44-50; and Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, 4:250-252.

<sup>131</sup> In September 1473 in Milan, the Duke asked the Cardinal to stand as sponsor at the confirmation of his five children. In October 1473 the Sacro Collegio dei Teologi of the University of Padova proclaimed Pietro Riario to be a professor *honoris causae*. In Venice in November the doge greeted him publicly, with all possible pomp, dressed in cloth of gold and shaded by a *baldacchino*; Gatti, *Pietro Riario*, 47-51; Biblioteca Capitolare di Padova, cod. E 49, fol. 24 bis v.

<sup>132</sup> It is difficult to surmise the identity of the 'enemy' referred to here. If the Latin read "perfidi hostis Christi," the phrase could be translated as 'the treacherous enemy of Christ,' and it would be natural to assume that Nikolaus of Modruš is discussing war with the Ottoman empire of Mehmet II (1444-1446 and 1451-1481). The threat of a Turkish invasion of Italy seemed very real in 1472-1473, and Riario was involved in plans then being developed to recapture the city of Negroponte. Unfortunately, both the British Library copy of the text and the Jovanović transcription agree in having "Christiani" in this passage. It might seem quite possible that "perfidi hostis Christiani" could mean 'an enemy of Christians' in the same sense that "exercitus Christianus" can mean 'an army of Christians,' but more than one early modern Latinist dismisses this possibility. See, for example, the following comment on the phrase "hostis Romanus" in the early nineteenth-century Delphin Classics edition of Livy's *Histories*: "Nam hostis Romanus est Romanus hostis alteri, non hostis Romanorum." "A Roman enemy is a Roman who is the enemy of someone else, not an enemy of Romans." Livy, *T. Livii Patavini historiarum qui supersunt, vol. XII*, ed. G. A. Rupert (London: A. J. Valpy, 1828), 6028.

<sup>133</sup> Nikolaus of Modruš had once been one of Pietro's detractors. In a letter to Francesco Maturanzio, dated 13 June 1473, he wrote: "Avarice and luxury hold everything in their grip; all things are consecrated to shameful lusts. Caligula presides over the empire." "Avaratia ac luxus omnia possident; pudendis libidinique dicantur cuncta. C. Caligula imperium obtinet." BAV, Vat. lat. 5890, *Epistolae*, fols. 74v-75v.

showed extreme restraint regarding food and drink, and never overslept; in fact he rarely rested, and was regularly busy throughout the early morning hours. For he typically spent the whole period before sunrise pondering serious matters of state, tirelessly revolving such thoughts as you might hardly believe could find a place within the human mind. He was never lavish with his immediate and extended family, but rather extremely frugal, with the exception of his extremely devoted brother, Count Girolamo. For when he saw that the noble Duke of Milan judged Girolamo worthy of marriage to his daughter, he chose to glorify him with a brotherly bounty.<sup>134</sup> And in this matter, he observed a propriety which reflected great honor and glory upon the apostolic seat. Indeed in the case of the city of Imola, fallen by into others' hands through the fault of its prefect, he spent forty thousand ducats from his own funds to buy it back and restore it to the empire of the Church, which he was so eager to expand that he would not suffer the smallest part to be lost.<sup>135</sup> And so he laid claim to the city more for the Church's sake than his brother's.

Furthermore, his justice is evident in that fact that despite the powers of his position, he offered violence to no man, and oppressed no one by force. In the case of the vicar of Imola, who certainly served the Church badly, he made sure not only to provide him with a living, but to treat him as generously as any earlier governor. [25r] In fact he received fourteen thousand ducats, and the very wealthy town of Bosco, which, along with other spoils added by his captain, was capable of providing five thousand ducats a year.<sup>136</sup> In addition, [Pietro] would not redeem Imola without his consent. He instructed his officials to apply strict and impartial justice to everyone. And while it is also true that the prayers of servants or friends sometimes moved him to recommend many of them to judges, through letters or messengers, he did so in a manner that wronged no one. And so it was that when the governor of a city asked him what to do when litigants pressing claims without merit presented his recommendations, he replied like this: "Ensure that my prayers do not detract from justice in the slightest, and do not act otherwise even if my own brother Girolamo implores you in my name." This was his response to the city father, and he often gave it to governors, to prefects, and to all the judges in his legation. He said that he could not deny his friends' requests for help, but he added that he wished nothing else for their sake but that justice and right be performed to the fullest. Thus

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<sup>134</sup> In addition to securing the vicariate of Imola, Pietro's visit to Milan also involved negotiating the betrothal of his brother Girolamo Riario to a Milanese noblewoman. Following this visit, the duke invited Girolamo to spend Christmas at his court. When he arrived in November 1473 he was already count of Imola (1473) and Bosco (1471) and captain-general of the papal forces (February 1473). In January 1474, he and the duke's eldest natural daughter, Caterina Sforza, were betrothed. In April 1477, the couple married by proxy in Milan and the following month Caterina joined Girolamo in Rome: Joyce de Vries, *Caterina Sforza and the Art of Appearances: Gender, Art and Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 17-22.

<sup>135</sup> Although Pietro was involved in raising the 40,000 ducats paid by Sixtus IV to the Duke of Milan as compensation for the right to Imola, this was an example of his work on behalf of the house of Riario, instead of a pious contribution to the Patrimony of St. Peter. Indeed, the cardinal died just as the payment came due. Ostensibly, both Galeazzo Maria Sforza and the Pope agreed that Taddeo Manfredi's legal role as papal vicar of Imola ceased when he failed to pay the annual census to Rome, and thus ownership of the territory reverted to the Apostolic Camera. In a bull dated 6 November 1473, Sixtus proclaimed Manfredi's vicariate void and transferred the office of vicar to his nephew, along with the right of Girolamo's legitimate sons to inherit the territory in perpetuity. Ian Robertson, "The Signoria of Girolamo Riario in Imola," *Historical Studies* 15 (1971): 90-93.

<sup>136</sup> This is presumably the modern town of Bosco Marengo, in southeast Piedmont.

he issued only the holiest decisions, and indeed, to spare his ministers occasion for sin, he had ordered his notaries to maintain exemplary copies of all his rulings, and likewise all his letters. Nor did he forget this resplendent virtue even at the approach of death; for when his friends urged him to produce a will, this is what he said: "I have nothing of my own; it all belongs to the Church. Nonetheless, you shall petition the supreme pontiff on my behalf for the debt, which I largely contracted in redeeming the possessions of the Church, to be dissolved through his kindness."<sup>137</sup>

Here I am compelled to pass over his most notable praises, constrained at once by time but also overwhelmed by their sheer number. [25v] Regarding his conduct towards his friends, his parents, and above all towards the supreme pontiff, I would rather leave this for another time than tarnish such a remarkable wealth of virtue by saying too little. I will say only this, which all who know his conduct will affirm: that no son was ever so supremely devoted, so dedicated to his father, or so concerned for his parent's health or reputation, as he alone for our supreme pontiff, from the day of their first meeting until the final moment of his life. He shirked no labor performed for his sake, and shunned no danger; in toil, in sickness, in wandering, never deserting him, never absent from his duty, and always, like the angel sent by the Lord to Tobias,<sup>138</sup> at his side; making provision for adversity, inviting prosperity, in devoted persistence cherishing him, caring for him, and worshipping him, so that no one should wonder either that [the pontiff] loved him so strongly in his life, or now misses him so keenly in his death.<sup>139</sup>

My speech will be complete once I have briefly described the highest gift of his devotion. Once his affairs were set in order, he turned his full attention to being able to declare joyfully with the Psalmist: "Lord, I have loved the honor of Your house and the glory of Your dwelling place."<sup>140</sup> And so he continued to restore fallen churches under his charge, to redecorate those in disrepair,<sup>141</sup> to make claims on confiscated estates, to use his own money to regain goods carelessly lost by earlier governors, to expend vast sums on vestments, books, holy vessels, and other things pertaining to the splendor of divine worship, purchasing finer

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<sup>137</sup> Early modern cardinals were expected to apply to the pope for permission to make wills. Without such permission, on a cardinal's death all of his possessions became property of the Roman Church. This reflected the origin of the cardinal's authority and wealth, as well as the fiction that by taking clerical vows one separated permanently from one's natal family and focused exclusively on the Church. However, on 1 January 1474, Sixtus IV issued *Etsi universi*, which permitted elite clergy who died in Rome to bequeath their palace to their kin: Carol M. Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome: Cardinals in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 425-434; and "Etsi universis," in *Bullarum Diplomatum et Privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum Taurinensis Editio* (Augustae Taurinorum: Seb. Franco et Henrico Dalmazzo Editoribus, 1860), 5:211-212.

<sup>138</sup> Tobit 5:12.

<sup>139</sup> For four days after Pietro's unexpected death on 5 January 1474, Sixtus grieved, refusing to meet the cardinals or appear in public. Italian ambassadors commented on the pope's sorrow, much as they would when Pope Alexander VI mourned his murdered son Juan (1497), Julius II lamented his favourite nephew Gelaeotto (1507), and Leo X grieved his brother Giuliano (1516). These moments underline the emotional and affective importance of kinship ties, displacing the calculating rhetoric of familial advancement with human love and loss. See: Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, 4:256-257, 7:147-150; Michael Mallett, *The Borgias: The Rise and Fall of a Renaissance Dynasty* (Frogmore: Paladin, 1971), 140-142; and Christine Shaw, *Julius II: The Warrior Pope* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 226-228.

<sup>140</sup> Psalm 25:8.

<sup>141</sup> This activity is in keeping with the campaign that Sixtus IV launched to prepare Rome for the Jubilee of 1475: Blondin, "Power made Visible," 8-15.

ones whenever they were available. [26r] His munificence is evident here in Rome, in the Church of Saint Gregory, strengthened to the utmost with new income and fabulously restored with new construction.<sup>142</sup> It is evident in the Greater Basilica of Treviso, enhanced with considerable revenues and glorified beyond measure in divine worship.<sup>143</sup> It is evident in the Monastery of Saint Ambrose in Milan,<sup>144</sup> which, on learning that all its decorations had been ravished, he redecorated with furnishings so splendid that while the other houses of the city had long outshone it, it now surpasses them all in dazzling decoration from top to bottom. It is evident in the shrine of Maiolo in Pavia,<sup>145</sup> where he found not the smallest sacrificial vessel, hardly a single book, so that whenever divine rites were to be conducted, it was necessary to borrow everything from other holy houses. Now it is so richly supplied, especially with books, chalices, and vestments, that it routinely loans them to the churches from which it would formerly borrow. He made a full recovery of the spoils taken from the aforementioned shrine, at great effort and at even greater expense; and within two years he spent more than ten thousand ducats to strengthen and restore it. Even this holy house of the apostles would also have offered evidence of his bounty, had it seen him survive just four more months. [26v] He had already resolved to endow it, this very summer, with new construction and new revenues, furnishing it to the point that fifty brothers could be perpetually supplied with comfortable accommodations and sufficient food.<sup>146</sup> Furthermore, he had been preparing, in the coming days, to found a library, lavishly stocked with preeminent books in every field of knowledge.<sup>147</sup> But it was God's will that he should be taken so suddenly from us, not because such pious works displeased Him, but in truth—which I greatly fear—in order that the calamities perhaps ordained for the scourging of our crimes might pass over him in his innocence,<sup>148</sup> and in order that he might immediately be rewarded for successfully fulfilling the service he had been created to perform.<sup>149</sup>

God's mercy and love for him are clearly indicated in his death itself; for while he sensed its approach many days in advance, he still awaited it without fear. He demonstrated

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<sup>142</sup> Pietro Riario was also abbot of the church of S. Gregorio in Celio in Rome. See: Anna Maria Pedrocchi, *San Gregorio al Celio: storia di un'abbazia* (Rome: Istituto poligrafico e zecca dello Stato, 1993).

<sup>143</sup> From September 1471 to April 1473, Pietro held the bishopric of Treviso and signed his letters *Petrus tituli S. Sixti, presbiter Cardinalis Tarvisinus*. Adding his bishopric to his name brought honor to the city, definitively (albeit intangibly) linking the bishop to his flock. Although he was an absentee bishop throughout, during his episcopate Riario (and his vicar-general) worked to reorganize the cathedral chapter and its revenues, and reform the Benedictine convent of S. Teonisto. Gatti, *Pietro Riario*, 5, 40.

<sup>144</sup> In 1472/3, Pietro received the Benedictine monastery of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan to be held *in commendam*.

<sup>145</sup> By November 1471, Pietro Riario had received the priorate of the Cluniac monastery of S. Maiolo in Pavia.

<sup>146</sup> This passage refers to Pietro's intent to build a monastery housing fifty Conventual Franciscans at SS. Dodici Apostoli in Rome. However, his early death and lack of financing scuttled the plan. Gatti, "«Domus eius ut musarum domicilium videbatur»,” 14.

<sup>147</sup> Niccolò Perotti's funeral oration confirms these plans; BAV, Vat. lat. 8750, Niccolò Perotti, *Oratio habita in funere Petri cardinalis Divi Sixti*, fol. 154v; Gatti, "«Domus eius ut musarum domicilium videbatur»,” 11-12.

<sup>148</sup> It was commonplace to assume that worldly calamities such as war and pestilence were the results not of chance or human agency, but of divine anger against sin. See: Byron Lee Grigsby, *Pestilence in medieval and early modern English literature* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 153; and Ben Lowe, *Imagining Peace: A History of Early English Pacifist Ideas, 1340-1560* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), 109-110.

<sup>149</sup> The current belief is that the cardinal likely died due to a stomach tumor, which had intermittently affected his health over previous years. Gatti, *Pietro Riario*, 92-93, 95, 103-107.

wondrous patience in his pain and enfeeblement.<sup>150</sup> His errors, committed either by youth or mischance through human frailty, he washed away regularly and carefully through devoted confession. Fortified for his journey with heavenly provisions, which he had accepted with the deepest reverence, he girded himself to await God's will. As death drew near, he ordered that his servants and the members of his household be called to him.<sup>151</sup> And as they stood before him, he never burst into tears, never groaned after earthly lusts, never blamed God or fortune, he never complained, even gently, that he had been snatched away in the flower of his youth, from such a powerful office and amid such important tasks. Instead, he spoke firmly and with great courage:

My sons and brothers, I feel the Lord's hand heavy upon me; I submit to Him willingly and gladly, all the more because I know that my life has been sufficiently distinguished and glorious.<sup>152</sup> [27r] I have made the most of this mortal existence that my fortune would allow; nothing greater was left, and whatever still remained, I might rightly mistrust or fear. And so while I yearn to be released and to be with Christ, I am still troubled, if only to think of what will become of all of you. I know well that I have rewarded you beneath your desert, although I never lacked the will, but only the means. And if more than this sliver of time remained to me, none of you would have cause to grieve my ingratitude. I have repaid you, as far as I could, in dying: I have implored the supreme pontiff that the incomes he had previously conferred upon me be shared, in his mercy, amongst all of you; thus you will less regret your services, and I the duties I have left unfulfilled.

For the same reason, I am urged and even compelled, in the incredible love I bear you, to exhort and implore you to guard your souls from the lures and enticements of this world, and to place no hope in its luxuries and empty riches; their false and fleeting nature was never exemplified more clearly than in my own case. Do not doubt it; for we are dust and shadows. And it is not here, but elsewhere that we will find a lasting habitation, where there can be nothing corruptible, nothing temporal, but where all things are incorruptible, all things eternal. Therefore, strive after honesty, and pursue virtue with all your might; cherish piety, and put integrity before everything, knowing that God has reserved for each of you a reward for his labor. And even if no such reward existed, a life of holiness and devotion should suffice in itself as the ultimate prize for a good man, since this serves to distinguish men from beasts, and to consecrate their name to everlasting immortality. [27v]

Finally, I must humbly implore you, by the merciful breast of Our Savior, that you deign to

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<sup>150</sup> For the Milanese ambassador Sagramoro da Rimini's account of Pietro's death, see: Emilio Motta, "Documenti milanesi intorno a Paolo II e al Card. Riario," *Archivio della R. Società romana di storia patria* 11 (1888): 262-265.

<sup>151</sup> Pietro's preparation for death, both spiritual and physical, reflects the ideal described in *Ars Moriendi* treatises. This genre was immensely popular through the fifteenth century and a staple of incunabula printers. In the same way that Nikolaus of Modruš presents the cardinal as a model for elite patrons, Pietro presents himself as a model of Christian behaviour in the face of death for his own household. Through calm and deliberate choices Pietro prepares himself for divine judgement and petitions his servants and familiars to remember his care of them in their prayers. Thus household patronage becomes a Christian social virtue and a platform on which divine intercession might take place. Mary Catherine O'Connor, *The Art of Dying Well: The development of the ars moriendi* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942).

<sup>152</sup> Psalm 32:2-5.

overlook whatever faults I may have committed against you. Clearly, my youth was too much my master, and on occasion I committed many sins against you, sometimes offending your eyes, and sometimes your ears.<sup>153</sup> But I trust that the Lord will forgive this more quickly if you, who live more temperately, will pray to Him on my behalf. And for my part, if the dead do not sleep, I promise to do the same for you.<sup>154</sup> Remember me while you live, and learn the frailty of worldly happiness through my example!

With these words, and many similar, he provided each of them with holy admonitions worthy of a saint; and as they wept and wailed, he sent them out with a kiss. Next he arranged himself in bed, fixed both eyes on Heaven, and humbly beseeched the Lord to have mercy on his sins.<sup>155</sup> And when half the gloomy night had passed, he turned to the bishop of Viterbo;<sup>156</sup> “Behold,” he said, “the hour is at hand. Bring me the oil of holy unction.” This oil was quickly brought from its case, and with his head bared and bowed, as much as he could, he venerated it. Then he extended his hands and feet, and was anointed in accordance with the sacrament. This done, he said, “Bring the holy books, and commend my soul to the Lord through a reading from the sacred mysteries.” When these were quickly brought to light, they chanted some of the Psalms and read from some of the Gospels. And through everything, he trained his ears and eyes upon the readings, persisting even as his spirit failed him, until the reader reached the passage in Our Lord’s passion where the scripture says, “And He bowed His head and released His spirit.”<sup>157</sup> [28r] At these words, this soul beloved of God, as if at a clear sign, flew away at once to her Lord.

Oh happy and twice happy, whose life attained the utmost glory, and whose death did

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<sup>153</sup> This is the sole reference made to the fact that both Pietro Riario (b. 1445) and his cousin Giuliano della Rovere (b. 1443) were elevated to the cardinalate before the canonical age of thirty. In 1471, and through the rest of the fifteenth century, this was cause for surprise and criticism, which is likely why Nikolaus of Modruš characterises Pietro so emphatically as a wise youth.

<sup>154</sup> This passage refers to the doctrinal belief in the power of intercessory prayer. Augustine of Hippo indicated that the dead were not completely separated from the living. Aquinas argued that indulgences work principally on behalf of the person who earns them and secondarily on behalf of the dead. Sixtus IV would expand this doctrine with *Romani pontificis provida diligentia* (27 November 1477), in which he enlarged the intercessory role played by indulgences earned by the living on the dead’s behalf. Augustine of Hippo, *De Civitate Dei*, 20:9; Thomas Aquinas, *IV Libros Sententiarum*, dist. xlv, q. ii, a. 3, q.2. For the related notion mentioned by Riario, that the dead can offer prayers for the living, see: Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy: Purgatorio*, trans. Charles S. Singleton (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1973), XI:22-24: “Quest’ ultima preghiera, signor caro, / Gia non si fa per noi, che non bisogna, / Ma per color, che dietro a noi restaro.”

<sup>155</sup> This description of Pietro Riario’s deathbed scene shows similarities to accounts of other contemporary Italian deaths. Angelo Poliziano’s account of Lorenzo de’ Medici’s death at his villa in 1492 reflects a similar desire to present the deceased patron in the mode of a “good death”: *Lives of the early Medici as told in their correspondence*, ed. Janet Ross (London: Chatto and Windus, 1910), 336-339. Vespasiano da Bisticci’s *Lives of Illustrious Men* (1480-1498) also provides many examples of popes, prelates, and princes who grapple with combining Christian virtues, a career in statecraft, and this period’s extravagant material expectations: Vespasiano da Bisticci, *The Vespasiano Memoirs. Lives of Illustrious Men of the XIVth Century*, trans. William George and Emily Waters (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

<sup>156</sup> Francesco Maria Scelloni-Visconti, the bishop of Viterbo (1472-†1491), was close to the cardinal. The chronicler Niccola della Tuccia recorded that after Riario’s death Scelloni-Visconti was imprisoned in Castel Sant’Angelo for stealing from the cardinal’s estate. Niccola della Tuccia, *Cronache e Statuti della Città di Viterbo*, ed. Ignazio Ciampi (Florence: Tipi di M. Cellini e C. alla Galileiana, 1872), 111.

<sup>157</sup> John 19:30.

not deny him a well-earned divinity! Therefore we have no cause to groan at his passing, since in a few short years he lived a full life. Nor did he live too little, for himself or for his glory, since he attained in abundance whatever one man's fortune would allow. For our sake, perhaps, he could have lived longer; certainly it would have been a great honor and a great help. But it is not for us as friends to seek satisfaction through our friends' inconvenience. Any further days of his would have been full of grief and toil. And since God in His mercy kindly withdrew him from these things, let us thank Him and say, "The Lord gave, and the Lord has taken away. As He pleased, so it was done. May the name of the Lord be blessed. Amen."<sup>158</sup>

AND HERE IT ENDS

### The Printed Latin Text

[19r] ORATIO IN FVNERE REVERENDISSIMI DOMINI, DOMINI PETRI, CARDINALIS SANCTI SIXTI, HABITA A NICOLAO EPISCOPO MODRVSENSIS

Cum in omni funebri celebratione duo praecipue dicendi genera a maioribus nostris usurpari soleant, amplissimi patres: alterum quo tristes amicorum animos maerore leurent, quibus cum amici uita suauissima extitit, mors ipsa iocunda non potuit, alterum quo extremum amici munus rebus ab eo bene gestis uirtutumque ipsius copia ac splendore amplissimis laudibus exornarent, illud ego prius consolationis genus ita prorsus in omne tempus perdidit, ut magis ipse solatio egeam quam ut illud cuique uel praestare possim uel polliceri. Quod etiam si minime perdidissem, nunquam tamen despiciere possem qua oratione aut quibus rationibus, etiam illi quidem qui principes eloquentiae sunt habiti, hanc tam grauem sacrosancti senatus uestri iacturam et hunc publicum totius curiae luctum ulla ex parte leuare possent.

Perdidistis enim, patres amplissimi, praestantissimum collegam uestrum, cuius suauissimam consuetudinem, comitatem, benignitatem, liberalitatemque quottidie experiebamini, cuius ingenii dexteritatem et incredibilem consilii prudentiam indies magis admirabamini. Amisistis summi pontificis, patris uestri piissimi, singulare solatium, et sacrae eius senectutis optatissimum baculum, participem secretorum, laborum socium, peregrinationis comitem, leuamen curarum, et per quem totius [19v] orbis principibus fidissima responsa et reddere consueuerat et accipere. Absit uero inuidia, et liuor edax saltem parcat cineribus. Extinctus iacet optimarum artium deditissimus amator. Interiit omnium studiosorum praecipuus fautor, cultor bonorum, curiae splendor, ornamentum ciuitatis, et huius urbis diligentissimus restaurator. Corruit praeclarum magnanimitatis exemplar; cecidit munificentiae, gratitudinis, et totius liberalitatis alumnus. Cuius iactura cum uniuersis lugenda sit, tum mihi praecipue atque his infelicissimis conseruis meis, quibus haec crudelis et dira mors tam benignissimum abstulit dominum, interuertit benefactorem, ademit praesidium, et unico atque eodem piissimo patre nos acerba orbauit. Nolite igitur expectare, praestantissimi patres, ut luctum ac maerorem in quo et uos nunc esse intueor et me ac totam hanc miserandam familiam, quoad uixerimus, fore necesse est uobis adimam. Quin potius pro uestra clementia dabitis dolori meo ueniam, si eius acerbitate abductus nec rerum ordinem seruare ualeam nec uerborum tenere modum, praesertim cum ea culpa libentius ego carere uellem quam illam a uobis deprecari si mihi impositum onus detractare licuisset. Agam tamen ut potero, et minus

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<sup>158</sup> Job 1:21.

temeritatis quam ingratitude notam subire uerebor.

Dicturus igitur de laudibus reuerendissimi domini, Domini Petri, cardinalis sancti Sixti, cuius miserandum funus hodierna die celebratur. Eas laudes quas uel a parentibus uel a patria ipsius colligere poteram, hoc loco praetermittendas putau; non quod illas aut obscuras aut tenues fore duxerim,<sup>159</sup> quum et honestissimis nobilissimisque ciui- [20r] -tatis suae parentibus est ortus, et celeberrimo uetustoque Ligurum oppido Saona; uerum quod ipse illis tanto decori et ornamento fuerit ut toto in orbe, extremisque terrarum finibus, amplissimis laudibus, summaque gloria et celebrantur nunc et omnibus futuris seculis non desinent celebrari. Quae quidem tametsi satis grandis eius gloria sit, quod maioribus suis tam insignia uirtutis ornamenta dederit potius quam ab illis acceperit, haec tamen et alias immortales ac propemodum diuinas animi ipsius laudes, ut fortunae corporisque quaelibet ingentia bona, tamquam aliena relinquam; pietatem, magnitudinem animi, munificentiam, prudentiam, modestiam, atque iustitiam, quae quales in eo fuerint, breuiter explicare conabor.

Qua igitur pietate erga Deum fuerit, quamque magnificus cultor ipsius, si aduixisset, futurus esset, in primo uitae suae limine clarissime demonstrauit. Annos natus duodecim, cum orbatam patre familiam tanta prudentia regeret ut nec mater, matronarum praestantissima, nec fratres eius parentis sentirent desiderium, coepit Deo dicatum pectus zelo religionis feruere. Clarescebat autem iam tunc nomen religiosissimi doctissimique uiri magistri Francisci, conciuis et auunculi sui, nunc summi pontificis papae Sixti, qui per id tempus Senis suis fratribus sacras scripturas interpretabatur. Hunc optimum Christianae militiae magistrum optimus futurus discipulus, quamuis puerili aetate, uirili tamen sensu sibi delegit.

Ad quem a religioso quodam sene multis exorato precibus inscia matre perductus est. Diuino, ut opinor, nutu futurus ad apostolatam tam strenuus minister ad futurum sedis apostolicae mittitur antistitem. [20v] Quem ubi conspexisset Franciscus iam religionis ueste indutum, quam idcirco iuuenis in itinere assumpserat quo se facilius magistro suo insinuaret, multis eum hortatus est ut ad suos remearet, et matris fratrumque curam, ut coeperat, ageret, uel maturiorem domi praestolaretur aetatem, quae pati melius iugum Christi posset. Sed cum pueri constantiam nullis blanditiis, nullis persuasionibus, nullis denique minis euincere posset, diuinum, ut erat, in eo aliquod munus arbitratus, hortantibus fratribus diui eum Francisci sacris initiauit, seruatisque pro more religionis rite caerimoniis uestem Christi induit. Qua assumpta ita omnia tyrocini rudimenta libens promptusque et perdiscebat et exsequabatur ut nemo dubitaret et prudentiam illi et uires ante aetatem non nisi diuinitus subministrari.

Quas ob res omnibus carus, omnibus dilectus esse coepit, praecipue autem ipsi auunculo suo, qui diuina eius indole mirifice delectatus piissimo sanctissimoque eum amplectebatur affectu. Vnde sibi curandum statuit ut tam excellens ingenium per bonas artes excoleretur. Itaque docto cuidam grammatico Latinis eum litteris uicheriae imbuendum tradidit. Quibus mira celeritate perceptis, mox Ticinium, deinde Patauium, subinde Venetias, Bononiam, Perusium, Senam, Ferariamque misit ut, quaecumque in tam celeberrimis Italiae ginnasiis aut liberalium artium aut sacrarum litterarum dogmata florerent, ipse uelut operosa apis undique colligeret et in sacram pectoris sui cellulam diligenter reconderet. Quod quidem intra breues annos adeo consecutus est ut credibile non sit uirum ad agendum magis quam ad philosophandum natum tantam omnium [21r] scientiarum notitiam adeo breuiter percipere potuisse. Habeo hic testes complures, familiares eius, uiros quidem doctissimos. Quibuscum

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<sup>159</sup> *Jovanović*: dixerim.

inter cenandum de uariis disciplinarum studiis, frequenter disserere consueuerat adeo acute adeoque prompte ac subtiliter de quaestione proposita ut eum putares die noctuque nulli adeo alii rei quam euoluendis theologorum philosophorumque libris uacare. Tenebat fixa memoriae quaecumque ab ineunte aetate a praeceptoribus audierat. Vigebat praeterea stupendo ingenii acumine, cuius perspicacitate facile in abditissima quaeque naturae secreta penetrabat, et ex perceptis semel principiis difficillima quaeuis uel philosophiae uel theologiae problemata, summa cum omnium admiratione, absoluebat. Versus complures multosque grammaticae textus, quos olim puer edidicerat, ita memoriter recitabat ut ea illum heri aut nudius tertius memoriae mandasse existimares. Perfectis igitur quam celerrime omnium bonarum artium studiis, rediit sollicitus ad magistrum, munus, cui caelitus destinatus erat, optime impleturus. Inerat enim menti eius praesaga quaedam futurorum diuinitas; complurimaque antequam contigissent per quietem discebat, ita ut insomnia ipsius non uisa solum, sed certa uiderentur oracula.

Quibus uarie sollicitatus, coepit auunculum suum hortari, coepit importunius compellere [ut] Romam peteret atque in ea urbe uersari uellet, in qua a maximo omnium rectore Deo futurus summus pontifex erat designatus. Vbi et seipsum accepturum ab eo cardinalatus decus et alios uniuersos honores quibus eum functum uidimus, mira asseueratione [21v] -tione praedicebat. Cerno hic nonnullos praelatos et ex aliis ordinibus uiros praestantes, a quibus magna cum attestatione audiui singula haec quae gessit, multis ante annis ab ipso praedicta fuisse. Itaque repugnantem magistrum et se tanto fastigio indignum reclamantem urgere non destitit, donec multis et signis et prodigiis euictum propulit Romam proficisci. In qua constitutus, minime conqueiuit antequam demandatum ab altissimi prouidentia munus uiriliter absolueret et magistrum suum per uaria bonorum incrementa ad summum apostolatus culmen conscendisse uideret. Pro quibus laboribus et pro tam diligenti nauata opera, eadem ipsa diuina prouidentia, quae semper infirma mundi eligere consueuit ut fortia quaeque confundat, cardinalis eum dignitatis splendore uoluit illustrare omnibusque mundi principibus ostendere quo ministro et ex quam humili loco accepto uoluerit in sui uicarii assumptione uti, ut discerent uniuersi ueram certamque esse illam Nabuchodenesoris confessionem in quam, et regno et sensui restitutus, supplex prorupit dicens in manu solius omnipotentis Dei esse omnia regna terrarum atque illa quibus ipse uoluerit tradi, nec esse alium quemquam qui eius possit obistere uoluntati aut dicere illi "Quare sic fecisti?"

Petrus igitur per hunc modum in principatu constitutus qui solet uiros ostendere, talem sese exhibuit qualem uix optare poteramus, non sperare. Assumpsit enim cum sublimi magistratu sublimes animos et spiritus tanti imperii maiestate dignos, simulque cum eis magnanimitatem, clementiam, munificentiam, et caeteras, quas prius commemorauimus, imperantium uirtutes. Quibus et ausus [22r] est cum regibus et principibus magna gloria non segnus contendere quam si in illis natus educatusque fuisset, ut coepta eius declarant aedificia, totque magnificentissimo cultu celebrata conuiuia, et suppellex imperialibus fastibus digna. Turpe enim et indecorum merito ducebat in hoc totius orbis capite, in hac prima Christianae religionis sede, ad quam adorandam imperatores, reges, et cuncti ferme principes terrarum uentitare solent, non talem esse suppellectilem, non talia exstare palacia quibus eos summus pontifex et suscipere honorifice posset, et pro sua ipsorumque dignitate splendide honorare. Vnde et in hos usus omnia illa se comparare affirmabat, nec sibi, sed summis pontificibus, quicquid praeparabat, componere. Affluebant quotidie opes et ab omnibus ferme Christianis principibus magni prouentus ultro offerebantur. Quos licet ipse in illos, quos diximus,

acceptaret usus, propheticum tamen documentum memor minime ad ea cor apponebat, neque illis auaro deincebatur affectu. Hinc est quod nec sciebat numerum nec omnino quid haberet aut quid impenderet nosse uolebat, nullas a ministris impensarum exigebat rationes, nulla computa exigere uolebat. Iactura rerum ea duntaxat mouebatur quae negligentia contigisset, culpam magis dolens quam damnum. A suscepto semel negotio nullo metu absterreri potuerat, nullo periculo depelli. Verax in sermone, in facto fidelis, in proposito constans, in peragendo strenuus, secretorum tenacissimus et promissorum firmissimus obseruator; insignia haec sunt magnanimitatis [22v] eius testimonia.

Sed illud mea sententia uincit uniuersa quod nullis mouebatur iniuriis, nullis offensis laedi posse uidebatur, nec ullius rei facilius quam inimicitarum obliuiscatur. Floccipendebat aemulos quoscumque et nullam in rem pronior quam in supplicium ueniam uidebatur, tantumque ab omni ulciscendi ardore aberat ut inimicis suis benefacere gauderet. Nihil in se fictum, nihil subdolum aut simulatum esse uolebat, nec quicquam magis detestabatur quam mentitam probitatem. Mali quippe et iniqui hominis esse dicebat meliorem se foris ostendere quam gerere domi, proborum autem uirorum esse non simulatione, sed integritate uiros superare. Sane munificentiae liberalitatisque eius largitatem quis est qui ignoret, nisi qui illa uti uel noluerit uel nescierit? Ea ipse ita flagrabat ut illos etiam, quibus iustis de causis aliquando irascebatur, muneribus tamen ornare non cessaret. Non semel neque solus interfui, cum quosdam familiarium merito obiurgasset, deinde uestimentis et magistratu donauit. Et cum aliquando a magistro domus suae, in cuius diligentissima fidissimaque cura merito conquiescebat, liberius argueretur quod nimia indulgentia et largitate domesticos faceret insolentiores, placenda uoce respondit: "Tuum est familiares meos pro neglecto officio corrigere, meum autem pro illorum in me amore congruis praemiis afficere; id faciendo uterque nostrum suo munere optime fructus erit." O praeclaram uocem! O sententiam summo principe dignam! Nec impunitatem erratorum laudauit, nec liberalitatem suam ullis male merentium factis ocludi passus est. Felices quibus illa perfrui licuit, et nunc [23r] omnium infortunatissimos quibus tam crudeli fato erepta est!

Quingentos ferme pascebat familiares, partim illustri, partim nobili, omnes honesto loco natos: praelatos, milites, doctores, oratores, poetas, aut alicui alii honestae arti deditos. Nullis tantorum sumptibus, nullis grauabatur impensis. Hospitem enim sese omnium honestorum uirorum esse dicebat, quod ipsa ueritate erat uerius. Nam si quis diligentius rem ipsam consideret, comperiet proculdubio omnes cardinalium domos nihil aliud esse quam honesta hospitia, in quae proborum uirorum liberis uel necessitatis uel bonorum morum gratia diuersari licet. Accipiebat praeterea munera, non auaritiae, sed honoris comparandaeque beneuolentiae gratia. Quibus tamen in acceptandis ea lege utebatur, ut multo ampliora rependeret quam acciperet. Testes sunt omnes qui hac officiorum uicissitudine cum eo decertare uoluerunt. Complures in hoc coetu astare non dubito qui me uera praedicare nouerunt, et qui post acceptos ab eo non paruos honores multa insuper dona tulerunt.

Vidi illum quodam uespero, non sine graui stomacho, lacrimis suffusum oculos, et cum multa indignatione Deum optimum maximumque testem citare, atque, cum nemo cogeret minimeque ea re opus esset, dirissima quaeque in se caputque suum impetrantem si ulla pecunias aut ulla Symoniaca perfidiae praemia abs quoquam eorum accepisset qui nuper in hunc sacrosanctum senatum apostolicum lecti noscuntur, seque ab inuidis atque malignis impie ac flagitiose eius criminis insimulari persancte iurabat. Angi eum uehementer et summis [23v] animi cruciatibus torqueri uideres quod sibi, ut dicebat, per detrahentium liuorem non liceret in

uiros praestantes ac bene meritos officiosum esse. Vbi nunc sunt rubiginosa illa maliolorum pectora? Vbi sunt dirissimo felle manantia praecordia? Vbi rabidorum canum pestiferi dentes, qui inexpiabili temeritate ausi sunt os suum in caelo ponere et uicarii Christi fratrumque eius, tam excellentissimorum patrum, factum damnare, atque illos praestantissimos uiros, qui prius a domino electi sunt a quo sunt omnium regnorum potestates, quam a summo pontifice declarati, perditissima audacia lacerare? Caue tibi, lingua dolosa, ne Deus destruat te in finem, euellet te et emigret te de tabernaculo tuo, et radicem tuam de terra uiuentium! Sed haec illi uiderunt qui fecerunt linguam suam nouaculam acutam, et sedentes aduersus fratrem suum tota die concinnabant dolos. Sed haec illi uiderunt.

Nos interea reliquas Petri uirtutes, non quibus debemus, sed quibus possumus, laudibus persequamur. Itaque ut propositus ordo postulat, nunc ipsius prudentiam contemplemur, quamuis eius excellentia iam per ea quae narrauimus magna ex parte potuit esse manifesta. Quamobrem tantum eam partem attingam qua ita sese inter principes Christianos gessit ut, cum unius erga eum beniuolentiam consideres, credas ab aliis minime dilectum. Lex quippe amicitiae ita habet ut amicos inimicorum minime diligamus. Hic tamen sua prudentia consecutus est ut aequae carus omnibus haberetur; nec ullus esset qui eius amicitiam ultro non expeteret, et adeptam studiis omnibus non coleret atque foueret. Ostendit id nouissima haec ipsius legatio, in qua [24r] omnes Italiae populi singulique ipsorum principes summis decertarunt studiis quisnam eum amplioribus honoribus exciperet et prosequeretur, illeque se uicisse putabat qui plurima in eum ornamenta contulisset. In quibus acceptandis adeo prudens temperamentum inibat ut, cum omnium communis esset amicus, singuli tamen sibi eum uendicasse putabant. Vnde sua illi negotia credebant, et rerum omnium summam fidei ipsius ultro committebant. Fallebat neminem, et communem rem gerendo, singulorum tamen uidebatur aduocatus.

Secedebat bis terque per diem in cubiculum aut in aliquem secretiorem locum in quo ad multam horam deambulando summas reipublicae Christianae rationes tacitus secum computabat. Totas enim animi uires, postquam a legatione redierat, in pacem Italiae et perfidi hostis Christiani exitum intenderat. Id unum moliebatur, id parabat, illuc omnia sua studia conuerterat – fecissetque uotis satis ni eum nobis haec dira atque crudelis mors tam repente praeripuisset! Vincebat ingenio humana consilia, et tantum grauioribus reipublicae curis natus uidebatur. Haec erat praecipua eius uoluptas, a qua nullis aliis oblectamentis poterat diuelli, huius delectabatur gustu, huius solius escis pascebatur.

Omnium saluti die noctuque inseruiebat, et tamen a nonnullis negligentiae accusabatur, quem tanquam superbum difficilemque ingrati criminabantur cum tamen et mitissimus esset et facillimus. Nouit hoc tantus domesticorum eius numerus, norunt amici et alii omnes qui eius familiaritate usi fuerunt, quibus semper, cum per publicas licuisset curas, placidum sese exhibebat, affabilem, comem, benignum, ut socium crederes, non dominum. Tanta uero animi [24v] moderatione erat ut irasceret perraro, iratus autem extemplo animum ad tranquillitatem reuocaret. De nullo obloquebatur, detrahebat nemini, et, nisi familiarium suorum, aliorum uitae minime erat curiosus. Maximum eius conuictum putabatur si quem, quod tamen parcissime fiebat, per iocum aliquo urbanitatis sale respersisset. Cibi uinique moderatissimi, somnolentiae nullius, immo uero peruigil, et qui multis quotidie horis auroram solitus esset praeoccupare, quod totum tempus usque ad solis exortum grauioribus reipublicae cogitationibus impendere consueuerat; quae tales menti eius assidue obuersabantur quales mortalium animis uix illabi posse putares. In cognatos ac necessarios nequaquam prodigus, immo uero maxime parcus,

excepto hoc piissimo fratre, comite Hieronymo. Quem quoniam ab inclito duce Mediolani connubio filiae dignatum cernebat, uoluit fraterna munificentia illustrare. Qua in re tale temperamentum adhibuit ut id cum ingenti honore ac laude sedis apostolicae contingeret. Urbem enim Imolam, quae iam praefecti eius culpa ad alios deuenerat, quadraginta milibus ducatorum de propriis facultatibus redemptam imperio ecclesiae restituit; cuius exaugendi tanto flagrabat studio ut ne minimam quidem eius particulam deperire pateretur. Vnde urbem illam magis ecclesiae quam fratris gratia uoluit uendicare.

Porro iustitiam ipsius ex illo spectare licet quod in tanta rerum potestate constitutus nemini uim attulit, nullum uiolenter oppressit. Vnde et uicario illi Imolae, quamuis de ecclesia male merito, non solum uictum, sed nihil prioribus minores [25r] fortunas dari curauit. Quattuordecim enim milia ducatorum accepit, et opulentissimum oppidum Bosti, ex quo et aliis a duce adiectis praediis plus quam quinque milia ducatorum quotannis capere poterit; neque Imolam nisi eo uolente redimere uoluit. Magistratus hortabatur ius suum absque ullo respectu cuique administrare. Et licet nonnumquam domesticorum amicorumque euictus precibus, aut litteris aut nunciis multos iudicibus commendaret, id tamen citra cuiusque iniuriam fieri uolebat. Vnde et cum a gubernatore urbis aliquando interrogaretur quidnam de illis, qui iniustam causam fouentes tamen ipsius nomine commendabantur, "Illud," inquit, "ut iustitiam mearum precum gratia minime uiolens, nec secus feceris etiam si te germanus meus Hieronymus nomine meo aliud precabitur." Hoc ipsum et senatori urbis interrogatus respondit, hoc gubernatoribus, hoc praefectis, hoc omnibus legationis suae iudicibus saepe mandabat. Dicebat enim se amicis operam suam rogantibus negare non posse, sed illius causa non nisi iustum honestumque fieri permaxime uelle. Hinc et rescripta non nisi sanctissima faciebat, atque, ne cui ministrorum peccandi daretur occasio, omnium decretorum suorum similiter et litterarum exemplaria apud notarios exstare iusserat. Huius praeclarissimae uirtutis nec moriens obliuisci potuit; nam cum hortaretur ab amicis testamentum condere, "Nihil," inquit, "meum habeo; omnia sunt ecclesiae. Supplicabitis tamen meo nomine summo pontifici ut aes alienum, cuius maiorem partem pro redimendis ecclesiae rebus contraxi, pro sua benignitate dissoluat."

Cogor hoc loco potissimas eius praetermittere [25v] laudes, cum temporis exclusus angustia, tum ipsarum rerum multitudine superatus. Qualem se erga amicos, qualem erga parentes, et praesertim qualem erga ipsum summum pontificem gesserit, malo haec omnia in aliud tempus differre quam adeo felicem meritorum ipsius copiam pauca dicendo uitare. Illud unum dicam, cunctis qui eius consuetudinem nouerunt attestantibus, nullum fuisse tam piissimum filium, nullum adeo parenti deditum, aut cui maior et salutis et honoris genitoris sui cura fuit, quam huic uni summi pontificis nostri a prima eius familiaritatis die usque ad ultimum uitae exitum. Nullos pro eo recusauit subire labores, nulla pericula deuittauit; laborantem, aegrotantem, peregrinantem nunquam deseruit, nunquam ab officio decessit, semperque, ut datus a domino Tobiae angelus, lateri haesit, aduersa procurauit, accersiuit prospera, pia sedulitate fouit, coluit, ueneratus est, ut nemini mirum uideri debeat si aut uiuentem tantum dilexit, aut nunc mortui desiderio adeo moueatur.

Finem dicendi faciam si prius illud summum eius pietatis munus paucis explicauero. Compositis rebus suis totam mentem ad illud conuerterat ut dicere cum psalmista libere posset: "Domine, dilexi decorem domus tuae et gloriam habitationis tuae." Proinde non cessabat ecclesias suae curae commendatas collapsas erigere, exornare deformes, praedia occupata uendicare, bona priorum rectorum [26r] distracta negligentia propriis pecuniis

recuperare, uestimenta, libros, uasa sacra, et caetera ad splendorem diuini cultus spectantia maximis sumptibus coemere, et quam prestantiora haberi poterant, comparare. Testatur hanc eius munificentiam in hac Romana urbe diui Gregorii templum, et prouentibus optime auctum et aedificiis perquam magnifice instauratum. Testatur Taruixii maior basilica non paruis ditata uectigalibus, et diuino cultu maxime illustrata. Testatur Mediolani Ambrosii monasterium quod, cum accepisset omnibus ornamentis spoliatum, tam praeclara instruxit suppellectili ut, quod prius caeteris illius urbis obscurius esse consueuerat, nunc splendore et omnifario apparatu uincat uniuersa. Testatur Papiiae Maioli fanum, in quo ne unum quidem uasculum in sacrificium reperit, libros autem prorsus nullos, adeo ut, quotiens diuina res patranda erat, opus esset ab aliis sacris aedibus omnia mutuari. Nunc tanta cum omnium, tum praecipue libellorum, calicum, ac uestimentorum copia abundat ut aliae ecclesiae mutuuum, quod prestare solebant, ab hac una omnes accipiant. Huius eiusdem fani distracta praedia multis laboribus, sed multo maioribus impensis, omnia recuperauit, et intra biennium plus quam decem milia ducatorum pro exaugendis rebus eius exposuit. Haec quoque sacra apostolorum aedes beneficentiam eius testari potuisset [26v] si tantum quatuor mensibus superstitem uidisset. Iam enim decreuerat et aedificiis et prouentibus hac proxima aestate ita eam instruere ut quinquaginta fratribus et commodae mansiones et necessarius uictus perpetuo suppetere posset. Insuper et bibliothecam his proximis diebus adiecturus erat, praestantissimis omnium scientiarum libris egregie refertam. Sed Dei uoluntate nobis tam repente ademptus est, non quod tam pijs operibus non delectaretur Deus, uerum – quod ualde pertimesco – ut eum calamitatibus, quibus forsitan in nostra crimina desaeuire decreuit, immeritum subtraheret, et pro adimpleto bene ministerio, cuius gratia eum procreauerat, congruis praemiis afficere non differret.

Cuius miserationis dilectionisque certa indicia in ipsius uidimus morte, quam, cum multis ante diebus aduentare praesentiret, intrepidus tamen expectauit. Languoris dolores mira patientia pertulit. Delicta, quae uel aetatis uel fortunae uitio pro fragilitate humana contraxerat, pia confessione saepius diligentiusque purgauit; et munitus caelesti uiatico, quod summa cum deuotione acceperat, diuinam uoluntatem accinctus praestolabatur. Iamque uicinus morti domesticos ac familiares accersiri iubet. Quibus praesto exsistentibus, in nullos prorupit fletus, nullis mundanarum cupiditatum desiderijs ingemuit, non Deum, non fortunam accusauit, nec se in medio iuuentutis flore ex tanto imperio et ex talibus operibus subtrahi uel leuiter indoluit; quin magno constantique pectore:

Sentio, inquit, filii fratresque mei, manum domini super me aggruari; uolens lubensque eius praesto sum uoluntati, [27r] eo quidem libentior quo me et famae et gloriae meae satis uixisse scio. Cepi enim illum ex hac mortalitate fructum quem maximum mea fortuna capere potuit; maius restabat nihil, quicquid supererat, merito mihi suspectum metuendumque fuisset. Proinde licet cupiam dissolui et esse cum Christo, uor tamen sola uestrarum rerum cura. Cognosco enim me tenuem uobis mercedem pro meritis exhibuisse, tametsi nunquam mihi uoluntas defuerit, sed facultas. Et nisi tanta temporis angustia prohibitus fuisset, nullus uestrum meae gratitudinis uices doleret. Meritum, quod potui, moriens uobis persolui: supplicauit summo pontifici ut beneficia quae in me contulerat, sua clementia inter uos partiat, ut et uos meritorum uestrorum et me non praestiti officij minus paeniteat.

Ad haec compellit me et uehementius urget mea erga uos incredibilis caritas ut uos

horter atque obtester ne huius mundi illecebris atque lenociniis animum uestrum inducatis, neue in luxu ac inanibus eius diuitiis spem ullam ponatis, quae quam fluxae quamque fallaces sint, ego unus uobis maximo possum esse documento. Credite quoniam puluis et umbra sumus, et non hic, sed alibi permanentes habemus mansiones, ubi nihil corruptibile, nihil caducum esse potest, sed omnia incorruptibilia, omnia sempiterna. Proinde date operam probitati, et uirtuti totis uiribus incumbite; colite pietatem et integritati nihil anteponite, scientes unicuique uestrum propositam esse a domino laborum suorum mercedem. Quae etiam si nulla esset, hoc tamen ipsum pie et sancte uixisse maxima uiro bono merces esse debet, [27v] quippe cuius beneficio homines a brutis secernuntur, et nomen suum sempiternae consecrant immortalitati.

Reliquum est quod uos per uiscera misericordiae saluatoris nostri supplex deprecor ut mihi quaecumque in uos deliqui condonare dignemini. Minus quippe meae iuuentutis potens fui, et nonnunquam partim oculos, partim aures uestras in multis offendi. Sed eorum tanto facilius me a domino misericordiam consecuturum confido quanto uos modestius uiuentes pro me dominum deprecabimini; ego quoque, si quis mortuis erit sensus, idem pro uobis me spondeo facturum. Viuite mei memores et, quam caduca sit huius mundi felicitas, uel meo exemplo discite.

His atque aliis huiusmodi plerisque summa cum religione sanctissime monitos, singulos flentes eiulantesque deosculatus dimisit. Se autem in lectulo componens, intentis iugiter in caelum oculis, misericordiam peccatorum suorum supplex a domino precabatur. Cumque iam nox intempesta medium cursum peregisset, conuersus ad Viterbiensem praesulem "Ecce," inquit, "appropinquat iam hora. Affer mihi sacrae unctionis oleum." Quod confestim cubiculo illatum nudato ac sublato, ut poterat, capite, religiose ueneratus est; deinde exhibitis manibus ac pedibus rite perunctus. Quo facto, "Proferte," inquit, "sacros codices, et aliquid de diuinis mysteriis meam domino animam commendantes recitate." Quibus mox prolatis usque in lucem partim psalmi decantati sunt, partim lecta euangelia, semperque intentus auribus atque oculis in ea quae legebantur, etiam deficiente spiritu, perstitit donec [28r] lector dominicae passionis ad illum locum peruenit ubi scriptura inquit, "Et inclinato capite emisit spiritum." Ad hanc uocem, illa delecta Deo anima, ueluti certo accepto signo, ad dominum suum confestim euolauit.

O felix atque iterum felix cui et uita summam dedit gloriam et mors ipsa meritam diuinitatem non denegauit! Non est ergo quod eius casu ingemiscere habeamus, quoniam in paucis annis maximam aetatem compleuit; nec sibi nec gloriae suae parum uixit qui, quaecumque unius hominis fortuna capere potuit, abunde consecutus est. Nobis forsan amplius uiuere poterat, et nimirum magno et ornamento et utilitati; sed non est amicorum officium sua commoda ex amici spectare incommodis. Quicquid superuixisset, doloribus superuixisset et laboribus. Quibus quoniam eum diuina clementia misericorditer subduxit, gratias illi agamus atque dicamus, "Dominus dedit, dominus abstulit. Sicut domino placuit, ita factum est. Sit nomen domini benedictum. Amen"

ET HIC EST FINIS