

NeoLatina

Gian Vittorio Rossi's
Eudemiae libri decem

Edited and Translated with an Introduction and Notes
by Jennifer K. Nelson

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NeoLatina 36

Herausgegeben von Thomas Baier, Wolfgang Kofler,
Eckard Lefèvre und Stefan Tilg

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Gian Vittorio Rossi's *Eudemiae
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*To my late mother Judith Nelson.
You brought the Baroque to life and made it sing.*

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List of Abbreviations

DBI	<i>Dizionario biografico degli Italiani</i> . Treccani. www.treccani.it/biografie/
<i>Dialog. sept.</i>	<i>Iani Nicii Erythraei Dialogi septendecim</i> . Coloniae Ubiorum [i.e., Amsterdam]: Apud Iodocum Kalcovium [i.e., Joan Blaeu], 1645
<i>Ep. ad div. 1</i>	<i>Iani Nicii Erythraei Epistolae ad diversos</i> . Coloniae Ubiorum [i.e., Amsterdam]: Apud Iodocum Kalcovium [i.e., Joan Blaeu], 1645.
<i>Ep. ad div. 2</i>	<i>Iani Nicii Erythraei Epistolarum ad diversos volumen posterius</i> . Coloniae Ubiorum [i.e., Amsterdam]: Apud Iodocum Kalcovium [i.e., Joan Blaeu], 1649.
<i>Ep. ad Tyrr.</i>	<i>Iani Nicii Erythraei Epistolae ad Tyrrhenum</i> . Coloniae Ubiorum [i.e., Amsterdam]: Apud Iodocum Kalcovium [i.e., Joan Blaeu], 1645.
<i>Eud.</i> 1998	<i>Iani Nicii Erythraei Eudemiae libri decem</i> . Retiarus: Archivum Recentioris Latinitatis. Modern & Classical Languages, Literatures & Cultures (University of Kentucky, Lexington), 1998. https://mcl.as.uky.edu/liber-i
L&S	<i>A Latin Dictionary</i> . Rev. & ed. C. T. Lewis and C. Short. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879.
OCD	<i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , 4th edition. Edited by Esther Eidinow. Oxford University Press, 2012.

Abbreviations for Classical texts follow the conventions of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 4th edition. In the instances where a text is not in the OCD, the conventions of the Perseus Digital Library are followed. Citations to Classical texts follow the Loeb Classical Library editions from Harvard University Press, unless otherwise specified.

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Introduction

Gian Vittorio Rossi and *Eudemia*

Gian Vittorio Rossi had an ax to grind. His *Eudemiae libri decem* tells the story of Flavius Vopiscus Niger and Paulus Aemilius Verus, who escape from Rome in the aftermath of the conspiracy of Sejanus and become shipwrecked on Eudemia, an island located off the coast of Mauritania. They are rescued by a fellow Roman named Gallonius, who becomes their guide. The two travelers discover a society of Latin speakers governed by a class of people called *dynastae*, administered by incompetent *poliarchi* (senators) and magistrates, where petty rivalries thrive, hard work and skill are trumped by personal relationships and favors, and where, as Luisella Giachino puts it, everything revolves around the “sinister omnipresence and omnipotence of money.”¹ Writing under the pseudonym Ianus Nicius Erythraeus, Rossi brought to bear his vast knowledge of ancient and contemporary authors, his acerbic wit, and his mastery of Latin to weave a tale that, despite its fictional time and place, is a mordant critique of his own society: Rome under the reign of Pope Urban VIII and the powerful Barberini family.

It is clear both from his own writings and from contemporary assessments of his talent that Rossi was well read, witty, and, above all, an excellent Latinist. He was a member of the Accademia degli Umoristi, an influential literary academy that attracted intellectuals from all over Europe and was frequented by Rome’s high society, including Maffeo Barberini, later Pope Urban VIII. Rossi hoped that his education, skills, and connections would lead to a fruitful career in the Roman Curia, but this never came to fruition. After a life of professional frustration, Rossi retired to a private life of reading and writing.

Among the literary products of his retirement years was *Eudemia*, described by Luigi Gerboni as a “venting of old grudges.”² Published first in 1637 in eight books, and then in 1645 in ten books, *Eudemia* falls squarely within what Jennifer Morrish calls the “golden age of the Neo-Latin novel.”³ As Mark T. Riley

1 Giachino 2002: 199: “la sinistra onnipresenza e onnipotenza del denaro.” All translations are mine unless otherwise indicated.

2 Gerboni 1899: 108: “sfogo di vecchi rancori.”

3 Morrish 2003: 238. While *Eudemia* is frequently classified under the broad category of novel (Ijsewijn 1995: 91; Ijsewijn and Sacré 1998: 255; Giachino 2002: 187; Riley 2015: 196; Marsh 2015: 404), it is also described using various generic subcategories: satirical

explains, examples of extended Latin prose fiction in the vein of Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* or Petronius's *Satyricon* were rare until the early seventeenth century, when John Barclay published *Euphormionis lusinini satyricon* (Parisii: Huby, 1605).⁴ Following Barclay's satire, which, like Petronius's *Satyricon*, was "full of lively incident and satirical descriptions of contemporary people and institutions,"⁵ Rossi unleashed his arsenal of learning and wit against his contemporaries with full awareness of his ancient and modern generic predecessors.

Eudemia is at once an entertaining tour de force of Classical erudition and an intimately personal introduction to his own circle. As Giachino explains, *Eudemia*'s plot is secondary to "what today we would call 'gossip,' the incessant and vicious scuttlebutt that animates and involves all of the characters."⁶ Rossi becomes our guide—our Gallonius—as he introduces us to his friends, lets us in on the debates of the day, and airs his grievances with a society that admired him but never completely embraced him.

novel (Tilg 2017: 332); *roman à clef* (Drujon 1966: 1052–7; Gryphius 1710: 491–6; Kytzler 1982: 204; De Smet 1996: 76–7; Hofman 1999: 11); Menippean satire (De Smet 1996: 76; ibid. 2015: 204; IJsewijn 1988: 237; ibid. 1995: 91); and utopia (Tilg 2017: 332; De Smet 1996: 76; Kytzler 1982: 204; Gott and Begley 1902: 361). The utopian genre merits further comment. Whereas Thomas More's 1516 *Utopia* narrates a voyage to an ideal land, the voyage narrated in *Eudemia* is from a corrupt land to an even more corrupt land, which is why Kytzler (1982: 204) places the work on the periphery of the utopian genre. This non-utopian aspect of *Eudemia* has often been misunderstood. According to Gerboni (1899: 133–4), both Gabriel Naudé and Burkhard Struve considered *Eudemia* a utopian novel. In his *Bibliotheca philosophica* Struve includes Rossi in a list of authors who described ideal states (1728: 291–2), and Gerboni cites a letter from Naudé to Rossi (*Epistolae* 1667: 699), in which the French humanist makes a direct comparison between *Eudemia* and More's *Utopia*: "tuo forsan vel Mori suo exemplo ductus *Eudemiam* aliquam *Utopiamve* fingere voluit." He also cites a passage from Naudé's *Additions et Corrections au Naudaeana et Patiniana* (1703: 147) in which Naudé describes *Eudemia* as a "république bien policée" ("a well-run state"). Additionally, in the bibliography following his translation of Samuel Gott's *Nova Solyma*, Walter Begley (1902: 361) lists *Eudemia* under the category "Utopian Romance of an Ideal City or State."

- 4 Barclay, Riley, and Huber 2004: 3. For an overview of ancient prose fiction see Hägg 1983 and Hofman 1999. For an overview of early modern prose fiction (both in general and as it relates to Rossi's literary models) see Fleming 1973: xiv–xxvi; IJsewijn and Sacré 1998: 74, 255–6; Morrish 2003: 237–48; Porter 2014; De Smet 2015: 199–214; Riley 2015: 183–97; Glomski and Moreau 2016; Marsh 2017: 308–21; Relihan 2017: 340–57; Tilg 2017: 322–39.
- 5 Barclay, Riley, and Huber 2004: 3.
- 6 Giachino 2002: 199: "quello che oggi chiameremmo il 'gossip,' il martellante e vischioso pettegolezzo che anima e coinvolge tutti i personaggi."

State of Scholarship on *Eudemia*

Gian Vittorio Rossi was a prolific writer who maintained an active correspondence with friends in high places, enjoyed a reputation as a superlative Latinist among his contemporaries, and remained famous in Northern Europe, particularly in Germany, for more than a century after his death.⁷ In spite of this, however, he remains a largely unexplored figure in Italian literature. Luigi Gerboni, the nineteenth-century scholar who wrote the most extensive biography of Rossi, lamented that this Roman author had all but been ignored even by Italian scholars: “Our critical tradition has forgotten his [literary output], or rather, has never known about it”⁸; likewise, Benedetto Croce remarked that, unfortunately, nobody showed any interest in Rossi.⁹ The most recent and thorough analysis of *Eudemia* is Luisella Giachino’s 2002 article “*Cicero libertinus*: La satira della Roma barberiniana nell’*Eudemia* dell’Eritreo,” in which she offers a detailed summary of the work and discusses its major themes. Giachino also authored the entry for Rossi in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*.¹⁰

Though literature specifically on Gian Vittorio Rossi and his works is slight, interest in Neo-Latin literature in general has happily been increasing. In the 1970s Jozef IJsewijn observed that, with regard to scholarly work on Neo-Latin authors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, “almost everything remains to be done.”¹¹ Thirty years later, the scholarly status of Neo-Latin authors had not changed much when Jennifer Morrish remarked that they were “little known today and not much read” because, among other things, most of the texts are available only in their original Latin and do not exist in modern editions.¹² More recently, there has been significant progress in creating new editions and translations of Neo-Latin texts, notably the I Tatti Renaissance Library (Harvard University Press), the Bibliotheca Latinitatis Novae Neo-Latin Texts and Translation series (Leuven University Press), the Bloomsbury Neo-Latin Series, and the present NeoLatina series (Tübingen: Narr-Verlag). New reference works such as Brill’s *Encyclopedia of the Neo-Latin World*, the *Oxford Handbook of Neo-Latin*, and the *Guide to Neo-Latin Literature* from Cambridge University Press have also brought ever greater scholarly attention to Neo-Latin literature.

Despite this increased interest, Gian Vittorio Rossi has largely been ignored, his works usually mentioned only in passing as part of a larger list of Neo-Latin

7 Gerboni 1899: 2.

8 Ibid.: 2: “la critica nostra l’ha dimenticata, o meglio non l’ha mai conosciuta.”

9 Croce and Fabrizi 2003: 136: “ora nessuno lo cerca.”

10 DBI Volume 88 (2017): www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/gian-vittorio-rossi

11 IJsewijn 1976: 43.

12 Morrish 2003: 237.

authors and texts.¹³ Factors that have contributed to Rossi's near obscurity include the fact that he was writing in Latin at a time when vernacular languages were ascending in Europe as the principal vehicle for literary expression and exchange of ideas; none of his work was ever translated for a broader reading public¹⁴; and, in the case of *Eudemia*, readers over the centuries may have lost interest in the satire because it was too tied to Rossi's own circle of acquaintances, thus, to quote Dustin Griffin, "los[ing] referential power over time."¹⁵

Rossi's works deserve further scholarly attention both on their own merits and because they provide a window into the dynamic cultural period in which he lived. Rossi was an insider witness to seventeenth-century Rome, a period that could be characterized as, in the words of Jozef IJsewijn, a "thriving center of Latin literature on an international scale."¹⁶ His literary output was prolific and encompassed many genres, including letters, dialogues, orations, biographies, poetry, and, of course, fiction. Last but not least, his works are highly enjoyable to read because his personality—by turns witty, incisive, pious, and caustic—comes through on almost every page.

Life of Gian Vittorio Rossi

Gian Vittorio Rossi was born in 1577 in Rome to a family that he describes as noble but not wealthy: "The short answer is that I come from a good family and am descended from noble people of modest means."¹⁷ He had a younger brother,

13 IJsewijn mentions *Eudemia* briefly in the chapter on long novels in his *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, and in his article titled "Latin Literature in 17th-century Rome," he discusses the author and his work within the artistic and intellectual milieu of Rome under the Urban VIII Barberini. *The Oxford Handbook of Neo-Latin* mentions Rossi a few times: in the chapters "Fiction" (Riley 196), "Satire" (De Smet 206), and "Italy" (Marsh 404).

14 Croce and Fabrizi 2003: 143.

15 Griffin 1994: 122.

16 IJsewijn 1995: 78.

17 *Dialog. sept. XIII* (Prefatory letter addressed to Vaius Vaius): "[P]otes ... breviter respondere me esse bono genere ortum, bonis prognatum, modicis facultatibus" (see also Gerboni 1899: 7–8). The most thorough source of information on Rossi's life and works is Gerboni's 1899 *Un umanista nel secento, Giano Nicio Eritreo*. Gerboni draws his information primarily from Rossi's published letters (*Epistolae ad diversos*, vols. 1 & 2 and *Epistolae ad Tyrrenum*, vols. 1 & 2) as well as his book of dialogues (*Dialogi septendecim*), in particular the thirteenth dialogue, in which Rossi gives a first-person account of his life. In addition, a few vignettes in *Eudemia* are thought to be inspired by events in Rossi's own life. Another source is Johann Christian Fischer's "Vita Ioannis Victorii Roscii vulgo Iani Nicii Erythraei," which he includes in his 1749 edition of *Epistolae ad Tyrrenum et ad diversos*.

Andrea, and a younger sister whom he never mentions by name.¹⁸ Rossi was educated at the Jesuit Collegio Romano, where he was a pupil of such teachers as Bernardino Stefonio and Francesco Benci, the latter a student of the French humanist Marc-Antoine Muret, one of the greatest Latinists of the Renaissance. When Rossi was seventeen years old his father died, and his family was placed in a precarious financial state exacerbated by his brother Andrea's penchant for making bad business investments and defaulting on loans, which resulted in the loss of the family's good name among creditors.¹⁹ Finding himself, as the eldest son, in the position of head of household, Rossi studied law with the hope that this degree would lead to an administrative position within the papal court. He completed his degree in Roman and canon law in 1596 at the age of nineteen.

Rossi's professional future seemed bright at first when, upon finishing his legal studies, he caught the attention of an individual whom he does not name but describes as "the most learned and famous by far and occupying an important magisterial office"; and he was offered a position coveted by many young professionals "because it was honorable and well paid."²⁰ Rossi held this post for little more than a year, when this patron died suddenly, leaving him without employment. He soon entered an apprenticeship in contract law under the renowned lawyer Lepido Piccolomini, but this mentor died after only a few years.²¹

Following Piccolomini's death, and after several attempts to enter into the service of one cardinal or another,²² Rossi became generally disillusioned with the law. He withdrew to a house on the Janiculum Hill and devoted himself to humanistic studies.²³ In one of his autobiographical dialogues he explicitly expressed, in the persona of an interlocutor named Nicius, his preference

18 Gerboni 1899: 8. A handwritten preface to Rossi's letters to Fabio Chigi (BAV Chig. A.III.56: 474r) reads: "Hebbe una sorella maritata in Siena a Germanico Tolomei" ("He had a sister who was married in Siena to Germanico Tolomei"). I was unable to find any corroborating information about this.

19 The last trace we have of Andrea is in Palermo in 1603–4, where he was in the service of the Cardinal of Monreale in Sicily (Gerboni 1899: 12).

20 *Ep. ad div.* 1.IV.II: "longe doctissimus atque clarissimus insigni magistratu praeditus"; "propter honorem atque utilitatem." Rossi never provides this individual's name. This and the other details of his early career that follow are described in his 1632 letter to Guilelmus Moonsius.

21 *Ep. ad div.* 1.IV.II; see also Gerboni 1899: 14.

22 Employment under Domenico Pinelli and Ludovico de Torres the younger (Archbishop of Monreale in Palermo) were two possibilities that never came to fruition (Gerboni 1899: 17).

23 This refuge from the city center would become a recurring image in his works. For example, a poem appended to a 1643 letter to Fabio Chigi (*Ep. ad Tyr.* 1.XLIII) includes these lines: "Est mihi Ianiculi domus alto in vertice collis / Quamvis parva, tamen qua non formosior ulla" ("I have a house at the top of Janiculum Hill that, though small, is more beautiful than any other"). It seems that he rented this house from Bishop Giulio Sanse- doni (*Ep. ad Tyr.* 1.XLIX).

for ancient Roman authors over the jurists and Roman law glossators such as Accursius and Bartolus of Saxoferrato, whose writings would have been an integral part of his legal training: “I much preferred reading the works of Plautus, Terence, Cicero, and Caesar to those of Accursius, Bartolus, and authors of their ilk.”²⁴

During the early 1600s, when Rossi was turning away from the law to focus on the liberal arts, he began attending meetings of the Accademia degli Uморisti (Academia Humoristarum), a literary society frequented by the most celebrated authors, scholars, and artists in Rome.²⁵ The Academy originated as a loose association of writers, but it incorporated in 1608, at which point formal rules were established,²⁶ and an official emblem was adopted depicting the sun partially obscured by precipitating clouds, accompanied by the Lucretian motto “redit agmine dulci” ([the water] returns in a sweet stream).²⁷ The Academy’s name stems from the main activity of its members, which was, at least initially, writing and performing comic plays in the style of ancient playwrights such as Plautus and Terence. Over time the Accademia degli Uморisti added more poetry and prose to their repertoire. The Academy boasted many well-known Italian poets as its Principe, or head, including Alessandro Tassoni (elected in 1606),²⁸ Giovanni Battista Guarini (elected in 1611), and Giambattista Marino (elected in 1623).

Membership in the Accademia degli Uморisti was not limited to Rome’s elite; in fact, the rules stated that membership was open to any persons who were “considered worthy based on their nobility of blood, their superior literary abili-

24 *Dialog. sept.* XIII: “multoque libentius Plautum, Terentium, Ciceronem, Caesarem sumebam in manus quam Accursium, Bartolum ceterosque auctores.”

25 The origin story of the Accademia degli Uморisti is told more or less consistently in both contemporary and modern sources: In 1600, during the period of Carnival, a group of literary-minded friends of the nobleman Paolo Mancini gathered at Palazzo Mancini, his home located in the Via del Corso in Rome, on the occasion of his wedding to Vittoria Capozzi. They entertained themselves by improvising and reciting comedies, sonnets, and speeches on various diverting topics. The group decided to keep meeting every eight days to continue this literary activity, and they came to be known as the Belli Uморisti. When the group formally incorporated in 1608, they adopted the name Accademia degli Uморisti (Maylender and Rava 1976, vol. 5: 370–4; Russo 1979: 47–61; Alemanno 1995: 97–9).

26 The Academy’s rules are published in an appendix to Russo 1979: 58–61. Signatories to the rules (including Rossi) are listed in Maylender and Rava 1976, vol. 5: 375–80.

27 *Lucr.* 637–8. See also Gerboni 1899: 16; Maylender and Rava 1976, vol. 5: 375–80.

28 The Accademia degli Uморisti, along with many of its members who also appear in Rossi’s *Pinacotheca* and under pseudonyms in his *Eudemia*, are mentioned in Tassoni’s mock-epic poem *La secchia rapita* (XV.41): Gaspare Salviani, Paolo Mancini, Virginio Cesarini, Arrigo Falconio, Carlo Mazzei (also known as Carlo a Sant’Antonio di Padova), and Pietro Sforza Pallavicino.

ties, or ... excellence in any respectable art form.”²⁹ That being said, from its very beginning the Academy did attract members of Rome’s most important families such as the Colonna and the Barberini. One of its most prominent members was that most famous Barberini, Maffeo—Jesuit educated and a recognized Neo-Latin poet—who in 1623 became Pope Urban VIII. Marc Fumaroli refers to Urban VIII as “Cicero pontifex maximus” (Pope Cicero), explaining that Neo-Latin literature experienced its second great Renaissance under his influence.³⁰ It was thanks to Urban VIII and the powerful Barberini family that the Accademia degli Umoresti, along with the scientific Accademia dei Lincei and the Jesuit Collegio Romano, became a driving cultural force in the seventeenth century, not just in Rome, but throughout Europe.³¹

Through his participation in the Accademia degli Umoresti, Rossi came in contact with, as Gerboni describes, “the flower of Rome’s citizenry” gaining respect for his literary and linguistic abilities.³² The writers, scholars, and intellectuals he met through the Academy became the basis for many of the biographical profiles in his *Pinacotheca imaginum illustrium*, but also material for characters in *Eudemia*. These include, most prominently, a description of an Academy meeting in Book Three where Eudemia’s intellectual elites gather to recite their poetry. It is also because of his participation in the Accademia degli Umoresti that Rossi became acquainted with Fabio Chigi (later Pope Alexander VII), who would become his most important friend and correspondent, as well as being instrumental in his eventual publishing success.

In a 1646 letter to the Dutch scholar Guilelmus Moonsius, Rossi credited his reputation as a Latinist for the fact that, around 1607, he was offered a position in the Roman Curia, explaining that Marcello Vestrio, Secretary of Latin Briefs under Pope Paul V, had been impressed after hearing Rossi declaim at an Academy meeting.³³ In the same letter, Rossi informed Moonsius that (by his own estimation) he made quite a name for himself in that job, remarking that “whenever anything a little more polished or elegant was issued by Vestrio’s office, everyone reckoned that it had been produced and executed largely thanks to my ingenuity and effort.”³⁴ This job lasted only eight months, however, before Vestrio took ill and died.

29 Alemanno 1995: 99: “ritenute degne per nobiltà di sangue, per letteratura non mediocre, o per eccellenza di qualche artefizio spettabile.”

30 Fumaroli 1978: 797–835. The Academy itself continued until 1717, but its major cultural impact was felt during Urban VIII’s papacy (1623 to 1644), the period during which Rossi was an active member (Alemanno 1995: 99–100).

31 Ibid.: 99–100.

32 Gerboni 1899: 16: “il fior della cittadinanza.”

33 Ibid.: 19; see also *Ep. ad div.* 1.IV.II.

34 *Ep. ad div.* 1.IV.II: “quicquid paulo limatius elegantiusque ex Vestrii domo prodibat illud omnes meo praesertim ingenio industriaque perfectum elaboratumque existimabant esse.”

Around 1608, Rossi received a firm job offer as secretary to Cardinal Giovanni Garzia Mellini, who had been appointed papal legate to Germany, but that would have meant relocating to another country and away from his beloved Rome. As it turned out, he made it as far as the town of Caprarola (about sixty kilometers north of Rome), came down with a fever, and had to be sent home.³⁵ Indeed, he never was able to secure a permanent position within the Church. Rossi blamed his difficulty in securing steady employment on the fact that individuals in positions of power purposefully kept him out because they were jealous of, and intimidated by, his superior abilities.³⁶

Rossi's longest period of employment lasted from 1610 to 1623, when he served as the private secretary to Cardinal Alessandro Damasceni Peretti di Montalto.³⁷ Rossi characterized this as a low point in his life, during which he spent more than a decade doing a thankless job for a thankless employer. In a 1637 letter to Ugone Ubaldini, Rossi described Peretti as "extremely heartless" ("inhumanissimus") because he not only had to pay for medical care out of his own pocket when he fell ill while in Peretti's employ, but Peretti never even asked after him to see if he needed anything.³⁸ In *Eudemia* Peretti makes a memorable appearance as a nobleman named Plusius, an inattentive, unappreciative, and miserly boss to a long-suffering and overworked secretary named Nicius Rufus.³⁹

35 *Ep. ad div.* 1.II.IV.

36 *Ibid.*; see also *Ep. ad div.* 1.IV.II.

37 There is some question as to how long Rossi was in Peretti's employ. According to Gerboni (1899: 25), Peretti died August 3, 1628, but his death date was in fact June 2, 1623 (DBI). Gerboni calculates that Rossi began working for the cardinal in 1610, disputing the 1608 date given by Jean Pierre Nicéron (1736: 227–8). Gerboni bases his calculation on Rossi's own statement regarding the length of time he worked for Peretti—which was either eighteen years ("illos duodeviginti annos ... ei navaverim operam," *Dialog. sept.* XIII) or twenty years ("viginti enim annis inanissimis officiis [aula] me implicitum occupatumque detinuit," *Ep. ad div.* 2.VIII.VI)—and subtracting that from what he believed was Peretti's death date of 1628. Since Peretti died in 1623, however, either Rossi began working for Peretti in 1603 or 1605, while he was still employed elsewhere, or his statement about working for eighteen or twenty years was rhetorical and simply meant "a long time."

38 *Ep. ad div.* 2.II.V; see also Gerboni 1899: 26.

39 Rossi's true feelings toward his noble employer are difficult to ascertain. On the one hand, he composed a laudatory poem (included in *Ep. ad div.* 1.IV.XXVI) titled "In obitum Alexandri Peretti Cardinalis Montalti" ("On the occasion of the death of Cardinal Alessandro Peretti di Montalto"), in which he refers to Peretti as "Ille insignis Alexander et inclutus / qua sol surgit et occidit" ("that remarkable and renowned Alexander on whom the sun rose and set"). On the other hand, Rossi repurposed this very same poem in Book Four of *Eudemia*, where it is recited at the funeral procession of a nobleman named Alexander, at the conclusion of which the narrator tempers his praise by commenting that the nobleman had actually won the love of the populace more thanks to his philanthropy than because he boasted any great learning or notable accomplishments.

Rossi retreated into private life after Peretti's death in 1623. In the early 1630s he moved to a house in the Monte Mario neighborhood of Rome, where he spent the rest of his days.⁴⁰ There is no evidence of his having steady employment after that. Gerboni assumes that he enjoyed some level of financial stability, however, since he was able to donate funds for the construction of a small church on Monte Mario dedicated to Santa Maria della Febbre e del Rosario. Rossi bequeathed this church to the monastery of Saint Onuphrius, and it still exists today as the Chiesa della Madonna del Rosario.⁴¹ In addition, sometime before 1630 he had purchased the honorary office of Commissioner of the Aqua Marrana, which came with no responsibilities but yielded a modest annual income of 98.85 scudi.⁴² This financial independence allowed Rossi to spend the remainder of his life focused on writing and publishing.

As evidenced in his letters, Rossi was an active participant in the Republic of Letters, the pan-European intellectual community that fostered humanistic studies and the exchange of ideas via epistolary correspondence. He cultivated friendships with fellow humanists in such places as Italy, France, Germany, and

40 Rossi made this move unwillingly, as he explains in *Ep. ad Tyrr.* 1.XLIX: “ab illis [aedi-bus] exeundum est mihi; pellor enim ab homine potenti, vicino meo, qui ab invito eas domino coemit ut domui magnifici a se exaedificatae coniungat” (“I have to leave [this house]; I’m being forced out by a powerful man, my neighbor, who purchased it against the wishes of the owner because it abuts the magnificent house that he built”).

41 Gerboni 1899: 40–1.

42 Gerboni 1899: 41–2; De Gregori 1942: 268. The Aqua Marrana was a medieval aqueduct that brought water from the Alban Hills to the Lateran section of town. Regarding his title, which he calls a “nudus honor,” Rossi writes: “Ego autem ad meum officium quod attinet nunquam scivi quanam esset haec aqua Marana, unde orietur, qua flueret, quid utilitatis ex ea Populus Romanus acciperet” (“Regarding my title, I have never known what the Aqua Marrana was, where it originated, where it flowed, and what use it was to the Roman people” *Ep. ad Tyrr.* 2.LXVII). Such purely honorary titles were a mechanism for raising money for the public coffers. Citizens could purchase fanciful titles like Commissario dell’Acqua Marrana, Guardiano della Meta Sudante, Revisore delle Mura della Città di Roma, Custode dei Trofei di Mario, and in return they would receive an annual payout much like a municipal bond coupon. This system continued until 1811, when it was abolished by imperial decree (De Gregori 1942: 268–9). Rossi stopped receiving payouts for his title around 1645, and in 1647 he protested by penning, in jest, an oration titled “Pro pecunia mea” addressed to the *Senatus Populusque Romanus* (S.P.Q.R.) and appealing to the *Patres conscripti* (senators), making the case that he deserved this income because of the honor his publications, with their elegant Latin, brought to the city (this oration, the twenty-second in his work *Orationes viginti duae*, is a clear reference to Cicero’s *Pro domo sua*). Rossi fought to have his stipend reinstated on other fronts as well, including complaining to Fabio Chigi in a number of letters (e.g., *Ep. ad Tyrr.* 2.LI and 2.LIII). Some combination of complaining and public pressure apparently succeeded, since he managed to obtain at least a partial reimbursement for the missed payments shortly before his death (*Ep. ad Tyrr.* 2.LXVII; Gerboni 1899: 42–4; De Gregori 1942: 272–3).

the Low Countries. In his personal life, however, Rossi chose to remain alone, never marrying or having children. Gerboni points to one of his dialogues for a clue as to why, citing an interlocutor named Iucundus who, when asked why he never married, explains that the main two reasons were fear of losing his freedom to a carping wife, and fear that she would give birth to children who were bow-legged, knock-kneed, squinty-eyed, buck-toothed, and ill-behaved.⁴³ Gerboni concedes that these assertions were made primarily for humorous effect, and he surmises that the real reason was probably that the majority of educated laymen aspiring to a career in the Roman Curia tended not to marry, surrounded as they were by clerics⁴⁴ (of course, it is also not out of the question that Rossi was homosexual). On the other hand, Rossi never entered the priesthood, which Gerboni ascribes to a similar fear of losing his liberty, and also to the fact that he ultimately did not feel a strong spiritual calling to such a life.⁴⁵ Rossi died at the age of seventy on November 13, 1647, and was buried in the church he founded on Monte Mario. He left his estate to the caretakers of that church, the Poor Hermits of Blessed Peter Gambacorta of Pisa, of the monastic order of Saint Onuphrius, who memorialized him with this inscription: “Ioanni Victorio Roscio / Iani Nici Erythraei nomine / apud externos notissimo / huius domus et ecclesiae / munificentissimo fundatori.”⁴⁶

Gian Vittorio Rossi: *vita*

1577	Born in Rome.
ca. 1582–94	Educated at the Jesuit Collegio Romano.
1596	Completes studies in the law.
ca. 1598–1602	Legal apprenticeship under Lepido Piccolomini.
ca. 1602	Joins the Academia Humoristarum (Accademia degli Umoristi).
1603	Publishes first work, titled <i>Orationes novem</i> (Romae: Apud Aloysium Zannettum).
1607–8	Works in the Secretariat of Latin Briefs under Marcello Vestrio, Secretary of Latin Briefs for Pope Paul V.

43 Gerboni 1899: 29 citing *Dialog. sept. V*

44 *Ibid.*: 29.

45 *Ibid.*: 30–1.

46 Mandosio 1682–92: 253–4; Gerboni 1899: 45; DBI.

- 1610–1623 Employed as private secretary (*a studiis*) to Alessandro Damasceni Peretti di Montalto.
- 1626 Meets Fabio Chigi for the first time, at a gathering of the Accademia degli Umoristi.
- ca. 1630 Moves to the Janiculum Hill neighborhood of Rome retiring to a life of study and writing.
- 1637 Publishes *Eudemiae libri VIII* ([Leiden]: [Bonaventure and Abraham Elzevier]).
- 1641 Begins friendship and correspondence with Fabio Chigi, which lasts until his death.
- ca. 1644 Moves to the Monte Mario neighborhood of Rome.
- 1645 Publishes *Eudemiae libri decem* (Coloniae Ubiorum [i.e., Amsterdam]: Apud Iodocum Kalcovium [i.e., Joan Blaeu]).
- 1647 Dies in Rome on November 13 and is buried at the church he founded on Monte Mario dedicated to Santa Maria della Febbre e del Rosario.



Fig. 1: Engraved portrait of Gian Vittorio Rossi. *Iani Nicii Erythraei Eudemiae libri decem*. Coloniae Ubiorum [i.e., Amsterdam]: Apud Iodocum Kalcovium [i.e., Joan Blaeu] [1645]. Soc 950.36, Houghton Library, Harvard University.



Fig. 2: Ottavio Leoni, “Portrait of a Young Man” (1607–1612). Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, KdZ 17153. Proposed identification as Gian Vittorio Rossi by Riccardo Gandolfi (Primarosa 2017: 381).

Intellectual and Artistic Milieu of Seventeenth-Century Rome

Rossi's active literary life largely coincided with the period known as the Baroque. Though there is no consensus regarding the precise dates that demarcate this era,⁴⁷ the Baroque period in Italy more or less coincides with the seventeenth century (Seicento).⁴⁸ The Baroque aesthetic was characterized by *meraviglia* (wonder or marvel), and comprised elements intended to act on the emotions of the reader or viewer: the supernatural or fantastic (*favoloso*), a surprising and pleasing style achieved via clever metaphor and ornament (*concetti* or *concettismo*), and the application of wit (*arguzia*) that allows the reader or viewer to “[glimpse] the truth of things in a unique way.”⁴⁹ As Peter Rietbergen explains, the Baroque aesthetic was all-encompassing; it was not just an artistic style but “a style of living wherein all elements of life were fundamentally united” to create a sense of wonder.⁵⁰ The author who is best known for representing the Baroque literary aesthetic of *meraviglia* is Giambattista Marino, though he had already died by the time the Baroque era reached its apex under Pope Urban VIII.⁵¹

The Baroque aesthetic was a response to a critical historical moment for the Roman Catholic Church. During the post-Tridentine Catholic reform movement, or the Counter-Reformation, the Church sought to reassert its power and to reestablish Rome as the physical and spiritual center of the Catholic world.⁵² The consolidation and maintenance of temporal and spiritual power required the participation of the populace. The Baroque aesthetic—embodied in theater performances, music, public recitations, architecture, monuments, and highly visible displays of wealth—served to overwhelm and delight the reader or

47 Cherchi 1997: 301. Art historians generally define the period as spanning from the late sixteenth century (the end of Mannerism) to the late seventeenth century (the beginning of Rococo) (Battistini 2000: 14–5; Galluzzi 2005: 16). Historians of literature have traditionally set the parameters of the Baroque period as beginning with the death of the poet Torquato Tasso in 1595 and ending with the foundation of the Accademia dell’Arcadia in 1690 (Maravall 1986: 3–4; Cherchi 1997: 301).

48 Galluzzi 2005: 24.

49 Mirollo 1963: 166; Cherchi 1997: 304.

50 Battistini 2000: 12; Rietbergen 2006: 11.

51 Galluzzi 2005: 17.

52 Rietbergen 2006: 13. Battistini (2000: 22) describes the Baroque period in Italy as the manifestation of a profound anthropological crisis that produced upheavals and imbalances resulting in the progressive shift of the political center of gravity from Italy and the Mediterranean to northern Europe.

viewer, while at the same time leading him or her to embrace what the Roman Catholic Church deemed correct spiritual teaching (*delectare et docere*).⁵³

One of the main drivers of culture in Baroque Rome was the Jesuit order, whose Collegio Romano was the principal institution for secondary education. The Jesuit curriculum was based on principles of what Fumaroli terms “Christian humanism,” a fusion of the disciplined rules found in Cicero and Quintilian with the meditative and contemplative approach to spirituality as found in the *Exercitia spiritualia* of Ignatius of Loyola.⁵⁴ Under the Jesuit-educated, humanist pope Urban VIII, and his nephew, Cardinal Francesco Barberini, Rome experienced a cultural *renovatio* that Fumaroli describes as a second Roman Renaissance.⁵⁵ During this period Rome became a beacon for intellectuals and artists from all over Europe, who traveled to Rome in order to be part of this flourishing activity in literature, art, and science. Many of these intellectuals and artists were members of the Accademia degli Umoristi, which became an important arbiter of the best style (*optimus stylus*).⁵⁶

Baroque literature has often been dismissed as extravagant, decadent, and representing “the nadir of Italian literature.”⁵⁷ Scholars who resist this assessment do so from different vantages. IJsewijn, for example, argues that such a characterization tends to reflect only vernacular works, and that any adequate assessment of the literary output of Seicento Rome must also take into consideration Latin works of the period. In his view, “many of the flaws which critics usually find in the Italian writings of the age, such as bad taste and extravagance, are markedly absent from the best of their Latin counterparts.”⁵⁸ Fuma-

53 Rietbergen 2006: 11, 137.

54 Fumaroli 1978: 801, 803.

55 Rietbergen 2006: 11; Fumaroli 1978: 801.

56 Fumaroli 1978: 812–3.

57 Cherchi 1997: 301; Galluzzi 2005: 22, 25. The negative assessment of the Baroque period began with literary critics in the Arcadian period of the late seventeenth century, continued through the eighteenth century Romantics, and was supported by the influential critics Francesco De Sanctis in the nineteenth century and Benedetto Croce in the twentieth century (Asor Rosa 1974: 3; Fumaroli 1978: 802).

58 IJsewijn 1995: 82. IJsewijn’s assertion that the Baroque era embraces “bad taste and extravagance” is also incomplete and itself falls into the literary critical tradition that viewed vernacular Baroque literature in a negative light. Drawing a distinction between measured literature in Latin and extravagant literature in Italian risks doing a disservice to the complexity of both. A case in point is Giambattista Marino, who has been held up by literary critics as the epitome of the exaggerated Baroque style embodying “everything bad in the Baroque world” (Cherchi 1997: 301). Marino, however, actually shunned gratuitous virtuosity and advocated moderation, distinguishing in his 1614 *Dicerie sacre* between *l’eccellente* and *il goffo* (excellence and gaudiness) (Galluzzi 2005: 41). Moreover, Marino was a member of the Accademia degli Umoristi and was even elected its Principe in 1623.

roli, on the other hand, argues that the very distinction between Baroque and Classical aesthetic is exaggerated and unnecessary, and that both the rigorous standards of Ciceronianism and individual (even eccentric) Baroque style are manifestations of the limitless ways one can express one's relationship with the immutable *logos* of the Catholic Church, which was forced to become more flexible and open to different means of expression after the Reformation.⁵⁹

Rossi was certainly aware of these aesthetic debates. Classical authors provided the touchstone that guided his style and often put him at odds with the more experimental trends embraced by his contemporaries. As Gerboni explains, Rossi expressed a clear preference for Ciceronian Latin over the sort of style he described as "new and sublime,"⁶⁰ criticizing those who rejected the "pure, clear words and manifest meanings" of Cicero, in favor of overwrought *meraviglia*, as privileging form over substance: "Always inflated and swollen, they spread their wings and reach for the mountaintops, only to grasp clouds and emptiness."⁶¹

It is not only in his letters that Rossi inveighs against this new style. *Eudemia* also serves as his vehicle for criticizing writers who turn their back on ancient authors. In Book Three, for example, he includes poems on such subjects as a honey apple, a beard, and a pomegranate, and the narrator mentions someone who composed a laudatory poem to a gnat. These compositions and references serve to make fun of the Baroque proliferation of paradoxical encomia, poems in praise of everyday objects.⁶² In addition, in Books Four and Nine, the two Romans meet people who, respectively, express indignation at being compared to ancient authors and insist on their own superiority. One of them declares: "I would be embarrassed to compose verses that are anything like Virgil's"⁶³, while the other insists that the writings of ancient authors be measured against his own: "He endeavored to measure ancient authors ... against the criterion of his own acumen and dislodge them from their long-standing supremacy."⁶⁴ Thus

59 Fumaroli 1978: 828–30.

60 *Ep. ad div.* 1.IV.13: "novum ... atque sublime" (as quoted also in Gerboni 1899: 101–2). Among the other sources Gerboni cites where Rossi expresses his preference for ancient authors, especially Cicero, over what Gerboni (1899: 102, n. 1–2) calls the "nuova scuola," are: *Ep. ad div.* 1.V.10, 1.VII.1, 1.VII.3; *Ep. ad div.* 2.IX.7, 2.IX.8.

61 *Ep. ad div.* 1.VII.1: "verba pura atque dilucida, sententias apertas"; "semper tumidi, semper inflati, alas pandunt, montium vertices appetunt, nubes et inania captunt" (the last phrase is from Hor. *Ars. P.* 230). This letter is addressed to Girolamo Aleandro the younger (see also Gerboni 1899: 102). Rossi repurposes this letter as his dedicatory letter to Girolamo Aleandro in *Eudemia*.

62 Cherchi 1997: 304.

63 Liber IV.3: "sane pudeat me Virgilianis similes versus efficere."

64 Liber IX.2: "scriptores veteres ... ad sui iudicium acuminis revocare ac de diuturna regni possessione ... est conatus deicere."

Rossi's novel, aside from being a social critique, is also an artistic one, to the detriment of his own contemporaries.

To reiterate Rietbergen's assessment, the Baroque aesthetic was an all-encompassing lifestyle that included "banquets and behavior and books."⁶⁵ Rossi's *Eudemia* parades this all-encompassing aesthetic before his readers' eyes. Writing in elegant Latin, he lays bare a society, fashioned and fostered by the powerful Barberini family and their circle, that cultivated literary and artistic showmanship, opulent displays of wealth, lavish banquets, luxurious dress, and enormous villas complete with sumptuous decorations, fountains and spectacular gardens, all fueled and supported by a corrupt system of patronage and favors.

Gian Vittorio Rossi: Works

Eudemia and Other Published Works

Rossi's first publications date to the early 1600s and were printed in Rome under his real name, Ioannes Victorius Roscius: *Orationes novem* (Luigi Zanetti, 1603); *Oratio de Christi Domini ascensu* (Guglielmo Facciotti, 1604); and *De diuturna aegrotatione toleranda oratio* (Carlo Vullietti, 1605).⁶⁶ In 1629 he published a collection of poems in Viterbo titled *Rime spirituali*, also under his real name (this time in the vernacular), Giovanni Vittorio de' Rossi. This was the last work Rossi would publish in Italy.

After he had retreated to private life upon the death of Cardinal Peretti di Montalto in the early 1620s,⁶⁷ Rossi began writing a series of humorous vignettes, often poking fun at people in his literary circle behind pseudonyms. These stories apparently delighted his friends, who encouraged him to publish them.⁶⁸ By 1631, as indicated in a letter to Giovanni Zaratino Castellini, Rossi was actively in search of a dedicatee: "I could publish [my satire] with a dedicatory letter to you and, to the best of my ability, gain honor for you and praise for myself."⁶⁹ We know that Castellini declined this offer because Rossi wrote to

65 Rietbergen 2006: 11.

66 These orations would eventually be collected together, augmented by others, and published by Joan Blaeu in 1649 under the title *Orationes viginti duae*.

67 Gerboni 1899: 107–8; Giachino 2002: 187.

68 *Ep. ad div.* 1.VI.XXXVII: "omnes uno ore mihi fuere auctores ut typis mandarem" ("everyone unanimously prompted me to publish it").

69 *Ep. ad div.* 1.III.XV: "[Satyram] ego possim epistola, quae tuas veras laudas contineat, eidem praefixa, tuo nomini inscriptam emittere, et quantum mihi ingenii vires ferunt, tibi decus, mihi ipsi laudem acquirere."

him again three years later, informing him that the bookseller Giovanni Battista Tamantini, whom he refers to by the pseudonym Thaumantinus,⁷⁰ was supposedly going to help him get his as-yet-still-unpublished novel printed in Venice.⁷¹ No Venetian edition ever materialized. Instead, looking back in a 1646 letter to Kaspar Schoppe, Rossi explained the circumstances by which *Eudemiae libri VIII* finally came to be published by the Elzeviers in Leiden:

One day my bookseller friend⁷² came to me with John Barclay's *Argenis*, which I was eager to take a look at. Jokingly, I said to him: "I also have a book that is not too different from this." Then he said, "Give it to me, I want to read it." I gave it to him straightaway, thinking that I would never want it back. But hardly two years had passed from that meeting with him when he showed me the book, which I thought had met a bad end, having been published in Leiden.⁷³

70 Giovanni Battista Tamantini. The identity of Thaumantinus (alternative spellings Thaumantius and Thaumas), as well as of Hermannus—the other Rome-based bookseller frequently mentioned in Rossi's works (e.g., *Ep. ad div.* 1.VII.XXVI and *Ep. ad Tyr.* 1.XXIII)—has eluded Rossi scholars. Gerboni (1899: 108, n. 3; 130), for example, conflates the two, identifying Thaumantinus as a certain "Hermannus." I have concluded that Thaumantinus is Tamantini (given the similarity of his real name to the pseudonym) and that Hermannus is the bookseller Hermann Scheus. Corroboration of these identifications is that Tamantini and Scheus were collaborators in real life. In 1624, the bookseller Andrea Brogiotti, who had his shop in Piazza di Pasquino at the sign of the Sun, entrusted the running of his bookshop to his nephew Giovanni Battista Tamantini and to Hermann Scheus (Franchi and Sartori 1994, vol. 1: 92–3, incl. 92, n. 7). In 1627 or 1628 Brogiotti sold his business to his nephew Tamantini and Scheus opened his own shop in Piazza di Pasquino at the sign of the Queen (Romani 1973: 78; Santoro et al. 2013: 193). Barthold Nihus's mention of "Hermannus Scheus" in a letter to Rossi (BAV Chig. I.VII.244: fol. 255v–256r) is the only contemporary epistolary documentation I have found of his full name.

71 *Ep. ad div.* 1.IV.XVI: "Itaque bibliopolae illi in animo est Venetias imprimendam eam mittere" ("the bookseller has in mind to send it to Venice for printing").

72 Most likely Hermann Scheus, whom Rossi describes in *Ep. ad Tyr.* 1.XXIII as a "bibliopola Romae in primis nobilis, qui cum omnibus fere Europae impressoribus magnae pecuniae rationem habet" ("a particularly well-respected bookseller in Rome who does a lot of business with almost all of the printers in Europe").

73 *Ep. ad div.* 2.VIII.VI: "Venit die quodam ad me bibliopola, amicus meus, cum *Argedine* Ioannis Barclaii, cuius ego libri inspiciendi eram oppidus. Ac ioci causa: 'Habeo,' inquam, 'ego quoque librum ... huic non longe dissimilem.' Tum ille: 'Ced[e] mihi eum,' ait 'ut legam.' Confestim tradidi, eo animo ut numquam repeterem. At vix biennium intercesserat ab hoc sermone cum illo habito, cum mihi libenter quem in malam rem abisse credideram Lugduni Batavorum impressus ostenditur." The title page of *Eudemiae libri VIII* indicates no publisher, but we know that Barclay's *Argenis* was published in 1630 in Leiden by Abraham and Bonaventure Elzevier (it is listed, for example, in the four Elzevier bibliographies: Rahir 1896: 456; Berghman 1911: 1314; Copinger 1927: 1643; Willems 1974: 456).

Unlike his earlier works printed in Italy, *Eudemiae libri VIII* was the first of many books Rossi would publish under his pseudonym, Janus Nicius Erythraeus.⁷⁴

After its publication in Leiden, *Eudemia libri VIII* circulated in Northern Europe, where it came to the attention of Fabio Chigi, who had been named Papal Nuncio to Cologne in 1639. Indeed, an early biography of Chigi indicates that the bishop was always eager to read things that were new, unique, and interesting.⁷⁵ Chigi knew Rossi from when they had met in 1626 at a meeting of the Accademia degli Umoristi, which the former had the opportunity to attend when he moved to Rome from Siena to embark on his ecclesiastical career—and it probably did not hurt that Chigi himself appears in Book Three of *Eudemia* as a noble young man named Tyrrhenus attending a meeting of a literary academy.⁷⁶ Chigi's delight in reading *Eudemia* prompted him to write to Rossi in April of 1641, saying, "Your *Eudemia* recently came into my hands among the many other books that arrived from Holland."⁷⁷ This letter initiated a friendship and correspondence between Chigi and Rossi that lasted until Rossi's death in 1647.

By the early 1640s Rossi had found himself with few avenues to publishing. Because of *Eudemia*'s rocky reception in Italy (about which more later), Roman—and presumably Italian—printers were no longer willing to publish his works, and Rossi remained dissatisfied with a 1642 French edition of his *Dialogi* that Gabriel Naudé had arranged to be printed in Paris, complaining that it was full of errors.⁷⁸ Encouraged by Chigi's enjoyment of his satire, Rossi

74 Rossi's justification for using a pseudonym was to avoid scorn in the face of a negative reaction to his satire: "ad vitandam invidiam alio [satyram] nomine inscripserim" (*Ep. ad div.* 1.III.XV). More than a decade later, after the publication of the 1645 edition, he told Kaspar Schoppe that he had wanted to conceal his identity because he was embarrassed by the book: "cuius libri cum postea puderet ... in eo loco Io. Victorii Roscii Iani Nicii Erythraei nomen inscripsi" (*Ep. ad div.* 2.VIII.VI).

75 Pallavicino 1839: 49.

76 Chigi wrote in a 1642 letter to Nihus that Rossi had praised him, using the name Tyrrhenus, during an Academy meeting sixteen years earlier (BAV Chig. a.I.44: fol. 90v).

77 BAV Chig.I.VII.246: 12r–13r: "Venit ad manus meas nuper plures inter libros ex Hollandia advectos tua *Eudemia*."

78 *Iani Nicii Erythraei Dialogi* (Paris: Jacques Villery, 1642). Complaints about this French edition are in, for example, *Ep. ad Tyr.* 1.XXII and 1.XXXI. Naudé mentions Rossi's being blacklisted in Rome in a 1641 letter to Jacques Dupuy written while he was searching for a publisher for the *Dialogi*: "Si Pélé n'a point d'autre raison pour imprimer les *Dialogues* de Nicius que de demander pourquoi on ne les imprime pas à Rome, vous lui pourrez dire, s'il vous plaît, que c'est à cause de l'*Eudemia* imprimée en Hollande, car la cour de Rome n'étant pas épargnée en icelle, le Maître du Sacré Palais ne veut pas que le nom de Janus Nicius paraisse sur des livres imprimés en cette ville." ("If [Guillaume] Pelé has no reason not to print the *Dialogues* of Nicius other than to inquire why they are not being printed in Rome, please tell him that it's because of *Eudemia*, which was printed in Holland. Because he didn't spare the Roman Curia in that work, the Master of the Sacred Palace