Avogadro (Alberto) da Vercelli, che viveva al tempo del celebre Cosimo Medici, è Autore d’un’Opera in versi elegiaci divisa in due Libri che ha per titolo: De religione et Magnificentia Cosmi Medicis. Questa è stata ultimamente inserita nel Tomo XII della Raccolta intitolata Delicæ eruditorum etc. pubblicata dal celebre Sig. Gio. Lami che l’ha tratta da un Codice della Libreria Medicea Laurenziana. Egli è però d’avertire che due testi a penna di tal Opera, per testimonianza del Montfaucon, si conservano nella suddetta Libreria. In uno di questi, ch’è nel Banco XXXIV No. XLVI si chiama L’Autore Albertus Advogadrius, ma nell’altro ch’è nel Banco LIV No. XII vien ditto Alberto Avogradius, ove si vede il manifesto sbaglio nel cognome, di chi lo trascrisse. Tratta L’Avogadro in questa Opera delle Chiese, e d’altri superbi edifici costruiti da Cosimo Medici, con gran lodi del medesimo, benchè non molto felicemente esprisse dalla sua Musa piuttosto rozza, ed incolta.

Thus wrote Mazzuchelli more than 200 years ago [1] and there is unfortunately nothing relevant subsequent research has been able to add to his information about the author and to his estimate of the poem; except the fact reported by Bandini without stating his authority, that the poet died in 1465. The purpose of this note is merely to rectify a minor error made by Mazzuchelli and Bandini regarding the published text [2] and thus to bring to the notice of scholars a better version which turns out to be of considerable interest to historians of Renaissance taste. The manuscript which will thus be rehabilitated is a fine specimen of that art of humanist book production [3] to which Dr. Giovanni Mardersteig has given so much care and attention and it therefore gives me special pleasure to publish this rectification in a volume in his honour.

The two texts to which Mazzuchelli refers are still preserved in the same Plutei of the Laurenziana though their pressmarks were changed by Bandini. One is Laur. 34, 46: ‘Codex membranac. MS in [octavo] Saec. XV. nitidissimus, cum stemmate gentis Medicieae in principio, et initialibus singulorum Operum pictis. Constat foliis scriptis 51.’ Avogadro’s poem is preceded by Giovanni Aurelio’s Elegies and starts on f.28r.

It is this codex which contains the correct text. However, Lami’s version is based on the other text in the Laurenziana, in Plut.54, Cod, 10, where it forms No. LIV of B. Scala’s Collectiones Cosmianae. This interesting codex was compiled by Scala after the death of Cosimo and contains all the eulogies of the Pater Patriae he could lay hands on. Valuable as this collection is to the student of Renaissance ideals [4], it shows signs of haste. The text of Avogadro’s poem, like the spelling of his name, is marred by many errors due, no doubt, to careless copying. The description of the Badia of Fiesole, and of the Villa di Careggi were particularly badly mangled by transpositions and omissions.[5]

However, the ‘Musa piuttosto rozza, ed incolta’ of our poet must have acted as such an effective deterrent to students of humanist poetry that these blatant confusions have apparently passed unnoticed. But though the literary value of these rather clumsy panegyrics is indeed slight, some of the implications of these descriptions are sufficiently intriguing to justify the publication of the correct text.

The opening panegyric of Cosimo’s achievements in ‘moving mountains’ to make room for Timoteo da Verona’s reconstructed Badia (35V, 5-36r.12) warns us from the outset not to take the poet’s words at their face value. What he describes as Cosimo’s instruction at the request of Timoteo (36v, 1-2) is
obviously an architectonic fantasy, a poetic ekphrasis with very little basis in fact. What it can show us, on the other hand, is how a scholar from Vercelli, writing in the fourteen sixties envisaged an ideal building of this kind.

We find the architect planning a porphyry gateway (36v, 15-16) whence marble steps lead to the vaulted cloisters, planted with cypress trees and supported by twin columns, one of which is always of coloured material, the other of white marble (37r, 1-8). After enumerating the various offices on which Filarete and Vespasiano also laid much stress, the tailor, the infirmary, the kitchen and the refectory with marble tables, seats of cypress wood and glazed windows (37r, 8-16), the cellars, the upper floor with fifty cells served by a marble staircase (37v, 1-15), we come to the projected library, that library which Vespasiano and his shop supplied with books at the very time when Avogadro probably wrote his poem. Its entrance is of gilt marble, crowned with a figure of Apollo playing the lyre to the dance of the Muses (38r, 5-10); Calliope with grave mien here dances with Vergil, sprightly Ovid ventures a hop with Thalia, while Melpomene tries in vain to persuade even Seneca to join in (38r, 11-16).

The fairy-tale library itself with its brass threshold, its ivory doors, gilt beams, windows of crystal set in silver, its gaily decorated walls and its images indicating the sections with their books chained with silver chains and bound in gold (38v, 3-39r, 2) surely justifies the poet’s naïve exclamation ‘where in the world such a work could be seen?’

But the most interesting, because least conventional part of the poem is the description of the church: rising over marble steps the façade is topped by the image of St. Batholomew. On the entrance there is a gilt marble relief of the Coronation of the Virgin surrounded by singing and music making Seraphim and Cherubim. On the right there is St. Augustine, the patron of the order, on the left St. Timotheus the patron of the Prior (39r, 5-16).

Like the Library relief with its Apollo and its dancing Muses which recall Rimini, this façade could be easily imagined in terms of Agostino di Duccio’s style, especially San Bernardino at Perugia (1461).

But a surprise awaits us when we enter the church. For even if we disregard the hyperbolic accumulation of gold and gems we find ourselves in an interior of unusual character: an enormous wooden cross, encased in gold, rises in the centre from the mosaic pavement (39v, 7-40r, 2). There are six side chapels with altars of alabaster covered with purple cloth on either side of the nave enclosed by iron grills (40r, 4-8). The choir which houses the bishop’s throne of ivory has another alabaster altar covered with purple and a golden ancona (40r, 9-16). It will be crowned by a large cupola or apse with a gold mosaic showing the Lamb surrounded by the twelve apostles, six on either side (40v, 1-6). This idea, of course, recalls Ravenna rather than any Renaissance interior.

After this, the recital of the Sacristy’s fabulous treasures with its one hundred purple vestments, its chalices and ‘countless’ crosses, candlesticks, censers and choirbooks (40v, 7-41 r, 10), comes as an anticlimax. There will, of course, also be a campanile (41r, 11-12). The conclusion of the description, finally, with its reference to a well supposed to hold the bones of early martyrs adds a mediaeval touch.

The chimerical character of this description can be excused, if excused it must be, by the fact that the poem purports to describe a plan rather than a real building. From this point of view the lines we can restore to the description of Cosimo’s country villa (which must be Careggi) are more tantalizing. Like the description of the city palace to which I have drawn attention elsewhere [6] they raise the question whether this kind of rhetorical amplificatio was even meant to be read as a record of reality. We can
believe the fact that Cosimo’s coat of arms with the red **palle** on a golden background was displayed at the entrance (43v, 9-10), but what about the many marbles? There are Fauns and Satyrs and other divinities of the forest, Latona suckling Diana on her left breast and Apollo on her right; Jove fearlessly drinking from the udder of the goat. Orpheus is seen placating Pluto and, nearby, having broken the law he is mourning his loss of Euridice. Nearby Arion is shown singing on his dolphin (43v 11 – 44r 12). This last is another strange echo of an enigmatic relief by Agostino di Duccio in the Tempio Malatestiano. Finally there is a large marble font or horse trough enlivened by a ‘manikin pis’ (44r, 13-16), a motif later taken up by the **Hypnerotomachia Poliphili**. We can skip the generalities of the remainder, the large arcaded courtyard and the exclamations at more signs of princely splendour, though the large window where two can sit is a disarming touch and the view through the window at the smiling countryside almost poetic. But these lines (44v, 3-14) were also printed in Lami and do not add to our knowledge.

The most interesting feature of the restored parts of the poem remains the echo of early Christian church decoration in the description of the apse mosaic of the Badia. It supports the hypothesis, recently put forward by several students of the period, that the Quattrocento looked with particular interest at early Christian art before the supposed destruction of the arts by the Goths.[7] Just as St. Jerome was acceptable to the Humanists so San Paolo Fuori le Mura was probably acceptable to Quattrocento painters and architects.

Yet it would be rash to scrutinize this literary product too closely for evidence of the taste and outlook of the Renaissance; for it shares with other humanist texts a curious blindness for that art which, to our mind, dominates the creative life of the period – the art of painting.

There is a famous passage in Pliny [8] where he attributes the decline of painting to the increasing love of luxury with its display of precious material. It is somewhat ironical that many Renaissance *literati* inherited this bias from classical poetry and loaded their descriptions with gold and ivory, marble and bronze. Most of them failed to notice the distinctive contribution which painting had made when, in the hands of the great theoreticians, it became the most intellectual of all the arts. Avogadro’s descriptions appear to share this primitive bias of the conventional eulogy; yet the passage quoted also contains a precious and intriguing piece of evidence to suggest that the tide was turning. I mean the introductory comparison of Cosimo preparing to crown his patronage in his old age with a foundation worthy of his renown, with ‘that painter’ who desired eternal fame. While he was young he spent his time in learning, but when he felt that time was getting short he asked himself whether his name should die with him: ‘Should I not extract an image from my brain and mind that will secure me a lasting reputation even after my death?’ Deeds followed his words and the old man’s work was worthy of perpetual fame (35v, 7-16). Who would not love to know what were Avogadro’s sources for this story and whether he had any particular painter in mind? If he alluded to a master of his own time the candidate must certainly be one who was born before 1400 and belonged to the generation of Uccello and Filippo Lippi, if not to that of Fra Angelico. Alas, it is useless to speculate any further, but whoever he was, the wording of the *simile* illuminates for a fleeting moment the change in the estimation of painting shortly before Verrocchio’s workshop in Florence accepted a young apprentice from Vinci.

1 G.M. Mazzucchelli, *Gli scrittori d’Italia*, Brescia 1753
2 Io. Lamius, *Deliciae Eruditorum*, XII, Florentiae 1742, 117-149. I have previously drawn attention to this source in my chapter on *The Early Medici as Patrons of Art* in *Italian Renaissance Studies*, ed. E.F. Jacob, London 1960, 294-296, where unfortunately I also misnamed the author.
3 Pl. XVIII

5 The dislocation begins in LAMI, *Deliciae...*, 128 verse 3 where (our) fol. 35v, 4 "Phoebe fides" is followed by 37v, 3, 'Et ne quid desit'. The text in Lami then continues from there correctly to ff.38r, 38v, 39r, 39v, only to return after 4 lines of that page to 35v ‘Hic canimus montes’ (Lami p.130 verse 19). The sequence again continues correctly to 36r, 36v, 37r, 37v, but after two lines of this (in Lami p. 133 after verse 10) we get 41v line 8, continued to 42r, 42v, 43r, 43v and here, having reached the description of Careggi in Book II (Lami p.137 verse 5) we get the description of the church interior of the Badia i.e. 39v, 40r, 40v, 41r (Lami, p.139 after verse 8) where after the total omission of 23 lines concerned with Careggi we resume at last the correct text with the words ‘Sunt thalami’.

6 See my chapter *The early Medici etc.loc.cit.*


8 *Hist. Nat. XXXV, 50*

**APPENDIX [1]**

ALBERTI ADVOGADRII VERCELLENSIS  
DE RELIGIONE, ET MAGNIFICENTIA ILLUSTRIS  
COSMI MEDICES FLORENTINI

Fol. 35r *Singularis Descriptio Abbatiae Fesulanae Canonicorum Regularium*  
divi Augustini

Delius inspirate vates et dissona plectra  
Temperat et molles tendit et arte fides.

35v Cura illi est cytharae, calami quoque cura strepentis,  
Cura est defessi vatis inire comes.

Nunc opus est cytharam cures: sunt magna canenda,  
Atque opus est nostras tendere, Phoebe, fides.

5 Hic canimus montes, hic et memoranda per annos,  
Hic canitur toto Cosmus in orbe senex.

Cosme, reor doctum pictorem te esse secutum,  
Nomen qui eternum post sua fat cupit.

Nam dum mollis eum passim sua detinet aetas,  
10 Discit et accedunt tempus et ars pariter.

Sed postquam insenuit cernens breve tempus adesse,  
Dicit: Ego an moriar, nomen et omne meum?

Non faciam a cerebro extractam aut a mente figuram  
Quae mihi, et si moriar, nomina longa dabit?>

15 Dixit et extemplo dictum sua facta sequuntur;  
Et facit aeterno nominee digna senex.

36r Tu quoque, cum fueras iuvenis, iuvenilia terris  
Extruis, atque etiam carmine digna gravi.

Si tamen haec specites, quae post iuvenilia facta  
Templa facis, nihil est quo iuvenile probes.

5 Hic nihil extructrum fuerat; vestigia saltem,
Quae tibi adnitenti condere signa darent.
Sed fuerant saevi montes nemorosaque saxa,
Magna, inquam, et rupes - o sine lege locum!-
Tu rupem in veram duxisti robore nummi
10  Planitiem - quis hic saxa fuisse feret? -
Post montem abscisum - certe haec sunt digna Maronis
Ingenio, et sacro carmine digna dei -
Exstruitur domus alta tibi: domus invida nulli,
Sive sit in Latio, seu sit in orbe, reor.
15  O quantas - nec falsa loquor -, pater alme Thimoteu,
Cosmus habet grates, tempore quas referet,
36v  Cum fueris tu causa prior quod conderet arcem,
Arcem hanc quam verbis dicit inisse tuis;
Precipue cum tu Cosmi sub nomine librum
Tradis et ad caelos se et sua magna canis
5  Eliceris verbis - ait hic - se saxa movere
Sponte sua, et duro scindere se silices.
Hinc primum in faciles fessos convertere montes
Congit; et hinc scissus mons ruit ima petens
Hinc mandat fieri fossas, fondareque muros,
10  Fondamenta quibus alta fuisse iubet,
Ne pereant: nam vult ingenita pondera gestent;
Et iubet ut dentur tempora longa seni.
Haud mora, vult celeres operis doctorsque magistros
15  Ille quidem doctus chartis notat mone, domumque
Annotat.  Hic stabit ianua porphirea;
37r  Post portam mandat fiatque hic porticus ampla,
Hic scalae, hicque gradus marmore primus eat.
Claustria etiam signat, tantis sint passibus, atque
Arbor erit medio, sed cyparissus, erit.
5  Claustraque candenti sint vult testudine structa;
Pondera et unius bina columna regat.
Altera sit variis distincta coloribus; et quae
Fit comes, haec niveo marmore levis erit.
10  Hic locus est his quos febris iniqua permit.
Verte pedem, hic fiat, mando, duce digna conquina;
Hic vas quod limphas praebet aere manu.
Nunc venio ad sedes capient quis fercula patres.
Omne procul lignum, ni, cyparisse, tuum.
15  Sed mensae cupimus fiant de marmore vivio,
Claraque sit vitro quaque fenestra suo.
37v  Advena si fuerit quivis, hac parte locetur:
Hic comedat, sitque hic non procul ipse torus.
Et ne quid desit, sint subterranea tecta
Quae patribus servent vina phalerna meis.
5  Hic scalae per quas itur loca summa petenti:
Sint niveae, sunt marmoreique gradus.
Quinquagintaque sint talami, quos nomine cellas
Dicimus, his totidem stent volo rite patres,
Et quia tot patribus victum dare templa negarent
10  Pauperie, ut vivant proxima culta dabo.
Quaeque suo fuerit pluteo patris inclita cella,
Quo poterit sacrís instuduisse pater.
Lustrentur caelae vitro; sint hostia busso
Et parvam claudat bussea valva domum.
15  Fine dato cellis, nil deest; tamen omnia desunt>.
Cosmus ait, spectans quid sua charta petat.
Inde locum inspiciens quem fors sua charta notabat
Inquit: Hic, volo, - et est finis domui, mea dicta notate -
Digna suis fiat bibliotheca libris.
5  Fulgeat in primis aurato marmore porta,
Sit caelata meo dextraque laeva modo.
Sederit aurato cum pectine Phoebus in altum
Plectra movens. Quae tum cogituir ire lapsi!
Et circumpoteris turbam vidisse verendam
10  Ludere, et ad sonitum gramine ferre pedem.
Gramina Calliope magno comitante Marone
Calcat prima, pedes sed movet ore gravi.
Naso celer pedibus, vel fors lasciva Thalia
Cogit, agit motu mollia crura levi.
15  Dira canens moesto Senecam Molpomona vultu
Increpat, ad choream quod negat ire dei.
Atque alii, quos nunc longum arrare fuisset,
Dicentur, tunc cum venerit hora rei.
Post haec aurato stridebit cardine porta,
Aereque supposito marmore limen erit.
5  Et labor in foribus fiet: volo fiat eburnus,
Auratæ et valvis stet sera digna suis.
Auratæque trabes ponam, et cristallina nectam
Argento, ut fiat digna fenestra loco.
Et paries dehinc quisque suas per prata figures
10  Laetus erit, campis emulus Elysiis.
Atque libros sibi quaeque suos servabit imago:
Illa aethicam, haec satyras, illaque ficta sibi,
Ista theologicos; sunt curae huic scripta sophiae:
Grata suo Domino urbs stat quoque tuta Dei.
15  Ne prior in varios mutetur et ordo, catena
Argento vincius quiseque libellus erit;
Veste quidem merita talem meruisse catenam:
Aurea nam feurit. Non ego vana loquor:
Posse opus hoc factum est: dicet quis orbe videri
5  Nunc venio ad templum - facies mihi prima notanda est -,
Ad quod scandetur marmoreis gradibus.
Lata erit haec facies surgenti ad sydera molle,
Cuius apex divum, qui sine pelle, tenet.
In foribusque aurata Dei de marmore Mater,
10 Cui natus capiti regia serta locat. Hinc circum seraphina cohors cherubinaque et inde, Quae plectra et dulci carmine voce movent. Dextra tenet divum qui tant volumina fecit Quanta ullus qui sit; sed mihi crede duo. 15 Laeva tuam sevat formam, divine Thimoteu, Qui fuisti antistes Ephesia urbe pius. 39v Portaque, ne factum nihil et simul omnia credant, Porphyrea ius est sit fabricata petra. Ferreus hinc valvis cardo stridebit aenis, Limina composites aerea sint gradibus. 5 Ingredere: haec loca tecta suo fas cernere plumbo est. Auratas cernes per pai templo trabes. Ora tenes terrisque oculos te iudice prona Parva bonas gemmas esse lapilla feres. Nam sicut in coelis volvunt se sydera bis sex, 10 Quorum aries fertur iure tenere caput; Sic ego quae credes gemmas signare lapillis Incipiam, deero cum sua finis erit. Et quae etiam sunt signa polo, nec plurima septem, Tectaque Cretheo sint data summa lovi. 15 Ingens crux medium decorabit linea templi, Qua visa poterit flectere quisque genu. 40r Non tamen hanc credas, quamivis sit lignea, quod sit Vilis, nanque aurum est, quod sacra ligna tegit. Forte feres, Cosme, hic non sunt parva ula sacella. Bis sex sunt nobis aedificanda, nota. 5 Ornaboque aras ardenti murice et ostro, Quas faciet digas petra alabasta togis. Firma crates cuncta haec servabit munda sacello Ferrea, et hanc claudet clave reclusa sera. Nunc venio ante chorum : sedes ubi stabit eburna, 10 Conspicuis patribus splendida facta suis. Pelle caret divus, pellem tamen illius ara Portat: nam Tyrio murice tegmen habet. Atque alabastra petra est ingenti pondere tegmen, Pondera quae Latio sunt sine sorte pari. 15 Auro ancona sum decorabit fulgida templum, Maior quae adverso lumine damna geret. 40v Hic caput excelsi magna testudine templi Fiet, qua picti velleris agnus erit. Et circum bis sex non uno nomine divi Astabunt, hac sex, hac quoque erunt totidem. 5 Non pitura, sed haec erit auro forma lapilli, Quae musae vulgo dicitur esse labor. Haec domus est in qua ponent sacra omnia patres Sive velis aurum, tegmina sive velis. Primum laeta situ est, vitrea quoque laeta fenestra, 10 Laeta penu et cedruo, quod sacra cuncta tegat.
Quid teget incipiam: primum sint tegmina centum
Purpurea, his vadunt ad sua sacra patres;
Sint totidem pro aris calices; teget altera centum
Cellula, et innumeris dissimili arte cruces.
15 Crux tamen illa prior quanto cum pondere nummi
Facta erit, et qualem iaspide culta suo!
41r Haec loca erunt pedibus, per quos candela tenetur,
Et vasis, per quos thuris habetur odor.
Haec auro et gemmis fuerint fabricata, nec ullus
Credita haec multam velle tenere stipem.
5 Atque haec pro libris cultu maioreque forma
Nobilibus, legitur lectio sancta quibus.
Hic et reliquia divorum et corpora Christi,
His dabimus multum et sine fine stipem.
Servabis, cupimus, quivis haec sacra tenebis,
10 Nulla his invenies divitiae tuis.
Turris digna suis erit hic mihi condita templis,
Quantaque sint ubi vis timpana magna feret.
Haec dicta a Cosmo. Forte hic erat emula linguæ,
Quae verbis Cosmum aperiit adire suis.
15 Pictor agit. Claris ultima picta locis
41v Tu quibus en videas. Sed qua ratione percatum est?
Dic age nec sunt hoc corpora sancta loco?
Tum pater, et gravibus verbis, Archangelus infit,
Qui fuerat patrum duxque paterque prior:
5 < Quisquis es advertas, es memini audisse per orbem
Quanta erat his saxis urbs Fesulana prius
Aut quot divorum fuerint ibi corpora caesa
Et caesa in puteo praecipitata sacro.
Sis ubi sit puteus, venias: te iudice dices
10 Esse pius templum hoc quam sacra tempia Petri>
Cosmus enim accoepit parties pia verba verendi;
Atque ait: Est potior non ea causa, pater.
Haec potis est: tanta capior dulcedine vestri,
15 Et capior vita, claris quoque moribus, et quod
Haec vestra in Latio regula prima fuit.
42r Et pater est vobis doctorum primus, et ille
Quem celebrat tantis laudibus Aecclesia.
Hic vos canonicos dixit. Sed regula iuncta est.
Non hos vult heremiis nomen habere quibus
5 Unde velut cunctis vestra haec est regula nobis
Dignior? Hinc illam do potiore loco>

II [3]
Quis prohibet partem post religiosa secundam?
Non ne duas partes iste libellus habet?
43v Musa, fave inceptis: adisis, rogo, pulcher Apollo,
Vela nothis dedimus: suggere verba, precor.
Scripsimus et quantum licuit, mi Cosme, sacella;
Muto meos numeros: atria magna peto.

5 Atria et in primis quae sunt tibi condita ruri,
Digna suis dominis, atria digna deis.
Quid deest non novi: sunt alta palatial coelo
Et lata: et summo cardine porta sedet.

In foribus tua signa vigent, caelataque in auro
10 Stat pila, quae ardentis rubra colore micat.
Sunt etiam phauni, Satyros saltare bicornes
Videris et nemoris numina multa sacri;
Videris et natos Latonam ferre gemellos:
Leva nutrit comitem, dextra mamilla marem.

15 Tondentem virgulta vides peruclta capellam
Pascere, et in cultis ubera ferre lovi.
Ille manum adiciens dependet: et ubera siccat:
Nec timet incultae cornua longa caprae.

Parte alia infectum est, qua sit dulcedine victus
Dis, sua dum vates plectra canora movet.
5 Nec procul, ah miserum, rupta iam lege videres
Deflentem raptae coniugis ora suae.
Proximus his Pontus, scindit maris ultima delphin,
Qua rate de insanis fertur Arion aquis.
Ille natat: vatese cithara fidibusque canoris
10 Personat: insequitur turbar natantis aqua.
Cunctaque marmoreis sunt haec celata figures,
Haud secus est quam si vera fuisse putes.

Dum sequor, ante oculos it fons de marmore vivo
Vivus, et a summo vertice mittit aquas.

15 Quas pueri inguinibus creduntur meiere in amplam
Pelvim, in qua potus stat sitientis equi.
Ille natat: vatese cithara fidibusque canoris
10 Personat: insequitur turbar natantis aqua.
Cunctaque marmoreis sunt haec celata figures,
Haud secus est quam si vera fuisse putes.

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15 Quas pueri inguinibus creduntur meiere in amplam
Pelvim, in qua potus stat sitientis equi.

Cod. Laur. Plut. 34,46.
2 carum, ms.
3 Description of Careggi from Book II.