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STUDIA HUMANITATIS

Essays in Honour of Marianne Pade on the
Occasion of her Sixty-Fifth Birthday 8 March
2022

Eds. Trine Arlund Hass & Outi Merisalo



Photo O. Merisalo, Rome 2017.

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Preface

Ever since the 1980s, Marianne Pade has established herself as one of the leading scholars in Renaissance studies. Her research covers Latin- and Greek-language culture in the Renaissance (presupposing an in-depth knowledge of ancient culture), her approach combining close reading of texts with material evidence (palaeography, codicology, epigraphy). Her philological acribia is inspired by a great intellectual curiosity that constantly drives her to tackle new subjects and fields. She is not only greatly appreciated by the international scholarly community for her research but is also continuously attracting young talent to Renaissance studies thanks to her great ability to inspire scholarship and communicate research results. A great academic manager, during her long and prestigious term as director of the Danish Academy in Rome, she was the *prima motrix* of the establishment of the Nordic Network for Renaissance Studies and in particular of the Summer School *Text – Memory – Monument* organised at the Academy between 2012 and 2016 in collaboration with the other Nordic institutes at Rome and a series of Nordic universities and institutions of higher education. Her vast circle of colleagues and friends bear witness to her personal qualities – it is simply a pleasure to work with her. This volume of articles reflects the wide-ranging scholarly interests of Marianne’s world-wide network of friends and their personal attachment to her. Thanking the authors for their inspiring contributions, we hope that this birthday present will bring joy to Marianne.

Oxford and Bologna, 23 February 2022

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SULLE ORME DI POMPONIO LETO:



Il commento alle *Georgiche* di Aurelio Lippo Brandolini

Di Giancarlo Abbamonte e Fabio Stok*

Pomponio Leto inaugurated a new way of interpreting Virgil's Georgics. He made use of technical works of the classical literature (Theophrastus' works on plants, Columella, Varro, Pliny the Elder, Strabo for geography, etc.), in order to comment on Georgics. Aurelio Brandolini, who was probably in touch with Leto during his stay in Rome (c. 1480–1490), wrote an unpublished commentary on the Georgics, which is today the ms. Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 2740. This commentary already presents many aspects of the new trend in Georgics inaugurated by Leto.

Le novità esegetiche del commento di Pomponio Leto alle *Georgiche*

L'esegesi virgiliana è stata uno degli ambiti in cui più profonda è stata l'influenza di Pomponio Leto (1428–1498), non solo per la diffusione che ebbe il suo commento, pur tramite l'enigmatico nome di *Pomponius Sabinus*,¹ ma anche per il peso che ebbe il suo insegnamento nello *Studium* romano,² che trasmise a discepoli ed uditori un approccio esegetico innovativo che in larga parte coincide con quello che si affermerà nel secolo successivo. Per diversi aspetti, infatti, quello di Leto può essere considerato il primo commento virgiliano “moderno”, nel quale il commentatore lascia sullo sfondo il tradizionale commento tardo-antico di Servio, che occupava un ruolo centrale ancora verso la metà del sec. XV, e si avvale di una pluralità di

* Pur nella condivisione dell'intero articolo e delle sue Conclusioni, a G. Abbamonte saranno da attribuire i paragrafi intitolati “Le novità esegetiche del commento di Pomponio Leto alle *Georgiche*”, “Il rapporto tra Brandolini e Leto”, “Brandolini e il commento dello pseudo-Probo”, “Brandolini e la *Naturalis historia* di Plinio”, a Fabio Stok i paragrafi intitolati “Aurelio Lippo Brandolini e il suo commento alle *Georgiche*”, “L'interesse verso la mitologia antica di Brandolini”, “Brandolini e il commento di Servio”. Le trascrizioni dei testimoni manoscritti e degli incunaboli seguono un criterio di moderata normalizzazione. Le traduzioni italiane dei passi citati non altrimenti attribuite sono degli autori.

¹ Cfr. Stok 2020.

² Sulla biografia e l'opera di Leto cfr. Accame 2008 e Accame 2015.

fonti, nell'ambito della letteratura latina e greca tornata in circolazione nel corso del secolo.³

Particolare rilievo ha avuto il commento di Leto alle *Georgiche*. A differenza dei poemi bucolici e dell'*Eneide*, che erano stati oggetto di interesse costante da parte dei lettori del Medioevo e dell'Umanesimo in quanto si trattava di generi letterari ancora molto praticati, il poema didascalico virgiliano aveva attirato l'attenzione sporadica di pochi lettori: nel IX secolo Valafrido Strabone aveva composto un *Hortulus*, ed in seguito solo negli ultimi anni del Quattrocento Pontano realizzò il suo *De hortis Hesperidum* sulla coltivazione degli agrumi, che però potrebbe essere un effetto proprio di quella ripresa di interessi verso le *Georgiche* suscitata dai lavori di Leto.⁴

La minore attenzione verso il poema didascalico all'interno delle opere virgiliane, sia in termini esegetici sia di produzioni poetiche analoghe, provocò una certa assuefazione all'interpretazione di Servio, che costituisce il testo esegetico delle *Georgiche* del tutto dominante nel corso della prima metà del Quattrocento.⁵ Questa inerzia esegetica subì un profondo cambiamento negli anni '70 del XV secolo–con l'apparizione del commento di Pomponio Leto, il quale seppe mettere a frutto una serie di novità culturali che si erano prodotte nel corso del Quattrocento e che permettevano una lettura originale delle *Georgiche* rispetto al tradizionale commento di Servio, al quale erano state mosse alcune critiche nei decenni precedenti da parte delle punte più avanzate del movimento umanistico.⁶

Tra le novità delle opere greche giunte in Occidente, Teodoro Gaza (c. 1410–ante 24 giugno 1477), amico di Leto, tradusse in latino nel 1451 le opere botaniche di Teofrasto, che erano state utilizzate solo parzialmente da Servio; la versione latina di Gaza ebbe un'edizione a stampa nel 1483.⁷ Tra i testi latini riportati alla luce da Poggio Bracciolini, l'opera di Columella, seppur conosciuta da Petrarca e Boccaccio, ebbe una vera e propria

³ Sul commento virgiliano di Leto cfr. Lunelli 1983; Abbamonte & Stok 2008; Stok 2014.

⁴ Sulla poesia didascalica di ispirazione georgica composta nell'Umanesimo vd. Ludwig 1989, e Haskell 1999. Un'edizione con traduzione francese e ampia introduzione del *De hortis Hesperidum* di Pontano è in Tilly 2020.

⁵ Sull'uso di Servio nel XV sec. vd. *infra* “Brandolini e il commento di Servio”.

⁶ Vd. *infra* “Brandolini e il commento di Servio” e n. 42.

⁷ Su Gaza vd. Bianca 1999b. Sembra che Gaza sia stato spinto a tradurre le opere botaniche di Teofrasto dal cardinale Bessarione, che gli fornì il modello greco, il ms. Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. 274 (= 625), copiato nel 1443, e che possedeva un manoscritto delle versioni di Gaza, BNM, lat. 265 (=1677), databile al periodo bolognese del cardinale: vd. Bianca 1999a, 21–23, 67, n. 117. Delle versioni teofraste di Gaza si conserva l'autografo, l'attuale ms. della BAV, Chigi F.VIII.193, ricco di annotazioni di Gaza e Bussi (Bianca 1999b, 739-740). Le versioni del *De historia plantarum* e del *De causis plantarum* furono stampate a cura del Merula a Treviso, presso B. Confalonieri (Theophrastus 1483).

circolazione grazie a Pomponio Leto, il quale dedicò intorno al 1467 un commentario al decimo libro,⁸ l'unico scritto in versi da Columella in omaggio a Virgilio.⁹

Negli anni '60 del Quattrocento, inoltre, apparvero a Roma il manoscritto virgiliano tardo-antico noto in seguito come Mediceo, e un commento anonimo alle *Georgiche* tramandato sotto il nome del grammatico Probo: Leto fu il primo a disporre e ad utilizzare questi testimoni,¹⁰ entrambi provenienti dal monastero di Bobbio.¹¹ Inoltre, a Leto si deve far risalire probabilmente la valorizzazione di un'altra fonte antica dell'esegesi alle *Georgiche*: si tratta dell'attuale ms. BAV, Vat. lat. 3317, che contiene il commento serviano alle *Georgiche* inframmezzato con ampi pezzi risalenti ad un'esegesi probabilmente più antica e differente da quella che per l'*Eneide* e le *Bucoliche* è conosciuta oggi come il commento di Servio Danielino. Anche se non è possibile stabilire dove si trovasse il ms. BAV, Vat. lat. 3317 ai tempi di Leto, di esso si conoscono alcune copie che documentano la circolazione di queste esegesi nell'ambiente romano: nel suo commento alle *Georgiche*, Leto utilizza questo commento, per il quale utilizziamo in questa sede la denominazione *Scholia Vaticana* adottata da Burns.¹²

Infine, di alcuni autori i testi erano in circolazione già nel corso del Medioevo, ma essi non erano stati studiati, apprezzati e indicizzati in modo

⁸ Il commentario al decimo di Columella è una delle poche opere che l'umanista acconsentì a pubblicare a stampa. Il *terminus ante* del 1467 è dato dal colofone del ms. Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio 2654 (lat. 1395), che contiene il commento di Leto. La *princeps* fu stampata anonima a Roma, presso Adam Rot (Columella [c. 1472]), ristampata in forma anonima a Roma da Bartolomeo Guldinbeck (Columella [c. 1485]) e a Venezia da Stephan Planck (Columella [c. 1490]), mentre il nome dell'autore del commento compare nell'edizione di Venezia (Columella [c. 1481-1482]), ai torchi dello "stampatore del *De officiis*".

⁹ In *Georg.* 4.147–148 (dopo il ricordo del *senex Corycius*, vv. 125–146) Virgilio introduce la preterizione sulla coltivazione dei giardini, lasciando ad altri questo compito. Columella accoglie l'invito scrivendo il decimo libro in esametri. Anche Valafrido Strabone e Pontano, le cui opere rimandano nel titolo all'*hortus*, riprendono l'invito del Mantovano. Sul decimo libro di Columella vd. Columella 1996.

¹⁰ Sull'uso del Mediceo ad opera di Leto cfr. Abbamonte & Stok 2008. Sulla circolazione dello pseudo-Probo nella Roma del Quattrocento, cfr. Gioseffi 1991, 211–256 e Abbamonte 2012, 155–163. Lo pseudo-Probo è già utilizzato nell'esegesi pomponiana alle *Georgiche* presente nel ms. BAV, Vat. Lat. 3255, risalente ai primi anni '70, se il copista Paolo Emilio Boccabella fu assente dall'Urbe dal 1476 fino al 1482 circa: vd. Balistreri 1968 e Abbamonte 2012, 130–131.

¹¹ Su questa vicenda e sul ruolo di Leto cfr. Mercati 1937, Gioseffi 1991, 212–213, Abbamonte & Stok 2008, 170–201.

¹² Sull'uso dell'esegesi del BAV, Vat. Lat. 3317 da parte di Leto, cfr. Abbamonte 1999 e Abbamonte 2012, 146–155; le copie umanistiche del ms. vaticano sono descritte in Burns 1974.

da poter tornare utili nei lavori esegetici. È questo il caso della *Naturalis historia* di Plinio, la cui enorme messe di informazioni circolò in modo limitato fino a quando l'opera fu sistematicamente esaminata nell'ambiente dell'Umanesimo romano. A promuovere gli studi su Plinio il Vecchio fu soprattutto Niccolò Perotti (1430–1480), amico e corrispondente di Leto,¹³ il quale riversò le informazioni fornite dalla *Naturalis historia* nel suo vocabolario della lingua latina, il *Cornu copiae*, permettendone l'impiego grazie agli indici che accompagnarono le varie edizioni a stampa di quest'opera.¹⁴ Inoltre, Perotti curò una delle prime edizioni a stampa di Plinio, che si raccomanda per la presenza di titoli che ne permettevano una consultazione più rapida.¹⁵ Analogamente, si deve a Leto un approfondimento dello studio dei testi di natura linguistica e georgica di Varrone, di cui curò anche l'edizione a stampa del *De lingua Latina*.¹⁶

Pomponio Leto seppe cogliere le opportunità che questi “nuovi” testi offrivano a chi volesse realizzare un commento alle *Georgiche* in grado di costituire un deciso progresso esegetico rispetto a Servio in termini scientifici. Il commento di Leto alle *Georgiche* si caratterizza per un'attenzione ai *Realien* botanici, zoologici e scientifici, ma anche storici e geografici e per l'impiego di nuove fonti (Teofrasto, Columella, lo pseudo-Probo, le sezioni non-serviane del BAV, Vat. lat. 3317, Plinio il Vecchio, Varrone) messe a confronto con il testo virgiliano. Senza timore di esagerare, si può affermare che la lettura “scientifica” di Leto ha rappresentato il modo di commentare le *Georgiche* di Virgilio fino a tutto il XX secolo.¹⁷

Sebbene Leto non abbia mai pubblicato i suoi commenti virgiliani, essi circolarono prima in Italia e poi in Europa: accanto ad alcuni manoscritti contenenti materiale esegetico virgiliano di Leto, fu pubblicata a Brescia (1487?–1490) a cura di Daniele Caetani un'edizione pirata del commento (= Caiet.), attribuita ad un certo *Pomponius Sabinus*, che Leto inizialmente disconobbe. Da quest'edizione dipendono le successive apparse a partire

¹³ Vd. Stok 2011.

¹⁴ Sugli studi pliniani di Perotti vd. almeno Charlet 2003 e Charlet 2011. L'enorme successo del *Cornu copiae* è dimostrato dalla sua enorme diffusione a stampa fino alla metà del Cinquecento: vd. Milde 1982. Sull'importanza degli indici presenti nelle edizioni del *Cornu copiae* cfr. Abbamonte 2018, 172–176, e Pade 2020, 246–249.

¹⁵ L'edizione di Plinio curata da Perotti fu stampata a Roma da Sweynheym e Pannartz (Plinius 1473) essa si distingue dalla precedente curata da Giovanni Andrea. Bussi (Plinius 1470) per la presenza dei titoli: cfr. Abbamonte 2012, 168–170. Sulle polemiche tra Bussi e Perotti circa i criteri di stampa cfr. Monfasani 1988 e Charlet 2020.

¹⁶ Cfr. Accame 1990, Accame 1998 e Accame 2007: l'edizione a stampa del *De lingua Latina* di Varrone curata da Leto fu stampata a Roma da Georg Lauer (Varro [1471–1472]).

¹⁷ In questa linea si collocano il commento di Richter (Vergilius 1957) e in parte quello di Mynors (Vergilius 1990).

dall'edizione di Giovanni Oporino (Basilea 1540): esse diffusero l'esegesi pomponiana in tutta l'Europa, anche se andò presto perduta la memoria dell'autore, confuso con un ipotetico commentatore antico di nome *Sabinus*. Furono Johann Voss (1627) e poi, con argomenti più solidi, August Ferdinand Naeke (1824) i primi a riconoscere la figura di Leto dietro lo pseudonimo *Sabinus* introdotto da Caetani.¹⁸

La paternità doveva essere, invece, ben nota finché Leto fu in vita, anche perché le *Georgiche* dovettero essere oggetto delle lezioni che Leto teneva all'università e privatamente: uno dei principali manoscritti che ci trasmettono l'intero commento virgiliano di Leto, l'attuale Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, Canon. Lat. 54 (= Canon.), è trascritto da una mano che non è riconoscibile come quella di Leto, ma esiste una nota autografa di Leto, che lascia ipotizzare che il manoscritto fosse una *recollecta* di lezioni trascritte da un suo allievo esperto e riviste da Leto.¹⁹ Analogamente, il bel manoscritto BAV, Vat. lat. 3255 (= Vat. 3255), che contiene solamente il commento alle *Georgiche*, in una redazione ridotta e verisimilmente anteriore a quella della stampa bresciana e del manoscritto Canoniciano, cita in un caso lo stesso Leto.²⁰

Aurelio Lippo Brandolini e il suo commento alle *Georgiche*

Fra i commentatori che si collocarono sulla scia di Leto, applicandone in modo autonomo il metodo, il più noto è Pietro Leoni (*Cynthius Cenetensis*), che frequentò lo *Studium* romano negli anni '70 ed insegnò poi in Friuli, dove scrisse un commento all'*Eneide* di cui resta l'esemplare copiato nel codice R 13 sup. della Venerabile Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano.²¹ Meno noto è il caso di cui ci occupiamo in questa sede, quello del commento alle *Georgiche* di Aurelio Lippo Brandolini (*Lippus Florentinus*), autore di un certo rilievo nella cultura del tardo Quattrocento.

Nato a Firenze nel 1454,²² ma educato a Napoli, dove si segnalò quale poeta ed umanista nella corte di Ferdinando I d'Aragona,²³ Brandolini si trasferì nel 1480 a Roma, dove godette del favore di Sisto IV, al quale dedicò una serie di composizioni poetiche.²⁴ Fra il 1490 e il 1491 insegnò retorica a Buda, presso la

¹⁸ L'intera vicenda editoriale del commento fino al Naeke è ricostruita in Stok 2020, cui si rimanda per l'ampia bibliografia precedente.

¹⁹ Su questo manoscritto vd. Abbamonte 2012, 131–132.

²⁰ Cfr. Gioseffi 1991, 244 n. 56.

²¹ Pubblicato da Giovanni Maria Dozio (Leoni 1845).

²² Per la biografia di Brandolini cfr. Rotondò 1972. Lippo/*Lippus* è il soprannome dato a Brandolini per la deficienza visiva di cui soffrì fin da giovane età.

²³ A quest'epoca risalgono il volgarizzamento del *Panegirico* traiano di Plinio il Giovane (Parigi, Bibliothèque nationale de France, it. 616) e l'orazione *De rei militaris litterarumque dignitate, affinitate et laudibus* (BnF, lat. 7860).

²⁴ Cfr. De Luca 1938.

corte di Mattia Corvino,²⁵ dove scrisse i trattati *De miseria humanae conditionis* e *De comparatione republicae et regni* (dialogo di cui James Hankins ha pubblicato pochi anni fa una nuova edizione).²⁶ Rientrato in Italia si stabilì in Toscana ed entrò nell'ordine degli Agostiniani, dedicandosi negli anni successivi alla predicazione. Morì di peste, a Roma, nel 1497.²⁷ Fra le opere, oltre ad orazioni e composizioni poetiche,²⁸ è da ricordare il *De ratione scribendi*, pubblicato a Basilea nel 1498, che include una sezione sull'agiografia analizzata dalla Frazier.²⁹

Non è chiaro se Brandolini possa essere considerato un vero e proprio allievo di Pomponio Leto,³⁰ ma egli ebbe certamente modo, negli anni '80, di frequentare l'ambiente dell'Accademia e le lezioni del Maestro ed il suo commento alle *Georgiche* riflette chiaramente l'insegnamento e l'approccio di Leto, pur sviluppato con modalità proprie ed autonome.

Il commento è testimoniato dal codice della BAV, Vat. lat. 2740. Si tratta di un codice cartaceo composito,³¹ formato da tre sezioni distinte per grafie, filigrane e contenuti, e separate da fogli bianchi. I fogli sono di dimensioni omogenee, ad eccezione del f. 60, che è più piccolo ed è stato aggiunto (vd. *infra*). Del manoscritto ci interessa qui la prima sezione, di 73 fogli, databile alla fine del XV secolo, che contiene il commento alle *Georgiche*. Le altre due unità, del sec. XVI, corrispondono, nella numerazione attuale, ai ff. 74–87, che contengono il commento di Domizio Calderini all'*Appendix Vergiliana* e un *excerptum* di Diomede,³² e ai ff. 88–121, che contengono tre carmi di carattere religioso e il commento all'*Ibis* di François Dubois.³³

²⁵ Cfr. Mayer 1938; Noe 2011, 61–62.

²⁶ Brandolini 2009.

²⁷ Sul fratello minore, Raffaele Brandolini, anche lui detto Lippo ed anche lui agostiniano, morto verso il 1515, cfr. Quartana 1942; Kristeller 1974, 133. Perini 1929, 153 attribuisce a lui, e non a Raffaele, la paternità del commento alle *Georgiche* in esame.

²⁸ Fra le prime cfr. l'orazione *pro clarissimo viro Antonio Lauredano* in BAV, Reg. lat. 1368. Fra le composizioni poetiche, oltre a quelle esaminate da De Luca 1938, basti ricordare l'elegia per Federico di Montefeltro (BAV, Urb. lat. 1193) pubblicata da Cinquini 1910, 26–28, e la composizione in onore di Lorenzo de' Medici citata da Houghton 2019, 52–53.

²⁹ Frazier 2003.

³⁰ Così lo definisce ad es. Charpentier 1843, 287–288.

³¹ Per una descrizione del manoscritto, vd. Pellegrin 1991, 577–578. Il manoscritto è stato riprodotto digitalmente e pubblicato online dalla BAV, vd. https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.2740, 5 gennaio 2022.

³² Le tre sezioni vennero raccolte forse al momento della loro acquisizione da parte della Biblioteca Vaticana, nella seconda metà del sec. XVI: cfr. Bernardi 2017 n.; Bianchi 2015, 173 ritiene che il codice provenisse dalla biblioteca di Angelo Colocci.

³³ La natura miscelanea del manufatto ha prodotto una doppia numerazione di mano recente: la prima (marg. sup. dei ff. *recto*), indica 121 fogli, la seconda (marg. inf.), indica correttamente 119 fogli. Le due numerazioni coincidono fino al f. 83; la differenza si verifica a causa di un errore di calcolo della numerazione superiore ai fogli bianchi 84–87: mentre la

Il commento è in forma continua, con lemmi sottolineati e *marginalia* (in rosso nei primi sei fogli), relativi per lo più agli autori citati. L'*inscriptio* sul bordo superiore di f. 1 è in parte rifilata: *Georgicorum carminis commentarium*. Il nome di Lippo compare al f. 35v: “Expliciunt in primum Georgicorum librum Lippi Florentini dictata, nunc in secundum foeliciter incipiunt” (Terminano le lezioni di Lippo Fiorentino sul primo libro delle Georgiche. Iniziano quelle sul secondo libro). Di seguito: f. 52v: *Commentaria in tertium librum Georgicorum* (Commento al terzo libro delle Georgiche) f. 62r: “Explicit tertius Georgicorum liber” (Termina il terzo libro delle Georgiche); f. 62v: “Argumentum in quartum librum Georgicorum” (Argomento del quarto libro delle Georgiche); f. 69v: “Finiunt comentaria in quattuor libros georgicorum” (Finiscono i commenti ai quattro libri delle Georgiche). Il f. 60 è di formato minore e contiene il commento a 3, 340–383: esso è stato aggiunto per supplire all’omissione localizzabile al f. 59v, dove a metà foglio si passa dal commento a *Georg.* 3, 338 a quello a 3, 384; il punto d’inserzione del foglio aggiunto è indicato da una freccia. Il commento appare piuttosto squilibrato, in quanto metà di esso (34 fogli) è dedicato al primo libro, mentre porzioni di testo via via minori sono dedicate ai tre libri successivi (rispettivamente 18, 9 e 8 fogli).

Il rapporto tra Brandolini e Leto

La conoscenza e l’impiego dell’esegesi di Leto da parte di Brandolini è confermata dal commento a *Georg.* 2.38, in cui Virgilio menziona il monte Taburno: “atque olea magnum uestire Taburnum” (e gli ulivi rivestono il grande Taburno). I commentatori antichi noti a Leto si erano divisi sulla collocazione geografica del monte. Servio lo identifica come un monte della Campania: “TABVRNVM (Taburnus) mons Campaniae” (Il Taburno è un monte della Campania, *Serv. Georg.* 2, 38, p. 221,4 Th.).³⁴

Lo pseudo-Probo propone, invece, una collocazione pugliese: “Taburnus mons est Apuliae regionis, quae fertilis est oleae” (Il Taburno è un monte della regione della Puglia, che è ricca di ulivi, *ps.-Prob. Georg.* 2, 38, p. 367,19–20 H.).

I testimoni del commento di Leto dipendono dallo pseudo-Probo per la collocazione pugliese del monte, ma aggiungono un’informazione assente nelle fonti antiche:³⁵

numerazione inferiore li numera di seguito, riprendendo al f. 88, dove è presente un testo, l’altra li registra come 84, 84a, 84b, 84c e riprende la numerazione indicando erroneamente come f. 90 quello che va indicato come f. 88.

³⁴ Collocazione ribadita da Servio anche nel commento ad *Aen.* 12, 715, p. 635,13 Th.

³⁵ Per l’analisi dei commenti antichi e della ripresa pomponiana cfr. Abbamonte 2012, 156–159. Per le sigle dei testimoni vd. *supra*.

Taburnus est mons Apuliae fertilis oleae, prope est oppidum Oriolum [sic].

Il Taburno è un monte della Puglia ricca di ulivi, vicino c'è la città di Oriolo, **Canon.** f. 100r = **Caiet.** G ii.

Vat. 3255: Taburnus mons est Apuliae fertilis oleae, prope est Oridum [sic] oppidum (f. 13r *marg. sup. dextr.*).

Tutti i testimoni di Leto introducono il toponimo di un centro urbano, *Oridum* / *Oriolum*, che sarebbe vicino al monte Taburno e che non trova corrispondenze nelle fonti antiche, né nella toponomastica moderna; la notizia derivava probabilmente da esperienze personali dell'umanista, ma è stata tramandata in una forma scorretta da tutti i testimoni. Già in un precedente lavoro si era ipotizzato che le lezioni *Oridum* / *Oriolum* fossero una deformazione, penetrata nei testimoni, del nome di Airola, cittadina alle falde del Taburno.³⁶ Questa ipotesi trova ora una conferma nel commento di Brandolini, che a proposito del riferimento virgiliano al Taburno costruisce il suo commento in maniera identica a Leto:

TABURNUS Mons est in finibus Campaniae et Samnii, qui hodie quoque nomen retinet, ad cuius radices Mons Sarchius et Erola oppida constituta sunt (f. 37v).

Taburno: È un monte ai confini della Campania e del Sannio, che ha conservato il proprio nome ancora oggi, alle cui falde si trovano le città di Montesarchio e Airola.

A differenza di Leto, Brandolini non segue la collocazione pugliese dello pseudo-Probo, ma sembra prendere le distanze anche da Servio, specificando che il Taburno si trova sì in Campania, ma nel territorio del Sannio. Il punto di contatto tra i lavori di Brandolini e Leto è dato dalla seconda parte del commento, in cui anche Brandolini ricorda i centri urbani alle falde del Taburno e menziona Montesarchio e Airola: del primo non fanno cenno le versioni del commento di Leto a nostra disposizione, mentre Brandolini ci conferma che dietro le lezioni *Oridum* / *Oriolum* va individuata Airola, che egli scrive nella forma *Erola*, confermata anche dal *notabile* della stessa mano in margine.³⁷ Questo commento dimostra che Brandolini ebbe accesso a materiale pomponiano o frequentò le sue lezioni, nel corso delle quali Leto faceva riferimento a toponimi moderni forse per chiarire la collocazione geografica di luoghi (come il Taburno) non sempre noti ai suoi studenti.

³⁶ Abbamonte 2012, 158 e n. 105.

³⁷ La conferma permette di stabilire che la forma *Oridum* di **Vat. 3255** deriva da cattiva lettura del gruppo *-ol-* nell'antigrafo.

Allo stesso tempo, il passo getta una luce interessante sulla natura dei testimoni che ci trasmettono il “commento” di Leto, in quanto essi potrebbero riportare forme abbreviate (e travisate) del materiale, che Leto discuteva a lezione: in questo caso, essi avrebbero travisato il nome di Airola, eliminato quello di Montesarchio e selezionato solo la collocazione pugliese del Taburno, mentre non è da escludere che Leto abbia illustrato entrambe le ipotesi riferite dalle fonti antiche; oppure dobbiamo ritenere che l’aggiunta della cittadina di Montesarchio e la collocazione del Taburno in Campania e nel Sannio fossero scelte autonome di Brandolini, che intendeva in questo modo arricchire e modificare il materiale pomponiano.

L’interesse verso la mitologia antica di Brandolini

Un ambito in cui frequentemente Brandolini tende ad espandere l’esegesi pomponiana è quello relativo ai miti e ai personaggi del mito citati da Virgilio. Esaminiamo qui qualche esempio di questa tematica in relazione al libro III.

A *Georg.* 3, 4–5, quali esempi di vicende ben note e celebrate dai poeti, Virgilio menziona Euristeo e Busiride: “Quis aut Eurysthea durum // aut inlaudati nescit Busiridis aras?” (Chi non conosce il duro Euristeo o gli altari di Buride privo di lodi?). Leto si limita a segnalare l’identità dei due personaggi, basandosi in parte su Servio, e propone una nota esplicativa per *inlaudati*:

Euristea durum: Inexorabilem, quem Hercules nunquam potuit placare. Fuit rex Argivorum Persei filius, qui ad omnia pericula Herculem cogebat.

Busiridis arces: loca ubi habitabat Busiris, <qui fuit filius Neptuni> (**Caiet.**) qui hospites imolabat et qui relictus fuit ab Osiride in custodiam Aegypti.

illaudati: ac per hoc saevi et crudelis (**Canon.** f 126v = **Caiet.** li).

Il duro Euristea: inesorabile, che neanche Ercole poté placare. Fu il re degli Argivi e figlio di Perseo, che sottoponeva Ercole ad ogni pericolo.

Rocche di Busiride: luoghi in cui abitava Busiride, che fu figlio di Nettuno e sacrificava gli ospiti e che fu abbandonato da Osiride a sorvegliare l’Egitto.

Privo di lode: e per questo motivo feroce e crudele.

Nella nota su Busiride il lemma riproduce la lezione del codice Mediceo, dove si legge *arces* in luogo del vulgato *aras* (altari), adottato dagli editori). La nota di Leto tiene conto di questa scelta testuale, *loca ubi* etc., ma *imolabat* conserva l’esegesi usuale riferita alle *arae*: cfr. Servio, *cum susceptos hospites immolaret* (Poiché immolava gli ospiti catturati, Serv. *ad Georg.* 3,

5, p. 272,16–17 Th.), e ps.-Probo, *advenas ad aras immolare solitus* (era solito sacrificare gli ospiti sugli altari, ps.-Prob. *ad Georg.* 3, 4, p. 375,16 H.). La notizia su Osiride è tratta da Diodoro Siculo (1, 17, 3). La nota su *inlaudati* sembra trarre le conseguenze dell'esegesi di Servio, che aveva spiegato:

‘inlaudati’ participium est pro nomine, ut sit inlaudabilis, non qui laudatus non sit, sed qui laudari non meruerit (Serv. *ad Georg.* 3, 5, p. 272, 18–19 Th.).

Privo di lode: è un participio al posto del sostantivo, in quanto sarebbe privo di lode non chi non sia elogiato, ma chi non merita di essere elogiato.

Le note dedicate da Brandolini ai versi citati sono le seguenti:

Euristea: Hic fuit Stenedi (Stenedus *mg. sup.*) filius Mycenarum rex, ut quidam scribunt, uel Atticae, ut alii traddunt (*sic*), qui Iunonis instinctu Herculi (*corr. ex Herculis*) labores imperabat, ut Seneca in Hercule satis docet.

Durum: Crudelem, quia difficillima quaeque Herculi imperabat.

Busiridis: Hunc ferunt fabulae in Aegypto regnasse et hospites immolare solitum, de quo Isocrates scripsisse dicitur. Unde oritur quaestio quare inlaudatum appellarit, quam Macrobius dupliciter soluit: primum quemadmodum ille inculpatus est qui omni culpa caret et optimus est, sic qui caret omni laude et pessimus et inlaudatus dici debet, deinde laudare nominare est, inde inlaudatus innominatus. Seruius inlaudati idest inlaudabilis exponit, quod mihi uidetur ad mentem poetae proxime accedere. Ceterum Strabo negat omnino Busiridem ullum fuisse sed, quoniam e Busiriphica prefectura et Busiri oppido Aegypti hospites pellerentur praesertimque Carthaginenses eaque loca maxime importuosa essent, fictas esse de Busiride fabulas putat. (f. 53r).

Euristea: Questo fu il figlio di Stenedo, re di Micene, come scrivono alcuni, o dell'Attica, come tramandano altri, che su istigazione di Giunone imponeva ad Ercole le prove, come spiega bene Seneca nell'Ercole.

Duro: Crudele, perché imponeva ad Ercole tutte le prove più difficili.

Di Busiride: I racconti tramandano che costui abbia regnato in Egitto e che fosse solito sacrificare gli ospiti, su cui si dice che abbia scritto Isocrate. Da qui nasce il problema perché l'avrebbe definito *privo di lodi*, che Macrobio risolve in due modi: primo, come si definisce privo di colpe colui che è privo di ogni colpa ed è eccellente, così chi è privo di ogni motivo di lode ed è pessimo, si deve definire “privo di lodi”;

secondo, *laudare* significa nominare, per cui *inlaudatus* significa innominato. Servio spiega che “privo di lode” significa che non è elogiabile, e ciò mi sembra andare vicino all’intenzione del poeta. Del resto, Strabone dice che Busiride non sarebbe mai esistito ma, poiché i viaggiatori erano espulsi dalla prefettura Busifirica e dalla città dell’Egitto di Busiris (soprattutto i Cartaginesi) e che quei luoghi non avevano alcun approdo naturale, ritiene che si siano inventati questi racconti su Busiride.

Per quel che riguarda Euristeo, Brandolini segnala una sua localizzazione attica attraverso il padre Stenedo (confusione per Stenelo) da una fonte non precisata, derivata forse dalla versione euripidea per cui Aristeo sarebbe stato sepolto ad Atene, presso il tempio di Pallade (*Eracl.* 1030–1031). Leto dava l’usuale identificazione di Euristeo come re Argivo, mentre Servio, più genericamente, lo definisce *rex Graeciae* (*ad Georg.* 3, 4). La nota su *durum* fu suggerita probabilmente dallo stesso scolio di Servio, dove si legge: “unde eum durum appellavit, qui potuit ad complendum odium novercale sufficere” (dove definisce duro colui che poté bastare a mettere in pratica l’odio della matrigna, *Serv. ad Georg.* 3, 4, p. 272, 12–13 Th.). Da Servio, ancora, deriva la citazione di Isocrate: “huius laudem scripsit Isocrates” (Isocrate scrisse un elogio di costui), a cui segue la nota citata sopra su *inlaudati* (*ad Georg.* 3, 5). Di seguito Brandolini cita la trattazione della questione che leggeva in Macrobio, dove Avieno, nella finzione dialogica, rivolge delle critiche a Virgilio formulate in realtà, come sappiamo da Gellio 2, 6, 3 (fonte di Macrobio), da Anneo Cornuto:

verbum ‘inlaudati’ non est idoneum ad exprimendam sceleratissimi hominis delectationem, qui quod homines omnium gentium immolare solitus fuit, non laude indignus, sed detestatione execrationeque totius generis humani dignus est (*Sat.* 6, 7. 5).

L’espressione *inlaudati* non è adatta ad esprimere il compiacimento di questo disgraziatissimo uomo, il quale, in quanto fu solito sacrificare uomini di tutte le nazionalità, non è indegno di un elogio, ma degno di essere detestato e maledetto da tutto il genere umano.

Nella finzione dei *Saturnalia* Avieno si rivolge al Servio personaggio del dialogo: Brandolini interpreta come risposta la posizione che leggeva nel commento di Servio, e la ritiene del tutto soddisfacente.

Poco oltre, ancora nel terzo libro, Virgilio ricorda i precursori mitici dell’equitazione:

Primus Erichtonius currus et quattuor ausus
iungere equos rapidusque rotis insistere victor;
frena Pelethronii Lapithae gyrosque dedere

impositi dorso, atque equitem docuere sub armis
insultare solo et gressus glomerare superbos (*Georg.* 3, 113–117).

Erittonio fu il primo che osò congiungere al cocchio quattro cavalli e levarsi sulle ruote, veloce vincitore; i Lapiti del Peletronio, ben saldi sul dorso, donarono i morsi e i circuiti, e insegnarono al cavallo montato da armati a battere il terreno e addensare i passi superbi.

Partiamo anche in questo caso dal commento di Leto:

Erichtonius: filius Vulcani et Terrae, in Attica regione primus inuenit quadrigam, ut occultaret pedes, quos anguinos habebat, uictor primus ipse fuit qui pugnauit cum curru, inde ludi Circenses instituti fuerunt.

Peletronii appellantur Thessali a Pellentronio oppido, ab eo quod magnam uim herbarum habeant in medicaminibus. Unde et Graeci glossematicos uim et potentiam herbarum trona appellant. Ergo Lapithae fuerunt primi qui posuerunt frena equis, quia uicerunt Centauros.

Equitem: sessorem in equis (**Canon.** f 131r–v = **Caiet. lliii**).

Erittonio: figlio di Vulcano e Terra; nella regione dell’Attica fu il primo inventore della quadriga, per nascondere i suoi piedi che aveva a forma di serpente. Fu anche il primo a vincere combattendo con il carro, per cui furono istituiti i giochi del circo.

Peletronii: sono così chiamati i Tessali dalla città di Pelletronio, dalla quale essi ricevessero la grande potenza delle erbe per i filtri. Donde i Greci dalla radice del termine chiamano “trona” la potenza e la capacità delle erbe. Pertanto, i Lapiti furono i primi ad imporre i morsi ai cavalli, poiché sconfissero i Centauri.

Cavaliere: chi siede sul cavallo.

Per la genealogia di *Erichtonius* Leto ha utilizzato lo pseudo-Probo, dove si legge:

Attici, Vulcani filii et terrae [...] primus autem dicitur quadrigis usus, quo decentius celaret pedes anguinos suos (Ps. Prob. *ad Georg.* 3, 113–115, p. 380,24–381, 1 H.).

Di Attico, figlio di Vulcano e della terra [...] Si dice che questo (*scil.* Erittonio) abbia utilizzato per primo le quadrighe, per nascondere nel modo più decoroso i suoi piedi a forma di serpente.

La connessione con i *ludi Circenses* potrebbe esser stata suggerita a Leto dagli *Scholia Vaticana*, dove troviamo anche, come nello pseudo-Probo, *anguinis*

pedibus (Leto: “pedes, quos anguinos habebat” (i piedi che aveva a forma di serpente).

Varro [...] *Erichtonium* ait primum quattuor iunxisse equos ludis, qui Panathenaea appellantur. De hoc *Erichtonio* alibi satis dictum. qui anguinis pedibus fuisse memoratur (Serv. *ad Georg.* 3, 113, p. 285, 19–22 Th.).

Varrone [...] Si dice che *Erittonio* fosse il primo a riunire quattro cavalli per i giochi che si chiamano Panatenaici. Su questo *Erittonio* si è già detto abbastanza in un altro luogo: costui è ricordato per aver avuto i piedi a forma di serpente.

Per quel che riguarda la nota successiva, essa deriva in parte da Servio, “*Pelethronium oppidum est Thessaliae*” (*Peletrionio* è una città della Tessaglia, Serv. *ad Georg.* 3, 115, p. 285, 24–25 Th.), in parte dallo pseudo-Probo: “ab eo, quod medicamentorum magna vis ibi nascatur, quae Graeci γλωσσηματικῶς θρόνα vocant” (dal fatto che lì nasce una gran quantità di filtri, che i Greci chiamano θρόνα per derivazione lessicale”, Ps. Prob. *ad Georg.* 3, 113–115, p. 381, 3–4 H.).³⁸

Nella nota su *equitem* Leto, nella resa di *eques* (cavaliere) nell’usuale significato di *essor* (colui che sta seduto), sembra aver scartato l’esegesi di Servio e degli *Scholia Vaticana*, per i quali *eques* designerebbe qui il cavallo, come nel passo enniano:

EQUITEM equum: pro equo rectorem posuit (*Schol. Vat. add.*: hic ‘equitem’ sine dubio equum dicit, maxime cum conferat ‘insultare solo’: Ennius annalium septimo: denique vi magna quadrupes eques atque elephanti proiciunt sese) (*ad Georg.* 3, 116, p. 286, 13–16 Th. = Enn. *ann.* 236–237 Skutsch).

“*Equitem*” cavallo: ha posto il cavaliere al posto del cavallo (*Schol. vat. add.*: qui chiama senza dubbio “*equitem*” il cavallo, soprattutto se si guarda a “battere il suolo“. Ennio dice nel settimo degli *Annali*: “finalmente, con grande violenza si lanciano i quadrupedi cavalli e gli elefanti”).

Le note di Brandolini ai versi in esame sono le seguenti (ff. 56v–57r del manoscritto Vaticano):

primus: *Eriptonius* (*Eriptonius marg.sin.*) Vulcani filius. Nam cum Vulcanus ab Ioue impetrasset Mineruae concubitum neque eo potiri posset illa se acriter defendente, pre (*sic*) libidine semen in pauimentum coniecit, quo natus est *Eriptonius* anguinis pedibus, qui ex lite et terra

³⁸ Presuppone Hesychius, *lex.* π 1304 (cfr. Hollis 1998, 69).

interpretatur: heris nam lis est. Sic, cum pedum deformitatem occultare uellet, quadrigarum usum inuenit. Diuus Augustinus dicit hunc existimatum Vulcani et Mineruae filium, nam cum Athenis templum esset utrique deo consecratum, inuentus est in eo infans serpente implicitus, et hinc locus fabulae datus. Ceterum, ut scribit Plinius, uehi equis primus inuenit Bellerophon, frenos et strata Pelectronius, pugnare ex equis in Tessalia docuere Centauri iuxta Pelium montem habitantes a Laphitis orti, bigas repperit Frigum natio, quadrigas Eriptonius.

Equitem: id est equum auctore Macrobio. Nam apud ueteres equum etiam significabat. [f. 57r] Ennius: Denique ui magna quadrupes eques atque elephanti proiciunt sese.

Sub armis: id est equestri pugna quam Centauri inuenerunt, ut diximus.

Per primo: Erittonio, figlio di Vulcano: quando Vulcano prego Giove di unirsi a Minerva, ma non poté realizzare l'unione, perché lei si difese fieramente, per la libidine sparse il seme sul pavimento, dove nacque Erittonio dai piedi a forma di serpente, che viene interpretato come nato dalla lite e dalla terra (Eris è la lite). Così, volendo nascondere la deformazione dei piedi, inventò l'uso delle quadrighe. Sant'Agostino dice che costui fu considerato figlio di Vulcano e Minerva: infatti, poiché vi era ad Atene un tempio dedicato ad entrambe le divinità, fu trovato l' un bambino avviluppato in un serpente, e da lì è nato il racconto. Del resto, come scrive Plinio, Bellerofonte fu il primo ad essere portato da un cavallo; Pelletronio inventò i morsi e le gualdrappe; in Tessaglia, i Centauri che abitavano vicino al monte Pelio, nati dai Lapiti, insegnarono a combattere dai cavalli; il popolo dei Frigi scoprì la biga, Erittonio la quadriga.

La nota su Erittonio integra Servio ed Agostino:

Serv. *ad Georg.* 3, 113, p. 285,13–18 Th.: Vulcanus impetrato a Ioue Minervae coniugio, illa reluctantem, effectum libidinis proiecit in terram. Inde natus est puer draconteis pedibus, qui appellatus est Erichthonius, quasi de terra et lite procreatus, nam ἔρις est lis, χθὼν terra. Hic ad tegendam pedum foeditatem iunctis equis usus est curru, quo tegetet sui corporis turpitudinem.

Vulcano, poiché gli era stato chiesto con insistenza da Giove di unirsi a Minerva, mentre lei si rifiutava, gettò a terra il frutto della sua libidine. Da qui nacque il bambino dai piedi di serpente, che fu chiamato Erittonio, cioè nato dalla terra e dalla contesa (infatti, ἔρις significa contesa, χθὼν terra). Per nascondere la sconcezza dei piedi, questi utilizzò il carro con i cavalli aggiogati, per nascondere la bruttezza del suo corpo.

Aug. *Civ.* 18, 12: Vulcanum commotum effudisse aiunt semen in terram atque inde homini nato ob eam causam tale inditum nomen. Graeca enim lingua ἔρις contentio, γρὸν terra est, ex quibus duobus compositum vocabulum est Erichthonius. Verum, quod fatendum est, refellunt et a suis diis repellunt ista doctiores, qui hanc opinionem fabulosam hinc exortam ferunt, quia in templo Vulcani et Minervae, quod ambo unum habebant Athenis, expositus inventus est puer dracone involutus, qui eum significavit magnum futurum et propter commune templum, cum essent parentes eius ignoti, Vulcani et Minervae dictum esse filium. Nominis tamen eius originem fabula illa potius quam ista designat historia.

Vulcano, in preda all'eccitazione, versò il seme per terra e da qui fu dato il nome all'uomo che ne nacque. In greco infatti ἔρις significa contesa e γρὸν terra: il nome Erittonio è stato composto con questi due termini. Bisogna dichiarare comunque che gli uomini più dotti rifiutano questi fatti e non vogliono attribuirli ai loro dei, spiegando l'origine di questa leggenda con il fatto che nell'unico tempio che Vulcano e Minerva avevano ad Atene fu trovato esposto un bambino avvilluppato in un serpente, che significava la sua grandezza futura. Poiché erano sconosciuti i suoi genitori e il tempio era di entrambi, quel bambino fu chiamato figlio di Vulcano e di Minerva. Tuttavia quella leggenda spiega meglio di questa storia l'origine di quel nome.³⁹

Come già nella nota su Busiride, in cui Brandolini accoglieva la versione razionalizzante di Strabone (cfr. sopra), in questo caso un'analoga razionalizzazione del mito è fornita da Agostino (e non sarà da dimenticare che Brandolini, dopo la composizione del commento, entrò nell'ordine agostiniano). Non trova riscontro nelle fonti citate *anguinis pedibus* (Servio: *draconteis pedibus* (dai piedi di serpente); Agostino: *dracone involutus* (avviluppato in un serpente), che è invece espressione usata dagli *Scholia Vaticana* e dallo pseudo-Probo (cfr. sopra). Nell'incertezza sull'accesso di Brandolini a queste fonti, si potrebbe ipotizzare che abbia recuperato l'espressione dallo stesso Leto.

L'ultima parte della nota riproduce un passo di Plinio il Vecchio:

equo vehi Bellerophontem, frenos et strata equorum Pelenthronium, pugnare ex equo Thessalos qui Centauri appellati sunt secundum Pelium montem. Bigas prima iunxit Phrygum natio, quadrigas Erichthonius.⁴⁰

³⁹ Trad. it. di Luigi Alici, Augustinus 2001.

⁴⁰ *Nat.* 7, 202.

Bellerofonte l'arte di cavalcare; Peletronio le briglie e la sella; i Tessali detti Centauri, che abitano sul monte Celio, praticarono per primi il combattimento a cavallo. I Frigi furono i primi ad aggiogare una biga, Erittonio a formare una quadriga.⁴¹

Nella nota su *equitem* Brandolini prende una posizione diversa da quella di Leto e cita Macrobio, che in *Sat.* 6, 9, 8 fa esporre al Servio-personaggio l'esegesi fornita dagli *Scholia Vaticana* (cfr. sopra), per cui *equus* avrebbe il significato arcaico di cavallo: “*equus: omnes [...] antiqui scriptores ut hominem equo insidentem ita et equum, cum portaret hominem, 'equitem' vocaverunt*” (tutti gli antichi scrittori chiamarono *equus* tanto l'uomo che siede sul cavallo quanto il cavallo, quando porta un uomo). Macrobio propone di seguito il verso enniano citato dagli *Scholia Vaticana* (cfr. sopra) e riprodotto dallo stesso Brandolini (si direbbe dallo stesso Macrobio, restando incerto se egli abbia utilizzato o meno gli *Scholia Vaticana*).

Come nel caso esaminato in precedenza, Brandolini allarga la gamma delle fonti utilizzate da Leto (pur non disponendo, si direbbe, dello pseudo-Probo), avvalendosi non solo di autori ben noti anche a Leto, quali Plinio e Macrobio, ma anche di un autore come Agostino, nei cui confronti egli aveva interessi più ampi.

Brandolini e il commento di Servio

Il confronto critico con il commento serviano costituì un passaggio cruciale per Pomponio Leto, attraverso il quale maturò la formazione del suo commento e, più in generale, di un approccio esegetico che possiamo definire “moderno”. A partire da Petrarca il commento serviano era stato fortemente rivalutato dall'Umanesimo,⁴² e aveva conosciuto una diffusione notevole, testimoniata dai numerosi manoscritti copiati in quest'epoca, soppiantando i commenti tardomedievali (di Ilario di Orléans, Zono de Magnalis e altri) in auge nei secoli precedenti. Nella prima metà del sec. XV l'esegesi serviana restò del tutto centrale nella lettura di Virgilio, mentre è proprio con Leto che prevale un atteggiamento critico nei confronti di Servio, per alcuni aspetti già delineato da Lorenzo Valla.⁴³

⁴¹ Trad. it. di Giuliano Ranucci in Plinius 1983, 125.

⁴² Petrarca possedeva il famoso manoscritto virgiliano con il commento di Servio oggi conservato nella VBA di Milano (A.79.inf.), con le miniature di Simone Martini, su cui vd. Fenzi 2011.

⁴³ Lorenzo Valla, di cui Leto probabilmente seguì le lezioni (cfr. Accame 2008, 37–41), dedicò, in particolare, il sesto libro delle *Elegantie* a criticare il metodo linguistico e grammaticale di Servio e disseminò in varie opere le sue osservazioni, spesso molto severe, nei confronti di Servio: una raccolta dei principali argomenti di Valla contro Servio è in Abbamonte 2012, 38–60, con ulteriori indicazioni in Marsico 2013.

Pur collocandosi anche lui in una prospettiva critica nei confronti di Servio, Brandolini si differenzia da Leto in quanto propone, nel proprio commento, un confronto puntuale e ravvicinato con l'esegesi serviana, che include anche degli apprezzamenti, come abbiamo visto nel caso di *Georg.* 3, 5 citato sopra. Leto, diversamente, cita Servio solo occasionalmente, generalmente in termini critici, anche se ovviamente ne tiene sempre presente la sua esegesi, come abbiamo visto anche nei casi esaminati sopra.

Una prima menzione di Servio è proposta da Brandolini già nella nota introduttiva, per il carattere didascalico dell'opera: "sunt autem hi libri, ut inquit Seruius, didascalici, id est precepta tradentes (*sic*)" (Come dice Servio, questi libri sono didascalici, cioè trasmettono insegnamenti, f. 1r). Servio è menzionato qui quale *auctoritas*, ma poco oltre, nella nota su *letas segetes* (prosperi i campi, *Georg.* 1, 1), Brandolini critica l'antico commentatore, come segnala già il titolo nel mg. destro: *in Servium* (contro Servio). Servio spiega l'interrogativa virgiliana nel senso di "quae res terras pingues efficiat" (quale sostanza renda la terra fertile); Leto glossa: "id est fertiles et pingues" (cioè, prosperi e grassi, **Canon.** f. 55v); Brandolini limita la portata dell'espressione:

Laetas Segetas: non, ut Seruius scribit, pinguem terram. Nam neque hoc docet in uniuersum quo pacto sterile solum possit pinguescere neque hoc uult proponere, sed intelligendum est quid faciat letas segetes, idest qua ratione optime fruges proueniant (f. 1r).

Prosperi i campi: Non la "terra fertile", come scrive Servio: infatti, non spiega ciò in generale, come un suolo sterile possa diventare fertile, né vuole proporre questo tema, ma bisogna comprendere che cosa renda prosperi i campi, cioè in che modo si producano i migliori raccolti.

Inoltre, alla fine della nota, Brandolini propone un'interpretazione figurata dell'espressione: "[...] figura a poetis maxime usitata, ut sensus et affectus inanimatis tribuant" ([...] è un'immagine molto usata dai poeti per attribuire sensazioni e sentimenti agli oggetti inanimati, f. 1r).

La successiva notazione su Servio riguarda *ferre [...] pedem* (portate il piede, *Georg.* 1, 11), che Servio interpreta in riferimento al ritmo poetico: "metricam praestate rationem" (fornite una misura metrica, *Serv. ad Georg.* 1, 11, p. 133, 9–10 Th.). Brandolini contesta l'interpretazione serviana e riferisce l'espressione al passo dei Satiri:

ferre pedem: allusit ad eorum naturam, qui saltando incedunt et propterea Satyri appellantur, non placet quod Seruius dicit ferre pedem dare metricam facultatem quam ipsi dare non possunt (f. 2v).

portate il piede: Allude alla loro natura, che avanzano ballando e perciò sono chiamati Satiri. Non siamo d'accordo con ciò che dice Servio,

secondo cui “portare il piede” significa dare una certa capacità metrica, che essi non possono dare.

Fra i non molti casi in cui Brandolini apprezza l’esegesi di Servio basti citare la nota su 3, 28–29: “magnumque fluentem // Nilum” (e il Nilo che scorre maestoso): “Magnum id est magne et ualde, nomen pro aduerbio, ut ait Seruius” (Maestoso: cioè maestosamente e con impeto, l’aggettivo al posto dell’avverbio, come dice Servio, f. 54v), in riferimento alla glossa serviana *magne* (*ad Georg.* 3, 28).

Le notazioni critiche sono quasi sempre motivate dal confronto fra Servio e fonti diverse. Ad es. a proposito del *Sabellicus sus* di *Georg.* 3, 255, che Servio presenta come *Sabinus*, Brandolini cita Plinio *Nat.* 3, 107, “Samnitium, quos Sabellos et Graeci Samintas dixerere” (Dei Sanniti, che i Greci chiamarono Sabelli e Samnite) e ne deduce che “Sabellicus non Sabinus, ut Seruio placuit, sed Samnis” (Sabellico, non Sabino, come piace a Servio, ma Sannita, f. 58r).

Un caso di un certo interesse è quello di 3, 175 (“Nec vescal salicum frondes”, Fronde di salice poco nutrienti), per il quale Brandolini fa uso, oltre che del commento di Servio, dei lessici di Festo (*Pompeus*) e di Nonio (*Marcellus*):

Vescal: siccas exponit Seruius et tenues in araneorum telis uescal dicit appellari. Marcellus uescum significare scribit minutum et obscurum. Afranius: uescis imbecillis uiribus dixit, nam ut Pompeo teste minuit aliquando, unde uesculi macilenti sunt dicti, uescal ergo id est minutas frondes intellige (f. 57v).

Vescal: “Secche” spiega Servio e dice che si parla di sottili “vescal” nelle tele dei ragni. Marcello scrive che “vescum” significa piccolo e oscuro. Afranio dice “vescis” di deboli forze: infatti, secondo la testimonianza di Pompeo, si riduce talvolta, da cui sono chiamati “vesculi” le persone emaciate, dunque intendi “vescal” cioè fronde minute.

Cfr. Non. p. 187 M. (= II V 30 Gatti): VESCUM minutum, obscurum (VESCUM minuto, oscuro).

Paul. Fest. p. 519 L.: Vesculi male curati et graciles homines (VESCULI uomini mal curati e gracili).

La citazione di Afranio *Com.* fr. 315 R. è ripresa da Nonio. La stessa citazione è proposta anche dagli *Scholia Vaticana* (cfr. *ad Georg.* 3, 175), ma resta incerta, come abbiamo visto, la conoscenza di questo testo da parte di Brandolini.

Un'altra polemica con Servio permette a Brandolini di inserire come fonte a sostegno il poeta Properzio, un autore che è poco usato da Leto e in genere dall'umanesimo romano. A proposito della prosodia dell'aggettivo *Tegeae* (*Georg.* 1, 18) Servio propone: “et Tegeum tribrachys est, “Tegeae” paeon tertius” (e Tegeo è tribraco, Tegee peone terzo, Serv. *ad Georg.* 1, 18, p. 135, 13–14). Brandolini commenta *ad locum* contestando l'analisi prosodica di Servio e portando a sostegno un passo di Properzio:

O Tegee: Pana intelligit a Tegeo Archadiae oppido, unde Tegeus adiectivum est, neque est hic uel tribracus uel Peon Tertius, ut Servius placet. Propertius enim utitur eo uocativum per triplex etiam cum ait: “Ergo (*var. Orgia edit.*) Musarum et Sileni patris imago Fictilis et calami, Pan Tegeae, tui” (*Prop.* 3.3.2–9–30). Quo in loco nec tribracus nec peon locum habent (f. 3r).

O Tegee: Intende Pan dalla città di Tege in Arcadia, da cui deriva l'aggettivo Tegeo, che non è qui tribraco o peone terzo, come ritiene Servio. Infatti, Properzio lo utilizza al vocativo come trisillabo anche quando dice: “Dunque (Oggetti sacri) l'immagine di argilla delle Muse e del padre Sileno e del tuo calamo, o tegeo Pan”. In questo luogo non ci sono né il tribraco, né il peone terzo.

Brandolini e il commento dello pseudo-Probo

Il commento alle *Georgiche* del cd. pseudo-Probo è molto usato da Leto, che lo introduce in forma anonima e senza segnalarlo come un testo diverso dalla sua esegesi. Brandolini, come abbiamo visto in alcuni dei casi discussi sopra, sembra ignorare questo commento. In alcuni casi, però, tracce dello pseudo-Probo sono rilevabili nelle note di Brandolini. Possiamo ipotizzare, in questi casi, che egli sia venuto in contatto con l'esegesi pseudo-probiana tramite Leto.

Un caso di questo tipo è quello che interessa l'espressione “solido Paphiae de robore myrthus” (dal solido legno del mirto Pafio, *Georg.* 2.64) e, in particolare, il rimando a Pafio. Servio interpreta l'aggettivo *Paphiae* come riferito ad una presunta isola di Pafio:

Solido Paphiae de robore myrtho: sicut et olea. “Paphiae” autem Veneriae, a Papho insula, in qua Venus colitur. Huic autem myrtus consecrata est, vel quod haec arbor gaudet litoribus et Venus de mari dicitur procreata, vel quod, ut medicorum indicant libri, haec arbor apta est mulierum necessitatibus plurimis (Serv. *ad Georg.* 2, 64, p. 223, 22–27 Th.).

Dal solido legno del mirto Pafio: come anche l'ulivo. “Pafio”, cioè di Venere, dall'isola di Pafio, in cui è venerata Venere. A lei è consacrato il mirto; oppure perché quest'albero si rallegra delle spiagge e si dice

che Venere sia stata procreata dal mare o perché, come indicano i libri dei medici, questo albero è adatto a moltissime necessità delle donne.

Contro l'identificazione di Pafo con un'isola si era pronunciato il commento dello pseudo-Probo, che aveva giustamente indicato in *Paphiae* un rimando alla città di Pafo nell'isola di Cipro:

Solido Paphiae de robore Myrtho: Insula est Cypros tota Veneri sacrata, in qua est oppidum Paphos, a quo Paphiam myrthum appellat arbusculam, quae Veneris tutelae subiecta est (Ps. Prob. *ad Georg.* 2, 64, p. 367, 21–23 H.).

Dal solido legno del mirto Pafio: L'isola di Cipro è completamente consacrata a Venere, nella quale c'è la città di Pafo, da cui chiama Pafio l'alberello di mirto, che è sottoposto alla protezione di Venere.

Leto aveva preferito questa interpretazione dello pseudo-Probo:

Insula Cypros sacrata est Veneri [Paphiae: Venere insula est Cypros sacrata est Venerii **Calet.**], in qua oppidum Paphos est cum templo Paphiae Veneris, cuius meminit Cornelius Tacitus (*Ann.* 3, 62). Myrthus est in tutela Veneris, ideo Paphia appellata (**Canon.** f. 101r = **Calet.** Giii).

L'isola di Cipro è consacrata a Venere: qui c'è la città di Pafo con il tempio della Venere Pafia, di cui fa menzione Tacito. Il mirto è sotto la protezione di Venere, perciò è detto Pafio.

Sull'identificazione di Pafo, Brandolini mette in evidenza la differenza tra l'esegesi serviana, che egli critica, e la sua, di cui però non fornisce la fonte:

Paphiae: A Papho non insula, ut putat Seruius, sed oppido Cypri, ubi Venus colebatur, cui Mirthus dedicata est. "Paphiae" ergo idest Venereae (f. 38v).

Pafio: non dall'isola di Pafo, come ritiene Servio, ma dalla città dell'isola di Cipro, dove è venerata Venere, alla quale è dedicato il mirto. "Pafio", dunque, significa di Venere.

Brandolini potrebbe aver attinto questa precisazione all'esegesi pomponiana, che non riferisce la propria fonte, per cui Brandolini riporta la notizia senza rendersi conto che anche Leto dipendeva da un altro autore.

Brandolini e e la *Naturalis historia* di Plinio

Come Leto, anche Brandolini fa un uso frequente della *Naturalis historia* di Plinio per fornire informazioni tecniche in riferimento ai versi virgiliani. In qualche caso, l'uso di Plinio da parte dei due umanisti coincide e non trova

corrispondenze in fonti precedenti. In questi casi, si può ipotizzare che sia stato l'apporto di Leto in vista di una lettura "scientifica" delle *Georgiche* ad influenzare Brandolini.

Un caso del genere si osserva a proposito dell'espressione "tarde crescentis oliuae" (dell'ulivo che cresce lentamente) di *Georg.* 2, 3. Mentre lo pseudo-Probo non dedica attenzione al passo, il commento di Servio aveva fornito un'interpretazione piuttosto generica:

Tarde crescentis olivae: res enim diu duratura tardius crescit (Serv. *ad Georg.* 2, 3, p. 217, 18–19 Th.).

Dell'ulivo che cresce lentamente: le cose che durano più a lungo crescono lentamente.

Leto aveva invece criticato l'espressione di Virgilio sulla base di un passo di Plinio (*Nat.* 15, 3), che attestava che anche gli ulivi giovani portavano frutti:

"Prolem" idest oleas (oleam *a.c.* **Calet.**), tarde crescentes ab Esiodo accepit Virgilius, qui negat oleae satorem fructum ex ea percipere. Ideo ait "tarde", sed ita non est. Nam inquit Plinius, oliue etiam in plantariis fructificant (**Canon.** f. 98r–v = **Calet.** Gii).

"Prole" cioè ulivi; Virgilio ha ricavato la notizia secondo cui crescono lentamente da Esiodo, il quale dice che chi pianta un ulivo non gode dei suoi frutti. Perciò dice "tarde", ma non è così. Infatti, Plinio dice: "Gli ulivi portano frutti anche quando sono rampolli".

Il passo pliniano è ripreso anche da Brandolini *ad locum*:

Tarde crescentis oliuae: sequutus est Hesiodum qui, cum de olea scriberet, dixit satorem eius fructum ex illa numquam percepisse. Plinius id negat. Dicit enim fas etiam in plantariis bacchas ferre (f. 35v).

Dell'ulivo che cresce lentamente: Ha seguito Esiodo, che quando ha scritto sull'ulivo ha detto che chi lo pianta non gode mai dei suoi frutti. Plinio dice che non è vero e che è possibile che anche nei rampolli ci siano frutti.

In alcuni casi, Brandolini aggiunge riferimenti al testo pliniano che distinguono la sua esegesi tanto da Servio quanto dal commento di Leto a noi noto, come si osserva nell'esegesi di "materna myrto" (il materno mirto, *Georg.* 1, 28), per cui Servio si era limitato a spiegare l'aggettivo *materna*: "quae in honore est Veneris, a qua Augustus originem ducit" (che è in onore di Venere, da cui Augusto trae origine, Serv. *ad Georg.* 1, 28, p. 139, 1–2 Th.).

Più complesso il commento di Leto, che riprende la spiegazione di *materna* data da Servio e vi aggiunge una serie di informazioni tratte da Plinio:

Materna myrto: Myrtus primum uisa fuit in Italia in tumulo Elpenoris, qui era Circeis. Tradunt Romanos et Sabinos inituros bellum iacta myrto pacificatos fuisse. Vnde et loci monumentum Veneris Clueciae [fluecine **Canon.**] mansit. Cluere enim pugnare est et in circo infimo [initio **Calet.**] uetus ara sub titulo Veneris myrteae fuit.

Materna: Augustus originem habuit ab Iulo, qui fuit siue filius siue nepos Aeneae. Aeneae [Aeneae *om.* **Calet.**] autem mater Venus est [est *om.* **Calet.**]. [...] Myrtus dicata est Veneri. Aulus Postumius triumphans de Sabinis, qui primus omnium [primus **Calet.**] ouans ingressus est urbem, quam rem leuiter sine cruore gesserat, myrto Veneris uictricis coronatus incessit. Postea ouantum fuit corona (**Canon.** ff. 59v–60r = **Calet.** D.iii).

Il materno mirto: Il mirto apparve per la prima volta in Italia sulla tomba di Elpenore, che era al Circeo. Tramandano che i Romani e i Sabini, pronti ad iniziare una guerra, si sarebbero pacificati dopo che era stato gettato del mirto. Dove rimase anche il monumento del luogo a Venere Cluecia. Infatti, “cluere” significa combattere e nella parte bassa del circo c’era un antico altare sotto la protezione di Venere del mirto.

Materna: Augusto ebbe origine da Iulo, che fu o il figlio o il nipote di Enea. La madre di Enea è Venere [...]. Il mirto è dedicato a Venere. Aulo Postumio che celebrava il trionfo sui Sabini, il quale fu il primo di tutti ad entrare acclamato in città, aveva compiuto questa impresa in modo leggero senza spargimento di sangue e avanzò incoronato con il mirto di Venere vincitrice. In seguito, questa divenne la corona di quelli che erano acclamati.

La parte iniziale sull’ingresso del culto in Italia e a Roma è una parafrasi di Plin. *Nat.* 15, 119–120, mentre la notizia dell’uso del mirto da parte di Postumio Tuberto nel trionfo contro i Sabini è tratta da Plin. *Nat.* 15, 125.

Il commento di Brandolini non riprende queste notizie fornite da Plinio, ma aggiunge un’altra informazione tratta da Plinio, che Leto tralascia:

Materna myrto: Quae Veneri dicata est uel quia Venus mari sorta hac arbore se nudam primum se fecit, ut est in fabulis, uel quia myrthus, callidissima cum sit et multis mulierum remediis apta, Veneri congruit, quae luxus et calor est ac veteres pro pipere utebantur, autore Plinio.

Materna: Quia familiae Iuliorum, a quibus Augustus per adoptionem [p.c.] ducebat originem, a Venere proficiscebatur, ut Caesar apud Tranquillum dicit (f. 4r).

Materno mirto: Che è dedicato a Venere o perché Venere, sorta dal mare, con quest'albero si ricoprì, che era nuda, come si legge nei racconti, o perché il mirto, dal momento che è pieno di risorse e adatto a molti ritrovati per le donne, si adatta a Venere, che rappresenta la lussuria e il calore e gli antichi usavano al posto del pepe, secondo Plinio.

Materna: Perché la famiglia dei Giulii, da cui Augusto traeva la sua origine per adozione, iniziava da Venere, come dice Cesare presso Suetonio.

Brandolini recupera la notizia che il mirto avrebbe in origine sostituito il pepe da Plin. *Nat.* 15, 118, mentre il rimando suetoniano è a *Caes.* 6.

Conclusioni

Il commento di Brandolini rivela un influsso del metodo esegetico di Leto sia per quanto riguarda la ripresa di interpretazioni proprie dell'umanista romano (ad es., quella relativa al monte Taburno) sia per l'allargamento verso fonti che non erano presenti nella tradizione precedente a Leto, costituita in massima parte da Servio. In alcuni casi, come quello del commento dello pseudo-Probo o degli *Scholia Vaticana* sembra che Brandolini non abbia avuto un contatto diretto con queste fonti, la cui conoscenza doveva provenirgli attraverso materiale pomponiano. Della *Naturalis historia* di Plinio, Brandolini ora recupera lo stesso passo presente nel commento pomponiano, ora introduce luoghi assenti dalle redazioni a noi note del lavoro di Leto. Questo tipo di integrazioni e la presenza di autori come Agostino e Properzio lasciano presupporre che Brandolini abbia arricchito il suo commento rispetto ai materiali pomponiani, che pure tenne presente; tuttavia, non si può escludere che le redazioni del commento alle *Georgiche* di Leto che sono giunte fino a noi non attestino lo stato delle ricerche di Leto, che Brandolini ebbe modo di consultare.

Tra le fonti greche, Brandolini menziona Erodoto e Strabone, mentre non sembra che abbia avuto a disposizione quelle opere botaniche di Teofrasto, di cui si era servito Leto grazie alla versione del Gaza. Infine, a differenza di Leto, che evita di citare Servio, Brandolini lo menziona e lo registra tra gli *auctores* nei margini. Tuttavia, nella maggior parte dei casi, il commentatore antico è discusso da Brandolini per correggere e criticare la sua interpretazione.

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“I PIÙ DOLCI DI STILE CHE CI SIENO”:



Le *Lune* o *Endimioni* di Giovan Battista Strozzi il Giovane

Edizione critica e commento

By Lorenzo Amato*

The ms. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 3996 contains an anthology of poems written by Giovan Battista Strozzi the Younger (1551–1634) destined to cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini. In a letter in the volume, the poet calls the ten madrigals entitled The Moons some of the “sweetest in style” that he had ever written. The madrigals describe a night scene with Selene (the moon, Strozzi’s alter ego) staring at a dormant Endymion (probably Torquato Malaspina). They show a typically manneristic taste for repetition. This article will present a critical edition based on the Barberini manuscript and two autographs complete with with an introduction and full commentary of the poems.

Il ms. Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 3996 e le *Lune* di Giovan Battista Strozzi il Giovane

Nel ms. Barb. Lat. 3996 della BAV (d’ora in poi Barb3996), bella antologia poetica di Giovan Battista Strozzi il Giovane, è conservata una lettera di due cc. di mm. 210x144, spedita da Firenze il 22 settembre 1596 dall’Autore all’amico e protettore Maffeo Barberini (dal 1623 papa Urbano VIII).

La lettera comincia così:

Molto Illustrissimo e Reverendissimo Signor’ e Padron mio // Hiersera consegnai al Procaccio quel libro che V.S.E. ma per favorirmi desi(derava) di presentare allIllustrissimo Sig(nor) Cardinal Aldobran(dino)

Il libro in questione è il medesimo Barb3996, creato come omaggio a Pietro Aldobrandini (cardinale dal 1593), evidentemente dietro suggerimento del Barberini.¹ A Roma fino al 1594, Strozzi aveva frequentando la corte

* Questo articolo è parte del progetto Lamemoli (*Late Medieval and Early Modern Libraries as Knowledge Repositories, Guardians of Tradition and Catalysts of Change*, Accademia di Finlandia e Università di Jyväskylä, no. 307635, 1 settembre 2017–31 maggio

pontificia di Clemente VIII (Ippolito Aldobrandini) e l'ambiente intellettuale che ruotava attorno al cardinale Cinzio Aldobrandini, cugino e “rivale” di Pietro.² Il sonetto di dedica a p. 1 della silloge, *A quel gran tempio stabile in eterno*, sfrutta quel “gioco del nome” usatissimo anche nell'ambito del madrigale³ per segnalare proprio Pietro come dedicatario del libro: l'“angolare immobil Pietra” che indica San Pietro (v. 2) è convenientemente in rima con i vv. 4–5, che si rivolgono a “te sovra ogn'altra luminosa Pietra / sovrana luce, ALDOBRANDIN, penetra.”

La lettera fu scritta per arricchire la silloge di “alcune dichiarazioni delle mie *Rime*, dove per quale rispetto io creda che e' non sia male il farlo”. Si tratta di note esplicative e brevi considerazioni, fra le quali spiccano quelle finali, sulle serie di madrigali (c. 2r–v):

I madrigali son per se stessi chiari [...] Le diciotto *Spine* furono già fatte sopra una Malaspina; e le dieci *Lune* scherzano intorno al nome ò cognome d'una innamorata donna, e son forse i più dolci di stile che ci sieno; ma lungo sarebbe, et à sproposito il discorrer detti.

Queste dieci *Lune*, che a detta dell'autore sarebbero fra i madrigali più dolci da lui composti, consistono in dieci descrizioni, simili ma indipendenti l'una dall'altra, dell'innamoramento della Luna per il giovane Endimione. Il pastorello, illuminato dal candore dell'astro celeste, è profondamente addormentato, e non si accorge del miracolo di un cosmo che, di fronte allo stupore della dea, pare fermare le sue ruote: tacciono i venti, nulla si muove, il tempo non esiste.

Il mito antico di Endimione amato dalla Luna (Selene, Diana o Cinzia)⁴ è diffuso nella poesia del Rinascimento a partire dalla sestina CCXXXVII del *Canzoniere* (“Deh or foss io col vago de la luna”), nella quale Petrarca afferma di desiderare di essere raggiunto dall'amata e di vivere con lei una notte eterna, come Endimione e la Luna (vv. 1–6). Endimione diviene così, nella tradizione rinascimentale, termine, spesso antifrastico, di paragone amoroso. Poeti come Cristoforo Landino (*Xandra* II, XI),⁵ Agnolo Poliziano

2022, dir. O. Merisalo). Ho già studiato alcuni madrigali di Strozzi il Giovane in Amato 2017, 12.

¹ Siekiera 2019 (anche per bibliografia su Strozzi il Giovane); Barbi 1900; Rossini 2017, 733–762.

² Su Pietro Aldobrandini cfr. Guarini 1960.

³ Amato 2019.

⁴ Molti autori discutono delle origini di Endimione e delle varianti del suo mito, es. Cic. *Tusculanae disputationes* I, 92 (ma in genere cfr. Ferrari 2002). Fra i poeti classici più citati ricordo almeno Ov. *Her.* XVIII, 61–65; e *Ars* III, 83; Prop. II, XV.

⁵ Landino 1939.

(*Epigrammata* CIX),⁶ Lorenzo dei Medici (*Comento* XX),⁷ Benedetto Gareth detto il Cariteo (entrambe le edizioni del canzoniere, ovvero Gareth 1506 e Gareth 1509, sono intitolate a *Endimione*), Jacobo Sannazaro (*Sonetti et Canzoni* II, LXIII),⁸ Ludovico Ariosto (*Furioso* XVIII, 85), Luigi Alamanni (*Selva* XVI), Luigi Tansillo (*Canz.* XLIX),⁹ Benedetto Varchi (*Egloga* II, *Amarilli*), Pietro Bembo (*Rime* XCI),¹⁰ mettono la condizione amorosa in relazione alle attenzioni seleniche ricevute da Endimione. Mentre Chiara Matraini nel sonetto “Ritorna, alma del Ciel, candida Luna”,¹¹ ribalta il punto di vista e il senso del mito, sostenendo la necessità dell’abbandono del desiderio terreno, rappresentato dal fanciullo, per tornare al più retto amore per Febo – Dio.¹² Cristina Acucella segnala l’importanza della rielaborazione simbolico-allegorica del mito, indicando una lettura ermetica del bacio della Luna come “morte nel bacio”, che passando dal Boccaccio della *Genealogia deorum gentilium* (IV, XVI,) arriva al Marsilio Ficino della *Theologia platonica* (XIII, 2). In questo senso il sonno profondo corrisponderebbe a uno stato di *vacatio animae*, ovvero di contemplazione, che metterebbe Endimione in contatto con gli influssi divini, rappresentati dal bacio della dea astrale.¹³

Acucella non cita le *Lune* di Strozzi il Giovane, che infatti a parte la sola “Dormia tra’ fior vezzoso pastorello”, pubblicata in un opuscolo per nozze a diffusione limitatissima,¹⁴ sono inedite e di fatto sconosciute. Mi par quindi giusto cogliere l’opportunità di allestire questa piccola edizione nell’ambito di un omaggio in forma di volume. E spero anzi che, non diversamente dal codice Barberiniano, le prossime pagine possano trasportare i “madrigali più dolci che ci siano” dalla lontana Capitale dell’Est fino alle nordiche contrade di Aarhus, per servire alla legittima dedicataria come svago dalle pressanti responsabilità della “curia” universitaria.

I manoscritti, fra *Lune* ed *Endimioni*

In questa edizione userò come base la redazione del Barberiniano, a confronto con le altre due versioni a mia conoscenza, ovvero i dodici madrigali intitolati *Endimioni* presenti nei mss. Carte Stroziane III 175 dell’Archivio di Stato di

⁶ Poliziano 1867.

⁷ Medici 1992.

⁸ Sannazaro 1961.

⁹ Tansillo 1996.

¹⁰ Bembo 1966.

¹¹ Matraini 1597, 1r–v.

¹² Acucella 2014.

¹³ Acucella 2014, 3–5 e *passim*. Di argomento onirico–erotico Milburn 2014.

¹⁴ Strozzi 1899, 7.

Firenze, e BAV, Vat. Lat. 8852: il primo appartenuto alla biblioteca fiorentina di Strozzi il Giovane, il secondo, verosimilmente, a quella romana, ed entrambi suoi personali codici di bozze, ricchissimi di ripensamenti e correzioni.

Il **Barb3996** (già N.A. 2215, XLV.90) è un cart., sec. XVI ex. (*ante* 22 settembre 1596), cc. IX+pp. 250+XX', di mm. 279x200, ben scritto in una corsiva tardo-cinquecentesca, con tavola dei contenuti a cc. II–VIIIv, rilegato in pelle con impressioni dorate. A p. 1 il titolo: "Rime Varie / Di Giambattista Strozzi". Elegante antologia di 174 componimenti di Strozzi il Giovane in metro vario dedicata al cardinale Pietro Aldobrandini (cfr. c. 1: "All'III(ustrissi)mo e Rever(endissi)mo Signor(e) e P(ad)ron mio Colend(issi)mo / Il Signor Cardinale Aldobrandino"). Le dieci *Lune* si trovano a pp. 31–40, una per pagina.

St175 (Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Carte Stroziane III 175 – Antico n. 1164), è un cart., sec. XVI ex. – XVII in., 200 + II', di mm. variabili fra 210x140 e 215x130 (fogli di natura diversa non raffilati), con tit. a c. 1r: "Bozze di Sonetti e Madrigali di Gio(van) Bat(is)ta / Strozzi il giovane d(etto) il Cieco". Miscellaneo di brutte copie di 223 madrigali di Strozzi il Giovane. Testimonia dodici *Endimioni* a cc. 93r–104r, numerati con irregolarità e correzioni, ricchi di revisioni.

V8852 (Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Lat. 8852) è un cart., sec. XVII in., 468+ I', di mm. 210x140. È un grande contenitore-bozza di più di mille madrigali di Strozzi il Giovane. Testimonia dodici *Endimioni* a cc. 155r–160v, uno per facciata, in ordine e numerati ma ricchi di cassature e correzioni, con titolo a c. 155r: "Endimioni / Per una fanciulletta che vedeva dormire un fanciulletto / desiderato da lei per marito, e s'allude àl Casato".

In St175 e V8852 gli *Endimioni* seguono ordine identico rispetto alle dieci *Lune* di Barb3996, salvo la presenza dopo VIII di due testi assenti nel Barberiniano, ovvero gli *Endimioni* IX e X (St175 cc. 101r–102v; V8852 c. 159r–v). In St175 il X, martoriato da correzioni, non appare approdare a un risultato di revisione soddisfacente, tanto che dalle sue varianti gemina a c. 102v un madrigale diverso, probabilmente non *Endimione*, a sua volta cancellato.

Da una collazione fra varianti e correzioni (si veda l'apparato critico) emerge che le varianti di St175 ne avvicinano la lezione a quella di Barb3996, mentre il testo base di V8852, più vicino a Barb3996, è il punto di partenza di varianti che se ne allontanano. Il che è coerente con la datazione di St175 alla fine del secolo XVI, presumibilmente precedente a Barb3996, e V8852 a un periodo successivo.

Barb3996 ha però elementi peculiari, come il numero di madrigali (dieci). Forse gli *Endimioni* constano di dodici madrigali in relazione al numero dei

mesi? In tal caso, perché Strozzi scarta gli *Endimioni* IX e X nella trascrizione delle *Lune*? Si tratta, forse, di insoddisfazione: come già notato la riscrittura di X non sembra arrivare a una redazione soddisfacente.

Sarà interessante notare *en passant* l'importanza dei diversi usi del supporto manoscritto: da una parte i codici personali sui quali si stratificano le correzioni d'autore, dall'altra un bel codice dedicato, costruito *ad hoc* per un importante personaggio della curia romana, in un periodo in cui la stampa aveva ormai preso il sopravvento nella diffusione della cultura poetica. In Barb3996 sono trascritti testi che si staccano dal processo di infinita rielaborazione dei codici-bozza per approdare a una versione stabile, "pubblicata", ma non definitiva come sarebbe un testo a stampa. Questa pratica fluida e personalizzata del testo poetico, assai lontana da quella del pubblico generico ("quantitativo") e della redazione finale del libro a stampa, corrisponde a una concezione elitaria e nostalgicamente conservatrice della poesia, e poteva sopravvivere solo in circoli ristrettissimi. D'altro canto l'illusione che sul piano della tecnologia materiale e quindi della sociologia di produzione e fruizione del testo il tempo potesse essere fermato consuona con il fascino di madrigali che vagheggiano un "eterno aprile" (*Luna* VI, 4), ovvero lo stallo delle ruote del cosmo.

Non c'è dubbio che pubblicare a stampa questa o altre serie di Strozzi il Giovane implichi in parte trasgredirne certe opzioni culturali. Tuttavia, andrà osservato, è proprio l'attaccamento al "bel manoscritto" che ha condannato le *Lune* all'oblio. E se è interessante leggere la redazione più polita della serie, tratta da un pegno aristocratico come Barb3996, è anche importante prendere conoscenza del laboratorio privato del poeta, valutando in apparato processi di rielaborazione che si accumulano in più codici anche a distanza di anni.

Breve analisi delle *Lune*

Su un piano dell'analisi dei testi, iniziamo dal cercare di capire chi rappresentino, fuor di "scherzo del nome", Endimione, e chi l'*innamorata donna*, alla casata della quale alluderebbe la Luna. Non ho elementi a proposito del ragazzo, mentre non credo che la Luna sia identificabile con una donna. Già poche righe sopra Strozzi il Giovane non affermava il vero, scrivendo che le *Spine* fossero composte "sopra una Malaspina": elementi interni (es. il riferimento al fiume Magra di *Spina* IX, 4, a p. 99 di Barb3996) certificano la dedica a Torquato Malaspina. Come nel caso delle *Pietre*, dedicate a Pietro del Nero, i *topoi* amorosi del petrarchismo sono adattati a cantare la bellezza di uomini. A sua volta Torquato Malaspina aveva scritto una serie di madrigali intitolati alla *Luna*, verosimilmente dedicati al Nostro (Vat. Lat. 8858, cc. LXIIIv—LXVr): infatti le tre lune dello stemma araldico degli Strozzi ben si adattavano a tale "scherzo". E già Strozzi il Vecchio aveva

giocato attorno a tale ascendente selenico, cantando, nella prima fase della sua attività, una donna Cinzia. Anche se V8852 allude a una “fanciuletta che vedeva dormire un fanciulletto”, credo che l'*innamorata donna* delle nostre *Lune* altro non sia che figura del poeta, che in un contesto ormai controriformato non poteva però identificarsi come il cantore della bellezza di un ragazzino dormiente.

La serie in sé risulta strutturalmente piuttosto consueta nell'ambito del madrigale fiorentino: i dieci testi rappresentano con poche varianti la stessa scena topica, ovvero l'incanto della Luna davanti a Endimione dormiente. Le soluzioni formali tendono a ripetersi di madrigale in madrigale, e anche sul piano metrico le *Lune* toccano il *nadir* della sperimentazione strozziana: domina senza eccezioni la forma base (quartina a rima chiusa + !”chiave” in rima col quarto verso + uno o due distici a rima baciata), con schemi che variano solo per l'alternanza di endecasillabi o settenari (I: ABbAaCCDD, II: ABBAaCC; III: AbbAacC; IV: aBbAAcC; V: aBBAACC; VI: AbBAaCC; VII: abBAACCDD; VIII: AbBAaCC; IX: aBBAACcdD; X: aBBaACcdD). Addirittura, caso piuttosto raro in Strozzi il Giovane, uno schema è ripetuto due volte (VI e VIII). Prevale inoltre l'uso dell'endecasillabo sul settenario, e non compaiono rime al mezzo: il dettato si distende così in una catena melodica ininterrotta, che intende riprodurre l'andamento dolcemente ipnotico delle nenie.

Anche le riprese lessicali confermano una voluta “monotonia” dei versi. A partire dal ricorrere della rima in *-ello*: I, 1, I, 4, I, 5, II, 2, II, 3, III, 1, III, 4, III, 5, IV, 1 (a mezzo), X, 2, X, 3; oppure termini connotativi della serie, con *dolce* e *dolcezza*: I, 1, I, 2, II, 1, II, 7, V, 3, V, 5, V, 7, VI, 1, VI, 6, VIII, 2, VIII, 5, X, 1, X, 2 (e si noti che quando presenti ricorrono almeno due volte nello stesso madrigale, spesso in posizione ravvicinata e semanticamente ridondante).

Analoghe osservazioni su riprese come *vago* (I, 5, I, 7, II, 2, V 6, anche se in questi ultimi due casi come sostantivo per ‘amante’), *bel viso* o *bel volto* (III, 7, IV, 7, VI, 2, VII, 8, IX, 2, X, 6), i riferimenti a *sonno* o *posa*, o *dormire* o *posare*, talvolta ossessivi (es. I, 1—2; V, 5—6; VI, 1, 6—7; X, 1 e 5—6, ecc.), e il costante riferimento ai fiori, o meglio a *fior*, che favorisce la consonanza con le forme verbali all'infinito tronco (quindi in *-ar*, *-er*, *-ir*).

Con la parziale eccezione del n. VII, i madrigali sono dominati da un senso di sospensione, ottenuto con un giro sintattico basato su verbi impersonali che esprimono apparenza, spesso coniugati all'imperfetto, e reggenti verbi all'infinito (così i nn. I, II, III, IV, VI). Il divino sonno di Endimione (alluso nel n. VIII), che il poeta riproduce con una melodia ipnotica di consonanti liquide (desinenze dei verbi all'infinito, ricorrenza di *fior*, *dolce*, ecc.),

corrisponde a una complessiva stasi del cosmo, ovvero a quella *vacatio animae* che richiama il miracolo selenico.

Siamo al confine fra sonno e morte, come dimostrano gli esibiti riferimenti al *Triumphus Mortis* petrarchesco (in part. I, 169—172) delle *Lune* I, 1—2 e 9, e VI, 1—3, dove anche il sintagma *tanta pace* (da Petr. *RVF* CCLXVIII, 61), e il riferimento a un aprile *eterno* (VI, 4) alludono alla fine della cronologia: la primavera eterna tanto anelata è anelito alla non coscienza, con un possibile richiamo nella *Luna* VIII, 5—7 alla “morte nel bacio”. Si noti anche l’allusione ad altri elementi ficiniani, come l’impossibilità di bellezza in assenza d’Amore (IX, 4).¹⁵

Una dimensione simile (ipnotica, onirica, ucronica, mortuaria) ricorre spesso anche in Strozzi il Vecchio: si veda ad esempio la fuga onirica di “Dormia lasso, et dormendo mi credea” (V8821 p. 342), vv. 1—3: “Dormia lasso, et dormendo mi credea / pur d’abbracciar l’amato / et mio sommo tesoro [...]”, oppure la ripresa del *Trionfo della Morte* petrarchesco in “Bello Angelo dormirsi a dolce Amore” (V8822 p. 751), vv. 1—4:

Bello Angelo dormirsi a dolce Amore
in grembo (lasso) assiso,
par Morte nel bel viso,
ove sì morto ancor vive il mio core.

Le dieci *Lune* non battono quindi terreni nuovi, ma sistematizzano l’estetica della ripetizione melodica al servizio di una rappresentazione di rarefatta e limpida ucronia ipnotica, propiziatrice dell’avvicinamento selenico. Non è un caso che gli ultimi versi dell’ultimo madrigale (X, 6—9), mostrino la fine di questo stato di eccezione:

Posava ancor pietà nel suo bel volto,
quand’ei dal sonno sciolto
quei suoi begl’occhi aprio:
svegliossi ivi entro Amor, pietà sparìo.

Il risveglio corrisponde al “ritorno all’ordine” di una realtà nella quale il miracolo selenico non può accadere.

Nota al testo

Se la redazione a testo è quella di Barb3996, ho cercato di valorizzare gli *Endimioni* di St175 e V8852 aggiungendo in coda alle dieci *Lune* gli *Endimioni* IX—X che si collocano fra la *Luna* VIII e la IX: il testo base è

¹⁵ Wind 2012, 59. In Ficino l’atto della contemplazione della bellezza è fondamentale atto di ascesi: Chastel 1954, 51.

quello di V8852, più stabile e coerente, anche nell'evoluzione variantistica interna, di St175.

Ho ritoccato le grafie delle redazioni a testo aggiornando a usi moderni maiuscole, punteggiatura, accenti, convenzioni *h*, *u—v*, *i—j*, e sciogliendo i compendi. In apparato, invece, non ho apportato modifiche di alcun tipo, indicando lo scioglimento dei compendi con parentesi tonde.

L'apparato delle *Lune* è distinto in due fasce, riflettenti le due diverse redazioni di St175 e V8852. Ho cercato di riprodurre graficamente tipologie di varianti e cassature. Ho indicato con l'apice (') le varianti interlineari, e con lettere dell'alfabeto, *b–d* le varianti in margine o a pie' di pagina che comportavano la riscrittura di interi brani. Nell'apparato dell'*Endimione IX* ho trascritto anche il madrigale di c. 102v, probabilmente non *Endimione* ma evidentemente generato dalle varianti di c. 102r (il che può essere interessante per valutare le modalità di creazione di nuovi madrigali a partire da testi esistenti).

Nel commento ho usato le edizioni dei testi della bibliotecaitaliana.it (Sapienza Università di Roma), tranne i madrigali di Strozzi il Vecchio, tratti dai mss. BAV, Vat. Lat. 8821–8822–8823 (V8821–V8822–V8823).

Le Lune

I

Dormia sì dolce Endimion novello,
 ch'al dolce suo dormir gioiosi e 'ntenti
 non pur taceano i venti,
 ma co 'l vezzoso amato suo Ruscello,
 e co 'l vago arboscello, 5
 non più scherzar s'udia l'aura tremante.
 Tacea la LUNA, al vago suo d'avante,
 e nella fronte a lui, mirando fiso,
 dormirsi Amor vedea nel suo bel viso.

II

Al dolce mormorar di placid'onda
 dormendo all'ombra un vago pastorello,
 cader non vuol da questo ramo o quello,
 per non turbargli il sonno, arida fronda.
 Ma 'n su la treccia bionda 5
 ben vuol il Ciel' ch'inusitata e nuova
 invisibil d'Amor dolcezza piova.

III

Dormia tra' fior vezzoso pastorello,
 e 'l suo biond'oro e crespo

sovra un fiorito cespo
fiammeggiar si vedea lucido e bello.
Mirare un Sol novello 5
era alla LUNA avviso:
ma più che 'l Sol l'accende il suo bel viso.

IV
Pastorello amoroso
mentre che 'n seno a' fior dormendo giace,
il vento e l'onde han pace,
e gioir mostra il Ciel del suo riposo.
Dir sembra Amor, ne' suoi begl'occhi ascoso: 5
“Non appressar tu, stolto,
non s'affisi huom' mortal nel suo bel volto!”.

V
Ove in su l'herba vede
la bianca LUNA un biondo pargoletto
farsi un dolce di fior purpureo letto,
anch'ella in grembo a' fior tacendo siede. 5
Oh che dolce riposo Amor le diede,
quand'ella al vago suo posando in braccio,
dicalo Amor: le sue dolcezze io taccio.

VI
Dolce dormiasi Endimion gentile,
e intorno al suo bel viso
erasi il Cielo in tanta pace assiso,
ch'ivi gioir pareva d'eterno aprile. 5
Posava oltre a suo stile
ogn'aura, e 'l vento di dolcezza nuova
dormirsi in Ciel pareva co 'l Cielo a prova.

VII
Venir vid'io la sera,
il sen velata e bruna.
Seco venir vid'io la bianca LUNA,
con la stellata sua lucida schiera. 5
Ella se n' già di tanto lume altiera,
quando inchinarsi io la rividi humile:
dormia tra fiori un pastorel gentile.
Ella non prima il suo bel volto mira,
che trema e tace, e 'ntorno a lui sospira.

VIII

La bianca LUNA Endimion suo vede
ch'un dolce sonno lega,
e poiché 'ndarno il chiama, indarno il prega,
più d'un bacio rapisce, e nulla chiede.
Dolci amorose prede, 5
se non si sdegna Amor ch'a lui s'invole
quel ch'a suoi dispensar per grazia vuole.

IX

Dal pigro sonno homai
svegliati, pastorello, ergi il bel volto,
non tener più negl'occhi Amor sepolto,
che tanta senz'Amor beltà non hai.
Non tigre alpestre intorno a te vedrai, 5
non aspe armato di mortal veneno,
ma, bella e nuda il seno,
la LUNA a te d'avante,
tutta accesa d'Amor, tutta tremante.

X

Mentre ch'in dolce posa
dolce s'addorme Endimion novello,
Endimion il biondo pastorello,
ecco vaga amorosa
la LUNA in grembo a lui discende e posa. 5
Posava ancor pietà nel suo bel volto,
quand'ei dal sonno sciolto
quei suoi begl'occhi aprio:
svegliossi ivi entro Amor, pietà sparìo.

Endimioni IX e X

IX

È vago pastorel dal sonno avvinto,
vola drappel d'Amori al biondo crine
intorno, e sovra l'animate brine
è di scherzar con la dolc'aura accinto.
Quindi s'avviva estinto 5
foco, e l'argente Luna
di più cocente ardor faville aduna.

X

Quanto più 'l sonno co' suo dolci nodi
stringe un bel pargoletto,

tanto più vien che 'l suo benigno aspetto
 in altra guisa gl'altrui sensi annodi.
 Ahi son lacciuoli e frodi
 d'Amor, che brama che beltà più legghi
 quando men può discior l'amante i preghi.

5

Apparato critico e commento

I. Dormia sì dolce Endimion novello (Barb3996 p. 31; St175 c. 93r, «Primo»; V8852 c. 155r, I)

St175: *Tit.*: “Endimioni / Aurette / Sol Parato” c. 72r; “Endimione P(rimo)” c. 93r.

V8852: *Tit.*: “Endimioni / Per una fanciulletta che vedeva dormire un fanciulletto / desiderato da lei per marito, e s'allude àl Casato” c. 155r.

Schema: ABbAaCCDD Il madrigale evoca la morte di Laura di Petr., *Tr. Mortis* I, 169–172. 1. Rima *novello* : *ruscello* : *arboscello*: Strozzi il V., e.g. “Ha di sempre novello” (V8821 p. 271), vv. 1 : 3 : 4. 2. Petr. *Tr. Mortis* I 169 “quasi un dolce dormir ne’ suo’ belli occhi”. 3. Tasso, *Aminta* II, 1, 38 “taceano i venti et ei giacea senz’onda”. 4. *Ruscello amato*: Strozzi il V., “In suo ruscello amato”, v. 1. 6. Strozzi il V., “Dormia Filli il mio solo almo riposo” (V8822 p. 777), vv. 7–9: “Né mormorar que’ placidi cristalli / s’udia, né fremer fera: / dolce ferma anco ogni celeste sfera”. 8. *mirando fiso* in identica posizione in Strozzi il V., “Pastorella angosciosa” (V8823 p. 1113), v. 8. 9. Petr. *Tr. Mortis* I 172: “Morte bella pareo nel suo bel viso”.

II. Al dolce mormorar di placid’onda (Barb3996 p. 31; St175 c. 94r, 2°; V8852 c. 155v, II)

St175: 6–7. ~~Non si contende già che non trasvoli~~

~~Chi vi spiega invisibili lacciuoli~~(*canc.*)

Infra (St175b):

Treccia di raggi dove

Tanta dal terzo Ciel dolcezza piove

~~Non si contende già che no(n) trasvoli~~

Chi vi ~~spiega~~ invisibili lacciuoli (*canc.*) spiega] tende in int. St175b'

Infra (St175c):

Treccia, dove d’Amor fiam(m)ella splende

~~non si contende già che no(n) trasvoli~~

Chi vi spiega invisibil lacciuoli (*canc.*)

In marg. dest. (St175d):

Ben vuole il Ciel che / invusitata e nuova /

Invisibil d’amor dolcezza / piova.

V8852: 3. cader] *canc. e corr. in int.*: scender V8852’;

4. *canc., corr. in int.*: Per che ... arida fronda V8852’ (*canc.*; *parz. non leg.*);

6–7. *canc.*; *in marg. inf.* (V8852b):

~~Ben vuole il Ciel che benigna aura piova~~

~~Invisibil d’Amor dolcezza nuova~~ (*canc.*)

Infra (V8852c):

Lasciva aurette ardisce orar che piova

Invisibil d’Amor dolcezza nuova

Schema: ABBAaCC 1. Petr., *RVF* CCLXXXVI, 11: “col dolce mormorar pietoso et basso”; “placid’onda” in Tasso, 651, 27; 768, 3 (in rima con *fronda*, v. 6); Bembo, *Asolani*, madr. “Né le dolci aure estive”, vv. 1–2. 2. *vaga pastorella*: e.g. Strozzi il V., “Come ruscel senz’onda” (V8821 p. 139), v. 3. 4. *arida fronda* in identica posizione in B. Rota, *Rime*, CCXII, 135. *bionda treccia* in Petr. *RVF* XXIX 3. *treccia bionda* in Dante, “Tre donne intorno al cor mi son venute”, v. 51; Bembo, *Rime*, CVII, 5. 6–7 Petr. *RVF* LXXI, 78: “i sento in mezzo l’alma / una dolcezza inusitata et nova”. 7. Petr. *RVF* CXCI, 3 “vedi ben quanta in lei dolcezza piove”; Strozzi il V., e.g. “A quest’alma d’Amor FACE divina” (V8821 p. 6), v. 10: “Amor, pace, dolcezza, e gioia piove”.

III. Dormia tra’ fior vezzoso pastorello (Barb3996 p. 31; St175 c. 95r, 3°; V8852 c. 156r, III)

Schema: AbbAacC 1. *vezzosa pastorella*: B. Tasso, *Rime* II, CVI (Egloga IV, *Galatea*), v. 44; Strozzi il V., “Vientene all’ombra delle verdi fronde” (V8823 p. 1383), v. 2. 2.

biond’oro in Strozzi il V., “Qual più dolce rotante”, v. 9; Petr. CLX 14: “oro terso et crespo”.

4. Strozzi il V., “Pettina anche l’Aurora” (V8821 p. 470), v. 3: “Con suo lucido et bello”.

7. Pulci, *Morgante*, VI, 142: “tanto l’accende più il suo viso adorno”; Strozzi il V., “In suo Ruscello amato” (V8821 p. 22), vv. 7–10: “Et hor nuovo Narciso / pur si rivolge alla chiar’onda et mira, / né per mirar’ ben fiso / dal sol vantaggio vede al suo bel viso”.

IV. Pastorello amoroso (Barb3996 p. 31; St175 c. 96r, 4°; V8852 c. 156v, IV)

Schema: aBbAAcC 2. Alamanni, *Fetonte*, 458: “Quella, ch’accanto al pol dormendo giace”. 3. *il vento e l’onde*: B. Tasso, *Rime* II, VIII, 12. 5. Poliziano, *Stanze* I, XL, 1:

“Cupido entro a’ begli occhi ascoso”; 5. Strozzi il V., “Amor, che mai non osi” (V8822 p.

862), v. 4: “Son ne’ chiusi occhi ascosi”. 6. Tansillo, *Canz.* XXI (“Eletto in ciel, possente e

sommo Padre”), 142: “non t’appressar profana al divin tetto”; 6. Strozzi il V., “Si struggesse

Arno, come ’l tuo quel puro” (V8822 p. 1027), vv. 4–5: “E si d’Amor nascoso, / che

dappressar non gl’oso”.

V. Ove in su l’herba vede (Barb3996 p. 31; St175 c. 97r, 5°; V8852 c. 157r, V)

St175: 1. Ove sù

5. Oh qual soave posa Amor le diede

6–7. Mentr'ella al vago suo d'intorno assisa

~~Gioir disgiunto dagli affanni avvisa (canc.) Gioir disgiunto] Gioia disgiunta in int.~~
St175'

infra (St175b):

~~Non misto co(n)timor gioir s'avvisa
Quando ella al vago suo posando in braccio
Dicalo Amor le sue dolcezze, io taccio (canc.)~~

infra (St175c):

~~In nuovo Ciel, che gioirà, s'avvisa (canc., cfr. *infra*)
Immobil tutta in nuovo Ciel s'affisa.~~

infra (St175d):

~~Piu gioir qui, ch'in mezzo al Ciel s'avvisa (canc.).~~

V8852: 5–7. ~~Oh qual soave posa Amor le diede,~~

~~Mentre'ella al vago suo d'intorno assisa~~

~~Immobil tutta in nuovo Ciel s'affisa (canc.) Ciel] Sol in int. V8852'~~

Infra (V8852b):

~~Affanno insieme e posa Amor le diede (canc.). Ma 'nquieto riposo Amor le diede in int.~~
V8852b'

Mentre ella al vago suo d'intorno assisa

~~In diletta fiamma il guardo affisa (canc.) In diletto ardor il guardo affisa in int.~~
V8852b'

Schema: aBBAACC 2. *bianca* è epiteto consueto per *Luna*, es. in B. Tasso, III 35, 76: “Mira tu, bianca Luna”. 3. Beccuti (Coppetta), *Rime* I, LXIX, 61–63: “D'oro sparso e di gemme alfine io scorsi / purpureo letto ove dormia soave / giovane illustre”. 5. *dolce riposo* e.g. in Strozzi il V., “Torna sonno mio, torna grazioso” (V8821 p. 343), v. 4. 6. Marino, “Sospiri di Ergasto” (*Idillio* XII), XL 8: “e 'n braccio al vago suo la casta dea”. 7. Guidiccioni, *Rime* XLVI, 8: “dicalo Amor per me, ch'aperto il vede”; cfr. anche Alamanni, *Egloga*, v. 87: “Quante e quai già sentii dolci parole? / Dicalo Amor per me, ch'io dir non l'oso”; Strozzi il V.: “Taci, Silvio mio, taci ecco la bruna” (V8822 p. 887), vv. 8–9: “Silvio mio / tace, ond'io taccio anch'io”.

VI. Dolce dormiasi Endimion gentile (Barb3996 p. 31; St175 c. 98r, 6^o; V8852 c. 157v, VI)

Schema: AbBAaCC 1–2. Petr. *Tr. Mortis* I, 169–172 (cfr. *Luna* I). 3. *tanta pace* richiama la morte e.g. in Petr. *RVF* CCLXVIII, 61. 4. *eterno aprile* è dittologia piuttosto frequente, e.g. B. Tasso, *Rime* II, C, 210, o B. Rota, *Egloghe Pescatorie*, IX (*Nice*), 54: “Mostrò la terra un novo eterno aprile”; Coppetta, *Rime* I, CXXXII, 82: “i campi vesti d'eterno aprile”. 6–7. Petr. *RVF* LXXI, 78: “dolcezza inusitata et nova”. Strozzi il V., “Cari semi d'ambrosia in don mi porse”, 7–8: “rider lieto, e spirar col cielo a prova / ognor dolcezza, ognor dolcezza nuova”; *Id.*, “La vaga Pastorella”, 7: “Arde co 'l Sole a pruova”.

VII. Venir vid'io la sera (Barb3996 p. 31; St175 c. 99r, 7°; V8852 c. 158r, VII)

Schema: abBAACDD 2. *il sen velata*: acc. di relazione. 3. *bianca LUNA* cfr. V. 2.

6. Giusto de' Conti, *La bella mano*, VI, 5: "Vidi inchinarsi il CieloQ". 7. *Pastorel gentile*: Varchi, *Egloga* II, 274.

VIII. La bianca LUNA Endimion suo vede (Barb3996 p. 31; St175 c. 100r, 8°; V8852 c. 158v, VIII)

V8852: 4. *in marg. inf.*: Mille sguardi rapisce, e nulla chiede V8852b

6. a lui] *canc.*; *corr. in int.* gli V8852';

7. ch'a suoi dispensar] *parz. canc.*; *corr. in int.* ch'elargisce a suoi V8852'

Schema: AbBAaCC 1. *bianca Luna* cfr. V. 2.2. Cfr. Strozzi, "Dormendo mi pareo" (V8822 p. 621), v. 9: "D'un così dolce sonno mi disciogli"; Tasso, *Rime* MCCCLXVI, 111: "il sonno [...] affrena o lega". 4. Tasso, *Liberata* II, XVI, 4: "poco spera, e nulla chiede".

5. B. Rota, *Egloga* XII ("Aminta"), v. 90: "la cara mia preda amorosa". 6. Strozzi il V., "Notte felice, e piu del giorno chiara" (V8822 p. 811), v. 6: "Di braccio a lui s'invole" (in rima con *vuole* a v. 9).

IX. Dal pigro sonno homai (Barb3996 p. 31; St175 c. 103r, IX *canc. e corr. in* XI; V8852 c. 155r, XI)

Schema: aBBAAcCdD 1. *pigro sonno*: Petr. *RVF* LIII, 15. 6–7 Strozzi il V., "Stranio verme di tema e di sospetto", vv. 2–3: "qual sì mortal veleno, / in sen m'è nato; e 'l seno".

7. *nuda il seno*: acc. di relazione. *bella et nuda*: Petr. *RVF* CCXXLVIII, 5.9. *tutta accesa*: Petr. *RFV* CCCXXXVI, 4; Sannazaro, *Sonetti e canz.*, I, XVIII, 4; *tutta tremante*: Dante, *Inf.* V, 139: "[questi] la bocca mi baciò tutto tremante" (in rima con *avante* a v. 141); anche Tasso, *Rime* CCCVIII, 6.

X. Mentre ch'in dolce posa (Barb3996 p. 31; St175 c. 104r, «Ultimo»; V8852 c. 155r, XII)

V8852: 8. suoi] suo

Schema: aBBaACcdD 1. *dolce posa*: ricorrente in Strozzi il V., e.g. "A che pur folle ammiri", v. 7: "Quanto più dolce posa". 4–5 *vaga Luna*: e.g. Tasso, *Rime* LXXXV, 12; *amorosa Luna*: Cariteo, *Endimion*, sest. III, 31: "Endimion, quell' amorosa Luna"; e Strozzi il V., "Qui pur talor s'asside, o soglia o pietra", vv. 5–6: "Ma deh vaga amorosa / del bello Endimion celati o taci". 6. Tasso, *Egloga Arezia*, v. 133: "Si bella è la pietà ne 'l suo bel volto!". 7. B. Tasso, *Rime* II, XCVI, 39: "dal pigro sonno sciolto". 8. Matraini, *Rime* LXIII, 8: "onde poi gli occhi aprio".

Endimione IX. È vago Pastorell dal sonno avvinto (St175 c. 101r, 9; V8852 c. 159r, IX)

St175: 5–7. ~~Aura, che 'l fuoco estinto~~

~~Puo ravnivar d'Amor poi che si muove~~ D'amor ravniva, e tremola, si muove *in int.* St175'

~~Dal sen', che tante sue faville piove~~ (*canc.*)

infra (St175^b):

D'Amor ravniva, e tremola si muove
 Per salir dove da rubini ardenti
 Sempre tu seco Amor faville avventi (*canc.*)

infra (St175^c):

Quindi s'avviva estinto
 foco, e l'Argente Luna
 Non meno incendio che spera (*canc. inter scrib.*)
 Di piu cocente ardor faville aduna

Schema: ABBAaCC 1. *sonno avvinta*: Tasso, *Rime* 1656, 1 3. *animate brine*: Marino, *Adone* XI, 144, 5. 4. B. Tasso, *Rime* I, 65, 69: “onde i fiori scherzar con l'aura estiva”.

5. Celio Magno CCXL, 6: “torna e s'avventa in me l'estinto foco”. 6. *argente luna*: Tasso, *Liberata* XXI, 756. 7. *cocente ardore*: e.g. Ariosto, *Furioso* XXXII, 108, 1.

Endimione X. Quanto più 'l sonno co' suoi dolci nodi (St175, c. 102r–v, X; V8852, c. 159v, X)

St175: 3. Tanto piu vien, che l'assonnato oggetto
 assonnato] addormito *in int. St175'*
 Tanto piu vien che 'n sonno avvolto oggetto *in marg. inf. St175b (canc.)*
 oggetto] *aspetto in int. St175b (canc.)*
 Tanto piu vien che 'n sonno avvolto oggetto *infra St175c*
 oggetto] *aspetto in int. St175c'*
 5. Ahi] E' *St175*; Ahi *in int. St175'*
 5. lacciuoli] *corr. in int. lusinghe St175'*
 7. Quando] Ove *St175*; Quando *in int. St175'*

St175 c. 102v (St175d?):

~~Mentre che 'l sonno di soavi nodi~~
~~Cingeti o Pargoletto~~
~~In si dolce legame avvolto e stretto~~
~~Tu d'altra guisa gli altrui sensi annodi~~
~~E con lacciuoli e frodi~~
~~D'Amor che brama che beltà piu legghi~~
~~Quando men puo discior l'Amante i preghi~~ (*tutto canc.*)

V8852: 3. Tanto più vien ch'in sonno avvolto oggetto
 Piu vien che 'nvolto in grave sonno *aspetto in marg. inf. V8852b*
Infra corr. come a testo V8852c

Schema: AbBAaCC 1. *dolci nodi*: Petr. *RVF* XC, 2. 3. *benigno aspetto*: B. Tasso, *Rime* I, 99, 9; Tasso, *Rime* 1276, 9.

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DENNOM TIL VILLIE SOM LATINEN ICKE VEL KUNDE FORSTAA:



Translating as an act of confessionalisation in Niels Hanssøn Saxild's Danish translation of Hans Olufson Slangstrup's *In obitum Friderici II Oratio Funebri*

By Anders Kirk Borggaard*

This article explores how Niels Hanssøn Saxild translated Hans Olufson Slangstrup's Latin oration on the death of King Frederik II into Danish for the benefit of a readership outside the academic environment. Inspired by Marianne Pade's identification of a "confessionalised" translation practice influenced by the educational ideals of the protestant Reformation, it is argued that Saxild produced a translation that was not only confessionalised but also confessionalising, as it aimed at providing his readers with easily adoptable lessons on Lutheran theology.

Introduction

On 10 June 1588, five days after the state funeral of King Frederik II of Denmark-Norway had been celebrated in Roskilde Cathedral, the professor of theology Hans Olufson Slangstrup delivered a Latin funerary oration on the life and reign of the deceased king at a special service held at the University of Copenhagen. The oration was delivered in the morning – the professor of medicine, Anders Clausen, delivered another oration on the king's death in the afternoon – and later the same day, the manuscript from which Slangstrup had read was rushed to the renowned Copenhagen-based printer Lorentz Benedicht for immediate publication. Ten days later, on 20 June, the printing of the *In obitum Serenissimi et Potentissimi Danicæ et Norvegiæ Regis Friderici II. Oratio Funebri* was completed.¹

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¹ Details on the service held at the University are shared by Slangstrup himself within the oration (Slangstrup 1588, fol. I3r), whereas information on the oration's hasty publication is recorded by Niels Hanssøn Saxild in the preface to his translation of the work (Saxild 1589,

The oration almost immediately attracted the attention of readers outside the academic circles of the university, and this led to a popular demand for it to be translated into Danish. By the late sixteenth century, funeral sermons in the vernacular had become popular with the nobility and the bourgeoisie throughout much of Lutheran Northern Europe. Sermons were published as markers of cultural identity and social status, and printed sermons were collected and read as sources of moral and religious edification by the Lutheran upper classes.² As such, it is not surprising that an oration on the pious, illustrious, and exemplary king Frederik II written by a university professor attracted the attention of a wider readership.³ Slangstrup, however, rejected the requests for a translation into the vernacular. He was eventually approached by the 27-year-old Niels Hanssøn Saxild, most likely a student of his, who asked for permission to then attempt a translation of the work himself “dennon til villie som Latinen icke vel kunde forstaa”, that is, to the benefit of those unable to properly understand the Latin text.⁴ Slangstrup finally agreed, but only, Saxild tells us, “on the condition that I should translate and render it word for word just as the Latin reads in and by itself.”⁵ Saxild accepted the terms, and his translation, *Oratio Funebris, Det er: En kaart oc sørgelig Tale*, left the printing house of Mads Vingaard the following year.

Translating in a Reformation context

In this article, I will discuss how Saxild approached the task of translating Slangstrup’s academic oration for a readership that, although used to reading erudite and moralising sermons in the vernacular, were far removed from the learned environment and, not least, from the learned discourse of the university. In the preface to his translation, Saxild claims to have translated

fol. (:ijiv). On both works, see also Vellew 2019, 20–21. The funeral celebration in Roskilde and the circumstances surrounding it are treated in Hiort-Lorenzen 1912.

² See e.g. Jacobsen 2015 and Jacobsen 2019, esp. pp. 104–121. On the edifying function, see Amundsen 2015. Marianne Pade has presented a brief overview of the Latin funeral oration in Denmark in Pade 1987.

³ Two vernacular sermons were also published around the same time as Slangstrup’s Latin oration: a German sermon which had been delivered at the funeral in Roskilde by the court preacher Christoffer Knoff (LN 1001) and a Danish sermon by Anders Sørensen Vedel originally delivered in Ribe Cathedral on the day of the funeral (LN 1612). On the large number of sermons given in and outside the kingdom, as well as the number of minor works produced for the occasion, see Karker 1965. A copy of Slangstrup’s Latin oration evidently made its way into the library of the noble Ulfeldt family as one of the copies now at the Royal Library in Copenhagen (LN 1497 8° copy 1) bears the owner’s signature of *Laurentius Wlffeldius* (Laurids Ulfeldt, 1605–1659).

⁴ Saxild 1589, fol. (:ijr). Unless otherwise stated, all translations of Danish and Latin quotations are my own.

⁵ “Dog met Saadanne vilkaar / at ieg skulde Ord fra Ord lige som Latinen Lyder i sig selff / hende transferere oc udsette.” Saxild 1589, fol. (:ijr).

the work “word for word”, as per Slangerup’s instructions, without adding to or subtracting from the professor’s oration.⁶ His use of the technical phrase *Ord fra Ord*, a literal translation of the Latin term *verbum e verbo* from Classical and Renaissance translation theory, suggests that he aimed at reproducing Slangerup’s work slavishly and to the word while distancing himself from the idea of rendering its meaning more freely into Danish with a translation *ad sensum*.⁷ However, while comparing the translation to the Latin original, I noticed that Saxild occasionally expands on topics in Slangerup’s text by including extra details or even entire new paragraphs that seem to add additional layers of meaning to his vernacular version. Rather than being violations of the faithful translation requested by Slangerup, or the result of an undisclosed desire for a freer sense-for-sense translation, I will argue that such additions may be regarded as Saxild’s attempts at making his vernacular readers aware of the more complex moral and theological lessons that he believed to be contained, albeit implicitly, within Slangerup’s oration, concealed as they were in the words, phrases, and topics that the professor had used in the presence of a learned audience.

The inspiration for this approach comes from one of Marianne Pade’s most recent articles, which I had the great pleasure of reading prior to its publication. In her article “Melanchthon and Thucydides: The reception of the *Peloponnesian War* in a Reformation context”, Pade argues that Philipp Melanchthon translated the often very difficult Greek of the *Peloponnesian War* into a more easily comprehensible Latin, in effect producing what she calls a “confessionalised” translation of Thucydides’ work. By comparing Melanchthon’s translation of Thucydides to Lorenzo Valla’s translation from 1452, Pade convincingly demonstrates how Melanchthon avoided the ornate and stylistically complex Latin used by Valla and popular among Italian humanists, opting instead for a style that favoured clarity, simplicity, and ease of understanding in accordance with the educational ideals of the protestant movement.⁸

Proper education was generally regarded as a key tool in the spread and development of the Lutheran Reformation.⁹ To ensure its long-term success,

⁶ “Er hun derfor i Sandhed effter Doctor Hansis samtycke verteret Ord fra Ord som Latinen Lyder / intet er der taget fra / oc intet tillagt”, Saxild 1589, fol. (:):ijv.

⁷ On the concepts of *ad verbum* and *ad sensum* translations, and their reception in the Renaissance, see Hosington 2014; Bassnett 2014; Pade 2018.

⁸ Pade 2020, 47–62.

⁹ On the Lutheran view on education, see Witte 2002, 262–267. A testament to the importance places on education is of course the implementation of the Melanchthonian system in universities, gymnasia, and grammar schools. See e.g. Ludolph 1984, 316–336; Smolinsky 1987, 25–26. Grane 1987 presents an overview of the Melanchthonian influence on the academic developments in both Wittenberg and Copenhagen.

people would have to be thoroughly confessionalised – i.e. educated in and made to conform to the teachings of Lutheranism, thus becoming part of a distinct religious community¹⁰ – and this applied to commoners and noblemen as well as to the teachers and priests, who were responsible for instructing the former. As Pade points out, Melanchthon always tried to make learning as easy as possible. In his *Elementa Rhetorices* (1531 with later editions), he had introduced a fourth rhetorical genre, the *genus didascalicum*, which was particularly aimed at instructing an audience and leading them towards a deeper understanding of difficult subjects. The key to this was clarity as the main stylistic ideal along with a simple and easy-to-follow mode of argumentation, as the goal was to provide the audience with knowledge that could be put to use at a later time. To this end, Melanchthon had previously advocated the use of commonplaces, which he praised as being able to unfold complicated topics in a way that would be easy to remember and to reproduce.¹¹

As Pade’s investigations show, Melanchthon translated Thucydides in accordance with these ideals, simplifying the language and syntax of his Latin version and aiding his readers by transforming difficult passages into simple and instructive maxims.¹² What caught my attention, however, was how the pedagogical translation strategy that Pade identifies connects to what Melanchthon sees as one of the great uses of the didascalie genre: instructing people in religious dogmas from the pulpit of the church. As people needed to be thoroughly instructed in the dogmas of the new confession if they were to subsequently apply these to their own lives and become good Lutherans, it was necessary to guide them through difficult passages of scripture and draw out the central points along the way.¹³ This task naturally fell to the preachers, and as Pade points out, Melanchthon had given them clear instructions on how to do this in his previous work *On the duties of the preacher (De officiis concionatoris)*, 1529; first printed edition 1533). Here, Melanchthon explains how a preacher lecturing on Scripture should

at all costs avoid exaggerated subtlety that tends to cloud the understanding of the people and leads to endless argument. He should therefore read out the subject to the people in words with unequivocal

¹⁰ On the concept of confessionalisation, see e.g. Lotz-Heumann 2013; Kaufmann 2006. See also the discussion in Ramminger 2020 on the “weak theory of confessionalisation.”

¹¹ Pade 2020, 48–50. On the *genus didascalicum*, see also Leiner 2012. See also Ramminger 2020 for examples of the popularity of this ideal within protestant circles.

¹² Pade 2020, 50–53, 55–57.

¹³ Cf. Lotz-Heumann 2013, 34–35.

and specific meaning, repeat it often and drill it into them so that they grasp what it is about [...]¹⁴

Comparing this *modus predicandi* to Melanchthon's confessionalised translation practice, we can see how he advocates that preachers in effect 'translate' the figurative language of Scripture into a more concrete language that the congregation could better understand. Similar ideals were also promoted by Melanchthon's followers, among these the Danish theologian Niels Hemmingsen, as has been pointed out by Johann Ramminger.¹⁵ This advice taps into what would also have been a more immediate need for translation. Religious instruction had to take place in the language of the people for it to be effective, something which Martin Luther had understood right from the start. Priests and teachers would therefore have to reproduce what they had been taught in Latin in the learned environment of the university, in the less cultivated vernacular of their congregation and in a form more suited to an audience with more basic levels of educations.¹⁶

In the following pages, I will explore how this pedagogical, or in the words of Pade, confessionalised view on translating shaped the way in which Saxild translated Slangstrup's oration into the vernacular of his readership. I will present three examples that each illustrate different techniques that Saxild uses to bring out the meaning of a particular passage as well as to provide an easily adoptable theological lesson. As I will argue, by reproducing difficult passages in a simpler language and thus 'drilling into' his readers what they were all about, Saxild produced not only a confessionalised, but also a *confessionalising* translation capable of transmitting complex lessons on faith and social theology to a less educated audience more used to openly devotional literature.

Explaining moral philosophy through the example of sin

The first example comes from Slangstrup's catalogue of the individual virtues that he believed in one way or other had characterised Frederik's reign. Among virtues such as having strengthened defensive works, supported the poor, and preserved the purity of the Gospel through proper education(!), Slangstrup includes a maxim-like passage on the king's sense of justice and mercy:

¹⁴ Quoted from Pade 2020, 49.

¹⁵ Ramminger 2020, 159–160.

¹⁶ Ludolph 1984, 422; Galle 2012. The lack of priests with a Lutheran education during the first decades of the Reformation led to the distribution of vernacular handbooks containing pre-written sermons on a variety of Biblical lessons. See e.g. Haemig & Kolb 2008, 119–123. A Danish example is the *Postils* of Hans Tausen.

Erat quoque in hoc Rege, quoddam temperamentum seueritatis atque clementiæ, vt nunquam à iusticia misericordiam nec vnquam à misericordia iusticiam remitteret [...]¹⁷

The king also possessed a particular temper which combined severity and mildness, so that he never released mercy from the reins of justice, nor justice from the reins of mercy.

A common topic in princely panegyrics, Slangstrup in a few words sums up how Frederik had balanced the need to punish with the desire to pardon, neatly structuring his statement around the concept of the Golden Mean. This philosophical ideal would have been well-known to an audience familiar with classical moral philosophy, and it would therefore have been easy for them to grasp the full meaning of Slangstrup's praise and commit it to memory. What he meant was not that Frederik had never been strict nor lenient, as the text might at first glance suggest, but rather that the king had always been able to tell when he needed to be severe, and when he could allow himself to show mercy.¹⁸ To someone outside the circles of higher education, however, this may not have been so obvious. Since the essence of the phrase lay hidden not in the individual words nor in the meaning that they produced, but in the associations made by a culturally defined audience, Saxild was thus faced with the task of reproducing what modern translation theory has described as culturally untranslatable.¹⁹ Turning now to his translation of this brief yet meaningful passage, we can observe how therefore he expands it slightly in order to help his readers grasp what might otherwise have been outside their sphere of reference, and thus guides them towards the right culturally defined interpretation of the passage:

Denne gode Herre / viste oc vel besynderlige at moderere sig / saa at hans Kongelige Maiestat tempererede Strenghed / met Naade oc Mildhed / der til ocsaa / icke vaar saa mild / at hans Naade / io wdi groffue Synder oc Laster / som giengse ere iblandt Menniken / oc aff huilcke GVD kand fortørnis / oc tit oc ofte / Straffer Land oc Riger for saadanne / lod Retfærdighed haffue sin Gang / effter GVDS Mandat oc Befalning.²⁰

This good Lord also knew particularly well how to curb himself, so that his Royal Majesty tempered harshness with mercy and mildness. But he was not so mild that his Grace, in the case of grave sins and vices,

¹⁷ Slangstrup 1588, fol. F4v.

¹⁸ Cf. Aristotle in *Nicomachean Ethics* 1106a–b.

¹⁹ On Cultural untranslatability, see Bassnett 2013, 40–45. This has some similarities with what renaissance humanists referred to as the *proprietas* of words. I will return to this concept below.

²⁰ Saxild 1589, fol. L4r.

which are common among humans and a source of anger to God, often causing Him to punish countries and kingdoms, did not let justice run its course in accordance with God's command and instructions.

While reproducing the topic of balancing severity and mildness, Saxild also makes sure that his reader understands the trope correctly. He could not rely on his readers to be familiar with moral philosophy, and so he uses a concrete example to demonstrate how the king's *temperamentum* had not consisted in a complete absence of severity, but rather in the wisdom of knowing when to punish to the full extent of the law. Sinning against God was a crime so serious that it threatened to expose the entire kingdom to the wrath of God, and the king was therefore obliged to punish it severely in accordance with the divine mandate of his office. By adding this clause on the royal duty to punish sinful behaviour, Saxild moreover manages to bring out the distinctly religious connotations that could also be read into Slangstrup's praise: Frederik had realised that as king, he had been divinely entrusted not only with the authority, but also with the duty to punish sinful practices in obedience to *GVDS Mandat oc befalning*, and he had therefore allowed this precept to guide his hand when dispensing justice among his subjects. The passage thus becomes, in Saxild's translation, a brief and condensed lesson on the social and religious duties that were seen as part of the king's office as God's representative on earth. The translated version thereby aided in the confessionalisation of the reader, who was instructed in the Lutheran doctrine on the office of the king. But Saxild's translation also afforded an easily absorbable lesson meant for the more practical edification of his intended readership.

Within Lutheran social theology, all temporal authorities (*magistratus; Obrigkeit; øvrighed*) were expected to see to the godliness and correct religious instruction of those in their care. Whether you were a *Hausvater* in charge of a single household, or a prince responsible for a large and populous territory, you were regarded as having been entrusted by God with a divine office that required you to aid in preserving true religion and thus sustain God's creation in accordance with His commandments.²¹ As such, the responsibility of the individual Lutheran magistrate to crack down on sins and vices was in its essence no different than that of the king's. This was especially true for the Danish nobility, as they were responsible for the day-to-day dispensation of justice within their respective fiefs as well as for overseeing that the Gospel was preached correctly within their parishes.²² The lesson on the duty to combat sin that Saxild draws out in his translation would

²¹ Stopa 2018; Jakobsen 2018, 249–250; Koefoed 2018, 321–327.

²² On the position of the nobility, see in particular Jakobsen 2019, 59–101, 135–173.

therefore concern a large part of his intended readership. In his instructive portrayal of the king, they could see how they themselves, in order to fulfil their God-given offices, were expected to never overlook the sinful behaviour of those in their care. Saxild's translation thereby contributed to the socio-theological education of his upper-class readers, and this could in turn aid in the further confessionalisation of the kingdom at the hands of the now well-instructed magistrates.

Salvation through faith and the promotion of a Lutheran *ars moriendi*

In the second example, we shall see how Saxild translated a simple passage into a more complex lesson on how to achieve salvation through faith. This passage takes us to the end of Slangerup's oration where he portrays the king on his deathbed. Here, he describes how Frederik piously endured the attacks that impending death launches upon man's consciousness, demonstrating the king's unflinching faith through a long passage of direct speech on the futility of life and the necessity of seeking God. Then, Slangerup breaks off:

Incredibile autem dictu est præstantissimi auditores, in hac temporis angustia, quomodo, sese ante postremos agones gesserit, qui nihil aliud fuerunt, quàm assidua pietatis, veræ inuocationis et confessionis exercitia, omnibusque astantibus perpetua æternaque *μνημόσυνα*, atque ad pietatem stimuli acerrimi. Sed hanc partem doctissimo collegæ et clarissimo Medico, Dn. D. Andreae Christiano Ripensi, à prandio perorandam relinquo.²³

It is, however, impossible to describe, excellent listeners, within the short time available, how he conducted himself in the face of his final struggles, which were nothing but constant exercises in godliness, true invocation, and confession of faith, and a source of lasting, eternal memory to all of those present, as well as a forceful stimulus to godliness. But I leave this part [of the king's life] to be portrayed by my learned colleague, doctor Anders Christensen of Ribe, in the afternoon.

Resorting to the trope of time being too limited to properly account for the subject, Slangerup refrains from saying any more himself on the theme of Frederik's death. Interestingly, he does so despite emphasising the exemplarity of the king's final hours, which he openly describes as having the potential to rouse people to a devout living. His reasons for omitting these *assidua exercitia* were most likely of a practical nature, since the task of speaking on the life and death of the king had been shared between him and Anders Christensen, the *Medicus secundus*, who were to treat this subject in a separate oration. Slangerup's audience would thus have been presented with

²³ Slangerup 1588, fol. 13r.

a, presumably thorough, description of the king's pious encounter with death later in the day, and so he may have intended to tell them in advance that this were going to be exemplary and full of devotional stimuli. However, Slangstrup simultaneously appears to reserve this didactic effect to those who had actually been present at the king's death and witnessed his pious exercises with their own eyes, thereby creating a distance to the event which effectively excludes his own audience from benefitting from the royal example. The result is a somewhat unclear impression of Frederik's role as a potential example, as he appears to be a source of inspiration to some but not to others. This potentially limited relevance would fit very poorly into a translation meant to serve as devotional literature to a larger readership, and turning our attention to Saxild, we can see how he responds by turning the passage into a more universally applicable lesson in deathbed theology. Like the translator who brings a text towards a new audience, Saxild closes the distance between his audience and the exemplary event by explicitly including them in its didactic scope, while moreover reminding them just how important it is to die a proper death in order to attain eternal life:

Ja i gode Tilhørere / det er wmueligt / at ieg paa denne kaarte Tid / kand
opregne eller beskriuffue / huorledis denne Salige Høybaarne Herre oc
Konge / Kong FRIDERICH, haffuer skicket oc beridt sig til Døden / Ja
øffuede sig stedze oc altid / i all Gudfryctighed / med en sand Guds
paakaldelse oc Bekiendelse / som er baade dennem alle / som den Tid
omkring stode / oc OS til en Euig Hukommelse / oc Bør at opuecke alle
oc huer / til en sand Gudfryctighed / i voris Liffs Tid.

Saa vaare saadanne Bønner krafftige / oc Dyrebare i GVDS Aasiun /
huorfore den Euige GVD / Naadelige Bønhørde hans Kongelige
Maiestat / huilcken som sactelige hensoff i Herren / hoss huilcken den
Salige Herre / Nyder oc Bruger/ Euig Glæde oc Rolighed / huilcken
hans Naade nyde skal / met alle GVDS vdualde Børn oc Helgene til
Euig Tid.²⁴

It is indeed impossible, good listeners, in this little time, to account for or describe how this blessed and noble Lord and King, King Frederik, prepared and readied himself for death; indeed, constantly engaged himself in all godliness with a true invocation of God and confession of his faith, which is a source of lasting memory to all those, who were present at the time, as well as to us, and ought to encourage every single one of us to a true godliness in all the days of our lives.

So powerful were these prayers, and so precious in the eyes of God, that the eternal God mercifully answered the prayers of His Royal Majesty,

²⁴ Saxild 1589, fol. Rijv.

who peacefully fell asleep in the Lord, with Whom the blessed Lord now enjoys and possesses eternal bliss and tranquillity, which His Grace will enjoy together with all of God's elected children and saints for all eternity.

By omitting the announcement of Anders Christensen's oration, which had followed Slangstrup's at the commemorative service at the university, Saxild is able to detach his translation from the practical setting that had defined Slangstrup's text, although he retains the illusion of addressing the original audience of listeners and not the new group of readers. This simple omission allows him to easily integrate his new audience into the group of people supposed to learn from the king's death, thereby giving the lesson contained in the passage a more universal scope. The new readers are told directly that the king's pious death-struggle deserves to be remembered by them as well as by those who had actually witnessed it, as his salvific example ought to inspire *alle oc huer*, in effect every subject regardless of rank or relation to the king, to lead more pious lives. This in itself constitutes a significant alteration to Slangstrup's original text, but Saxild takes it a step further as he inserts the additional paragraph on Frederik's ascent into heaven. Here, we are told how God was so pleased with Frederik's many ways of declaring his faith that He granted him a peaceful death and admitted him straight into the heavenly kingdom to enjoy eternal bliss in the company of God's elected. While Frederik's prayers had pleased God and secured His assistance at the time of death, the true power of the prayers seems to stem from the fact that they had allowed him to face death with the unflinching faith that, to a Lutheran, guaranteed eternal life. Saxild thereby brings attention to a key point that Slangstrup had left unspoken: because of his many pious exercises on his deathbed, Frederik had succeeded in conquering death and attaining everlasting life, the final prize to which all Christians aspire.

Lutheran doctrine taught that salvation was achieved through faith alone, and not by virtue of good works. While a pious life in faith and sincere worship of God was naturally the best kind of preparation for dying in certainty of salvation, nowhere was piety and unshakeable faith in the Gospel more needed than in the hour of death, when fear and doubt could attack even the most devout minds. Descriptions of how others maintained their faith and thus conquered death therefore became a popular theme in devotional literature such as the vernacular funeral sermon, whose deathbed descriptions in turn contributed to the creation and wider distribution of a distinctly Lutheran *ars moriendi*.²⁵

²⁵ Oftestad 2018. The main study of the Lutheran *ars moriendi* and its development is Reinis 2007. On salvation through faith in the context of the deathbed, see also Resch 2015; Oftestad 2015. The deathbed, as well as descriptions of it, also became an ideological

Within this cultural framework, the Lutheran apotheosis that Saxild adds to his translation in effect functions as a powerful testament to the efficacy of the pious exercises that Frederik had performed during his final days, proving how his *ars moriendi Lutherana* had in fact enabled the king to finally achieve salvation in death after a lifetime of piety. The short passage thus becomes a sort of concluding *argumentum*, in which Saxild demonstrates to his readers, in plain but striking terms, why it was so important that they should internalise the lesson contained in the preceding paragraphs. Here lay the key to salvation, for as the king's apotheosis indicated, they too could conquer death and enjoy eternal life, if they approached death just as Frederik had done. As such, the addition allows Saxild to bring out the theological implications of the deathbed description, specifying how the king's example could teach the individual how to die in a way that would lead to salvation.

As we can see, Saxild makes sure that his translation not only turns Frederik and his pious death into an unequivocally instructive example for the edification of his entire readership, but also specifies exactly what they are supposed to take away from the particular passage. He thereby presents an easily adoptable lesson with a clear learning objective, and he had in fact already made sure to provide them with additional material that could help them achieve their goal of salvation. Whereas Slangerup had relied on Anders Christensen to describe all the pious exercises that allowed Frederik to die an exemplary death, Saxild did not have that option; and so, while translating the actual deathbed description in the paragraphs that precede the passage we have just considered, he created a fuller and, as a result, more instructive image of the king's final hours. As mentioned earlier, Slangerup had only included how the king had given a philosophical speech full of theological subtleties on the brevity of life²⁶ before breaking off his short description of the deathbed, leaving the rest to Anders Christensen. Saxild, on the other hand, shortens this philosophical speech by leaving out some of the more complex theological reflexions. Instead he adds several extra details of a more pastoral nature on how the king had recited particular passages from Scripture and sung a selection of comforting psalms, as a way for him to strengthen his spirit and confess his faith amidst the agonies of death.²⁷ These very concrete

battlefield in the confessional disputes between Catholics and different reformed denominations such as the protestants in Ireland (Tait 2002, 7–18) and the Huguenots in France (Roberts 2000, 131–137).

²⁶ Slangerup 1588, fols. I2r–I3r.

²⁷ Saxild 1589, fols. Q4r–R1r. Saxild most likely supplied the details on scriptural readings from Anders Christensen's unpublished oration or copied them from the Latin oration that Anders Lauridsen had presented at the funeral in Roskilde (Lauridsen 1588, fol. H1r). I don't know wherefrom he gets his information on the hymns sung, both of which are good protestant hymns with texts by Luther: *Fader vor wdi Himmerig / som baad oss leffue*

details were easy to pick out and commit to memory, and they clearly illustrated what the individual reader would be expected to do when their time came. By supplying details that Slangerup had consciously omitted, Saxild presents his readers with a deathbed description that instructs them in a way of dying that led to eternal life, and thus transmits to them a Lutheran view on death and salvation. As a result, his translation becomes even more suited to act as devotional literature to a late sixteenth-century vernacular readership, since it initiates them into the beliefs and practices of Lutheran confessional culture, thereby aiding them in becoming fully-fledged members of the reformed community.²⁸

Making hidden threats plain through familiar examples

By time of Frederik's death in 1588, the confessional divides that had emerged across much of protestant Europe had led to an intensification in the confessionalisation processes within the different religious communities.²⁹ In Denmark, devotional literature naturally came to play a central role in the edification and confessionalisation of the population, and the period saw a surge in the popularity of printed funeral sermons targeting a vernacular readership.³⁰ Saxild appears to have been conscious of this development, as he occasionally goes a very long way to ensure that his translation fits into the devotional genre, continuously taking the needs of his readership and their frame of reference into account when translating Slangerup's learned text. This will be particularly clear from our third and final example, in which we shall see how he tackles the next part of Slangerup's oration. As Slangerup concludes his idyllic but learned portrayal of Frederik's pious death, he immediately turns his attention to the state of the subjects who had now been left behind on earth without their virtuous king. Reflecting on historical precedents, he argues that the death of a king such as Frederik is to be interpreted as a divine warning of bad times to come:

Brøderlig and Nu bede wi den Hellig Aand. He may have gotten details from Anders Christensen's oration, or he may simply have added them himself, inspired by how Frederik's father, Christian III, had been portrayed as singing hymns on his deathbed, one of them having been *Nu bede wi den Hellig Aand* (cf. Bording 1559, fol. C4v and Thomesen 1560, 60).

²⁸ The vernacular funeral sermon was often used to instruct the bereaved in the Lutheran doctrine on salvation, cf. Leppin 2015 and Sundmark 2020. See also Tait 2002, 7–28 and Roberts 2000, 131–137 on the importance of particular *artes moriendi* as confessional markers.

²⁹ On the development of the confessionalisation, see e.g. Kaufmann 2006, 6–9; Ingeman 2014, 43.

³⁰ Cf. Jacobsen 2015, 3–7; Oftestad 2018.

Interim si historiae omnium temporum, testantur fidelibus custodibus religionis et disciplinae, extinctis aut remotis, sequutas esse vastitates Ecclesiarum, interitus literarum, barbariem cyclopicam, et tristissimas confusiones opinionum, cultuum ac morum, et sapientum Sententiae extra Ecclesiam ab experientia sumptae, idem docent, inter quas celebratissimum est id, quod Pausaniam pronunciasse legimus, de Spartanorum cladibus, rege Cleombroto obruncato in praelio ad Leuctra, *μάλιστα γὰρ ἐπὶ πταίσμασι μεγάλοις ἐθέλει προαιφαιρεῖσθαι τὸν ἡγεμόνα ὁ δαῖμων*, hoc est magnis cladibus impendentibus, solet Deus è medio tollere Principem. ὁ nunc miseros et calamitosos nos, qui cū indigni facti essemus tanto Rege, ac haud dubiè nostris demeritis peccatis id exigentibus, ideo Deus nobis illum abstulit, quòd suum esse maluerit.³¹

Meanwhile, if world history shows that when faithful custodians of religion and learning have died or been removed, the devastation of churches, annihilation of letters, one-eyed barbarity, and the most sad disordering of opinions, practices, and manners have ensued; and if the same is also taught by the judgements made by wise men on the basis of experiences outside the Church, among which the most famous is the line that we read in Pausanias on the misfortune of the Spartans following the death of their king, Cleombrotus, who had been killed in the battle at Leuctra: *μάλιστα γὰρ ἐπὶ πταίσμασι μεγάλοις ἐθέλει προαιφαιρεῖσθαι τὸν ἡγεμόνα ὁ δαῖμων*, that is, ‘when great misfortune threatens, God usually removes the prince from this world’; then o how wretched and miserable we are now, since we have been deemed unworthy to such a king – no doubt having caused this ourselves with our many sins – and God therefore has taken him away from us, as He preferred to have him for Himself.

While Slingerup believes history to be full of examples of how the deaths of virtuous rulers have often been followed by destruction and cultural decline, he quotes Pausanias’ observation on the death of the Spartan King Cleombrotus as historical proof that God in fact carries off a nation’s leader as a kind of divine foreboding whenever such catastrophes are about to strike.³² We can see how he has adapted his translation of the Greek to achieve this ominous effect by qualifying the *magnis cladibus* (*πταίσμασι μεγάλοις*) with the participle *impendentibus*, thereby moving the impending threat into the future in contrast to the very present destruction that defines Pausanias’ original utterance. Moreover, he has translated *προαιφαιρεῖσθαι* as *è medio tollere*, and he thereby alters the meaning of the entire sentence so that the prince no longer falls as one of the first in a disastrous event, as in Pausanias’

³¹ Slingerup 1588, fol. I3r–v.

³² Paus. 3.6.1.

Greek, but is instead removed by God before disaster strikes, thus allowing his death to be seen as a bad omen.³³

However, Slingerup does not say what kind of disaster followed the foreboding death of King Cleombrotus. The battle of Leuctra had been a humiliating defeat for the powerful Spartans – Pausanias calls the Theban victory the greatest ever won by Greeks against Greeks³⁴ – and it had put an end to Spartan hegemony in Greece. This would of course have been obvious to a learned audience familiar with Greek history, but the same was less likely to have been the case for Saxild’s vernacular readership. If they were unable to deduce from the quotation just how disastrous it could be when God decided to suddenly remove a prince from his people, then its ominous subtext would consequently lose much of its threatening effect. This could moreover influence their understanding of Slingerup’s pessimistic conclusion, thus making it difficult for them to fully grasp how *miseros et calamitosos* he believed the people to have become as a result of their loss. For while Slingerup argues that Frederik was killed because of the sins of his people, thus insinuating that his death may therefore foreshadow some kind of divine punishment, he leaves it to the individual reader to make out what the repercussions of all this might actually be.

When translating this passage, Saxild was therefore faced with two main problems: another case of cultural untranslatability, since the ominous essence of the reference to Pausanias risked getting lost to an audience without the right cultural horizon; and the somewhat vague conclusion, since this relied on the reader’s ability to interpret the reference correctly and from there follow the implied argumentative chain towards its intended climax. This was not optimal, and Saxild goes a long way to avoid such vagueness and guide his reader through the difficult passage, making sure that every little detail is spelled out with unmistakable clarity. As a result, he almost quadruples the number of words used to convey the message of Slingerup’s ominous paragraph, clearing up the meaning of the Pausanias-quote as well as explaining how his readers were then to deal with the impending threat that Frederik’s death clearly signaled:

Men effterdi / at alle Historier bære vidne / at naar GVD haffuer
henkaldet / Gudfryctige Øffrigheds Personer / Som haffue hafft stor
vilge oc behagelighed / til at forfremme / den Christne Kircke oc sande
Religion / da effter deris Afgang / haffuer det sig meenlig effterfølgd /
megen forandring / Krig oc feyde / end ocsaa vndertiden / Forandring i

³³ Slingerup does not use the Latin translations of Pausanias by Abraham Loescher and Romolo Amaseo, although his choice of words suggests that he may have been familiar with one or both of them. On Latin translations of Pausanias, see Parks 1971.

³⁴ Paus. 9.13.11.

Religionen / Scholer oc Bogelige Konster / huilke tit oc offte ere foractede oc forskutte / oc i deris Sted ere vidtagne store Vildfarelser met atskillige oc vrangne Meninger / Dyrckelser oc groffue Seder / huilcket ocsaa mange Vise oc Forfarne Mend / vel vitterligt er. Ja end ocsaa andre / som ere leeg Folck / oc kand vide aff at sige / oc flitteligt acted oc obserueret haffue.

Iblant huilcket / dette er gantske merckeligt / som læsis wdi Historier / oc synderlige det / der den Scribent Pausanias skriffuer / om de Spartaners ynckelige Forstyrning oc Feyde / wdi huilcken / deris Konge oc Herre / Kong Cleombrotus, bleff slagen oc dræbt / i den Krig oc Slag / Som stod for Leuctra, der hand saa sagde: Magnis cladibus impendentibus, solet DEVS è medio tollere Principem. Det er / naar stor Forstyrning / vaade oc Fare / offuerhenger noget Land eller Rige / da pleier den Euige GVD meenlige / at lade forandring skee / ia saadan / at hand henkalder Landzens Førster oc Herrer / som haffue hantheffuet / sine Vndersaatte oc Regemente.

Da effterdi at vor Herre nu i disse Aar / ligeruiss som oc Aar effter GVDS Byrd / Tusinde Femffhundrede halffrediesindz tyffue oc Ny (oc lidet der effter) Døde mange drabelige Førster / som vaare Keyser KARL den Femte / Salige Kong CHRISTIAN den Tredje / Kong CHRISTEN den Anden / Kong GØSTE i Suerige / Tuende Konger i Franckerige / den ene effter den anden / Tre Dronninger / Dronningen i Engeland / oc Dronningen i Vngeren / oc Dronningen i Lante Polen. Trende Chur Førster / Phaltz Greffuen / Biscopen aff Treir / oc Biscopen aff Kølne / oc mange andre. Huilcken Tid / der strax effterfølgde / Her oc anden Sted / Stor Krig oc Feyde / oc siden grusom Pestilentze oc andet Ont. Saa haffuer oc nu / i disse faa Aar / den Almectigste GVD / teed sin vrede imod Menniken / for Syndens skyld oc Letfærdighed / oc mange ypperlige oc Naffnkundige Førster henkaldet / som ere / AVGVSTVS, Churførste i Lante Saxen / Churførstinden i Samme Sted / som vaar vor Salige Herris Søster / Førsten van Anhalt. Hertog HANS oc Hertog ADOLPH, oc / Som sagt er / Førstinden i Lante Michelborg / vor Allernaadigste Dronnings Gudfryctige oc Førstelige Moder / STEPHANVM, Konge i Polen / oc nu denne vor Salige Herre oc Konge / Kong FRIDERICH, met mange andre ypperlige / oc drabelige Lærde oc Naffnkundige Mend.

Saadanne siger ieg / effterdi vor Herre / saa plutzelige / haffuer henkaldet / da Bør oc vi / som saadant vederfaret er / vor sag vel at betencke / oc frycte at for vor Seckerhed oc wgudelighed / er visselige Herren oss vred / oc wden wi aluorlige omuender oss til Herren / maa wi wden all tuil foruente / at hand io oss visselige i andre Maade besøge oc straffe wil.

Derfore kand vel huer bentencke oc acte / som nogen sandz er wdi / met
huor stor Fare / wi nu ere besnerede / oc maa vel i alle Maade / sigis /
at were Wlycksalige oc Elendige / at wi haffue mist / saadan en Lands
Første / Religions forsuar oc beskiermere. Ja wi / som vaare aldellis
wuerdige til / at beholde hoss oss / saadan en Første oc Herre / huilcken
den Euige GVD wden all tuil haffuer for vor mangfoldige Synd oc
Ondskabs skyld / henkaldet aff denne Verden / til sit Euige Rige / oc
huilcken hand heller vilde / der skulde høre hannem til / end OS fattige
Danmarckis indbyggere.³⁵

But consider how every piece of history shows that whenever God has taken away pious magistrates, who have shown great willingness and desire to promote the Christian church and true religion, their deaths have regularly been accompanied by much alteration, war, and strife, and even also by changes to religion, schools, and letters, which are very often despised and shunned, and in place of which great delusions full of numerous wrongful opinions, practices, and manners are adopted. This is also well-known to many wise and learned men, and even men who come from outside the church, have experienced, noticed, and observed such things. Here, it is especially worth paying attention to that which can be read in works of history, and particularly what the writer Pausanias writes about the Spartans' miserable destruction and war, during which their king and lord, King Cleombrotus, was slain and killed in the battle taking place at Leuctra, at which he said: *Magnis cladibus impendentibus, solet DEVS è medio tollere Principem*, that is, 'whenever great destruction, misfortune, and danger threatens a country or kingdom, The Eternal God usually lets change take place in such a way that he calls away the country's prince and lord, who has sustained his subjects and his dominion.'

Consider then how Our Lord in these years, like during the year 1559 after the birth of Christ (and in the few years following), killed many distinguished princes, these being Emperor Charles V, the blessed King Christian III, King Christiern II, King Gustav in Sweden, two kings in France, one after the other, three queens, the queen of England, the queen of Hungary, and the queen of Poland, three electors, the count palatine, the bishop of Trier, and the bishop of Cologne, as well as many others, and how great wars and strife followed immediately after, both here and elsewhere, and thereupon disease and other kinds of evil. In the same way, The Almighty God has now, in these few years, shown His anger towards mankind, because of our sin and frivolity, and called away many great and illustrious princes, these being August, the Elector of Saxony, the electress in the same place, who was our blessed Lord's

³⁵ Saxild 1589, fols. Rijv–R4v.

sister, the prince of Anhalt, Duke Hans and Duke Adolph, and, as mentioned, the princess of Mecklenburg, our gracious queen's pious and princely mother, Stephen, the king of Poland, and now this our blessed Lord and King, King Frederik, along with many fine and distinguished learned and illustrious men.

Thus I say, that since our Lord has so suddenly taken away such princes, we too, who have experienced such things, ought to consider our situation closely, and be fearful that our light-heartedness and ungodliness has surely caused the Lord to be angry with us, and unless we earnestly restore ourselves to the Lord, we must no doubt expect that He will surely visit and punish us in other ways. Every person who possesses some kind of intellect, should therefore be able to consider and perceive how great a danger now threatens us, and how we must be said to be wretched and miserable in every respect, since we have lost such a prince and defender of the faith. For we were utterly unworthy to keep among us such a prince and lord, whom The Eternal God has undoubtably called away from this world to His eternal kingdom because of our numerous sins and evils, preferring that he should belong to Him rather than to us, the poor inhabitants of Denmark.

As we can see, Saxild reproduces Slangerup's ominous version of Pausanias by quoting his Latin translation instead of the Greek text. But he in turn translates this into Danish, or rather paraphrases it in a way that much emphasises the idea of an impending divine punishment. To a reader who relies only on the vernacular, Pausanias in effect declares that God uses princely deaths as a tool with which to harm or change human society. Saxild thereby guides his readers towards the realisation that all changes and disasters that follow the deaths of good magistrates, are in fact part of some divine plan, which God has put into action through princely death.³⁶

Saxild then follows up this unsettling statement by presenting his own list of more recent examples of rulers who had been carried off by God as a precursor for His divine punishment. This addition not only lends further authority to Pausanias' claim, but further allows Saxild to verbalise some of the connotations that we can expect Slangerup's learned audience to have gotten from the reference to Cleombrotus and the Battle of Leuctra. Attempting to get around the problem of recreating the culturally determined interpretation of the reference, he inserts these additional examples as functional equivalents that serve to bring out a similar set of connotations in

³⁶ Cf. Sen. *Cl.* 1.4. It was a common perception among Lutherans that God carried out His will through select individuals, the so-called 'masks of God' (*larvae Dei*); see e.g. Thompson 2014, 133–139.

his own readers.³⁷ The many deaths that Saxild mentions all occurred around the year 1559, and three of the examples moreover came from a Scandinavian context (King Gustav of Sweden as well as the Danish kings Christian III and Christiern II, whose nationalities naturally did not need to be mentioned). As such, the examples were very likely to have been familiar to his intended readership, who might even have experienced firsthand the wars and diseases that had indeed followed in the wake of these particular deaths. They would only have to recall how the Nordic Seven Years' War (1563–1570) had erupted between the two young heirs of Christian III (†1559) and Gustav Vasa (†1560), while an outbreak of the plague had simultaneously swept through parts of Europe and Scandinavia during the mid-1560's. Saxild thereby uses these additional examples in a way analogous to a 'domesticating' translation practice³⁸, making the strange and foreign of the original reference more familiar to the translation's target audience and thus providing them with a much clearer picture of the kind of destruction they could expect to see whenever God decided to take away a good prince and let disaster strike. He does not stop there, however, as the readers are immediately confronted with another list of additional historical examples, this time of princes and princesses who had died within the last couple of years. Culminating with Frederik II, "this our blessed Lord and King", this current wave of deaths, Saxild explains, are in fact similar to the ominous deaths that had taken place a generation ago. This alarming comparison allows him to spell out the essence of Slangerup's condensed paragraph: since Frederik's death had also been caused by the sins of his people, it too should be seen as a sign that God is about to unleash new punishments on the subjects left behind. We can see how Saxild subsequently tries to lead his readers towards this conclusion by pedagogically asking them to now consider their current situation in light of what has just been described to them. But in case they are slow to connect the dots, he makes sure to spell out with unmistakable clarity what Slangerup left for his audience to figure out themselves: their numerous sins have angered God, and so He has taken away their king for him to enjoy eternal bliss, while they in turn are to face His divine punishment.

Having gradually led his readers through Slangerup's intricate and learnedly implied argument with familiar, or rather domestic, examples and explanatory comments, we see how Saxild finally concludes that by now, every person with a bit of intellect should have grasped the true but hidden meaning of King Frederik's death. He evidently felt that his many additions

³⁷ On 'functional' or 'dynamic' equivalents, see Bassnett 2013, 33–39.

³⁸ For a brief introduction to 'domesticating' and 'foreignising' translations, terms coined by Lawrence Venuti, see Bassnett 2013, 46–47. For their uses in Renaissance translation theory, see Pade 2017, 57–59; Pade 2018, 5–12.

had made it perfectly clear why they ought to consider themselves wretched and miserable as a result of Frederik's death, and so he finishes his translation of the passage by reproducing Slangstrup's otherwise cryptic conclusion, as its meaning with all its ominous connotations should now be within their reach. But in order to get there, it had been necessary to first to clear up points that had been hidden in the learned discourse of Slangstrup's text. We have already seen how Saxild previously explained the philosophical concept of the Golden Mean to his readers by providing them with a very concrete example of how the idea of balancing severity and mercy should be understood. Apparently, something even more radical was needed in this case to translate the culturally untranslatable and thus properly reproduce the full meaning of the reference to Cleombrotus and the Battle of Leuctra.

As Pade has previously discussed, humanists translating from Greek into Latin were regularly faced with the task of transferring what they considered to be the *proprietas* of particular words from one language into the other. This *proprietas*, Pade argues, signified "something that is so special to a language or a culture that it may be impossible to render it satisfactorily in another language without radical changes."³⁹ A popular solution to this cultural untranslatability was to rephrase the word in question and thereby make it more familiar, and the resulting paragraph more accessible, to the intended audience; or, if a more literal translation was opted for, the resulting 'foreignness' could be explained through the addition of a commentary.⁴⁰

Although the difficulty for Saxild lay not so much in translating the individual words of the Pausanias-reference as in reproducing the interpretation that a learned audience would make from the reference as a whole, we can see how he tackles this culturally defined *proprietas* using analogous techniques. He rephrases the quote in a form that spoke more directly to sixteenth-century readers living in a Lutheran monarchy, while his inclusion of contemporary examples acts as a sort of commentary interpreting the passage and transmitting its meaning in a style that was easy for them to follow.⁴¹ This latter strategy in particular was perfectly suited to a confessionalised translation practice. Despite resulting in what Jerome had

³⁹ Pade 2017, 58.

⁴⁰ On the connection between *proprietas* and the concepts of 'domesticating' and 'foreignizing' translations known from modern translation studies, see Pade 2018, 5–12. See also Pade 2017, 57–59.

⁴¹ Cf. Manuel Chrysoloras on trying to reproduce *proprietas*, as related by Cencio de'Rustici: "For if anyone were to alter the Greek *proprietas* somehow, with the object of speaking better and more clearly to his own people, he would act the part of a commentator rather than that of a translator." Quoted from Pade 2018, 6.

long before referred to as “a long detour around a short course”⁴², Saxild’s considerably longer, but also more gradual and pedagogically repetitive buildup towards Slangerup’s final conclusion, followed Melanchthon’s advice by making it straightforward for his readers to understand and internalise what they were supposed to learn from it all: their king had died, and they were to blame. Slangerup had hinted at this point only once, but Saxild drills it into his readers three times in the course of his pedagogical lecture. Their sinfulness had become so great that God, in His righteous anger, had decided to chastise the people of Denmark, and so He had first taken away their good and pious king as a sign of the destruction that would soon follow, unless they abandoned their sinful way of life.

The lesson that Saxild brings out in effect constituted a call for his readers to devote themselves fully to the type of Lutheranism practiced within the Danish kingdom. Presented with the cause of Frederik’s death, they should realise that they had not been observant enough, repent their sins, and henceforth lead more pious lives in order to appease God and persuade Him to put off His divine punishment. This would have been an all too familiar topic at the time. To deter people from flirting with rival confessions, preachers regularly presented disasters such as royal deaths as signs that their congregation were sinners who did not live according to the confession of the country and in their blindness incurred the wrath of God. On the day of Frederik’s funeral, the court chaplain at Copenhagen Castle, Niels Lauridsen Arctander, devoted an entire sermon to this theme as he spoke on the king’s death on the basis of the ominous words of Isaiah 57:1–2: “The righteous perish, and no one takes it to heart; the devout are taken away, while no one understands. For the righteous are taken away from calamity, and they enter into peace; those who walk uprightly will rest on their couches. (NRSV)”⁴³

But whereas Arctander limited himself to criticising people for their inability to see the sign that God had sent with the death of their king, urging them to open their eyes and return to the right path, Saxild’s pedagogical translation effectively opened the eyes of his readers as he guided them through Slangerup’s learned attempt at doing the same thing. While doing so, Saxild urged them to lead more pious lives, and his translation could in turn aid them in this undertaking. By giving them easy access to lessons on important issues such as how to combat sin and how to achieve salvation in

⁴² Jerome on the difficulties of reproducing *proprietas*: “when I try to accommodate its full sense, I take a long detour around a short course.” Quoted from Pade 2017, 58.

⁴³ Arctander 1590, see esp. fols. D1r–F7v. The sermon was given in Danish, but was translated into Latin before it was published. See also Billeskov Jansen 1990, 42–45. Similar examples can be found in funeral sermons from early 17th century Calvinist Transylvania, cf. Murdock 2000.

death, his translation thus contributed to the confessionalisation of his readership and the construction of a religious community.

Conclusion

In his preface, Saxild claimed to have translated Slangerup's text word for word without adding anything to the professor's oration. As I hope to have shown, this was not exactly true, but neither completely wrong. For although he in places added significantly to his vernacular version, he did so in ways that not only clarified the often condensed and learnedly implied style of Slangerup's oration, but also helped bring out the theological lessons that were contained within the learned text, lessons on important matters such as sin and salvation. As we have seen, he used concrete examples to explain what it meant, in practice, to walk the middle road between justice and mercy, and how this related to combatting sin. He stated clear learning goals to aid his readers in reading the translation as devotional literature, and, most importantly, he moved the oration out of the learned world of the university and into the world of a vernacular readership. This meant making its content available to them not only in Danish, but also in a language and style they could actually understand, such as when Saxild references contemporary history to explain the meaning of Slangerup's reference to Pausanias and the Battle of Leuctra. It was necessary to supply additional information that brought out explicitly what Slangerup's learned audience would have tacitly understood from context alone. As such, it was not really additional information; it was simply a matter of stating directly what should be read between the lines, interpreting the text for a reader who might need a bit of help.

Lutheran educational ideals promoted a very pedagogical approach to preaching and teaching, and as Pade has demonstrated, this also contributed to the creation of a confessionalised translation practice. Saxild translated Slangerup's oration according to similar ideals, and this enabled him to steer his readers towards the theological lessons that lay hidden in the wording of the Latin text without adding details that altered its original message – and successfully, it appears. As the translation left the printing press, Slangerup went over the finished product, and he had a few comments on the work added to Saxild's preface (which had evidently been the last thing to have been printed). He had found several errors in the spelling of words according to the local Zealand-dialect, and the young translator had been too eager in his use of punctuation marks and virgules, which Slangerup felt disturbed the reading of the text.⁴⁴ However, nothing is said about the actual translation itself. This

⁴⁴ Saxild 1589, fol. (:):4r.

suggests that Saxild had indeed succeeded in producing a translation that faithfully reproduced Slingerup's oration and brought out the theological lessons it contained, but in a form more suited to those who were unable to properly understand the Latin text.

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POETS AT THE ST. ANNE ALTAR:

Self-reflection in the *Coryciana*



Julia Haig Gaisser

Scio non esse nos Vergilios
I know we're no Vergils
(Blosius Palladius)

*The early sixteenth-century Roman humanists wrote reams of occasional verse, ringing changes on themes provided by particular topics. In the *Coryciana* (1524), around 130 poets celebrated Andrea Sansovino's sculpture of St. Anne, the Virgin, and the infant Jesus on an altar commissioned by Johannes Goritz (Corycius) in the church of Sant'Agostino. They treated the numinous power of the statues, the generosity of Goritz, and the artistry of Sansovino, but also their own role as interpreters. This paper suggests that the poets present themselves as creators of the altar on a par with Goritz and Sansovino, as essential participants in the religious occasion, and as part of a divinely inspired human trinity.*

In the first quarter of the sixteenth century Rome had scores of humanists, and it was also full of sodalities, which unified them as a group and provided the focus of their emotional and intellectual life.¹ Dining together was the essential activity of the humanists in their sodalities, but they also staged special events and enjoyed annual celebrations, which often coincided with feasts of the church, memorializing these occasions and their participation in them with masses of poetry.² Their most important poetic monument is the *Coryciana*, a collection of poems written for the celebrations of Johann Goritz, who headed the largest and most famous sodality of all.

Johann Goritz arrived in Rome from his native Luxembourg in 1497 and soon rose to prominence and wealth in the papal curia.³ At some point in the

¹ Important general studies of sodalities include Gnoli 1938, 136–163; D'Amico 1983, 89–114; Bober 1977; De Caprio 1981 and De Caprio 1982

² For more on the activities of the sodalities, see Gaisser 2011, with earlier bibliography.

³ Ceresa 2002.

next decade he conceived the idea of building an altar to his patron saint, St. Anne, and a tomb for himself in the church of Sant'Agostino. In 1510 he signed a contract with the Augustinian monks that allowed him to install an altar against one of the piers in the church and to place on it – carved from a single piece of marble – a statue group of St. Anne, Mary, and the infant Jesus (*Fig. 1*). A tomb ready to receive Goritz himself was to be placed in the pavement below.⁴ The altar with its statue group, sculpted by Andrea Sansovino, was probably dedicated on St. Anne's day (July 26), 1512.⁵ Soon afterwards, if not in time for the dedication, the monument also included a work not mentioned in the contract, a fresco of the prophet Isaiah above it painted by Raphael.⁶ Modern scholars are generally agreed that the statue group and fresco were conceived as an ensemble, and that the program of the whole was inspired by the great Augustinian, Egidio da Viterbo.⁷

For many years Goritz and his altar were the center of a major annual celebration by his sodality.⁸ Every St. Anne's day the humanists gathered in Sant'Agostino. Mass was said at the altar, and poems were attached to boards (*tabellae*) nearby, perhaps originally around the other three sides of the pier itself.⁹ Then the poets and their host repaired to a feast at Goritz's nearby villa, where his garden was adorned with even more poems.¹⁰ In the heyday of the festivities, from around 1512 to 1524, scores of poets praised Goritz and his altar in many hundreds of poems. A large collection of these, the *Coryciana*, was printed in 1524.¹¹ The work is named for Goritz, whom the

⁴ Bonito 1980, 810–811; Bonito 1984, 11–13. The contract is printed in Bonito 1984, Appendix A, 342–355; *Coryciana* 2020, 437–443.

⁵ Bonito 1984, 18.

⁶ For the dating, see Perini 1997–1998, 380; Rijser 2006, 174 n 59; Rijser 2012, 197 n 52.

⁷ Bonito 1984, 100–161; Alhaique Pettinelli 1986, 42–44; Gaisser 1995, 45–47; Rijser 2006, 171–183, 190–194; Rijser 2012, 195–211.

⁸ The date of the last celebration is unknown, but it did not survive the Sack of Rome (1527), and probably ended a few years before that. Goritz himself suffered in the Sack, and perished as he was trying to return to Luxembourg. A contemporary account is given by Pierio Valeriano in *De litteratorum infelicitate* 2.60; see Gaisser 1999, 220–223.

⁹ Later a fourth and fifth board were added. IJsewijn in *Coryciana* 1997, 21–22 gives the references to the relevant poems; see also Rijser 2006, 171 n. 51 and 2012, 180 n.35.

¹⁰ Blossius Palladius, Dedication 8, *Coryciana* 1997, 31. The feast in Goritz's garden is described by C. Silvanus Germanicus (*Cor.* 398); lines 1–60 are printed and translated by IJsewijn 1990, 219–221.

¹¹ For the edition see especially Ruyschaert 1972 and IJsewijn in *Coryciana* 1997, 17–28. Poems discussed in this paper will be cited from *Coryciana* 1997; poets will be given the Latin forms of their names as in the edition. Keilen in *Coryciana* 2020 prints IJsewijn's text of *Cor.* 1–372 with French translations, introduction, commentary, and prosopography. Important studies include IJsewijn 1990; Rijser 2006, 2012; Alhaique Pettinelli 1986; Perini 1997–1998; Pellegrino 2003; Sodano 2011; Wolkenhauer 2014; Keilen in *Coryciana* 2020.

humanists called by the Latin name Corycius (or Coritius), which evoked both the Corician cave of the Muses on Mount Parnassus and Vergil's old gardener in the *Fourth Georgic* (*Corycium . . . senem*, *G.* 4.127) whom they saw as Goritz's namesake.¹²

The *Coryciana* is remarkable for its size (it contains 399 poems by around 130 poets),¹³ but otherwise it is a typical product of its era since occasional poetry on set themes of contemporary interest was a favorite activity of the Roman humanists. The poets of the *Coryciana* also wrote about the Laocoon, on the famous statue of the sleeping Ariadne that everyone identified as Cleopatra, on the courtesan Imperia, and on the death of Celso Mellini.¹⁴ Some of these poems were printed, but most simply circulated among the humanists and their patrons. Manuscripts in the Vatican Library contain poems on the death of Raphael, on the hated Pope Adrian VI, on the name of Pietro Mellini (is it derived from *mel*, "honey," or *melos*, "song"?), on Angelo Colocci's cat, on the villas of various patrons – and also, alas! attacks on Johann Goritz by some of the very poets who celebrated him in the *Coryciana*.¹⁵ Whatever their subject, however, all these poems have one thing in common: they ring changes on a theme – looking for all its possibilities, and endlessly developing and embroidering them. The poets tried to outdo each other, often in the hope of rewards from their patrons. The poems on the name of Pietro Mellini, for example, were probably written for a competition at a party at Mellini's villa. And we are told repeatedly that Goritz's celebrations involved a poetry contest – a *certamen*, whose victor almost certainly would have carried off a cash reward.

The set topic in the *Coryciana*, of course, is praise of Goritz and his altar. Here is how its editor, Blossius Palladius, describes it in his preface to Goritz:

¹² Blossius Palladius spells out the connection with Vergil's gardener in the first words of his dedication: "Corycium senem tibi quadantenus cognominem, Iane Coryci, . . . Vergilius . . . collaudat" (Vergil praises the old man of Corycus, who is to some extent your namesake, Johann Goritz), Blossius Palladius, Dedication 1, *Coryciana* 1997, 29. Mariangelus Accursius treats Goritz's association with the Corician cave in *Cor.* 1.70–73.

¹³ The index in *Coryciana* 1997 includes 132 poets listed with poems in the collection.

¹⁴ Laocoon: for a very partial list with bibliography, see Gaisser 2011, 126 n. 25; see also Wolkenhauer 2014, 109–112. Ariadne/Cleopatra: for poems by Evangelista Maddalena Capodiferro and Baldassare Castiglione, see Brummer 1970, 221–222. Imperia: Vitalis 1512 includes poems by Janus Vitalis, Blossius Palladius, Silvanus Germanicus and others; see also Moncallero 1962. Celso Mellini (brother of Pierio Valeriano's friend and patron, Pietro Mellini): poems on his death were collected by Valeriano and printed in a volume entitled *In Celsi Archelai Melini funere amicorum lacrimae* (Rome 1519); see Gaisser 1999, 309–310; Benedetti 2010.

¹⁵ Raphael: Shearman 2003; Perini 1997–1998. Mellini, Colocci's cat, villas: Gaisser 2011, 127 n. 30. Adrian VI: Fanelli 1979. Goritz: Gaisser 1995, 52–54; Gaisser 2011, 129–130.

All the city's poets, stirred as if by a passionate frenzy, marveling at your piety and the excellence of the work itself, have competed to extol you and have woven your generosity, the elegance of the statues, the pre-eminence of the artists into their songs.¹⁶

Goritz's piety and generosity, the elegance of the statues, the pre-eminence of the artists are indeed the subjects of the *Coryciana*, and we meet them over and over again. But there is another major theme not mentioned by Blossius: the poets themselves. In over 100 poems the poets muse on themselves musing on Goritz and his altar. Details are added, taken away, modified sometimes only a little and sometimes almost beyond recognition, and we meet them coming and going, bouncing off the pages at us and reflecting each other in dizzying profusion, as if in a hall of mirrors.

In what follows I will look at a selection of these metapoetical poems and suggest that in them the poets make themselves not just spectators but essential participants in the religious occasion. I will close with a brief epilogue speculating on the reasons for their virtual neglect of Raphael's fresco.

The poets present themselves as creators of the sanctity of the altar on a par with Goritz and Sansovino. Each has a different role that contributes to the unity of the whole. Goritz brings his piety, money, or divine understanding (sometimes all three), Sansovino his art, the poets their songs. In its simplest form, the idea is usually expressed in a couplet. Here is Petrus Mellinus:

Omnia dant statuis his laudem: carmina vatam,
Corytii pietas, Sansoviique manus. (*Cor.* 266)

Everything gives praise to these statues: the songs of the poets,
the piety of Goritz, the hand of Sansovino.

Antonius Nerlius:

Mens Coryti, manus artificis, vatam ingenium, auro
Hoc struit, arte polit, carmine laudat opus. (*Cor.* 347)

The mind of Goritz, the hand of the artist, the talent of the poets.
Builds this work with gold, polishes it with art, praises it with song.

¹⁶ “. . . poetae urbani omnes velut oestro perciti tuamque tum pietatem tum operis ipsius excellentiam admirati, te certatim extulerunt tuamque animi magnitudinem, statuarum nitorem, artificum praestantiam suis carminibus texuerunt.” Blossius Palladius, *Dedication 3, Coryciana* 1997, 30.

Bernardinus Dardanus:

Musa chely, impensa Corytus, Sansovius arte
Haec decorant studio vivida saxa pari. (*Cor.* 184)

The muse with her lyre, Goritz with expenditure, Sansovino with art
Adorn these living stones with equal zeal.

Silvius Laurelius pushes the argument in a slightly different direction in two closely related epigrams that highlight the statues. Here is the first:

Ipsa vel haec se scire negent simulacra, probandus
Sculptorne an vates, Corytiusne magis. (*Cor.* 69)

Even these images themselves would say they don't know whether
The sculptor or the poets or Goritz deserves greater approval.

In his next epigram, as if to show why the choice is so difficult, Silvius attributes the same miraculous accomplishment to all three:

Corytii mens, Sansovini ars, carmina vatum
Signa istaec adigunt vivere, muta loqui. (*Cor.* 70)

The mind of Goritz, the art of Sansovino, the songs of the poets
Make these statues live, and – though mute – speak.

Baptista Casalius presents an elegant little variation in which each clause has three elements related in order to the three elements in each of the other clauses:¹⁷

Coricius, vates, ars, aram, carmina, Divos,
Dat, ludit, fingit, sumptibus, ore, manu. (*Cor.* 42).

Goritz, the poet, art, altar, poems, divinities,
Gives, composes, shapes, with wealth, with tongue, with hand.

Janus Vitalis constructs his couplet in the same way:

Materiam, formam, mentem, dat, sufficit, addit,
Corytus, auctor, Apollo, ingenio, arte, lyra. (*Cor.* 340)

Matter, form, meaning. Gives, supplies, imparts.
Goritz, the artist, Apollo: with intellect, with art, with the lyre.

This poem gives greatest merit to the poet (Apollo), who imparts meaning, not just matter or form, to the work.¹⁸

Goritz, the sculptor, the poets – three contributors, each of a different kind, to a single project, which of course is also threefold in nature, representing

¹⁷ The type was called a “correlative” poem by J.C. Scaliger; see IJsewijn’s note *ad loc.*, *Coryciana* 1997, 69.

¹⁸ But see also Keilen in *Coryciana* 2020, 398–399.

the three sacred personages (“gods”, as the poets like to call them) of St. Anne, Mary, and the infant Jesus, carved from a single stone. Goritz stipulated the single stone, surely not only because he wanted the work to be a technical tour de force, but also because he was thinking of its religious significance.¹⁹ The three figures of the sculpture are connected by their lineage as well as their divinity; shaped from a single piece of marble, they are shown to be literally – not just metaphysically – of a single substance. This St. Anne “trinity,” demonstrating Jesus’ human lineage, also of course evokes the great trinity, of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.²⁰

The poets treat the creative trinity of which they are a part as a human counterpart of the trinity of the statue.²¹ Often the idea appears in its simplest form: a single couplet that brings together the three contributors and the three gods.²² Caius Silvanus Germanicus plays with the theme in a series of three epigrams:

Tres Superos homines tres ornare: Corytus
Sculptorque et vates, aere, manu, fidibus. (*Cor.* 321)

Three men have adorned three gods: Goritz,
sculptor, and poet, with money, hand, and lyre.

In a slight variation he assimilates the men, their gifts, and the gods. Each is *summus* (“greatest”).

Et summa ars, summa et pietas, summique poetae
Summa tribus summis dona dedere Deis. (*Cor.* 322)

The greatest art, the greatest piety, the greatest poets
Have given the greatest gifts to the three greatest gods.

In the most complex version, he differentiates and ranks the two trinities.

¹⁹ I have borrowed the phrase “technical tour de force” from Bonito 1984, 60.

²⁰ Bonito 1984, 89–91, 214–215. Alhaique Pettinelli 1986, 45–46, citing Wind 1968, 253–255. Perini 1997–1998, 386. Rijser 2006, 215–220.

²¹ In general they like to draw attention to patterns of three. Thus Blossius Palladius in *Cor.* 127 speaks of one trinity of gods, another of statues, altar, and painting (presented in a single offering), and yet a third of boards (*tabulae*) of poems presented by the poets: “Dat statuas, aram et picturae munus eodem / munere, Corycius, Diis tria dona tribus. . . / . . . Quare hi permoti hac pietate et muneribus Dii / impulerunt vatem in carmina; quae et dederunt / continuo vates; dignas Diis, munere dignas / Corycio et Superis treis dederunt tabulas”. *Cor.* 127, 1–2, 5–8. See Perini 1997–1998, 382. For translation see Keilen in *Coryciana* 2020, 98.

²² Thus, *Cor.* 44 by Savoia: “Coryitus locat, Andreas facit, ornat Apollo; / Tres treis condecorant sumptibus, arte lyra”). Also *Cor.* 87 by Alexander Alexandrinus Romanus: “Numina tres Superos ornant tria, Iuno, Minerva / Cypria, divitiis, carminibus, specie”. For translations see Bonito 1984, 248 and 257; Keilen in *Coryciana* 2020, 52 and 76.

Corycius vati et fabro, illi at debet uterque; hi
Tergemini debent Tergeminis Superis. (*Cor.* 323)

Goritz is indebted to poet and sculptor, but each is indebted to him.
This set of three is indebted to the triple gods.

He also treats the theme in hendecasyllables.

Divos tergeminos Corycianos,
Compar Phidiacis opus figuris,
Aequo tergemini probant coluntque
Affectu Corytus, faber, poetae. (*Cor.* 336)

The three, Goritz, sculptor, poets,
With equal devotion praise and worship
The threefold Corycian gods,
A work equal to the statues of Phidias.

In longer poems there is more room to elaborate. Ioannes Franciscus Philomusus uses two couplets. The second couplet presents the familiar three contributors and three-fold divinity.

Andreas artem, nos carmina, contulit aera
Corycius: trinum quis mage numen amat?

Andreas has bestowed art, we songs, Goritz money.
Who loves the threefold godhead more? (*Cor.* 138–3–4)

This couplet could stand alone as a complete epigram. Compare it, for example, with *Cor.* 321 above, the first epigram we looked at by Silvanus Germanicus. But Philomusus creates a nice variation by adding a couplet at the beginning in which he identifies the three gods and their relation to each other. Here is the whole poem.

Anna parens magnae hic Matris, virgoque supremi
Magna Parens Patris, natus et Omnipotens.
Andreas artem, nos carmina, contulit aera
Corycius: trinum quis mage numen amat?

Here is Anna the parent of the great Mother, and the virgin,
The Great Parent of the supreme Father, and the Omnipotent son.
Andreas has bestowed art, we songs, Goritz money.
Who loves the threefold godhead more? (*Cor.* 138)

In two couplets, then, the roles of both trinities can be differentiated and their component persons appropriately described. These fundamental elements are capable of almost infinite variation and expansion. Using four couplets, Ioannes Baptista Cataneus makes the argument more complex.

Quae tria de Pario cernis spirantia saxo
 Numina, Corytii sunt monumenta pii.
 Virginis Anna parens, et Virgo mater Iësu
 Mirantur nati parvula membra Dei.
 Sansovii manus haec priscos imitata magistros
 Fecit, quam loquitur quanta tabella vides.
 Ille suae pietatis, et hic feret artis honorem,
 Amboque perpetuo carmine erunt celebres. (*Cor.* 210)

These three living deities you observe of Parian marble
 Are the monuments of pious Goritz.
 Anna, parent of the Virgin, and the Virgin, mother of Jesus,
 Marvel at the tiny limbs of God the son.
 The hand of Sansovino imitating the ancient masters made
 These things, as the votive board relates (you see how large it is).
 The one will win the prize of piety and the other of art,
 And both will be celebrated in everlasting song.

Cataneus' building blocks are the same as those of Philomusus: the trinity in the sculpture and the creative trinity of patron, sculptor, and poets. Like Philomusus, he presents an ecphrasis describing the sculpture to the reader, who is imagined as viewing the statue. Philomusus identifies his genre in the single word, "here (*hic*)": "here is Anna, etc." But Cataneus is more explicit, as if we were standing with him before the column. "You observe (*cernis*)", he says in line 1, pointing out the statues; then he turns to the board full of poems nearby, drawing our attention to its size in line 5, "you see how large it is (*quanta . . . vides*)". The statues memorialize Goritz (they are his monuments, both votive offerings and memorial, and we are to remember that the altar marks his future tomb); the contents of the board testify to Sansovino's achievement. The final memorial for both, however, is not a physical object but the gift of the poets: the "everlasting song" that will insure their fame.²³

Like Cataneus, Andreas Maro uses the trinity in the sculpture ("the three divinities", line 5), but he divides the second trinity, making Goritz and Sansovino not just creators, but also objects of the poets' praise along with the statues.

Inclyta cum Romae tot sint spectacula rerum,
 Hinc antiquae urbis, hinc monumenta novae,
 Dic age, Musa, operi cur tantum contigit uni,
 Mille argumentum vatibus unde fuit?

²³ Cataneus plays with the same elements in *Cor.* 209. For translation see Bonito 1984, 272–3; Keilen in *Coryciana* 2020, 142, 144.

“An meruere minus tria Numina, lumina mundi,
Coritii pietas, Sansoviique manus?” (*Cor.* 286)

Since there are so many famous sights in Rome,
Monuments everywhere of both the ancient city and the new,
Come, tell me, Muse, why it has fallen to one work alone
To provide a theme to a thousand poets?
“Or do the three divinities deserve any less, the lights of the world,
The piety of Goritz, and the skill of Sansovino?”

Maro’s poem takes the form of a question and its answer, a common template in Catullan and other epigram.²⁴ He asks the Muse to explain why this one monument, of all the famous sights in Rome both ancient and modern, has inspired “a thousand poets”. Her brief answer: the three divinities and the qualities of Goritz and Sansovino deserve it. Maro has packed a surprising number of important points into his six lines: not only the trinity of the statues (“the lights of the world”) and the usual attributes of the creative trinity (piety, skill, and song), but also the sculpture’s position and priority among the marvels of Rome and a metapoetic salute to his fellow poets in Goritz’s large sodality.

In a much longer poem, Pierius Valerianus builds on the same elements to consider the inspirational power of the statues, adding a superstructure that deepens the argument and all but obscures its familiar foundation.²⁵ Like Maro, he uses the question-and-answer template.

Cum tot ubique habeas spirantia saxa, colores,
Aeraque, vita quibus ni sit, inesse putes,
Cur tantum tria ducta uno de marmore signa,
Anna avia, et Mater Virgo, Puerque Deus,
Ingenia incendunt hominum, stimulantque poetas, 5
Quot Roma atque ingens ambitus orbis habet?
Non hunc Corycius, non Sansovinus honorem
(Hic sumptu quamvis inclytus, ille manu)
Affectent: vis haec coelesti a lumine fusa est:
Scilicet est tanti sacrum habuisse locum. 10
Nanque Augustini ingenium et facundia et ardens
Illa adeo pietas atque amor ille boni
Hanc mentem inspirant coeli de vertice, virtus
Unde hominum, unde Deum non moriatur honos. (*Cor.* 197)²⁶

²⁴ Examples in Catullus include poems 79, 80, 85, 89, 92, 97. For discussion see Gaisser 2009, 108–111.

²⁵ For earlier discussions, see Gaisser 1995, 45–47; Rijser 2006, 193–95; 2012, 211–212.

²⁶ Valeriano’s poem appears with some changes in his *Hexametri, Odae, et Epigrammata* (Venice, 1550), 104v–105r. See *Coryciana* 1997, 147–148.

Viterbo.²⁷ Valerianus says that the poets are as many as “Rome and the vast circuit of the world contain” (line 6). The point is not only the number of the poets (compare the “thousand poets” in Maro’s poem above), but the diversity of their homelands. Valerianus is alluding both to the multi-national character of Goritz’s sodality and its poets, who came, if not from “the vast circuit of the world”, at least from all over northern Europe, as well as from nearly every city in Italy, and to the Isaiah fresco and its inscription, which has been interpreted to refer to the future presence of all the nations of the earth among the righteous.²⁸ The idea is consistent with the thinking of Egidio, who predicted that this gathering of the nations was coming to pass in the modern age of discovery and conquest. Valerianus’ insistence on the inspiration of Augustine also points to Egidio, for whose thinking and humanism he was an essential model.²⁹

In another important poem, Janus Vitalis takes our familiar elements in a different direction.³⁰ The two trinities and the link between them are his centerpiece (lines 3–6).

Quis neget ad priscum Romam rediisse nitorem,
Quandoquidem prisci cuncta nitoris habet?
En Phidiam, atque Numam, et praeclaros ecce Marones,
Arte, animoque pio, carminibusque piis!
Hi tribus his statuis dant omnes vivere sensus,
Tresque uno includunt corpore treis animas.
Quinetiam si cuncta, hospes, mirere, loquuntur:
Nam quicquid vates tot cecinere, canunt. (*Cor.* 63)

Who would deny that Rome has returned to its former splendor
When it has all the elements of its former splendor?
Look! Phidias and Numa, and here are brilliant Vergils!
With art and pious mind and pious songs
These give all the senses of these three statues life,
And the three enclose three souls in a single body.
Yes, traveler, if you were to marvel at every detail – they even speak.
Indeed, whatever so many poets have sung, they sing.

²⁷ Gaisser 1995, 45–47.

²⁸ Gaisser 1995, 45–47. For the contemporary interpretation of the Hebrew inscription (*Isaiah* 26.2–3), see Bonito 1984, 132–136, Alhaique Pettinelli 1986, 43–44.

²⁹ “Augustine’s thought impinged on Giles [i.e., Egidio] from every conceivable angle”; O’Malley 1968, 59; and see the whole discussion, 59–61. See Rijser 2006, 190–196; 2012, 207–214.

³⁰ The poem is also translated and discussed by Rijser 2012, 234; Keilen in *Coryciana* 2020, 64, 299.

In the line from his preface that I have used as an epigraph, Blossius Palladius says, “I know we’re no Vergils”. But Vitalis takes a different line, asserting that the poets *are* so many Vergils, and that Sansovino and Goritz are the modern counterparts of Phidias and Numa.³¹ Vitalis’ modern creative trinity – avatars or perhaps even reincarnations of their ancient models – have given the three statues life. They have also brought all their senses to life, making them able, we suppose, to see and hear their worshippers, to feel their reverent touch, and even (as we shall see in the last couplet) to speak to them.³² But more than that: they have put souls (*animas*, line 6) into them – three souls in one body, the single stone of which they are made. These three-fold, sentient, animate beings, then, can respond to and communicate with human beings – like the *hospes* or traveller, who is invited to marvel at them in line 7. If he does so, he will hear them speak. But what will they say? There are two ways to take the last line. The translation above follows the punctuation in IJsewijn’s edition: “Indeed, whatever so many poets have sung, they sing.” Rijser’s translation is similar: “For they sing what all poets have sung”.³³ Rijser continues: “[T]hey say what the poets sing, nay, what all poets and artists have ever sung: the praise of God ... [T]he statues may ... say ... as many things ... as there could be written poems about them”.³⁴ But two of our three most important sources for the text of the *Coryciana* suggest another interpretation: the manuscript of the *Coryciana* transcribed by Vitalis himself (Vat. lat. 2754) and the 1524 edition.³⁵ The punctuation of line 8 in both differs from that in IJsewijn.

IJsewijn: Nam quicquid vates tot cecinere, canunt.

Vat. lat. 2754 and the 1524 edition: Nam, quicquid vates tot, cecinere,
canunt.³⁶

With the comma between *tot* and *cecinerere* in what seems to be Vitalis’ own punctuation, the line must be construed differently: the phrase *vates tot* is not the subject of *cecinerere*, but of *canunt* at the end of the verse.

³¹ This contention runs through many of the poems; it is a familiar element in the cultural and political claims of a new golden age dear to contemporary Roman humanist ideology. For the general intellectual climate, see Stinger 1985, 235–291. For the its use in the *Coryciana*, see Alhaique Pettinelli 1986, 47–49; Pellegrino 2003, 225–228; Rijser 2006, 190–202; Rijser 2012, 207–221.

³² For the theme of living statues, see Wolkenhauer 2014; Pellegrino 2003, 221–224; Rijser 2006, 202–215; Rijser 2012, 221–231.

³³ Rijser 2012, 234.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ For the textual tradition, see IJsewijn in *Coryciana* 1997, 17–21. I have not been able to see the third source: Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana Niccolò Rossi 207.

³⁶ Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat lat. 2754, fol. 18v; *Coryciana* 1524, G3v.

For whatever so many poets sing, they have sung.

Compare the translation using IJsewijn's punctuation. The question is, who originates the song? The poets or the gods in the statues? I think it is the latter. The message or song of the statues is timeless and eternal, and what the poets sing as they gaze at them simply repeats the strain.

Both Vitalis and Valerianus have built on the theme of the two trinities, and each has developed a complex religious conception of the relation between them. Vitalis conceives it in terms of time: the human trinity are avatars of the classical past (Phidias, Numa, Vergil); and, inspired by the statues, the poets are able to sing the strains of an eternal truth. For Valerianus, the relation is between heaven and earth: the divine has descended into both the statues and the poets celebrating them. Both Vitalis and Valerianus privilege the poets over the others in the human trinity, giving them not only understanding of the statues but also the power to interpret them to others.

Poems like these are both reverent and inspire reverence. But in many others the poets present themselves as both worshippers and celebrants – almost priests – issuing an explicit call to prayer. Here is Petrus Cursius:

Alloquere, et castis precibus tria numina adora.
Audit opus: facient, si pia vota facis. (*Cor.* 13)

Call on them, and worship the three divinities with chaste prayers;
The work hears: They will do it, if you make pious vows.³⁷

Today we read these calls to prayer, epigrams on the two trinities, and all the other poems in the *Coryciana*, in the authoritative modern edition of Jozef IJsewijn, or in the 1524 edition, or even in the manuscripts. But they started life as separate scraps of paper, affixed to, and surrounding Goritz's altar. The boards to which they were attached were called *tabellae*, the classical term for votive plaques to the gods placed in temples by grateful worshippers. Whether we call them "poetic altarpieces" with David Rijser or think of them as "ex-votos" with Virginia Bonito, the *tabellae* and their contents were – quite literally – part of the altar that they celebrated, and they increased its religious power.³⁸ The poets had just title to be considered its creators along with Goritz and Sansovino.

But I promised an epilogue on the poets' neglect of Raphael's fresco. Today we admire the fresco far more than the statues, and most scholars writing on the program of the altar focus their attention on Raphael's Isaiah

³⁷ Other examples include *Cor.* 15, 47, 55, 88, 95, 103, 212, 356, 362.

³⁸ See Rijser 2012, 189; Bonito, 1984, 184–185.

more than on Sansovino's St. Anne.³⁹ But only thirteen to fifteen of the nearly 400 poems refer to the fresco at all.⁴⁰ Not one mentions the name Raphael or says anything specific about the subject of the painting or its meaning. The closest to anything one could call interpretation is this couplet by Marcus Antonius Casanova, in which the painted Isaiah is asked to comment on the sculpture group below.

Si vivis, nec nos delusit dextera Apellis,
Quid sentis, vates, de Superis? Loquere! (*Cor.* 110)

If you live, and the right hand of Apelles has not deceived us,
What do you think, prophet, about the Gods? Speak!⁴¹

Scholars have advanced various explanations for the omission.⁴² Perhaps Goritz fell out with Raphael, and the poets thought it politic not to mention the fresco. By 1524, Raphael was dead, and perhaps the poets preferred to celebrate a living artist. Since Protestants had started to lay claim to ideas and figures from the Old Testament, perhaps it seemed better not to make too much fuss over Isaiah. The favorite explanation, however, is that perhaps other collections of the *Coryciana* now lost included poems on the fresco.⁴³

These explanations all have their starting point in the modern preference for the fresco; and they are all what we might call external and historical – personal and theological disputes on the one hand and accidents of textual transmission on the other. I want to look at the matter from a different perspective. My starting point is not the fresco but the sculptures, and I suggest that we keep our focus internal and literary – looking at Goritz, the poets, and the religious ideas conveyed by the statues. My question, then, is not why the poets neglected the fresco, but what they saw in the statues.

³⁹ E.g., Rijser 2006, 171–181; Rijser 2012, 195–207; Alhaique Pettinelli 1986.

⁴⁰ Rijser 2006, 213; 445–452 (the list, with translation and discussion). The number is given as 15 by Perini 1997–1998, 368–407, who discusses a few examples (381–385). Valeriano's poem (*Cor.* 197), discussed above, does not appear on Rijser's list. Perini includes it (p. 385), pointing to the word *colores* in line 2 as “un fugace cenno” to the painting, but regards the rest of the epigram as “escludendo affatto Raffaello”.

⁴¹ Translated and discussed by Rijser 2006, 448–449; Rijser, 2012, 228. See also Perini 1997–1998, 383.

⁴² E.g. Perini 1997–1998, esp. 387–388; Rijser 2006, 213, 452; Rijser 2012, 197 n. 52, 227–230.

⁴³ There were other collections (there were poems in Greek, for example). See Ruyschaert 1972; IJsewijn in *Coryciana* 1997, 17–22. But 12 of the poems that refer to the fresco are all by two poets: Blossius Palladius and Marcus Antonius Casanova. Blossius was the editor of our collection, and if he had written additional poems on Raphael, he surely would have included them. And much of Casanova's poetry is extant (Ballistreri 1978); one would expect IJsewijn to have included any on the fresco in *Coryciana* 1997.

The poets were influenced by several considerations. The first is obvious: Goritz's special devotion to St. Anne. His celebration was for St. Anne's day, and the cult statue was necessarily the main focus of attention.⁴⁴ Moreover, while the message of Raphael's Isaiah is primarily intellectual, in tune with the complex and multi-layered theology of Egidio da Viterbo, that of the sculpture is both simple and profound. The statue group speaks to universal human emotions – the three generations of grandmother, daughter, and child – figures literally attached to each other and joined by a bond of human love. The three-fold work provided the poets with a ready-made symbolism full of artistic possibilities, including the idea of setting what I have called the creative trinity against the sacred trinity of the statues – a theme they embroidered in countless ways, as we have seen. Most important, however, was the religious significance of the statues – not only in the figures they represented, but in the fact that they were made – by Goritz's stipulation – from a single piece of stone.⁴⁵ This technical feat (which is great enough that one could almost call it miraculous) is a reflection on the human level of the religious miracles associated with the relationship of the three figures. Here is Aulus Orpheus Pellatus:

Anna vetus sterilis Mariam, ast haec virgo Tonantem
Gignit, et hinc natus, pró! puer iste Deus. (*Cor.* 258)

Aged Anna, barren, gave birth to Mary, but she, a Virgin, gave birth
to the Thunderer, and from him – behold! was born this boy, God!⁴⁶

The St. Anne trinity, in this light, then, embodies miracles: the barren grandmother, the virgin mother, the child who is both son and father. A trinity itself, it reveals both the mystery of the Incarnation and that of the holy Trinity.⁴⁷ With competition like this, Isaiah – great as he is – never had a chance.

⁴⁴ See Perini 1997–1998, 386; Rijser 2006, 213; Rijser 2012, 228.

⁴⁵ Goritz's use of this symbolism may be what the poets mean when they refer to the "mind" (*mens*) of Goritz as an essential component of the statues.

⁴⁶ Other examples include *Cor.* 138, 218, 256, 259, 287, 325.

⁴⁷ See Perini 1997–1998, 386. The theme is clearly announced in *Cor.* 1.70–81, discussed by Rijser 2006, 217–218.

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Fig. 1.

Andrea Sansovino, *Virgin and Child with Saint Anne*, Sant'Agostino Rome.
Photograph by Thomas Gaiser.

JOHN III VASA AND UPPSALA CATHEDRAL AS A RENAISSANCE MAUSOLEUM*



By Peter Gillgren

When Uppsala Cathedral was refurbished in the late sixteenth century, John III Vasa made sure that the Vasa dynasty, his own closest allies and the just fight against Eric XIV were prominently displayed. The presence of the national saints St Eric and St Bridget were retained. Side-altars were kept and built in the newly furnished chapels, interconnecting them with the service at the high altar. One single artist, Willem Boy, was made responsible for the most important works. The campaign connected Uppsala Cathedral with continental prototypes, while contrasting with the ideals of Swedish funerary chapels in the following Baroque period.

On 10 May 1573 the Swedish king John III Vasa composed a heated letter to Ivan IV of Russia.¹ John certainly had every reason to be upset with Ivan. A more or less permanent conflict of war was going on in the Baltic region; when John and his consort Catherine Jagiellon were imprisoned in the 1560s Ivan had impudently tried to get Catherine delivered to Russia; after John had managed to seize the throne from his brother Eric, Ivan promised armed support to Eric. But this particular letter is concerned with other, apparently equally important, matters: the question of noble descent.

Evidently Ivan had, in a previous letter, indicated that John was not worthy of his crown because he was of lowly birth and his ancestors were mere peasants. In his ten-page letter John answers with the same invectives. The arguments, if one may talk of such in this context, are that the Swedes had always elected their kings from among the nobles, that John's father Gustavus I Vasa could trace his lineage back to the most noble families of Sweden and

* Some of the materials and arguments of this article have been presented at conferences in Åbo and Stockholm, published in Gillgren 2009 and reworked again for this particular occasion, not least in relation to the important publications of Dahlbäck *et al.* 2010–2016.

¹ Uppsala University Library, F 528 (Gustaviana 54). The letter has been copied in several versions. A shortened and more polite version was published in Silfverstolpe 1880, 553–554.

that Ivan's letter shows him to be totally lacking any virtue and, consequently, must be of lowly birth himself. Finally, John tells Ivan that he should send some of his men to Sweden so that he can show them – so that they can see with their very own eyes – proof of the Vasa family's splendid origins.

Playing with the thought of Ivan sending a delegation to Sweden for such research, what would John have had to show them? Documents, letters and seals are mentioned in the letter. But it is also possible that the Swedish king, at the very same time as the letter was written, was planning for a more monumental manifestation of his royal dignity. Because of the rumors that Ivan and others were spreading about the Vasa family it would certainly be beneficial to demonstrate its splendor and magnificence for all Europe with a prominent and public monument. This may be an important reason for the changes that Uppsala Cathedral went through in the 1570s, when the old Gothic cathedral was gradually refurbished into a Renaissance mausoleum – in order to celebrate the legitimacy, the power and the glory of the Vasa family.

Uppsala Cathedral in the Late Sixteenth Century

Uppsala Cathedral is a three-aisled basilica from the late thirteenth century (Fig. 1).² It has been the seat of Swedish archbishops for centuries, and it still is. The patron saint is St Laurence, but from early on – and increasingly so in the sixteenth century – greater prominence was given to St Eric, a Swedish king and national saint who, according to legend, was killed in a fight close to the church in the year 1160. In the early sixteenth century the church was, very much due to donations from the nobility of the surrounding regions, a prominent landowner and it had about thirty prebendaries or stipends serving the family altars in the church, allowing members of the clergy to live from estates donated by the respective families.³

Due to Gustavus Vasa's struggle against King Christian II in the 1520s, and the following Reformation, the church of Uppsala suffered severe losses. These losses were mostly due to the king's and the noble's economic problems, which greatly reduced the church's land possessions and confiscated much of its valuables. After the Diet in Västerås in 1527 the church had to return almost half of the prebends to former owners.⁴ But despite the Reformation and the problems of keeping up with traditional obligations, no reorganization of the church interior seems to have taken place during the first half of the sixteenth century. The cathedral also seems to have been in good enough condition to serve both for the coronation and for the

² Dahlbäck *et al.* 2010–2016. For an overview in English see Sjöholm 1982.

³ Dahlbäck 1977, 361.

⁴ Dahlbäck 1977, 346–357.

funeral of Gustavus Vasa, in 1528 and 1560 respectively. What must already have been understood, though, was that the changing political and religious circumstances would sooner or later entail a remodeling of the church interior – and, perhaps, even the exterior.

Unfortunately, there are few good sources from the sixteenth century at place today, and besides the still standing monuments in the church, our best knowledge about the Renaissance period is to be gained from late seventeenth-century sources. Two plans of burial places in the church from the 1660s and 1680s (Fig. 2), together with a number of drawings by Eric Dahlberg from the late seventeenth century and the writings of Johan Peringskiöld from the early eighteenth century give us an idea of the church interior before the devastating fire of 1702.⁵

The eastern part of the church was occupied by the choir, where St Eric held a prominent position. An altarpiece from the late sixteenth century depicted his legend, probably painted by Bernt Notke from Lübeck (Fig. 3).⁶ Close to it was the reliquary of the saint, remade in the 1570s by the goldsmith Hans Rosenfeldt under the supervision of one of John's most called-for artists, Willem Boy (Fig. 4).⁷ A chancel screen surrounds the choir and separates it from the ambulatory. In the chancel some of the bishops had their tombs, notably the first Lutheran archbishop Laurentius Petri, dead in 1573.

Connected to the ambulatory circumscribing the choir are five large chapels. The two on the south side belonged to the Leijonhufvud and the Horn families. The first one used to contain the raised tomb of Sten Eriksson Leijonhufvud, killed by one of Eric XIV's men in 1568 during John's struggle for the crown (Fig. 5).⁸ It was one of the very first raised tombs in Sweden and was decorated with colonettes, classical urns and armory. Coats of arms were numerous.

The second one still preserves the decorated slab for the admiral Klas Kristerson Horn and Kerstin Jacobsdotter Krumme, who died in 1566 and 1575, respectively (Fig. 6). It has some typical Mannerist ornaments, such as the scrollwork, but is simpler in design than Leijonhufvud's monument and may already have been initiated in the reign of Eric. However, a lost inscription tablet dated 1569 indicates that this chapel was also furnished under John's regime.⁹

The father of St Bridget, Birger Persson, was buried in the church and a separate chapel in the northeast is dedicated to him. His fourteenth-century,

⁵ Peringskiöld 1719; Sundquist 1971, 114–147; Bengtsson 2010c, 13–14.

⁶ Thordeman 1954, 419 ff; Bengtsson 2010b, 45–60.

⁷ Bengtsson 2010b, 124–133.

⁸ Peringskiöld 1719, 104; Bengtsson 2010c, 117–126.

⁹ Peringskiöld 1719, 100–101; Bengtsson 2010c, 103–115.

black, marble slab from Tournai is still today kept in the church (Fig. 7). Birger was an important nobleman but it does not seem to be for that reason alone he is memorized, since the map has designated the chapel as “the grave of St Bridget’s father”. The little Bridget is depicted together with her brothers and sisters on the border of the impressive, large stone.

The Sture family also has a chapel on the north side of the building and the cathedral was an important memorial place, which recorded the sufferings of the Sture family during the reign of Eric XIV.¹⁰ The chapel kept extensive documentation of the unrighteous pursuit against the family. The pierced clothes of the murdered Nils Sture were on display as well as the straw crown that Nils was obliged to wear on the occasion of his mock procession in Stockholm 1566. The objects can still be seen in the treasury of the cathedral. There were also plans for a tomb monument to be executed by Willem Boy. A thorough description of the iconographical program mentions reliefs representing Eric’s attack on the imprisoned members of the Sture family – stabbing them to death with his own hand. The family was also meant to be represented kneeling in prayers before the Savior.¹¹

The monument was never completed, and it is unclear why. We know of it through documents left behind by Hogenskiöld Bielke, who was executed on the orders of Charles IX in 1605. If not before, all plans for such a monument were most certainly withdrawn at that time. It is clear that Charles IX did not approve of John’s plans for Uppsala Cathedral. When Eric passed away in his prison in 1577, having probably been poisoned to death, Charles wrote to John urging that he must see to that their brother got a proper burial place and tomb in Uppsala. Even if Eric had made some blameworthy mistakes he had, nevertheless, been the king of Sweden for a number of years and, most importantly, such an action might prevent the spread of rumors that were currently circulating. But John was resolutely against all such undertakings and instead he saw to it, that Eric received a degrading burial and a mock monument in Västerås Cathedral.¹² Charles himself is buried in Strängnäs.

The Vasa Chapel

In the Middle Ages the easternmost chapel was dedicated to Our Lady and contained a number of tomb slabs. During the 1550s Gustavus I decided to use it for his queen’s and his own final resting place. After the Västerås recess in 1527 the prebend for the chapel had been claimed and returned to the Bielke family. Gustavus Vasa, however, was eager to get hold of as many of

¹⁰ Bengtsson 2010c, 85–101.

¹¹ Wideen 1986, 8.

¹² Åberg 1962, 60–80.

the estates as possible when they were returned by the church. He therefore put his secretary Rasmus Ludvigsson to work on researching his family's origin. The combination of the king's power and Rasmus's monopoly on most of the stately and churchly archives made the work extremely rewarding. Among other findings, Rasmus managed to show, rather dubiously, that the king was related to the Ture Bengtsson Bielke who had founded the prebend in the late fourteenth century. Gustavus therefore claimed ownership of the estate. After some negotiations he settled for half of the prebend, and through this affair he also acquired the most prominent burial place in the cathedral of Uppsala – and in all of Sweden.¹³ The beautiful monument that was delivered from the workshop of Colijn de Nole in Utrecht is still preserved by the church, in repository. Probably it did not remain for very long in the chapel, since new plans emerged after the death of Gustavus Vasa himself in 1560 (Fig. 8).¹⁴

After Gustavus's death and no later than in the 1570s, more monumental plans for the chapel took form.¹⁵ Willem Boy was made responsible for the work and it is mainly the results of his efforts that can be seen in Erik Dahlbergh's drawings and prints of the chapel from the late seventeenth century (Fig. 9). Walls and ceiling are covered with stucco works in the Moorish style that was so popular in the sixteenth century. The Gothic clustered piers have been redesigned into engaged and fluted columns. Tablets with the king's family tree and an epitaph are to be seen on the walls. In the background stands an altar, possible from the Middle Ages. In Dahlbergh's time it was decorated with a painting of the Last Supper, a perfectly Protestant motif. But a statuette of the Madonna, damaged but still preserved in a parish church in southern Sweden, with Gustavus Vasa's weapon on the back shows such a close affinity with the queen's tomb that it is reasonable to assume that it was originally made for this altar (Fig. 10).¹⁶ In my opinion it is likely to be from the same workshop as the tomb. Perhaps it was taken down when the earlier tomb was replaced, but it may also have been kept until the synod in Uppsala 1593, when the Reformation was reinforced following the conflict with John's Catholic son, Sigismund III Vasa of Poland. Until then the importance of the Madonna in the Protestant Swedish church had not been all together settled, as can be seen from the writings of Laurentius Petri and John's so-called *Red Book* of 1574.¹⁷

¹³ Söderberg 1977, 47.

¹⁴ Schéle 1958, 83–107.

¹⁵ Bengtsson 2010c, 23–54.

¹⁶ Gillgren 2009, 94–104; Lindblom 1921, 163–167.

¹⁷ Brodd 1982.

A raised tomb stands in the middle of the room (Fig. 11). On its sides are representations of the arms of the nation as well as the Swedish counties. There are also inscription plates on the tomb and on the walls, celebrating Gustavus Vasa as the “the Goth’s staff” (Gustaf) and *pater patria*. On the lid, the king and the two dead queens Catherine of Saxe-Lauenburg and Margareta Leijonhufvud are portrayed. At the corners stand four obelisks. They are of a striking design, with small ionic ornaments situated between the obelisk and the plinth (Fig. 12). This makes them identifiable with the so-called Caesar obelisk in Rome, as depicted in the architectural treatise of Sebastiano Serlio. It is the one marked with a *P* and the inscription *DIVO* (Fig. 13).¹⁸ The appearance of the obelisks in Uppsala must be read as an indication that Renaissance political and cultural ideas had a distinct influence in Sweden at the time. Swedes now, also, wanted part of the celebrated Roman glory.

It has never been entirely clarified what responsibility Eric XIV, respectively John III, had for the new furnishing of Our Lady’s Chapel and Gustavus Vasa’s tomb. Since Eric had already had a part in the plans in the 1550s it is probable that he continued his engagement after the father’s death in 1560.¹⁹ On the other hand, so much of the finished result departs from the earlier plans, that much of what can be discerned today is possibly the result of John’s activities in the 1570s and 1580s. After the great struggle for power between the brothers in the 1560s, John formally received the throne in January 1569. Shortly thereafter, in 1572, both the city and cathedral of Uppsala were struck by a severe fire, necessitating considerable restoration work – as can be seen from John’s extensive correspondence with craftsmen and artists in Uppsala from the period.²⁰ Indications that most of the final design dates from John’s reign is evidenced from the expensive works from Colijn de Nole’s workshop which were set aside, and that the inscription of Gustav’s tomb not was executed until after 1583, when Arenth Palardin was given instructions for it.²¹ It is also the view of Peringskiöld that the tomb was built during John’s, rather than Eric’s, reign.²²

The Jagiellon Chapel

In addition to the five traditional burial chapels of the ambulatory, King John rebuilt an old chapterhouse into what is today one of the best-preserved Renaissance interiors in Sweden, the Jagiellon Chapel that dates from around

¹⁸ Serlio 1547, 76; Gillgren 2009, 115–125.

¹⁹ Almqvist 1910, 119.

²⁰ Silfverstolpe 1875, 253–273.

²¹ Silfverstolpe 1876, 232.

²² Peringskiöld 1719, 61.

1590.²³ The original work is once again attributable to Willem Boy, this time in collaboration with the stucco worker Antonius Watz.²⁴ A drawing by Eric Dahlbergh shows that the chapel had its own, newly built altar (Fig. 14). On the wall is seen a painting representing Catherine in prayer beneath an altar with a crucifix, an iconography that recalls the one planned for the Sture Chapel. Stucco angels remind one of the decorations of St Eric's reliquary (Fig. 4). The present wall paintings in the Jagiellon Chapel are all from the nineteenth century and we know little of their original appearance. It is well known that Catherine was a Catholic but nothing in the iconography today shows any traces of Catholic faith. It is not impossible that the lost paintings had such motifs, perhaps representing Catherine's patron saint, the learned St Catherine of Alexandria.

A sculptured portrait of Queen Catherine is placed on the high tomb. A long inscription speaks about her noble birth and her marriage to John. The sufferings during Eric's regime, how she was imprisoned together with her husband and how Eric negotiated with Tsar Ivan IV about delivering her to Russia are dealt with extensively.²⁵ On both sides of the tomb stand heavy marble columns connected by an arch, carrying a gilded crown (Fig. 15). This architectural detail is so prominent that it has, not unexpectedly, been the subject of a number of interpretations.²⁶ An obvious parallel is the emblem of Emperor Charles V, with the two columns, the arch, a crown and the motto *plus ultra*. A similar composition can be seen on John's seal, where he sits on the throne surrounded by the same symbols. We come even closer to John's and Catherine's personal imagery if we compare the arrangement of the tomb with their respective monograms (Fig. 16). In John's case the columns construct the stems of the letters *I(oannes)* and *R(ex)*. For Catherine they represent the stems of the letters *K(atharina)* and *R(egina)*. In the chapel the columns may represent both Catherine herself as well as her joining together with John through marriage. Like the obelisks in the Vasa Chapel, the arched columns are fine examples of the Renaissance striving for emblematic symbols that are both visibly striking and ambiguous in meaning.

After John III

John III died in 1592 and was succeeded by his son Sigismund. But the lawful king's position as both a Catholic and king of Poland made his situation difficult and uncertain. Uppsala Synod in 1593 and the continuing advance of the radical reformation in the Netherlands saw to it that a clearer demarcation

²³ Bengtsson 2010c, 55–78.

²⁴ Fulton 1994, 209–235.

²⁵ Peringskiöld 1719, 71–73; Gillgren 2009, 132–135.

²⁶ Fulton 1994, 231–234.

was drawn between Catholics and Protestants. Another son of Gustavus I, Charles, soon seized power but was not crowned until 1607.

The tomb for John III was executed in Poland by Willem van den Blocke (Fig. 17).²⁷ A disagreement between Sigismund and Charles about who was to pay the expenses led to it being kept in Danzig until the late eighteenth century, when it was finally taken to the cathedral in Uppsala. It is of a type that is frequently seen in Poland, more seldom in Sweden. John is lying on his side with face towards the spectator, resting the upper part of his body on his right arm. Besides the decorative and emblematic elements, the monument presents two battle pieces, sculptures representing David and Solomon, and an epitaph. The latter depicts John's virtues, his struggle against Eric and the Russians, and finally reveals that his son and inheritor of the throne raised the tomb.

The intended setting of the monument is uncertain. It has generally been assumed that it was meant for Uppsala Cathedral, but it has not been possible to find a proper location for the large work.²⁸ Correspondence from the late 1590s shows that the intention at that time was to place it in the Vasa Chapel, even though it seems ill fitted and too large for this space.²⁹ Even a smaller monument than this would greatly have disturbed the harmoniously designed and well-positioned tomb of Gustavus Vasa.³⁰ It is not impossible that John, and after him Sigismund, intended to build a new chapel closely interrelated with the cathedral. A suitable place, in that case, would have been on the south side, right across from Catherine's chapel, where the Oxenstierna Chapel was later built (Fig. 2). This would also have been in accordance with the Polish tradition, with the building of Sigismund II Chapel in Cracow in the early sixteenth century and Sigismund III Vasa's own chapel in the same style in the middle of the seventeenth century.³¹ The first chapel of this type in Sweden, though less refined, was designed around the middle of the sixteenth century in Sorunda, south of Stockholm, supposedly inspired by Polish precursors.³² Catherine's chapel is located in a part of the church that was formerly separated from the ambulatory, but was opened up by John III. The new asymmetrical disposition of the chancel would have been repaired, had a similar chapel been built on the other side of the choir (Fig. 2). This may very well have been John's intention in around 1590 when Catherine's chapel was furnished, but if such plans existed they were probably handed over to

²⁷ Hahr 1913, 27; Bengtsson 2010c, 62–72.

²⁸ Fulton 1994, 194–204.

²⁹ Bengtsson 2010, 63.

³⁰ Lindahl 2016, 66.

³¹ Colvin 1991, 240–241.

³² Lindahl 1969, 94–103; Bennet *et al.* 1972, 40.

John's son Sigismund and were not asked for any more after 1593; not by the Swedish bishops nor by the future king Charles IX.

A Renaissance Mausoleum

It has become clear that the plans for Uppsala Cathedral in the reign of John III follow some general principles. They could be summarized as follows:

1. St Eric remains the most important saint of the church and keeps his place by the high altar. He represents the connection back in time, the lineage of the Swedish church and kingdom back to the twelfth century. A chapel for "St Bridget's father" is also kept. It is well known that John had a special preference for the Bridgettines.³³ They and their founder were resources both for his national and religious ambitions. Close to the altar of St Eric are the graves of the Lutheran bishops, covered by slabs not set above floor level, again showing that the Swedish church had an admirable and continuous history – despite the break with Rome.
2. The Vasa family and its allies dominate the new interior and the just fight against Eric's tyranny is thoroughly demonstrated. Altars are kept and built in the side chapels, linking them liturgically to the high altar.
3. The chapels of the ambulatory are furnished in a modern Northern Renaissance style. One individual artist, Willem Boy, is made responsible for the execution of the most important monuments.

If we take a look around in Europe we can see that the development is not unique.³⁴ The mausoleum was one of many ancient traditions rediscovered by the Renaissance. However, as with so many other antique phenomena it was of little use unless modified to fit with contemporary ideas – in this case ideas about burials and memorials. Before the Neo-classical period it seems to have been undesirable to isolate prominent individuals from the cult and from the congregation.³⁵ This is true for the most well-known Renaissance example, the *Tempio Malatestiano* in Rimini. The medieval church was rebuilt by Leone Battista Alberti, in the middle of the fifteenth century and transformed into a mausoleum for the Malatesta family. The rebuilding is certainly more radical than in Uppsala, but the idea is similar. The most important change is that one artistic concept and one dynasty is allowed to dominate the interior design, while religious and liturgical traditions are upheld. The same changes can be seen in Milan, where the Sforza family had Bramante rebuild the entire

³³ Lindblom 1961.

³⁴ Colvin 1991, 232–252.

³⁵ Colvin 1991, 322–323.

choir of S Maria delle Grazie to create room for the family chapel. Extensive rebuilding also takes place in other places, like in Granada, Paris (St Denis) and London (Westminster Abbey). Although the solutions differ greatly, in accordance with the local patrons and traditions, the main artistic, political and religious ambitions seem to have been the same.

The little we know about the exterior of Uppsala Cathedral supports such an assumption. In the print of Johan Peringskiöld from the late seventeenth century, two large spires dominate the church. We know through the writings and documentation of this same author that they were installed in 1613–1619 (Fig. 18).³⁶ But below them we see another, for us already well-known motif. Both the towers are decorated with obelisks at the corners. The obelisks seem rather out of place beside the swelling Baroque spires, even though parallels have been drawn with the design of the Oude Kerk in Amsterdam.³⁷ It is not impossible that the obelisks in Uppsala had already been raised when a new roof was installed after the fire in 1572. We know from John's correspondence with Uppsala that he ordered a new copper roof and enough timber to furnish the two main towers with "pointers" (*spitzer*) in 1579.³⁸ In any case, the outside obelisks are most certainly related to the interior obelisks of the Vasa tomb. The local spread of the motif can be observed at the still standing chapel of the Sparre family at the church of Norrsunda, a little south of Uppsala, that dates from the 1630s (Fig. 19), where the fake brick exterior contrasts with the almost silhouetted obelisks.³⁹

Together with King Gustavus Adolphus's chapel at the Riddarholm church in Stockholm, which is also from the 1630s, the Sparre chapel marks the beginning of a new and specifically Protestant tradition of funerary chapel building. Such chapels, specifically built for the purpose and formally attached to a church building but architecturally separated from the choir and from ritual, were widespread in Sweden in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Ideologically positioned between Renaissance and Neoclassical ideals, they were public but still self-contained family projects, microcosmoses without any altars and in many ways contrary to the ideas of John III and his time. For him, the interaction between the architectural elements, the funerary monuments and the cult were nothing but crucial.⁴⁰

The print of Peringskiöld does not show clearly whether the obelisks of Uppsala Cathedral, in all their details, were modelled on those of the Vasa tomb, neither could it have been perceived from ground level. Still, the

³⁶ Peringskiöld 1719, 24.

³⁷ Bengtsson 2010a, 448–449.

³⁸ Silfverstolpe 1875, 269; Sundquist 1971, 108–114.

³⁹ Bonde & Roland 1912, 33–34.

⁴⁰ Liljegren 1947, 88; Colvin 1991, 270–281.

obelisks were the signal of a new and distinct era in the history of the Swedish kingdom and the cathedral in Uppsala, and their association with imperial dignity was still strong enough for them to be used at the coronation of Charles XI in 1675. They can be seen in David Klöcker Ehrenstrahl's painting of Uppsala Cathedral during the ceremony (Fig. 20). The reference to the Vasa obelisks would have been apparent for the participants in the cathedral and served as a reinforcement of the legitimate standing of the Swedish kingdom.

The Uppsala obelisks hark back to the obelisks that were brought from Egypt by the Romans and that were then looked upon as incredibly old antiquities. One and a half millennia later they were rediscovered by Renaissance humanists and were soon considered indispensable for all princely and imperial iconography. For about a century, until the unfortunate fire of 1702, they crowned the towers of the Uppsala Cathedral and announced their urgent message all over the surrounding plains.

The heart of the matter is the same as with John's angry letter to Ivan. The question of noble descent was more than a question of pride. Genealogical investigations initiated by Gustavus I and carried out by Rasmus Ludvigsson not only fabricated a glorious past for the Vasa family. It also made it enormously rich, graced it with a much-needed legitimacy and, most important in this context, presented an opportunity to manifest the new economic, political and cultural situation within and without the old cathedral of Uppsala – for everyone to see with their own eyes.

Illustrations



Fig. 1. *Uppsala Cathedral*. Late fourteenth century. Restored in the 1880s. Uppsala.

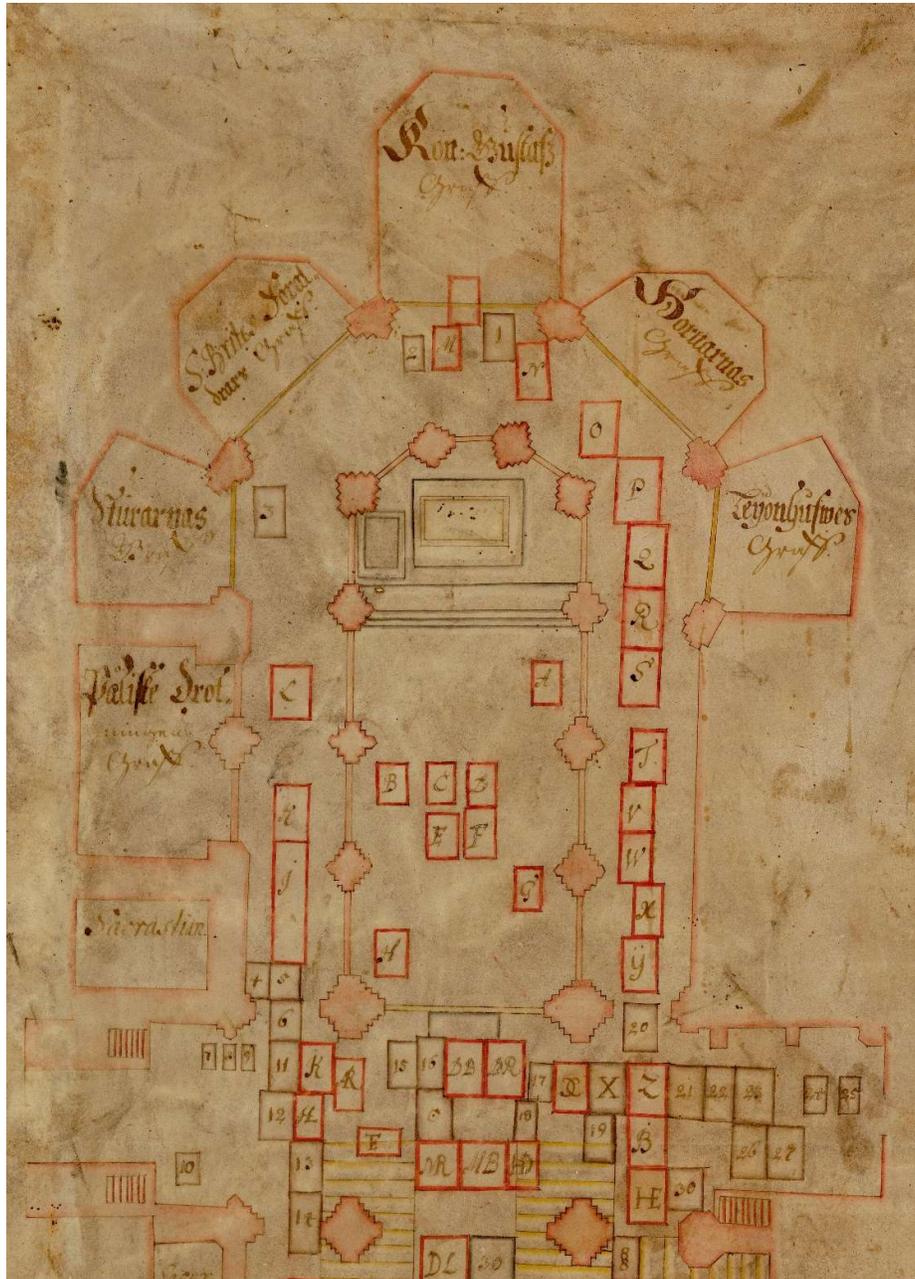


Fig. 2. Plan of burials in Uppsala Cathedral. Around 1680. Source: Uppsala University Library. Top. Pl. Uppsala. Handteckningar. 3. Domkyrkan-interiör.

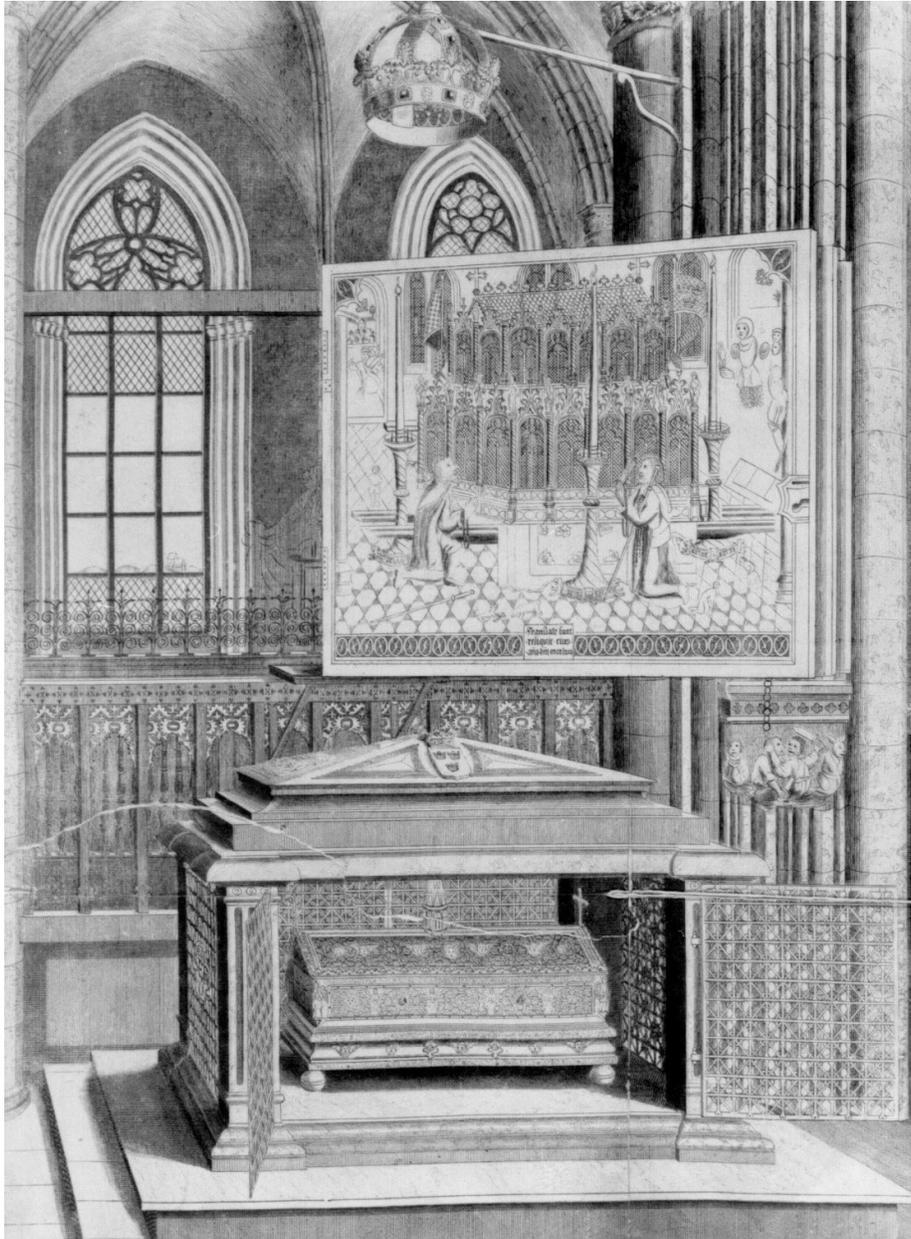


Fig. 3. Bernt Notke, *The St Eric altarpiece*. Late sixteenth century. Source: Print from Peringskiöld 1719.

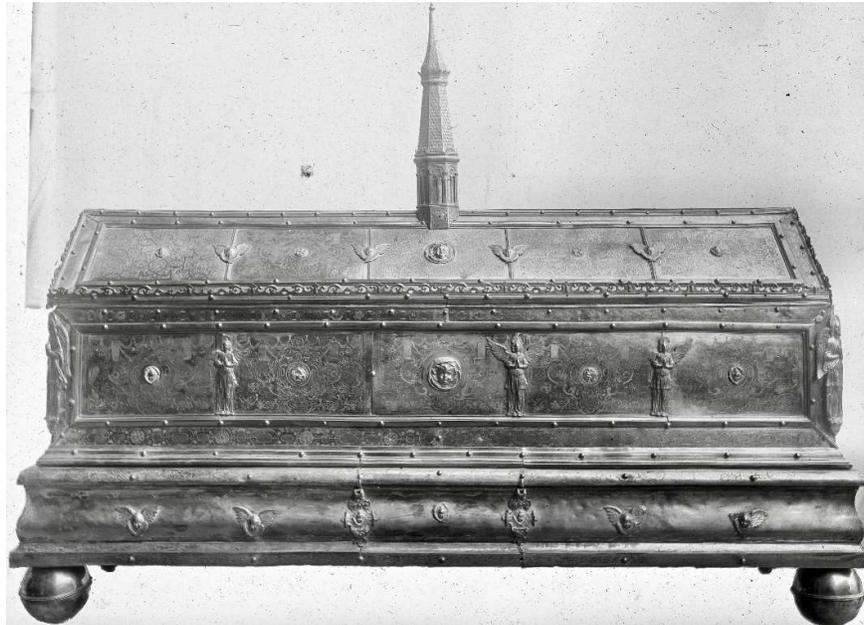


Fig. 4. Willem Boy & Hans Rosenfeldt, *The reliquary of St Eric*. 1570s. Uppsala Cathedral.



Fig. 5. *The tomb of Sten Eriksson Leijonhufvud*. 1570s. Uppsala Cathedral. Source: Print from Peringskiöld 1719.

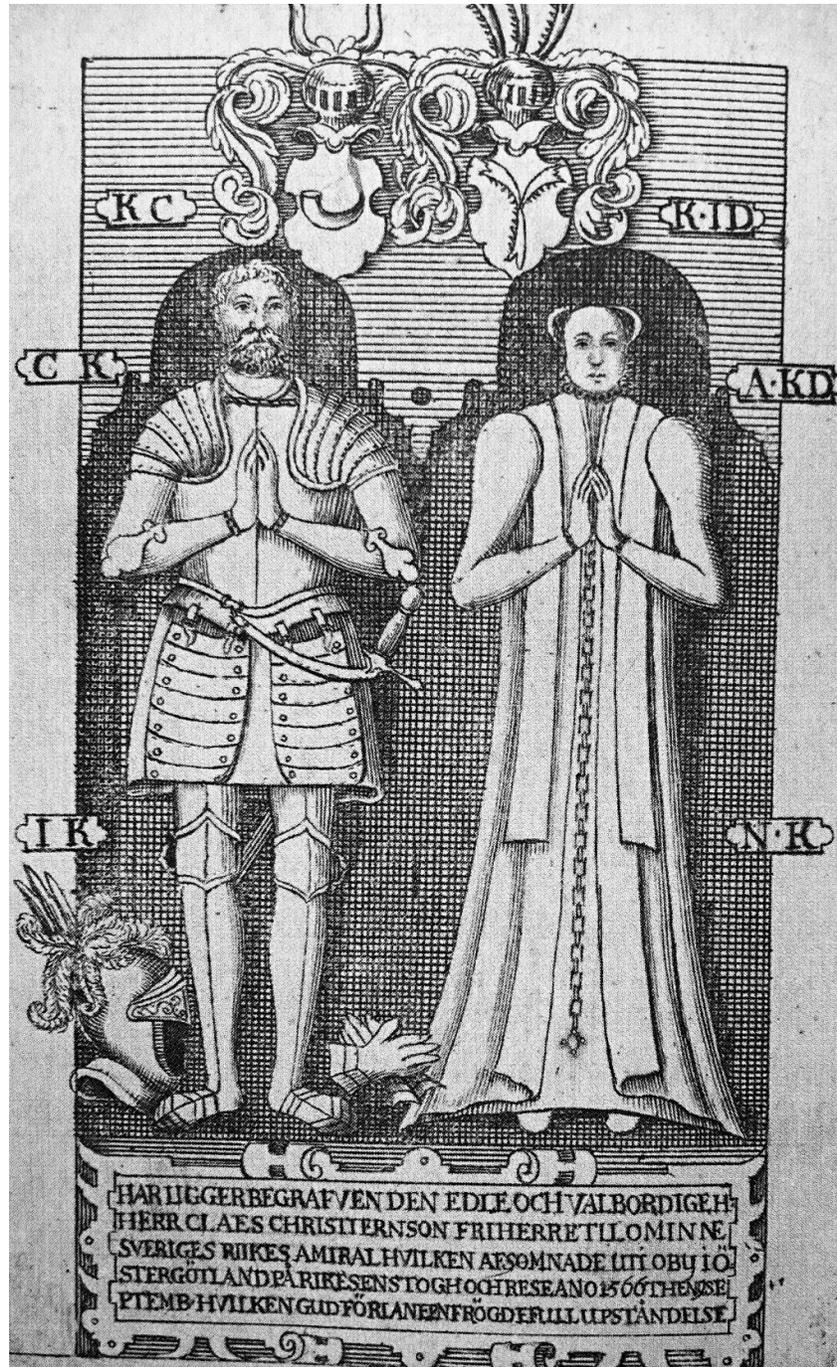


Fig. 6. The tombstone of Klas Kristerson Horn and Kerstin Jakobsdotter Krumme. 1570s. Uppsala Cathedral. Source: Print from Peringskiöld 1719.



Fig. 7. The tombstone of St Bridget's parents. Late thirteenth century. Uppsala Cathedral. Source: Print from Peringskiöld 1719.

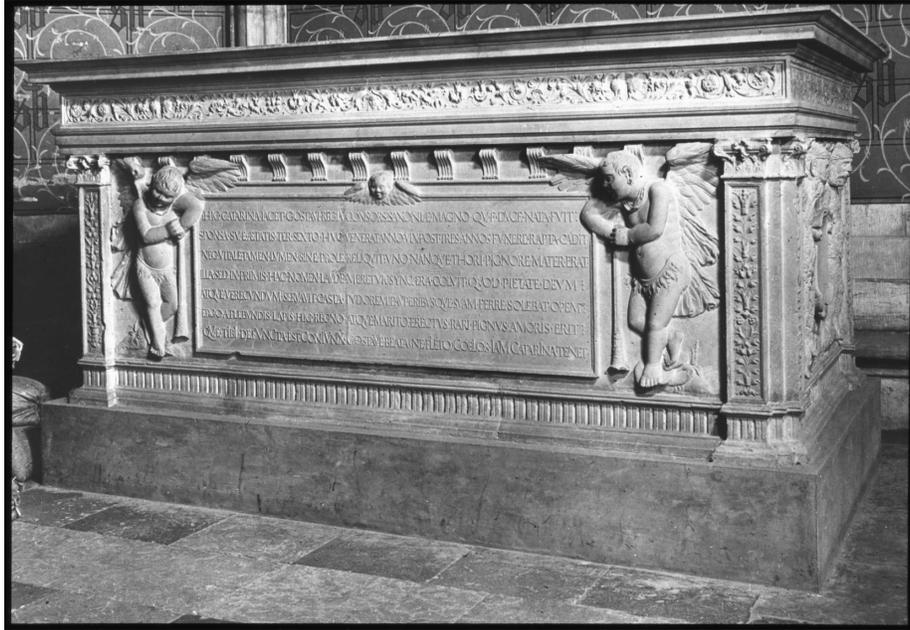


Fig. 8. Colijn de Nole, *The tomb of Gustavus Vasa's consorts*. 1550s. Uppsala Cathedral (in magazine).



Fig. 9. Willem Boy, *The Vasa Chapel*. 1570s. Uppsala Cathedral. Source: Drawing by Erik Dahlbergh, late seventeenth century.



Fig. 10. Colijn de Nole (attributed to), *The Madonna with child*. 1560s. Örtomta church (Östergötland).



Fig. 11. Willem Boy, *The tomb of Gustavus Vasa and his consorts*. 1570s. Uppsala Cathedral.



Fig. 12. Willem Boy, *The tomb of Gustavus Vasa and his consorts*. Detail. 1570s. Uppsala Cathedral.

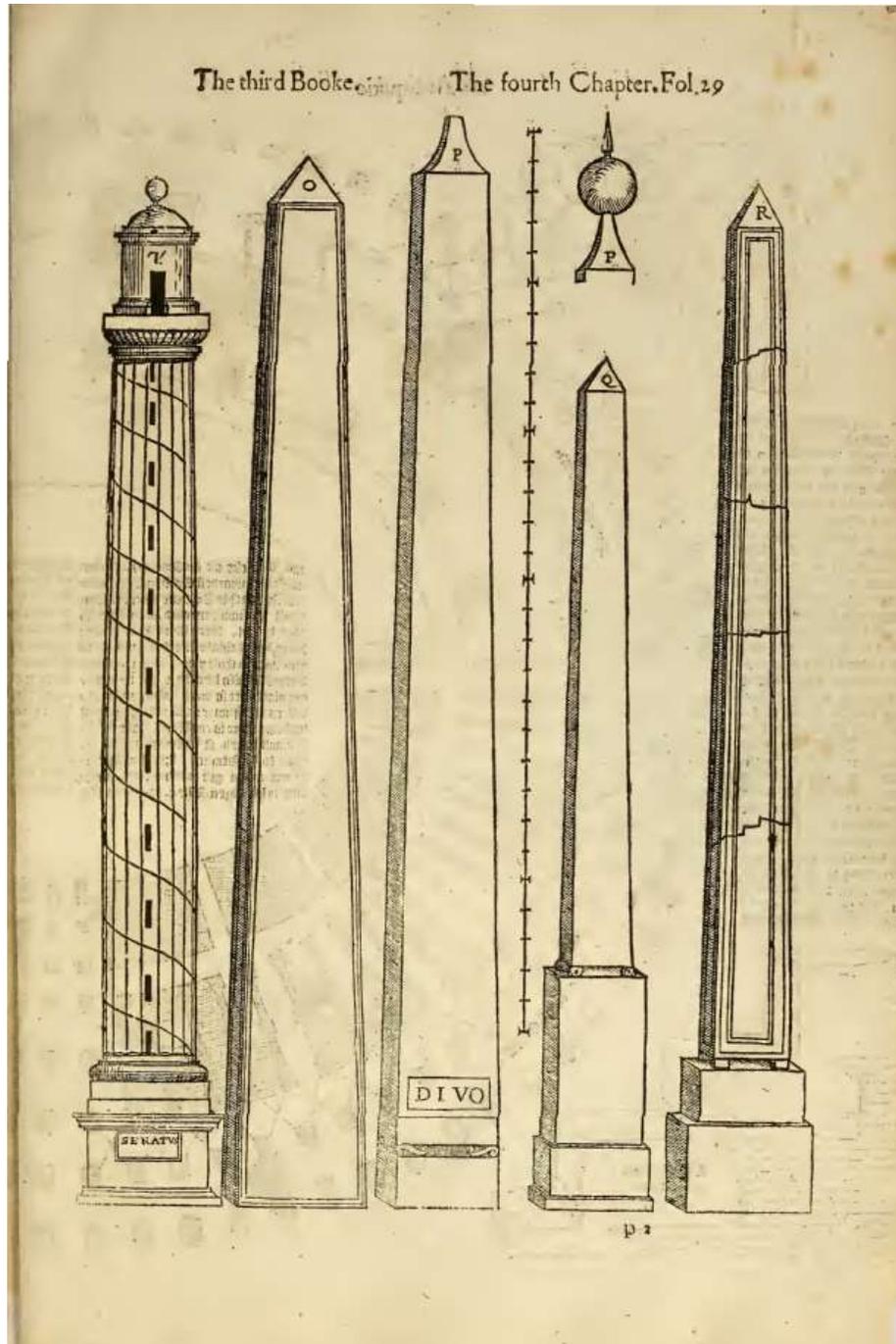


Fig. 13. Sebastiano Serlio, *Obelisks in Rome*. Source: *Architettura I* (Venetia, 1547).

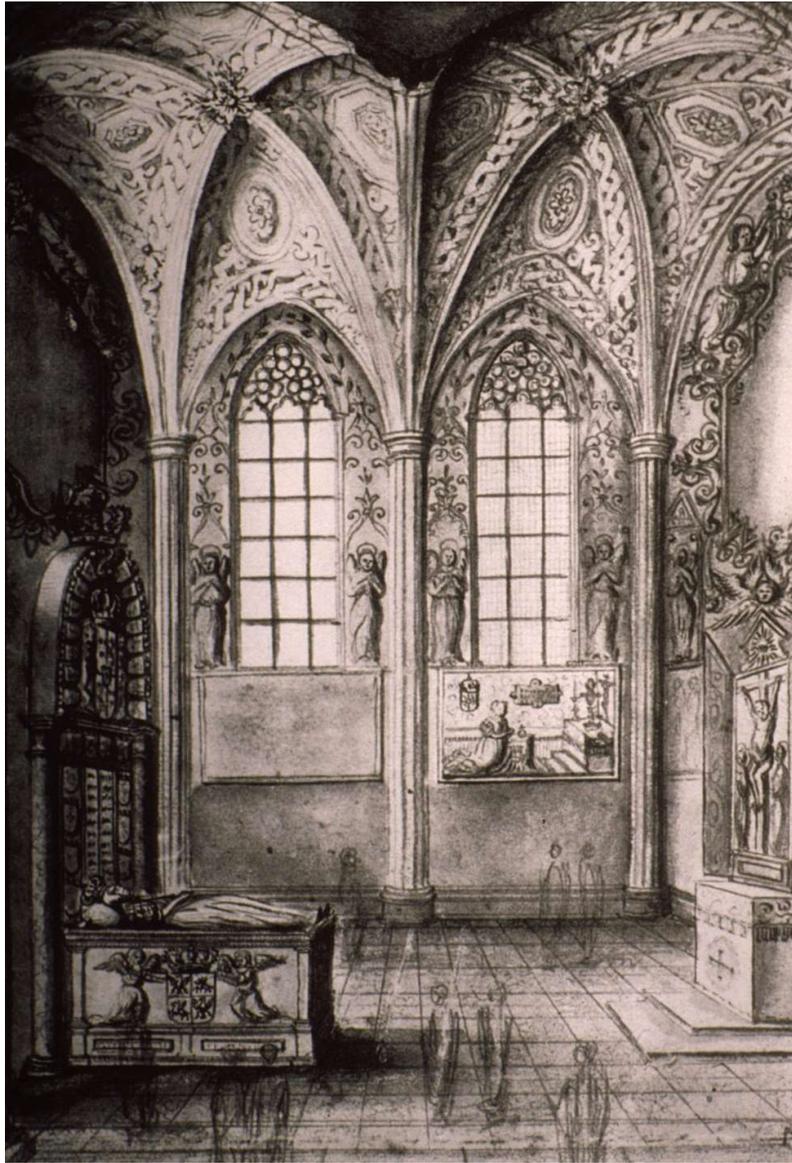


Fig. 14. Willem Boy, *The Catherine Jagiellon Chapel*. Around 1590. Uppsala Cathedral. Source: Drawing by Erik Dahlbergh, late seventeenth century.



Fig. 16. *The monograms of John III and Catherine Jagiellon. 1570s. Museum Three Crowns (The Royal castle, Stockholm). Terracotta wall-tiles.*



Fig. 17. Willem van den Blocke, *The tomb of John III*. 1590s. Uppsala Cathedral.

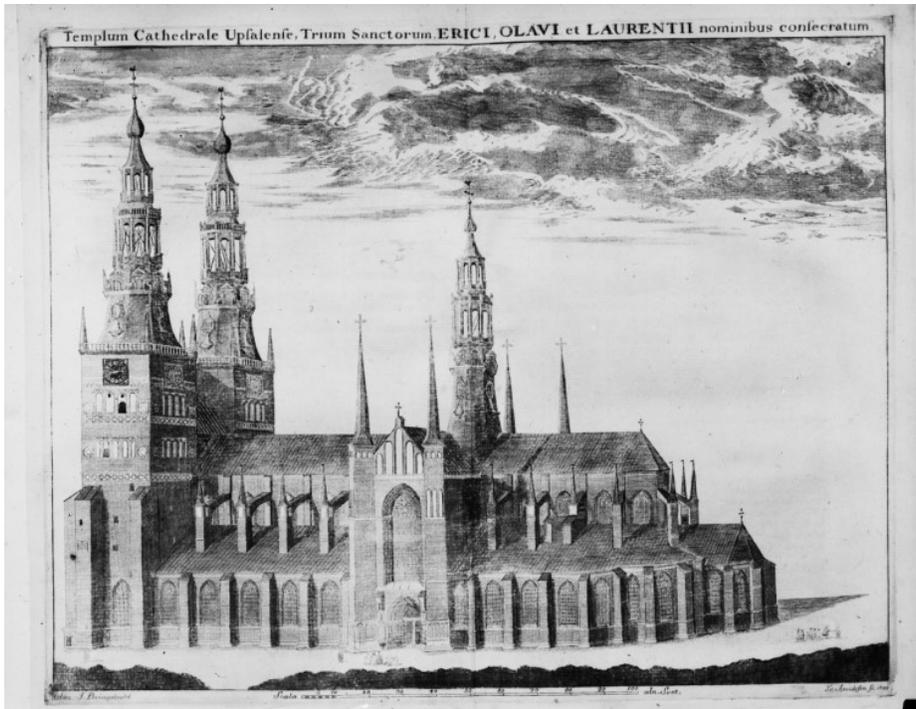


Fig. 18. *Uppsala Cathedral in the late seventeenth century*. Source: Print from Peringskiöld 1719.



Fig. 19. *The Sparre Chapel*. Norrsunda church (Uppland). 1630s.



Fig. 20. David Klöcker Ehrenstrahl, *The coronation of Charles XI in Uppsala Cathedral*. 1675. National museum (Stockholm). Oil on canvas.

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A PLAY BY POMPONIO LETO:

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana,
Vat.lat. 7192, fols 297r–298v.



By Paul Gwynne

The miscellany BAV, Vat. lat. 7129 once in the possession of the humanist and antiquarian Angelo Colocci (1474-1549) contains a single bifolio unrelated to any of the surrounding texts (fols 297r–298v). This paper argues that the text (a free Latin verse translation of a Lucianic dialogue) is a fragment of a play performed by members of the Roman Academy, and furthermore, that it is an autograph sheet written in the hand of polymath Pomponio Leto (Pomponius Laetus, 1425–1498).

Introduction

BAV, Vat. lat. 7129 is an interesting miscellany that collates papers once in the possession of the humanist and antiquarian Angelo Colocci (1474–1549).¹ Amid this mixed collection there is a single bifolio unrelated to any of the surrounding texts (fols 297r–298v; plates 1–4). Written in a distinctive hand with rubrication in the same script, this folded sheet contains a free Latin verse translation of the Lucianic dialogue *Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἔρωτος* (of Venus and Cupid) in which the goddess of love encourages her son to attack Pallas Athene and the Muses. This paper, offered to Marianne Pade on the occasion of her birthday, proposes that this is the text of a short, fragmentary play performed by members of the Roman Academy, and furthermore, that it is an autograph sheet written in the hand of polymath Pomponio Leto (Pomponius Laetus, 1425–1498).²

I thank George F. Franko, Frances Muecke and Keith Sidwell for reading previous drafts of this paper and their helpful comments.

¹ See Ubaldini 1969; Fanelli 1979; also [Petrucci] 1982.

² The standard work on Leto remains Zabughin 1910; see also Accame 2008 and more generally, Pade & Abbamonte & Bianca & Gaisser & Modigliani & Osmond & Ramminger 2007.

The Academy of Pomponio Leto

Although the meetings of the Academy, centred around Leto, had been cruelly suppressed by Pope Paul II Barbo (r.1464–1471) when various members including Leto himself had been incarcerated in Castel Sant’Angelo, the group reformed during the pontificate of Sixtus IV Della Rovere (r.1471–1484).³ From 1483 onwards they met annually on 21 April to celebrate the foundation of Rome and the history of the city in a ceremony modelled upon the ancient *Palilia* (or *Parilia*).⁴ The Roman diarist Jacopo Gherardi da Volterra (1434–1516) notes that during the first celebration of this revived ancient festival, a privilege granted by the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III (r. 1452–1493) was read to those assembled for permission to revive secular theatre and for the presentation or recitation of a play (or plays).⁵

In his encyclopaedic *Commentaria Urbana* the humanist and theologian Raffaele Maffei (1451–1522) gives an impression of the founder and their meetings:

Eodem quoque tempore in urbe Pomponius Laetus, Porcellius, et Chalcidius profitebantur. Pomponius natione Calaber Graecorum ignarus, tantum antiquarium sese factitaverat, ac siqua nomina exoleta ac portentosa invenerat, scholis ostentabat. Iuventutem Romanum erudiit, labore alioquin adsiduo, noctibus totis vigilabat, libros ipsemet scriptitando, simul et discebat, et proficiebat. Ex salario et discipulorum mercedibus parvum agellum et domunculam in Quirinali sibi paraverat, ubi sodalitatem literatorum, ut ipse appellabat, instituit.⁶

Also, at that time Pomponio Leto, Porcellio and Chalcidius gave public lectures in Rome. Pomponio was born in Calabria yet he did not know Greek, but he had made himself a great scholar of the past, and if he had discovered any ancient and important inscriptions, he often used to show them to his students. He taught the young men of Rome, with continual labour, he stayed awake through the night, regularly copying out the books himself, and so was both learning and teaching at the

³ On the conspiracy see Dunston 1973; Palermino 1980; more recently, D’Elia 2009.

⁴ It seems that dramatic performances and recitals of Latin poetry formed an essential element of these celebrations. A number of compositions associated with the festivities have survived. For example, a miscellany (BAV, Vat. lat. 3351) ascribed to the Roman poet Fausto Capodiferro contains a short dialogue between Venus, Ilia and Mars, introduced by the Genius of Rome, which was performed in 1499 (*Inc. Cum Genio laeto celebrate Palilia coetu*, fols 33v–36r). The same manuscript contains verses recited in honour of Pope Alexander VI (*Inc. Dicite Alexandro laudes quo principe salvo*, fol. 72r–v) and a performance by a breeze *Aura acta Palilibus* (*Inc. Aura ego sum, sedes nobis est mobilis aer*, fol. 77v).

⁵ Gherardi 1904, 163 ff.

⁶ Maffei 1544, 246v.

same time. From his salary and his students' fees he provided himself with a small plot of land and a little house on the Quirinal hill where he set up a "sodality for literary men" as he himself called it.

Pomponio's Academy was continued after his death by the apostolic secretary Paolo Cortesi (1465–1510) and then, after Cortesi's death, by Angelo Colocci, who also seems to have acquired Leto's house on the Quirinal hill and inherited a number of his books.⁷ The poet Vincenzo Calmeta (c. 1460–1508) has left a brief account of these later gatherings frequented by the literati of the Borgia court including (among others) the Catalan humanist Cardinal Juan de Vera (1453–1507), Cesare Borgia's secretary Agapito Geraldini (1450–1515), Pope Alexander VI's secretary Adriano Castellesi (c.1460–c.1521), and the poet Michele Ferno (1463–1513):

Fioriva medesimamente in Roma a quel tempo la nostra Accademia in casa di Paulo Cortese, giovane per dottrina, grado e affabilità in la Corte assai reverito, per modo che non casa di corteggiano ma officina di eloquenza e recettaculo d'ogni inclita virtù se potteva chiamare. Concorrevano ivi ogni giorno gran moltitudine de elevate ingeni: Gianlorenzo Veneto, Petro Gravina, Montepiloso Episcopo, Agapito Gerardino, Manilio, Cornelio e molti altri eruditi, sotto la cui ombra altri di minore etade, che de amplettere la virtù tuttavia erano desiderosi, a soggiornare e prendere delectazione ancora se reducevano. Erano de' poeti vulgari in grandissimo pregio li ardori de lo Aretino, né ancora de' nostri frammenti si faceva poca essistimazione.⁸

At the same time at Rome our Academy also flourished at the house of Paolo Cortesi, whose learning, ability and affability was beyond his years and he was held in great esteem at the papal court, the Academy was not a house of manners but a workshop of eloquence and a repository of every respectable virtue that could be named. Every day a great crowd of educated people gathered there: Gianlorenzo Veneto, Petro Gravina, the bishop of Montepiloso, Agapito Geraldini, Manilio, Cornelio and other scholars, into whose orbit, younger scholars, who wanted their talents to increase, betook themselves to take delight. Among the vernacular poets Aretino's passions were of the greatest renown, nor yet were our fragments held in little esteem.

The *sodalitas* of Angelo Colocci

Born into a noble family at Jesi in the Marche, Angelo Colocci was educated in Bologna, and had studied with Giovanni Pontano in Naples, before coming

⁷ See Muecke 2005. For the various dwellings on the Quirinal hill see Coffin 1979, 187 ff.

⁸ Calmeta 1959, 63–64.

to Rome in 1498, where his personal wealth allowed him to buy several curial offices. Although Colocci himself wrote little, he was an avid collector of classical archaeological remains and of manuscripts. Early in 1513 Colocci bought a garden property on the Quirinal hill, near the Trevi fountain, on the site which, it was believed, was once occupied by the ancient gardens of Sallust. This setting, as Phyllis Pray Bober has remarked, provided a congenial locale for convivia of poets and gatherings of those antiquarians who carried on the Accademia Pomponiana after the death of Leto.⁹

Looking back nostalgically to the meetings held in his garden during the reign of Pope Leo X de' Medici (r.1513–1524) as he recovered from a protracted illness, Colocci would remember a time of intense antiquarian study.¹⁰

“The play’s the thing”

Leto’s Academy was the prime mover behind the revival of classical theatre in late fifteenth-century Rome.¹¹ In his biography of Leto, the Venetian humanist Marcantonio Sabellico (1436–1506) notes the important role that theatrical performances played in Leto’s pedagogy:

Pari studio veterem spectandi consuetudinem desuetae civitati restituit, primorum antistitum atriis pro theatro usus, in quibus Plauti, Terentii, recentiorum etiam quaedam agerentur fabulae, quas ipse honestos adulescentes et docuit et agentibus praefuit.¹²

With equal enthusiasm Leto revived the ancient tradition of the spectacle for the unaccustomed citizens, using the courtyards of important clerics for theatres; here certain stories of Plautus, Terence and more recent authors too were performed; he himself both taught these to the honest youths and directed those acting.

Although written in Vergilian hexameters, the fragmentary drama from the Vatican miscellany is formed by a series of brief encounters and exchanges in the manner of the satiric dialogues on the gods *Θεῶν Διάλογοι* composed by the second-century rhetorician Lucian of Samosata (c.125–c.180). Indeed, it is a free adaptation of the dialogue *Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἔρωτος* (of Venus and

⁹ Bober 1977, 225.

¹⁰ In a letter to Pier Vettori of 17 April 1543 “Vorrei hormai riposarmi et attendere alli studi, il che dalla morte di Leone in qua non ho possuto fare”, London, British Library, Add. 10265, fol. 274r; Fanelli 1979, 53.

¹¹ Licht 1996, 8.

¹² Sabellico 2008; also cited in Cruciani 1983, 187. This claim is repeated by Giovanni Antonio Sulpizio da Veroli in the prefatory letter to his edition of Vitruvius (*editio princeps*: Vitruvius [1486–16 Aug. 1487]); Cruciani 1983, 222 ff.; see also Krautheimer 1948.

Cupid) in which the goddess of love encourages her son to attack Pallas Athene and the Muses. In Leto's version Pallas Athene and the Muses are attacked indirectly by an assault on a certain Roman youth of great potential, named Paolo. The exchange opens abruptly with the chance encounter by the Muse Calliope upon Venus and Cupid. Venus is encouraging her son to entrap Paolo in the snares of love (the scene contains deliberate verbal echoes of Venus's assault upon Dido from *Aeneid* book 1). Horrified that such a promising scholar would be distracted by love, Calliope seeks the aid of Pallas Athene to defend the young man. Although reluctant, Cupid agrees to his mother's commands, but is thwarted by the arrival of Pallas Athene who forces the god of love to withdraw and recant. The drama breaks off midway through Cupid's oath of recantation.

Lucian at the Roman Academy

From the moment that Manuel Chrysoloras transferred the Byzantine education system to Florence in the early fifteenth century, the *Deorum Dialogi* became a popular school text and Lucian was the probably "first real Greek a pupil would read".¹³ Although the *Venus et Cupido* dialogue was not translated into Latin until the early sixteenth century, a number of Latin versions of single dialogues circulated in manuscript, and several had appeared in print before the *editio princeps* (1496) proving that there was demand for such light literature in the second half of the fifteenth century. Indeed, the popularity of the dialogues inspired various close imitations, such as Alberti's *Intercoenalis* entitled *Virtus Dea* and Vegio's *Palinurus*, both of which were printed as Lucianic works throughout the sixteenth century. Moreover, E. P. Goldschmidt has shown that there was a demonstrable link between Leto's Roman Academy and an early Roman edition (1470) of six Lucianic dialogues, and comments that

[a] society like the Academy of Pomponius, a group of preponderantly young enthusiasts for pagan antiquity, a kind of advanced "highbrow" clique in a Rome mainly dominated by canon lawyers and purposeful careerists, was a circle in which Lucian's ironical and disrespectful satires would find their readers and admirers, where every newly translated piece from his pen would be circulated and enjoyed.¹⁴

Circulating in manuscript and popular in schools for primary exercises in translation, Lucian's dialogues were certainly well-known in late fifteenth-century Rome. Indeed, well-known enough for a particular dialogue to be

¹³ This "can be seen from BAV, Urb. gr. 121, an apograph from Chrysoloras's own Greek manuscript of Lucian, with Latin glosses," Keith Sidwell, private correspondence.

¹⁴ Goldschmidt 1951, 19.

adapted to specific, local circumstances (perhaps also with the intention of providing gentle satiric comment upon them). Yet, as we have noted above, Raffaele Maffei claimed that Leto was not a Greek scholar. This then begs the question who translated Lucian's text as no translation of this dialogue is known until the early sixteenth century.

The identity of Paolo

At this distance in time it is almost impossible to identify with certainty the scholar named Paolo who is the object of Calliope's concern. However, the text does reveal some clues towards his identity. For example, the youth is physically attractive. With his golden curls flowing over his shoulders and glowing complexion Paolo rivals both Cupid and Ganymede. The association with the Idalian youth is further emphasized by a marginal note: *iliada* (son of Ilus). This is important as it suggests that the prospective affair for which Cupid's victim is intended may be homosexual. In the Renaissance Ganymede became the symbol for a beautiful young male who attracted homosexual desire and love.¹⁵ Here we should recall the charges levelled against the First Roman Academy; and that Leto was under detention in Venice on charges of sodomy when the first arrests were made in Rome.¹⁶ In addition to the description of idealized beauty, we learn that the young man is of noble stock whose family held magistracies. Although referred to as *puer* (a youth), Paolo is a Greek scholar (therefore of a certain age), a performer (or writer) of comedies and a translator of the Attic comic poet and playwright Menander (c.342–c.290 BC).¹⁷ Possible candidates among the known associates of the Academy suggest themselves. These are: Paolo Branca,

¹⁵ In general see Saslow 1986. In view of the Lucianic borrowing note also *Deorum Dialogi* 79.8 (Macleod's numbering = 8.5 in the traditional order from the *editio princeps*, always used from 1496 onwards), where Hera complains that Zeus has ignored her since he brought the Phrygian lad up to Olympus. An imitation of *Deorum Dialogi* 79.10 (=8.4 old style) is preserved in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Misc. II.I.98, fols 79r–80r which turns Ganymede's protestations against physical contact and abashed innocence into a positive desire for homoerotic fulfilment. See Panizza 2007, 97. I owe these references to Keith Sidwell.

¹⁶ "There undeniably was a tendency to flirt with paganism among the less restrained members of this Academy, and there was, it would seem, ample ground for the accusation that their morals were suspect", Goldschmidt 1951, 18.

¹⁷ Although Menander was one of the most popular writers in antiquity, much of his work had been lost and only survived in fragmentary quotations. Burckhardt claimed that there was a complete works in the library of Federico da Montefeltro at Urbino, Burckhardt 1960, 158. If so, all traces of this volume disappeared after the city was captured by Cesare Borgia and the library was transferred to the Vatican; see also D'Aiuto 2003. However, there was enough in Terence about Menander to talk about the revival of Latin comedy as a return to Menander. We now have one complete play; one nearly complete and substantial fragments of others.

lecturer at the *Studium Urbis* (dates unknown); Paolo Cortesi (1465–1510);¹⁸ Paolo Margani, son of Stefano Margani (birthdate unknown, *ob.* 1501); Paolo Marsi (1440–1484);¹⁹ and Paolo Pompilio (1455–1491).²⁰ Some of these may be excluded on account of their age. If, as I suggest below, the script conforms to the second – third period in the development of Leto’s hand, then the bifolio must date to the 1480s; Paolo is clearly a handsome young man.²¹ By process of elimination, the only possible (but unlikely?) candidate (from the list above) would be Paolo Cortesi, later author of *De cardinalatu*, who was seventeen years old when he was nominated *scriptor apostolicus* in October 1481 to replace Bartolomeo Platina (1421–1481). Yet, Cortesi is not known as a Greek scholar (nor indeed is any of the others listed above); so the matter must remain open for the moment.

Script

The bi-folio is written in a single, distinctive hand noticeable for particular elements. These are: uncial d; uncial g with a tall ascender “looming over the juxtaposed lowercase letters” and a descender that curves back upon itself below the line (for example, *gravis*; see plate 1, line 2); and similar to minuscule h (for example, *hic*; plate 1, line 1); use of ampersand for *et*, which is also used midword (for example, *phar&ra*; plate 1, line 2) and at word-endings (for example, *fatig&*; plate 2, line 12); use of minuscule e alternating with maiusculum uncial E midword (for example, *stelligEros*, plate 1, line 4); the abbreviation q: for *que*; θ for th (for example, *caθenis*; plate 4, line 62).²² These hallmark letter forms can be compared with the autograph manuscript of Ovid’s *Fasti* (BAV, Vat. lat. 3263; for example compare *gorgoneo* plate 3, line 50 with *gorgonei*, Ov. F. 3.450 [BAV, Vat. lat. 3263, fol. 57r]). These traits are characteristic of what Giovanni Muzzioli has labelled the third style in the development of Leto’s script and thus date the bi-folio to 1480s.²³ All annotations are in red ink (with the exception of *iliada*; plate 1) and are in the same hand. The rubrication supplies dramatic pauses (marked by ¶); stage directions (for example, “Discedit Venus. Sedit Calliope cum Pallade”, Venus leaves. Calliope sits with Pallas) and indications of the thematic content (for example, “De luxu Urbis”, On the decadence of Rome).

¹⁸ See Ricciardi 1983.

¹⁹ See Fritsen 1999.

²⁰ See Bracke 2015.

²¹ This would exclude Pompilio, described as “di salute cagionevole, magro e di colorito livido” (of delicate health, thin and of sallow complexion), Bracke 2015.

²² For a comparative description of Leto’s distinctive letter forms see Dixon 2011.

²³ Muzzioli 1959.

A note on the transcription

The text has simply been transcribed with minimal editorial intervention. Leto's idiosyncratic orthography has been maintained, including his clumsy attempts at archaism (for example, at line 9: *rhosea* [...] *frunte* where the correction *frunte* from *fronte* confuses the archaic *fruns*, *frundis* (leaf) with *frons*, *frontis* (brow)). The standard palaeographical abbreviations, suspensions (e.g., the horizontal stroke for *m* and *n*) and contractions have been written in full. All proper names have been capitalised. The diphthong *æ*, ampersand &, and the abbreviation *-q:* for the conjunction *-q(ue)*, have been silently expanded. Pace Fred Nichols, the punctuation has been slightly amended, following the principles laid down by Josef IJsewijn and Dirk Sacré.²⁴

**

Text**Videt Calliope Venerem et Cupidinem. Invocat Palladem contra Venerem.**

Calliope Unde odor hic strepitusque leves? Heu, fera paventum 297r
 Consilia! Ecce gravis pharetra, cum matre Cupido
 Quantus adest! ω sancta precor, tu prima Tonantis
 Pallas, stelligeros quondam defensa penatis,
 Diva veni, contraque tuos fer concita gressus. 5

Discedit Calliope.**Venus ad Cupidinem; contra Paullum.**

Venus Si mea praeteritos numerat nunc ulla triumphos
 Te duce, myrtoo²⁵ celebris victoria serto
 Si nostri tibi cura fuit; stant omnia matri
 Hac pendenda die, facinusque tuebitur unum.
 Iliada Est puer, Idaeo similis, cui flava decoros 10
 Caesaries humeros umbrat: geminaeque micanti
De Paullo Orbe faces, rhosea propellunt frunte tenebras,
 Ora vago tegit igne color: quid plura? virenti
 Nec facie te, nate, minor. Celeberrima Paulli
 Nomina dant animos, repetitaque clara parentum 15
 Nobilitas, Latias totiens iterata curules
 Isque meo irrepsit gremio. Nunc casta rebelli
 Sola animo Phoebea cohors. Mens omnis in una
 Virgine Cecropia, florentis proditor aevi 297v
 Indocilisque mei. Veneris certissima proles, 20
 I, precor, et volucres iam iam maculate sagittas

²⁴ Nichols 1979; IJsewijn & Sacré 1998, 460–478.²⁵ Corrected from *Myrt#oo*.

	Aestifero de fonte move; tenerumque refringe Pectus, et Idalio totum confunde veneno.	
Redit Calliope cum Pallade.	Aspera corda doma, penitusque iterata profundo Vulnere, tela manu nunquam reditura reconde. Adcelera, nam Pallas adest.	25
Discedit Venus.		
Pallas	Properare timentem Excitat Aonidum quid te regina sororum, Dic, mea Calliope.	
Calliope	ω, tandem miserata precantem! Et quando dubia trepidos e mente timores Pellere erit? Quonam usque furens inimica fatiget Corda Venus, Latium debellatura ²⁶ pudorem?	30
De luxu urbis.	Cernis ut indomitum populum face pervigil usque Noctivaga stimulet? ²⁷ Mediaque sub urbe locantes Castra, Dionaeae peragunt nunc Marte cohurtes	
De templis Romae prophanatis.	Proelia barbarico. Tacitis quibus oro peremni Igne focus tibi templa calent? Ubi poena nocentum Prisca prophanatae violent si sacra ministrae? Quid non ausa Venus?	35 298r
Dat operam Grecis litteris Paullus et opt(im)e comedias agit	Nostris spes unica plectris Paullus, ab Attaeo revocat dum fonte Minervam, Et Latia Danaum circumfert urbe Menandrum. ²⁸ Dumque puer suspirat avos, quibus ecce parantis Saeva dei, iacet ille minis! Succurre cadenti.	40
Cupido secum loquitur et desperat opus.		
Cupido	Durum opus adgredior. (Quid contra adamanta relucter?) Durum, mater, ²⁹ opus superest. Si saeva profundi Corda Iovis, rursusque forent violanda Tonantis Pectora, et Hemonio gravius fodienda Gradivo Vicissem tua vota parens. Nunc dextera torpet Irrita curvato diffundere spicula cornu Ignavaeque faces resident.	45
Aspicit Cupido Gorgona.	Hinc territat angue Pallas Gorgoneo, pudor hinc mea coepta retardat, Mnemonidum veneranda cohors. Pueroque negata	50

²⁶ ~~iam~~ bellatura.²⁷ *stimulat* corrected to *stimulet*.²⁸ Corrected from “Et Graium latia sociat nunc urbe Menandrum”.²⁹ *matris*; corrected to *mater* with a superscript *o* to indicate the vocative.

Ocia?

Intendit arcum Cupido.

Sed misere (certa est sententia) matri
Indulgere meae,³⁰ penitusque³¹ abolere nocentis
Nomen, et hoc valido defendere cuncta sub ictu.

Calliope ad Palladem ne ulterius operam det. 298v

Calliope In quem alium, Regina, deum, in quae tempora Paulli 55
Fata trahis? Iacet ecce gravi sub vulnere corpus.
I dea, rumpe moras.

Discedit Calliope.

Pallas Defensa quid, improbe, tentas
Pectora palladio confundere numine, matris
Victae dolis, nostrumque tuus quid provocat ignis?

Capitur Cupido

I modo, digna tuum facinus ferat ultima tandem 60
Supplicia, et vinctus quae vincla paraveris, autor
Ipse geras, solusque tuas nunc pende³² catenas.

Quid Cupidinem impulerit. Aetas scilicet et mater et utrumque excusandum.

Cupido ad Palladem.

Cupid Parce precor, nocui puer. Aetas ipsa nocentem
Imbecilla deum fieri male sana, coegit.
Cessimus imperio matris (scelus omne parentis³³ 65
Excusat pietas).
Utram modo respice caussam
Ignoscendus ero; (summa est haec³⁴) Diva precandi.

Iuramentum Cupidinis

Per Iovis imperium et per³⁵ quot mea dextra³⁶ refixit
Ante³⁷ deos; tacitumque tuo sub pectore numen
Adque per has pharetras, et tanta pericula, iuro 70
Si veniam merear, me nulla in tempora, sanctos [...]

Translation

Calliope sees Venus and Cupid. She summons Pallas Athene against Venus.

³⁰ Corrected to *sed nostre (certa est sententia) matri | perdere opem misere*.

³¹ “~~Quicquid in matrem Venerem antea dolique quam toties vehi Amoris iugum~~
~~[prohibere] hodierno facinore excusabo.~~”

³² Corrected from *expende*.

³³ Corrected from *fatenti*.

³⁴ Corrected from *mea*.

³⁵ Corrected from *vel*.

³⁶ Corrected from *sola*.

³⁷ Corrected from *Dextra*.

Calliope Whence this perfume and idle chatter here?³⁸ Alas, cruel plans of the panic-stricken! See, Cupid is at hand with his mother; weighed down by his quiver how great he is! O hallowed goddess Pallas, the Thunderer's first daughter, some time guardian of the starry abode; come, I pray, head here fired up against them.

Calliope leaves.

Venus to Cupid; against Paolo.

Venus If any of my victories, celebrated in myrtle garland, now match previous triumphs under your command, if you had a care for us, everything for your mother stands in the balance this very day, one deed will sort it.

The Idaean There is a lad, resembling Idaean Ganymede, whose golden locks shade his lovely shoulders; twin flames from a flashing eye dispel the shadows from his rosy brow, colour shields his complexion with a wandering fire. What more need I say? His radiant looks are not inferior to yours, son. Paolo's most celebrated titles give him courage, also his ancestors' renowned and sought out nobility, often repeated in Latin magistracies; this lad has wormed his way into my affections. Now, only Apollo's chaste crew are resistant to me. All their thoughts are centred upon the Athenian maid, a traitor to my flourishing youth and uncontrollable by me. Most sure child of Venus, now go, I beg, and taint your winged arrows and remove them from the boiling brook; pierce the young breast, and fill it all with Idalian venom. Conquer his savage heart, completely and with a repeated deep wound.

Calliope returns with Pallas Athene.

Sink those arrows with your hand, never to return. Hurry, for Pallas is here.

Venus leaves.

³⁸ Perfumed breezes are associated with the arrival and presence of Venus. The opening (and setting) recalls the pentameter *incipit* of Sannazaro, *Epigrams* 1, 41,2 (*In tumulum Neaerae*); see Sannazaro 2009, 284; also Tournoy-Thoen 1977, 79.

- Pallas Tell me, dear Calliope, what has stirred you, queen of the Muses, to hurry here in fright?
- Calliope Pitying my prayers at last! when will I expel these trembling fears from my troubled mind? For what purpose does Venus, in a constant rage, tire her hostile heart? Is she going to assault Latin modesty?

[On the luxury of the city. On the profaned temples at Rome.]

Do you see how, ever vigilant, she enflames this invincible race with her night-wandering flame? Pitching camp in the midst of the city,³⁹ these venereal gangs now wage battle in barbarous warfare. Pray tell, what silent hearths warm your temples with an undying flame? Where are the punishments for the guilty, if profaned priestesses violate the ancient sacred rites? What outrage does not bold Venus attempt?

[Paolo attends to Greek studies and performs comedies very well.]

Paolo, is the singular hope⁴⁰ for our songs, while he recalls Minerva from the Attic fount and promotes Greek Menander in Rome. While the boy sighs for his ancestors, see what threats prepared by the savagery of the god; that boy lies in ruins! Help him as he falls.⁴¹

Cupid speaks to himself and despairs of his task.

- Cupid I am undertaking a difficult task. (How can I struggle against tough adamant?) Oh mother, the difficult task remains to be performed. If the savage heart of Pluto, ruler of the abyss, and the Thunderer's emotions were to be violated again, and stabbed more seriously than Thessalian Mars, I had surpassed your prayers, mother. Now my right hand is stayed from

³⁹ Perhaps here standing for the Subura, the valley between the Esquiline and Viminal hills of Rome which was renowned, both in the ancient world and the fifteenth century, as a centre of night-life.

⁴⁰ *spes unica*: used of the cross in the early Christian hymn *Vexilla regis*.

⁴¹ *Succurre cadenti*: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 9.290, 404. The famous phrase is also found in the medieval Marian hymn *Alma redemptoris mater*, sung, according to the Roman Breviary, after Compline during Advent and Christmastide. If the echo of this prayer to the Virgin was recognised by the audience (and in all likelihood it would have been), it is easy to understand the charges of heresy levelled against the Academicians.

scattering ineffectual darts from the curved bow and my
firebrands sit idle.

Cupid sees the Gorgon.

Pallas scares me with her snakey Gorgon, and shame delays
my undertakings. The band of Muses should be respected.
Should the boy be denied his ease? Yet (the plan is fixed)
reluctantly to accede to mother and completely¹ destroy the
criminal boy's reputation, and protect everything with this
powerful hit.

¹I will excuse every previous trick against my mother by today's crime.

Cupid bends his bow.

Calliope to Pallas, lest she give the matter further thought.

Calliope O Queen, against what other god, until what time do you
prolong Paolo's fate? See, his body lies with a serious
wound. Come, goddess, brook no delay.

Calliope leaves.

Pallas Why, you villain, are you trying to confound hearts secured
under Pallas's protection; overcome by your mother's tricks,
why does your fire challenge us?

Cupid is taken prisoner. Pallas's charges against Cupid.

Go now, let let your crime finally receive due punishment,
and shackled, you their very author will carry those fetters
you prepared, and you alone now be weighed down by your
chains.

Cupid to Pallas Athene (namely, both his youth and his mother are offered
as an excuse).

Cupid Spare me, I beg. A mere boy, I have caused hurt. My age,
weak, insane, compels a god to become a criminal. We gave
in to our mother's command. (Piety absolves the one
confessing his mother's every crime).

Only take into consideration either of my excuses and I must be pardoned. Goddess, this is the sum total of my petition.

Cupid's oath.

By the authority of Jupiter, and by as many times my right hand let loose before the gods, and the quiet godhead under your breast and by these quivers and such dangers, if I merit forgiveness, I swear that at no time, will I...

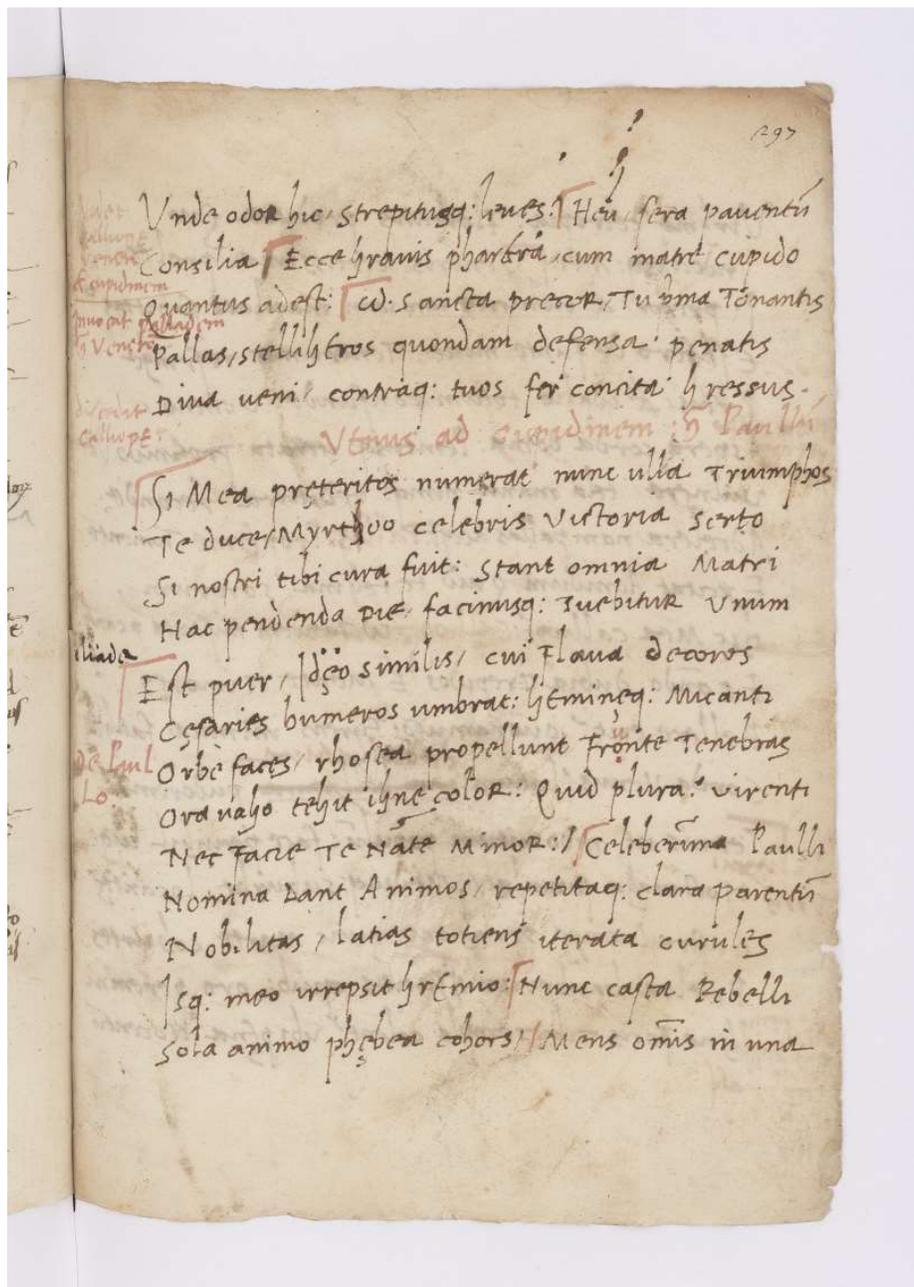
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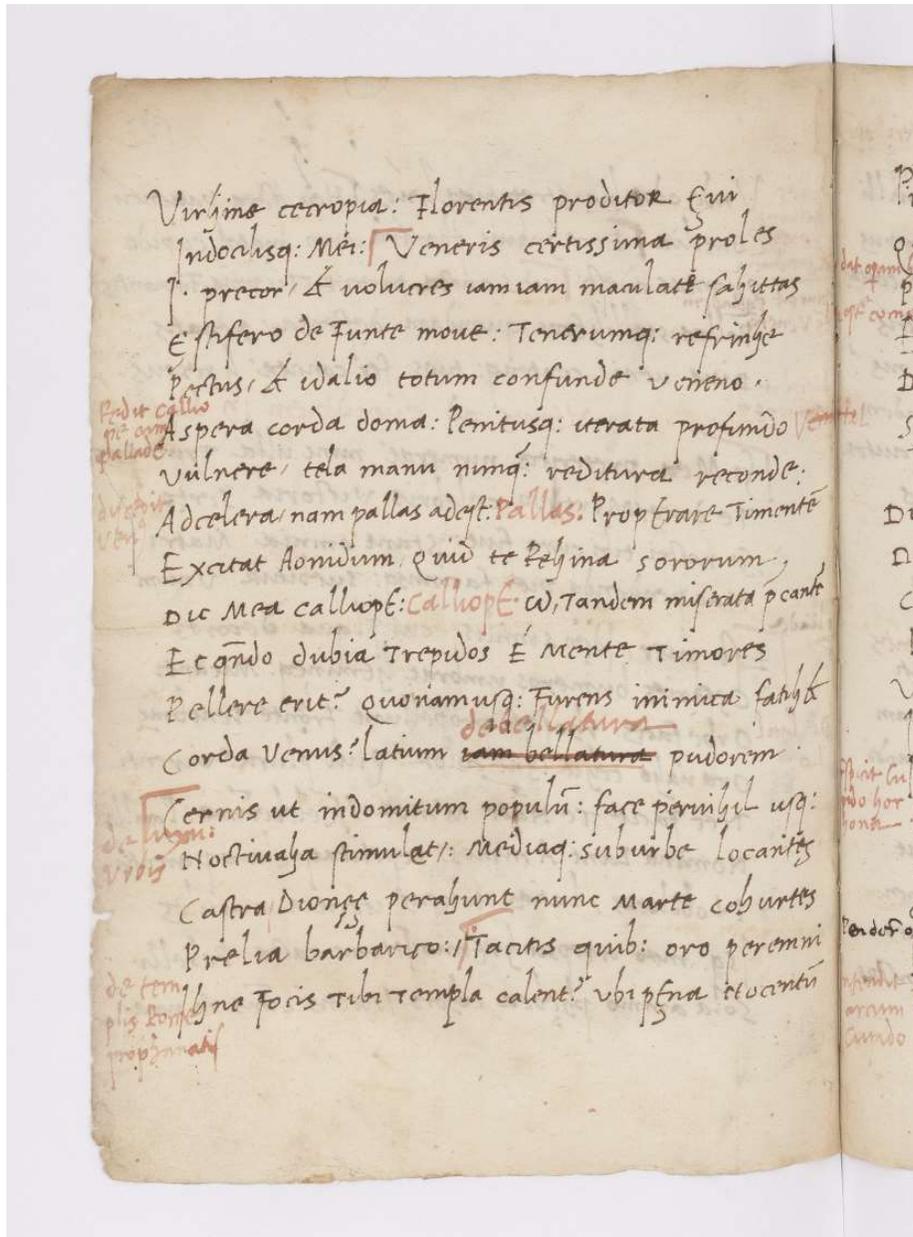
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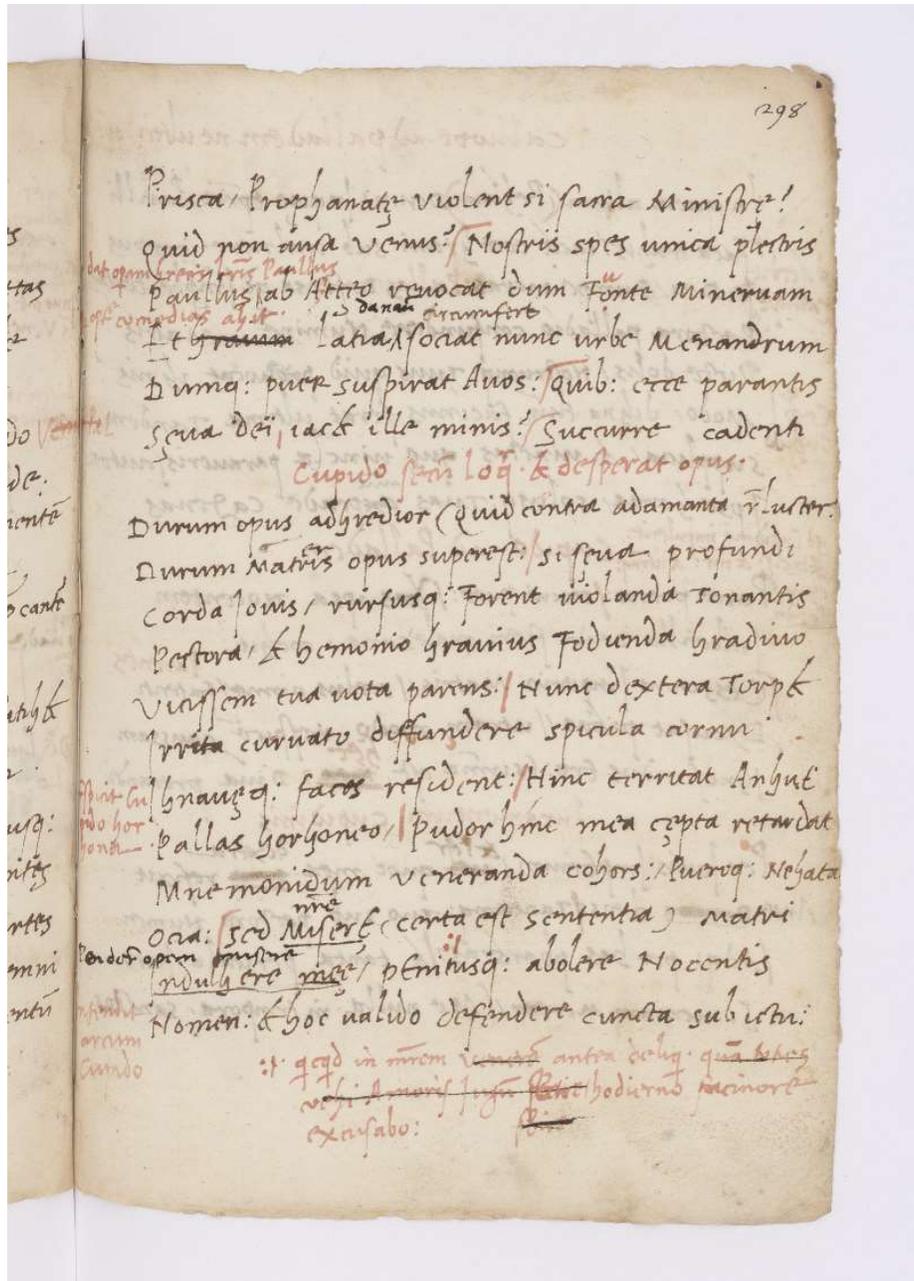
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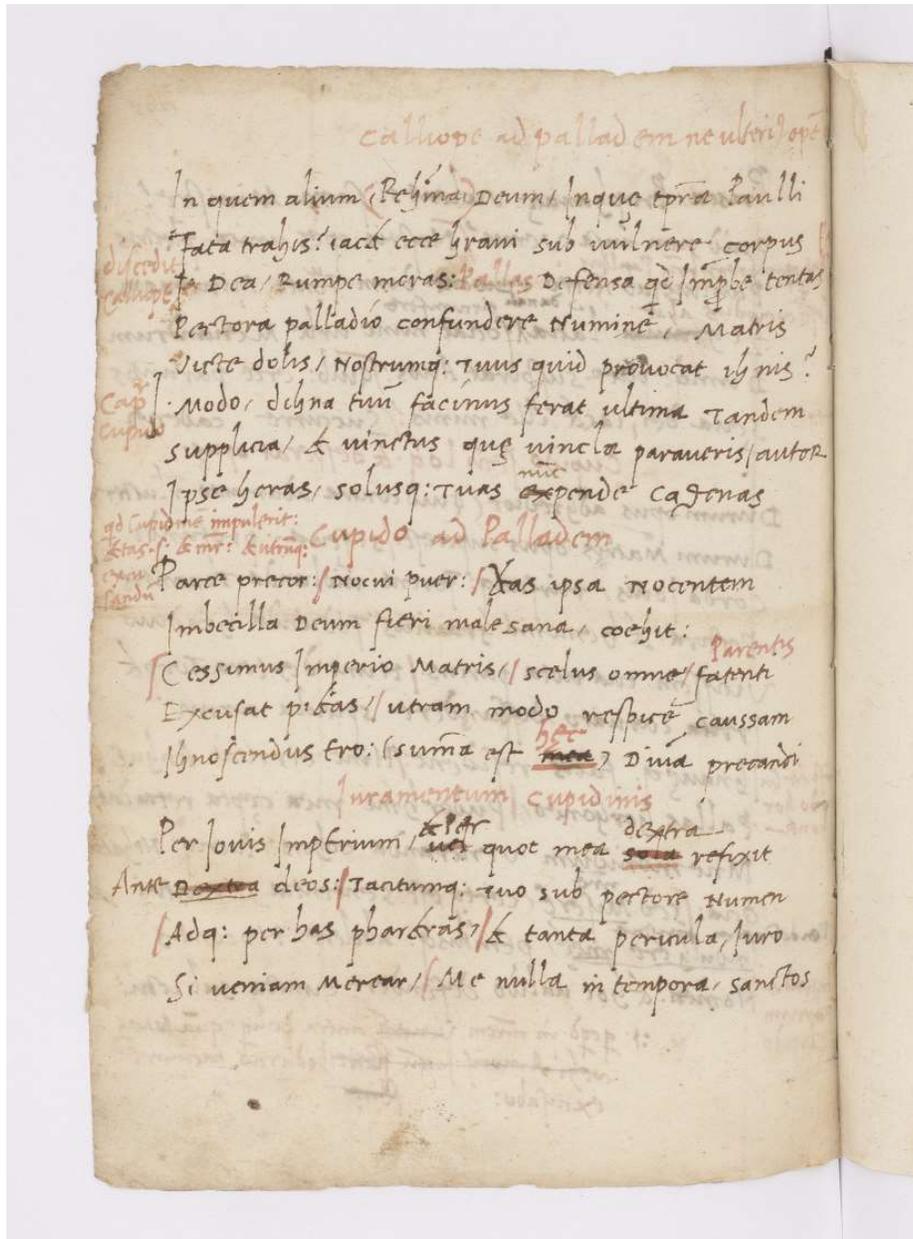
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat.lat. 7192, fol. 297r



Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat.lat. 7192, fol. 297v



Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 7192, fol. 298r



Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat.lat. 7192, fol. 298v

FROM SEDES TO SOLIUM:

Dating the Bible translations of Giannozzo Manetti (1396–1459)



By Annet den Haan

In the 1450s, the Florentine humanist Giannozzo Manetti (1396–1459) translated the Psalter and the New Testament into Latin. These translations were part of a larger translation project, originally intended to comprise the entire Bible, which Manetti took up at the court of Pope Nicholas V (1447–1455). It is unclear when each part of the translation was written, and which one was made first. This paper explores the possibilities of using Manetti’s lexical choices to reconstruct the translation process and to come to a relative dating of his Psalter and his New Testament.

Introduction

In the early 1450s, the Florentine humanist Giannozzo Manetti (1396–1459) moved to the Vatican court of Pope Nicholas V (1447–1455). At this point in his career, Manetti had already established himself as a humanist in Florence, authoring philosophical treatises, biographies of famous Florentines, and an impressive number of diplomatic speeches.¹ The Pope now invited him to move to the Vatican “to translate and compose”.² One of the projects Manetti took up at the papal court was a new Latin translation of the Old and New Testament. As he was one of the first Italian humanists who learned Hebrew, this project suited his skills.³ Manetti’s Bible translation is a rare example of Biblical scholarship in the fifteenth century, and it is connected with a much more famous case: the *Annotationes* to the New Testament by Lorenzo Valla (1407–1457).⁴

¹ For Manetti’s speeches, see Wittschier 1968; for his biographical writings, Manetti 2003. Recent editions of some of Manetti’s works are e.g. Manetti 2016, Manetti 2017, Manetti 2018.

² “Per tradurre et comporre”, as Vespasiano da Bisticci wrote. See below, n. 21. For Manetti’s translations and movements in the 1450s, see Botley 2004, 62–114.

³ For Manetti’s Hebrew scholarship, see Stein Kokin 2016.

⁴ For the connection between Manetti’s translation and Valla’s *Annotationes*, see below, n. 47. For humanist Biblical scholarship in fifteenth-century Italy, see e.g. Garofalo 1946; Monfasani 2008.

This article explores the genesis of Manetti's Bible translation, and more particularly, the question of the relative dating of the two parts that Manetti finished, the New Testament and the Psalter.⁵ Whereas the New Testament never circulated during Manetti's lifetime, the Psalter was dedicated to King Alfonso V of Aragon (1396–1458), who became Manetti's patron after Nicholas's death.⁶ As we shall see below, it is unclear when these projects were begun, and which one was completed first. If this could be determined, it would throw more light on Manetti's activities as a translator, his movements in the 1450s, and particularly his relationship with his two patrons, Nicholas V and Alfonso of Aragon. In what follows, I shall therefore attempt a relative dating of these two projects by using internal, textual evidence. Concretely, I shall compare Manetti's lexical choices in the New Testament and the Psalter, focusing on some cases where his preference changed in the process.

Manetti's Bible translation project

Before we turn to the analysis of the translations themselves, I shall first give a brief overview of what we know about Manetti's Bible translation project from other sources. The first reference to Manetti's translation of the Bible is found in his biography of Nicholas V, which he wrote shortly after the Pope's death in 1455.⁷ When describing the Pope's many patronage projects, specifically his support of Greek–Latin translations, Manetti mentions his own activities at the papal court:

Nova [...] quedam utriusque et veteris et novi testamenti, partim ex hebreo, partim ex greco idiomate, ut ab origine a propriis scriptoribus suis litteris mandata fuisse constabat, in latinam linguam traductio non iniuria mentem irrepserat. Et nisi [...] eius mors prevenisset, preveniensque assiduum operationis nostre cursum non modo non impedisset retardassetque, sed omnino etiam abstulisset, forsitan [...] utrumque opus [...] non multo post ad finem usque perduxissemus. Quod si hic importunus dicendi locus non videretur, nimirum causas, quibus et ad traducendum et ad scribendum impellebamur, paulisper commemorassemus: quod in prefationibus predictorum operum, si Deus – ut speramus – adiutor noster erit, absque iusta reprehensione non iniuria efficere posse uidebimur.⁸

⁵ For Manetti's Psalter, see Botley 2004, 99–114.

⁶ For Manetti's New Testament, see den Haan 2014 and 2016. For Manetti's Psalter, see Botley 2004, 99–114 and 178–181, as well as the editions of *Apologeticus*, Manetti 1981 and Manetti 2016. For *Apologeticus* see below, n. 11.

⁷ *De vita ac gestis Nicolai Quinti*; the text is in Manetti 2005.

⁸ Manetti, *De vita ac gestis Nicolai Quinti* II, 25 (Manetti 2005, 66–67).

The idea had suggested itself to me – and with good reason – to produce a new Latin translation of both the Old and the New Testament, partly from the Hebrew, partly from the Greek tongue, as they were originally put into writing by their own authors. And had not his death [...] intervened, and, by intervening, not only hindered and delayed the constant progress of our work, but put a stop to it altogether, perhaps [...] I would have brought both works to their conclusion not long afterwards. And if this would not seem an inappropriate place to discuss this, I would certainly have briefly called to mind the reasons that prompted me to translate and write; and that I can do this without any just censure, will appear in the prefaces to these works I just mentioned, if God – as I hope – will help me.

This passage indicates that Manetti originally planned to translate the entire Bible, both the Old and the New Testament. Furthermore, the context suggests that he understood his own project as part of Nicholas's translation programme. It also suggests that his work on the translation was dependent on papal support, because it was interrupted when the Pope died. At the time of writing, it had not been completed, but Manetti was still optimistic about the project: he believed that he would have finished it not long afterwards ("*non multo post*") and he already had some ideas as to the prefaces he would write for these works.

After Nicholas's death, Manetti moved to the court of king Alfonso of Aragon at Naples, where he received a salary on the understanding that he was to work as a translator there.⁹ He continued to work on his earlier translation project, and eventually he dedicated his translation of the Psalter to Alfonso. Manetti's Psalter translation survives in eight manuscripts, which suggests that it found at least a modest number of readers.¹⁰ In fact, some of these readers apparently criticized Manetti's translation project, and he wrote a response to them in the form of a treatise, *Apologeticus*, which he also dedicated to Alfonso:¹¹

Cum novam quandam totius Psalterii de hebraica veritate in latinam linguam traductionem, anno iam propemodum elapso, absolvissem atque id opus, quaecunque sit, huic tam claro tamque glorioso Alfonsi regis

⁹ For Manetti's move to Naples, and his activities at Alfonso's court, see Botley 2004a.

¹⁰ Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale – Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 10745; Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2948, Miscellanea Tioli, v. 17; Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana, C 336 (Psalms 1–36); Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (hereafter BAV), Pal. lat. 40, 41, 42, 43 and Urb. lat. 5. For descriptions of the last five manuscripts, which all contain *Apologeticus*, see Manetti 1981, xliii–lxv.

¹¹ The Latin text of *Apologeticus* is available in Manetti 1981 and also in Manetti 2016, with facing English translation.

nomini cum maxima reverentia dedicatum, ad maiestatem tuam transmissem, a non nullis partim ignavis, partim doctis hominibus, sed in sacris ac divinis Litteris parum eruditis, me in eo opere quodam arrogantie crimine insimulatum ac reprehensum et obiurgatum fuisse audivi.¹²

When about a year ago I had finished a new translation of the complete Psalter from the original Hebrew into Latin, and I had dedicated that work – whatever it is worth – with the greatest reverence to the renowned and glorious name of King Alfonso, and I had sent it to Your Majesty, I heard that several men – some idle, others scholarly but with little training in sacred and divine literature – had in a certain work made accusation against me with much censure and denunciation for arrogance.

Manetti writes that the Psalter translation had been finished about a year earlier, and King Alfonso, who is addressed here, died in June 1458. This puts the dating of the Psalter translation in the first half of 1457 at the latest.

As for the New Testament, it is unlikely that this ever circulated in Manetti's lifetime. There are only two manuscripts, one of which belonged to the Manetti family library, and which was corrected by Manetti himself.¹³ The other was copied for the Urbino library after Manetti's death.¹⁴ No letter of dedication survives. It is unclear if the version we have today represents the state of the translation at the time of Nicholas's death, when the project was interrupted, or if Manetti continued to work on it afterwards.

When Manetti dedicated the Psalter to Alfonso, he evidently still hoped that he would complete his translation of both the Old and the New Testament:

Sed cum huiusmodi opus, [...] partim ob magnam eius longitudinem, partim etiam ob nimiam difficultatem diuturnum fore uideatur et sit, ut paruulam interea reliquorum omnium degustationem tibi absque longa dilatione preberem, accuratam quandam ac integram solius Psalterii interpretationem nuper edere atque ad te mittere constitui.¹⁵

But since a work of this sort, [...] because it is so long and because it is so difficult, seems to be – and in fact is – a lengthy task, I have now decided to publish and send you an accurate and complete translation of the Psalter alone, so as to provide you in the meantime without further delay with a brief foretaste of all the rest.¹⁶

¹² Manetti, *Apologeticus* I, 1 (Manetti 2016, 2–3).

¹³ BAV, Pal. lat. 45; den Haan 2016, 40–42.

¹⁴ BAV, Urb. lat. 6. See den Haan 2016, 59–62.

¹⁵ The Latin text of the preface to the Psalter is available in Botley 2004b, 178–181. This passage is quoted from p. 180.

¹⁶ The translation is Botley's (Botley 2004b, 100–101).

Perhaps Manetti had the New Testament in mind as the next part to be dedicated to Alfonso, as some scholars have suggested.¹⁷

As regards a *terminus post quem*, it seems likely that Manetti took up his translation project only after moving to Rome, as he writes himself in his biography of Nicholas V.¹⁸ In November 1454, he wrote a letter to the Florentine book-seller Vespasiano da Bisticci (1421–1498), asking him to send the Biblical manuscripts they had talked about.¹⁹ Vespasiano knew Manetti well, and he wrote biographies of both Manetti and Nicholas V.²⁰ In the latter, he writes about Manetti’s translations as if they were Nicholas’s idea:

Avendo condoto a Roma, come inanzi s’è detto, molti uomini dotti con grandissimi salari, iscrisse a Firenze a meser Gianozo Maneti, che venissi a Roma per tradurre et comporre. Et partitosi da Firenze et giunto a Roma, fu ricevuto dal pontefice, secondo la sua consuetudine, onoratamente, et asegnogli, oltre all’ufficio suo del segretario ducati secento, confortandolo alla traducione di più libri della Bibia et Aristotile, et a finire il libro dallui cominciato, *Contra Judaeos et gentes*, opera mirabile s’ella se fussi finita, che finì insino a’ libri dieci, et tradussi il Testamento Nuovo, et il Saltero de Hebraica veritate, con cinque libri apologetichi in difensione di questo Saltero, mostrando che nella Scrittura Sancta non è una silaba alcuna senza grandissimo mistero.²¹

Having gathered in Rome, as said before, many learned men with liberal salaries, he wrote to Florence to Messer Giannozzo Manetti, who came to Rome to translate and write. And he, after leaving Florence and reaching Rome, was received by the Pope, according to his custom, with honour. The Pope granted him, besides his office of secretary, six hundred ducats, encouraging him to undertake a translation of several books of the Bible and Aristotle, and to finish a book that he had begun, *Contra Judaeos et gentes*, an admirable work if it had been finished, of which he completed only ten books, and he translated the New Testament, the Psalter from the Hebrew, with five books of apologetics in defense of that Psalter, showing that in Sacred Scripture there is not one syllable without an important hidden meaning.

¹⁷ Garofalo 1946, 359; Botley 2004b, 100–101.

¹⁸ For Manetti’s move to Rome, and related events, see Botley 2004b, 64–70.

¹⁹ This letter is dated 23 November 1454. It was published in Cagni 1969, 131–133. For a discussion of this letter and the Biblical manuscripts Manetti probably referred to, see den Haan 2016, pp. 37–38.

²⁰ Vespasiano 1970–1976, I, 35–81, 485–538, and II, 519–627.

²¹ Vespasiano da Bisticci, “*Vita di Nicolao p.p.v.*” (Vespasiano 1970–1976, I, 64–65). For Manetti’s *Contra Judaeos et gentes*, see Manetti 2017.

It remains unclear in Vespasiano's account when Manetti completed each of these works – the New Testament, the Psalter, and *Apologeticus*. Be that as it may, Vespasiano evidently believed that it was Pope Nicholas who first introduced the idea of a new Bible translation. If we can determine which part of the Bible was translated first, this may throw some more light on the Pope's involvement and his preferences. In what follows, I attempt to do this by analyzing the translations themselves, focusing on how Manetti's translation method developed over time.

Manetti's translation method

Manetti's Bible translation is clearly based on the Vulgate, the Latin Bible in common use in the Western Church at the time.²² We know which Vulgate text Manetti kept in his library, which makes it easier to compare his translation with his model.²³ His New Testament varies from passages where only a few words are replaced, to quite drastic retranslations. Generally speaking, however, the translation is about as literal as the Vulgate, which typically follows the word order of the Greek. Most of the differences between it and Manetti's translation concern lexicon, and some specific grammatical features.²⁴ To illustrate this, I quote a passage from the Gospel of Luke, with the changes Manetti made to the Vulgate put in italics:²⁵

Et tu, puer, propheta altissimi uocaberis: preibis enim ante faciem domini ut pares uias ei, ad dandam *cognitionem* salutis *populo suo* in remissionem peccatorum eorum, per uiscera misericordie dei nostri, in quibus uisitauit nos oriens ex alto, *ad illuminandum* his qui in tenebris et *umbra* mortis sedent, ad dirigendos pedes nostros in uiam pacis. Puer autem crescebat et confortabatur spiritu et erat in desertis usque *ad* diem ostensionis sue ad Israel.²⁶

As regards the Psalter, I have not studied this as systematically as the New Testament. However, based on a line-by-line comparison of Psalms 1 and 150, I conclude that even there Manetti's translation method was quite literal, following the original word for word, and resulting in a translation similar to the Vulgate. This is in line with the descriptive title of Manetti's translation, which says

²² I use the name Vulgate here for the sake of convenience, although it is anachronistic for the fifteenth century. For the history of the Latin Bible, and relevant terminology, see Linde 2012, 1–48.

²³ BAV, Pal. lat. 18, which was part of his library, and annotated by him. See den Haan 2016, 31–33.

²⁴ For Manetti's translation method in the New Testament, see den Haan 2016, 153–190.

²⁵ Where Manetti changed the text, the Vulgate has: *parare, scientiam, plebi eius, illuminare, in umbra, in, in.*

²⁶ Manetti's translation, Luke 1: 76–80, BAV, Pal. lat. 45, fol. 35v (den Haan 2016, 268).

“*pene ad verbum*” (almost word for word).²⁷ This similarity to the Vulgate makes it possible to identify Manetti’s preferences for Latin words and constructions.

For the New Testament we know even more, since the oldest copy, BAV, Pal. lat. 45, was corrected by Manetti himself. His corrections provide a clue as to how his method developed. For example, if we compare the Latin equivalents that he chooses for the Greek word *σώζω* (to save), we find that he initially used multiple translations for this in the Gospel of Matthew: *saluum facio* or *saluo* in the active voice, and *saluus sum*, *saluus fio* or *saluor* in the passive voice. In the later books of the New Testament, he settled on *saluo* and *saluor* exclusively. In BAV, Pal. lat. 45, the earlier translations in Matthew are changed to *saluo* and *saluor*. These corrections make it possible to determine when Manetti decided to translate *σώζω* as *saluo* or *saluor*: in Matthew 28. We find similar patterns for *ἴδιος* (his/her own), translated first as *suus*, and then as *proprius*; *ὅλος* (total), translated first as *omnis* or *uniuersus*, and then as *totus*; *οἰκουμένη* (the inhabited world), translated first as *orbis*, *terra*, *orbis terrarum*, or *omnis terre*, and later only as *orbis terrarum* and *orbis terre*; and *θρόνος* (throne), translated first as *thronus* or *sedes*, and then as *solium*.²⁸ Such cases suggest that Manetti aimed at consistent translation – i.e. using the same Latin equivalent for a Greek word each time it occurs.²⁹ They also suggest that he settled on Latin equivalents in the course of the translation process, after encountering a particular Greek word at least a few times close together. The development of Manetti’s lexical preferences is shown schematically below, Table 1.

Table 1. *Lexical choices in Manetti’s New Testament*

<i>σώζω</i>	saluum facio , saluo saluus sum , saluus fio , saluor	saluo saluor	
<i>ἴδιος</i>	suus , proprius	suus	proprius
<i>ὅλος</i>	omnis , uniuersus , totus	omnis, uniuersus, totus	totus
<i>οἰκουμένη</i>	orbis , terra , orbis	orbis, orbis terrarum,	orbis terrarum, orbis terre

²⁷ *Psalterium a Iannozio Manetto de Hebraica veritate pene ad verbum in Latinum traductum* (BAV, Pal. lat. 40, fol. 3r). For Manetti’s views on *ad verbum* and *ad sensum* translation, see den Haan 2016, 128–137.

²⁸ These examples are discussed in more detail in den Haan 2016, 45.

²⁹ See below, n. 36.

	terrarium, orbis terre	orbis terre, terra	
<i>θρόνος</i>	sedes, thronus	thronus, solium	solium

My analysis of the Psalter is based on the assumption that Manetti's translation method not only developed over time, but that translation decisions he made in one translation were carried over into his next translation. This means that if he settled on a particular Latin equivalent (X) later on in the Psalter, and we find that equivalent from the beginning in the New Testament, the conclusion follows that he translated the Psalter first, and then the New Testament. Vice versa, if we find a particular Latin equivalent in the later books of the New Testament, and we find that same equivalent early on, and consistently, in the Psalter, I would conclude that the New Testament was translated first, and the Psalter afterwards. These two scenarios are illustrated below, Table 2.

Table 2. Chronology of the Psalter and New Testament

<i>Psalter</i>	Equivalents a, b, c, X	Equivalent X	<i>New Testament</i>	Equivalent X
<i>New Testament</i>	Equivalents a, b, c, X	Equivalent X	<i>Psalter</i>	Equivalent X

Of course, there are some objections to this reasoning. First, Manetti's two translations are not based on the same language. Whereas the New Testament is based on a Greek original, the textual history of the Psalter is more complicated.³⁰ This book, like most of the Old Testament, was originally written in Hebrew, and translated into Greek in the Hellenistic period. The Greek Septuagint became a source text for Latin translators, next to the Hebrew version.³¹ Manetti explains this himself in the preface to his own Psalter translation:³²

³⁰ For the sources Manetti used for the New Testament, see den Haan 2016, 30–36.

³¹ Actually, Jerome made three translations of the Psalter: the first, the Roman Psalter, was a revision of the *Vetus Latina*, based on the Greek text of the Septuagint; the second, the Gallican Psalter, was based on the Greek text according to Origen's *Hexapla*; and the third, the *Hebraica veritas*, was based on the Hebrew text. For the sake of convenience, I only distinguish between the "Septuagint Psalter" and the "Hebrew Psalter", as Manetti does himself.

³² For this text, see above n. 15.

Due enim [...] Psalterii translationes ceteris celebratiores reperiuntur atque extant, quarum una est de greca in latinam linguam a Hieronymo ex septuaginta duobus illis primis famosissimisque interpretibus transumpta: hec est illa qua romana ecclesia in orationibus suis iam pridem usque ad tempora nostra uti consuevit; altera eiusdem Hieronymi perhibetur et est, cuius titulus fertur de hebraica ueritate.³³

Two translations of the [...] Psalter can be found and are available, that are better known than the others, one of which is taken from the Greek in the Latin language by Jerome, from those seventy-two first and most famous translators; this is the one that the Roman church has used in its prayers from long ago up until the present time; the other is said to be – and indeed is – of the same Jerome, and it is titled *From the Hebrew Truth*.

Manetti also discusses the textual history of the Psalter at length in his treatise *Apologeticus*, and he presents a long list of differences between the two Latin Psalters in books III and IV. His own Psalter translation was based on the Hebrew text, not the Greek.³⁴ However, Manetti may have exaggerated his reliance on the Hebrew text. The comparison in *Apologeticus* is based on the two Latin Psalters and could have been made without any reference to the Hebrew or Greek sources. Furthermore, his lexical choices in the New Testament are not always informed by the source text. In some cases, he selected a Latin equivalent from among a number of alternatives for stylistic reasons or because of connotations in the target language.³⁵

A second objection is that we cannot take it for granted that Manetti's lexical choices are consistent across translation projects. It is no easy task for a translator to keep track of all the equivalents he chooses for every term in the source text, even within one translation.³⁶ Although it is possible that Manetti kept a list of a selection of Greek terms with his preferred Latin translations, he may not have used this list for his next translation³⁷. One could argue, however, that in the case of these Bible translations, it would be

³³ Botley 2004b, 180.

³⁴ As indicated by the title: *Psalterium a Iannozio Manetto de Hebraica ueritate pene ad uerbum in Latinum tractatum* (BAV, Pal. lat. 40, fol. 3r). Manetti also states this explicitly in the opening of *Apologeticus*; see p. 3 above. Manetti owned a Hebrew Psalter, BAV, Vat. ebr. 28; see Cassuto 1935, 45.

³⁵ For examples of this, see den Haan 2016, 46.

³⁶ For consistency in Manetti's translation of the New Testament, see den Haan 2016, 163–172.

³⁷ Manetti's manuscript collection contained several grammars and Greek-Latin lexicons. The Greek part of BAV, Pal. gr. 194, a Greek-Latin lexicon, was probably copied by Johannes Scutariota, a scribe employed in Manetti's household. Giuseppe Cagni believed that this lexicon was compiled by Manetti himself (Cagni 1960, 6–7).

natural to approach them as parts of a whole, or at least as closely connected, rather than as two separate texts. After all, these translations were part of a project that originally comprised the entire Bible. As we will see below, Manetti's lexical choices are in fact remarkably consistent across both translations, in at least one case.³⁸

Finally, we do not know if Manetti worked on multiple translation projects simultaneously, rather than one by one. Nor do we know if he wrote multiple versions of the Psalter, or if he corrected an early draft, as in the case of the New Testament. Four of the Psalter manuscripts, all of which include *Apologeticus*, once belonged to the Manetti family library.³⁹ One of them, BAV, Pal. lat. 40 is written in Manetti's hand.⁴⁰ It contains some corrections, possibly by his son Agnolo (1432–1479), but not on the same scale as the New Testament.⁴¹ The possibility of multiple redactions is important, if we want to draw conclusions about the conception of these translation projects, as opposed to their completion.

Lexical choices in the Psalter and the New Testament

With these caveats in mind, let us now turn to a comparison of Manetti's lexical choices in both translations. My analysis is based on lexical choices that show a clear development in Manetti's New Testament.⁴² I have compared these cases to his Psalter translation. My comparison is based on BAV, Pal. lat. 40, Manetti's autograph copy. His own new translation is presented there in parallel with the Septuagint Psalter and the Hebrew Psalter, which enables me to compare these versions verse by verse, in the version of the text that Manetti knew and used himself.⁴³

Unfortunately, it turns out that most of these cases do not lend themselves for a comparison. Manetti's translation of the Greek words *οἰκουμένη* (the inhabited world) and *ἴδιος* (his/her own) shows a development in the New Testament, but they do not appear in the Psalter often enough to make a

³⁸ See the discussion of Manetti's use of *solium* below p.10.

³⁹ These remained in the Manetti family until the sixteenth century, when they ended up in the collection of the Fugger family in Germany. Eventually, almost all Manetti's manuscripts found would find their way to the Vatican library. Cassuto 1935; Cagni 1960; Lehmann 1956–1960; den Haan 2019.

⁴⁰ Manetti 1981, xliii. It is likely that BAV, Urb.lat. 5, which also includes *Apologeticus*, was copied after Manetti's death, through the mediation of his son Agnolo, from an original in the Manetti library. This also happened in the case of the New Testament translation and of Manetti's translations of Aristotle's moral works; den Haan 2016, 59–60.

⁴¹ This is my first impression, but a more thorough study of the manuscript may prove otherwise.

⁴² See above, Table 1. Lexical choices in Manetti's New Testament.

⁴³ For the earlier Latin Psalters, see above, n. 31.

systematic comparison possible. In other cases, Manetti's preferred Latin equivalent in the New Testament corresponds to that in the Psalter, but it is still impossible to draw any conclusions from this, because the same word is used in one or both of the existing Latin Psalters. This is the case with the Greek *ὅλος* (total), which Manetti translated consistently as *totus* in the later books of the New Testament, but not in the earlier books. In the Psalter, he translated it as *totus* from the beginning. However, the Hebrew Psalter also has *totus* in most cases. It is therefore impossible to determine if Manetti made a conscious decision to use this Latin word each time, or if he simply followed one of his Latin models. The same is true for his translation of *σῶζω* (to save), which shows a clear development in the New Testament.⁴⁴ The Latin equivalent Manetti uses after the Gospel of Matthew, *saluo*, appears in Manetti's Psalter translation, but also in the Hebrew Psalter.

The most interesting case is Manetti's use of *solium* (throne) as a translation of the Greek *θρόνος*. In the New Testament, Manetti made up his mind about this translation comparatively late: only when he arrived at Revelation, the twenty-seventh book. In first 26 books, where *θρόνος* appears 12 times, he used the translations *thronus* and *sedes*. In Revelation, where it appears 48 times, he introduced *solium*, and then used that word consistently until the end of that book. When he corrected BAV, Pal. lat. 45, he changed the earlier translations in some places, especially in Hebrews, erasing them and overwriting them with *solium*.⁴⁵ Now when we turn to his translation of the Psalter, it is clear that there, *solium* was always Manetti's preferred Latin term. We find *solium* almost exclusively from the beginning, while the other Latin Psalters have *cathedra*, *sedes* and *thronus* (

Table 3).⁴⁶ Based on this pattern, I believe it is likely that Manetti translated the New Testament first, where he decided in the process to use *solium* for *θρόνος*; and then moved on to translating the Psalter, where he used it from the beginning (Table 4).

Table 3. *θρόνος* in the Latin Psalters

	Septuagint Psalter	Hebrew Psalter	Manetti's Psalter
<i>cathedra</i>	2	2	0
<i>sedes</i>	13	2	4
<i>solium</i>	0	4	15
<i>thronus</i>	4	11	0

⁴⁴ See above Table 1.

⁴⁵ See above Table 1.

⁴⁶ In most cases where one of these words appears in Manetti's Latin, or in the other Latin Psalters, the Greek has *θρόνος*. For the analysis, it does not really make a difference if Manetti followed the Hebrew or the Greek here.

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Table 4: From *sedes* to *solium*

<i>New Testament</i>		<i>Psalter</i>	
sedes, thronus	thronus , solium	solium	solium

Admittedly, this one case is feeble ground for a relative dating, but if it is correct, it has several implications. First, it means that the earliest copy of the New Testament that has come down to us, BAV, Pal. lat. 45, must have been written before the surviving copies of the Psalter. The significance of this is that Manetti must have had a translation of the New Testament ready when he dedicated the Psalter to king Alfonso, and when he promised him to dedicate other parts of his new Latin Bible soon. One wonders, therefore, why Manetti did not dedicate the New Testament to Alfonso as well. Either he expected that the King would be better pleased with a translation of the Psalter, or he had a reason for suppressing the New Testament.

A second implication is even more speculative. Based on the above analysis, we cannot draw any conclusions about the conception of these translation projects; only about their completion. However, if we assume that the New Testament was the first part of the Bible that Manetti set out to translate, this diminishes the importance of his Hebrew scholarship for his translation project, and it makes the connection with Valla's *Annotationes* even stronger.⁴⁷ If Manetti started from the New Testament, that is one more reason to believe that his Biblical philology was inspired by Valla's.

In conclusion

The above analysis shows that studying translation method – in this case, lexical choices – can in some cases contribute to a relative dating of translations. However, it also shows the limitations of such an approach. A comparison like this can only lead to results if many criteria are met: a word must appear frequently enough to allow for a systematic comparison; it must be clear that the chosen equivalent is not simply copied from another translation; there must be a clear development to establish a chronology. Manetti's case lends itself for such an analysis: he aimed at consistent translation, and this makes it possible to discern patterns in the Latin equivalents he chooses. Moreover, he corrected a manuscript of his New Testament translation, making it even easier to discern stages in the translation process. Needless to say, it would be much harder to determine

⁴⁷ For the connection between Manetti's translation and Valla's *Annotationes*, see den Haan 2014 and den Haan 2016, 48–58.

the order in which translation projects were undertaken if no corrected copy survives, and impossible if a translator's method is free and inconsistent. And as we have seen, even if such material is available, this type of analysis can only lend further support to a hypothesis based on other information, and hardly stand on its own feet.

All in all, however, if it is feasible, I believe that analyzing translations this way can lead to interesting insights. Determining the order in which translations were made has wider implications for the translator's career and connections with other projects. In this case particularly, my preliminary findings raise new questions about the role of Nicholas V and Alfonso of Aragon: their interest, or lack thereof, in Manetti's translation project, determined what he translated, and what he published. There is also another hint of the importance of Valla's *Annotationes*.

Manetti's translation activities provide more material for future study. Based on the preliminary analysis presented above, I believe that it would be worthwhile to compare the Psalter and New Testament more systematically, and perhaps to include Manetti's translations of Aristotle in the comparison. Furthermore, a more systematic analysis of the Psalter translation could throw light on the question of Manetti's Hebrew scholarship. In short, the possibilities of studying lexical choices in Manetti's translations, and perhaps other humanist translations as well, have not yet been exhausted.

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HOW TO AVOID A REVOLUTION:



Francesco Patrizi of Siena on Stability in Republican Regimes

By James Hankins

Francesco Patrizi of Siena (1413–1494), the greatest political philosopher of the fifteenth century, was the first to make extensive use of the flood of new Latin translations of Greek historical, biographical, ethnographical and philosophical writings produced by quattrocento Italian humanists after 1400. This article explores how he exploits these fresh sources to produce new answers to a problem posed by Aristotle in Politics 5–6: how best to ensure the stability of “political” or power-sharing regimes.

Among the greatest collective achievements of Renaissance humanism in the fifteenth and sixteenth century was the transplantation of the literary and scientific heritage of Greek civilization to the soil of the Latin West. As it became ever clearer to contemporaries that the Byzantine empire was unlikely to survive the assaults of the Ottoman Turks, scholars and merchant-princes in Renaissance Italy, realizing the potential loss to civilization, sent agents to the eastern Mediterranean to collect Greek manuscripts and invite Greek scholars to teach in the West. By the end of the sixteenth century European scholars had printed in Greek and translated into Latin most of the works written in ancient Greek that survive today. The language of ancient Greece and its literature began regularly to be taught in European schools alongside Latin literature. Thanks to these heroic deeds of scholarship, the European Renaissance created a new civilization in which the Graeco-Roman inheritance was fused with the legal, scientific, and theological traditions of medieval scholasticism. The search for a harmonious and mutually supportive relationship between the classical and Christian elements in the Western tradition, begun already in late antiquity, was to remain a characteristic feature of European civilization down to modern times.

The modern study of this extraordinary civilizational achievement began in the post-World War II period and was given focus by a great international research project founded in 1945 by Paul Oskar Kristeller, the *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum*.¹ This series, whose first volume was published in 1960, aimed to treat in individual “articles” (some of them book-

¹ Kristeller et al. 1960–2020.

length) every work of Greek or Latin literature written before 600 AD. In principle the *fortuna* of each ancient author from 600 to 1600 AD was to be described, and, for Latin authors, all of the commentaries on that author, in manuscript and print, were to be listed, together with brief biographies of the commentators. For Greek authors every Latin translation was to be listed as well as the Latin commentaries, along with a complete list of manuscripts and editions. The overall goal was to provide a reliable scholarly foundation for the study of the classical tradition in the West.²

Marianne Pade became associated with the *CTC* (as it is familiarly called) early in her career, and her most enduring legacy as a scholar will undoubtedly be her foundational studies of the Renaissance reception of Plutarch and Thucydides, two of the greatest and most influential authors of ancient Greece. Her monumental two-volume work, *The Reception of Plutarch's Lives in the Fifteenth Century* (2007) in my opinion ranks as one of the great contributions to classical reception studies in the past half century.³ Thanks to her work, those who wish to understand how the reception of Greek literature in the Latin West reshaped Western thought and letters are on much firmer ground. Scholars interested in the history of Western political thought in particular are only now beginning to exploit these extraordinarily useful tools.⁴

Francesco Patrizi of Siena

In what follows I would like to explore how Greek sources, especially the histories, biographies, and philosophical writings newly available in the Renaissance, informed the thought of the greatest political philosopher of the fifteenth century, Francesco Patrizi of Siena (1413–1494). It was Patrizi's specific objective as a political writer – one laid upon him by his patron, Pope Pius II – to absorb the practical wisdom of the Greeks and apply it to solving the political problems of modern Italy. The reigning work of political theory in the later middle ages was the *De regimine principum* of Giles of Rome, a student of Aquinas, whose comprehensive work relied almost entirely on Aristotle. Patrizi aimed to replace this scholastic work with a humanist alternative that, following principles laid down by Petrarch, would adopt no one *maître à penser*. He thus became the first Latin writer on politics since Cicero to draw upon a wide range of Greek political history, biography, geography, oratory, poetry, and philosophy in order to inform and elaborate

² For a conspectus of the translation movement of the Renaissance with regard to ancient philosophical sources, see Hankins & Palmer 2008.

³ See the bibliography of her writings in this volume for this study and her many related studies of Plutarch and Thucydides. Pade's article on Thucydides appeared in vol. 8 of Kristeller et al. 1960, 103–181.

⁴ See Hankins 2019, especially Chapters 4, 16 and 17 on the reception of Greek sources. "The Thucydidean Renaissance" was the subject of Kinch Hoekstra's Carlyle Lectures at Oxford in 2017, shortly to be published as a monograph.

his own ideas about the best republic and the best kingdom. His two great works of political theory eventually cited over 160 Greek and Latin sources, an extraordinary number for the last age of the manuscript book. (Plutarch is among the most frequently cited.)

Patrizi is not well known today, so a few words about his life may be in order.⁵ For a future political philosopher his experience of politics, diplomacy and direct governance could hardly have been bettered. To say the truth it was far more extensive than that of a much more celebrated political thinker, Niccolò Machiavelli, who used to boast that he was a man of action rather than an armchair philosopher.

Patrizi was born (24 February 1413) into the most important hereditary bloc of political families in Siena, the *Nove*, which remained the dominant force in Sienese politics for most of his lifetime. He studied Greek with Francesco Filelfo during that humanist's sojourn in Siena, and later taught rhetoric in the Sienese Studio (1440–1446). He also enjoyed a prominent social position in the city. He married, had four children, and maintained a large household with an urban palazzo and rural properties. He also acted as private tutor to Achille Petrucci, offspring of the city's most important political family of the quattrocento, and a future civic leader. He held numerous offices in the Sienese republic, including the priorate (the chief executive) and other executive posts in the city's territories. He headed at least six major ambassadorial missions in the decade before the coup that led to his exile.

After his exile from Siena in 1457, Patrizi supported himself briefly as private tutor to the son of the Milanese ambassador, Nicodemo Tranchedini, and in that capacity met leading statesmen and princes from Tuscany and all over northern Italy. When his friend Enea Silvio Piccolomini became Pope Pius II in 1458, he took holy orders and was made the Bishop of Gaeta. Soon thereafter, Pius appointed him governor of Foligno and its territory, a key post in the Papal State. After Pius' death in 1464, his position in Foligno became untenable owing to a popular uprising, and he retired to administer his diocese in Gaeta, a port city in the Kingdom of Naples. The Kingdom was ruled by Ferdinand I of Naples, the most powerful monarch of the peninsula. In Gaeta Patrizi wrote his two major political treatises, *De institutione reipublicae* (finished around 1471/72) and *De regno et regis institutione* (scribally published around 1483/84). His life in that small city was mostly a retired one, but even so he was called upon to tutor and advise the heir to the throne, Alfonso of Calabria, and to represent the Kingdom as the Aragonese *orator* (or ambassador) on two major public occasions, the marriage of Alfonso with

⁵ For Patrizi's life, see Bassi 1894, Battaglia 1936, Pedullà 2010, and De Capua 2014, and Quintiliani 2014. The present writer has completed a monograph on Patrizi's political thought, together with a biographical study, which will be published by Harvard University Press.

Ippolita Maria Sforza in Milan (1465), and the ceremonies for the coronation of Pope Innocent VIII (1484).

One conviction Patrizi took from his Greek authorities, fundamental to what I have called the “virtue politics” of the Italian humanists, was that political institutions could not function well unless the princes and magistrates who inhabited them were well educated men of good character and practical wisdom. “The man who cannot govern himself cannot govern others” was a favorite classical adage with him as with other humanists. Unlike some other humanists, however, Patrizi did not adopt the view, common in his day, that institutions were irrelevant so long as rulers were virtuous. That view had been expressed by Isocrates in the *Panathenaicus*, but Patrizi recognized its superficiality. He posed the question how institutions could be designed to promote virtue among rulers and to protect the organs of the republic from wounds inflicted by ignorant, greedy and power-hungry persons. He devised a mode of public deliberation that privileged the voices of the best citizens. He proposed as his *optimus status reipublicae*, or best possible republic, a mixed constitution led by aristocrats, though his aristocracy was not defined by high birth but by good character and humane learning. He was nevertheless aware of the claims all good citizens have to participate in their own government and understood, like Aristotle, that broader participation by citizens in their government reinforces political stability. Citizens could not participate in government without some education. By a natural process of thought Patrizi became the first author in European history to advocate universal literacy among the citizen class as well as public funding for teachers of the liberal arts. In the *De republica* (to shorten for convenience the title of his major work) he outlines a detailed curriculum designed to foster virtue in citizen-rulers.

Patrizi on avoiding revolutions and political unrest

A passage of the *De republica* that gives an excellent idea of Patrizi’s method as a political thinker and his use of Greek and Latin sources is the fifth chapter of Book 6, entitled “Quae vitanda quaeve observanda sint, ne civitatis status evertatur. et virtutem solam rempublicam augere.” (Things to be avoided and to be heeded to order to avoid revolution, and that virtue alone strengthens a commonwealth.)⁶ It is the longest chapter in the entire treatise, an indication of the importance Patrizi attached to the subject. Patrizi begins the chapter by

⁶ All quotations from Patrizi’s *De republica* are taken from the *editio princeps*, Patrizi 1518, edited by Johannes Savigneus, which is the basis for the other 52 editions, translations and epitomes of the work published during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Since Savigneus’ edition is unreliable, I have collated all the passages quoted here against the dedication copy, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 3084, consultable online at https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3084 (last viewed 5 January 2022).

reiterating a major theme of the whole treatise, that a successful republic requires good character in its leaders and citizens alike. This principle is basic to his prescriptions for avoiding revolution, which, following ancient tradition, he links tightly with moral corruption. Unlike ancient tradition, however, Patrizi did not believe in inevitable cycles of decline from better to worse constitutions in the manner described by Plato, Aristotle and Polybius. He held that a republic could remain in an optimal state in perpetuity so long as the leadership of the republic remained virtuous and restrained the vices of the common people by good laws and good examples.⁷ Virtue is the most important source of political stability. But in this chapter he also supplies a detailed inventory of ways to prevent a republic from falling into sedition and revolution, derived from his reading of ancient sources. In this chapter he places less emphasis than elsewhere in his treatise on limiting the vices of the people and more on correcting mistakes made by the republic's magistrates and the senatorial class. Much of the chapter is devoted to the problem of restraining powerful persons out to increase their own status or wealth.

Aristotle had dealt with the same set of issues in *Politics* 5–6 – how to stabilize constitutions – and his treatment offers a contrast with the approach taken by Patrizi. Aristotle in these books is discussing non-ideal states, and especially how to optimize his best practical regime for most states.⁸ The latter is the type of mixed regime he calls *politeia*, i.e., a constitutional government based in the middle classes and restrained by law; it blends together the best institutions of democracy and oligarchy. In *Politics* 7–8 he lays out his absolutely best regime, an aristocracy where citizenship is confined to the virtuous. In the best practical regime, however, Aristotle begins from the assumption that such a government cannot be led by the best men, because in the vast majority of states (he means Greek oligarchies and democracies) “you would not find as many as a hundred men of good birth and merit” (5.1, 1302a). In any case, well-bred men of great virtue are not the sort to lead revolutions and seize power for themselves. The best practical state will inevitably be led by men of ordinary capacities with conventional ideas about equality. The conceptions of equality characteristic of democracies and oligarchies are partial and tendentious, and therefore inadequate. Democrats see equality in “arithmetical” terms: every citizen should have the same share of honor (meaning offices and political influence) as every other citizen, while oligarchs take a “geometric” view and believe that political influence should reflect the size of one's contributions, financial and otherwise, to the state. The democratic conception is safer, says Aristotle, more conducive to stability and less exposed to sedition. In the best practical regime, the most a prudent philosopher can hope for is that merit will be considered somehow or other in choosing

⁷ See Hankins 2021.

⁸ My interpretation of Aristotle relies on Kraut 2003, Frede 2005, Rosler 2013, Samaras 2015.

magistrates, preferably by elections. Aristotle’s analysis proceeds by diagnosing the causes of sedition and revolution in Book 5, then proposing in *Politics* 6 a series of technical fixes to increase stability in each of the principal kinds of constitution. His treatment is directed to his students, budding experts in the art of politics, and other philosophers capable of understanding his intricate reasoning.

Patrizi in his Book 6, by contrast, is discussing his optimal constitution, which is founded on an ideal of proportional (or geometric) merit. Leadership in the community should be proportional to individual merit, measured by educational attainments and a record of proven service to the state. Patrizi aims to create via education and culture a critical mass of virtuous men, a separate order of magistrates numerous and authoritative enough to lead a city-state. This order will by constitutional devices be kept distinct from the pyramid of social status based on ancestry and wealth.⁹ Thus he explicitly addresses his counsels about instability and revolution, not to philosophers or scholars, but to the republic’s rulers, persons who might be of “a denser Minerva” – a bit thick, in other words.

Tandiu igitur victura est respublica quamdiu civiles in ea virtutes et optimae leges dominabuntur. Nullae enim vires sunt quae concordem ac bene moratam civitatem diruere possint. Absit ambitio, absit cupiditas, absit superbia et diuitiarum populator luxur aliaque teterrimae beluae, omnia in ea diurna stabiliaque erunt. Eiusmodi sententiae nos admonent, ut aliquid praecipere velimus his qui reipublicae praesunt, quo intelligant quae vitanda quaeve observanda sint, ne ciuitatis status evertatur ac corruat.

Et si nobis res esset solum cum viris eruditis ac sapientibus, satis futurum arbitraretur dicere solam virtutem rempublicam augere solaque vitia eam labefactare atque evertere. Sed quia cum multitudine res nostra agitur et popularis omnino sermo noster esse debet, nonnulla praescribere operae pretium arbitror quae pro pinguiore (ut dicitur) Minerva singulorum mentes atque animum attingere possint.¹⁰ Nec satis est dixisse iustitiam et aequalitatem duas esse virtutes quae civilem societatem conservant, et sine quibus nulla civitas diuturnitatem aut pacem habere potest, nisi etiam quaedam attingamus, in quibus

⁹ The fundamental reason for this is that Aristotle tends to blur the distinction between good birth, wealth and virtue, while the humanist tradition insists that the springs of virtue are found in all classes; they believe in an “equality in the capacity for virtue,” or virtue egalitarianism, foreign to Aristotle; see Hankins 2019, 40–41, 296, 499–500.

¹⁰ See for example Cicero, *De amicitia* 19; Columella, *De re rustica* 12.1; but the phrase was proverbial.

saepenumero peccatur et ab his qui magistratum gerunt et ab aliis qui potentiores in republica videri volunt.¹¹

The republic will last just so long as it is ruled by the civil virtues and the best laws. There are no powers that can demolish a harmonious and well conducted city-state. Banish ambition, banish greed, banish pride, banish the plunderer of riches, banish luxury and other foul beasts, and your republic will be stable and enduring. Counsels like these remind us that we would like to teach a thing or two to those in charge of the republic, so that they might understand what is to be avoided and what things should be respected in order to prevent the constitution from corruption and revolution.

If we had to do only with men of learning and wisdom, I imagine it would be enough to say that virtue alone makes a republic flourish and vices alone weaken and destroy it. But since our business is with the multitude and our form of speech ought to be entirely popular, I think it would be worthwhile to set out in advance a few principles that can be grasped by the mental and spiritual capacities belonging to individuals of a “denser Minerva,” as the saying goes. It isn’t enough to have said that justice and equality are the two virtues that preserve civil society and that without them no city-state can endure in peace, unless we touch on certain common errors committed by magistrates and others who want to look powerful in a republic.

Patrizi’s advice about stabilizing republics and preventing revolution thus takes the form of a series of twelve counsels, each illustrated by multiple historical examples, designed to inform the prudence of republican leaders. Among Patrizi’s prescriptions we may list the following.

1. Magistrates should never engage in fraud or deceit, either in regard to foreigners or to their own people.
2. Never condemn many people at the same time in a summary fashion; to do so is a sure way of causing sedition.
3. Proscribing citizens, confiscating their goods and driving them into exile always creates *odium* and is dangerous to the regime.
4. One should instead give pardon and absolution for disloyalty to the regime where it can serve a public purpose. In the case of a general insurrection it is better to punish the leaders and grant a general amnesty to their followers.
5. Oligarchy, rule by the wealthy, is almost as much to be feared as tyranny. It is fueled by ambition and leads to factionalism. Factions have

¹¹ Patrizi 1518, f. XCIIIv.

to reward their supporters, and that leads to magistracies being conferred on unworthy men. Oligarchs, being few, must always live in fear of the many. To protect themselves from the wrath of the people, oligarchs try to take away the citizens' arms and buy the services of foreign mercenaries to protect themselves. Oligarchs reduce the people to penury and engross all wealth for themselves. This leads the people, in desperation, to call for a champion who can easily turn into a tyrant. This is one reason statesmen should favor the presence of the middle classes in government, to dilute the political power of oligarchs.

6. Never change old laws and excellent customs; if new laws need to be introduced to deal with new diseases of the body politic, they should be introduced gradually.

7. Magistrates should act to preserve equality and limit envy, and to this end should institute strict sumptuary laws. Frugality should be encouraged and luxury avoided. All citizens should be encouraged to work; unemployment is the seedbed of sedition.

8. Free political speech on matters touching government policies must be preserved, but calumny and slander should not be permitted.

9. Never permit political magistrates to profit in any way from their offices.

10. Never increase the power of magistrates too much. To do so creates envy – that ferocious beast – and invites tyranny.

11. If some person does manage to achieve more power in a republic than is fair or prudent, civic leaders should not try to take it away from him all at once, but do so gradually, until he is reduced again to equality with other citizens.

12. The political system in the best republic should be arranged so that individuals may not seek offices for themselves, and are blocked from doing so if they do seek them. *Ambitio*, in the primary Roman sense of canvassing for office, is thus prohibited. Ambition in its moral sense is equally bad; it is the fundamental cause of factionalism.

Patrizi's use of historical sources

To analyze in detail how Patrizi illustrates all the above points with examples from Greek and Roman history would take us well beyond the limits of a single essay. Here I will look more closely at just one of the points listed, i.e., number 6.

A principle that Patrizi often repeats throughout the *De republica*, and one that shows his fundamental conservatism, is that old laws and excellent customs should never be changed. If new laws need to be introduced to deal with previously unknown diseases of the body politic, they should be

introduced gradually. An excellent example of imprudent innovation was the attempt of the Gracchi at the end of the second century BC to introduce agrarian reforms to Rome. The discussion here is part of a larger argument that the state must take steps to equalize wealth if republics are to be kept stable. Here Patrizi's attitude is more Greek than Roman, in that he privileges political stability, a central goal of Greek political philosophy, over the inviolability of private property, a cardinal principle of Roman law.¹² He argues in Chapter 3 of Book 6 that if a new city-state is being founded, the most prudent course will be to distribute property holdings equally to each citizen, as Lycurgus was said to have done in Sparta. In established republics with long histories, however, to achieve that sort of equality would require redistribution of existing property holdings (and of course Patrizi, in that premodern age, is thinking primarily in terms of agricultural property). History shows, says Patrizi, that agrarian reforms of this type are imprudent and extremely dangerous to political stability.

He gives two examples of the folly of redistribution – taking property away from the rich and giving it to the poor. The second, a story about the terrible consequences of economic inequality in the city of Heraclea in Pontus, taken from the Roman imperial historian Justin, we will omit.¹³ The first describes the oligarchic violence set in train by the attempts of the Gracchi to reform Rome's agrarian laws at the end of the second century BC. The Romans for centuries, says Patrizi, had passed various agrarian laws intended to institute a fair division among the people of lands in Italy and elsewhere won by Roman arms and other territorial acquisitions. But the rich drove ordinary citizens out of their holdings by force and fraud, then used their market power to raise the price of grain, further impoverishing the plebs. The rich got richer and the poor poorer. The plebs responded to this crisis by not having children, which dried up native sources of agricultural labor, so the wealthy brought in slaves and foreigners to take their place.

Many of Rome's best men saw that this trend was ruining the republic, but they took no serious steps to reverse it until the time of Tiberius Gracchus. The elder Gracchus as tribune of the people passed a new agrarian law that redistributed land but was otherwise extremely mild and statesmanlike. It didn't punish the senators who opposed the law or demand restitution from those who had illegally occupied land. It even compensated them for their losses before turning the land over to those who needed it. Nevertheless, the rich were so offended that they fought back "quasi pro vr̄bis moenibus aut pro libertate patriae pugnarent" (as though defending the walls of the city or fighting for freedom). They arranged for Tiberius Gracchus to be cruelly murdered, then granted almost divine honors to his assassin. This terrified the people until Tiberius's brother Gaius was made plebeian tribune in his stead.

¹² Nelson 2004.

¹³ Patrizi's analysis is based on Justin 16.4–5.

He tried to carry on the work begun by Tiberius but was driven out of Rome by the faction of the wealthy. Fleeing to a sacred wood, he committed suicide rather than fall into their hands.

Thus even an apparently prudent attempt to reform agrarian laws ended in violent death for the reformers owing to oligarchic resistance. It is noteworthy that Patrizi follows here the sympathetic account of the Gracchi given by Plutarch and Appian rather than the bitterly hostile one found in Latin sources, above all in Cicero.¹⁴ As Eric Nelson has shown, the “Greek tradition” in early modern political thought, unlike the neo-Roman tradition followed by most scholastic jurists and many quattrocento humanists, did not regard the ownership of private property as sacrosanct, as a right derived from natural law via civil law. The ancient Greek authors Patrizi follows were far more receptive to state supervision of the private economy.¹⁵ Patrizi, to be sure, was enough of a “Roman” to think that private property should be respected on prudential grounds. He proposed nothing so radical as Thomas More’s utopian communism – for Nelson the first great representative of the early modern “Greek tradition.” Nevertheless, his study of Greek sources led Patrizi to share with philosophers like Aristotle (and Plato in the *Laws*) the view that the distribution of private property was a question of civil prudence, not of right (*ius*), and should be made subject to the ends of the whole political community.

Conclusion

Patrizi’s use of historical sources in this chapter illustrates most of the features of what I call his “historico-prudential method,” to be discussed in greater detail in my forthcoming book. In contrast with scholastic method, Patrizi’s approach aims to be persuasive rather than demonstrative. It does not provide a systematic list of correct teachings backed by syllogistic arguments in the manner of Giles of Rome, but a vision of a better society, together with wise counsels as to how such a society might be achieved. Though he often quotes poetry and cites the opinion of moral philosophers, his primary resource for finding and arguing for his political counsels is history. Unlike Machiavelli, however, Patrizi does not try to elicit laws of history. He explicitly rejects, as we have seen, the idea that constitutional changes fall into regular cyclical patterns. What history does for him and for his readers is to open a vast theater

¹⁴ Patrizi’s main sources here are Plutarch, *Lives of Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus* 8, and Appian, *Civil Wars*, Book 1. Patrizi certainly made use here of the translation of the Plutarchan life made around 1410 by Leonardo Bruni: see Pade 2007 I, 143–144 and vol. 2, 101–102. Pier Candido Decembrio translated Appian around 1452/54 for Pope Nicholas V. Patrizi also uses Sallust, *Jurguthine War* 42.1 and Book 2 of Livy’s history, but ignores Cicero’s bitterly hostile views of the Gracchi and their tribunate in *De legibus* 3.19–20 and *De officiis* 2.73, 78, 84.

¹⁵ Nelson 2004, especially 52–68 on the contrast between the Greek and Roman accounts of the Gracchan reforms.

of human actions, counsels, and measures that have been tried in past societies and whose outcomes, practical and moral, we can often judge, enriching our own political prudence. If, as Cicero wrote (*Orator* 34.120), to be ignorant of history is to remain forever a child, familiarity with history can give us a kind of supercharged wisdom, far beyond the ken of any one person, no matter how old and experienced. The proud excitement that bubbles beneath the surface of Patrizi's treatises is the conviction that he has placed at the service of his contemporaries, and for the first time since antiquity, a vast store of experience to which his knowledge of Greek has given him an access forbidden to earlier generations.

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FIREWORKS AND ALLEGORICAL FESTIVAL CULTURE IN SIXTEENTH- CENTURY ITALY



By Maria Fabricius Hansen

Fireworks became an important part of festival culture in the sixteenth century, both celebrations at court and festivals connected to religious holidays. This essay considers the forms and uses of fireworks as well as how audiences perceived them. What may today be seen as mere explosions of fire and light tended to be understood allegorically in sixteenth-century Europe. Fireworks contributed to a wider, complex production of meaning at festivals, typical of the visual culture of the period and grounded in reigning concepts of nature and its materials.

Celebrations of worthy individuals and memorable events have presumably existed throughout cultural history. Whereas the Church was responsible for the most significant holiday celebrations in the Middle Ages, the most striking forms of festival culture in sixteenth-century Europe were connected to the courts. These festivals consisted of a wide range of events that took place over the course of days or weeks, both in public spaces and in princely palaces. Festivals typically included a triumphal procession of carts featuring tableaux and fantastically dressed performers, which made its way through town. Such celebratory events could be occasioned by a visit from a foreign prince or by a politically significant wedding, in which the bride-to-be was strategically imported from another princely line. Temporary decorations such as triumphal arches adorned the streets, and the theatrical scenery on the carts themselves presented scenes from ancient myth, as reinterpreted by Petrarch and others from the late Middle Ages onward. Theatrical performances also took place, ideally interrupted by an intermezzo and enlivened by machines

capable of creating apparently magical or miraculous effects.¹ These could include moving clouds, typically lightweight wood constructions covered in painted canvas, around which gods and putti might swing. Or they could include scenery flats, which popped up from or disappeared into the stage floor. We are told of Cupid and other mythological figures flying through the air, of mountains rising up from below or vanishing into gorges, of the winged horse Pegasus, of mobile cloud formations.² Artificial lighting, torches, and smoke effects added to the atmosphere. Fire dancers bearing torches were particularly popular in intermezzi.³ These spectacles were accompanied by music and rich banquets overflowing with inventively shaped food, perfumed water, and garlands of flowers. The aim was to stimulate all the senses.⁴ In the sixteenth century, fireworks began to be included as yet another aspect of these multifaceted celebrations. Substantial quantities of time, precious materials, and the highest level of artistry came to be invested in fireworks, despite their ephemeral nature.⁵

This essay explores the story behind this innovative use of fireworks in festival culture. Taking our point of departure in the festivals of sixteenth-century Florence in particular, we attempt to understand the forms and meanings characterizing fireworks in this period. Just as the festivities as a whole were allegorized and laden with meaning, fireworks were something more than just dramatic explosions and pretty lights, in the manner we conceive of them today. Sixteenth-century fireworks were embedded within a particular understanding of materials and of the world itself. By studying this phenomenon, we can gain a better understanding of characteristics of visual culture in sixteenth-century Europe more generally.

¹ Minor & Mitchell 1968; Strong 1984, 133–144.

² Vasari 1996 2, 962–971.

³ Canova-Green 2004, 150; Minor & Mitchell 1968, 250.

⁴ Vasari 1996 2, 963.

⁵ Christensen 2017, 213–227, shows in his analysis of the Color Chamber (*Farvekammer*) in Copenhagen that, in the time of Christian IV, this royal supply depot provided materials for producing artillery, fireworks, and art – and that fireworks involved considerable labor and material expense. Although Denmark had an especially strong reputation for fabulous fireworks displays, it seems reasonable to assume that the production process and scale of investment in fireworks occurred in a similar manner elsewhere in Europe in the 1500s and 1600s. A review Primaticcio’s festival decorations and costumes at the courts of Francis I in Paris and Fontainebleau reveals striking parallels in the sense that large amounts of money and resources were spent on fireworks, Cordellier 2005, 122; for fireworks at the royal Danish court, see Wade 1996, 120–146.

The history of fireworks, in brief

Although fireworks did not become widespread in festival culture before the 1500s, developments were already underway in the late Middle Ages, from around the year 1300.⁶ Fireworks were just one of many technological breakthroughs of the period, many of which were linked with military technology. Gunpowder, the essential ingredient for creating celebratory explosions, was also used in new firearms and cannons. Gunpowder had been known in China since the ninth or tenth century and was there used for both fireworks and weapons. Chinese gunpowder technology presumably reached Europe through Arab traders in the 1200s. Europeans were quick to recognize gunpowder's potential: Various kinds of firearms using gunpowder were used for military purposes already in the second half of the thirteenth century. By the start of the 1500s, firearms were so widespread and technologically advanced as to prompt fundamental changes in the ways in which war was waged, not to mention in notions concerning what honorable, just, and brave combat actually entailed.⁷ In the good old days, when battles were fought between men, it had been quite simple: The strongest and bravest man won. Now, even a cowardly weakling could take down the doughtiest warrior from a great distance. Gunpowder technology also had implications for fortification architecture, which now needed to be designed around the offensive and defensive capabilities of the cannon.

The earliest surviving accounts of fireworks in Europe date from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁸ It became a tradition in Rome to hold a Girandola (e.g. the launching of fireworks from Castel Sant'Angelo) to celebrate important events, such as the inauguration of a new pope or the celebration of the feasts of Saints Peter and Paul in June. The oldest extant discussion of such a fireworks display dates from 1481.⁹ In Florence, fireworks came to be associated particularly with the feast of San Giovanni, the town's patron saint. The earliest documented account is from 1475, when a fire-breathing dragon – presumably crafted from papier-mâché painted in brilliant colors – was launched.¹⁰ The festival, which is the equivalent of Saint John's Eve, had since ancient times involved burning the effigy of a witch on

⁶ Sievernich 1987, 6–13; for an overview of the history of gunpowder and firearms, see Partington 1960.

⁷ Hale 1965, 113–144.

⁸ Sievernich 1987, 7–9; Béhar & Watanabe-O'Kelly 1999, 647–655; Werrett 2010, 13–45.

⁹ Borgatti 1931, 187; in his *De la pirotechnia* (1540), Vanoccio Biringuccio makes a detailed description of these kinds of fireworks at Castel Sant'Angelo, presumably in the 1530s, Biringuccio 1966, 442–443.

¹⁰ Sievernich 1987, 9.

a bonfire.¹¹ The launching of fireworks can more generally be understood as an expansion of the use of fire at festivals in the form of bonfires, torches, and various kinds of candles.

Among the numerous handbooks published in the 1500s, in the wake of the spread of book and woodcut printing, the earliest to focus exclusively on the processing of minerals, smelting and casting of metals, and other techniques related to artillery production was *De la pirotechnia* by the Siense metallurgist Vannoccio Biringuccio. The book was first published in Venice in 1540, a year after Biringuccio's death. The central element in the book is fire, which was of course necessary for producing firearms, including canons, bombs, and rifles. The book contains a chapter on fireworks, in which Biringuccio covers an impressive range of bombs and rockets: squibs, fire tubes (essentially Roman candles), girandoles, crackers and rockets.¹² The instructions for preparing these fireworks largely replicate those from the chapters on weaponry.

The fact that Biringuccio's handbook was later republished multiple times bears witness to its popularity.¹³ Biringuccio was not, however, the only expert to offer advice on preparing fireworks. The popular *libri di secreti* (instruction manuals), which covered all manner of topics, could provide useful information for festival planners. One example is Giambattista della Porta's bestseller *Magia Naturalis*, which was first published in 1558 but ultimately republished and translated many times. An expanded edition from 1589 offers entries for everything from horticulture and animal husbandry, to cookery and cosmetics, to invisible writing and – in connection with chapters on stones and metals – artificial fire (*De igne artificiali*), a term for fireworks and artillery. Della Porta discusses various aspects of the element of fire and provides instructions for producing gunpowder, fireworks, and firearms. He describes the launching of "fire-balls" that release a stream of flames so that they resemble shooting stars, and he gives instructions for various kinds of flammable material, torches, and items that could be used in connection with festivities.¹⁴

¹¹ Gori 1926, 53–57.

¹² Biringuccio 1977, fol. 165 v: *soffioni, trombe di fuocho, trombe con palle, lumiere, fiamme, girandole, scioppi, and razzi*; English approximate equivalents in Biringuccio 1966, 441; note.

¹³ Smith 1966, xix–xxiii; Biringuccio's book was foundational for the most substantial publication on fireworks in the 1600s, namely Casimir Siemienowicz's *Artis magnaë artilleriæ pars prima*, published in Amsterdam in 1650 and subsequently translated into numerous languages, for instance English in 1729. This is an especially good source on fireworks at courts north of the Alps.

¹⁴ The chapter on fireworks is present in Giambattista della Porta's *Magia Naturalis*, from the 1589 edition and later, in Book 12, Chapters 1–13; see Porta 1658, 289–304, "fire-balls"

Fireworks in the 1500s

Relatively few remains of sixteenth-century festival equipment exist today, and this is, evidently, particularly true for fireworks. After all, in Biringuccio's words, these were fleeting as the kiss a man gives to his beloved.¹⁵ There are nevertheless written and illustrated descriptions that offer insight into the displays. Inasmuch as festive traditions were in many respects similar north and south of the Alps from the 1500s until the mid-1600s, one can cautiously consider material from Northern Europe to learn about Italian court culture. The courts possessed a fundamentally international and period-specific character, in part because their festivals were often linked to marriages between noble families from around Europe and in part because Italian artists were also active as designers of festival decorations and costumes at courts north of the Alps. Francis I's court at Fontainebleau, for example, hosted such artists as Rosso Fiorentino (1495–1540) and Francesco Primaticcio (1504–1570), while Maximilian II's and Rudolf II's courts in Vienna and Prague employed Giuseppe Arcimboldo (1527–1593) as master of festivals and costume design.¹⁶

Printed illustrations from the period grant us an impression of how fireworks were experienced, even if they have limited value as sources of precise, technical details. Woodcuts and engravings were typically produced or printed after the festivities were concluded and were designed primarily to exalt those who organized and sponsored the festival. Written sources were likewise often commissioned by the nobleman who was responsible for the festivities. There were also, however, numerous more independent descriptions written by festival guests such as ambassadors, who sent accounts home to the prince they represented. An important source is, for example, Giulio Alvarotti, ambassador of the Duke of Ferrara, Ercole II d'Este. In 1546, Alvarotti participated in Francis I's masquerades in Paris.¹⁷ Biringuccio gives accounts of large festivals with fireworks in Florence and Rome, stating, for instance, that the Girandola at Castel Sant'Angelo involved both fireworks launched from the fortress and illumination of the fortress itself by arrays of white paper lanterns containing candles. The fireworks were balls of fire (*palle di fuocho*) that shone bright as stars before exploding,

are discussed in Chapter 5, 293; according to Werrett 2015, 177, instructions in this period typically focus on how to create fireworks that imitated natural phenomena, such as stars, rain, and hail.

¹⁵ "ne [...] durassero tanto, che a un'amante un bacio della sua dama", Biringuccio 1977, 165v.

¹⁶ Cordellier 2005, 120–124; Beyer 2007, 243–247.

¹⁷ Cordellier 2005, 121; Croizat-Glazer 2013, 1214–1215; the ambassador of Ferrara's accounts are published in Occhipinti 2001.

followed by a round of rockets with long tails, which gave the illusion of extinguishing themselves before shooting out six to eight new rockets. These were supplemented by smaller fireworks. Then came the pope's coat of arms, crafted out of fire. A great, shining star was affixed to the angel statue's banner atop the fortress.¹⁸ The oldest surviving depiction of such a Girandola at Castel Sant'Angelo is possibly the Portuguese painter Francisco de Holanda's watercolor of the 1538 festival, prepared during his stay in Italy in 1538–1547 [Fig. 1]. The theme is also present in numerous prints [Fig. 2], and its abiding popularity is illustrated by German artist Franz Cleyn's 'A story of fireworks', which was included in a series of paintings commissioned by Christian IV to decorate the Knights' Hall at Copenhagen's Rosenborg Castle around 1619 [Fig. 3]. These visual accounts of Italian festival culture contributed to its dissemination to courts across Europe. It certainly served as a role model for important celebrations connected to the fireworks-loving Christian IV.¹⁹

Coming from Siena as he did, Biringuccio asserted that the tendency to use fireworks was especially strong in Siena and Florence, and he described in detail the construction of a girandola, which was a common piece of festival equipment already by the end of the fifteenth century at the Feast of San Giovanni in Florence [Fig. 4].²⁰ 'Girandola' was not just the name of the fireworks festival at Castel Sant'Angelo in Rome but was also a more general term for a kind of fireworks structure built up around a wooden frame, upon which fireworks were mounted in holders set up sequentially around a central axis. This allowed the girandola to rotate while the fireworks were being lit. In order to enhance the effects of the fireworks, the structure was placed on a pole or suspended by a strong rope. At Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, a mid-sixteenth century fresco depicting Feast of San Giovanni fireworks shows a girandola in the form of a tower-like structure, held aloft by a rope above the

¹⁸ "in aere fanno un fuoco chiaro che pare una stella, & nel ultimo si spezano [...] tirano molti razzi, [...] questi sonno tal modo ordinati che dipoi che sonno andati in alto con una longha coda, & che par che gli habbino finito schioppano e mandan fuore sei o otto razzetti per uno. Anchora vi fanno trombe & girandolini fiamme & luminiere, & sin l'armi del Papa di tale composition di fuochi, & su nella maggiore sommita del castello dove è l'Angelo attacchato a l'arboro del stendardo asattato una forma d'una grande stella che contiene molti razzi", Biringuccio 1977, fol. 166–166v.

¹⁹ The largest festival in Christian IV's reign is the well-documented Great Wedding (*Store Bilager*), the 1634 marriage of Christian IV's son, Prince Christian, to Magdalena Sibylla of Saxony [Fig. 8], see Wade 1996.

²⁰ Gori 1926, 195–196, describes a girandola from the festival in 1498, decorated with figures of giants and of a pig; Biringuccio 1966, 440–442; Vasari 1996 2, 250.

square in front of the city hall.²¹ Among the audience gathered on the square are men with rifles, which were used both for festive salvos and for launching fireworks [Fig. 5].²²

Another important source for both the period's festivals in general and fireworks in particular is Giorgio Vasari, especially the second, revised edition of his set of biographies of artists, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori*, from 1568. His biographies habitually discuss the selected artists' contributions to festival decorations, and he describes in detail the festival that he himself helped arrange to celebrate the arrival in Florence of Johanna, Arch Duchess of Austria, prior to her marriage to Francesco de' Medici in 1565.²³ In connection with the biography of the sculptor Niccolò Tribolo, Vasari describes in detail the construction of a girandola and emphasizes the importance of having gunpowder holders radiate upward and outward from the foot of the structure, so that they will burn in the planned order without all being lit simultaneously.²⁴ A single wick – impregnated with a mix of gunpowder, sulfur, and alcohol – was threaded throughout the entire structure, allowing the flames to gradually advance from section to section. A carefully constructed girandola could burn for hours. In an era without electric lights, the ability to illuminate the city's central square in the dark of a summer night was itself spectacular. Beyond the light effects themselves, sound was an important element of fireworks. Vasari described such bangs and explosions as “the most beautiful and joyous noises,” while fire-trumpets were affixed to the ornamentation, for example projecting from the mouths of masks.²⁵

According to Vasari, Cosimo I de' Medici appointed Tribolo to create a girandola for the Feast of San Giovanni, precisely because he was

²¹ Vasari 1996 2, 251, describes a girandola “suspended at a great height from the ground by a double rope that crossed the piazza high in the air”.

²² Both Biringuccio and Della Porta discuss the use of rifles to launch fireworks, Biringuccio 1966, 442–443; Della Porta 1658, 293.

²³ See e.g., the biographies of Bastiano “Aristotile” da San Gallo or Primaticcio in Vasari 1996 2, 431–432, 774. Vasari praises Primaticcio for his many talents as an artist, one who not only mastered architecture, painting, and stucco but also created the most inventive and beautiful parties and masquerades for his patrons, Francis I and then Henry II; Vasari discusses Buontalenti's masquerades in Vasari 1996 2, 882; Buontalenti's highly inventive scenography and sophisticated machines for use at Ferdinando de' Medici's marriage to Christine de Lorraine in 1589 are described in detail in Strong 1984, 133–144; Vasari's account of Francesco de' Medici's wedding is at the conclusion of the 1568 second edition of his book of artist biographies, Vasari 1996 2, 897–1019; the text has been published and translated in Pallen 1999.

²⁴ Vasari 1996 2, 250.

²⁵ Vasari 1996 2, 250.

exceptionally well-regarded for his artistic ingenuity (*ingegno*).²⁶ As it turned out, Tribolo packed the fireworks and wick too tightly, and the explosion was so powerful that everything fired off at once. Worse yet, the wooden structure itself and consequently the rope that was suspending the *girandola* caught fire as well. As Vasari describes it, the occasion was more terrifying than entertaining for audience members.²⁷

According to both Biringuccio and Vasari (who references Biringuccio directly), it was common for the *girandola* to be painted and decorated, making it an ornament in its own right. The decorations were created using flammable materials, such as a wooden frame stuffed with hay and covered with painted canvas or *papier-mâché*.²⁸ Vasari, who follows his rhetorical habit of praising Tribolo's *girandola* for being more beautifully wrought than anything that had ever come before, notes it was shaped like an octagonal Temple of Peace, decorated with images and ornaments and measuring 20 *braccia* (i.e. over 10 m). Atop the temple stood the figure of Peace in the process of setting fire to a pile of weapons that lay at her feet.²⁹ Other examples of themes that could be applied to a *girandola* were, according to Vasari, a ship, rocks, a city or an inferno – any theme was possible as long as it involved fire.³⁰ It could be Lot and his daughters, fleeing the burning town of Sodoma; Orpheus, returning from the underworld with Eurydice; or the monster Geryon, upon which Virgil rode through Hell in Dante's *Divine Comedy*.³¹

Wedding feasts frequently featured machines formed to resemble a fortress under attack – an excellent excuse for using canons and bombs in the festivities. This was 'The Fortress of Virtue', which was regarded as an appropriate allegory for such an occasion, just as Venus, Psyche, Cupid, and similar mythological figures were common inclusions in festive processions.³² It was likewise popular to devise stories that provided a reason for including fire-breathing dragons in the scenography, such as Apollo defeating the dragon snake Python or Perseus freeing Andromeda from the voracious sea monster.³³ Accounts of French wedding festivities in the first

²⁶ Vasari 1996 2, 251.

²⁷ Vasari 1996 2, 251.

²⁸ Biringuccio 1966, 441; Canova-Green 2004, 149.

²⁹ Vasari 1996 2, 251.

³⁰ Vasari 1996 2, 250–251.

³¹ Vasari 1996 2, 250–251.

³² Vasari 1996 2, 962–971; Starn & Partridge 1992, 178.

³³ On the dragon theme, see Werrett 2010, 49–51 og Werrett 2015, 187–188; for the use of the Perseus and Andromeda theme at a French royal party in 1628, see Canova-Green 2004, 147–148; Apollo's slaying of Python was a theme in Bernardo Buontalenti's *intermezzo* designs (1589) and has been reproduced in engravings, Strong 1984, fig. 90.

half of the 1600s report the use of rockets. When fired, these rockets created the symbol of the French royal family, the fleur-de-lis, and the buds of the flower subsequently opened to create star shapes and monograms, such as for the names of the king and the town.³⁴ In his 1650 book on fireworks and artillery, Polish fireworks expert Casimir Siemienowicz describes how such text could be written with fireworks: A rocket would be constructed to contain a rolled-up frame, to which was affixed letters written in iron thread and wrapped in material soaked in flammable liquid.³⁵ The Danish Royal Library holds two manuscripts, dating back to the time of Frederik II, containing various illustrations by Rudolf von Deventer: *Bericht vom Pulver und Feuerwerken* (dedicated to the king) and *Kunstabuch von allerhandt Kunsten der Argkaley* (1585). These give an impression of how such fireworks might have looked.³⁶ The manuscripts include colored drawings of firework holders shaped like dragons and other monstrous creatures, with rockets shooting out in all directions [Fig. 6]. One page shows a structure surrounding a vertical rod, resembling Biringuccio's description of a girandola that rotated as the fireworks were lit. Both von Deventer's illustrations and the roughly contemporaneous *Artilleriebuch*, written by Walther Litzelman in 1582 and held at the Bavarian State Library in Munich, depict carts bearing rockets and fortress constructions [Fig. 7]. These illustrations are reminiscent of the accounts of fireworks displays that mimic military battles.

Allegorical tendencies

Biringuccio's *De la pirotechnia* is a rather straightforward, practically oriented handbook that takes little interest in magical connections between the worlds of humans and nature. Biringuccio nevertheless ultimately remarks that fireworks are so effective that one might imagine they were the flames of Hell itself:

Thus, in short, when all the fire is lit and the guns go off, and the rockets, fire tubes, squibs, and balls go hither and thither nothing can be seen

³⁴ Canova-Green 2004, 149.

³⁵ Canova-Green 2004, 149; Siemienowicz 1729 (1650), 351.

³⁶ One of Rudolf von Deventer's manuscripts is dedicated to Frederik II (1559–1588), and the other is dated 1585: *Bericht vom Pulver und Feuerwerken* [dedicated to Frederik II], The Royal Library, Copenhagen, NKS 101 folio; *Rudolffs von Deventer, K. M. Argkaley-meister, Kunstabuch von allerhandt Kunsten der Argkaley: Geschutz und Feuerwerk zu Wasser und zu Lande. Subjicitur ad calcem: Bericht von Pulver zu machen* [1585], The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Thott 273 folio.

but smoke and fire, and verily it seems then to be the fire imagined in hell.³⁷

The degree to which sixteenth-century observers experienced fireworks as something more than just aesthetically beautiful displays of light and explosions is striking. The mounting of fireworks on buildings or other flammable structures that were either laden with meaning or formed a platform for a series of mythological or emblematic figures made them straightforwardly allegorical. People understood fireworks in a thoroughly imagistic way. Allegorization was made possible by the audience's willingness to interpret layers of meaning in more or less everything they encountered in their lives. It was hardly a stretch to perceive the lights and sounds produced by fireworks as all manner of violent phenomena that involved fire and explosions: everything from the terrors of Hell to thunder and lightning to war and to cosmic phenomena such as meteors and shooting stars. In 1597, the engraver Giovanni Ambroglio Brambilla's etching of the Girandola at Castel Sant'Angelo was accompanied by the following description:

It seems as if the whole city is on fire [...] as if the sky has opened [...] it seems as if all the air in the world is filled with fireworks, and all the stars in the heavens are falling to earth – a thing truly stupendous and marvelous to behold [Fig. 2].³⁸

This quote shows how contemporary observers associated fireworks with the apocalyptic account of the return of Christ.³⁹ According to the Gospel of Matthew 24:29:

Immediately after the tribulation of those days shall the sun be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken.

This was a powerful image with which to welcome the inauguration of a new pope. Other written accounts confirm that fireworks were so effective that

³⁷ Biringuccio 1966, 443; Biringuccio 1977, fol. 166v: "Tal che concludendo el fuoco tutto s'incende, che quando l'artiglierie tirano, & dipoi e razzi, le trombe, li soffioni, le palle, & andare questa in qua & quella in la, l'altro non si vede si non fumo & fuoco, pare proprio allhora quel fuoco che si figura l'inferno"

³⁸ "[...] pare che tutta la città vadi a fuoco [...] pare sia aperto il cielo [...] pare che tutto l'aere del mondo ne sia pieno, et pare che tutte le stelle del cielo cadeno a terra, cosa veramente stupendissima, et molto meraveglia da vedere."; English translation in Werrett 2008, 32.

³⁹ Werrett 2008, 32.

ordinary audience members, who had perhaps never seen anything like them before, fled in terror, believing the end of the world was at hand.⁴⁰

An engraving by Crispin de Pas of the fireworks on the occasion of the so-called Great Wedding (Store Bilager), the 1634 marriage of Christian IV's son, Prince Christian, to Magdalena Sibylla of Saxony, published in the 1635 book *Triumphus nuptialis danicus*, offers an idea of how such an event might have been experienced: The dark of night is illuminated by countless torches and rockets, and in the lower left of the image is seen a pair of monstrous jaws – the entrance to Hell, capable of swallowing up the damned [Fig. 8].

The fact that the fire was burning lent itself to allegorical understandings. The Jesuit Claude-François Ménéstrier (1631–1705), an important source for information on seventeenth-century French court festivals, asserted that feelings of happiness were closely connected with the element of fire inasmuch as “joy sets light to it [fire] amidst the shadows of the night,” and if one cannot find happiness by looking at something, then at least fire can catch one's eye.⁴¹ According to ancient myth, Prometheus had stolen fire from the gods: The element was laden with positive meaning and valued as a precondition for technological progress and life as a whole.⁴² The flames and explosions caused by fireworks thus did not simply represent punishment and destruction; they also – and perhaps most frequently – suggested a process of purging or purification in preparation for a new and better future. Fireworks functioned as a representation of the military and cosmic power of the prince.⁴³

Festive displays, with all their allegories and ambiguities, belonged to a visual system that was characteristic of the sixteenth century and was more closely related to the worldviews of the medieval and renaissance periods than that of the antiquity. Festive processions were called ‘triumphs’ after the ancient Roman custom, and costumes were described as all'antica and took thematic inspiration from ancient myth, yet the allegorical understandings of these themes were rooted in early Christian and medieval worldviews, rather than ancient ones. The festive processions had themselves developed out of

⁴⁰ Canova-Green 2004, 150–152, Werrett 2015, 183.

⁴¹ “Elle [la joie] est neantmoins plus heureuse à se server du Feu que du reste des Elemens; et c'est la cause pourquoy elle a coustume de l'employer dans toutes les Festes publiques. Elle l'allume au milieu des tenebres de la nuit pour en rendre l'éclat plus sensible. Les yeux qui ne sont divertis par aucun autre objet que celui-cy, s'y arrestent sans peine; et les diverses formes des Artifices qui le composent, font une agreable confusion de lumieres diversement distribuées, qui ne plaisent pas moins qu'elles éblouissent.”, Ménéstrier 1660, 5–6, cited in Canova-Green 2004, 145.

⁴² For the importance of the myth of Prometheus in sixteenth-century thought, see Bredekamp 1993, 26–33.

⁴³ Canova-Green 2004, 145, 148; Werrett 2010, 16.

the sacre rappresentazioni of medieval religious festivals.⁴⁴ The festivals were complex, cryptic presentations: The towns, rivers, and places under the prince's rule; various scales of time (days, seasons, stages of human life); virtues; astrological themes; the four elements (fire, earth, water, air); and much else were interwoven into the displays, with chains of internal references leading to the creation of new meanings. Crypticism was valued in its own right: Festival displays were laudable if one could not quite grasp them in their entirety. This was in line with the sixteenth-century fascination with the biblical prescription against casting pearls before swine as well as notions that the gaze of the ignorant must not be permitted to profane the deepest of truths.⁴⁵ Truth should instead be concealed within hieroglyphic incomprehensibilities, paradoxes, and grotesques.⁴⁶ At the same time, however, learned guests should get the impression that the presentation, taken as a whole, was both meaningful and well thought out. Festival organizers faced the balancing act of challenging learned nobles with iconographic details and creating a spectacle that was at least partly comprehensible to the wider audience. The limits to the audience's understanding can be gleaned from an account given by Alvarotti, ambassador of Ferrara, concerning a 1546 wedding feast at the royal French court in Paris. Although Alvarotti provides a highly detailed description of a costume designed by Primaticcio and worn by Francis I himself, he is clearly unaware that the costume was meant to represent a sphinx [Fig. 9]:

What this costume should be called, I leave for your Excellency to determine (some called it a faun, others a satyr).⁴⁷

As a result, princes sometimes published programs in connection with festivals so that the audience could understand what it was all about and so that the event could be documented for a wider range of interested individuals.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Sez nec 1972, 84–121, Greene 1987, 636–659, Pallen 1999, 36–37, 45.

⁴⁵ Matthew 7: 6; Erasmus treats this theme in his *adagia*, see “Sileni of Alcibiades” (1515), Phillips 1964, 269–296.

⁴⁶ In Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, 1499 text and images (woodcuts) involve both allegorical triumphal processions and rebus-like “hieroglyphs” inspired by the then-popular text on hieroglyphs attributed to Horapollo; Hansen 2018, 207–214; Minor & Mitchell 1968, 40–43.

⁴⁷ “Qual sia mo il proprio nome di questo abito, me ne rimetto a Vostra Eccellenzia, [chi lo batezzò un faun, chi un satiro].”, Occhidipinti, 2001, 125; English translation in Croizat-Glazer 2013, 1214–1215.

⁴⁸ Sec nec, 283–285; Canova-Green 2004, 148; Cordellier 2005, 131–132.

Fireworks were thus just one of the many allegorical elements that – alongside processions, costumes, scenery, and machines – characterized this flourishing of masquerade culture.

Rustici's theme parties

If metamorphoses such as those described by Ovid, Apuleius, and others were deemed appropriate literary role models for sixteenth-century festival iconography, it is in large part because they fit with a contemporaneous tendency to embrace multiple meanings, ambiguity, and fluctuation in the creation of images.⁴⁹ The delight taken in transformation is much in evidence in Vasari's biography of the sculptor Giovanni Francesco Rustici (1475–1554). This remarkable account also contributes to our understanding of how fireworks became a vital element in the allegorically grounded festival culture of the period. Vasari relates that, at the start of the 1500s in Florence, there were various confraternities or fellowships of men who enjoyed holding theme parties.⁵⁰ Rustici was a member of the Mason's Trowel (*Compania della Cazzuola*) and the Company of the Cauldron (*Compania del Paiuolo*). Among the other members Vasari names were artists and craftsmen, including the renowned painter Andrea del Sarto, who also worked as festival decorator for the Medicis. We know, for example, from Vasari that Andrea del Sarto and his two artist colleagues Pontormo and Rosso Fiorentino prepared the equipment used for Pope Leo X's arrival in Florence in 1515.⁵¹

Participants at the Mason's Trowel and Company of the Cauldron parties came dressed up and sometimes also brought along food that was, so to speak, in disguise. On one occasion, Andrea del Sarto brought an elaborate model of the Florence Baptistery, constructed solely out of edible materials, with columns of sausages and a choir of delectably prepared little birds, which were arranged so that they appeared to be singing from a book of lasagne, with notes in peppercorn and a choir stall of cold veal.⁵² At a Company of the Cauldron party, the host decorated the dining room as an enormous cauldron, within which guests could sit and simmer.⁵³ This experience presumably prompted dinner guests to feel as if they were participants in Fra Angelico's

⁴⁹ Vasari 1996 2, 247, in the biography of Tribolo, Vasari notes in passing a series of fantastic masquerades, "in that of the bears, in a race of buffaloes, in the masquerade of the ravens, and in others," so that one can imagine the creative animal costumes to which such party themes might have given rise; Vasari 1996 2, 962, states that the wedding party's *intermezzi* are based on Apuleius' *The Golden Ass*.

⁵⁰ Vasari 1996 2, 523–530.

⁵¹ Vasari 1996 1, 834–835.

⁵² Vasari 1996 2, 524.

⁵³ Vasari 1996 2, 523.

Last Judgement, with its visions of Hell, including a cauldron brimming with the damned [Fig. 10]. The theme of a party of the Mason's Trowel was more explicitly the underworld, with Pluto celebrating his marriage to Proserpina.⁵⁴ The monstrous dog Cerberus howled as guests were permitted entry through the jaws of Hell, the sharp teeth of which snapped shut behind each pair of attendees. Servants dressed as devils used tridents to shovel servings of disgusting animals – serpents, lizards, tarantulas, toads, frogs, scorpions, bats – to seated guests. This scene is likewise comparable with a motif in Fra Angelico's Last Judgement, in which the damned are tormented by being served unappetizing animals [Fig. 10]. At the Company of the Cauldron party, however, these repugnant creatures turned out to in fact be carefully camouflaged meat dishes, while the "dead men's bones" served for dessert were crafted from sugar. Among the guests was Il Baia, who Vasari notes was a powder master, a bombardiere. This hellish dinner concluded with Pluto condemning Il Baia to Hell as punishment for his always choosing the Seven Deadly Sins and other Hell-related motifs as themes for his fireworks and girandolas.⁵⁵

Vasari's description of Rustici's unusual theme parties provides a vibrant image of the joy in concealment and masking of various kinds, which was so characteristic of the period. From the anecdote concerning Il Baia's own displays, it is once again clear that fireworks were understood allegorically. The presence of flames and explosions alone were sufficient for the audience to read all manner of violent themes and narratives into the spectacles.

Artificial fire

Alongside fireworks' potential to produce images, people valued their capacity for motion: the arcs, spirals, and zigzags that fireworks appeared to create of their own volition.⁵⁶ As Biringuccio put it:

It was inventive and beautiful to see [the fireworks] make so many effects out of flame as living things make out of themselves.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Vasari 1996 2, 527–529.

⁵⁵ Vasari 1996 2, 528 ff., 530, Vasari discusses yet another party organized by Rustici together with Giovanni Gaddi, Jacopo Sansovino, and Andrea del Sarto, in which Tantalus (who according to Roman myth challenged the gods at a dinner party) acted as host of the underworldly company. The group's participants were all dressed as gods, and fireworks were also involved.

⁵⁶ Werrett 2010, 30–32; Werrett 2015, 170.

⁵⁷ "[...] che veramente era ingenuosa & bella cosa vederla fare tanti effetti di fuocho come cose vive fare da per loro", Biringuccio 1977, fol. 166; English translation in Biringuccio 1966.

The experience of fireworks hinged on their appearing to be alive. Animation, agility, and activity were coveted in the visual culture of the period. This is evident in the prolific use of *figura serpentinata*, which produced the illusion of figures that transgressed their boundaries and entered the space of the observer.

The importance invested in allegory and movement is explained by the wider understanding of nature and materials during this period. Focus was placed on nature's generative potential as well as on the images that people believed were latent in nature and capable of being released or revealed by the artist. Ideas concerning the transformational potential of natural materials were grounded in the period's all-encompassing alchemical worldview.⁵⁸ For people in the sixteenth century, it was clear that one thing could become something else and that forms and materials could change and transform. This understanding of nature encouraged the tendency to see fireworks as producing meaningful images and movements.⁵⁹

When fireworks were called artificial fire, and when people perceived in them artificial versions of meteors and shooting stars, it corresponded to the concept of *terza natura* (third nature).⁶⁰ In the sixteenth century, the concept was used to refer to that which was created by humans on the basis of natural foundations, thereby uniting art and nature to become something else entirely. This was not about humans mastering and controlling nature, which gradually came to be the ideal of the seventeenth century. It was instead about people's ability to fulfil the potential of nature's materials. It was crucial that a person did not simply take on nature's materials but also adopted nature's methods. By these means, a person could create something hitherto unseen. This notion involved a strong belief in the power of imagination and creativity.

The pursuit of movement in sixteenth-century visual arts was thus about more than just achieving a certain kind of naturalistic style. Festive processions, theatrical presentations, and *intermezzi*, including the use of innovative machines, accompanied by fireworks' dramatic imitations of cosmic phenomena, were all means of bringing visual artists' thematic preoccupations to life. More than just colorful and innocent entertainment, the spectacles' reflections of natural movements confirmed ideas regarding the workings of the world and consolidated the prince's legitimacy within the

⁵⁸ Hansen 2018, 262–279; Newman 2004, 34–163.

⁵⁹ Hansen 2018, 219–279; Werrett 2015, 180–183.

⁶⁰ Werrett 2008, 32; Hansen 2018, 238; Morgan 2016, 9, 53–54.

greater cosmic order.⁶¹ Fireworks were a meaningful expression of the joint creative capacity of humans and nature.

Over the course of the mid-1600s and 1700s, fireworks gradually became more static; the use of complex machines for launching fireworks declined; and allegorical, figurative elements became less significant, at the same time as festival organizers came to appreciate the necessity of putting on shows that the audience could actually understand.⁶² This heralded a new era, one in which people sought enlightenment – including quite literal enlightenment, in the form of fireworks that produced as much light as possible – rather than cryptic, allegorical magic.

⁶¹ Canova-Green 2004, 145–153; Bredekamp 1993, 26–33.

⁶² Canova-Green 2004, 145, 148.

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Illustrations

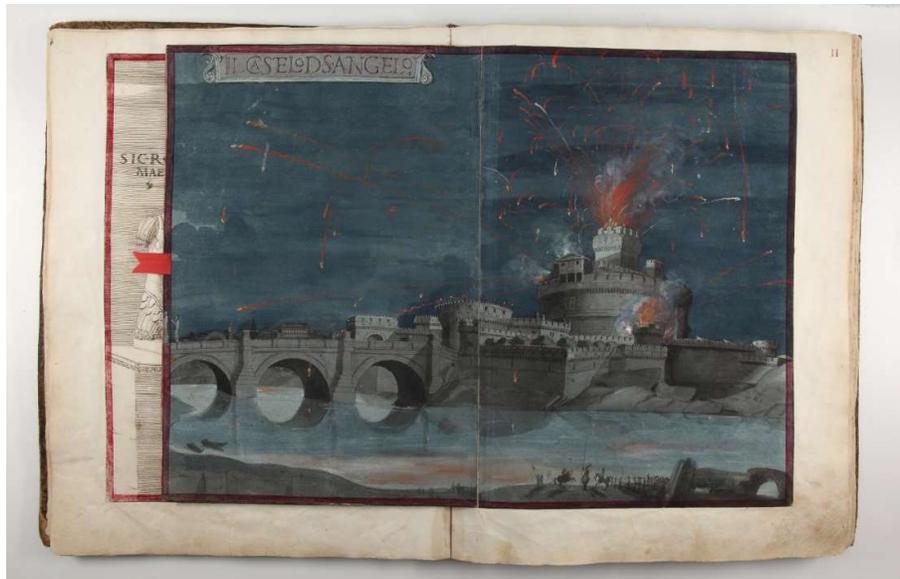


Fig. 1: Francisco de Holanda, the Girandola fireworks at Castel Sant' Angelo, Rome, on the occasion of the 1538 wedding between Pope Paul III's grandson (Ottavio Farnese) and Emperor Charles V's daughter (Margaret). Watercolors on paper. *Os desenhos das antigualhas*, fol. 10bis & fol. 11r. Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial, Biblioteca di San Lorenzo.
Photo credit: Patrimonio Nacional, RBME 28-I-20.

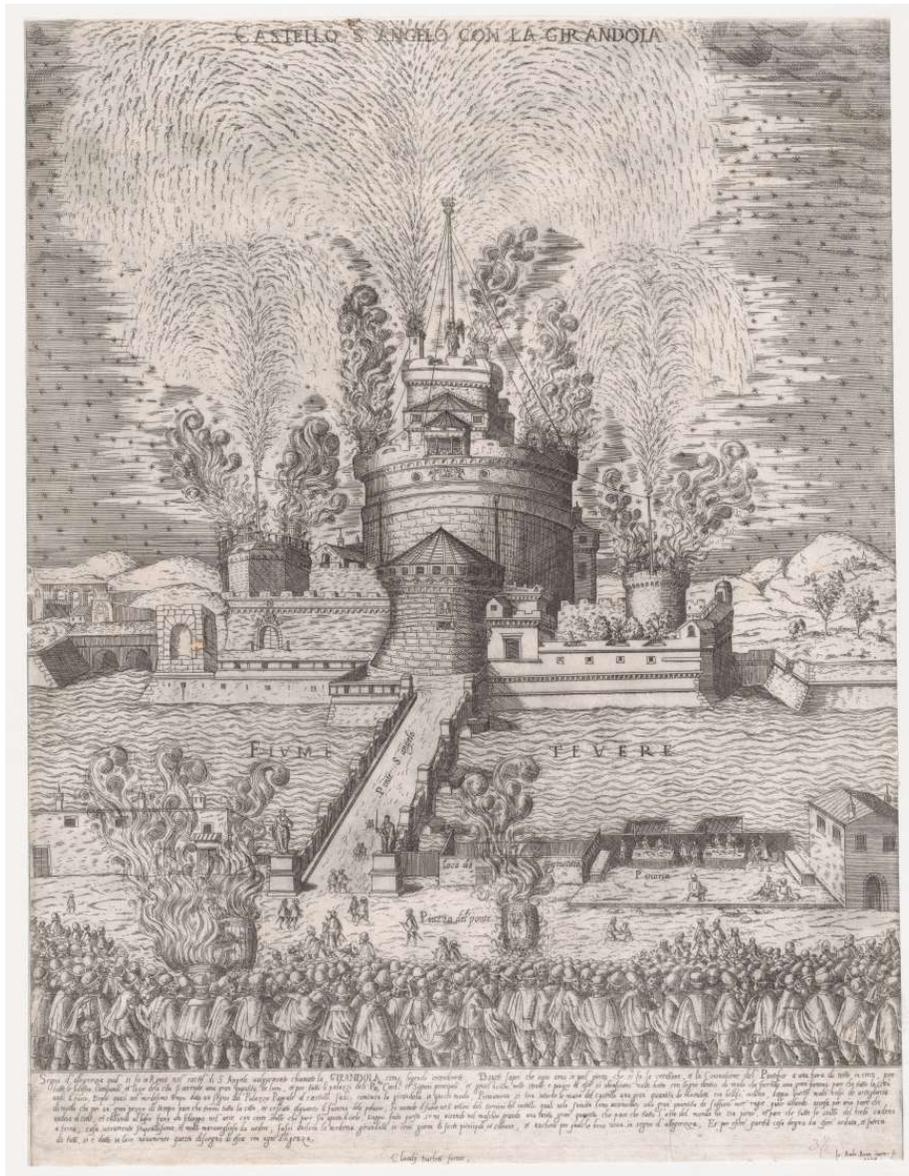


Fig. 2: Giovanni Ambroglio Brambilla, the Girandola fireworks at Castel Sant'Angelo, Rome. Etching from *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*, Rome, 1579.

Photo credit: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, public domain.



Fig. 3: Franz Cleyn, “A story of fireworks” (Girandola at Castel Sant’Angelo), painted for the Knights’ Hall, Rosenborg, Copenhagen, c. 1619. Kronborg Castle, Helsingør.

Photo credit: Det Nationalhistoriske Museum på Frederiksborg Slot, photo: Lennart Larsen.

LIBRO VLTIMO

longha coda, & che par che gli habbino finito schioppano & mandan fuore sei o otto razzetti per vno. Anchora vi fanno trombe & girandolini fiamme & luminiere, & fin l'armi del Papa di composition di fuochi, & su nella maggiore sommita del castello doue e l'Angelo attacchato a l'arboro del stendardo adattato vna forma d'una grande stella che contiene molti razzi. Talche concludendo el fuocho tutto s'incende, che quando l'artiglierie tirano, & dipoi e razzi, le trombe, li soffioni, le palle, & andare questa in qua & quella in la, altro non si vede si non fumo & fuocho, pare proprio allhora quel fuocho che si figura l'inferno. Et io per quanto mi pare dico di non hauere mai veduto in atto di felta cosa tale, & perche piu ne comprehendiate l'una cosa & l'altra v'andaro qui appresso disegnando.



DEL FVOCHO CHE CONSVMA ET NON IA
CENERE ET E POTENTE PIV CHE ALTRO
FVOCHO DEL QVALE NE E FABRO
EL GRAN FIGLIOL DI VENERE.
CAPITOLO VLTIMO.



HA VENDO VI io per tutti li liti della profunda & spatiofa marina de gli eserciti de fuochi materiali cō la mia piccola & debil barcha scrivedo traforso, tirato dal desiderio che ho oltrechel satisfare alle vostre domade di arricchirui di piu saperi & delle pratiche desfi. Et hora essendo p Dio gfa al disegnato termine del mio viaggio arriuato, & nō piu sapedo ne ancho vededo el modo di poter arriuare piu la, Me ero pposto da mainare le

Fig. 4: Two girandolas suspended by a rope. Woodcut in Vannoccio Biringuccio, *De la pirotechnia*, fol. 166v, Venice, 1540.



Fig. 5: Giovanni Stradano (Jan van der Straet) (Vasari's workshop), Girandola fireworks at the Feast of San Giovanni in Florence, 24 June 1558. Fresco at Quartiere di Leone X, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.
Photo credit: Fototeca Musei Civici Fiorentini.



Fig. 6: Rudolf von Deventer, two illustrations of fireworks from the manuscript *Kunstabuch von allerhandt Kunsten der Argkaley*, 1585, The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Thott 273 folio.



Fig. 7: Walther Litzelman, Festive procession cart, firing rockets and pulled by two demons, from the manuscript *Artilleriebuch*, 1582, Bavarian State Library, München, Cgm 909, fol. 34r.



Fig. 8: Fireworks display representing the battle between vice and virtue, on the occasion of the Great Wedding (*Store Bilager*), the 1634 marriage of Christian IV's son, Prince Christian, to Magdalena Sibylla of Saxony, in the outer courtyard of Copenhagen Castle. Engraving by the Dutch artist Crispin de Pas (II) in the book *Triumphus nuptialis danicus*, Copenhagen, 1635.



Fig. 9: Francesco Primaticcio, Sketch of the French King Francis I's sphinx costume for a masquerade held at Louvre Palace, Paris, 1546. Pen and ink, with wash, on paper, H. 0, 310, L: 0, 219. Stockholm, National Museum, item 872/1863.

Photo credit: National Museum, Stockholm, public domain.



Fig. 10: Fra Angelico, detail of alterpiece *The Last Judgement*, c. 1425-1430, Museo Nazionale di San Marco, Florence.
Photo credit: Wikimedia Commons.

POPE JULIUS II AND GAIUS JULIUS CAESAR:



The powerful, pliable past

By Trine Arlund Hass & Sine Grove Saxkjær*

This paper explores how the reputation and achievements of Gaius Julius Caesar were used to stage the della Rovere pope Julius II (1443–1513, pope from 1503). Assuming that the pontifical name to be more than merely an adequate translation of his given name, Giuliano, the paper first examines the role of Julius Caesar’s architectural plans in the building programme of Pope Julius II’s, next presents a reading of the eclogue “Damon” written by the Venetian humanist Andrea Navagero, suggesting that Navagero establishes Julius II as an emulated Caesar in his poem.¹

Although it is contested to what extent pope Julius II (papacy 1503–13) intentionally modelled himself after Gaius Julius Caesar, it is common knowledge that the model culture of his time was that of antiquity.² Renaissance patrons, princes, popes, generals, artists, architects etc. looked to persons and works of this period to find examples for themselves, their works, and deeds. In a context where the classical world was so in vogue, it is hard

* This text is written in the spirit of the excursions of The Danish Academy in Rome, where both authors had the pleasure of being affiliated postdocs during Marianne’s time as director.

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¹ Navagero would, in this case, not be the only one to explore this comparison. It is perhaps most famously explored as a means to criticize the pope in the dialogue *Julius exclusus*, attributed to Erasmus. Ferguson notes four instances of comparison with Caesar in the dialogue (lines 89, 423, 692, and 732) and further references its use in two of Erasmus’ letters (*Ep.* 205.38–39 and *Ep.* 262.2), as well as in “Epigramma Erasmi in Iulium II”, which Ferguson estimates was meant for Thomas Moore; Erasmus 1933, 36–37 and 68. For examples of flattering comparisons with Julius Caesar, see Stinger 1981 (Navagero’s “Damon” is not mentioned there).

² Notably Shaw underlines how suggested parallels between Julius II and Julius Caesar by others do not necessarily mean that Julius II himself intended any identification, and she makes the same claim for Alexander VI’s relationship to Alexander the Great (Shaw 2005, 43). On the other hand, Stinger simply calls Julius II “the ‘new Julius Caesar’” (and Leo X “the ‘new Augustus’”), Stinger 1998, xiv and similarly Temple 2011.

to imagine that Giuliano della Rovere chose the name Julius upon his election as pope without any intention to evoke allusions to his ancient namesake, especially considering the hostile relationship between him and Rodrigo Borgia, who as pope took the name Alexander VI (r. 1492–1503). Regardless of his personal considerations and reasons for choosing the name he did, it inspired comparisons between him and Caesar. In the following, we set out, in the spirit of the excursions of the Danish Academy in Rome, to bridge material and textual evidence in exploring parallels between Julius II and Julius Caesar.

Caesarean references in the Roman cityscape

We will begin our investigations of how the legacy of Gaius Julius Caesar was embedded into the public image of Pope Julius II by examining examples from Julius II's elaborate building programme. With this, the article follows a well-proven recipe borrowed from the Danish Academy's excursions, where Rome's architecture has often served as a steppingstone for further investigations of related textual evidence. What is more, the reference to Julius Caesar seems evident in the papal architecture under Julius II. Not unlike Julius Caesar himself,³ Julius II had far-reaching ambitions for Rome's urban layout. With Donato Bramante assigned as architect, Julius II initiated several widescale architectural projects, the most renowned being the Cortile del Belvedere, Palazzo dei Tribunali and the new St Peter's Basilica. In addition, several of these projects demonstrate how Bramante was a keen promoter of Julius II as a second Caesar.⁴

Taking the never completed Palazzo dei Tribunali as an example, its location on the west side of Via Giulia, approximately one third from its northern termination, makes a good starting point (see Figure 1).⁵ In fact, one of Bramante's lesser-known projects for Julius II was the creation of Via Giulia as one of two roughly parallel and rectilinear streets situated on opposite banks of the Tiber, Via Giulia and Via della Lungara. The street itself was likely based on an Imperial ideal. In general, there was very much interest during the Renaissance in the Roman triumph, its route and its canonical triumphator Julius Caesar.⁶ This interest is also reflected in contemporary art, one example being the work *The Triumphs of Caesar* (c. 1485–1505) by Andrea Mantegna. The series of nine paintings shows a single triumphal procession, culminating in the depicting of Julius Caesar on a

³ Liverani 2008.

⁴ Temple 2011, 2.

⁵ Temple 2006, 115, Fig. 7.2; Temple 2011, 94.

⁶ Gwynne (forthcoming) examines Julius II's use of the Roman triumph and portrayals of him as triumphator.

chariot passing in front of a triumphal arch.⁷ The lack of archaeological evidence, however, had hindered the identification of the ancient triumphal route, the reconstruction of which instead had to rely on written ancient accounts of various Roman triumphs. On this basis, Flavio Biondo had in his *De Roma Triumphante* from 1479 reconstructed the ancient Via Triumphalis from the Vatican to the Capitoline Hill, highlighting the principal buildings and monuments along its way.⁸ Reconstructions of ancient Roman topography dating from the time of Julius II furthermore suggest that Via Giulia was seen as a remodelling of the ancient Via Triumphalis,⁹ running parallel to part of its assumed course.¹⁰ It is likewise highly plausible that Via Giulia too was intended for ceremonial processions as it was the main north-south thoroughfare on the east bank of the Tiber. This potential ceremonial function is further indicated by the location of Palazzo dei Tribunali. The palace was commissioned by Julius II around 1506 and was the first real office building made since antiquity.¹¹ As one of Julius II's religious-political initiatives, Palazzo dei Tribunali was intended as a new place of lawgiving and justice, representing a unification of civic and canon law.¹² The project ended up being abandoned by Julius II after a few years, but it has been argued that had the project been realised, the planned square in front of Palazzo dei Tribunali would have become a new Forum Iulium.¹³ In fact, Arnaldo Bruschi suggests that the square was directly based on Imperial models such as Augustus' Forum,¹⁴ while Nicholas Temple draws a parallel between the square and its adjacent developments and Julius Caesar's Forum with his rebuilding of the Curia.¹⁵ What is more, one could argue that since Julius Caesar's Forum became a benchmark for the architectural display of imperial power and set the standard for the later Imperial Fora, this is two sides of the same coin. Either way, at the time when Palazzo dei Tribunali was commissioned, Julius Caesar's Forum lay deserted as part of a swamp area, colloquially known as *i Pantani*, which had developed since the eleventh century, when the medieval occupation of the site had been abandoned.¹⁶ The

⁷ See the site of the Royal Collection Trust, <https://www.rct.uk/collection/search#/52/collection/403966/the-triumphs-of-caesar-9-caesar-on-his-chariot>, 10 January 2022.

⁸ Temple 2011, 38–40.

⁹ Temple 2006, 113–114.

¹⁰ Temple 2011, 38, Fig. 2.3.

¹¹ Frommel 1986, 51.

¹² Temple 2011, 94.

¹³ Frommel 1986, 53.

¹⁴ Bruschi 1969, 600.

¹⁵ Temple 2006, 116.

¹⁶ Meneghini 2017; Jacobsen *et al.* 2021, 38.

urbanisation of the Caesar's Forum area was not initiated until 1548, when the Della Valle family, who owned land, obtained authorization to open new roads, leading to the establishment of the Quartiere Alessandrino.¹⁷ The architectural layout of Julius Caesar's Forum was likewise known from the written sources, which also report on its intended function. This is of special interest in relation to Palazzo dei Tribunali, as the Tabularium would otherwise seem to have been the strongest ancient influence for Bramante's palazzo in terms of function and symbolism.¹⁸ Still, if we look at e.g. Appian's description of Julius Caesar's Forum (App. *B Civ.* 2.102), its function within the sphere of justice is highlighted:

ἀνέστησε καὶ τῇ Γενετείρᾳ τὸν νεών, ὥσπερ εὐξάτο μέλλων ἐν Φαρσάλῳ μαχεῖσθαι: καὶ τέμενος τῷ νεῷ περιέθηκεν, ὃ Ῥωμαίοις ἔταξεν ἀγορὰν εἶναι, οὐ τῶν ὀνίων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πράξεσι συνιόντων ἐς ἀλλήλους, καθὰ καὶ Πέρσαις ἦν τις ἀγορὰ ζητοῦσιν ἢ μανθάνουσι τὰ δίκαια.

He [Julius Caesar] also erected the temple to Venus Genetrix, as he had vowed when about to do battle at Pharsalus, and laid out a precinct around the temple which he specified as a forum for the Roman people, not for buying and selling, but as a meeting place for the transaction of public business, like the Persians had a meeting place for those seeking justice, or wanting to find out about it.¹⁹

Accordingly, Julius Caesar's Forum had a dual religious-civic purpose as a place for worship as well as a place for lawsuits and public speeches, mirroring how Julius Caesar was both the religious and political leader of ancient Rome. This is not unlike Julius II, who was likewise Rome's secular and religious ruler,²⁰ adding further support to Palazzo dei Tribunali with its piazza being planned as a new Forum Iulium.

An even more direct reference to Julius Caesar is found within the Vatican itself, more specifically in the design of the new St Peter's Basilica and the Vatican obelisk. The red granite obelisk, known as St Peter's Needle, was the only obelisk in Rome to have remained standing since Antiquity and throughout the Middle Ages.²¹ Since the obelisk is without any hieroglyphic inscriptions, its dating and original use is unknown. In contrast, its life within a Roman context is documented by its two inscriptions. After Augustus' conquest of Egypt, the obelisk was set up by the prefect Cornelius Gallus in the Forum Iulium in Alexandria. This is recorded in the obelisk's first

¹⁷ Meneghini 2009, 237–238.

¹⁸ Temple 2011, 104.

¹⁹ Translated by McGing 2020.

²⁰ Temple 2006, 116.

²¹ Osborne 2003, 280; 2006, 100.

inscription, situated on its base. This inscription was created with bronze letters, and while the letters are long lost, it has been possible to make a reconstruction of the inscription based on the holes drilled to attach the letters.²² The obelisk's second inscription, still visible today, was created during the reign of Tiberius or, less likely, Caligula.²³ This dedication honours the deified Augustus, son of the deified Julius Caesar, and the emperor Tiberius, son of deified Augustus:²⁴ "DIVO CAESARI DIVI IVLII F AVGVSTO TI CAESARI DIVI AVGVSTI F AVGVSTO SACRVM". From Pliny the Elder (Plin. *Nat.* 16, 76), we know that Caligula had the obelisk transported to Rome in 37 AD, where it was set up on the *spina* of the circus he was building on Mons Vaticanus, later to be completed by Nero. From the time of Constantine the Great, a shrine or a church stood near the site, while the Old St Peter's Basilica was erected in the fourth century and the construction of the present St Peter's Basilica initiated by Pope Julius II in 1506. However, Caligula's original positioning of the obelisk remained unchanged until 1586; accordingly, it stood adjacent to the south flank of St Peter's Basilica. In 1586, the obelisk was moved by Pope Sixtus V to its present location in the centre of the St Peter's square (see Figure 2).²⁵

The name "St Peter's Needle" is known from medieval texts, probably emerging due to the obelisk's location close to St Peter's Basilica as well as the belief that St Peter had suffered his martyrdom in Nero's Circus.²⁶ The obelisk was, however, also imbued with a different memory. During the Middle Ages, it was widely believed to be the tomb of Julius Caesar. While a misinterpretation of the above-cited inscription – "DIVO CAESARI DIVI IVLII" – has been suggested as the reason behind this identification, its origin is unknown.²⁷ Among the earliest known sources to make this identification is a bull (*Convenit Apostolico Moderamini*) of Pope Leo IX, dating to 1053, in which the obelisk is used as a landmark and denoted as the "agulia quae vocatur Sepulcrum Iulii Cesaris" (the Needle which is called the tomb of Julius Caesar).²⁸ In the twelfth-century pilgrim's guidebook *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, the obelisk is described as "memoria Caesaris, id est agulia" (memorial of Caesar, which is to say the Needle).²⁹ The term *augulia* is believed to be a corruption of *acus Iulia*, i.e. "Julian needle". In *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, the bronze sphere situated on top of the obelisk is furthermore

²² Magi 1963, 50–56.

²³ Iversen 1965.

²⁴ *CIL* VI, 31191.

²⁵ Osborne 2006, 99.

²⁶ Osborne 2003, 282.

²⁷ Osborne 2006, 101.

²⁸ Osborne 2003, 282, n. 26; Anonymi 1752 22–27.

²⁹ Nichols 1889.

described as a *sarcophagus*.³⁰ A description is likewise found in *De mirabilibus urbis Romae*, written by Magister Gregorius in the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries, this time the obelisk being equated with a pyramid:

There are many pyramids in Rome, but of all of them the one which deserves the greatest admiration is the pyramid of Julius Caesar, made from a single porphyry block. It is indeed a marvel how a block of stone of such height could have been cut, or have been raised, or remain standing; for they say that its height is 250 feet. At the top there is a bronze sphere, in which Julius Caesar's ashes and bones are deposited.³¹

The idea that the bronze sphere contained the ashes of Julius Caesar remained intact until 1586, when the orb was taken down in connection with the relocation of the obelisk and proven not to contain any human remains.³² During the papacy of Julius II, however, the obelisk was still believed to be the final resting place of Julius Caesar. As mentioned above, Julius II initiated the construction of the present St Peter's Basilica with Bramante as architect, his design proposals remaining subject to scholarly debate.³³ Bramante's initial proposal is recorded in two accounts: Giles of Viterbo, a sixteenth-century Augustinian friar and humanist, and Onofrio Panvinio, a sixteenth-century commentator.³⁴ This proposal is of special interest in terms of Julius II being a second Caesar. According to Giles of Viterbo, Bramante suggested to Julius II that the new St Peter's Basilica should be rotated ninety degrees, i.e. on the north-south axis, so that its entrance would face the obelisk, which he referred to as "the monument of Julius Caesar".³⁵ An important feature of Bramante's design was the tomb of Julius II that should be placed within the choir of the basilica, thus entailing that the tomb would be on axis with altar, St Peter's tomb and the obelisk.³⁶ In Giles of Viterbo's account, Julius II rejected the proposal of reorienting the church as he forbade the movement of things "which ought not to be moved", while in Onofrio Panvinio's description he did not reject the proposal right away, but had a model of it made.³⁷ In the end, the new St Peter's Basilica maintained the orientation of the old, while the tomb of Julius II, begun by Michelangelo in 1505, was not

³⁰ Temple 2011, 180; Osborne 2006, 101.

³¹ Gregorius 1970; Osborne 1987, 34.

³² Pigafetta 1586.

³³ See e.g. Klodt 1992; Frommel 1994; Tronzo 2005.

³⁴ Temple 2006, 123.

³⁵ Osborne 2003, 283; Shaw 2005, 49; Giles of Viterbo, *Historia viginti saeculorum*, Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, lat. 502, fol. 194r.

³⁶ Frommel 1994, 401.

³⁷ Temple 2006, 123; Temple 2011, 185.

completed until 1545 on a much reduced scale and ended up being situated in the Basilica di San Pietro in Vincoli on the Esquiline Hill.

Caesarean subtexts in Navagero's eclogue "Damon"

Returning to the sustained interest in the Roman triumph, manifested e.g. in the Bramante's design of Via Giulia and Palazzo dei Tribunali, this may be reflected in contemporary literature as well. The Venetian humanist Andrea Navagero (1483–1529) composed the eclogue "Damon" in celebration of Julius II's triumph over the French, who left Italy during the summer of 1512. Regarding Julius II's possible imitation and use of Julius Caesar in his self-fashioning, Temple pays special attention to Julius II's triumph over the Gauls and considers if he is hinting at Caesar's Gallic triumph and Camillus, the first dictator to take up war against the Gauls and the first to perform a triumph:

This threefold relationship could be said to support an underlying theme that permeates the Festa di Agone procession of 1513, namely, *Italianità*. Understood as an early form of Italian consciousness, *Italianità* was propagated in the Renaissance by the desire to re-establish the Italian peninsula as a major political and religious focus centered on papal Rome.³⁸

In the following, it will be explored if the eclogue "Damon" can be understood to follow the same idea. The normative collection of Vergil's ten eclogues features poems understood (in the similarly canonical readings traceable to the commentaries of Donatus and Servius) as celebrations of Caesar (esp. eclogue 5) as well as Augustus (esp. eclogue 1). Navagero's "Damon" does not meticulously follow either of them throughout, but we must ask ourselves if the choice of the eclogue as form alone would not have ignited a spark of expectation in contemporary readers to encounter creative uses of these canonical poems and their well-known imagery, including parallelization of Julius II and Julius Caesar.

Alice Wilson has edited, commented, and translated Andrea Navagero's eclogue "Damon", poem number 20 in her edition of his work *Lusus*.³⁹ Wilson's commentary deals with the relationship of "Damon" to the genre on a general rather than textual level, but she does find that the "Damon" draws on Vergil's eclogues 6 (in vv. 33, 70) and 1 (in vv. 40–41). She furthermore mentions Vergil's eclogue 3 as model for including holiday games and Vergil's eclogue 8 as source of the name used as the title, "Damon". For our particular purpose, that is, searching specifically for parallels between Julius

³⁸ Temple 2006, 117.

³⁹ Navagero 1973.

II and Julius Caesar, we will be looking for similarities between Navagero's "Damon" and Vergil's eclogue 5. In the latter, according to tradition, the death of Julius Caesar, called Daphnis in the poem, is mourned by the shepherd Mopsus in the poem's first part and his apotheosis celebrated in the second by the shepherd Menalcas. But first an introduction to the poem and how Julius is introduced in it.

Navagero does not reveal straight away that this is a panegyric eclogue honouring Julius II. In an initial address of the Naucelidian nymphs, the object of song is anonymous (v. 3). Next follows a longer description of the gloomy, sorrowful, and fearful landscape of Northern Italy, suffering from the threat coming from the Alps (vv. 7–33). There is talk of the enemy making the area their plunder, of how flocks had been taken away and houses of the locals burned down. The grass stopped growing and even the rural deities were in hiding if they had not fled. In the end, the enemy had made sure there was nowhere anyone could escape to – even shepherds sleeping out on the rocks were chased away, causing some to attempt crossing waters although unaccustomed to the ocean. The pastoral *locus amoenus* is turned into a *locus terribilis*:

[...] et litore curvo
Pro viridi cytiso, pro molli graminis herba,
Et spinis paliuri, et acuta carice pastae
Potarunt salsas nitidis pro fontibus undas:
Et saepe irati timuerunt murmura ponti.

and on the curving beach, in place of green clover they fed on spiny thorn, and on sharp sedge instead of soft grass-shoots, and drank salt water instead of glistening springs, and feared the roar of the angry sea.⁴⁰

The hero stopping the enemy's plunder and raging is introduced while simultaneously describing a worst-case scenario of what would have happened, had he not come down from the Olympus:

Quod si non novus ex alto demissus olympo
Hanc cladem nostris deus avertisset ab oris:
Ausoniis esset nullus iam pastor in agris.
Nos miseri patria extorres, rerum omnium egeni
Ah dolor, externas longe erraremus ad urbes.
Hic nobis dulces saltus, hic pascua nota
Restituit: tutique inquit iam pascite tauros:

⁴⁰ Vv. 28–32. This and all subsequent translations of Navagero's "Damon" are by Wilson (Navagero 1973).

Iam solitas tuti collo suspendite avenas:
Et desueta diu responent carmina colles.

And if a new god, sent down from high Olympus, had not driven this scourge from our shores, there would not be a shepherd in Ausonian fields. Driven wretched from our land, destitute of everything – Ah, what sorrow! – we would be wandering far to foreign cities. He restored to us our sweet woodland pasture and our familiar meadows, and said, ‘Now graze your cattle in safety, now safely hang the accustomed pipe from your neck, and let the hills echo to a long unpractised song’.⁴¹

The excellent heaven-sent saviour shines brighter on the austere background. The passage clearly draws on Vergil’s first and most famous eclogue where Tityrus’ turmoil is ended by the god in the city, declaring that Tityrus should let his flock grass as before.⁴² Defining the saviour as *novus* suggests that like Navagero’s eclogue is one in a line of tradition, so is the saviour he celebrates. Finally, in the third address in v. 45, his name is spoken in an emphatic line thrice repeating the personal pronoun in the vocative, thus miming the worship of the land:

Magne pater: nostrisque diu cantabere silvis.
Te rupes, te saxa, cavae te maxime Iuli
Convalles, nemorumque frequens iterabit imago.

For this, all the shepherds will perform sacred rites for you, great father, as for Apollo and for Pan, on set days each year, and your praises will long be sung in our woods. The cliffs, the rocks, the hollow valleys, and the frequent echo of the groves will repeat your name, great Julius.⁴³

From here on, the eclogue effectively celebrates Julius, promising yearly pastoral celebrations with libations and singing competitions. The narrator furthermore promises that Damon – famous enough, apparently, to need no introduction except that he was trained by Sebetian Aegon – will sing tunes he has learned from the singer Aegon. The example mentioned is a song about Venus, which we shall return to below. In another exclamation addressing Julius – this time as *pater* – the narrator wishes his own skills were comparable to Damon’s but nonetheless promises to sing only of Julius. He hopes to do so in a manner that will be found worthy of Julius’ triumph (“*digna triumphis tuis*”), believing that the worthiness of the subject has the ability to make his song second to none, rising above even the songs of

⁴¹ Vv. 37–41.

⁴² Wilson notes that especially v. 39 alludes to Vergil’s first eclogue, Navagero 1973, 86.

⁴³ Vv. 44–46.

Daphnis. To conclude, the narrator begs Julius to lend an ear to the songs as well as to keep the peace established by him.

If we look at the tricolon introduction of Julius II in the poem, it begins rather anonymously in an initial address of the Naucelidian nymphs where the object of song and praise is presented merely as “quem canimus” (v. 3). Wilson’s translation reveals that she here senses a similarity to the suspended introduction of the protagonist of the *Aeneid* since her translation “...worthy of the man I sing” echoes Dryden’s translation of *Aeneid* 1.1 “Arms and the man I sing”. The second mentioning of Julius is the likewise adjectival “novus ex alto demissus olympo” (v. 33) mentioned above. Besides capturing how Julius as Vicar of Christ is Christ’s emissary on earth, it is noteworthy how his “journey” is contrary to Caesar’s: while Caesar was raised to the stars, Julius has been put on earth by those in the Heavens. Finally, in the third colon, he is addressed directly, first as *magne pater* (v. 44), and since (v. 45) with an adjectival qualification: *maxime Iule*, which of course means ‘greatest Julius’, but given that the name is an adjective denouncing members of the *gens Julia* may be taken to imply also that he is the greatest of the Julians. Consequently, in the presentation of Julius in the poem, we may see a reference to Aeneas, founding father of the Roman and pre-founder of Rome, an emulative play on the deified Julius Caesar, in that this new Julian has been placed on Earth by the Heavens while the old Julian was given a place there upon his death. Lastly, in the culminating address, we have the confirmation that he is the greatest of Julians – that he embodies their finest deeds and adds further glory to the name. The narrator’s celebration of him echoes Vergil’s eclogue 1, as pointed out by Wilson. The “new god, sent down from high Olympus” must have reminded the readers of the god in the city of Vergil’s eclogue 1, who secured peace and restored to Tityrus his lands.⁴⁴ In fact, the entire dichotomy of the horrors caused by war and plunder set against the new peace established by the divine hero celebrated follows the logic of Vergil’s poem can be seen to reflect Vergil’s first eclogue. However, Navagero’s organization of his poem in a first part dwelling on the gloomy aspects and a second, which is positive and celebratory, also resembles the structure of Vergil’s eclogue five. Vergil’s poem falls in two parts comprising Menalcas’ and Mopsus’ songs respectively. Of these Menalcas mourns Daphnis’ passing – and describes how the entire landscape does too – while Mopsus celebrates his ascension to heaven, and the mood thus changes from sad in Menalcas’ to quite joyful in Mopsus.’

Besides from the change in mood, “Damon” is structured by the use of direct address. So far, we have treated the initial evoking of the nymphs and

⁴⁴ Navagero vv. 34–40; Navagero 1973, 86.

the evocations of Julius II. In the passage describing ways in which he will celebrate Julius, the narrator promises songs by Damon, gives an example, and finally addresses Damon, expressing admiration and respect for his skills and education. Like in Vergil's eclogue 6, Navagero's Damon has learned from an even greater master, Aegon.⁴⁵ In contrast, the narrator takes a humble approach to his own abilities, as mentioned earlier, yet has faith that the chosen topic will make his songs eminent. The address and the passage including Damon's song thus becomes an indirect contest between Damon and the anonymous narrator – or Navagero and Castiglione, whom Damon is found to represent.

The topic of Damon's song (vv. 72–84) is Venus' (*dea* – a goddess) love of Adonis (*Assyrius pastor* – an Assyrian shepherd) and how she preferred him to everyone else. It contains a repeated address of Adonis using the phrase *fortunate puer* (fortunate youth, vv. 75, 81), borrowed from Vergil's eclogue 5.49. In Vergil's poem, the boy referred to is Mopsus, the singer who sings of Daphnis' apotheosis. There, the exclamation expresses Menalchas' recognition of Mopsus' skill and song, thus confirming his abilities as a singer. In Navagero's poem, the young Adonis is declared to fortunate since Venus shears and milks his sheep with him and scorns everyone else, even Mars who "wastes away with useless love of the goddess".⁴⁶ Venus' only care is for young Adonis, and she stays with him in his humble environment.

As in the case of the staging of Julius, the narrative of Adonis and Venus has a Christian and a classical layer. Adonis, the god who died, has been used as an allegory of Christ, just like Venus of the Virgin Mary.⁴⁷ In the classical context, it is noteworthy that we encounter here the mythical ancestress of the Julians celebrated by Julius Caesar, perhaps most notably by vowing a temple to her on the Forum Iulium. Mars too is a Julian ancestor, and the idleness of the god of war is, of course, appropriate to the theme of "Damon". If we are to interpret the song of Damon in relation to a staging of Julius II as a second, amended Caesar, it could be seen as a way of showing Julius' devotion to keeping the peace: the divine ancestress is doting her affection on the shepherd rather than the war god, meaning that war skills are at hand, but employed only when needed, not cultivated per se. Stress is on cultivation the

⁴⁵ Grant 1965, 332–333 suggests that Damon is the mask of Baldassare Castiglione and that Aegon (v. 70), said to have trained Damon in the art of singing and whom Damon has often listened to, is the mask of Giovanni Pontano, Navagero 1973, 87.

⁴⁶ V. 80: "At Mars ipse deae cura tabescit inani".

⁴⁷ Caruso 2017 examines the role of Adonis in bucolic poetry, including Navagero's "Damon", suggesting an interpretation drawing on Ovid's treatment of Adonis and Venus in *Met.* 10.532–357 (section 13–15 in the open online edition).

virtues of Christ, the ideal shepherd who rules and works in a paradisiac landscape of peace and harmony.

The narrator's address to Damon, clearly the mastersinger of this local environment, leads to the conclusion of the poem summarized above, which includes the aforementioned reflection on his own skills. By feeling confident to rival Daphnis when singing of Julius, the narrator introduces Vergil's Daphnis in another capacity than the one we have treated until now: in eclogue 5, Daphnis is the deceased mastersinger interpreted by tradition as a mask of Julius Caesar, but Daphnis is also *the* mastersinger of the bucolic universe in general, in Vergil's (cf. also eclogues 7 and 8) as well as Theocritus' works (esp. idyll 1). It is the narrator, Navagero, who competes with Daphnis in the poem; we might have expected Daphnis to represent Julius, but we have been told already long ago that he is Julius maximus. Thus, elegantly, this Julian is not Daphnis but works in the same way as a modern muse, enabling his worshipper to become larger than the classical mastersinger by singing his praise.

The title of the collection of poems, to which "Damon" pertains, is *Lusus*, and Navagero's way of relating to the classical namesake of his protagonist is just that, playful. Rather than presenting a straightforward casting of Julius II as a new, Christian Caesar, he is presented as the greatest Julius or Julian, and we are presented with various elements in the mythological staging used by the Julians – Caesar and Augustus – not pinpointed directly to Julius II's narrative but definitely relatable, while also given a Christian dimension. Julius II is inscribed in the Julian narrative, or is the Julian narrative inscribed in that of Julius?

Concluding remarks

It is well known that Dante, in the *Commedia divina*, placed Caesar's murderers alongside Judas Iscariot, who betrayed Jesus Christ – literally showing them off as the worst human beings ever. Dante thereby also confirms the premise on which this paper builds, that the vicar of Christ, by overtaking the seat and position of the Roman emperors, is intrinsically linked to them – even after the donation of Constantine had been proved to be a forgery. In the case of Julius II, we see that not only Caesar's military skills are a welcome association. The triumphant way, used as it was by Caesar as well as so many others, to make manifest their accomplishments, strength, and splendour, may have appeared to Julius II as a useful backdrop for religious processions, giving them an extra dimension. Likewise, it seems he did not lose sight of Caesar's role as a reformer. The grand plan of how his own funerary monument would be fitted into an architectural narrative about succession, including the funerary monuments of Julius Caesar as well as St

Peter clearly indicate his eye for both how the past was useful as a means to construct his own image and how he would maintain it in his afterlife. Navagero's playful emulation of Vergil's allegorical handling of Caesar's death as well as his celebration of Augustus is tuned in to comply with and confirm this narrative. This Julian has not been raised to the heavens (yet) but placed on earth to do the work of the heavenly father. The ancient Julian narratives used in the consolidation of Caesar's position are flexible enough for them to become part of the consolidation of Julius II as a religious bringer of peace, albeit with military means, just like his ancient namesake. To Julius and those furthering his image – from Navagero, Michelangelo and Bramante – the past was a useful and powerful yet pliable example.

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Illustrations

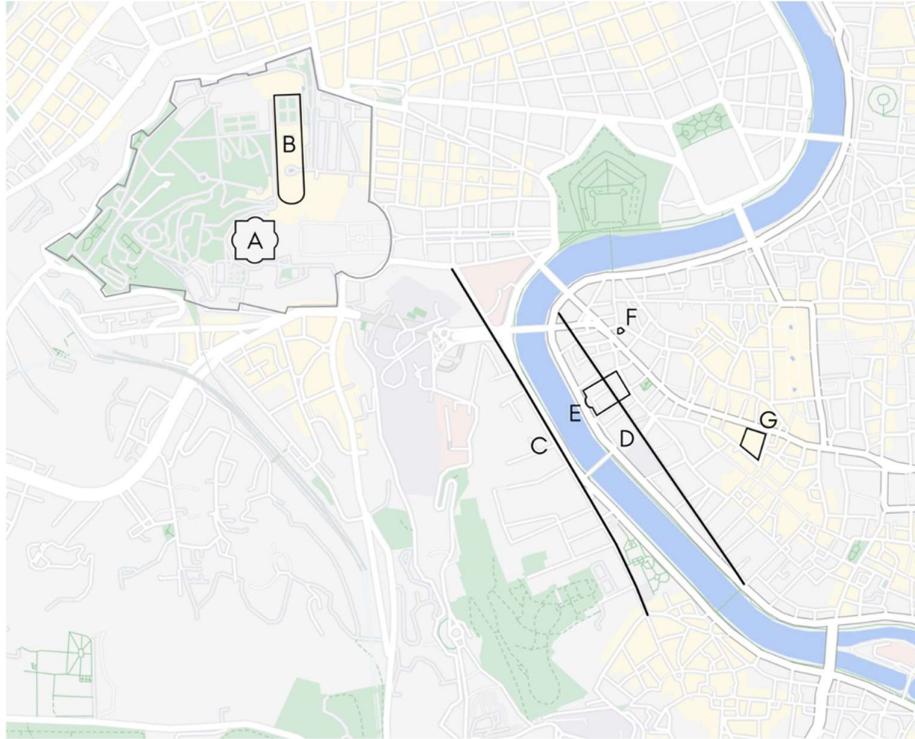


Fig. 1: Map of modern Rome with the principal urban and architectural developments under pope Julius II indicated. A: St Peter's Basilica; B: Cortile del Belvedere; C: Via della Lungara; D: Via Giulia; E: Palazzo dei Tribunali; F: Papal Zecca; G: Palazzo della Cancelleria. (Illustration by Sine Grove Saxkjær)

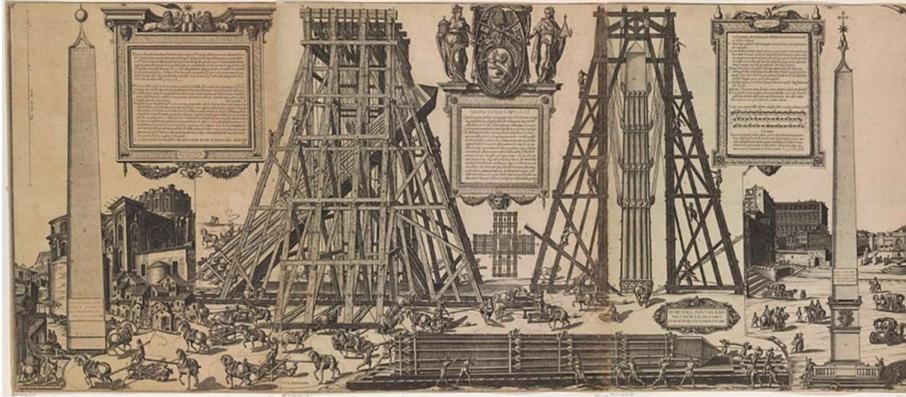


Fig. 2: The engraving from 1586 by Natale Bonifacio da Sebenico shows the movement of the obelisk to its current position on the St Peter's square. (Rijksmuseum, Public domain, <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/search/objects?set=RP-P-OB-207.580#/RP-P-OB-207.580,0>)

INVISIBLE MUSIC:

Hearing and Listening in the Early Modern World



By Christine Jeanneret*

At Rosenborg Castle in Copenhagen, Christian IV used two of his favourite artforms, music and architecture, to create his invisible music, a sonic technology that left his visitors astonished. This surprising listening experience gives historians and sensory and performance studies scholars the perfect tool to study early modern hearing and listening practices. The dissociation of sound from its source was experienced as a marvellous sound technology. The diffusion of music through sonic vents in the castle created a spatialization of music that required the perambulation of the listeners, creating a full bodily experience. The staging and performativity of this extraordinary listening experience also brings new insights into court and privacy studies.

To Marianne Pade, one of the best listeners in the world.

Invisible music, a particular sound technology created by Christian IV, king of Denmark-Norway (1577–1648), offers historians the perfect tool to study early modern hearing and listening practices, and also reveals a specific sonic strategy designed to display and control power during court ceremonial. At Rosenborg Castle in Copenhagen, the king commissioned the construction of four sonic conduits made vertically to connect the cellar and the Winter Room.¹ His musicians were placed in the cellar, and the music they played could be heard in the Winter Room without the source of the music being visible. Today, with the omnipresence of recording technologies, listening

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¹ Arne Spohr has published on invisible music at Rosenborg Castle and in other locations albeit from a different perspective; I focus here on listening and on the listeners, Spohr 2012; Spohr 2014.

devices, and loudspeakers blasting incessantly, invisible music is common.² The separation of sound from its sources has become a norm, more widespread than attending to a concert or hearing musicians play live. But in early modern listening practices, music was indissociable from its source, and this source was automatically associated with the presence of musicians. Therefore, the removal of the sound source brings an interesting perspective in the listening practices of the early modern world. Sensorial experiences in general and listening practices specifically, for the case of this article, are often hard to track in history, because they are part of a normative behaviour that is rarely evoked and they are tacitly experienced by a community. Therefore, cases that deviate from the norm – such as Christian IV’s invisible music experience – indirectly shed precious light on the otherwise unmentioned and shared normative listening practices. In this article I will explore the case of invisible music as a lens to understand listening strategies. First, I will briefly present the early modern soundscape and contrast it with our post-industrial soundscape from a listening perspective. Next, the description of this experience of invisible music by a French visitor at Rosenborg Castle in the early seventeenth century will be a starting point for studying the dissociation of sound from its source. Then, I will consider the architectonic use of space to create a spatialization of music. Finally, to fully grasp invisible music, it is important to recontextualise it in the performative context of court ceremonial and privacy studies. In this last segment, I will show how the staging and performativity of this extraordinary listening experience brings new insights into privacy studies: the manipulation of sound and bodies of the listeners, the private context of the performance, the invisibility of the musicians and the intimate social setting all shed an interesting light on the notions of access and concealment, as well as sonic presence and hidden bodies.

Early modern soundscapes: sound and listening

Early modern society had a soundscape that was radically different from our current, loud and industrial sonic environment. How did people listen, and how were soundscapes perceived in the early modern world? In his groundbreaking and visionary study, Bruce Smith shows that, in the pre-industrial world the level of ambient noise was much lower than that of our contemporary soundscape.³ The lower volume of noise in pre-industrial societies meant that people could hear a wider array of sounds across a broader geographical space.⁴ Ambient sounds were much clearer to early

² Kassabian 2013.

³ Smith 1999, 49–50; see also Gutton 2000; Garrioch 2003; Cook 2013; Carter 2018.

⁴ This has been demonstrated by Smith 1999, 58 and Garrioch 2003, 8.

modern listeners and they had entirely different ways of listening to, hearing and interpreting their soundscapes. Everyday sounds happening through conversations, the use of craftsmen's tools, speeding horse carriages, quarrels, town criers performances and boisterous street sellers calls all played a major role in the early modern soundscape. Extraordinary events such as wars, fireworks, musical entertainments, street theatres or processions were similarly characterized by their specific soundscapes and must often have been heard before they could be seen.⁵ Sound and space are intrinsically linked; hearing and listening to architectonic spaces allows us to cross the thresholds of physical spaces and gives a new perspective of the notions of inside and outside. Sound travels through space; its vibrations physically reach the listeners. Sound permeates and extends boundaries: the sound of a private quarrel can be heard in the street, but also reversely, an outdoor music performance can be heard inside. Therefore, by taking sound into consideration, we can consider in a new light the traditional oppositions between private and public, indoors and outdoors, sound and noise. The propagation of sound through the air is also a territorial marker, a way of appropriating the space where it resounds. In the case of Christian IV's invisible music, the manipulation of sounds and noises was a display of power and a form of control over court visitors. More generally, sounds also create the rhythms of everyday life and give a sonic identity, or a "soundtrack", to the space in which they resonate and are propagated.

In this understanding of the European early modern period according to which people could hear a much wider range of sounds and noises; listening, hearing, and the symbolic meaning of sounds were interpreted according to diverse standards.⁶ Aurality defines a community and encompasses people of all social classes, along with animals, mechanical and artistic devices, and natural sounds, creating what we call a shared acoustic environment, or a soundscape. People feel unisonance or dissonance: they might hear the same soundscape, but interpret it differently, according to their social background or gender. Soundscapes, in other words, can create a form of exclusion (who is privy to hear a conversation and who is not), but they can also be inclusive

⁵ Jakob Ingemann Parby and Kasper H. Andersen, "Soundscapes of Copenhagen in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", conference presentation during the international workshop *Sound, Privacy, and Court Studies*, Rosenborg Castle and Centre for Privacy Studies, Copenhagen University, 24–25 June 2021.

⁶ Such standards are the topic of multiple studies by historians, sociologists and philosophers: Garrioch 2003, 5–6. Among the first to explore the idea of noise and sound as a socio-political topic was Attali 1977; on soundscapes, see Schafer 1977, for a selection of other studies on sonic cultural histories, see Corbin 1994; Bailey 1996 and more recently Gutton 2000; Carter 2002 and Carter 2018; Smith 2004; Erlmann 2004 and Erlmann 2010; Howard & Moretti 2009; Zanovello 2014; Knighton & Mazuela-Anguita 2018.

across social classes. The eyes can be closed; the ears cannot be closed because we do not have earlids. In the context of privacy, it is easier to visually exclude those who should not have access by closing a door, while it is impossible to prevent eavesdropping behind the closed door or to the propagation across space of a loud quarrel.

Invisible music at Rosenborg Castle: dissociation of sound and its source

The use of visual and auditory devices, as well as multimedia performances to display power during court ceremonies was certainly not a novelty at the time of Christian IV's reign. However, the suppression of the visual source of the music was experienced as a miraculous, striking, and extremely uncommon event. The king used it as a cultural display of invention and a political instrument to stage himself in the Winter Room. Several testimonies of the invisible music in the Winter Room have come down to us, all expressing surprise and wonder at this unexpected listening experience.⁷ By far the most detailed and most interesting for our purpose is the description from Charles Ogier (c. 1595–1654), a French envoy visiting Rosenborg in 1634.⁸ His account is noteworthy because it is focused on the listeners perception and their experience:

Illum deinde rex duxit in atrium quadratum, picturis ornatum, subter quo musicos suos collocare solet: iussitque nos convocari: nobisque ingressis, ab eoque rursus pileo salutatis, cum ipse Legatusque tecti essent, atque in medio coenaculo starent, universi continuo musici, tam instrumentis, quam vocibus cecinerunt. Hanc tam subitam voluptatem attenti stupentesque accepimus, cum per diversa spiracula sonitus, nunc propiores, nunc remotiores ad aures nostras pervenirent. Interea legatus regis industriam, qui huius voluptatis inventor fuisset, obsequiosè comiterque laudabat, quod idem nutibus nostris Regi nos identidem respectanti significabamus [...] Exeuntes, atque in rheda positos, sub ipso portae vestibulo, non sine Regis iussu, nos tantisper distinuit subterranea illa invisita, at non ingrata, Musica.

Next the king led him [the ambassador] into a square hall decorated with pictures, below which he used to gather his musicians. He ordered

⁷ All the visitors' descriptions of Rosenborg Castle are given in Hein 2009 1, 141–144. The ones describing the performance of invisible music are by prince Christian II of Anhalt-Bernburg in 1623, the German lawyer Heinrich Meyer in 1642 and the Swedish traveler Nils Rubinus in 1662.

⁸ Ogier was the secretary of the French ambassador Claude des Mesmes. In 1634, they were invited to the wedding of Christian, prince-elect of Denmark, and Magdalena Sibylla of Saxony (Det store Bilager) and visited Rosenborg Castle on this occasion. Ogier later published the diary of his travels in 1634–1636, see Ogier 1656; on the “great wedding”, see Wade 1996, 157–278.

us to convene. When we had entered, and he had greeted us again by doffing his hat (since he and the ambassador had their heads covered and were standing in the middle of the upper room), the whole ensemble of musicians, both instruments and voices, suddenly began to play. We – transfixed and stupefied – experienced this wonderfully unexpected pleasure, as the sound reached our ears from various vents, now closer, now farther. Meanwhile, the ambassador obligingly and courteously praised the ingenuity of the king, who had devised this pleasant invention. By nodding, we indicated the same thing to the king, who was repeatedly looking at us [...] As we departed, even as our carriage passed under the courtyard gate, we were entertained by that unseen but not unpleasing subterranean music, presumably played at the order of the king.⁹

The most prominent feature in this description is the extreme surprise felt by the listeners: it is “unexpected” to hear invisible music and they remained pleasantly stupefied. This astonishment is produced by the dissociation between the music and the musicians. It points to the idea that musical sound had an agency at this time created through maintaining a tactile relationship with its source, “an umbilical continuity”.¹⁰ The dissociation of sound from its source has been coined by ecologist and sound scholar R. M. Schafer as the term “schizophonia” in relation to more recent acoustical and listening cultures of modernity.¹¹ This term perfectly describes Christian IV’s invisible music. The experience of listening without seeing upset the early modern conception of acoustics and confronted listeners with a new form of dissociated perception and sonic spatialization, as we shall see further on. Rosenborg’s setting for invisible music was not a unique case, but the phenomenon was fairly rare and restricted to northern Europe and smaller royal residences or *lysthus* (Lusthaus).¹² Interestingly, Ogier uses spatial terms (*closer, farther*) to actually describe a sonic experience (whereas one would expect a more familiar term relating to volume, like *louder, softer*). Four small vents (ca. 20 x 20 cm) were open between the roof of the cellar

⁹ Ogier 1656, 53–54, translation is mine with the generous help of Eric Bianchi and Johann Rammingner.

¹⁰ Erlmann 2004, 98 and Connor 2004, 158.

¹¹ Schafer 1969, 43–47. The term schizophonia can refer to the separation either in space or, with the use of more recent technologies of sound reproduction, also in time, when the capacities to record and reproduce sounds are developed from the late nineteenth century onwards.

¹² Lusthaus auf dem Jungfernbastei in Dresden and Neues Lusthaus in Stuttgart. In the latter, the staging was different: the musicians were placed above the listening space and not below it; statues were placed over the vents to make it look like the music was produced by the statues. Another example of invisible music is Rondell in Jindřichův Hradec in Bohemia (known as Neuhaus in German Bohemia), see Spohr 2014, 20–26.

and the four corners of flooring in the Winter Room.¹³ The vents are simple excavations in the stone and do not have a special coating. The sound is directly transmitted from the cellar to the room. As a result, the sound source is extremely easy to locate; any listener immediately perceives it comes from below and from the corners. Music travelling through the vents also affects its sonic quality: it comes out as extremely distinct but remote, enhancing this ethereal experience of remoteness.¹⁴ Ogier uses the word *spiraculum* to describe the vent, from “spiro” (to breathe); this establishes a connection between a technological device and its function as a conduit to let the air pass. He visualizes it as a kind of breathing lung – like those of the singers – transmitting sound from one place to the other. Thus, through the terminology he uses, Ogier reconnects the sound with a body as a sound producer. He gives us a precious hint as to how sound was perceived in early modern thinking as indissociable from the body producing it. Hiding the source of music ultimately puts into perspective what Smith calls the “hereness and thereeness” of sound.¹⁵ According to Smith, the thereeness of sound focuses on the sound-producer – the outside quality of sound, and the vibrations in time and space – whereas the hereness of sound relates to the physiological and psychological effects on the listener. The thereeness becomes the hereness in the ear of the listener. By removing the thereeness of sound from the sight of the listener, invisibility created an entirely new listening experience for an early modern audience, due to the remote and particular quality of the music coming from the vents. The absence of the musicians, the trick of exposing the sound but hiding its source is a clear sign of an innovative use of space and sound.

Spatialization and perambulation: a full sensory experience of sound

The spatialization of music is fundamental in this invisible acoustic experience. It is a site-specific installation, literally built into the architecture of the palace. Special sonic vents had to be opened from the cellar to the Winter Room to allow the diffusion of sound from the four corners of the room. Generally, spatialization is associated with contemporary electronic music, but it has a long history. One of the most famous example being Italian polychoral music, where several choirs, *cori spezzati*, were placed on

¹³ Three of them were rediscovered during a recent renovation, Hein 2009 1, 44.

¹⁴ It has been possible to listen to invisible music, thanks to a reconstruction and the diffusion of music through the vents, Peter Kristiansen and Christine Jeanneret, “Visit of Rosenborg Castle with a focus on its soundscapes”, workshop *Sound, Privacy, and Court Studies*, 24 June 2021.

¹⁵ Smith 1999, 7–8.

different balconies in the churches to realize a spatialized sonic experience.¹⁶ In this cases, the musicians were visible. However, with the removal of the musicians' bodies from sight, Renaissance invisible music is truly a precursor to sound surround diffusion – also called quadraphonic sound – through spatialized sources. In Christian IV's invisible music, the same effect would not have been possible by placing the musicians physically in the four corners: the sound would have an entirely difference quality because of the closeness between the musicians and the listeners placed in the same room, and the sound projection would have been much louder and more homogenous. This extraordinary listening experience plays on two senses: the eyes are deprived from their traditional expectations of the musicians' presence and thereby the ears are overstimulated by the removal of the source and the peculiar sonic quality. The physical technology of the sonic vents will eventually led to the complete removal of the musicians and the use of loudspeakers in contemporary electronic practice. The acoustics of the architectural space influences the listener's perception. Reverberation, absorption, and resonance are site-specific and vary according to each venue for spatialized music. In our case, the Winter Room is a large rectangular room occupying the north aisle of Rosenborg Castle. The floor is made of black, white, and reddish marble tiles, which enhances the resonance of the room, whereas the walls are covered in oak panels attenuating the echoes and reverberation. The room is not extremely large, allowing a well-balanced diffusion of the sound through the four corners: preventing the sound from being too dispersed in the space and also making it clearly audible for the listener. Spatialization is based on the ability of the human ear to localize sounds in space by identifying the position of the sound sources and measuring the distance between the listeners and these sources.¹⁷ Spatial hearing plays with this faculty and transforms sound localization into an intrinsic part of the listening experience. Spatialized music thus creates sound trajectories and spatial depth.¹⁸ The multiplicity of the sound sources in four different places in the Winter Room would have given a sense of shaping and dynamics to the projection and the perception of sound. Spatialization gives plasticity to sound by manipulating it, distorting it, and moulding it into new temporal and spatial shapes. It also affects perception by creating a dynamic

¹⁶ Bryant 1981. Interestingly enough, there is no mention of invisible music in the historical surveys of spatialized music, probably because it has been largely neglected by scholars. For studies on electronic music and spatialization, see Nauck 1997; Maconie 2005; Robusté 2014, Ouzounian 2021.

¹⁷ Blauert 1997; Bregman 1990.

¹⁸ As the direction of motion cannot be accurately detected through a monaural listening situation (see Strybel et al. 1989), I assume that the authors of the surviving accounts of the invisible music were of sound hearing capabilities.

form of listening. On one hand, the spatialized diffusion creates multiple sound perspectives. On the other hand, Ogier's description of hearing the music "now closer, now farther" undoubtedly indicates that the king and his two guests were moving around the Winter Room, while listening, making it an enhanced spatialized experience. By moving, the listeners create their own listening experience, being now in the centre of the room, then going closer or farther from the sound sources. As such, listening to invisible music is a full sensorial experience, involving the listeners' bodies and the buildings where the performance took place. Therefore, the perambulation mentioned by Ogier ("now closer, now farther") is an intrinsic part of this aural experience. As it has been noticed in art history, the princely collections of paintings in the early modern period were spaces intended for a combined physical and mental exercise.¹⁹ Viewing art while simultaneously walking through the collection was thought to be beneficial for mental and physical health together with its recreative function. In the case of spatial music, the same happens not with the eye but with the ear.²⁰ The eyes, deprived of the musicians' presence, create a new listening experience involving the motion of the body.

Performativity and invisibility in court and privacy studies

Finally, the performance of invisible music is indissociable from the performance and performativity of court ceremonial practices and it has to be contextualized in this setting to be fully understood. Every moment, every movement, even every utterance of this invisible aural experience are controlled and orchestrated by the king, as evidenced by Ogier's testimony. Like a conductor, Christian IV gives signals to the musicians in order for them to start and stop playing. He also signals to his guests when they should express their opinion and expected positive reactions to this pleasant aural experience. As Szendy puts it in his extraordinary study, "Listening is a matter of words",²¹ it is not just about a listening experience, but about how it is staged and performed by the listeners, not only during the experience itself but also in Ogier's written rendition. During the time of the elective monarchy and before the abrupt establishment of the Danish absolute monarchy by Frederik III in 1660, both Christian IV and his son had to

¹⁹ Gage 2008.

²⁰ Spohr 2012 argues that listening to invisible was a synesthetic experience, since there was a ceiling painting in the Winter Room, that could have been a depiction of Christian IV's Court Musicians, by Francis Clein or Søren Kiær, today preserved in the Queen's Room of Rosenborg. Since it is not clear if it was originally in the Winter Room or not and Ogier's description – or any other visitors' description – does not mention synesthesia, we shall not explore this aspect here.

²¹ Szendy 2013, 136.

simultaneously hold the nobility in check and keep them in their good graces. Against the backdrop of terrible military defeats and a disastrous administration of finances, this was not an easy task for the king. Christian IV is paradoxically remembered as one of the greatest Danish monarchs – notably by his legacy in the arts and his architectonic remodelling of Copenhagen – whereas he left the realm in utter political and economic chaos at the time of his death.²² The king wanted to put Copenhagen on the European map and thus transformed the city from a provincial town to the major centre of power of the kingdom of Denmark-Norway by an extensive cultural, commercial, architectural, military refashioning, inspired by various European models from various cities. Contrarily to the monarchy's finances, administration, and legal matters, which required the approval of the council of the realm (*Rigsrådet*), the king was free to administrate the expenses of court ceremonial independently.²³ It is therefore no surprise that ceremonial culture was one of the main strategies used by Christian IV as a means to assert his power over and to control the nobility. Court is the site *par excellence* for staging and displaying power and sociability.²⁴ Multimedia performances involving the arts are the ultimate means for royal propaganda and elaborate stagings, such as the great wedding of 1634 were precisely served this function on both the national and international levels. The creation of beautiful artefacts and technological wonders was fundamental in establishing and displaying the status and power of rulers in the early modern world.²⁵ However, court studies seldom consider sound and listening strategies and therefore, they rarely take into account the use and manipulation of sound in court ceremonial. I argue that sound played a crucial role in the appropriation, display, and control of power in courtly spaces. Court etiquette strictly ruled access and proximity to the monarch: who had access could also talk to the king and get him to listen, a high privilege granted to an extremely restricted number of courtiers. Speaking or producing sounds at court were ultimately political performances and established protocols of rank, power, access, and distance. Who can access, listen and talk to the monarch – as the French ambassador and Ogier in our case – is therefore highly significant. For example, ambassadors and agents enjoyed the extraordinary privilege of having access to and close contact with the king.²⁶ The question of access and closeness ultimately leads to the notion of privacy. Privacy and access guaranteed the crucial ability to communicate directly

²² Heiberg 1998, 15.

²³ Olden-Jørgensen 2002, 71.

²⁴ Newton 2000; Newton 2014; Sternberg 2014; Cosandey 2016.

²⁵ Koeppe 2019.

²⁶ Raeymaekers & Derks 2016, 2–4.

with the monarch in an intimate setting – as it is exactly the case in the Winter Room during the performance of invisible music. This type of personal interaction was key to the acquisition and exercise of power. In our case, this ritual comprises several aspects: the use of sound technology to manipulate and control space; the elaborate choreography of court ceremonial, the use of music, the private setting, the staged performance and performativity of the participants. The king expected his guests to marvel at his invention, signalling and awaiting their reaction, and they obliged, indulging him with many compliments, as was expected, in order to cement his role as the orchestrator and master of a sonic wonder.

Moreover, in relation to privacy, the notion of hiding or exposing is crucial: the sonic presence of the musicians together with their visual absence creates an unexpected and marvellous turn. Discussing nineteenth-century sound technologies, such as phonography, another and more recent invention implying the removal of the musicians, Szendy rightly argues that it drastically changed the delicate frontier between private and public performance.²⁷ A series of apparatus, such as the telephone, the phonograph and the *théâtrophone* allowed to transmit sound and music in a long distance and invisibly. The social and public setting of the concert was deeply transformed by the possibility of listening to music alone at home and in private in the case of the phonograph. The *théâtrophone* is even more interesting in blurring the private and public divide: it was a telephonic diffusion of theatre and opera, the public would gather in rooms equipped with telephones and listened to the transmission in an isolated and private experience, while the performance was actually taking place in the theatres with an audience participating publicly.²⁸ The telephonic diffusion was stereophonic, and made it therefore also an exercise in spatialisation. In the case of invisible music, we witness an early precursor of this transformation from a public performance to a more intimate setting.

The traditional appropriation and control of space is enhanced in this case by the invisibility of the music source. The sense of displacement and astonishment of the listeners gives us precious insights into early modern listening practices. The staging can only work with a restricted and selected audience, who can freely move around and talk to each other during the performance. It would be utterly impossible, if the Winter Room would be crowded by a large audience or by listeners sitting motionless. A successful performance of invisible and spatialized music requires a limited number of listeners in an intimate context of sociability. This aural experience was

²⁷ Szendy 2013, 83.

²⁸ Van Drie 2016.

intended as a form of media strategy and technological inventiveness. By giving to his visitors a unique sensory experience, with hidden living musicians functioning as a kind of music machine, Christian IV was putting his power on display and taking control of the highly elaborate ceremonial of court visits, by the conjoint use of two of his favourite artforms, architecture and music.

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MARIN BARLETI (C. 1460–AFTER 1512) AND THE SYSTEM OF PATRONAGE



By Minna Skafte Jensen

*The Albanian humanist Marin Barleti composed his works as an exile in Venice. With his first book, *De Obsidione Scodrensi*, 1504, he applied to the doge for patronage, but does not seem to have had success, perhaps understandably. An analysis of his work reveals how he omitted most of the flattery that would have been expected; while in general he praises Venice, much unexpressed criticism of the city is to be found between the lines.*

Marinus Barletius was for centuries well known among European readers for his biography of the Albanian hero Scanderbeg, who fought the Ottoman Turks successfully for a quarter of a century. This story of the fearless warrior from a small nation who again and again defeated the huge enemy armies was published in Rome c. 1508/10 and was pleasant reading for all those who feared the Turks. A long list of translations and new editions of the Latin original¹ bear witness to his renown with the starting point in 1533, when a German translation was published. Soon after, in 1537, Caspar Hedio's edition of the same work was published by Crato Mylius in Strasbourg. This was just the beginning; during the following decades a wealth of translations and new editions appeared.

The reception of Barleti's first work, *De Obsidione Scodrensi* (About the Siege of Shkodra), Venice 1504, however was different; nothing is heard of it before a new edition appeared in 1556, and few exemplars of the work have survived. Today Barleti is almost forgotten except among Albanians and specialists in Balkan history; literary trends have changed, and, more specifically, the Ottoman empire has dissolved and Turkish armies are no longer a threat to Western Europe.

Most scholars take for granted that Barleti was famous already in his lifetime, and he is thought to have risen to fame with *De Obsidione*. I shall

¹ Pall 1938, 17–27.

argue here that his first book was no success, and that his renown only established itself after his death.

Life and works

Until recently, all that was known of Barleti's life was to be found in an article by the Romanian scholar Francisc Pall from 1938. However, in 2008 important new information was published by the Venetian historian Lucia Nadin on the basis of painstaking research through both public and private archives in Venice. Her aim was to investigate the fortunes of a group of Albanian refugees who arrived in the city in April 1479 having left their hometown of Shkodra to the Ottoman forces. As a result of Nadin's research quite a few details of Barleti's life were also revealed. In a new book from 2012, which focused on the print publisher Bernardino de Vitali, who among other things printed Barleti's two great narratives, included important documents about Barleti. On some points I disagree with her interpretation of the data, and what follows should not be taken as wholly representative of her views. Still, she has provided scholars with marvellous and detailed new knowledge.

Barleti came to Venice in 1479 as part of the above-mentioned group of refugees. In recognition of the fact that the Albanian inhabitants of Shkodra had been very courageous in withstanding the besiegers, and that this had been an important contribution to the defence of the Venetian Republic against the threatening enemy, those who had survived were invited to make their new homes in the republic. A commission of five men – *i cinque savi* – was set up to find housing and work for the immigrants, and Nadin has underlined how this enterprise might be seen as a model example of how immigration should be handled in order to be successful.²

Young Barleti was first assigned a butcher's stall in the Rialto market, but later he studied theology at the university of Padova, and in 1494 he became a priest at the church of Santo Stefano in Piovene, an office he seems to have left before 1510. It must have been during his years as a parish priest that he composed his works. They are:

De Obsidione Scodrensi (About the Siege of Shkodra), Venice 1504,

Historia de Vita et Gestis Scanderbegi (The Story of the Life and Deeds of Scanderbeg), Rome 1508/10, and

Compendium Vitarum Summorum Pontificum (A Survey of the Lives of the Most Important Popes), Rome 1512?, known only from a second edition in 1555.

² Nadin 2008.

The first translation of *De Obsidione* was by Francesco Sansovino into Italian, published in 1564, and here the work is wrongly assigned to Marin Beçikemi, an error which I find interesting.

This man was also a refugee from Shkodra, slightly younger than Barleti, but his life is much better known than Barleti's. For one thing, he composed the story of his life in a surviving hexameter poem,³ and besides, he is known from his published works and from mentions in works of other authors. He made a glamorous career as a philologist, teacher, and public speaker, and in 1500 he was granted citizenship in Venice. In 1517 he became a lecturer of rhetoric at the university of Padova. To me it is interesting that still half a century after Barleti's death Beçikemi could be taken to be the Marinus who had described the siege of Shkodra. The mistake signals that the famous Albanian Marinus in Venice was Beçikemi rather than Barleti.⁴

A reason for such a state of affairs is easily found in the fact that Beçikemi understood the intricacies of patronage which Barleti did not – or perhaps Barleti understood them but did not want to comply?

The importance of patronage

Behind much Renaissance art – painting, sculpture, and architecture as well as literature – stood a patron who supported the artist or perhaps even supplied him with his livelihood; in exchange the patron expected works which somehow were in his/her interest. The essence of the system has been described as follows:⁵ 1) reciprocal exchange of goods and services, 2) a personal relationship between patron and client, and 3) asymmetry of the relationship. In a literary work the author usually stated in a dedicatory letter why he offered this specific gift to the addressee. Perhaps he was already one of the patron's clients, perhaps he wanted to become one, or perhaps he just wanted to lean on the patron's authority.

In her great study of how Plutarch's *Lives* entered Italy during the 15th century by means of translations into Latin, Marianne Pade demonstrated how carefully various humanists chose which biographies to dedicate to which patrons, and how subtly they adapted their translations to their specific addressees. By presenting the differences and by analysing the dedicatory prefaces she brought these humanists and their patrons close to modern readers and exemplified how the patronage system worked in practice.⁶

³ Published in Nadin 2008, 207–223.

⁴ Shuteriqi 1987, 40–41, interprets Sansovino's error in the same way.

⁵ de Beer 2014.

⁶ Pade 2007.

Barleti added such introductory dedications to all his three surviving works, and the first of them will be the focus of interest here. He dedicated *De Obsidione* to the doge of Venice, Leonardo Loredan, and to the senate. However well respected the immigrant priest of Piovene may have been, this choice of dedicatee was breathtakingly ambitious. Venice was at the pinnacle of her glory at the time, and her leaders were well aware of their own status at the top of one of the most important empires in the world. Barleti addresses them with due respect: “To the most honourable prince Leonardo Loredan, doge of the Venetian aristocracy, and his holy senate,”⁷ and his presentation of himself and his work is very humble. Still, to address these special dedicatees was no humble act.

His preface begins with a general statement: when disasters occur, they are usually described in writing so as not to be forgotten. With their works, writers seek to cultivate compassion in their readers and remind them that humans were born to help each other [this point, that pity should generate support, is repeated with variations four times in the next few lines]. Such considerations led the author to think of the horrible accidents which struck the faithful inhabitants of Shkodra. Even though he is painfully conscious of the fact that he is unable to match the refined taste of his addressees, he feels compelled to make the attempt in order to celebrate the fidelity of the people of Shkodra and seek to win favour for them. Their achievements will serve as a model for other people so that they, too, will work faithfully for their superiors. The glorious victory they won over an overwhelmingly superior enemy and the horrors they withstood were exceptional, and afterwards they were taken care of with great humanity. He dedicates his work to the doge because just like Hercules once eased the exhausted Atlas of carrying the sky vault, Loredan is the person most able to support the author and protect his work against evil critics.⁸

Thus summarised it is clear that the address to the doge and the senate is an application for patronage on behalf of the people of Shkodra and the author himself. Not least when at the end Barleti says of the doge that to good men he has always been a sweet jewel and a strong defence, *dulce decus summumque praesidium*, the allusion to Horace’s famous approach to his patron Maecenas (*Carm.* 1.1.2) is manifest and should have left no doubt of the wish for patronage. However, Barleti’s somewhat labyrinthic style has veiled the intent, and as far as I know it has not been noted by readers that the

⁷ “Ad Serenissimum Principem Leonardum Lauretanum Venetæ Aristocratiae Ducem Illustrissimum, Eiusque Sanctissimum Senatam.”

⁸ Aurel Plasari thinks that Barleti is aiming at Beçikemi, according to Hosaflook 2012, 41 n. 7.

author offers his work to the addressees as an entreaty for support. He and his compatriots have fulfilled their parts of a patronage contract, he with his book and all of them with their courageous fight, and they are now entitled to expect a suitable reward. However, there is nothing to indicate that the entreaty was accepted, and when we look closer at how Barleti represented the events it is perhaps understandable if the doge was not enthusiastic.

What Barleti did not mention

De Obsidione is an eyewitness-report of the Turkish siege, composed almost as a diary. We are told how the citizens first heard the rumours, next saw the smoke from burning villages, and finally witnessed how the huge enemy army arrived, one wave after another, and how finally the sultan himself arrived, the dreadful Mehmet [“the conqueror”, who 25 years earlier had conquered Constantinople]. Next follow negotiations, afterwards Turkish attacks and Albanian victory, finally siege and hunger. In the meantime, Venice made an armistice with the sultan. The Shkodrans were given the choice between sharing their town with the Turks or leaving for Venice, and they all preferred to leave.

Shkodra, which at the time like most of the other towns along the Eastern coast of the Adriatic was under Venetian rule,⁹ was an important fortress in the defence of the empire and had been forcefully supported by the Venetian fleet and army during a first Ottoman aggression in 1474, when the Turks had been warded off. In 1478, however, the citizens had received no help except for the garrison which was already there; instead, Venice had chosen diplomacy.

The first siege and the defeat of the Turks was a major event in Venice. Antonio Loredan, of the same family as Leonardo, had been the governor of Shkodra when the town was attacked, and he was celebrated as a war hero for his deeds and formally given the title of Knight of San Marco. This first siege of Shkodra is briefly mentioned in Barleti’s *De Obsidione*, and here the focus is on the Albanian citizens. He describes how “by intense fighting they defended themselves, their hometown, wives, and children. ... In this way, by means of this excellent and famous victory, won with Antonio Loredan as leader and governor, *duce rectoreque Antonio Lauretano*, they achieved eternal name and fame”.¹⁰ The four words quoted here constitute all that is

⁹ Schmitt 2001.

¹⁰ “... utque ciues Scodrenses se, patriam, vxores, liberos, acerrime pugnando protexerint. ... Ex quo Scodrenses ob tam egregiam & præclarissimam victoriam, duce rectoreque Antonio Lauretano, æternum sibi nomen et gloriam adepti sunt” (fol. 237v).

said of the great Venetian, whereas the Albanian citizens are the heroes. The phrase is so brief that it is almost an insult.

The other major Venetian hero of the first siege, captain of the fleet Pietro Mocenigo, is not even mentioned by Barleti. He was afterwards elected doge, but died already in 1476. He considered the liberation of Shkodra as one of his most important deeds which is clear from his tomb in *Basilica dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo*, one of the sculptor Pietro Lombardo's masterpieces. Here two reliefs at the bottom of the composition depict his victories in Famagusta and Shkodra. Admittedly, the second siege, not the first, was the subject of Barleti's book; besides, almost thirty years had passed since Mocenigo's death and twenty-five since the monument was finished (1481). Even so, the absence of Mocenigo in Barleti's work is astonishing. His tomb was visibly present and must have been one of the first thoughts to enter a Venetian reader's mind on meeting the name of Shkodra. Still a century after the events when Paolo Veronese was decorating the *Palazzo Ducale*, he chose the same topics for two paintings in the *Sala del Maggior Consiglio*.

The first siege was the subject of a monograph by Giorgio Merula, well known in Venice as a philologist and teacher. He published his work in September 1474, soon after the event. Just as Barleti did 30 years later, Merula praises the brave citizens of the town, but first and foremost his book is an overwhelming eulogy of Antonio Loredan, who deserved all the honour he afterwards received in Venice. Barleti knew this description as revealed by various verbatim references; all the more striking is the fact that he spends so few words on him.

Both sieges were described by the historian Marcantonio Sabellico in his history of Venice (undated, but finished after 1487), and briefly also in his history of the world (1496). Again it is certain that Barleti knew the passages. In his report of the first siege Sabellico praises both Loredan, Mocenigo, and the fearless civilians. In his description of the second siege Sabellico specifies that on the arrival of the Ottoman army the town housed 1600 male inhabitants, 260 females [most women and children had been evacuated], 600 soldiers, and the governor Antonius Legius¹¹. He admires the courage and endurance of the citizens: "Since the beginning of the world no locality was ever attacked more fiercely than Shkodra or defended with more determination; twice the enemy attacked the walls, and twice he was beaten back from the fortifications under enormous bloodshed."¹² At the 1474 siege

¹¹ Sabellicus [undated] 1718, 799.

¹² "Nullus a condito ævo locus est maiore mole quam Scodra oppugnatus: nullus magis strenue defensus: bis hostis subiit muros: bis cum ingenti strage est a moenibus repulsus." Sabellicus [1496] 1509, vol. 2, fol. AAA iiir.

the Venetian fleet had come to the rescue, but in 1478 no support was given from Venice except the permanent garrison. When, finally, the siege was ended, about 450 men and 160 women had survived, and their toughness was admired even by the enemy. The survivors were brought to Venice where the authorities took care that they found suitable jobs according to their qualifications and former situation, and all were given public benefits.¹³

In Barleti's description as well, the governor plays a positive role; he was the one who evacuated the women and children; and on the morning of the crucial battle he was present and gave orders. In short, he lived up to his responsibilities and fulfilled his duties in the best possible way; however, his name is never mentioned by Barleti. In general, if a Venetian is named at all it is only in connection with his death. Another strange fact is that even though there are many elegant speeches in *De Obsidione*, they are always given by either Albanians or Turks, while no representative of Venice is ever allowed to speak.

In short, the role of the Venetian heroes of the first siege, Antonio Loredan and Pietro Mocenigo, is played down by Barleti, and even though the governor during the second siege, Antonius Legius, is praised, he is anonymised. The story is told as a war between Turks and Albanians in which Venetians played a minor role. *De Obsidione* is from beginning to end a glorification of the citizens of Shkodra, in which the doge and the senate would look in vain for the kind of praise themselves or their relatives would expect in a text dedicated to them as an application for patronage.

In 1503, a year before Barleti offered his description of the siege to the Venetian authorities, Beçikemi had given a speech in the senate which, just like Barleti's work, was dedicated to the doge and senate. In his speech, Beçikemi praises them and thanks them for their generosity towards the people of Shkodra and himself. He opens with a long eulogy of the doge, followed by praise of the senate, the Venetians, and the city, in that order. Next, the Loredan family are highlighted as special patrons of Shkodra, and 24 important Loredans are listed and praised; Antonio Loredan, the governor during the first siege, is no. 18.¹⁴ Beçikemi follows Merula in glorifying this Loredan, who on the morning of the crucial battle had been the one to stimulate the tired and discouraged citizens to fight. The last pages concentrate on the grace that the Beçikemi family were met with from Venice

¹³ Sabellicus [undated] 1718, 802: "Scodrensibus, qui Venetias venere, aliis perpetuum ex publico salarium, aliis arcium aliorumque locorum præfecturæ cum publico stipendio, pro conditione & pristina fortuna, cuique decretæ: ita ut nullus fuerit, qui non publico beneficio sublevatus sit."

¹⁴ Becichemus [1505?] 1506. Praise of the doge fol. IVv–XIIr, of the Lauretani XXr–XXIIr.

and the merciful reception the refugees had received. When the commission of the five was set up, Leonardo Loredan himself had been one of the members.

Now, this is how a gracious authority should be approached! Compared to Beçikemi, Barleti was strikingly reluctant in his praise. He left Antonio Loredan without a name, let the other Venetians play a minor role, and, more shockingly than all that, he expressed no explicit thanks to his main dedicatee, the doge, for his personal contribution to the care of the refugees as one of the *cinque savi*. Admittedly, Beçikemi and Barleti moved in different genres, Beçikemi's speech was a *panegyricus*, Barleti's book a work of history. Even so, *De Obsidione* could easily have found room for some flattering acknowledgement of the support the immigrants had received from Venice.

The bitterness of peace

There is, of course, no explicit criticism of *Venice* in *De Obsidione*; that would have been unthinkable. The negative evaluation consists in omissions of the praise that might have been expected. Besides, in one important passage towards the end of the story the rhythm is remarkable, shifting back and forth between slow, detailed reporting and brief phrases coming down almost as blows. When the sultan realised that he was unable to conquer the town, he returned to Constantinople and left his commanders to exhaust the citizens by starvation. Barleti describes in horrid detail how the citizens gradually were compelled to eat whatever edible they could find, still without wavering in their decision not to surrender. Immediately after comes the following passage:

And look! on Sunday 20 December some Italians arrived under the walls. They greeted the citizens of Shkodra and announced to them that a Venetian diplomat was present. He was on his way back from the Ottomans in Constantinople where he had negotiated for peace. They invited them to cheer up since they would not remain under siege much longer.¹⁵

For the reader this *ecce*, look! comes as a shock. In Sabellico's *History of Venice* it is related how a secretary called Ioannes Darius had been negotiating with the sultan during the siege, but Barleti tells the story from inside the fortress, and his readers are not told what the eyewitness did not know. The description has concentrated so much on the awful conditions under which

¹⁵ “Et ecce decimo tertio Kalend. Ianuarias die Dominico Itali quidam sub moenibus apparuerunt qui Scodrenses salutantes, eis nunciauerunt Oratorem Venetorum adesse, qui pro pace impetranda ab Ottomano Constantinopoli proficiscebatur, hortabanturq; eos, vt bonum animum haberent, quòd non diu in obsidione futuri essent” (268v).

the poor, but proud, citizens had lived that the *ecce* is unbearable: the Venetians had solved the problem without any consultation with the Shkodrans. They were not even properly informed, but just told the news by “some Italians”. Later a message was delivered to the Venetian governor, containing the conditions of peace. This is reported in a few lines, after which an important Albanian citizen delivers a wonderful long speech to his compatriots explaining why they cannot possibly accept to share their town peacefully with the Turks. The speech takes up more than four pages, after which the author spends just half a page on relating how the Turks took over and the Albanians departed. The very last words are as follows:

For the dignity and holy power of this city [Venice] they had fought bitterly for so long and sacrificed their belongings, blood, parents, children, hometown, and lives; under its auspices they had defeated the most threatening enemy; in its shade they would spend fortunate and happy days until death; and finally, staying with them they would end their lives laudably to the best of their abilities.¹⁶

The praise of Venice is balanced by the description of how dearly the citizens of Shkodra had paid for the safe haven they were now approaching.

Let us return to the dedicatory letter that introduces the work and some noteworthy aspects of it. Barleti compares the siege of Shkodra with two famous sieges during the second Punic War as told by Livy, the events around Saguntum and Casilinum. There is nothing special about that; Merula had made the same point in his description of the first siege of Shkodra, and in his work this appears just as one of the usual references to ancient Roman parallels. However, whereas Merula used the comparison to assert that the suffering of the citizens of Shkodra was just as fierce as what the ancient populations had experienced, Barleti’s point is different: Shkodra caused Mehmet just as difficult problems as Saguntum and Casilinum did Hannibal. Besides, it is worth considering for a moment the story Livy tells of Saguntum (21.7). The geographical layout of the besieged towns, Saguntum and Shkodra, make them similar: both are in a coastal area while the city for whose interests the war was fought is placed on the other side of the sea. In both Saguntum and Shkodra the citizens expected help from the superior power, but in vain. In the case of Saguntum, Livy tells, the reason was that the senators in Rome discussed the case for so long that Hannibal conquered the town in the meantime. As for Shkodra, Venice did not even consider

¹⁶ “Pro cuius dignitate, sanctissimoque imperio tamdiu acerrimè pugnaverant, opes, sanguinem, parentes, liberos, patriam, vitamque deuouerant: cuius auspicio infestissimum hostem deuicerant, sub cuius vmbra ad mortem vsque dies faustos lætosque ducerent, apudque illos tandem laudabilem pro viribus suis vitam finirent” (271r).

sending help; instead, they negotiated with the enemy behind the back of the starving citizens. Here, again, I find a silent, bitter criticism of Venice.

Towards the end, Barleti states that “these faithful souls were not left without reward, but they were all taken care of with great humanity”.¹⁷ This is, of course, an important note to end on, but Barleti’s wording is strangely brief. In his statement of the same fact, Sabellicus had been precise and detailed, telling how the various refugees were each given jobs which suited their special abilities. Not least considering that Barleti was addressing the doge who had been one of those in charge of the reward, a more rhetorically decorated expression of gratitude would have been natural.

Barleti highlights the fact that the small fortress of Shkodra was not conquered, but won a glorious victory over the Ottoman army. Besides, even though these citizens deserve pity they are not called pitiful. The catastrophe they were hit by is called *miserabilis calamitas* / *sæuissima fortuna* / *acerbissima casus* (a pitiful calamity / cruel fortune / bitter disaster), while for the citizens themselves only positive adjectives are used: four times in the brief text they are called *fidelissimi* (faithful) and once *innocentissimi* (innocent), and both in the preface and in the following description of the events, Barleti dwells upon the unbelievable fact that the citizens of Shkodra won over Mehmet. The overall message of *De Obsidione* is that the Shkodrans are not poor victims, but proud victors and should be respected as such.

The reaction

The sources do not mention how the addressees reacted, and we do not know where Barleti spent the next years of his life. Nadin thinks that he went to Rome, where his next book was published. Her studies of the Albanian exile community in Venice show that the nobleman Girolamo Donà was very active in supporting the intellectual Albanians, especially Beçikemi.¹⁸ The publisher Bernardino de Vitali was in Rome at least from 1506, and Nadin thinks that both he and Barleti came there as part of Donà’s entourage when in April-July 1505 he was sent on a diplomatic mission to the pope, and that they both stayed on there.¹⁹ I remain unconvinced. Nadin has no documentation of any connection between Donà and Barleti, which does not, of course, show that such a connection did not exist. Still, if *De Obsidione* had been a success and Barleti had been accepted as a client by Donà, would he not have

¹⁷“...non sine premio fuisse fideles huiusmodi animos derelictos, quibus omnibus tanta humanitate consultum est.”

¹⁸ Nadin 2012, 39, 57.

¹⁹ Nadin 2012, 53.

been mentioned? Except for his published works, Barleti seems to disappear completely from the sources; the last mention of him is from 1495, if I read Nadin correctly. In comparison, Beçikemi's name pops up often.²⁰

These must have been the years when Barleti composed his major work, the biography of Scanderbeg. His sources were mainly oral, and I find it probable that he found them among his most familiar compatriots, the Albanians in Veneto. He mentions one of them, Petrus Angelus, a nobleman who was living a modest life in Padova, he, too, a refugee; his home was the cultural centre of the Albanian exile community in Venice.²¹ In the preface to his *Compendium* Barleti tells that he and Angelus often talked of Scanderbeg, and that Angelus had been the one to suggest that he should write the biography. Besides, I imagine that Barleti was eagerly cultivating his network among the other exiles. Almost four decades had passed since the hero's death, and Barleti must have felt in a hurry to talk with those who still had a first-hand memory of him. How would he have had time for travelling to Rome? In my imagination he was leading a quiet life in Piovene, spending all his free time working on the biography.

However that may be, Barleti found another dedicatee for the biography of Scanderbeg. Donferrante, grandchild of the hero and his oldest living descendant, lived in the kingdom of Napoli and was the duke of San Pietro in Galatina, and Barleti offered his book to him. He was, of course, an obvious choice, but also in this case the preface is unusual, for except for the very first words in which Donferrante is presented the author does not mention him. Not a word is spent on the relationship between Ferrante and Scanderbeg, no moralising remark of the duties inherent in having such a glorious ancestor, and absolutely no hint of a wish for patronage. The dedicatory letter is impersonal, a lament for the state of affairs in what once was a proud and free people under the leadership of the great Scanderbeg. Why this is so, I do not know. Perhaps Barleti had never met his dedicatee?

In both prefaces, to the story of Shkodra as well as to the biography of Scanderbeg, the author excuses that he has taken on a task that is too heavy for him, and claims that there are others who would have been better suited for it; in the preface to the biography he dwells a little on how these unnamed others are publishing speeches and philological works in a steady stream, and it is evident to think that Beçikemi is the one to be criticised.²² Barleti himself asserts that rather than leaving the task undone he prefers to risk being ridiculed as uncouth; the adjective used is *subrusticus*, which characterises a

²⁰ Shuteriqi 1987, 49–51.

²¹ Pall 1938, 99–105; Schmitt 2000, 159–161; Nadin 2008, 34–35.

²² Shuteriqi 1987, 59.

person from the countryside who lacks urbanity. I read this as a reference to his experience of how *De Obsidione* had been received by his potential Venetian readership.

What a change when we turn to the preface of Barleti's third and last work, *Compendium*! The aim of it is to document the royal ancestry of Petrus Angelus. All his life he had modest support from the Venetian state in acknowledgement of his brave resistance against the Turks.²³ He was no wealthy man. Barleti's dedicatory letter describes the warm friendship which exists between him and Petrus Angelus and the preface develops into a wonderful eulogy of the addressee, his courage, wisdom, discipline, modesty, scholarship, and sense of justice. In this connection Barleti actually calls himself his dedicatee's client. His wording highlights the personal feelings; he speaks of himself in diminutive, but still as a kind of equal, as Angelus' small client and good brother (*tuus clientulus, bonusque frater*). In this case, where no benefits were involved, Barleti had no reservations against flattery.

Scanderbeg's final words

Barleti is considered to give a very positive account of Venice's role in the events,²⁴ and that is certainly true as long as one reads only the written lines, not what is said between the lines. Just like *De Obsidione, Historia de Vita et Gestis Scanderbegi* ends with a scene full of unspoken bitterness. The hero is on his deathbed, his allies and commanders are with him, and so are some diplomats from Venice. He has given a long and emotional speech to them, making accounts of his life and deeds, stimulating them to continue the fight, and recommending his young son Johannes to them. To him he gives detailed advice about what to do. After his father's death he will be in a very dangerous situation, and therefore he and his mother must go to Italy, to the towns which the king of Naples once gave them. He shall remain there until he has grown up and then proceed to Venice. Now follows a statement of the excellent relations Scanderbeg has always had to the city, how the wise and pious senators have promised to save his realm for his son, and how they have always been the defenders of widows and orphans. Johannes shall approach them full of trust, and they will give him back his father's towns, communities, kingdom and realm. He shall always take their advice, they are strong, wise, and victorious, and they have never failed a friend.

On the surface this is a fantastic eulogy of Venice, dwelling on the special traits which were dominant in the self-understanding of the city. However, four decades after the hero's death both author and readers knew what had

²³ Pall 1938, 63.

²⁴ Schmitt 2009, 56, 299–300; Nadin 2012, 89.

happened in the meantime. Venice had not taken care of Scanderbeg's kingdom, but made armistice with his enemies in 1479 and peace in 1503. There was no Albania for Johannes to take over, and the attempts both he and his eldest son had made to reconquer what they had lost, had been supported only half-heartedly by Venice²⁵. Rather than laudation, the speech is a revelation of the hypocrisy of the city.

What had Barleti hoped to achieve when in his first book he appealed to the doge and signoria for patronage? In my reading, what he applied for was the kind of contract in which the patron allows the client to lean on his authority. I imagine that he expected his argumentation to convince the senate to use its status and power to support the faithful Shkodrans so that finally they would receive the respect their glorious achievement deserved, and that the doge himself should recommend Barleti as an important historian. If so, it turned out that he had been *subrusticus*.²⁶

²⁵ For these events, see Petta 2000, 27–38.

²⁶ I am very thankful to Angelos Sakkopoulos, who revised my English.

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The first editions are complicated to use because of their many abbreviations, and *De Obsidione* 1504 is very rare. I use *De Obsidione* 1578 and *De Vita Scanderbegi* 1537. Lonicerus, however, omitted the prefaces; I have read the preface to *De Obsidione* at the Royal Library of Stockholm.

I am deeply grateful to Johann Ramminger, who at an early stage supplied me with scanned versions of *De Obsidione* 1578, *Historia de Vita Scanderbegi* 1508/10, *Historia de Vita Scanderbegi* 1537, and even hand-copied parts of *Compendium Vitarum Pontificum* 1555.

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LATIN LETTERS AND AN AMERINDIAN VERNACULAR:



The creation of Nahuatl literature in early colonial Mexico

By Andrew Laird*

Literature in Nahuatl was engendered by the interaction between Latin and Nahuatl after the Spanish incursion into Mexico. Missionaries initially viewed Amerindian tongues as vernaculars – from which Latin, constituted from written letters, was categorically distinct. But the dominant directionality of translation from Latin to Nahuatl characterised the practical relation between the two languages, and an illustrative review of specific texts shows that Nahuatl literature, conveyed by the Roman alphabet, was generated from a culture of translation. Although that literature has many distinctive features, its emergence in the 1500s followed the template of the earlier rise of vernacular writing in Europe.

Only a few months after the Aztecs had been finally defeated by Hernán Cortés in August of 1521, the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V sent the first three Franciscan missionaries to Mexico, all of whom were from Flanders. One of them, a lay brother named Pieter de Muer, better known as Pedro de Gante or Peter of Ghent, wrote a letter reporting on his experiences to his Flemish *confrères* which begins as follows:

Dilectissimi patres fratres et sorores, multa ad vos scribere cuperem de hac regione in qua nunc viuimus, sed tempus et memoria mihi deficiunt. Plurimum etiam me impedit, quod linguam meam vernaculam jam penitus sum oblitus, ut in ea vobis pro desyderio meo sufficienter scribere non valeam. Et si scripsero lingua Indica, vos me non intelletis. Hispanicae tamen linguae parum noui, in qua vobis, prout potero, pauca significabo.¹

*This essay is dedicated to Marianne Pade, in admiration of her scholarship and in gratitude for her generosity as an editor, teacher and friend.

¹ Gante 1529 [1534, 124r].

Dearest Fathers, Brothers and Sisters, I wanted to write many things to you about this country in which we are now living; but I am short of time and memory. A very great hindrance is that I have now utterly forgotten all of my native tongue; so that I do not have sufficient ability to write to you in it in accord with my wishes – and if I wrote in the Indian language, you would not understand me. I have got to know a little Spanish, though, in which, as far as I am able, I will convey a few things to you.²

A preoccupation with language is exhibited again in the closing part of the letter, which may well contain the first ever sentence in Nahuatl to have been read in Europe:

Optarem autem vehementer, vt aliquis ex vobis amore Dei suscipere vellet laborem vertendi hanc epistolam in linguam Flandricam siue Teutonicam, eamque ad meos parentes destinaret, vt saltem aliquid de me certi et boni audirent, me videlicet adhoc viuere et recte valere. Vnde Deo sit laus & gloria. Non est aliud quod pro hoc tempore ultra velim scribere: tametsi permulta de his regionibus facile enarrare possem nisi linguam meam vernaculam prorsus neglexissem... *Ca yeix quichi mamotu neoa ytote oh ytotia tucauh y Iesu Christo*, Quod sic interpretatur: non est praeterea quod dicam, laudetur Deus noster et benedictus Filius ejus Iesus Christus. Scriptae sunt hae literae anno Domini 1529. Mensis Iunii die vicesima septima. Ex Messico, in coenobio sancti Francisci.³

So I am keenly hoping that one of you, for the love of God, will not mind taking on the job of translating this letter into Flemish or German and sending it to my parents, so that they might hear some definite good news about me, that I am plainly still alive and faring well – for which praise and glory be to God. There is not anything else I would like to write for the time being, for all that I could easily recount a great deal about these regions, if I had not completely neglected my native language... *Ca yeix quichi mamotu neoa ytote oh ytotia tucauh y Iesu Christo*, which translates like this: I have nothing to say other than may our God and his blessed Son Jesus Christ be praised. These words were written in the year of the Lord 1529, on 27th June. From Mexico City, in the Convent of Saint Francis.

Fray Pedro de Gante did indeed write the letter in Spanish, as he states, but the fact that the text survives only in a Latin translation, made by another Franciscan, Amandus Zierixenses, is revealing. Zierixenses' *Chronica compendiosissima* (1534), a collection of testimonies from various parts of

² Transcriptions and translations are my own.

³ Gante 1529 [1534, 127r].

the world to convey a particular historical eschatology, naturally relied on Latin as a medium for communication across geographical and regional boundaries.

Humanist theory and practice bearing on the relation of Latin to vernacular languages shaped much of the cultural history of early modern Europe. Fray Pedro de Gante's letter, however, invites reflection on how ideas of that relation were received and transformed, in the wake of imperial expansion, in regions like the Americas where non-European languages were and are widely spoken. That will be the frame for the present account of literature in Nahuatl: its emergence in sixteenth-century Mexico can be productively compared to the rise of European vernacular literatures – and it will also be shown that many of the first works to be composed in the Mexican language have a historical relation to Latin. A similar case might possibly be made for literatures which developed later in the 1500s in one or two other Amerindian languages, such as Quechua in the Andes, or Purépecha in the southwestern Mexican region of Michoacán.⁴

The opening part of this discussion will review another text by a Franciscan missionary in New Spain which offers a helpful illustration of the way in which an educated Spaniard conceived the difference between Latin and vernacular in the Americas (1). Specific aspects of the relation between Latin and Nahuatl in post-conquest Mexico will then be considered (2), before some examples of Nahuatl texts will be used to give an idea of how a written vernacular literature in the Mexican language was generated and took shape (3). A short conclusion will identify parallels between that Nahuatl corpus and European Latin and vernacular literature (4).

1. Latin and vernacular in a new world

Cristóbal Cabrera, who joined the Franciscan order after his arrival in Mexico in the early 1530s, translated maxims from Latin and Greek patristic authors into Spanish for a volume later published as *Flores de consolacion* (1549). The collection had originally been made for the Marquesa Juana de Zúñiga, wife of the conquistador Hernán Cortés.⁵ An excerpt from Cabrera's dedicatory letter to the Marquesa is worth revisiting because it shows how humanist presuppositions about Latin and vernacular had a bearing on indigenous languages:⁶

⁴ Cf. Itier 1995; Durston 2007; Universidad Michoacana 1982; Monzón 1997; Monzón 2012, 113–114 lists the few extant sixteenth-century Purépecha texts, which were all by missionaries.

⁵ Andrés Iñigo Silva has located Cabrera 1549, long thought lost, in the library of the Complutense University of Madrid.

⁶ Cf. Laird 2019a, 118–122.

De buena gana hize lo que pude en la traducion deste libro por servir a v[uest]ra señoria, sino va mi romance tan polido como lo hilan algunos retóricos castellanos, no es de maravillar porque al cabo de tanto tiempo como ha que peregrino por estas tierras y naciones barbaras, donde se tracta mas la lengua de los indios que la Española, y donde se tiene por barbaro el que no es barbaro entre los barbaros, no es mucho que este olvidado de la elegancia de la lengua castellana. Quanto mas que no soy muy curioso del romance; veolo poco, tratolo poco, se bien que no lo se bien. Tomemos el tronco, que es la doctrina. Dexemos las ramas que son las palabras, las cuales al fin no pueden ser mas que palabras.⁷

With the best will I did what I could in the translation of this book out of service to your ladyship, but if my vernacular is not as polished as that which some Castilian rhetoricians spin, it is no wonder, because after so much time as a wanderer in these lands and among these barbarous peoples, where the language of the Indians is used more than Spanish, and where one who is not a barbarian is regarded as a barbarian among the barbarians, it is of little account that I am forgetful of the elegance of the Castilian tongue. What is more, I am not very curious about the vernacular: I rarely see it, I rarely use it, I know well that I do not know it well. Let us keep the trunk of our education; let us leave the branches which are the spoken words, which in the end cannot be more than spoken words.

It was common enough for Renaissance scholars to affect disregard for their native tongue, and Cabrera himself authored far more work in Latin than in Spanish.⁸ His claim that that he made little use of the vernacular has all the more credibility, because as he remarks, Spanish was spoken less than native languages in the places he had been posted.

Yet while this writer’s experience of being a “barbarian among barbarians” recalls the predicament of the exiled Ovid in a general way, the situation leads him only to be forgetful of Spanish, not of Latin.⁹ Latin was seen as being of a different order from everyday spoken languages and Cabrera’s image of a tree with its branches was a visualisation of this: the trunk of *doctrina* corresponds to the acquired *langue* of Latin, the incarnation of grammar itself, while the branches of “palabras” or *parole* correspond to all the varieties of everyday speech (presumably ‘barbarian’ or indigenous American tongues as well as European ones), which are interchangeable and less important. That interchangeability between vernaculars is nicely demonstrated at the end of the dedication:

⁷ Cabrera 1549, fol. vii r–v.

⁸ Ruiz 1977.

⁹ Ovid, *Tristia* 5.7.55–56, 5.10.37; cf. Saint Jerome, *Epistulae* 7.2; *Commentarii in epistulam Pauli apostoli ad Galatas* 3, “Praefatio”.

En Cuernauaca, o como los Indios dizen, Cohaunauac, el mas fresco y apazible pueblo dela nueva España. xxv. de Mayo.¹⁰

In Cuernavaca, or, as the Indians say, “Quauhnhuac”, the most refreshing and peaceful town in New Spain, 25th of May.

Cuernavaca and its Indian name are set in equivalence. *Cuauhnhuac* (as the name is now written) means ‘place beside the trees’: this could be another allusion to the conventional image of language as a tree, with Latin as the trunk.¹¹ The potential implication that Amerindian languages could be viewed, like Spanish and Italian, as offshoots from the trunk of Latin may not have seemed too far-fetched in the 1500s when Latin was still generally regarded, not as the source of the ‘natural’ and corruptible Romance languages, but as an artificial medium of *grammatica*, which had been refined from them.¹²

There is an important further point: the idea of writing and literacy was always fundamental to the conception of grammar: its derivation from the Greek γράμματα, letters, was well known owing to the wide dissemination of Isidore of Seville’s *Etymologies* in the Hispanic world.¹³ This was connected with the four parts of grammar, derived from Priscian, which Nebrija, Perotti and other grammarians of Latin (including Fray Maturino Gilberti in Mexico) took as their point of departure.¹⁴ The first and most fundamental part was the letter, *littera*; followed by the syllable, then the word or *dictio*, and finally *oratio*, full blown discourse or speech. This schema was pervasive, but the missionaries did recognise there was an indigenous writing system in Mexico which included both logograms (to represent words) and syllabograms, but Roman alphabetic writing rapidly became dominant, although colonial codices were often hybrid in nature.¹⁵

2. Latin and Nahuatl

While missionary linguists may have sought to accommodate Amerindian tongues into their linguistic scheme by viewing them as vernaculars, their *artes* or manuals of Nahuatl show they soon realised that Latin could not serve as a universal system of explanation for every language. In the opening

¹⁰ Cabrera 1549, viii v.

¹¹ Lockhart 2001, 23.

¹² Dante, *De vulgari eloquentia* 1.9 is the *locus classicus* for this view; cf. Eco 1995: 34–39; Gravelle 1988; Mazzocco 1993.

¹³ Isidore, *Etymologies* 1.5.1.

¹⁴ Priscian, *Institutiones grammaticae* 2.14 [Keil 1855 ii, 53], Perotti 1473, 1r. [2010, 21]; Nebrija 1495, book 3 (unpaginated); Nebrija 1492, Book 1, cap. 1; Gilberti 1559, 5r [2003 i, 88].

¹⁵ Boone 2011; Whittaker 2021.

chapter of his foundational *Arte de la lengua mexicana* (1547), Fray Andrés de Olmos acknowledged that the Mexican language lacked many categories that were conspicuous in Latin: “declinations, supines, and the types of words to denote the diversity of them... accents and other subjects do not bear on this tongue”.¹⁶ Olmos made clear that the very way he organised his exposition of Nahuatl had been determined by its distinctive nature:

Primeramente se porna la conjugacion, no como en la gramatica, pero sino como la lengua lo pide y demanda, porque algunas maneras de dezir que nosotros tenemos en nuestra lengua, o en latina, esta no las tiene. Y pareceme que sera confusion, por no salir de la conjugacion del latin, poner algunos romances en tiempos que no les pueden cuadrar, como parecera en la conjugacion de los verbos, por tanto a ninguno le parezca nouedad sin prouecho, pues se dara en la formacion la causa dello.¹⁷

First, the conjugation is set out not as it is in [Latin] grammar, but in the way the language requires and demands, because it does not have some manners of expression which we have in our own language or in Latin. In my view keeping to Latin conjugation and putting some vernaculars in tenses that they do not fit would be confusing, as would be apparent in the conjugation of verbs, so this new system should seem advantageous to everyone since the basis of it will be clear when it is set out.

Latin did not serve Olmos as a benchmark against which phenomena of the object language could be measured. Instead he invoked Latin and Castilian in order to highlight what was *different* about Nahuatl, which in the end had to be explained in terms of its own linguistic behaviour.

Fray Alonso de Molina was just as aware of the pitfalls of using Latin grammar as a template for ordering Nahuatl in his own *Arte de la lengua mexicana y castellana* (1571), although he followed the general scheme of Nebrija’s *Introducciones latinae*.¹⁸ In his *Arte mexicana* (1595), the Jesuit Antonio del Rincón used Latin terms as points of reference far more frequently than Olmos or Molina because he assumed his readers were familiar with them: “In whatever way it is possible to make use of Latin grammar I will always be hugging it close.”¹⁹ “But”, he continued, “in the

¹⁶ Olmos 1547, 23r [2003, 15].

¹⁷ Olmos, 1547, 44r [2003, 59].

¹⁸ Molina 1571; Nebrija 1495.

¹⁹ Rincón 1595 [1885, 11–12] “Prólogo al lector”. Rincón’s style thus could be macaronic e.g. [1885, 12]: “En lugar de *hic, haec, hoc* usan, *inin*, v.g. *inincalli, haec domus*; en lugar de *iste*, usan *inon* v.g. *inoncalli ista domus. ille, illa, illud*, no le tienen propriamente. Usan de circumloqucion, diziendo *in nechcaca*, lo que esta alli. En lugar de *qui, quae, quod*, usan de este relativo, *in*, indeclinable, v.g. *intlaqua, qui comedit*.”

other respects in which the present language differentiates itself from Latin, because they involve new things, it has been necessary to reduce those to new rules, with the new style that is required.” Rincón was also alert to the profound differences between the different autochthonous tongues of Mexico and he opposed the application of one standardised approach to teaching them:

No es posible guardarse en todo un mismo methodo y arte, en enseñar todas las lenguas, siendo ellas (como lo son) tan distantes y diferentes entresi, antes la vniformidad en esto seria gran disformidad, y por consiguiente confusion y estoruo para quien les desprendiesse.

It is not possible to keep wholly to the same method and technique in teaching all the languages, being as they are so distant and different from each other. Uniformity in this would be a great deformity which would consequently lead to confusion and trouble for whoever might learn them.²⁰

That is in accord with the precept of Juan Luis Vives that “no language is so copious and varied that it can respond throughout to the figures and conformations of another, even a very inarticulate one” (“nulla est enim adeo copiosa lingua et varia, quae possit per omnia respondere figuris et conformationibus etiam infantissimae”).²¹ None of the first missionary linguists in New Spain seemed to believe that all languages shared a common underlying system or *ratio* – although the speculative theories associated with the medieval ‘modist’ grammarians were being revived in the 1500s by Julius Caesar Scaliger and Franciscus Sanctius.²²

It remains to consider the perspective Nahuatl-speaking converts might have had of Latin. The few who received an advanced education soon discerned that literacy and literature – both *litterae sacrae* and *litterae humaniores* – were inextricably bound up with Latin because the fundamental atomic unit of grammar was the letter, *littera*. This is indicated in an excerpt from a 1561 petition by the indigenous governors of Azcapotzalco to Philip II which was actually written in Latin:

praedecessores suae tempore gentilitatis fuere admodum rustici, abiecti, nudi et corporis et animae dotibus, inter quas primas habent virtutes ac litterae, quas profecto ne per somnium quidem novere.²³

²⁰ Rincón 1595 [1885, 11].

²¹ Vives 1533, 3.57 [2017, 408].

²² Scaliger 1540; Sanctius 1587. This universalising tendency culminated in the “Port-Royal Grammar” of Arnauld & Lancelot 1660.

²³ Molina, Hernández & Zacharias 1561, 1r.

Our ancestors, in the time they were pagan, were very simple, lowly and bare of endowments for body and soul, among which the foremost are virtues and letters, which our ancestors did not come to know even in their dreams.

Less can be ascertained about what the symbolic value may have been attached to Latin by the larger indigenous population in early colonial Mexico. Numerous sources call attention to the fact that Latin prayers and formulae were incomprehensible to the majority of natives, just as they were to the masses in Europe. In his Christian doctrine in the Mexican language, which was written for wide circulation Fray Pedro de Gante quoted the *Ave Maria* in Latin and adds this remark:

Jnin latin tlatolli camo ticcaqui. ma tiquitocan totlatolpan.²⁴

These Latin words you do not understand. Let us say it in our language.

A translation of the *Ave Maria* is then given in Nahuatl. Later on in the same text the *Salve Regina* is also quoted in the original Latin before being translated, again prompting a similar comment:

Jnic huel ticcaquizue to tlatolpan monequi tiquitozque.²⁵

So that we can understand it [the *Salve Regina*], it is necessary that we say it in our words.

Speakers at the Council of Trent had already been happy to affirm that the Latin rite induced a sense of reverence in those who had little or no comprehension of the language.²⁶ In the light of that sentiment it is interesting to note that the first printed dictionary from Spanish into Nahuatl published in Mexico in 1555 by Fray Alonso de Molina took the trouble to include Nahuatl equivalents not only for ‘Latin’, but also for ‘Latinity’:²⁷

Spanish:	Nahuatl:
<i>Latin, lengua latina</i>	→ <i>latin tlatolli</i> [Latin word/speech, Latin language]
<i>Latinidad desta lengua</i>	→ <i>latin tlatollotl</i> [Latin wordness, essence of Latin] <i>latin tlatoliztli</i> [the speaking of Latin, Latin eloquence].

²⁴ Gante, 1553, 79v.

²⁵ Gante 1553, 81r.

²⁶ Coletti 1987, 27, 220–222; Waquet 2001, 41–50.

²⁷ Molina 1555, 152v.

Molina's dictionary was expressly compiled for those preaching to natives, as was a prior anonymous manuscript vocabulary of Latin, Spanish and Nahuatl which also supplied terms for Latin and Latinity.²⁸ By thus making Indians aware of Latin and conveying a sense of its importance, missionaries were in effect affirming a social division based on knowledge of the language. Such forms of exclusion also operated in Europe: as Françoise Waquet has noted there were "relations of authority, inevitably asymmetric, that used to exist between those who knew Latin and those who did not".²⁹

Sixteenth-century dictionaries of Nahuatl were active, making clear that the practical relation between Latin and the Mexican language, initiated by the missionaries and sustained by their indigenous students, was based on a directionality from Latin to Nahuatl (or from Spanish, through Latin, to Nahuatl). The Franciscans arrived in Mexico in the 1520s – the aforementioned trilingual vocabulary is likely to date from the 1540s.³⁰ A Nahuatl to Spanish lexicon only appeared 1571 in a revised bidirectional version of Fray Alonso de Molina's original 1555 *Vocabulario*.³¹ The preoccupation with translating *into* the Mexican language rather than translating back into Latin or Spanish was driven by the need to transmit the Christian message to a large native population.

The first alphabetic texts in the Mexican language were accurate translations from Latin of liturgy, Gospel and Epistles for lectionaries, excerpts from the Old Testament books, doctrines, catechisms and sermons.³² To produce all this material the friars obviously depended on the work of their indigenous students. As those students had been sequestered from their families as young children and immersed in Latin, the knowledge they had of their mother tongue would not have been as systematic. This was one reason why the conventions of Latin provided the matrix for their compositions in the Mexican language.

3. Nahuatl literature

The Council of Trent may have been responsible for generating all kinds of unexpected texts in Nahuatl. Restrictions on the dissemination of scripture in vernacular languages and biblical commentary are what probably inclined Franciscan scholars and their indigenous collaborators in Mexico to turn to

²⁸ *Dictionarium* c.1545.

²⁹ Waquet 2001, 230–231; cf. Bourdieu 1977; 1991, 37–104.

³⁰ Physical characteristics of the manuscript and the lack of the Spanish loan words in the Nahuatl vocabulary points to a date prior to Molina 1555.

³¹ Molina 1571b.

³² Laird 2019b, 2–13.

other kinds of writing.³³ Catalogues of extant colonial manuscripts and printed books compiled in recent years show how much writing in Nahuatl survives from the 1500s.³⁴ This material comprises all kinds of Christian didactic writing – some translated from Latin, some original – including dramas, saints’ lives and spiritual manuals; petitions, official records and legal documents; and also native codices and annals.

Popular accounts of Nahuatl literature, however, have often focused on a more limited group of texts which are thought to be rooted in pre-Hispanic ‘Aztec’ traditions or even to *be* pre-Hispanic, despite the fact that they contain conspicuous Christian elements.³⁵ The best known examples include: two manuscript collections of poems or songs, the *Cantares mexicanos*, “Songs in the Mexican Language” (transcribed in the 1580s) and the *Romances de los señores de la Nueva España* (1582); ritual and admonitory discourses generally labelled “*huehuetlatolli*”, “talks of the elders”; and Fray Bernardino de Sahagún’s *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España* (c. 1580), often known as the *Florentine Codex*, an encyclopaedic survey of pre-contact Mexican society and belief, drawn from indigenous oral testimonies.³⁶ The emphasis on items like these has created the image of a canon which is misleading. The constituents of that putative canon have been all too often considered in isolation from their context of production, from the manuscripts in which they have been transmitted, and even from the works of which they form a part.

The four texts surveyed below, two translations and two original works, can hardly be any more representative of such a large corpus, but these examples have been selected in order to give an impression of the development and increasing autonomy of Nahuatl vernacular literature. The translations are discussed at greater length as they show various ways in which Latin could offer not only a source but also a model for Nahuatl expression.

(a) *Colloquios y Doctrina Christiana* (1564)

The *Colloquios y Doctrina Christiana* is an account of the exchanges between the Aztec high priests and the twelve Franciscan missionaries who arrived in Mexico in 1524. The account was authored in Spanish by Fray Bernardino de

³³ Laird 2019b, 13–21.

³⁴ Hernández de León-Portilla 1988; Sandoval Aguilar & Rojas Rabiela 1991; Schwaller 2001.

³⁵ Cf. e.g. León-Portilla 1956, regularly reprinted; Brotherston 1993. Garibay 1953–1954 is still the most comprehensive survey of literature in Nahuatl. An exemplary list of studies taking account of Christian Nahuatl literature is given in n. 64 below.

³⁶ Cf. *Cantares mexicanos* 1580s, *Romances* 1582; Sahagún c. 1580; Bautista Viseo 1601.

Sahagún forty years after the event and translated into Nahuatl. The Nahuatl version has received a great deal of critical attention, and there is seldom any acknowledgement that it is a translation, even though the Spanish text on which it was based is presented alongside it in the original manuscript.³⁷ Sahagún describes how the text and its translation were prepared:

La obra... a estado en papeles y memorias hasta este año de mil quinientos y sesenta y quatro, porque antes no uvo oportunidad de ponerse en orden ni convertirse en lengua mexicana bien congrua y limada; la qual se bolvio y limó en este Colegio de Santa Cruz de Tlatilulco este sobredicho año con los colegiales mas habiles y entendidos en lengua mexicana y en la lengua latina que hasta ora se an en el dicho colegio criado.³⁸

The work... was in papers and records until the present year of 1564 because before there had been no opportunity to put it in order, or into a Mexican language that was adequately congruous and polished; it was translated and polished in the College of Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco in the aforementioned year with the collegians with the best proficiency and understanding of the Mexican language and of the Latin language who have up to now been educated in the said college.

The College of Santa Cruz in Tlatelolco, where indigenous students were trained in Latin, was also where most Nahuatl literature was produced in the 1500s.³⁹ Sahagún names the collegians who assisted him with the *Colloquios y Doctrina christiana* as Antonio Valeriano, Alonso Vegarano, Martín Jacobita and Andrés Leonardo.

An exemplary excerpt shows why these Nahuatl-speaking collegians who assisted with the project needed to be Latinists. Book 1 chapter 7 consists of a moving speech in which one of the “priests of the idols” defends his beliefs to the Franciscan Twelve. Declaring that he will “offer a response, and with two or three arguments counter the [friars’] words” about the God who created them, he begins as follows:

³⁷ León-Portilla 1986, an edition of Sahagún 1564 which translates the text back into Spanish; Klor de Alva 1980 is an English translation of the Nahuatl; Mignolo 1995, 97 refers to “the original in Nahuatl”. Zimmerman 2012, 90 takes more account of Sahagún’s testimony quoted here, but still postulates a Nahuatl source text without consideration of the translators’ use of Latin.

³⁸ Sahagún 1564, 27v. (“Al prudente lector”).

³⁹ The college was founded in the district of Tlatelolco, an Indian enclave to the north of Mexico City to train an indigenous governing class drawn from the Indian nobility. Cf. n. 51 below.

Spanish:

Aueis nos dicho que no conocemos a aquel por quien tenemos ser y vida y que es señor del cielo y dela tierra: ansi mismo dezis que los que adoramos no son dioses: esta manera de hablar haze se nos muy nueua y es nos muy escandalosa, espantamonos de tal dezir como este: porque los padres y ante pasados que nos engendraron y regieron, no nos dixeron tal cosa.⁴⁰

You have told us that we do not know the one through whom we have existence and life, and who is lord of heaven and earth: accordingly you say that those we worship are not gods. This way of talking is very new and scandalous to us: we are shocked at speech like this, because the forefathers and precursors who engendered and ruled us did not tell us such things.

Nahuatl:

Anquimitalhuia ca amo tiximachilia in tloque nauaque in ilhuicaua in tlaticpaque. Anquimitalhuia ca amo nelli teteu in toteuuan. Ca yancuic tlatolli in anquimitalhuia, auh ic titlotlapolotia, ic titotezauia. Ca in totechiuhcaua yn oioco, yn onemico tlatlicpac, amo iuh quitoiui.⁴¹

You have told us that we do not know, [our Lord] of near and far of heaven and earth. You have told us that our gods are not true. For it is a new speech you have told us we are shocked at, we are horrified at. Because our progenitors, who were, who lived on the earth, did not speak thus.

Rather, the speaker says, the gods furnish all the forms of sustenance necessary to human life, and they dwell amidst flowers and greenery in Tlalocan, a realm unknown to mortals. The Aztec priest's refutation then consists of three admonitions: it would be unwise to change laws of ancient standing; the gods might be provoked and the people rise up; it is advisable to proceed slowly and calmly. These appeals correspond to the *topoi* of *utile*, *tutum*, and *prudens* in classical oratory and the structure of the entire speech, conforms to traditional *dispositio* – with an *exordium*, *partitio*, *narratio*, *confirmatio* or proof, *refutatio* of the opposing argument and a conclusion. Its content is a point-by-point retort to the friars' preceding arguments in Book 1, chapters 1–5, following the convention of a dialectical disputation.

Yet this oration continues to be regarded as an authentic expression of Aztec belief, despite all the indications to the contrary – including Sahagún's own testimony (already quoted) that the work of which it formed a part was based on material in Spanish. Even in Nahuatl the speech displays evidence

⁴⁰ Sahagún 1564, 36r (Book 1, chapter 7).

⁴¹ Sahagún 1564, 35v. (Book 1, chapter 7).

of artifice which is markedly European. The Mexican translators were applying their knowledge of Latin rhetoric directly to the Nahuatl version, and in doing so, were creating something strikingly new. Many Nahuatl works involved this process, akin to what the missionaries called *reducción*.

(b) The translation of Aesop (undated)

The manuscripts transmitting some fables of Aesop in Nahuatl do not yield any information about why or when they were composed, or by whom, but it is likely that they were also prepared in the College of Santa Cruz. The Nahuatl translations are based on Joachim Camerarius' *Fabellae aesopicae plures quadringentis* (1538) and they are strikingly faithful to their Latin source.⁴² The selection of 47 fables from several hundred in Camerarius' volume nonetheless gives the Nahuatl collection a particular character, enhanced by the last two fables it contains which will be reviewed here. Both of them show some small but significant deviations from their models.

Leon tequani yhuan cuitlachtli, "Fierce Lion and Wolf", (46) renders the substance of Camerarius' *Leo et lupus* in which the Lion, who has fallen ill, is visited by all animals in his kingdom except the Fox. The Wolf seeks to take advantage of this to turn the Lion against the Fox, but the Fox finds a way to reverse the situation:

Hac occasione capta, lupus uulpem grauissime accusare, quæ tam superbe despiceret regem suum, neque ad illum ægrotantem uiseret. Haec illo declamitante aduenit uulpes, et de clausula orationis, quam uehementer accusata esset, intelligens, & cernens leonem fremere ira, consilium coepit callidum & sui defendendi, & ulciscendi inimici, ac dicendi copia impetrata: Quænam igitur de cunctis animantibus inquit, tantam curam gerit salutis Regie, aut de tua uita ita, leo, sollicita est, ut ego? Que omnia loca peragro, ueftigans medicinam qua sanari posse uidearis...⁴³

Taking up the case, the Wolf made a very serious charge against the Fox for haughtily disrespecting her king and not coming to see him. But the Fox arrived when the Wolf was declaiming like this, and as she understood from the conclusion to his oration how forcefully she had been accused, and as she saw that the lion was seething with rage, she initiated a crafty plan both to defend herself and to avenge her enemy, making use of an abundance of expression: "But who out of all the

⁴² Laird 2017 conclusively identifies Camerarius' amplified versions of Aldus Manutius' fables as the Latin source text. That dispels the supposition (common to Kutscher, Brotherston & Vollmer 1987 and all other studies of the Nahuatl fables) that elaborations or departures from Aldus' or Accursius' editions were the work of the Mexican translator(s).

⁴³ Camerarius 1538, 59r.

animals”, she said “shows as much anxiety for your Royal health, or is so concerned about your life, Lion, as I am? I am the one who trailed through every place, tracking down a medicine with which you can clearly be cured...”

Camerarius’ narrative thus added a mock grandeur to the debate in front of the Lion by employing rhetorical technical terms to characterise both the speech made by the Wolf (*occasione captata*, “taking up the case”; *declamitante*, “declaiming”; *clausula orationis*, “the conclusion to the oration”) and the Fox’s defence which relied on *copia dicendi*, “abundance of expression”. There are no equivalents to these terms in Nahuatl and it is no surprise that the Ciceronian *clausula* (*posse videaris*) in the Fox’s speech cannot be captured either.

To achieve a comparable dramatic effect, the translation – in which *coyotl*, “coyote”, serves for *vulpes* – has to use quite different techniques:

Auh in cuitlachtli ynihuac ayac quitta coyotl yn oncan tetlahpaloloyan, (ca cenca mococoliaya) opeuh ye quiyollococoltia miztli; quilhui: “Tlahtohuanie, tla ye *xicmotili* yn inepohualiz coyotl, yn ahmo tehuan ohualla yn *mitzmotlapalhuiz*: ca nelli hamotle ipan *mitzmotilia*.” Auh in coyotl quin tepan ohuacico, ça achi in quicac yn ixqui teixpanhuiaya cuitlachtli. Auh in miztli yn ihuac oquittac coyotl, cenca otlancuitzo, quilhui: “Can oticatca, nocne. Cuix amo titlachia y nican omocenquixtique noteycahuan manehnemi nechtlapaloco. Auh ça tio yn ahmo nimitzitta.” Auh in coyotl oquinanquili yn miztli, quilhui: “Tla oc yhuian *xinechmocaquiti*, totecuiyoe. Cuix *timomatzinohua* haca yuhqui tequipachohua yn mococolitzin, yn iuh nehuatl nechtequipachohua. Ca oc nohuian oninemia yn nictemohua yn tlein yc pahtiz monacayotzin...”⁴⁴

When the Wolf noticed that the Coyote was not among the visitors (as they greatly hated each other), he began to upset the lion by saying: “O king! *Be so kind as to look at* the arrogance of the Coyote: because he has not come with the others *to greet you*, because *he does not value you* at all”. At that point the Coyote arrived in time to hear the Wolf’s accusations. The Lion, upon discovering the Coyote, bared his teeth and asked him: “Where were you, scoundrel? Can’t you see that my younger animal brothers, are gathered here to greet me? You were the only one I had not seen here.” The Coyote replied to him: “*Be so kind as to listen to me calmly*, my lord. *Do you know* of someone who cares about your

⁴⁴ *Nican ompehua* 1500s, 191r–v: speech marks and the italics indicating reverential forms are my own additions. Quotations of the Nahuatl fables are from the text of Biblioteca Nacional de México ms. 1628 bis with one exception (n. 47 below).

illness as much as I do? For that reason I was looking everywhere for a remedy to cure you...”

Here the Wolf’s motivation is externalised, as the propositions of his *oratio obliqua* are put into direct discourse; and a spoken reproach from the Lion is also inserted to convey the gravity of the accusation against the Coyote. In addition the reverential forms of address in Nahuatl (indicated above in italics) used by both the Wolf and the Coyote seem to offer an equivalent to the attribution of oratorical proficiency to the animals in the Latin narrative.

The very last fable of the collection *Ce cahcatzactli*, “Black man”, is a version of *Aethiops*, “African”, the story about a man who buys an African slave and tries to wash his natural colour away. The first of two significant changes to the original text is a modification to the final sentence of the story, which Camerarius gave as follows:

Verum mutare illum colorem non valuit, aethiops autem afflictus cura, in morbum incidit.⁴⁵

In fact he had no success in changing his colour, but the African was harmed by these efforts and fell ill.

The Nahuatl translation makes a small addition:

Auh in cahcatzactli ayc huel oquicauh yn icatzahuaca yn ipochehuaca, ça ye ilhuice yc peuh ye mococohua, [o]mic.⁴⁶

But the black man never lost his blackness, his smokiness. He became more ill through this treatment, he died.

Through the insertion of one word, *omic*, “he died”, at the very last word of the sentence, the end of this final fable is endowed with far more gravity: the master who abused his bought man now becomes responsible for his death.

A second alteration is an adjustment to the Latin moral, which Camerarius had amplified with a maxim from Aristophanes:

Significat fabula nullo pacto mutari ingenia & naturas, sed retinere insitas semper proprietates, & quasi personas sibi.

Recte igitur dicitur & hoc apud Aristophanem: Non poteris rectum cancris inducere gressum, Ne leves horrentis echini reddere sentes.

The fable means that characters and natures can by no means be changed, but always keep their ingrained properties, just as people keep their attributes.

⁴⁵ Camerarius 1538, 60r.

⁴⁶ *Nican ompehua* undated, 191v: has “mic” for *omic*.

So in Aristophanes [*Peace* 1083, 1088] it is correctly said “You will not be able to get crabs to walk in a straight line or to make smooth the spines of the spiky urchin.”

There is a close rendering of the actual moral:

Yni çaçanilli techmachtia, ca yn quenami ceceyaca yyeliz in o ipan tlatcat ayac huel occentlamantli ypan quicuepiliz.

This fable teaches us that in whatever way a person is born is his nature, nobody can change it into another.

In one of the two principal manuscripts of the Nahuatl translation a second moral follows, which endows the story with political significance:

Yni çaçanilli techmachtia ca niman ahmo huel oncan nemoa in altepetl itic in cani tepachoa çan no yehuanti teca moçaihua tetlacuicuilia ihuan tetolinia.⁴⁷

The fable teaches us that one cannot live well in a state where those who govern people are the ones who deceive them, steal from them and harm them.

In fact a high number of the fables in the Nahuatl collection are concerned with the social order and with the art of government, and this preoccupation is implicit in the full title of the collection: *Nican ompehua y çaçanillatolli yn quitlali ce tlamatini ytoca Esopo, ye techmachtia yn nehmatcanemiliztli* (Here begin the fables set down by the sage called Aesop to teach us thereby to live an orderly life).⁴⁸ Several manuscript works in Nahuatl from the sixteenth century thus reflected the current interest in princely education: they include a translation of Denis the Carthusian’s *De regimine politiae*, entitled *Izcatqui yn innemiliz yn tepachoa* (c. 1559), “Here is the Manner of Living of the Governors,” and an anonymous undated treatise *Izcatqui yn in tezca amauh, in tlahtoque*, “Here is a mirror-book for princes.”⁴⁹

(c) *Colloquios de la Paz, y tranquilidad christiana* (1540s)

The theme of good government pervaded other texts, including what may well be the first original literary work in Nahuatl. It was written in the 1540s by

⁴⁷ *Nican vmpeua* undated (Bancroft), 426.

⁴⁸ *Nican ompehua* undated, 179r.

⁴⁹ Molina, Ribas *et al.* c. 1559, is examined in Tavárez 2020; Berenice Alcántara Rojas and Mario Sánchez Aguilera are working on *Izcatqui yn in tezca amauh, in tlahtoque*. Erasmus’ *Institutio principis christiani* (1516) and Francesco Patrizi’s *De regno et regis institutione* (1519) circulated in New Spain. Indigenous students in Mexico were taught Latin with the expectation that they would serve the colonial administration as leaders or judges in their own communities: Laird 2017, 149–155.

Fray Juan de Gaona with the assistance of the native scholar Hernando de Ribas, and later revised for publication in 1582 as *Colloquios de la paz, y tranquilidad christiana* by Fray Miguel de Zárate.⁵⁰ The text, which consists of twenty instructive conversations between a friar and an Indian student, has never yet been translated into English or Spanish.

Despite the lack of any apparent European model or source, several classical personages are named, both in the manuscript and in the later embellished printed version.⁵¹ For instance, Chapter 5 “on the varied forms of knowledge in the soul... and the desirability of knowledge,” invokes a series of ancient thinkers:

Macamo nimitzteneutli icenca vei tlamatini Platon, amono nimitzteneuiliznequi in Pythagoras, noyehuatl in Architas, noyehuatl Apolonio.

Let me not refrain from praising then the great sage Plato, nor should I omit to mention Pythagoras, nor another, Archytas, nor another, Apollonius.⁵²

The printed text also elaborated on Hannibal and Alexander as cautionary *exempla* – Alexander for the impetuous killing of his friend Clytus, in chapter 13 “on the definition of patience.” Diogenes the Cynic, Zeno and Socrates and Stilpo are recalled in chapter 17 “on the loss of temporal things,” including Stilpo’s remark conveying that he relied on eloquence and wisdom rather than material possessions:

Omnia mea bona, mecum porto. quitoznequi. Inixquich naxca, çan nitic in nicpie.⁵³

Omnia mea bona, mecum porto, which means “All that is mine, is alone what I have and hold.”

The frequent classical references in this guide to Christian moral conduct and spiritual discipline suggest that it had a further symbolic function – to show off the aesthetic quality and versatility of the Mexican language to those who would appreciate the allusions. The published edition of the *Colloquios de la paz* printed marginal notes in Latin which called the reader’s attention to *exempla, comparationes* or *figurae* in the text.⁵⁴ Similar notes are to be found in editions of other works in Nahuatl prepared at Tlatelolco such as Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, *Psalmodia christiana* (1583), Fray Juan Bautista

⁵⁰ Gaona c. 1540; Gaona 1582.

⁵¹ On the problem of Gaona’s sources cf. Garibay 1954 ii, 191; Laird 2019b, 16–17 proposes Guibert de Tournai, *Tractatus de pace* written in the 1200s as a possible model.

⁵² Gaona 1582, 23.

⁵³ Gaona 1582, 106.

⁵⁴ Commendatory Latin elegiacs, sapphic stanzas and hexameters prefaced Gaona 1582.

Viseo, *Huehuetlahtolli* (c. 1601) and Fray Juan de Mijangos, *El espejo divino* (1607).

(d) Chimalpahin, *Relaciones* (c. 1630)

It is likely that all the Nahuatl texts reviewed or mentioned above originated at the Imperial College of Santa Cruz. The indigenous collegians were never given primary credit for their work – if they were named at all. Domingo Chimalpahin, however, who worked in the early 1600s, was a very different figure. He wrote in Nahuatl on his own initiative, not at the behest of a religious order or a college. His *Relaciones* and other annalistic histories, drawn for a range of native sources, offer a great deal of information about events in the pre-Hispanic times as well as the early colonial period.

While the use of Greco-Roman *exempla* came to be an occasional feature of Nahuatl literary discourse in the wake of Fray Juan de Gaona's *Colloquios de la paz*, the invocation of classical authorities is more typical of writing in disciplines, such as philosophy, theology, history and science. Chapter 1 of Chimalpahin's first *Relación* opens with quotations (in Nahuatl) from Plato's *Timaeus* and *Letters*.⁵⁵ References then follow to opening formulae from works by Diogenes Laertius, Lactantius, Eusebius and Augustine; from the Renaissance encyclopedists Caelius Rhodiginus, Battista Egnazio and Antonius Sabellicus; and from the Book of Genesis. It is alleged that the authors of all those texts invoke God's authority before embarking upon their work.

The importance of God as the creator is thus affirmed in the first chapter of the first *Relación* to establish a metaphysical and theological grounding for Chimalpahin's historical enterprise. There is also a maxim from Sophocles:

yn mitohua motenehua ypa yn i*Sentencias* in iyamauh yn itoca
Sophocles poeta tragico quitohuaya: “Ca ça niman amo tle oncatqui
qualli yectli ytzonquizca y nepeuhcayotl”.⁵⁶

It is stated that in the text of the *Sentencias* one named Sophocles the tragic poet said: “In short, there is nothing that may be deemed good and fortunate until its end is underway.”

⁵⁵ Chimalpahin 1630, 1v [1998, 31–33]. A forthcoming study by Carlos Diego Arenas Pacheco will identify the texts through which the classical and humanist titles specified here in the *Relaciones* were transmitted to Chimalpahin.

⁵⁶ Chimalpahin, *Relación* (c. 1630) 1.1, fol. 6r [1998 i, 32]. Marlianus 1545 fol. CIII recto, translates Sophocles, *Trachiniae* verses 1–3 into Latin: “Est vetus verbum apud homines vulgatum: / mortalium neminem, priusquam moriatur, / percipere posse felix ne sit, an infelix” (“There is an old saying put forth among men that no mortal can tell before he dies whether he is fortunate or unfortunate.”). Chimalpahin echoes the title of Marlianus' anthology: *Sophoclis tragici poetae vita*.

That quotation is an appropriate comment on annalistic historiography, which by its very nature can never lay claim to closure.

Chimalpahin, who adapted the conventions of indigenous Mexican record-keeping to the model of Isidore's *Chronicon*, was not the traditionalist representative of the Indian past he is often thought to be, but an innovator. His *oeuvre* represents a new phase in the development of Nahuatl, canonising it as a vehicle for scholarship as well as a medium for literature. Chimalpahin evidently sought to elevate his own language so that it could compete with the Spanish vernacular, and it is also conceivable he was claiming for Nahuatl a status more comparable to that of Latin.

4. Conclusions

The first Franciscans to learn Nahuatl regarded it as a vernacular: Fray Andrés de Olmos, for instance, referred to indigenous languages as *romances*.⁵⁷ Nonetheless, Olmos and other missionary linguists in his wake realised that the Mexican tongue resisted the taxonomies of Latin or *grammatica*, as it possessed its own “excellences and design” (*primores y buen artificio*).⁵⁸ The initial translation of liturgical texts and scripture into Nahuatl further elevated its status, an effect sustained and enhanced by the emergence of a new and original preceptive and devotional literature in the language.

A standard feature of European vernacular literatures was the accommodation of translations of Latin texts – this was especially true in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Iberia where scholars translated classical and Renaissance authors into the vernacular far more readily than Italian humanists. A second quality fundamental to the vernacular literatures which emerged in medieval Europe was their replication of genres, rhetoric, poetics from Latin literature, as well as their adoption of classical epithets, references and *exempla*.⁵⁹ Both of those characteristics had been the consequence of a gradual evolutionary process over the course of two or three centuries. But in Mexico, where there had been no alphabetically written discourse before the Spanish incursion, the same generic features defined a Nahuatl literary canon which was instituted within a couple of decades of the arrival of the Franciscan missionaries in 1523–1524. The rapid development continued in the 1600s: in using his native tongue as a medium for scholarly annalistic history, Chimalpahin made his own unilateral contribution to the *questione delle lingua* in colonial Mexico.

While the very first texts to be put into Nahuatl were for the use of missionaries, the significance of many subsequent translations made in the

⁵⁷ Cf. Olmos, 1547, 44r [2003, 59] quoted in section 2 above.

⁵⁸ Olmos 1547, 44r.

⁵⁹ Curtius 1953; Antonelli 1992.

1500s has received less consideration. Those translations served to signal the importance and authority of the language. The early modern practice of putting certain vernacular works into *Latin* – Cortés' *Cartas de relación* to Charles V for example – was actually comparable: the Latin version not only further promoted the original, but also affirmed the standing of Latin itself as a medium.⁶⁰ Today, the translation of English literature into Welsh, or of Spanish literature into Catalan, has a similar effect: readers of the translations may well be able to understand the literature in the original, but the translations in Welsh and Catalan are still perceived to be of value.

In any case it should be clear, even from this very selective survey, that Latin and Nahuatl had a sustained and intensive connection in the 1500s. Moreover, interest in the Christian elements of colonial Nahuatl writing has grown rapidly in recent years.⁶¹ Recognition of the importance of Latin letters for the development of an Amerindian vernacular now presents an opportunity for Europeanists to contribute to the interpretation of a remarkable body of literature by native Mexican authors.

⁶⁰ Burke 2007, 65 has discovered 1,140 Latin translations of works by known authors printed before 1799. between the invention of printing and the year 1799.

⁶¹ Cf. e.g. Burkhart 1989, 2001, 2011; Laird 2019b; Lara 2006; Pardo 2006; Tavárez 2011, 2020.

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POETIC CRISIS TALKS BETWEEN CONSTANTINOPLE AND ROME



By Marc Laureys*

In two verse epistles, written in the months leading up to Pius II's ill-fated journey to Ancona (June–July 1464), Nicolaus de Valle (1444–1473), a Roman humanist and translator of Homer and Hesiod, put on stage Constantinople and Rome as two sisters, the former in dire straits, the latter rushing to help. The two epistolary poems constitute a hitherto little noticed contribution to the debate surrounding a new crusade against the Turks in the aftermath of the fall of Constantinople and evince at the same time the early humanistic reception of Ovid's Heroides, in combination with a variety of other literary sources.

It is salutary to recall to mind now and then how fundamentally our research tools and methods have changed since the advent of the internet. The two texts I will deal with in this paper are a case in point. In 1990, Frans Slits in his invaluable monograph on the tradition of the *laus urbis* in verse had to confess that he was not able to trace the elegiac epistles, in which Nicolaus de Valle (1444–1473) portrayed the cities of Constantinople and Rome exchanging letters in the aftermath of Constantinople's fall to the Ottoman Turks.¹ Today it takes only a few seconds to find these texts through several digital catalogues and databases. The two verse epistles were printed twice in Rome, first separately by Johannes Schurener around 1475–1476, and then together by Stephan Planck around 1488. The composition of the texts themselves has been dated between September/October 1463, when Pius II

* For Marianne, in honor of her scholarship that has illuminated and continues to illuminate the Renaissance humanists' efforts at bridging the Greek and Latin worlds.

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¹ Slits 1990, 339, n. 20.

decided and announced that he would lead a new crusade,² and March 1464, when Pius II's most important ally, the Burgundian Duke Philip III ('the Good'), had withdrawn his support and Pius II in that year's bull *In coena Domini* (traditionally promulgated on the feast of Holy Thursday) threatened to excommunicate all princely rulers, who obstructed the crusade.³

This time frame falls squarely within the relatively short period, 1460–1465, in which the poetical production of Nicolaus de Valle can be situated. His *carmina minora*, all composed during his youth, have to date not received much scholarly attention and remain partly unpublished. Better known are his translations from the Greek, especially his Latin version of Hesiod's *Works and Days*, recently edited and analyzed by Jesús López Zamora.⁴ Nicolaus' translation of Homer's *Iliad* was left incomplete; the project was cut short by his death, at the age of 28. Nicolaus was a scion of a well-known family, De Valle (or Della Valle, in its Italianized form), based in Rome, but with Spanish roots. Several of its members were well connected with the *Studium Urbis* and the papal Curia. Nicolaus himself studied law and was appointed professor of civil law at the Sapienza, but died immediately thereafter. Contemporaries in Rome praised his poetical merits, along with those of his brother Bernardinus de Valle. Giannantonio Campano, a friend of the family, expressed his regret over the brothers' decision to abandon poetry and turn to law instead.

The news of the capture of Constantinople by the Ottomans on 29 May 1453 reached Venice one month later and quickly spread from there to Italy and further into the Western world. It was the first spectacular climax of the Turks' advance, and was followed by rapid new conquests in the Balkans and the Mediterranean. By the early 1460s all political leaders of Eastern, Central and Southern Europe realized how massive and immediate a threat the expansion of Ottoman rule posed to them. The shocking announcement of the loss of what had once been the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire (or simply the 'Roman Empire' from the Byzantines' own point of view) prompted a vast flurry of literary texts, in which this catastrophe was

² Avesani 1968, 83–84.

³ Fabbri 1976, 53–54. *Pace* Fabbri, though, Philip the Good is not explicitly mentioned in the second epistle. The reference in the text is only to the collective 'Burgundus', mentioned as one of the international forces, alongside the Germans, the Spaniards, the Hungarians and the English, and couched in a grand scene inspired by wishful thinking. A more logical *terminus ante quem* is the inclusion of the reply letter in the *Carmina epaenetica* for Pius II (on which see below), but that collection is only roughly datable between late 1463 and the death of Pius II on 14 August 1464; see Avesani 1968, 90.

⁴ Valle 2020. See *ibid.*, 8–17 for the most recent survey of his literary oeuvre and the relevant bibliography. The most comprehensive bio-bibliographical overview is De Nichilo 1989. For a few further specifications see De Nichilo 1992, 353–354.

described, lamented, and commented upon.⁵ For the literary historian it is interesting to observe the wide range of literary genres involved and the endless creativity invested in dealing with this topic. In this concert of outrage, lamentation, and despair, Nicolaus de Valle raised his voice as well.

In his two verse epistles he portrays Constantinopolis and Roma as two sisters exchanging letters.⁶ Constantinopolis writes first (362 verses): she bemoans her sad fate, curses the cruelty and depravity of the Turkish forces and their commander, the sultan Mehmed II (1–280), and delivers an emotional plea for a military response, led by Pius II, under whose leadership Rome will live up to her singular renown and restore the world order of old (281–362). In an only slightly shorter epistle (326 verses) Roma replies: she voices her grief about Constantinopolis' misery and shows herself no less angered than her sister by the savagery and viciousness of the Turkish oppressor (1–108). She complains about her own loss of power and prestige and recalls with gloomy nostalgia her former glory (109–152). As if to strengthen her argument, she describes how the personified 'Religio', 'Pietas', and 'Fides' bewail before God the downfall of the entire Christian world (153–168). But here too, the final part of the letter (169–326) strikes a confident note. God – Roma reports – ordained that Pius II ascend the throne of St Peter and lead the campaign to repel the Turks. What follows is an epic evocation of the troops Pius has managed to muster for an upcoming military confrontation with sultan Mehmed. Several participants are singled out for special praise: first of all, the Venetians as a nation, as well as other European nations that rally round the pope, but also individuals, such as Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, and Ferdinand I (Ferrante), king of Naples.⁷ Roma's final message to Constantinopolis is one of reassurance and comfort, which blends in with a panegyric for Pius II.

⁵ A rich collection of texts is available in Pertusi 1976 and 1983.

⁶ Henceforth I will use the Latin name of the two cities, when I refer to the personified characters in De Valle's poems. For this paper, I have employed digital copies of the second imprint of both epistles, issued by Stephan Planck, even though the text in these editions, especially that of Roma's reply letter, is marred by numerous printing errors, some of which lead to ungrammatical and/or unmetrical readings. In my quotations I have cautiously normalized spelling and punctuation and I have tacitly corrected the typographical errors. The line numberings are my own. I have also checked the first editions of the epistles, available on microfiche (*Incunabula: the Printing Revolution in Europe 1455-1500*, Unit 53, CA472 and CA473). Of the two manuscripts (on which see below) that contain Roma's reply letter, I was able to consult only the Vatican codex Chig.I.VII.260, available in the Vatican Library's DigiVatLib. Under the current circumstances and within the confines of this article it was not possible to produce a critical edition of the epistles.

⁷ The Vatican codex Chig.I.VII.260 (fol. 184v) contains in this section of the poem four extra lines, in which Ludovico Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, is praised for his commitment to the papal army.

The structure of the letters, then, is fairly loose and governed by emotional effect rather than rational arguments. Particularly in Constantinopolis' letter, the usual sequence of *exordium*, *narratio*, and *petitio* can be discerned, although the middle part is not so much a narration of events as a vivid description of the ruthless inhumanity of the Turks. Constantinopolis recites numerous examples of barbaric behavior of Ottoman soldiers and their leader, Mehmet II, and does not fail to mention that she witnessed (41: "ego vidi" [I saw]) some of his atrocious acts, in order to underline her own credibility. Historical examples, such as the corrupt magistrate Verres, are adduced in order to accentuate the far greater extent of the immorality of the Turks – De Valle thus puts into practice the figure of hyperbole by comparison.

Roma's reply is entirely geared towards a panegyric of Pius II. The eulogy of the pope is carefully set up. In the middle section, Roma recalls some of the iconic heroes of her illustrious past and craves for a new champion who may avenge the harm done by the Turks.⁸ That avenger is of course Pius II, who dominates the entire second half of the letter.

Pius II emerges as the pivotal figure, in whom Constantinopolis and Roma place all their hopes at this critical moment in their history. In fact, nearly all of De Valle's poetry falls chronologically within the pontificate of Pius II (1458–1464) and is thematically linked with his papacy. It is no surprise, then, that he joined the many poets who celebrated the most defining concern of Pius' reign. Poetry surrounding Pius' response to the Ottoman threat was triggered in particular by two momentous episodes, the congress of Mantua (1459), in which he tried to muster support for a crusade, and his efforts at assembling a crusading army in 1463–1464, during the last months of his life. Pius himself sustained this political action with intense literary activity, nourished by his humanistic education. His most original contributions to that effect, however, lie in prose rather than in poetry. Pius is credited with developing a new type of political oratory, modelled after the ancient *oratio suasoria*, the practice speech in the *genus deliberativum*, and the crusader sermon.⁹

In his two poems on the fall of Constantinople, De Valle adopts one of the possible poetic variants of this type of political rhetoric, the hortatory verse epistle, and combines it with personification allegory. Petrarch had pioneered

⁸ *Roma*, 147: "Exoriare, aliquis [...]" (Rise, someone), quoted from Virgil, *Aeneis*, 4, 625 ("Exoriare, aliquis [...] ultor" [Rise, some avenger]), but there it is Dido who is praying for an avenger of Aeneas' betrayal. De Valle does not take over a substantive along with *aliquis* and thus somewhat weakens the rhetorical effect of the combination of the second-person verb and the third person subject in the vocative. The motif of vengeance continues to play a role in the second half of De Valle's letter, albeit in a partly contradictory way (as explained below).

⁹ See especially Helmroth 2000.

this literary device:¹⁰ in his verse epistles, he had pictured ‘Roma’ first pleading with Benedict XII (1, 2), and then, this time as a specifically Christian character, with Clement VI to leave Avignon and return to the rightful Roman See. In addition, Petrarch presented himself as a spokesperson for ‘Roma’ in another epistle to Benedict XII (1, 5). In all these letters, ‘Roma’ is portrayed as a grief-stricken old woman, who suffers from her abject condition in exile. The epistles carry a strong elegiac flavor, drawn in particular from Ovid’s *Heroides* and exile poetry; through all these Ovidian collections the topic of separation and abandonment is a central motif, pursued in epistolary form.¹¹ Petrarch’s concept of a lamenting Rome corresponds to the ‘Roma vidua’ (widowed Rome), which we find in both texts and images from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹² It ultimately harks back to the figure of ‘Roma senescens’ (ageing Rome), depicted by late antique authors, such as Claudian and Rutilius Namatianus. The *prosopopiia* (*fictio personae*), through which Rome is granted an auctorial voice, originates from earlier works, such as Cicero’s First Catilinarian oration (1, 18 and 1, 27–29) and Lucan’s *Bellum civile* (1, 190–192), in which ‘patria’ is made to speak as a crisis unfolds.

Petrarch’s adaptation of these prototypes proved an influential model for later representations not only of Rome, the Roman Church or Italy, but also of other cities and countries. The expansion of the Ottoman Empire in Europe continued to be an important context. From the sixteenth century onwards, the Reformation provided another stimulus for such texts. In them, authors could express, not only as individuals but also as representatives of a community, their attachment to their city or country and their support for a religious or political cause. The highly rhetorical nature of these poems links their composition also to school practice. The ancient *suasoria* lived on in the early modern *declamatio* (exercise in oratorical delivery). The personification allegory was informed by the rhetorical figure of *ethopoiia*, which was one of the standard rhetorical exercises (*progymnasmata*) in ancient schools and remained instrumental in literary character-drawing through the early modern age.

De Valle also introduced a distressed and sorrowful Roma in a somewhat different context, namely in a funeral poem for Cardinal Prospero Colonna, who died in 1463. In this piece, Roma joins in with other mourners (58–62)

¹⁰ Dörrie 1968, 42 and 432–436.

¹¹ For the Ovidian background of two of these epistles see Houghton 2011. The modern question of the authenticity of the *Heroides* is of no relevance for De Valle. There is no reason to suppose that he doubted the Ovidian authorship.

¹² The best-known examples are the illustrations in manuscripts of Fazio degli Uberti’s *Dittamondo*, for which see Maddalo 1990, 115–121.

and, speaking to Jupiter and the gods (91–113), expresses her pain and indignation over Colonna's passing.¹³ In De Valle's verse epistles of Rome and Constantinople, the features commonly associated with 'Roma vidua' are far more apparent in Constantinopolis than in Roma itself. It is Constantinople who is depicted as a suppliant, who beseeches her sister to come to her rescue. This pose is reminiscent of the frail Roma we encounter in Claudian, particularly in his *De bello Gildonico* (21–25), where a languishing Roma approaches Jupiter to seek aid, with the city's grain supply cut off by the African prince Gildo.¹⁴

From a rhetorical point of view, De Valle exploited in these epistles the dialogical potential of a *prosopopoiia*. In his quite detailed exposition of its technique, Quintilian explains that the *prosopopoiia* can be adopted in various speech situations, among which also a dialogue between two characters (*Institutio oratoria*, 9, 2, 29–37, at 30). Incidentally, he also points out the possibility of granting a voice to cities and nations (31). There are no examples, though, of this type of personification allegory in hortatory epistles before Petrarch. This option became a prominent characteristic of one specific further development of the medieval tradition of the *planctus*, namely the so-called 'Lamenti', laments in the vernacular about calamities such as the capture of a city or the death of a ruler, usually cast in the form of a *prosopopoiia*. The available evidence stretches from 1342 to 1569 and includes also three 'Lamenti' of Constantinople, most likely all composed in 1453.¹⁵

Whereas these 'Lamenti' only rarely take the guise of an epistle, the dialogical pairing of two verse epistles became a much-practiced literary conceit in the tradition of hortatory epistles in the early modern age. In choosing this literary structure, De Valle connects not only with Petrarch but also with another classical model, namely Ovid's *Heroides*. The last pieces in that collection consist of three sets of paired epistles, exchanged between famous lovers. De Valle's two verse epistles share all four characteristics that are considered constitutive of this genre, which Ovid claimed to have invented or 'freshly coined' (*Ars amatoria*, 3, 346: *novavit*). They are shaped as a letter and designed as an *ethopoiia*; they show affinity with the love elegy and have the persuasive force of a *suasoria*.¹⁶ Combined, these four properties

¹³ The poem is edited in Fabbri 1976, 60–66.

¹⁴ In Cassiodore's *Variae*, 11.13, 'Roma' similarly appeals for help to the emperor Justinian on behalf of the Roman Senate, but her physical appearance is not described in any manner.

¹⁵ For an excellent case-study see Guthmüller 2000. A comparable lament in Latin (*Italia se lamentans*) from the late fourteenth century is edited and analyzed by Hays 2008.

¹⁶ These characteristics are very neatly explained by van Marion 2005, 34–43.

present a strong appeal to the audience's emotions, similarly to the effect intended in the 'Lamenti'. A whole array of stylistic devices, such as apostrophes, exclamations and rhetorical questions, adopted throughout the epistles, serve that same purpose.

De Valle's imitation of Ovid's *Heroides* is quite remarkable. Before his time there are, apart from the Petrarchan epistles mentioned above, only very few instances of the reception of these poems. Not until the mid-fifteenth century do we notice a renewed interest in the *Heroides*, evidenced by compositions in their vein.¹⁷ De Valle, at 19 or 20 years of age, is thus among the first authors to relaunch the verse epistle in the Ovidian manner during the early Renaissance. An exchange of such epistles between two personified cities, however, would always remain exceptional in this genre.¹⁸ Furthermore, De Valle, just as Petrarch, also looked to Ovid's *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto*, two collections that provided further models of verse epistles, which Ovid addressed to his wife and friends in Rome.

Not all of the four characteristics mentioned above carry the same weight in De Valle's epistles. Constantinopolis makes clear only in the last distich of her epistle that she is in the process of writing a letter, when she says that her anguish prevents her from writing more (361): "scribere plura vetor, nam me ferus occupat hostis." (I am prohibited from writing more, because a savage enemy seizes me). This is a variation of the closure of Ovid's *Heroides* 14 (131) and *Tristia*, 3, 3 (85): "scribere plura libet, sed [...]." (I would like to write more, but [...]). The formula "scribere plura vetor" appears at the end of Roma's reply as (325) as well. At the beginning of this poem (3), moreover, Constantinopolis' letter is referred to as a "funesta littera" (mournful letter), while in the very first line, there is mention of a "lugubris epistola". This seems to be the *Epistula lugubris*, written by Isidore of Kiev on the fall of Constantinople upon his return to Rome, where he stayed until his death in 1463, around the same time that De Valle composed his epistles. De Valle makes no further effort, however, to uphold the fiction of a letter in the course of his poems, as Ovid did. The separation of the two letter-writers and their

¹⁷ The few examples of reception of the *Heroides* in the Middle Ages and early Renaissance are discussed by Dörrie 1968, 96–103. On the *Complanctus Fedre* (1414) of Pietro de' Putomorsi (Petrus de Lunesana) see also Haye 2013, 357–368 and 376–383.

¹⁸ Worthy of mention in this context are two verse epistles associated with Basinio da Parma: the *Epistula, in qua reliquus ager Picenus ad Asculum loquitur*, of undisputed authorship, and the *Urbis Romae ad Venetias epistolion*, attributed to Basinio. Although they are listed by Dörrie 1968, 537, they do not really qualify as heroides; the first is a panegyric letter for Sigismondo Malatesta, the second a satirical epistle, in which 'Rome' complains to 'Venice' that 'Venice' has erected a statue of the condottiere Erasmo Gattamelata. Some later examples of nations in dialogue, all of them specimina of political poetry against the Turks, are mentioned by Dörrie 1968, 456 and 461.

ensuing distress, an inherent feature of the epistolary situation, are here obvious from their identity as personified cities.

More important is the elegiac mood of the poems. The choice of elegiac distichs as their metre offers a basic indication, but De Valle orients his verse epistles more specifically towards elegy in its original function as ‘flebile carmen’, the characterization which Ovid applies to his *Tristia* (5, 1, 5: “flebile carmen” [tearful song]).¹⁹ The speech situation and the attraction of the reader work differently than in the case of his *Heroides*, but their common intent is to effect the reader’s compassion. To that effect, De Valle has Constantinopolis and partly also Roma paint their own misery in emotional language. The tone is set right from the start in both letters: Constantinopolis had heard that Roma did not manage to hold back tears when she was first informed of the fate of her sister (2: “difficile a lacrimis abstinuisse fuit”) – echoing Aeneas, when he recalls the fall of Troy during the banquet in Carthage (Virgil, *Aeneis*, 2, 6–8: “Quis talia fando [...] temperet a lacrimis?”). In the very first line of her reply, Roma says that she wept (“flevi”) as soon as she heard of Constantinopolis’ hardship. In accordance with the stylistic register thus announced, Constantinopolis and Roma appear in black clothes (*Constantinopolis*, 5: “habitus atros”, 263: “vestes atras”),²⁰ with dishevelled hair (*Constantinopolis*, 7: “scissis capillis”; *Roma*, 7: “scissa comas”; *Roma*, 20: “effusis comis”)²¹ and bloodless cheeks (*Constantinopolis*, 4: “exsanguis genas”),²² just as ‘Roma vidua’ in Petrarch’s verse epistles mentioned above. Through the motif of exile, too, De Valle harks back at the same time to his Ovidian sources and Petrarch’s epistles: Constantinopolis complains that she is “driven forth into exile” (202–203: “exul agor” [twice!]), thus quoting Ovid, *Heroides* 7, 115 and alluding to the opening words of Petrarch, *Epystole*, 1, 5 (“Exul inops” [destitute outcast]).

The compassion provoked by the elegiac fashioning of the epistles is further strengthened by the *ethopoia*, to which De Valle resorts in shaping the auctorial voice of Constantinopolis and Roma. His character creation admittedly never reaches the psychological subtlety and versatility that can be observed in Ovid’s *Heroides*. Of central significance is the close kinship between the two protagonists: they speak as sisters, who once governed the

¹⁹ Cf. Ovid, *Heroides*, 15, 7, as well as Elegy personified as *flebilis Elegia* in his *Amores*, 3, 9, 3.

²⁰ Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 8.448, among many other instances.

²¹ Cf. Ovid, *Heroides*, 7, 70 (this entire verse is copied), 15, 114 (this entire verse is imitated), and 8, 79, *Metamorphoses*, 4, 546 and 8, 527, as well as Virgil, *Aeneis*, 9, 478, among many other instances.

²² An unknown tragic poet in Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes*, 3, 26; Statius, *Thebais*, 7, 475.

whole world together (*Constantinopolis*, 259: “Imperium tecum fueram partita per orbem” [I had shared sovereignty over the world with you]). This family bond adds force to Constantinopolis’ plea for help in her plight (295: “Nilque mihi restat nisi te, mea Roma, vocare” [Nothing remains for me but to call upon you, my Roma]) and makes her hope for solidarity more convincing, not least because she sees her sister’s unassailed dominance and primacy confirmed under the rule of Pius II (283–286):

Incolumisque tuos servas, mea Roma, Penates
esque sub imperio facta beata Pii
atque invicta manes ceu quondam invicta manebas
atque invicta Pio principe semper eris.

Unharméd you guard your house gods, my Roma,
and you have become blessed under the rule of Pius II
and you remain unconquered just as once you remained unconquered
and you will always remain unconquered, while Pius is your ruler.

In her reply Roma confirms her close family alliance, describing Constantinopolis in an appeal to God as “altera Roma” (36); Constantinople’s portrayal as Rome’s sister adds another layer of meaning to the multiple dimensions of the time-honored qualification ‘second Rome’. Roma, however, evokes solidarity in another sense as well. Contrary to what Constantinopolis seems to assume, Roma sets forth that she too suffered decay and humiliation in past centuries (131): “Non sum qualis eram;²³ tecum decus omne recessit²⁴” (I am not like I was; together with you, all my charm has gone away). The upsurge of Ottoman power, moreover, puts the status of Rome at risk as well, especially as the capital of the Christian world. To underline the danger Roma faces in this religious context, she introduces further personified figures, ‘Religio’, ‘Pietas’, and ‘Fides’, who share her anxiety (153–156).

Whereas Constantinopolis refers only in passing to Pius II (284, 286, and 358), he takes center stage in the second half of Roma’s reply. Roma hails Pius II as the architect of a victory over the Turks and the restoration of Christendom, also in Constantinople, under God’s blessing (181–188):

Aeternum molitur opus cum laude perenni
sperat et ultorem se fore posse tuum.
Tum polluta Fides et Religionis honores
ante oculos errant nocte dieque Pii.
Affusae genibus lacrimas lamentaque fundunt
et bellum Turcis exitiale rogant.

²³ Quoted from Horace, *Carmina*, 4, 1, 3, but Horace uses the phrase in an erotic context.

²⁴ Cf. Ovid, *Heroides*, 13, 23.

Ille igitur tanta rerum caligine pulsus
non sine caelesti numine bella parat.

He undertakes an everlasting action that will be praised forever
and he hopes that he can be your avenger.

At that time tainted Faith and the honors of Religion
roam day and night before Pius' eyes.

Prostrate on their knees, they shed tears and pour out laments
and demand a destructive war against the Turks.

Thereupon, driven by such a gloomy state of affairs,
he prepares for war not without divine assent.

In a proleptic vision Roma sees a broad coalition assembling and preparing to wage war against Mehmed II. Roma closes her letter by announcing that she, too, will join this armed force (325–326): “Scribere plura vetor, celerant in proelia gentes. | Me quoque apostolicus miles ad arma vocat.” (I am prohibited from writing more, the nations hasten to the battle. The papal soldier calls me too to arms) – an allusion to the bull *Vocavit nos pius*, issued by Pius II on 13 October 1458 and summoning all European princes to Mantua in order to prepare for a crusade.

The persuasive power of Roma's reply rests entirely on her recommendation of Pius II as her and Constantinopolis' rescuer. Roma's extensive praise of Pius II is her main argument in her effort to convince Constantinopolis not to despair but rather to trust that the disaster that has struck her will be overcome. Only Constantinopolis' epistle, however, can be termed a *suasoria* in the sense that Constantinopolis tries to persuade her sister to a specific course of action, namely to come to her aid. She does so by employing several topoi of the rhetorical *conquestio* (bemoaning), outlined in great detail in Cicero's *De inventione* (1, 106–109).²⁵ Roma's reply letter is not a *suasoria* in the strict sense. Roma aims to reassure her sister, rather than to induce her to take any particular action. The exhortatory nature of her epistle, and by extension the pair of epistles, is not only directed intratextually to the epistolary partner, but also extratextually, and surely more importantly, to De Valle's readership.

²⁵ A shorter version of this exposition can be found in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, 2, 50. In ancient rhetorical theory, the *conquestio* (or *commiseratio*) is a traditional feature of the epilogue of a forensic speech. A typical phrase in this kind of rhetorical prose is “me miserum/miseram”; see e.g. Cicero, *Pro Milone*, 102 and Quintilian's analysis in *Institutio oratoria*, 11, 3, 170 and 172. This phrase then became a favorite in Ovid's elegiac poetry (45 occurrences). De Valle employs “me miseram” in the opening of Roma's letter (2) as a further mark of its stylistic register, and repeats it four times throughout the text (79, 89, 110, and 164). In both epistles, De Valle does not shrink back from repeating the same *iuncturae* several times.

With his verse epistles, De Valle participated in the literary campaign of support for Pius II's crusade against the Turks.²⁶ Unfortunately, we know hardly anything about the circulation and reception of De Valle's poems. At least Roma's reply was appreciated in papal circles, since it was included among the *Carmina epaenetica* for Pius II.²⁷ Accordingly, it is preserved in the two manuscripts transmitting the *Carmina epaenetica*, the Vatican codex Chig.I.VII.260, and Trieste, Biblioteca civica "Attilio Hortis", Enea Silvio Piccolomini e Famiglia Piccolomini, ms. Picc. II 25. Whether the other letter was not noticed or discarded for that collection, remains unclear. No manuscript witness of the other letter is known to have survived.²⁸ In any case, the two incunabula editions of both letters later in the fifteenth century prove that they had not disappeared from view. I have not been able to find any traces, however, of a later literary reception of De Valle's epistles. The Chigi manuscript contains a number of readings that reflect authorial variants with respect to the printed editions. Most conspicuously, it lacks verses 229–238, whilst it has four additional verses (between 248 and 249), of which the first two are similar to 229–230.²⁹ At least in the case of Roma's letter, therefore, the printed editions are based on another stage in the composition of the poem than the version offered for the *Carmina epaenetica*. If we assume that it was De Valle's ambition to have the poem inserted in the collection planned for the pope, the printed version is probably drawn from an earlier rather than a later stage, since there would be no obvious reason for De Valle to keep polishing his poem afterwards.

²⁶ Helmrath 2000, 299–300, notes that both Pius II's own poetry on the Turks and numerous *Exhortationes in Turcos*, composed by poets from his environment, are awaiting an in-depth investigation. Pius' best-known poem in this respect is a verse epistle in elegiac distichs (Inc.: "Turcha, paras alte subvertere moenia Romae"), also included in the *Carmina epaenetica* (Avesani 1968, 35–36).

²⁷ Avesani 1968, 83–84. De Valle's first efforts (at 14 or 15 years of age!) to enter the literary circle surrounding Pius II are evinced by two small paratexts that accompany his *Ad Pium pontificem maximum contra Teucros exhortatio*, edited by Bianchi 1988, 138–139, along with the *Exhortatio* itself, *ibid.*, 139–147. The first is a poem, addressed to Jacopo Ammannati, who was admitted into Pius' household in 1460; in it, De Valle asks Ammannati to review the *Exhortatio* and, if it stands the test, to pass it on to the pope. The second is a short letter in prose, addressed to the pope himself and containing an entreaty to receive the *Exhortatio* with benignity. Ammannati may also have been involved in assembling the *Carmina epaenetica*.

²⁸ The manuscript indicated in Valle 2020, 10, n. 30 (Città del Vaticano, *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Ottob. Lat. 2348) is a mistake. It contains another poem of De Valle: see *ibid.*, 9, n. 29.

²⁹ Other possible variants that may go back to De Valle himself, rather than to a scribe (I list the variant in the Chigi ms. first): *corruit*[*concidit*] (44), *germana*[*regina*] (65), *tradidit*[*reddidit*] (89), *medio*[*Stygio*] (106), *tenet*[*gerit*] (196).

In his poetic letters, De Valle incorporates all the novel characteristics of the discourse on crusades that developed in the fifteenth century.³⁰ First of all, instead of the liberation of Jerusalem from the control of Mamluk sultans, Constantinople and the Ottoman threat became the primary concern. Accordingly, in both epistles the violent cruelty, moral depravity, and sexual deviances of the Turks are painted at length in graphic terms, expressing images that became topical in the fifteenth century and are derived in part from the ancient ‘*urbs capta*’ motif (Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 8, 3, 67–70). These sections are part of the rhetorical strategy of arousing compassion, notably by means of the first *topos* listed in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*: the contrast between former bliss and present misery (1, 107). Through them, De Valle also intimates that the Turks endanger the Western world and Christendom alike, two notions that are implicitly equated. In Constantinopolis’ words (325–326 and 332), De Valle thus clearly emphasizes that the war to be launched against the Ottoman Empire will be most just:

Pro quo [sc. Deo] quid dubitas iustissima bella parare,
quando huius sacra es morte redempta, soror? [...]
Crede mihi, nil hoc iustius esse potest.

Why do you hesitate to prepare most just war campaigns for Him,
since you have been redeemed by his sacred death, sister? [...]
Believe me, nothing could be more just than this.

Finally, the eulogy of Pius II and his success in rallying a massive armed force coming from all over Europe is intended to suggest that the time is right for a next crusade, in which victory over a debased enemy is all but guaranteed.

All these points were also repeated time and again in orations, letters, treatises and poems of Pius II himself beginning in the 1430s, well before the fall of Constantinople.³¹ Following Jürgen Blusch, Johannes Helmrath summarized the argumentation in Pius’ main speeches against the Turks under three leading notions: *iustitia*, *facilitas*, *utilitas*.³² All three can easily be recognized in De Valle’s epistles. In addition, De Valle acknowledged the spectacular move Pius II announced in his bull *Ezechielis* of 23 September 1463, namely to take the lead himself in the planned crusade. Interestingly, De Valle also rehearsed a very common element in the discourse on the Turks

³⁰ From the abundant modern literature on this debate, may it suffice to refer to Helmrath 2000 (also containing an excellent assessment of earlier scholarship), Meserve 2008, and Weber 2013.

³¹ Pius’ *Epistula ad Mahumetem* is of course a very atypical case and remains to this day somewhat elusive.

³² Blusch 1979; Helmrath 2000, 294–298.

that Pius II, by contrast, strenuously declined to accept. He not only suggested that the Turks (*Turci*) are descendants of the Trojans (*Teuceri*), but also that by capturing Constantinople, Greece, and further eastern territories of the Roman empire, the Turks took revenge for the capture of Troy by the ancient Greeks. Roma, too, declares (93–94): “*Ultus avos Troiae Byzantia moenia vicit | deque tuo madidam sanguine fecit humum.*” (Having avenged his Trojan forefathers, he conquered the walls of Byzantium and drenched the soil with your blood).³³ De Valle seems to have overlooked that Pius II always opposed that identification.³⁴ In Pius’ opinion, the Turks were simply Asian barbarians and could not be associated with the people who became, through Aeneas, the forebears of the Romans. Another of De Valle’s characterizations would have placated Pius, however. Not entirely consistently within the pair of epistles, but in line with Pius’ self-fashioning, Pius is more than once qualified as “pius Aeneas” and in turn described as the avenger of Constantinople’s demise (*Roma*, 193–194): “*En pius Aeneas pietate a matre creatus | debitus effusi sanguinis ultor adest.*” (Behold! Pious Aeneas, delivered by his mother out of piety, is present as the due avenger of the blood that has been shed).³⁵

In any case, this classical perspective evinces a further important characteristic of the crusader debate in the fifteenth century (at least in Italy), namely the influence of Renaissance humanism. It is probably not without significance that De Valle speaks of ‘Constantinopolis’ and not ‘Byzantium’. Constantinopolis and Roma appear as the former capitals of the Roman Empire, two cities that share the same classical and Christian tradition. The centuries-old differences between Western and Eastern Christianity are entirely glossed over, and Rome’s authority is taken for granted. Especially catastrophic, however, is the loss of Greek culture. Not only has Greece been ruined “*pro religione tuenda*” (on account of protecting [Christian] religion), but Constantinopolis laments that “*et cecidit mecum Graecae facundia linguae*” (the eloquence of the Greek language fell down with me, too) (275 and 277). Pius II himself had already deplored this in his second important speech on the fall of Constantinople, held on 15 October 1454 at the Imperial Diet in Frankfurt, when he called the conquered city a “*vetustae sapientiae monumentum*”, “*domicilium litterarum*”, and “*arx summa philosophiae*”

³³ “*Ultus avos Troiae*” is taken over from Virgil, *Aeneis*, 6, 840, but the subject there is the Roman general Aemilius Paullus, so that the Trojans are seen from the Roman perspective as the ancestors of the Roman people.

³⁴ Bianchi 1988, 134–135, observed the same peculiarity in De Valle’s *Exhortatio*.

³⁵ In other respects, as can be expected, De Valle proved to be an attentive reader of Piccolomini’s writings. In *Roma*, 319, he adopts the very rare genitive plural *poetum* (= *poetarum*), probably borrowed from Piccolomini, *Epigrammata*, 24, 18.

(monument of ancient wisdom, abode of letters, highest stronghold of philosophy), in sum the new Athens, the emblem of all that classical Greece stands for.³⁶ De Valle, too, insists on the cultural calamity the fall of Constantinople represents. Constantinopolis' cry for help also serves to underline the importance of the Greek legacy for the West – a legacy De Valle helped to transmit, along with many humanists of his time, through his translations of Hesiod and Homer. In this sense, therefore, the poetic crisis talks between Constantinopolis and Roma also bespeak De Valle's own convictions and ambitions as a humanist poet and scholar.

³⁶ Quoted by Blusch 1979, 86 and 136, from Pius' *Opera*, Basel: [Henricus Petri] 1551, 681.

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“IAM NOUUS IN TERRAS ALTO DESCENDIT OLYMPO IUPPITER”:



Patronage and propaganda in the time of Leo X (1513–1521)

By Outi Merisalo

Giovanni de' Medici (1475–1521), son of Lorenzo il Magnifico, was destined to a brilliant ecclesiastical career that eventually led him to the Holy See as pope Leo X (1513–1521). His reign, marked by wars and the emergence of protestantism, was also a period of intense artistic activity in Rome, with Raphael, Michelangelo, Sangallo as well as a plethora of humanist authors engaged in celebrating Leo's feats. This article explores Leo's patronage and propaganda, in particular through an analysis of one of the numerous poems dedicated to him by Giano Vitale Castalio of Naples (Ianus Vitalis Castalius, c. 1485–c. 1560) at the beginning of his pontificate.

Introduction

This paper will explore the papacy of the first Medici pope, Leo X (1513–1521) in the light of his patronage and propaganda, in particular through an analysis of one of the numerous poems dedicated to him by the Neapolitan scholar Ianus Vitalis Castalius (c. 1485–c. 1560) at the beginning of his pontificate.

Biography

The future pope was born Giovanni di Lorenzo de' Medici (1475–1521), son of Lorenzo il Magnifico (1449–1492), ruler of Florence, and Clarice Orsini (c. 1453–1488), daughter to Giacomo Orsini, Lord of Monterotondo and Bracciano. The marriage to a member of the powerful Orsini dynasty based in and around Rome represented an important step of social and political ascent in the Italian peninsula for the Florentine dynasty, the political position of which inside the Republic of Florence was far from secure in the 1470s.¹

¹ The research for this article was financed by the Academy of Finland and University of Jyväskylä project *Transmission of Knowledge in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance* no. 267518 (Tralmar, 2013–2017), by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, which

Giovanni, the second eldest son, received an exquisite humanist education together with his cousin Giulio (1478–1534), the illegitimate son of Giuliano di Piero.² He was taught by Politian, Urbano Dalle Fosse, Marsilio Ficino and Demetrius Chalcocondyles, among others.³ While his elder brother Piero (1472–1503) was to become lord of Florence, Giovanni was destined to an ecclesiastical career. After the failed conspiracy of the Pazzi in 1478, supported not only by rulers such as Federico di Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino and Ferdinand, King of Naples, but also by Pope Sixtus IV, Florence was at war with Lorenzo’s enemies between the summer of 1478 and March 1480.⁴ The reconciliation with the church was a priority in the following years, and Giovanni’s task was to serve his father’s political aims. He was ordained at the age of eight and received prebends all over Europe, including the abbacy of the monastery of Montecassino in 1487.⁵

The political fortunes of the Medici were radically improved by the marriage of Lorenzo’s daughter Maddalena to Franceschetto Cybo, son of Pope Innocent VIII in 1487. Giovanni, only thirteen years old, and therefore, officially too young, was secretly appointed cardinal as early as 1489, and publicly in 1492,⁶ just before the deaths of Innocent VIII and Lorenzo il Magnifico. His titular church was S. M. in Domnica on the Caelius.⁷

After this series of successes, the fortunes of the House of Medici started to lag. At the death of Lorenzo il Magnifico on 8 April 1492, the power in Florence passed to Giovanni’s brother Piero di Lorenzo, whose political inexperience did not bode well for the Medici regime.⁸ The next pope, Alexander VI Borgia (1430/2–1503), elected in August 1492, was no friend of the Medici.⁹ The Florentine revolution and the exile of the dynasty on 9 November 1494 was a great catastrophe.¹⁰

generously financed a research stay at the FU, Berlin between April and July 2016, and the Academy and University of Jyväskylä project *Late Medieval and Early Modern Libraries as Knowledge Repositories, Guardians of Tradition and Catalysts of Change* no. 307635 (Lamemoli, 2017–2022). – See, for example, Martines 2003 (2004), 168–172.

² Giuliano di Piero (1453–1478), Lorenzo il Magnifico’s brother, was to be assassinated by the Pazzi conspirators.

³ Pellegrini 2005; Gualdo Rosa 1986.

⁴ Walter 2009.

⁵ Pellegrini 2005.

⁶ Pellegrini 2005.

⁷ Bencini 2003, 285.

⁸ See e.g. Merisalo 1999.

⁹ Pellegrini 2005.

¹⁰ Merisalo 1999.

A solid network of friends and partisans based even in Florence, was, however, keeping the Medici afloat.¹¹ From the beginning of the pontificate of Alexander VI, Giovanni preferred to stay away from Rome. In 1499–1500 his voluntary exile culminated in a colourful European trip, which took him and his faithful cousin Giulio as far as Flanders and included getting arrested in France, to be ransomed by Piero di Lorenzo.¹² After his return to Rome, Giovanni finally settled down in a rented palace in the field of Mars, on the site of the Baths of Nero (restored by Alexander Severus and also known as the Baths of Alexander),¹³ which he finally acquired in 1505. Incorporated into adjacent buildings, it became part of Palazzo Madama.¹⁴ There he put to use his increasing financial, political and cultural resources to reconstruct and further enhance the position of the House of Medici. In the city palace, with his assets developing favourably throughout the first decade of the new century, he set up a splendid Renaissance court modelled on that of his father. Part of Lorenzo il Magnifico’s library was exhibited in Giovanni’s palace.¹⁵ He also managed to assemble the opponents of the Republican regime of Florence.¹⁶

In 1503, a new season started when Giovanni’s good friend cardinal della Rovere was elected pope Julius II (*r.* 1503–1513). Giovanni also became the head of the House of Medici upon the death of his brother Piero in the same year. His political ascent culminated in important responsibilities towards the end of Julius’ pontificate. In 1511, he was appointed legate for Bologna and the Romagna and consequently led the pontifical army in the war against Louis XII, King of France. In the bloody battle of Ravenna (11 April 1512) Giovanni was taken prisoner, only to be liberated near Milan on 6 June while being transferred to France.¹⁷ Giovanni obtained from Julius II and his allies the support for the Medici re-taking Florence, which, thanks to Spanish troops, took place on 31 August 1512. The Medici officially returned to the city on 1 September. Giovanni entered Florence a fortnight later, setting up a

¹¹ Merisalo 1999, VIII–XV; cf., in the text of the document, artists claiming compensation from the Republic for works of art commissioned by the Medici and allegedly never paid for, and the works later appearing in the Medici collections.

¹² Pellegrini 2005.

¹³ Nielsen 2021.

¹⁴ Bencini 2003, 285–286. Alfonsina Orsini, Piero’s widow, acquired the future Palazzo Madama in 1509, Bencini 2003, 286. Leo X sold his own palace to Alfonsina in 1519, who bequeathed it back to the pope in her testament, Bencini 2003, 286 n. 15. The name *Palazzo Madama* refers to Margaret of Parma (1522–1586), widow of Alessandro de’ Medici, Duke of Florence (*r.* 1532–1537) subsequently wife of Ottavio Farnese (1524–1586), Duke of Parma, grandson of future Paul III. The palace currently houses the Senate of the Republic.

¹⁵ Bencini 2003, 286.

¹⁶ Pellegrini 2005; Bencini 2003, 285–286.

¹⁷ Pellegrini 2005.

regime based on reconciliation¹⁸ and at least apparent respect for the Republican past, while continuing the policy of his father.¹⁹ On 6 and 7 February 1513, two pageants, designed by Andrea del Sarto and Pontormo in Florence, celebrated the return of the golden age of Lorenzo il Magnifico, the mythical Roman past, notably that of the learned king Numa Pompilius, and the ages of man.²⁰ Even at this stage the connection between Florence and Rome; that is, of a scope well beyond the Republic, was part of Giovanni’s self-representation.

These political feats enhanced Giovanni’s prestige, no doubt contributing to his election, as the candidate of the young cardinals, to the Holy See after the death of Julius II (20 February) on 11 March 1513. He took the name Leo X, no doubt in reference to Leo I the Great (*r.* 440–461), who had championed the primacy of the Roman see, fought different Christian sects and saved Italy from Attila in 452.²¹ Leo presented himself as the bringer of peace in marked opposition to his predecessor, who had engaged the Church in a series of European wars.²² On 11 April 1513, only one year after his capture by the French at Ravenna, this was lavishly and dramatically expressed in the sumptuous procession on horse through Rome marking his *possesso*, or appropriation, of the *Urbs*. The multiple decorations, including triumphal arches, marked the presence of the Medici through the arms and symbols of the dynasty in general and of Leo in particular (e.g. lions).²³

The union between Rome and Medicean (Laurentian) Florence, on the one hand, and the continuum between Antiquity and Leo’s pontificate, on the other, were lavishly celebrated even later in the year. On 12 and 13 September 1513, the union between the two cities was marked through the sumptuous ceremonies on the occasion of the conferment of Roman citizenship upon Giuliano di Lorenzo, Leo’s brother, and Lorenzo di Piero, his nephew. The venue was a wooden theatre constructed on the Capitoline Hill, centre of the Roman municipal government, between the Palazzo dei Conservatori and the Palazzo Senatorio, marking Leo’s wish for reconciliation with the Roman

¹⁸ Giovanni seems to have adopted the *impresa* of bulls bearing a yoke, already used by his great-grandfather Cosimo il Vecchio on his return from exile in 1436, with the *motto suave*, in this period, to underline his clemency and spirit of reconciliation, Bencini 2003, 288–290.

¹⁹ Pellegrini 2005.

²⁰ Bencini 2003, 287.

²¹ Cf. Pellegrini 2005. For Leo I, see Schäfer 2021.

²² Pellegrini 2005.

²³ Bencini 2003, 287. For the lavish *possesso* celebrations of Alexander VI, see Gwynne 2015, 256; on Leo’s *possesso*, Gwynne 2015, 263.

nobility through the (at least apparent) restitution of municipal autonomy.²⁴ As a monument to this reconciliation, the city of Rome (SPQR) was to commission a statue of the pope by Domenico Aimo (?1460/1470–1539) in 1514.²⁵ The ceremonies and decorations of September 1513 emphasised the continuity between the Ancient past of Rome and the felicitous present under Leo.²⁶

Leo, who had always exercised patronage of arts, quite in line with his father, could now set up a court rarely equalled in artistic splendour, with such figures as Raphael (Raffaello Sanzio, 1483–1520, in Rome since 1508), his pupil, Giulio Romano (Giulio Pippi, 1492/1499–1546), Andrea Sansovino (1467–1529) and Michelangelo (1475–1564). Together with numerous authors, most of them scholars well versed in Greek and Roman culture,²⁷ they celebrated Leo and his policies, expressing and elaborating on the ideas presented above.

Of Leo’s architectural projects the most important was doubtlessly his titular church, S.M. in Domnica, which was lavishly restored in the last years of his cardinalate and first years of his pontificate (see below).²⁸ In the field of Mars, where he had established his headquarters as cardinal in a palace contiguous to what was to become Palazzo Madama (see above), a kind of

²⁴ Bencini 2003, 287–288. Almost 80 years before, the Roman nobility had forced pope Eugene IV out of the city, and the relations had often been critical throughout the fifteenth century.

²⁵ For Aimo, see Anonimo 1960. The statue was probably finished between 1518 and 1521, Bacchi 2021, and placed in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in June 1521. The statue was moved several times and brought away from the Palazzo in 1799 during the French revolution, see Shearman *et al.* 2003, 762; Quattrocchi 2016, 333–359. It is rather well hidden in the church of S.M. in Aracoeli since 1876, Quattrocchi 2016. The very classicising inscription in Augustan capitals on the plinth reads as follows: “Optimo. principi. Leoni. X // Med(ici) Ioan(ni) Pontif(ici) Max(im)o // ob. restitutam. instauratamq(ue) // urbem. aucta. sacra. bonas // artes. adscitos. patres// sublatum. vectigal. datumq(ue) // congiarium. // S.P.Q.R. p(osuerunt)” [(To the best prince, Leo X, Giovanni de’ Medici, the pope, due to his restoring and repairing the city of Rome, promoting religion and culture, electing senators, abolishing the *vectigal* tax and distributing monetary gifts to the people, the city of Rome erected (this monument)].

²⁶ Bencini 2003, 288.

²⁷ As Giovio 1551, 96, put it: “Nemo enim vel civis, vel peregrinus, qui paulo nobilioris artis fama(m) teneret, nemo vel malesanus poëta, nemo alicuius optimarum literaru(m) partis non ignarus vnquam fuit, qui benignitatem humanissimi principis non senserit” (There was no Roman citizen nor foreigner reputed to possess a somewhat noble skill, not even a bad poet, nobody somehow versed in some type of good literature who would not have enjoyed the benevolence of the kindest of princes) Also see Gwynne 2015, 263. For the considerable amount of texts generated by Leo’s election and early pontificate, cf. Muecke 2014, 315.

²⁸ Bencini 2003, 288.

Medici enclave was planned but not completed.²⁹ For brother Giuliano, Andrea Sansovino designed a palace, in 1558 purchased by the Lantes, at St Eustace in Piazza de’ Caprettari.³⁰

Leo’s reign turned out to be as turbulent as those of his predecessors. The Holy See was engaged in continuous wars waged to ensure the Medicean domination of the Italian peninsula. While there was a rapprochement with Francis I, King of France, with whom The Concordat of Bologna was agreed upon in 1515; by 1517 the papacy was facing a paramount theological and political conflict with the rise of Lutheranism. In 1520 Leo, with the bull *Exsurge Domine*, responding to the 95 theses presented by Luther in 1517, and the subsequent excommunication through the bull *Decet Romanum pontificem* (January 1521), refused cooperation with Protestants and, consequently, initiated the division of the Western church.

The year 1517 also saw a conspiracy of cardinals against Leo, who was seen to show excessive favour to cousin Giulio. Leo managed to squash the conspiracy and appoint a new college of cardinals with friends and allies of the Medici. After another six years of rule, he was buried in the Dominican basilica of S. M. sopra Minerva. His funeral monument was designed by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger.³¹

Giano Vitale Castalio (c. 1485–c. 1560), *Leonem. X. P(ontificem) M(aximum) Lateranen(sem) episcopatum ingredientem laetabundus admiratur* (filled with joy (the author) admires Pope Leo X taking possession of the the throne of Bishop of Lateran)³²

Giano Vitale Castalio (Ianus Vitalis Castalius) of Palermo studied both in Naples and in Rome. His extensive Latin production in verse comprises, for

²⁹ Cardinal Giovanni purchased a palace for his brother Giuliano di Lorenzo, sold in 1509 to Alfonsina Orsini. Alfonsina acquired contiguous houses, which were fused with Giovanni’s palace, to form the future Palazzo Lante dei Caprettari, Randolfi 2010, 4. Alfonsina left even this palace to Leo X in her testament, Randolfi 2010, 5.

³⁰Randolfi 2020, 4; Colombini *et al.* 2016, 422.

³¹ Smith 1999, 110–127.

³² Vitale Castalio 1513, printed in Rome by Giacomo Mazzocchi with a dedication to Pierio Valeriano, dated 10 April 1513, and short epigrammes about Giano by Giovambattista Ruberti, Mariangelo Accursio and Francesco Aquila, among others. Giano quite obviously mixed with members of the celebrated Roman sodalities around Angelo Colocci and the Luxemburg merchant and patron Johann Goritz (Johannes Corycius). Accursio wrote a dialogue between an Oscan and a Volscan on Latin style for the September 1513 celebrations of the conferral of Roman citizenship on Giuliano and Lorenzo di Piero (see above) entitled *Osci et Volsci dialogus ludis Romanis actus* (Accursio [1513]), which was brought to Johannes Reuchlin by his protector, the humanist Hermann, Count of Neuenahr, who was to become Chancellor of the University of Cologne in 1524. Reuchlin asked Philip Melanchthon to publish it, Accursio [1514/1515], Campana 1960; Kuroпка 2002, 147 and n. 60. This and subsequent translations are by the author of the present article.

example, a famous epigram on the ruins of Rome,³³ which demonstrably influenced, among others, Du Bellay in his *Antiquitez*.³⁴

Here we shall examine a poem in 104 hexameter verses, with the rubric “Ianus Vitalis Castalius Leonem. X. P(ontificem) M(aximum) Lateranen(sem) episcopatum ingredientem laetabundus admiratur”. The poem is preceded by a letter to Pierio Valeriano (Giovanni Pietro Dalle Fosse, 1477–1558),³⁵ where the author describes his enthusiastic reaction to the election of Leo X:

Me quoq(ue) cultissime Pieri sanctissimi Leonis .X. Pont(ificis)
Opt(imi) Max(imi) Electio una cu(m) omniu(m) / (et) deorum / (et)
hominum laetitia maximo gaudio medullitus affecit.

Most cultivated Pierio, the election of most pious Leo X, the greatest and best pope, thoroughly fills even me with the greatest joy, on top of all gods and men rejoicing.

The sheer happiness made him try his youthful hand at a poem, which is, as he himself admits, a far cry from the poems of the circle of Pierio Valeriano: “Ne uero expectes a me arte(m) ulla(m) quam a u(est)ri generis grege in primis expeti no(n) sum nescius” (You should not expect from me any skill that I know your type of crowd is primarily expecting). The common joy shared by all has confused Giano: “Tanto enim / (et) tam co(m)muni omniu(m) gaudio co(n)fusus / nullum ordinem seruare potui” (As I was confused by such and so common joy felt by all, I could not keep any order). The prestige of the recipient, Pierio Valeriano, however, is a recommendation for the work, and Giano hopes to progress under his guidance: “certe q(uod) tanto uiro sint accepta censerit poterunt. Proinde spero te duce me ad maiora progressurum” (certainly, since (my verses) are approved of by such a man, they will be appreciated. That is why I hope to proceed to greater things with you as my guide).³⁶

The poem starts by announcing the arrival of a new Jupiter on earth (v. 1–2): “Iam nouus in terras alto descendit Olympo // Iuppiter” (Now a new

³³ Vitale Castalio 1552/1553.

³⁴ See Smith 1999, 116–117.

³⁵ Giovanni Pietro Dalle Fosse Bolzanio de Belluno, nephew of Urbano Dalle Fosse Bolzanio (1442–1524), Giovanni di Lorenzo’s Greek professor, 1484–1489. Of his literary output, the following should be quoted: Dalle Fosse 1509; Dalle Fosse 1549, already circulating in 1524, dedicated to Ippolito de’ Medici; Dalle Fosse 1550, dedicated to Catherine de’ Medici, and Dalle Fosse 1556, dedicated to Cosimo de’ Medici, Duke of Florence; see Lettere 1986.

³⁶ Vitale Castalio 1513, [2].

Jupiter descends from Mt Olympus to the earth).³⁷ In line with the appropriation of classical Roman terminology for the emperors, the epithet *divus* is used, for example, for Leo’s predecessor Julius II Della Rovere in the inscription on the wall of the Macerata Palazzo della Prefettura finished in 1513.³⁸ Leo’s divine character is underlined by several authors, such as Riccardo Bartolini, according to whom “Coniecere oculos, numen venerantur, adorant, / Pontificem creant” (they cast their eyes, they revere the godhead, they adore, elect him Pope),³⁹ and the anonymous poets of *Carmina apposita Pasquillo An(no) M.D.XV*.⁴⁰ Giano Vitale Castalio himself returns to Leo’s non-terrestrial origins later in the poem. He was not born of mortal parents; indeed the Medici had descended from Mt Olympus: vv. 41–43 “Non hunc terra tulit / non hunc genuere parentes // Mortali de gente sati / Descendit olympo // Tale genus” (He was not produced by the earth, he was not born of parents sown by a mortal race Such a dynasty descended from Mt Olympus).

Leo’s military successes are referred to: vv. 2–3 “sancto laetatur Martia uultu // Roma triumphaleis⁴¹ iterum ductura Quadrigas” (Martial Rome, which is again about to drive a triumphal span of four horses, rejoices at (his) holy face), but more importantly, there is a new hope for peace: vv. 4–5 “Sed tamen armorum cędat [sic] furor: impia cędant // Praelia Mauortis” (But let the rage of arms give way, let the impious battles of Mars give way).⁴² Indeed, the Golden Age (vv. 5–6 “Saecula Cumeis praecognita uocibus aurea // Saecula”, the golden ages foreseen by the sayings from Cumae) prophesied by the Cumaean Sibyl⁴³ will return. (Southern) Italian poets (vv. 6–7 “Poetę Ausonii”, Ausonian poets)⁴⁴ have never sung more forcefully. Now, however, Rome (vv. 8–9 “Romula [...] Pompa”, Romulus’ procession) will be

³⁷ Cf. Virgil, *Ecl.* 4, 7: “Iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto” (Now a new breed is sent down from high heaven); for further Virgilian elements, see below.

³⁸ In regular Augustan-type capitals: “Pontificatu Diui Iulii Aug(usti)” (during the pontificate of Divine Julius Augustus), Pallochhini 2016.

³⁹ Riccardo Bartolini of Perugia (c. 1475–1529), *Idyllium*, transcribed from Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Magl. VII.III, f. 9v in Gwynne 2015, 263.

⁴⁰ Anonymi 1513.

⁴¹ Note the archaic spelling, typical of antiquarian tendencies of the time; see also l. 5 *Mauortis*, 7 *queis*. The diphthongs have normally been rendered by a nexus (l. 2 *laetatur*, l. 5 *praelia*, 6 *Saecula*, etc.), sometimes left out (l. 6 *Cumeis*); there are also some cases of hypercorrect use of *e caudata* (l. 4 *ędat*).

⁴² Hopes for peace also feature prominently e.g. in Pierio Valeriano’s poem *Ad Leonem. X. De Naui Esculapij in insula Tyberina paulo ante exerta, q(uam) ipse Card(inalis) olim, a Nauicula, Pont(ifex) Max(imus) efficeretur* (To Leo X of the ship of Aesculapius excavated on the Tiber island shortly before he, once Cardinal of the Navicella, was made Pope), Valeriano 1550, 63v; for an analysis of this poem, see Muecke 2014.

⁴³ Cf. Virgil, *Ecl.* 4, 4 “Ultima Cumei venit iam carminis aetas” (The last era of the Cuman prophecy has now arrived).

⁴⁴ The Greeks called Southern Italy *Ausonia* (cf. Dion. Hal. 1, 35, 3), Pappalardo 2006.

resuscitated by the Etruscans (vv. 8–9 “patribus [...] Thuscis”, Etruscan fathers). Here we have a key element in Leonine propaganda, the Etruscan, that is, Tuscan, identity of the new pope. The takeover of the Medici will regenerate all of the city of Rome (v. 10 “Vnde urbem / proceresq(ue) auxit / gentemq(ue) togatam”,⁴⁵ whence he brought prosperity to Rome, the leading men and the senators). The beneficial reconciliation of the Etruscans (Leo) and Rome is a conceit virtually omnipresent in different types of Leonine propaganda, but one of the most forceful representations may be found in the frescoes, largely by Polidoro da Caravaggio (c. 1499–1543), of the *salone* of the Vigna Turini (now Villa Lante al Gianicolo), designed by Giulio Romano and built between 1518 and 1534 for one of Leo’s most loyal Tuscan retainers, the *datarius* Baldassarre Turini (1486–1543). The frescoes (since 1837 to be seen in Palazzo Zuccari) feature four moments in the history of the Janiculum: the meeting of the eponymous god Janus and the foreigner Saturn on the Janiculum⁴⁶ the flight of Cloelia from Lars Porsenna’s camp on the Janicule, the generous liberation of Cloelia and her friends by Porsenna, and the discovery of the tomb of Numa Pompilius. While the arrival of Saturn in Rome is of course connected to the Golden Age, the Cloelia episodes are concerned with the reconciliation of the Etruscans (noble Lars Porsenna) with the Romans (equally admirable and fair in returning the young women to their captor).⁴⁷

The first section of the poem is closed by a refrain highlighted by a paragraph sign: v. 11 “Roma tuu(m) meritis decimu(m) venerare triumphis” (Rome, revere your tenth (Leo) with deserved triumphs).⁴⁸ The poem then describes in very much detail the beneficial effects of Leo’s reign. Not only will wars, pillaging and disasters disappear confronted with his clemency (v. 17 “mansueti hac fronte Leonis”, with the brow of this clement Leo). Indeed, diseases will be cured by Leo with medicine, not bitter as aloe,⁴⁹ but sweeter than ambrosia and nectar: “Datq(ue) salutiferos passim medicina liquores / Non Aloe tristis / non succis improba amaris: / Dulcior Ambrosia sed enim est ac nectare dulci” (the medicine spreads salutiferous fluids, (it is) not disagreeable aloe, not spoiled by bitter juices, but it is indeed sweeter than ambrosia and sweet nectar, vv. 22–24).

⁴⁵ Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 1, 282 “gentemque togatam” (people wearing the toga).

⁴⁶ Described by Macrobius, *Sat.* 1, 7, 19–22; cf. Graf 2006.

⁴⁷ For Turini, see (with bibliography) Merisalo 2016. For the frescoes, see in particular Gnann 1997, 140–157.

⁴⁸ Repeated at irregular distances: v. 25, 40, 47, 56, 64, 69, 76, 82 and 89.

⁴⁹ The medical use of aloe is described by e.g. Pliny the Elder (*NH* 27, 14–20), cf. Hünemörder 2006.

The author here evokes another central concept of Leonine propaganda, the pun on the pope’s family name. The conceit of the Medici as doctors of the ills of the world goes back at least to Cosimo il Vecchio.⁵⁰ It also featured in the decorations for Leo’s *possesso* on 11 April 1513.⁵¹

Altogether the world will be a far better place thanks to Leo: no more deceitful intrigues and evil but pure simplicity: “Te regnante cadent fraudes / neq(ue) non mala mentis // Gaudia. simplicitas imprimis pura uigebit” (Under your reign frauds will fail and the mind’s evil pleasures, above all, pure simplicity will prevail, vv. 45–46).

The poem culminates in a final prayer to God, summarising the essential themes treated above. Leo, whom God has sent to earth from Olympus, should be allowed to help the diseased mortals with his medicine:

Longos esse dies decimo / multosq(ue) per annos
Da decimo prodesse aegris mortalibus: atq(ue)
(Quod cupit humanum genus) instaurare medela<m>/
Quam tulit /e/ summo per te demissus Olympo.

Let the days be long for the tenth one, and for many years make it possible for the tenth one to help sick mortals and (which the human race desires) establish the cure that he brought from the top of Mount Olympus sent down by you.⁵²

Conclusion

Giovanni, younger son of Lorenzo il Magnifico, was taught by such Humanist luminaries as Politian, Ficino, Chalcocondyles and Dalle Fosse. While his elder brother Piero was destined to inherit his father’s position as sole ruler of Florence, Giovanni made a precocious career in the Church, thus furthering the political ambitions of Lorenzo il Magnifico. After initial successes, the Medici suffered a number of devastating setbacks, ranging from their exile from Florence in 1494 to precarious existence under Alexander VI, no friend of the dynasty. From the beginning of the reign of Julius II Della Rovere and death of Piero (1503), cardinal Giovanni, now head of the House of Medici, reconstructed the fortune and the position of the dynasty, rising to the top of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, his career being crowned by his election to pope in 1513. In accordance with family traditions, cardinal Giovanni, himself an artistically talented individual, engaged in important patronage as soon as his means would permit it, and surrounded himself with the foremost artists, such

⁵⁰ Muecke 2014, 320 n. 29

⁵¹ Muecke 2014, 320.

⁵² Vv. 101–104.

as Raphael, musicians and writers of the day. The works of art thus created transmitted a set of themes glorifying Leo's past and present: divine bringer of peace and happiness, the Etruscan resuscitating Ancient Rome, the healer of the ills of the world, among others. Drawing on the latest knowledge of Ancient sources, the painters, sculptors and writers exemplify the ways that the past was put to use to promote present concerns.

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UNA MISCELLANEA ASTROLOGICO- ASTRONOMICA



Di Giovanna Murano*

*The surviving part of the rich collection of scientific manuscripts that once belonged to the library of San Marco in Florence was described at the beginning of the last century by the Danish palaeographer and historian of mathematics Axel Anton Bjørnbo (1874-1911). Despite the importance of San Marco library, this section is the only one to have been described in a systematical way. This article will focus on the ms. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conv. Soppr. J. III. 28 (San Marco 180), one of the manuscripts described by Bjørnbo. Palaeographical and textual evidence suggest that this miscellany was one of the sources of Coluccio Salutati's astronomical and astrological knowledge and that he probably used it for his *De fato et fortuna*.*

Introduzione

Il 14 luglio 1396 Coluccio Salutati (1332-1406) scrive a Jean de Montreuil chiedendogli di rivedere il testo del *libellum de fato* che gli ha inviato. Salutati condivide con Montreuil, oltre al mestiere di cancelliere, la passione per la ricerca dei manoscritti e nel cap. VI del lib. II inserisce un lungo *excursus*, di notevole interesse per la filologia umanistica, nel quale discorre della tradizione dei testi, nonché del ruolo della biblioteca pubblica.¹ Il *De fato et fortuna*, rimasto inedito fino al 1985,² trae occasione da una domanda rivolta al Salutati se i *bella civilia* che sconvolgevano la città di Perugia fossero da imputare ad una particolare congiunzione astrale, o non fossero piuttosto generati da conflitti interni. Salutati non rispose con un'opera letteraria, bensì con un trattato nel quale dimostra “an extensive and accurate knowledge of astronomy and astrology”.³ Secondo Concetta Bianca inoltre

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¹ Rizzo 1984, 341-44; Salutati 1985, 46-56.

² Salutati 1985.

³ Trinkaus 1989, 67.

“Le cognizioni scientifiche di Coluccio, e in particolare astrologiche, risultano [...] evidentissime nelle pagine del trattato”, ed ancora

Coluccio evidentemente possedeva una cultura molto più ampia di quanto in genere si supponga e di quanto sia possibile dimostrare attraverso i codici a lui appartenuti.⁴

Numerosi indizi testuali e paleografici presenti nel ms. Firenze, BNCF, Conv. Sopr. J. III. 28 (San Marco 180), sul quale mi soffermerò in queste pagine, consentono di avanzare l’ipotesi che possa essere stato una fonte delle conoscenze astronomiche ed astrologiche di Coluccio Salutati.

Ermete Trismegisto nella biblioteca di Coluccio Salutati

Nel *De fato et fortuna* Coluccio Salutati ricorda l’*Asclepius*.⁵ Dopo l’arrivo a Firenze dell’attuale Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pl. 71.33, portato dalla Macedonia dal monaco Leonardo da Pistoia, Marsilio Ficino, su richiesta di Cosimo de’ Medici, poté dedicarsi alla traduzione latina del *Corpus hermeticum* ricevendone, come ricompensa, nell’aprile del 1463 una villa sulle colline di Careggi.⁶ La traduzione ficiniana ha goduto di una straordinaria e rapida fortuna ma già oltre mezzo secolo prima, nella città di Firenze, Salutati aveva rivolto la propria attenzione ad Ermete Trismegisto e ai testi che in quel momento circolavano sotto il suo nome. Prima della traduzione di Ficino la sola opera attribuita ad Ermete letta e commentata in occidente è stata l’*Asclepius*, nella versione da un originale greco pervenuto in modo frammentario. Salutati ebbe ben tre diversi testimoni dell’opera: il codice Firenze, Biblioteca Mediceo Laurenziana, Pl. 76.36, il BML, San Marco 284, della metà del sec. XI ovvero il *Florentinus* dell’edizione di Nock e Festugière, ed il BNCF, Conv. sopr. J.IX.39 (San Marco 348), del sec. XII *ex*.⁷ In quest’ultimo, a seguito di un restauro, è andato perduto il foglio di guardia recante antichi *ex-libris* e note di possesso in gran parte erase (ne rimane una riproduzione in bianco e nero), ma la provenienza dalla biblioteca del Salutati è stata segnalata da Berthold L. Ullman.⁸ La seconda opera testimoniata dal BNCF, Conv. sopr. J.IX.39 è il *Preceptum canonis Ptolomei* decorato con una splendida miniatura raffigurante Tolomeo.⁹

⁴ Salutati 1985, LXXIV.

⁵ Salutati 1985, 26.

⁶ Gentile & Gilly 1999, 19, 41-43 (per la descrizione del BML, Pl. 71.33). Il manoscritto è stato preso in prestito da Giovanni Pico della Mirandola nel 1492.

⁷ Lucentini & Perrone Compagni 2001, 11-18.

⁸ Ullman 1963, 136, 174 nr. 61, 215, 249, 278; Ullman & Stadter 1972, 200 nr. 672. Sulla biblioteca del Salutati si veda ora De Robertis & Zamponi 2008.

⁹ Sull’opera (testimoniata in soli sette manoscritti) vd. Juste 2021.

L'ultima opera trasmessa dalla piccola miscellanea è il *De deo Socratis* di Apuleio (nel BML, San Marco 284 si incontra ai ff. 1r–7v).

Anche il ms. BNCF, Conv. Soppr. J.III.28 proviene dal convento di San Marco. È stato descritto al principio del secolo scorso dallo storico della matematica e paleografo danese (a Monaco era stato allievo di Ludwig Traube), Axel Anthon Bjørnbo (20 aprile 1874–6 ottobre 1911),¹⁰ e più recentemente, per le sezioni tolemaiche da David Juste. Dalle descrizioni di Bjørnbo dipendono molte segnalazioni bibliografiche dei manoscritti scientifici appartenuti a San Marco (i soli, ancora oggi, oggetto di uno studio sistematico, sia pure interrotto dalla prematura morte di Bjørnbo). Dal Bjørnbo dipendono anche parte degli *incipit* segnalati da Thorndike e Kibre.¹¹

Berthold L. Ullman ha brevemente menzionato il manoscritto a proposito della nota “In cart(is) LXXXIII” apposta a sinistra nel marg. sup. di f. 1r, apparentata, ma non coincidente, con le caratteristiche annotazioni colucciane.¹² Queste ultime si trovano generalmente apposte sul margine destro e consistono in un numero arabo seguito dalla parola *Carte* (o *Charte*) e da un numero romano che segnala l'ultima carta del manoscritto (e.g. “75 Carte XLVIII”). “Only this combination of characteristics”, ha sottolineato Ullman “proves that a book belonged to Coluccio’s library”.¹³

Il numero romano *LXXXIII* registrato nella nota corrisponde all'ultimo foglio della sezione più antica. A questa seguivano alcuni fascicoli, ora perduti, ed un ultimo quaterno superstite databile alla fine del sec. XIV, originariamente numerato 101–108 ed attualmente corrispondente ai ff. 75–82. Il fascicolo superstite aggiunto alla compagine originale è opera di mani diverse che utizzano cancelleresche e testuali semplificate, prossime a quelle dei copisti attivi nell'orbita del Salutati. È possibile che il manoscritto sia appartenuto al Salutati? Potrebbe essere questo uno dei manoscritti utilizzati per la stesura del *De fato et fortuna*? Alcuni indizi, come vedremo, consentono di avanzare questa ipotesi.

Il Tetrabiblos (o Quadripartitum opus)

La prima opera trasmessa dal BNCF, Conv. Soppr. J.III.28 è il *Tetrabiblos* (o *Quadripartitum opus*) di Tolomeo, uno dei trattati astrologici più influenti di

¹⁰ Notizie su Bjørnbo e la sua produzione scientifica in Meyer 1913; Folkerts 1978; Folkerts 2002; vd. Bjørnbo 1903, 1905 and 1911-1912. Il catalogo dei manoscritti scientifici appartenuti a San Marco è stato pubblicato tra il 1903 ed il 1912 ed è stato riedito nel 1976 con alcune integrazioni di Giancarlo Garfagnini.

¹¹ La descrizione del ms. BNCF, Conv. Soppr. J.III.28 è proposta con alcuni aggiornamenti nella banca dati <https://ptolemaeus.badw.de/jordanus/ms/8427>

¹² Ullman 1963, 130, per una svista la segnatura indicata è “Conv. Soppr. I, 3, 228.”

¹³ Ullman 1963, 130.

ogni tempo.¹⁴ Salutati conosceva l'opera ma non si hanno notizie di alcun codice che gli è appartenuto.¹⁵ Oltre ad opere di Tolomeo o attribuite a Tolomeo, la miscellanea astronomico-astrologica trasmette opere di Umar Ibn al-Farrukhân al-Tabarî (Omar ben Fargati Tiberiadis) (fl. 762–812), Māshā'allāh († 815 circa), Abraham ibn Ezra (1089/1092–1164/1167), e altri. Il manoscritto, purtroppo mutilo di diversi fogli, è composito e gli attuali ff. 1–74 sono databili alla prima metà del Trecento, mentre gli attuali ff. 75–82 risalgono alla fine dello stesso secolo. L'attuale f. 74 (ant. 84) presenta segni di tarli sulla pergamena evidentemente dovuti ad una antica legatura in assi di legno. La prima e l'originaria ultima carta sono state restaurate con brachette membranacee. La prima, nel marg. sup. di f. 1r, ha coperto la nota "In cartis LXXXIII^{or}" e su di essa fra' Leonardo Ser Uberti, bibliotecario di San Marco,¹⁶ ha registrato il titolo *Quadripartitus Ptholomei Alfilij in scientia iudiciorum astrorum*. Poiché fra' Leonardo è intervenuto sul codice l'11 novembre 1471, i restauri (testuali e materiali) sono anteriori a questa data. Prima che il bibliotecario di San Marco ponesse il *titulus* l'opera era evidentemente adespota ed anepigrafa. Salutati al principio del terzo libro del *De fato et fortuna* cita un brano tratto dal *Quadripartitum* 1,5 ma indica l'opera con il titolo *De iudiciis astrorum*.¹⁷ In realtà quest'ultimo è il titolo di un trattato astrologico, originariamente in arabo, di Haly Abenragel (Ibn-Abī-r-'Rig āl, Abu-'l-Hasan 'Alī) (980–1037) non di Tolomeo. Ora, una serie di glosse trascritte nei margini del BNCF, Conv. Soppr. J.III.28 iniziano con la frase "Dicit haly"; l'autore delle glosse è Alī ibn Riḍwān (998–1061), non Haly Abenragel, ma proprio la combinazione dell'assenza di un *titulus* nel *Quadripartitum* da un lato e della presenza di glosse attribuite ad "Haly" dall'altro potrebbe aver indotto l'errore del Salutati. A f. 7rb compare una nota forse di mano del Salutati che potrebbe essere un'ulteriore conferma che si tratta del testimone utilizzato come fonte del *De fato et fortuna*.

"Hoc est quod transtulit mihi quidam hebreus"

Il contenuto originario, già relevantissimo, del Conv. Soppr. J.III.28, descritto in appendice a queste pagine, è arricchito da glosse coeve e da note apposte in tempi diversi. Una annotazione al f. 66r (num. mod.) è degna di particolare

¹⁴ Per un'ampia ed aggiornata bibliografia dell'opera vd.

<https://ptolemaeus.badw.de/work/27>

¹⁵ Salutati 1985, LXXVI.

¹⁶ Sul bibliotecario di San Marco si veda Bianca 2008. Da giovane era stato notaio e questo spiega l'acribia delle sue puntuali annotazioni sui contenuti dei manoscritti appartenenti al convento domenicano. A fra' Leonardo si deve la trascrizione nella sua miscellanea BNCF, Conv. Soppr. J.VII.30 dell'unico testimone conosciuto dell'*Inventarium Nicolai pape quinti*.

¹⁷ Salutati 1985, 105.

rilievo. Di seguito al *Liber novem iudicum* al f. 66r, nella colonna B rimasta in origine bianca, compaiono tre brevi *excerpta* contrassegnati dal segno di paragrafo e la nota “hoc est quod transtulit mihi quidam hebreus” (questo è quello che ha tradotto per me un certo ebreo). Il primo brano inizia:

Recitat Rasis in libro suo magno qui totum continens dicitur, Hermetem scripsisse in libro suo ymaginum quodam quid mirabiliter lapidi et dolori renum confert

Dichiara Rasis nel suo grande libro che è detto *Continens*, che Ermete ha scritto nel suo *Libro delle immagini* di qualcosa che trasforma mirabilmente le pietre e il dolore ai reni.

Ancor prima di conoscere il *Corpus hermeticum* nella sua interezza, Trismegisto era noto grazie ad autori della tarda antichità (Agostino, Lattanzio, etc.) e al contempo circolavano attribuiti a questo autore testi connessi con la magia e l'alchimia (che non verranno accolti nel *corpus*). In questo caso la notizia fu dedotta dal *Liber continens*, ovvero dalla traduzione latina del *Kitab al-Hawi fi al-tibb* del medico musulmano Abū Bakr Muhammad al-Rāzī's, latinizzato Rhazes, una fonte sicuramente degna di fede.¹⁸ Trovata la notizia si andò alla ricerca del testo che Rhazes attribuisce a Ermete, ovvero il trattato sui talismani terapeutici noto con il titolo *De duodecim imaginibus Hermetis* o *Liber imaginum signorum*. Il primo brano che segue la nota sulla traduzione dall'ebraico inizia:

Ymago iuvans ad lapidem generatum in vesicam et renibus. Cum vuleris hoc facere: Considera introytum solis [...]

Immagine che giova ai calcoli generati nella vescica e nei reni. Quando decidi di farlo: considera l'ingresso del sole

Probabilmente questa ricetta è stata estrapolata dall'opera nota in latino con il titolo *De preservatione ab egritudine lapidis* (Per la cura dei calcoli renali), di Rhazes e non di Trismegisto.¹⁹ Evidentemente non si trattava dell'opera desiderata e a ragione di ciò la ricerca proseguì. Il brano che segue, ovvero l'ultimo trascritto nella colonna, dimostra che il testo cercato era stato recuperato:

Experimentum efficacissimum Hermetis Trismegisti contra calculum renum et infallibile. Accipe purissimum aurum et fac sigillum [...]

Esperimento efficacissimo e infallibile contro i calcoli renali: prendi dell'oro purissimo e fai un sigillo [...]

¹⁸ Fischer & Weisser 1986.

¹⁹ De Koning 1896; Fischer & Weisser 1986, 216.

Le aggiunte, spesso in notulare, o in corsiva, o in una libreria semplificata, di *excerpta, sententiae, notabilia*, ricette, negli spazi rimasti originariamente bianchi nelle miscellanee non sono una novità; indicano che il libro non è stato soltanto “posseduto” ma è stato “in uso” e che i testi di cui è portatore sono stati letti, esaminati e studiati. È il libro non mero oggetto, ma strumento e laboratorio. Mentre le glosse di Alī ibn Riḏwān al *Quadripartitum* aggiunte nei margini delle prime carte del Conv. soppr. J.III.28 e coeve alla copia sono state oggetto anche di una edizione a stampa, il brano tradotto dall’ebraico, su esplicita richiesta di colui che ha registrato la nota, potrebbe essere testimoniato soltanto da questo manoscritto. I tre *excerpta* annotati al f. 66rb sono in cancelleresca e nell’ultimo una mano in corsiva ha aggiunto due ulteriori brevi brani alla traduzione. La collaborazione tra l’estensore della nota (verosimilmente il primo possessore del manoscritto) e l’ebreo fu circoscritta e questo potrebbe spiegarne l’anonimato; tuttavia il committente della traduzione volle lasciarne memoria.

Alcuni decenni più tardi Firenze divenne luogo d’incontro tra dotti cristiani e traduttori ebrei grazie a Giannozzo Manetti e in seguito a Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. Il Conte, in particolare, dopo un’inquieta *peregrinatio academica* scelse a metà degli anni Ottanta del Quattrocento la città medicea per preparare le sue *Conclusiones*. Per l’occasione allestì un laboratorio per far tradurre dall’ebraico non più testi di medicina bensì opere filosofiche (Avicenna soprattutto) e cabbalistiche, avvalendosi per le prime del medico cretese Elia del Medigo, per le seconde del controverso convertito siciliano Guglielmo Mitridate. La scelta di Firenze piuttosto che di un’altra città fu dettata certamente dalle amicizie (Agnolo Poliziano, Girolamo Benivieni, Lorenzo de’ Medici) ma soprattutto dalla straordinaria disponibilità di libri, primi tra tutti quelli custoditi in San Marco, molti dei quali provenienti dalle collezioni del Salutati e del Niccoli. Anche durante la preparazione delle *Disputationes adversus astrologiam divinatricem* Pico preferì restare a Firenze e nuovamente dalla straordinaria raccolta di testi scientifici custodita in San Marco attinse materiali, spunti e suggestioni.

Le opere perdute del BNCF, Conv. Soppr. J.III.28

Una nota di fra’ Leonardo Ser Uberti datata 11 novembre 1471, indica che il Conv. Soppr. J.III.28 era formato da 108 carte. Allo stato attuale è formato da 82 carte essendo andate perdute quelle originariamente numerate 20, 47, 69–76, 85–100. Con un maldestro tentativo di cancellare le tracce delle indebite sottrazioni, dall’elenco compilato da fra’ Leonardo sono state depennate le voci relative alle opere sottratte.

Le prime due voci depennate sono l’*Haly de electionibus horarum et de particularibus electionibus* ovvero del *De electionibus horarum* di Ali

Himrani (Haly Embrani)²⁰ e l'*Alphagranus de nativitatibus* ma l'incipit indicato per la seconda ("Dixit Omar etc., Scito quod diffinitiones nativitatium") corrisponde a quello dell'opera di Omar ben Fargati Tiberiadis presente nel manoscritto ma mutilo del primo foglio. Al f. originariamente segnato 85 iniziava il *Liber Arthabe Ptholomei de qualitatibus septem planetarum*. L'incipit trascritto da fra' Leonardo è "Solis naturam apud omnes calidam et siccam constat esse" e pertanto il frammento perduto iniziava con il cap. I, 4 (*De natura VII stellarum mobilium*) del *Quadripartitum*.²¹ La presenza di questa seconda copia (sebbene parziale) più che ad un errore potrebbe essere dipesa dalla volontà di avere a disposizione un diverso e forse più corretto testimone (come abbiamo visto Salutati ebbe ben tre diversi testimoni anche dell'*Asclepius*). Purtroppo la perdita non ci consente di verificare se era di mano dello stesso Salutati o di uno dei suoi copisti. Al f. 97 iniziava l'*Almansoris Astrologi Judei* con l'incipit "Signorum dispositio est, ut dicam." Si tratta dei *Iudicia [Capitula] Almansoris* di Rhazes, un'opera tradotta da Platone da Tivoli e stampata molte volte.²² L'ultima opera contenuta nel fascicolo asportato testimoniava il *Liber Ypocratis de infirmitatibus* che iniziava "Dixit Ypocrates qui fuit medicus optimus". L'incipit corrisponde a quello della traduzione anonima, verosimilmente dall'arabo, della diffusa *Astrologia medicorum* o *Astrologia Ypocratis*.²³

A lato dell'incipit dell'*Epistola de rebus eclipsibus* di Māshā'allāh, uno dei massimi astrologi attivi a Bagdad tra l'ottavo ed il nono secolo, una mano tardo-quattrocentesca ha annotato: *in stampa*. Una possibile spiegazione della nota è che piuttosto che trarre una copia dal Marciano il committente è stato avvertito dell'esistenza di una edizione a stampa, forse quella veneziana di Boneto Locatelli del 1493.²⁴ Il *finis* della stessa *Epistola* non è ben evidenziato nella *mise en page* ed una mano, diversa dalla precedente, ha annotato in margine "Finit hic messahallah". Questa seconda nota potrebbe essere di mano del Salutati.

Il fascicolo aggiunto

L'ultimo fascicolo (ff. 75–82 [101–108]) è stato aggiunto alla compagine originale negli ultimi anni del Trecento. È stato trascritto da più mani che utilizzano la cancelleresca o la *textualis* semplificata prossime a quelle dei

²⁰ Carmody 1956, 137-138 nr. 24.

²¹ Cfr. <https://ptolemaeus.badw.de/ms/243/351/92r> dal Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, 10053 (*olim* Toledo 98-21), f. 92r.

²² Carmody 1956, 132-134.

²³ Kibre 1977, 284-289.

²⁴ GW M36394, ISTC ip01089000.

copisti che gravitavano nell’orbita del Salutati. I titoli nella maggior parte dei casi sono assenti, ma la copia è ordinata, i margini sono ampi e sono stati previsti gli spazi riservati per le iniziali. I testi trascritti sono talvolta *excerpta*, spesso testimoni di opere rare o rarissime. Il primo autore accolto nel fascicolo è Abraham ibn Ezra (1089/1092–1164/1167). Prolifico e versatile, Ibn Ezra ha composto opere in ebraico ed in latino ed è stato traduttore di opere astronomiche dall’ebraico.²⁵ Nel BNCF, Conv. soppr. J.III.28 sono stati copiati *excerpta* dal *De mundo vel seculo* (*‘Olam*) tradotto da Henri Bate nel 1281. La scelta di copiare pochi frammenti piuttosto che l’intera opera è dipesa certamente dall’indisponibilità di un esemplare completo.²⁶ È verosimile che anche altri frammenti testimoniati dal manoscritto siano riconducibili ad Ibn Ezra, ma i contenuti dei singoli brani necessitano di essere ulteriormente indagati. Oltre agli *excerpta* dal *De mundo*, nel fascicolo sono stati copiati brevi trattati e *notae* di Dorotheus Sidonius, Alfodhol, Bethem [Muhammad ibn Jabir Al Battani] e Alī ibn Riḍwān. Non compare alcuna opera di Albumasar [Abu Ma’shar al-Balkhi] ma l’astrologo è citato nel *De significationibus capitis et caude*.

Considerata l’estesa conoscenza di opere astrologiche ed astronomiche di cui dà prova nel *De fato et fortuna*, ritengo altamente probabile che l’impressionante silloge di testi testimoniata nel ms. BNCF, Conv. Soppr. J.III.28 sia stata riunita ed implementata dal cancelliere fiorentino. In quanto tempo ed attingendo a quali fonti è difficile, ad momento, indicarlo.

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Appendice

Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conv. Soppr. J.III.28 (San Marco 180)

Membr.; composito, I: 1–74 (sec. XIV¹); II: 75–82 (sec. XIV ex.); ff. I (cart.), II (membr. ant.), 82 (perduti i ff. originariamente numerati 20, 47, 69–76, 85–100; scucito il bifoglio num. 18–19, staccato il f. numerato 50), I’ (cart.); 350 × 240. Fasc.: I–II⁸, III³ (1 f., + 1 bifoglio attualmente scucito), IV¹⁰, V⁶, VI⁸, VII⁶⁻¹ (perduto un f., staccato f. 50), VII⁸, VIII⁶; IX⁸; II: I⁸. Iniziali bipartite (1ra, 15va, 53ra, 63ra); rubricato; spazi riservati per le iniziali. Diagrammi (21v, marg. inf.; 26r, marg. inf.; 38r, marg. inf.; 38va, 67r). Al f. 1r, marg. sup.: “In cartis LXXXXIII^{om}”. Al f. Ir è annotato “.38.”, verosimilmente una antica segnatura. Al f. IIv le antiche note di pertinenza del convento di San Marco (probabilmente con l’indicazione della provenienza) sono state erase. A queste seguiva un accurato indice del

²⁵ Sela 2003; Smithuis 2006a; Smithuis 2006b.

²⁶ Thorndike 1944, 294-295 (ma non menziona il nostro testimone); sulla traduzione anche Smithuis 2006b, 250.

contenuto che è stato in parte eraso e depennato. In fine compare la nota di f. Leonardo Ser Uberti: “habet iste liber cartas cviii. ego fr. Leonardus librarius die xi. novembris 1471” (quello libro ha 108 fogli. Io fra’ Leonardo librario 11 novembre 1471). Il manoscritto è registrato nell’inventario del convento di San Marco compilato intorno all’a. 1500:

Tractatus Ptolomei de pronosticationibus, item liber novem iudicum, Haly de electionibus horarum et de particularibus electionibus, Alphagranus de nativitatibus, liber Arthabe Ptolomei de qualitatibus septem planetarum, Mansor de copula stellarum, liber Hypocratis de infirmitatibus, et alia, in volumine satis magno nigro in membranis (Ullman & Stadter 1972, 209 nr. 740).

1ra–19ra PTOLEMAEUS, *Quadripartitum*, tr. Plato Tiburtinus. “Quadripartitus Ptholomei Alfiliij in scientia iudiciorum astrorum (*inscriptio* di mano di Leonardo Ser Uberti)”, *inc.* Rerum, Yesure, in quibus est pronosticabilis scientie stellarum, *expl.* Rebus itaque nativitatum generaliter explicatis. Hoc in loco huic libro finem imponere non incongruum existimamus. Explicit. – Ed. Venetiis: Erhardus Ratdolt, 15.I.1484 (GW M36411; ISTC ip01088000), cc. a2r–[f6]r. Con glosse (precedute dal segno di paragrafo) coeve alla copia, cf. f. 10v, marg. inf.: “Dicit Haly [= Alī ibn Riḏwān] quod locus solis vel Saturni est locus [...]”. Le glosse di Alī ibn Riḏwān sono state stampate nell’ed. Venetiis, Bonetus Locatellus per Octavianum Scotum, 20.XII.1493 (GW M36394; ISTC ip01089000). Segni di lettura (graffe) e brevi *notabilia*.

19ra <Pseudo-PTOLEMAEUS, *Liber proiectionis radiorum*>. *Inc.* Cum proiectionem radiorum stellarum scire volueris, scias gradum ascendentis, *expl.* erit locus radiationis equate. – Ed. Venetiis: Erhardus Radtolt, 15.I.1484 (GW M36411; ISTC ip01088000), c. [f6]r–v. Note marginali e interlineari.

20[21]ra–66[68]rb *Liber novem iudicum*. *Inc.* Rerum omnium que sub lunari circulo esse habent et vita fruuntur, *expl.* donec luna ab eisdem separetur pluvias renovant [= ed. 94vb]. Explicit liber .9. Iudicum. – Venetiis, Peter Liechtenstein, 1509; Thorndike & Kibre 1937, 1350. Carmody 1956, 107–112 nr. 16; Sporadiche annotazioni.

66[68]rb [*Remedia contra dolorem lapidis et renuum*]. *Inc.* Recitat Rasis in libro suo magno qui totum continens [i.e. *Liber continens* di Abū Bakr Muhammad al-Rāzī’s] dicitur, Hermetem scripsisse in libro suo ymaginum quodam quid mirabiliter lapidi et dolori renum confert. Et illud est ut inprimatio in auro signa leonis, *expl.* in tota secunda facie. [*Ricetta*] *Inc.* Ymago juvenis ad lapidem generatum in vesica; *expl.* hoc enim est sanatio eius, si Deus voluerit. [Forse dedotta da *De preservatione ab egritudine lapidis*. La ricetta è preceduta dalla nota “hoc est, quod transtulit mihi quidam hebreus”.] [*Ricetta*] *Inc.* Experimentum efficacissimum Hermetis Trismegisti contra calculum renum et infallibile. Accipe purissimum aurum, *expl.*

nunquam postea posse scire. – La nota e le ricette sono state aggiunte alla compagine originale da una stessa mano che si avvale di una scrittura cancelleresca.

67[77]ra–73[83]rb UMAR IBN AL-FARRUKHÂN AL-TABARÎ (Omar ben Fargati Tiberiadis), *De nativitatibus (Kitâb-al-Mawâlid)*, tr. Iohannes Hyspalensis, acefalo. *Inc.* //omnes hiles [hylech *ed.*] ipse qui pro ceteris aspectu proprior fuerit hiles [hylech *ed.*]. Ptolomeus autem nominavit ita aspectum [= *ed.* c. 4, r. 32], *expl.* Directio est primus gradus arietis et diuisor Jupiter. (*Subscriptio*) “Perfectus est liber universum Omar Ben Fargati Tiberadis cum laude dei et eius adiutorio, quem transtulit magister Iohannes Hyspalensis atque Limiensis (!) de arabico in latinum”. Con glosse (*inc.* Causa extractionis annorum et planetarum maiorum, mediorum et minorum) e diagrammi aggiunti nei margini. – Ed. Omar Tiberiadis, *Astronomi preclarissimi liber de nativitatibus et interrogationibus*, Venetiis, Sessa, 1503. Thorndike & Kibre 1937, 1409; Carmody 1956, 38–39 nr. 1; Burnett 2002, 60 nr. 4.

73[83]rb *Summa. Inc.* Iudicandi summa hic breviter continet. Primum enim aspiciendum si ex intentione interrogans querat, *expl.* Si autem plura fuerunt infortunia quam fortuna malum sed fortunis temperatum manifeste declara.

73[83]rb–74[84]rb MASHA’ALLAH IBN ATHARI, *Epistola de rebus eclipsibus*, tr. Iohannes Hyspalensis et Limiensis. *Inc.* Dixit Messahallah. Quia Dominus altissimus fecit terram ad similitudinem spere, et fecit circulum altiore in circuitu eiusdem volubilem, *expl.* nisi hiis que pre fuerit coniunctioni sit fortuna. Intellige hoc est ultimum eorum qui protulimus in hoc libro, et est ex secretis scientie astrorum. (*Subscriptio.*) “Perfectus est liber Messehallah translatus a Iohanne Hyspalensi in Limia ex arabico in latinum sub laude Dei, et eius auxilio”. In marg., a lato dell’*incipit*, in inchiostro rosso: “in stampa”; in corrispondenza dell’*explicit*: “finit hic Messahallah”. – Ed. Ptolemaeus, *Quadripartitum* [...], Venetiis, Bonetus Locatellus per Octavianum Scotum, 20.xii.1493 (GW M36394; ISTC ip01089000), cc. 143 [ma 148]ra–149ra. Thorndike 1956, 64; Burnett 2002, 60 nr. 3.

74rb *Capitula* (estratti dai canoni delle *Tavole toletane*). *Inc.* Cum luna fuerit capite vel cauda in uno signo est dies cavenda in omnibus operibus, *expl.* erit nigra cum rubedine. (*Finis*) Et si fuerit plus auge (se trovi qualcosa in più aggiungilo). Segue la breve integrazione pari a 3 righe e ½ di testo nel marg. inf.: “per .3. signa vel per .9. erit nigra cum pal<1>ore 8 [...] erit grisia cum albedine. si deus voluerit”.

74v *Tavole astrologiche (De electionibus secundum cursum Lune per XII signa)*.

75[101]ra-va ABRAHAM IBN EZRA, *Liber de mundo* (trad. Henricus Bate), *excerpta. Inc.* Tractatus Auenarre (!) de planetarum coniunctionibus et annorum revolutionibus mundanorum translationem agressuri; [sottolineato, da altra mano: “At vero”] per tractatione dignum videtur verum et discussione hoc, *expl.* debet sufficere possibilitati. – Nel marg. sup.: “Incipit liber de mundo” e “Abraham contra Avenesre”.

75[101]va *Capitulum in pretio rerum secundum Habraam* (ibn Ezra?). *Inc.* Dicit quando scire volueris carestiam aut mercatum in pretiis rectum et status hominum, *expl.* et sua loca in figura quomodo sunt ad ascendens.

75[101]va–b “Dicit Plinius romanus in christianis impretio venalium”. *Inc.* Quando sol intraverit Arietem aspice planetam que fuerit in medio celi, *expl.* signa illius in quo fuerit ille planeta.

75[101]vb DOROTHEUS [ms: Doratius], *In venalibus*. Quando scire volueris carestiam et vilitatem rerum aspice planetas; *expl.* ibi augendo vel minuendo. – Carmody 1956, 71.

75[101]vb “Quando vis eligere horam coniungendi te cum mulierem, ad hoc ut concipiat”. *Inc.* Primo considera finis coniunctionem facere in die vel de nocte, *expl.* vel in quinta.

76[102]ra–b ALFODHOL, *De iudiciis*, (*excerptum*); *De timore quod accidat. Inc.* Dixit Alfadal filius Ablezehelis quando a te quo situm fuerit, *expl.* in domo Lune aut Iovis vel Veneris. – Sull’autore e l’opera vd. Thorndike 1927; Thorndike 1945.

76[102]va DOROTHEUS SIDONIUS [Doratius MS], *In luna. Inc.* Doratius in luna dixit: Nec (Hec?) sunt speciales significationes lune in esse ac negotiis capti, *expl.* cum labore et per res miraculosas. – Carmody 1956, 71.

76[102]vb–77[103]ra Nota astrologica. *Inc.* Dicit Noffil qui didicit hoc in causa capti: quando fuerit ascendens Aries vel Scorpio, *expl.* de homo et forti loco. – Carmody 1956, 71.

77[103]ra *In horis iudicium. Inc.* Dixerunt sapientes antiqui, quod qui captus fuerit hora solis evadet in capite mensis unius, *expl.* carcerati existentes ibidem.

77[103]ra *Excerpta. Inc.* Dixit Mesahala: Quando acciderit in revolutione annorum mundi ut sit dominus, *expl.* extrahet carceratos et captos.

77[103]rb–78[104]rb BETHEM [MUHAMMAD IBN JABIR AL BATTANI], *Centiloquium* (tr. Plato Tiburtinus?). *Inc.* <N>unc incoabo librum de consuetudinibus et iudiciis stellarum. Scias quod planete quando sunt retrogradi sunt sicur vir infirmus, *expl.* aut in domo exaltationis sue salutis ab infortuna. – Carmody 1956, p. 74 nr. 1. *Titulus* registrato nel marg. sup.

78[104]rb Tavola astrologica.

78[104]va *Notae. Inc.* Nota quod inquit Aristoteles, quod cum volueris sumere farmaziam; Item inquit Aristoteles Alexandro vides cum preparas medicinam in quo signo sit sol, *expl.* decrescunt hec omnia.

78[104]va–b *Nota de faciebus signorum secundum Haly* [= Alī ibn Riḏwān]. *Inc.* <S>cias quod in quolibet signo sunt facies tres, *expl.* cum eis ac comedere, bibere ac quiescere. *Explicit. Nota. Inc.* Nota quod Aly [= Alī ibn Riḏwān] in capitulo de luna dicit quod luna, *expl.* non cogitare de aliquo negotio suo. “Nota quod dicit Hali [= Alī ibn Riḏwān] de sessione in domo tua vel alterius”, *inc.* Cum in domo tua te ponere volueris, *expl.* et hic completur quod demonstratum est alibi.

79[105]ra–b *De significationibus capitis et caude. Inc.* <D>icto de significationibus capitis et caude per unius, *expl.* in quarto igitur et septimo minuto de natura Martis. – È citato Albumasar [= Abu Ma’shar al-Balkhi], cfr. “Dixit Albumassar scito: Quod capite arietis sunt due stelle [...]”

79[105]rb–80[106]rb *De revolutionibus vel nativitatibus. Inc.* Cumque videris dominum anni seu revolutionis vel nativitatibus iunctum cum aliqua predicatarum stellarum in eodem gradu, *expl.* de quibus habuerit spem et diminuentur substantie regum.

80[106]rb–81[107]vb “Quam partem corporis quolibet planeta teneat in uno quoque signo.” *Inc.* Modo dicendum quam partem corporis quolibet planeta significet in quolibet signo, et est incipiendum a Saturno et Aries, *expl.* inimicos occultos nati seu querentis eo quod est duodecima a prima. *Explicit liber Deo gratias amen.*

82[108]ra–vb *Capitulum Haly cum verbis Alchindri in questione pro capto et captivo. Inc.* Dixit Alchindus quando pro capto fuerit tibi questio, aspiciendum ascendentis et si separatus fuerit a domino quarte, *expl.* alicuius angulorum in nona vel in tertia existenti significat quod leviter et multum cito exit de carcere.

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“OPTIME EDUCATUS”:

Book historical perspectives on Prince Sigismund’s education in sixteenth-century Sweden



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The article analyses some aspects of writing in Prince Sigismund Vasa’s (1566-1632) education in the latter half of sixteenth-century Sweden. The focus is on the rare, hand-written material of his youth, which reflects the educational ideals, practices and strategies in the inter-confessional Jagiellon–Vasa family and at their court(s) in the context of a complex political situation. One example is young Sigismund’s salutation to the Pope included in her mother’s, Catherine Jagiellon’s (1526-1583), letter. In addition, two letters held at the Riksarkivet (Swedish National Archives), Stockholm, categorized as “royal autographs” are explored and transcribed for the first time.

Introduction

Prince Sigismund was born in 1566 to Duke John Vasa of Finland (1537–92) and Duchess Catherine Jagiellon (1526–83) in Gripsholm Castle, Sweden, where his parents were kept prisoners by John’s brother, King Eric XIV (1533–77). After a fratricidal power game, the situation overturned in 1568, when Eric XIV was dethroned and thrown to jail, whilst John was crowned the new king of Sweden as John III. Sigismund’s mother, Catherine, descendant of the Polish–Lithuanian dynasty of the Jagiellons and the Italian Sforzas, became the Roman Catholic queen consort of a recently reformed Lutheran country, which, along with the fact that Sigismund received a Catholic education, had large-scale, transformational long-term consequences on the politics of the region of the Baltic sea.

This article analyses Prince Sigismund’s education in the context of this complex political and confessional situation. The focus is on book-historical evidence, which has been previously underexplored and which may shed new light on the educational ideals, practices and strategies in the royal Jagiellon–Vasa family and at their court(s) in the latter half of sixteenth-century Sweden. Two letters held in the Riksarkivet (Swedish National Archives), Stockholm, categorized as “royal autographs” are explored and transcribed for the first time.

Educational family background

Sigismund’s modern Swedish biographer, Stefan Östergren, has stated that “the young prince’s [Sigismund’s] schooling is not particularly well known”.¹ Indeed, many details are not discernible because of the lack of sources, but the general view may be completed by combining existing knowledge and exploring some new sources (see below). It is often repeated that his parents were well educated compared to other contemporary royal and princely persons. John (as well as Eric and their other siblings) received a first-class international humanist education, which their father Gustavus Vasa considered seminal for the new ruling dynasty of the Vasas. Apparently, John had some talent for and interest in foreign languages, which is emphasised in contemporary sources.² Rather obviously, Catherine would have spoken Polish to her Polish retinue and the children. Whether she used German, Italian, Swedish, Polish or Latin with John and other people at the Swedish court is more or less enlightened guesswork. The book collection that Duke John took to Gripsholm from Finland upon his imprisonment contained the essentials of various fields of intellectual and religious literature typical of a Renaissance humanist library, mostly in Latin but also in German and English, as well as a New Testament in Finnish and a Hebrew dictionary. As for Duchess Catherine, only her missals and prayer books, “papistiska böcker” (papist books), are mentioned in the inventories, which does not necessarily mean that she did not read any other books.³

Catherine’s mother, Bona Sforza (c. 1494–1557), had been surrounded by leading humanist scholars and had received private teaching from such individuals as Crisostomo Colonna (1455–1528), who had taught her to read and write “in the most learned way”. According to Colonna, she read the works of Roman authors such as Vergil and Cicero various epigrams and a

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¹ “Den unge prinsens skolning är inte särskilt väl känd”, Östergren 2005, 24.

² See, for instance, the accounts of John’s good spoken Latin by William Cecil, state secretary to Elizabeth I of England, and the Frenchman Hubertus Langetus, during the duke’s visit to England in view of marriage negotiations between Elizabeth and John’s brother Eric in 1559–60, Ericson 2004, 63, 70; Ragauskienė 2014, 102–119.

³ Several versions of Duke John’s and Duchess Catherine’s inventories from the year 1563 are included in Stockholm, Slottsarkivet, Kungliga och furstliga personers enskilda egendom 3, 1556–1594.

lot of Italian literature, including the writings of Petrarch that she knew by heart.⁴ Whilst visiting young Bona and her mother Isabella of Naples at the Milanese court for marriage negotiations with Sigismund I “the Old” (1467–1548), Polish envoys reported on Bona’s good education (together with her remarkable dancing skills) as an asset for a future queen.⁵ From her own experience of marrying the King of Poland, Bona knew that education helped find an influential spouse and establish a prominent position at the court. Bona and Sigismund I ensured that the youngest princesses, Anna (1523–1596) and Catherine, received a proper education, although probably not as thorough as that of their elder siblings, Isabella (1519–1559), Sigismund Augustus (1520–1572) and Sophia (1522–1575).⁶ Both Sigismund Augustus and Sophia put together remarkable libraries. As a result of the Italian entourage of their mother, the royal children were fluent not only in Polish but also in Italian. In international communication, they used Latin and Italian, probably some German as well. With this cultural background in addition to John III’s political ambitions regarding his only legitimate son, Sigismund’s education was obviously taken very seriously by both his parents.

As education is never merely an individual choice (and even less in sixteenth-century royal families) but incorporates societal ideologies and cultural values, European Christian ideas of educating a prince guided educational measures in practice. Erasmus’ *Institutio principis Christiani* (1516) was one of the most influential works of advice for princes. Several other works, such as Thomas More’s *Utopia* (1516) and Niccolò Machiavelli’s *Il Principe* (written in 1519, published in 1532), discussed the education and virtues of rulers, but their reception and use in the education of contemporary princes are not quite clear or evident. In sixteenth-century Poland – exchanging intensively with Italian humanists, thanks to Queen Bona and her contacts, as well as to pre-existing cultural and economic connections with Italy and the rest of Europe – the topic was touched upon in many treatises concerned with more general matters.⁷ The most important pedagogical work was Erazm Glicznier’s (Erasmus Glitznerus) *Books about children’s upbringing* (1558).⁸ One of his key principles was the teacher being a good example for the young. He advocated this method because a child was considered to have the natural tendency to imitate what they

⁴ Bogucka 1989, 38; Cioffari 1987, 71–74.

⁵ Przedziecki I 1868, 59.

⁶ Bogucka 1989, 143.

⁷ Mikołaj Rej (1505–1569), Martin Kromer (Marcin Kromer, 1512–1589), Łukasz Górnicki (1527–1603) and Sebastian Petrycy (1554–1626), just to name a few Polish authors writing on educational matters.

⁸ Glicznier 1558; I am grateful to Dr Ewa Cybulska-Bohuszewicz for pointing out Glicznier’s significance for Poland.

experience. That is why education at home was crucial. The father, in particular, was to be a decisive influence on his children through example.⁹ Introducing these ideas in Poland, Gliczner followed earlier humanists, such as Leon Battista Alberti, who, in his treatise *Della famiglia* (1433–1440), had suggested that the natural place for education was the home and who had underlined the importance of the father in the educational process.¹⁰ Besides Christian values and pedagogical issues, classical ideals, which interested humanists, included the importance of public and private virtue, Latin grammar, techniques of rhetoric, history, conventions in literature and poetry, and moral philosophy. In Sweden, Count *Peter Brahe the Elder* (1520–1590) wrote the manual *Oeconomia eller Hushållsbok för ungt adelsfolk* (Household book for young nobles) in 1581. He is said to have been “the leading brain” behind the first state budgets under John III.¹¹ He had studied at German universities and suggested in *Oeconomia* that young nobles should improve the Christian ideals by reading Philip Melanchthon, and enhance their Latin skills by reading Cicero, Quintilian and Erasmus; however, Brahe’s attitude towards the humanistic canon of authors was practical, or at least more instrumental, compared with that of the previously mentioned educational writers.¹² Much emphasis was put on economy and civil service, the latter suffering from the lack of trained professionals in Sweden. Just as in Poland and Russia, all high offices in Sweden belonged to nobility, but all office holders were not educated, capable and willing enough to work in administrative offices. With only one university (the University of Uppsala, established in 1477), the situation was different from that of Central and Southern Europe where the university network was relatively dense and university education was more readily at hand.¹³ Brahe’s work spread initially in small circles until it was printed in 1677.¹⁴

Early preceptors

During his early childhood, Sigismund spent time at his mother’s court. It seems that Catherine favoured Polish *familiars* until the end of her life in Sweden, although her court was characteristically international, as early

⁹ Roszak 2010, 458.

¹⁰ Alberti 1908, 55, 72, and 161.

¹¹ Sandelin 1991, 13.

¹² Brahe 1971; also see Eriksson 2008; Melanchthon’s *Loci communes*, of which Duke John had a copy in his library, was an important textbook in the Lutheran system of education; also see *Krēsliņš* 1992, 111–115; Pade 2020, 47–62.

¹³ Hakanen & Koskinen 2017, 38.

¹⁴ According to Ohlson, *Oeconomia*’s principles guided the teaching of the heir apparent and the teaching at the royal court, Ohlson 1941, 9.

modern courts usually were.¹⁵ The younger sister, Anna, was born in 1568 just after the parents’ release from prison. Thanks to John III’s intense work to promote his son’s hereditary claim to the Swedish throne, Sigismund became the Crown Prince of Sweden at the age of three in 1569. According to the marriage contract, Catherine was allowed to raise her children as Roman Catholics,¹⁶ which she did. Anna later converted to Protestantism. Catherine’s Polish handmaid and confidant named Doska¹⁷ was responsible for nursing the children; in a letter she told that she slept in the same room as the children. In the same letter, Doska describes Sigismund as follows: although they play and run a race, Sigismund remains attentive to Doska, a person of short stature.¹⁸ Thus, the basis of the prince’s Polish skills was grounded in his early childhood spent in the company of his mother and her Polish courtiers. It is plausible that Catherine and her Italian courtiers also taught Italian, Catherine’s second mother tongue, to the children. While the father had a central position as an early modern *pater familias* in control of the intellectual education of their children, the mother assumed the responsibility for her children’s religious and moral instruction.¹⁹ In international cross-confessional royal families, such as the family of Catherine Jagiellon and John III Vasa, gendered borderlines were not so clear-cut; the mother was involved in teaching languages (at least orally), and the father engaged in religious instruction, as it was also a decisive political matter in his plans for his son’s future.

Around 1571, when Sigismund was five years old, it was time to employ an official preceptor. The formal education of noble children began at this age.²⁰ According to *Oeconomia* and other contemporary manuals of education of nobles, the choice of a preceptor for one’s own children was strategic. Sigismund’s first preceptor was Nicolaus Mylonius (*fl.* 1570–1580s), Catherine’s chaplain, also known as “theologus germanus”, although he was probably originally from the Netherlands. However, the contract was rescinded at the request of the Estates because of Mylonius being a Catholic. He is known to have worked actively with Jesuits.²¹ The following preceptor

¹⁵ On the international counsellors at John’s and Catherine’s court, see Niiranen 2018.

¹⁶ Copy of the marriage contract, Stockholm, Riksarkivet, K 73, Svenska drottningar under 1500-talet; Katarina Jagellonica (microfilm).

¹⁷ On Doska’s position at Catherine’s court, see Niiranen 2018.

¹⁸ Wester 1909, 120.

¹⁹ Heller 2011, 19.

²⁰ In the seventeenth century, the noble Gyldenstolpe brothers began their Latin letter writing exercises around the age of five, [Sarasti-Wilenius 2015, 46]

²¹ Ohlson 1941, 3; Mylonius may have contributed to the Swedish translation and printing of Petrus Canisius’ (1521–1597) important Catholic work, *Institutiones christianae pietatis seu parvus catechismus catholicorum* (1561), officially translated into Swedish as

was a proper Swedish protestant, Nils Blasii Rasch/Rask, educated in Rostock and Greifswald. He taught Sigismund around 1573–1575. There is no information on why he did not remain longer in that position. Nevertheless, his relationship with the family seemed unproblematic; later, he was ennobled. Rask stayed at Sigismund’s Polish court and remained a firm supporter until the end of his life (Danzig, 1598 or 1599).²²

The next and most long-standing (c.1575–c.1584) preceptor was Arnold Grothusen, Nils Rask’s brother-in-law who belonged to a Livonian (originally Westphalian) noble family and was educated in Rostock just as Rask was. In the German-language area, the network of Lutheran clergymen and scholars centred around the universities of Rostock, Jena, Königsberg (Russian Kaliningrad) and Helmstedt, which suggests that Grothusen was Lutheran rather than Catholic. Though there is no clear evidence on his religion in available sources at least officially he had to be a Lutheran. Possible sympathies are a question that comes to mind when investigating the central individuals involved. Firstly, John III is known to have tried to balance Catholics and Lutherans both religiously and politically. Secondly, it was none other than Pontus de la Gardie (1520–1585, Languedoc-born court master to Catherine Jagiellon and court envoy, later military commander) who was in charge of inviting Grothusen to the post and arranging his trip to Stockholm. Thirdly, Grothusen’s daughter Lucia (1576–1647) was married to Swedish historian Johannes Messenius (1579–1636). Messenius, an alumnus of Braunsberg (Polish Braniewo) Jesuit College, and *imprisoned* for conspiring with Catholics (Sigismund and the Jesuits) against the Swedish crown. Or perhaps John III, with the help of Nils Rask and Pontus de la Gardie, succeeded in finding in Grothusen a preceptor who was a Lutheran but not a fervent anti-Catholic. The latter would have been an odd choice for a Catholic prince. In his 1574 letter to Sigismund, the Polish Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius (Polish Stanisław Hozjusz, 1504–1579) mentions sending religious books to Sigismund and Anna “to be often read with their preceptor” and to be explained to the children so that they would stay loyal to their mother’s religion.²³ Hosius served as tutor to Sigismund II Augustus and his sisters during their childhood in Poland.

John worked on reforms within the Lutheran Church. These reform plans were also reported to the Pope, even though the king was the head of the

En liten catechismus eller kort summe på then rette christelighe och catholiske troo known as *Katolikernas lilla katekes* in 1579. The translation was a part of the Counter-Reformation movement in Scandinavia; also see Possevino 1583.

²² The last Catholic member of the Grothusen family was Johann Grothusen (d. 1527), Ohlson 1941, 4.

²³ Card. Hosius to Sigismund, 22 Jan 1574, Hosius 1584, 380.

Swedish Church. John asked the Pope to grant him some dispensations that would ease the emergence of an irenic Church in Sweden or permit him, according to certain interpretations, to pave the way for a re-introduction of Catholicism in his realm. The information travelled to the Papal Curia most often in Catherine’s letters. The three main requests to be found in the correspondence between the queen of Sweden and the Pope in the 1570s were to grant permission for Mass to be said in the vernacular, for the marriage rights of the clergy to be continued and for the practice of *communio sub utraque specie*, regarded as heretical by the Catholic Church, to be allowed. Initially, she denied having received communion *sub utraque*, but later admitted to it, asking for absolution. There were many other requests, but perhaps these three were deemed the most urgent, as they were repeated in several letters. The Pope was not responsive, although Catherine explained that these reforms were the best way to get the Swedes to be receptive to Catholicism.

Associated with this correspondence, a letter to the Pope (plate 1) from Catherine also includes Prince Sigismund’s salutation and signature.²⁴ “[...] obediens filius Sigimundus Dei Gratia Regnorum Sueciae Gothorum Wandalorumq(ue) Princeps haereditarius et Dux Finlandiae” ([...] obedient son Sigismund by the Grace of God hereditary Prince of the Kingdoms of Sweden, Goths and Wends and Duke of Finland.) The last digit of the year is not entirely visible, but the year is either 1575 or 1576, when Sigismund was nine or ten years old. However, for some reason, he was not able to show his writing skills to the Pope. The handwriting in the salutation part is different from the body of the letter, written in black ink by one of the court secretaries and signed by Catherine, “Catharina R(egina)”. Sigismund’s salutation and signature in brown ink represent not a child’s (however skilled he might be) handwriting but that of a professional’s sloping humanist cursive, with the Germanic habit of adding a short curvy line above the letter *u* (*U-Bogen* in German) to distinguish it from the letter *n*. Due to the intense intellectual and professional connections with German-language areas, the usage of *U-Bogen* was widespread in sixteenth-century Sweden. Sigismund, however, did not use it. I have not been able to trace any of Arnold Grothusen’s handwritten documents to compare it with, but it is possible that the salutation to the Pope is in Arnold’s hand. Apparently, the family, not relying on the excellence of the young prince’s own hand, wanted to ensure a good impression on the recipient. They had their reasons, not least Bona’s inheritance, the “Neapolitan sums”, which belonged partly to Catherine. Since the Duchy of

²⁴ Catherine Jagiellon to the Pope, 30 Apr 1575 or 1576, Vatican City, Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, Segreteria di Stato, Nunz. Germania 95, f. 371.

Bari was incorporated into the Spanish Crown, the Jagiellons tried to recover the money through Philip II and the Pope.²⁵

Swedish letters on practical matters

At the Swedish National Archives (Riksarkivet), there are two letters from the years 1579²⁶ and 1582.²⁷ Both were written in Swedish and signed by young Sigismund. They are categorized as “royal autographs” (“kungliga autografer”) in the catalogue. The first letter (plate 2) pertains to some utensils for Catherine Jagiellon’s (under) stable master, while the second one (plate 3) concerns an order of wine. Catherine was ill at the time and was to die the following year. While learning manifold practicalities and business affairs related to court life, Sigismund might have been helping her mother, with whom he had a close relationship. The first letter (1579) is written in a Gothic hand, whereas the second one (1582) shows a humanist cursive one. It is highly improbable that they should have been written by the same person. Moreover, the hand of the signature of either letter would not seem to be identical with the text hand. While it is possible that Sigismund had learned the Gothic script in addition to the humanist one, the Gothic text hand would seem very experienced indeed for a 13-year-old boy, and it clearly differs from that of the signature. His tendency to decorate the initial *S* of his name’s starting and ending points with serifs is already recognizable in this example. The use of serifs in the letter *s* occurs throughout his life, even at a later age, but is not a standard in his signature.²⁸

Though the humanist hand of the second letter (plate 3) is more similar to Sigismund’s signature, it is not necessarily in his hand either. His minuscule *g* has a rather large, characteristic left-inclined lower loop.²⁹ It resembles the minuscule *g* in the main body of the epistle, e.g. in *förstlig, gunsteligen*,

²⁵ Biaudet 1900, iii-vi

²⁶ Stockholm, Riksarkivet, Stafsundsarkivet, Kungliga autografer SE/RA/720807/11/I/3, 183.

²⁷ Stockholm, Riksarkivet, Stafsundsarkivet, Kungliga autografer SE/RA/720807/11/I/3, 184.

²⁸ Cf. e.g. the signatures from the years 1597, Vilnius, Vilniaus Universiteto Biblioteka, Skaitmeninės kolekcijos, digitalised autograph collection

https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/islandora/object/atmintis:VUB01_000367943#00001, 2 January 2022, and 1611, Buffalo, Buffalo University Library, Polish Documents, Polish Royal Documents, Sigismund III Vasa <https://library.buffalo.edu/polish-room/img/sokfront.gif>, 1 January 2022.

²⁹ Later on, it is often upright, e.g. in a letter from the year 1620, when Sigismund was 54, with all the other characteristics being identical to earlier instances, , Vilnius, Vilniaus Universiteto Biblioteka, VUB01_368697; cf. the signed document from the year 1611, Polish Documents, Polish Royal Documents, Sigismund III Vasa <https://library.buffalo.edu/polish-room/img/sokfront.gif>, 1 January 2022.

alwarligen, givit, begerendes and behagelig. As for the other individual letters, *i*, *m* and *n* are virtually identical in the text and the signature. In *Sigismundus* the first *u* is more angular than the second one. In the text, the angular variant only occurs in *datum*. In the signature, Sigismund’s *d* has an open bowl and a high ascender. However, if we compare this signature with his other signatures, a *d* with an open bowl is not most frequent.³⁰ In the main body of the epistle, the form of letter *d* varies, ranging from one with an oblique, low ascender (like in the word *den*) to one with an upright, tallish ascender (*ted, ider*) and even to a variant resembling a *b* (*b/datum*). These characteristics may of course be due to his young age. It is also common knowledge that the handwriting of a person may vary. Rather, a signature which remains identical from document to document raises questions. Signatures change with time depending on the pen, position and speed of writing, routine, age as well as physical and mental states. Variation notwithstanding, certain characteristics are consistent throughout the long series of Sigismund’s signatures preserved in a significant number of documents at various archives.³¹

Letter 1

1 Må du wetha Anders Larsson ath theth äfr³² wår wilie och befalningh
 2 att du skall lätha wår.³³ frumors wnderstalmester bekomma fijra alnar
 3 dubelt stål till wår egen tienare och beridere Mårten tattars behoff hwil-
 4 keth wij honom efftherlåthit haffwa.
 Sigismundus Dux Finlandiae

1 May you know, Anders Larsson, that it is our will and command
 2 that you will let our mother’s understablemaster have four alns of
 3 double steal to our own servant and rider Mårten Tattars’ need, which
 4 we have left to him.
 Sigismund, Duke of Finland

Letter 2

1 Må I wethe Hans klawijr att wj aff förstligs ynnest och Nåde
 2 hafue skencht och giuit wor trokamertienere Oloff Ganimell

³⁰ See the signature from the year 1597, Vilnius, Vilniaus universiteto biblioteka, Skaitmeninės kolekcijos, digitalised autograph collection,

https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/islandora/object/atmintis:VUB01_000367308#00001,

1 January 2022.

³¹ On medieval and early modern signatures, see Fraenkel 1992 and Groebner 2004, *passim*.

³² *Äfr* or *äsr*.

³³ Maybe a full stop (unclear).

3 trij åmer renst wijn, och ectt oxehwud rött och blancht franst
 4 wijn,³⁴ befale Ider forthenskul gunsteligen och alwarligen att I låte
 5 förde vår tienere deth bekomme när han ted begerendes Warder.
 6 görendes här meds ted oss behageligt är, och skall samme wijn bliue
 7 askordett utj accisen der I wethe Ider efterrette datum Upsala den
 8 9 Septemb(er) Anno 82
 Sigismundus P(rinceps) P(oloniae) H(aereditarius) R(egni) S(ueciae)

1 /May you be informed, Hans Klawijr, that we of princely favour and grace
 2 have offered and given to our trusted valet Oloff Ganimell
 3 three awms of Rhenish wine and one hogshead of red and white French
 4 wine, we command for that reason graciously and seriously that you let
 5 our servant have it when he requests it,
 6 Doing so what we are comfortable with, and the same wine will be
 7 paid after the contract, as agreed. Given at Uppsala on
 8 9 September in the year 82
 Sigismundus Prince of Poland, Hereditary Prince of the Realm of
 Sweden

Although both letters can theoretically be writing exercises by the young prince, it is possible that they have been written by the Swedish-speaking court secretaries, who were numerous at the time, and Sigismund had only signed them. What is certain is that Sigismund’s signature shows remarkably little variation over the years. In 1630, at the age of 64, the morphology of his signature is virtually identical to the signatures of his youth.³⁵ As a skilful amateur painter, goldsmith and cutter of precious stones, he was used to holding not only a pen but a paintbrush and other tools.

Multicultural, humanist and steady-handed

As a member of a multicultural, cross-confessional royal family, Sigismund received an education with a strong international emphasis. When the heir apparent was seven, John III planned to marry him to a Habsburg princess, “to one of the emperor’s daughters”.³⁶ At the same time, John was a candidate for the Polish throne, representing underaged Sigismund.³⁷ Therefore, it was quite natural that language skills and diplomatic relations to the Catholic Church

³⁴ Maybe a comma (unclear).

³⁵ Buffalo, Buffalo University Library, Polish documents, Polish Royal Letters, Sigismund III Vasa [https://library.buffalo.edu/polish-room/img/zygmunt3\(1587-1632\).gif](https://library.buffalo.edu/polish-room/img/zygmunt3(1587-1632).gif), 1 January 2022.

³⁶ John III to Andreas Lorichs, Vadstena 1 Jan 1573, Biaudet 1900, 85.

³⁷ John to the Polish Senate 4 Aug 1572, Stegeborg, Biaudet 1900, 23; John III to a Polish ambassador, Visby 19 Apr 1573, Biaudet 1900, 40.

should figure in his education from early on. In 1587, Sigismund was a candidate for the Polish throne after the death of Stephen Báthory (1533–86), whose widow, Sigismund’s aunt Queen Dowager Anna, supported his candidacy together with several magnates. Swedish envoys were sent to Poland to support Sigismund. In one of their speeches, attention was drawn to his education and language skills. His Polish language was assured to be “exact”, both in written and oral form. He was able to communicate in Polish, Italian, Latin, German and Swedish. All in all, he was not only *linguae peritus* (skilled in languages) but also *litteratus* (learned) and *optime educatus* (very well educated).³⁸

Biographer Östergren points out Sigismund’s increasing interest in history, especially in the Swedish history of the Catholic era.³⁹ Johannes Vastovius, a Swedish convert to Roman Catholicism, who became *protonotarius publicus* and canon in Warmia in Poland, served Sigismund as chaplain and librarian. Vastovius published *Vitis aquilonia* (1623), a work on Nordic – mainly Swedish – saints from about 850 until the early sixteenth century based on Vastovius’ studies at the Vatican archives.⁴⁰ In connection with this topic, Sigismund initiated the work on saints by adding Nordic – mostly Swedish – saints to the Roman breviary.⁴¹ In addition, Gregorius Borastus, Sigismund’s secretary, chaplain and chancellor wrote not only panegyrics to the King, but also a series of Swedish historiographical works, including chronicles of Gothicist inspiration. Östergren interprets these literary activities as a proof of Sigismund’s nationalistic attitude to Sweden, where he was never to return after losing the power struggle with his Lutheran paternal uncle Charles IX. Sigismund was dethroned in Sweden in 1599 and forced to retreat to the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. He never gave up his (legitimate) claim to the Swedish throne.

The Swedish-language letters provide a more practical angle to his education, which was comprehensive. In addition to Christian (Catholic) humanist learning and the art of diplomacy, he was taught very pragmatic skills, such as drafting business letters. Although most of them were probably written by secretaries, he was simultaneously trained to take responsibility for material, everyday matters, decision-making and dealing with subjects of various kinds, such as servants and merchants. All this proceeded in the language used by the majority of his Swedish subjects and the domestic administration, i.e. Swedish. There might be a link to Peter Brahe the Elder’s practical ideas on the education of nobility as transmitted by *Oeconomia*, but a sixteenth-century ruler could seldom concentrate on abstract state-level

³⁸ Mayer 1861, 359.

³⁹ Östergren 2005, 229.

⁴⁰ Vastovius 1623.

⁴¹ Anonymi 1618; Bataille 2018, 3, 7 & 11.

issues; he was often concerned with a plethora of questions, topics and problems, which may appear even trivial to the modern scholar. From the book historical point of view, not only books and libraries, but also letters and notes on everyday matters or even formal salutations can offer a peek into the lives of Renaissance people and how they were educated. At least, a lot of wine was needed.

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Illustrations

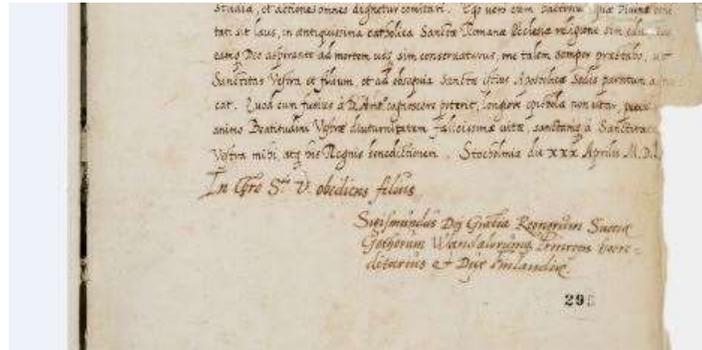


Plate 1. Sigismund's letter to the Pope (1575/76). Vatican City, Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, Segreteria di Stato, Germania 95, f. 295r. By permission of the Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, all rights reserved. © 2022 Archivio Apostolico Vaticano.

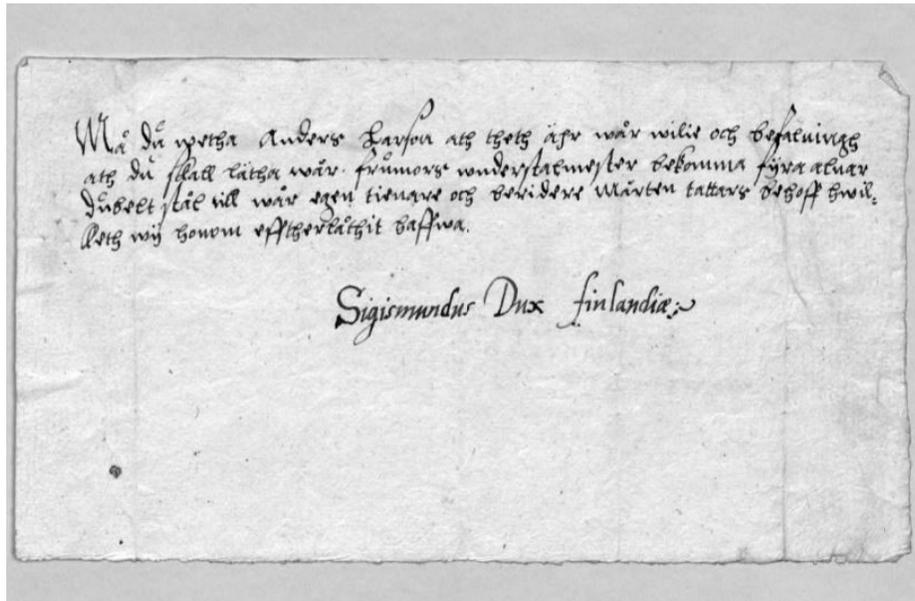


Plate 2. Sigismund's letter (1579), Stockholm, Riksarkivet, Stafsundsarkivet, Kungliga autografer SE/RA/720807/11/I/3, 183. By permission of the National Archives of Sweden (Riksarkivet).

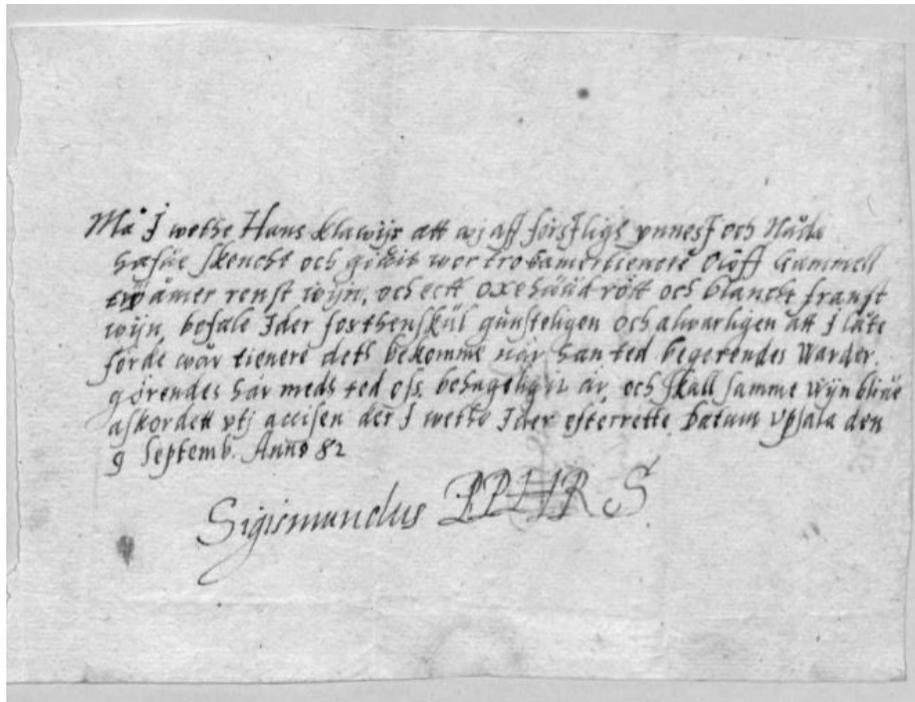


Plate 3. Sigismund's letter (1583), Stockholm, Riksarkivet, Stafsundsarkivet, Kungliga autografer SE/RA/720807/11/I/3, 184. By permission of the National Archives of Sweden (Riksarkivet).

UN NUOVO CODICE PER PIO II



Di Francesca Niutta

“Libros plusquam zaphiros et smaragdos caros habuit”
Platina, *Liber de vita Christi ac omnium pontificum*

This paper adds a new item to the library of Pius II. A hitherto unknown manuscript that was dedicated to the pope when he was staying in Siena on his return from the diet of Mantua in 1460 has recently appeared on the antiquarian book market. It is the presentation copy of a little-known dialogue by Girolamo Aliotti; it offers a point of view on the outcome of the crusade which is quite different from the numerous texts on this subject. The coat of arms on the first leaf resembles coats of arms on some other manuscripts connected to Pius II and painted by an unidentified artist.

Pio II e la sua biblioteca

Della ricchissima biblioteca di Pio II (1458–1464), smembrata in vari tronconi che subirono nel corso del tempo gravi dispersioni, emergono di tanto in tanto sul mercato antiquario, o anche da collezioni pubbliche dove erano involontariamente nascosti, codici sconosciuti o dati per scomparsi. L’ultimo apparso, offerto in vendita in antiquariato, contiene una *Gratulatio* dedicata al papa al suo ritorno dal congresso di Mantova dal poco noto monaco e umanista aretino Girolamo Aliotti.

Della raccolta Piccolomini mancano cataloghi e inventari, né se ne conosce la consistenza.¹ Secondo quanto Pio II aveva disposto essa non andò alla giovane Biblioteca Vaticana creata da Niccolò V (1447–1455) ma venne divisa tra i quattro figli della sorella Laudomia sposata Todeschini,² e dislocata in vari luoghi – principalmente a Siena, dove venne edificata per cura del nipote Francesco, poi Pio III (22 settembre–18 ottobre 1503), la

¹ La bibliografia sull’argomento è vasta e dispersa. Ancora utilissimo per avere un’idea della biblioteca Piccolomini è Piccolomini 1899, a cui si sono via via aggiunti altri manoscritti ritrovati; cfr. Strnad 1968.

² Erano il cardinale Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini; Giacomo Piccolomini di Castiglia e Aragona; Andrea, signore di Castiglione della Pescaia; Antonio Piccolomini d’Aragona duca d’Amalfi e conte di Celano.

Libreria Piccolomini.³ Nei secoli successivi dopo tortuose vicende i *disiecta membra* si ricongiunsero gradualmente fino a confluire, pur depauperati, nella loro sede naturale, la Biblioteca Vaticana, divisi peraltro tra vari fondi.⁴ Poco meno di un secolo fa, nel 1923, vi arrivò la Biblioteca Chigi creata dal senese Fabio Chigi, poi papa Alessandro VII (1655–1667). Conteneva numerosi manoscritti Piccolomini restati a Siena, fra i quali egli aveva scelto quelli per lui di maggior interesse.⁵ Anche la sua, come quella di Pio II due secoli prima, costituiva una proprietà privata passata agli eredi. Nel frattempo c'erano state dispersioni e vendite; codici Piccolomini si trovano in numerose biblioteche occidentali.

Papa Parentucelli (1447–1455) aveva impiegato energie e capitali per la costituzione della Vaticana in cui si doveva raccogliere e conservare tutta l'eredità culturale giunta dal passato.⁶ Contemporaneamente il cardinal Bessarione (m. 1472) creava a Roma un'altra grande biblioteca greca e latina. Oltre a studiare, usare, glossare i testi, analogamente a Niccolò V Bessarione considerava la sua collezione di manoscritti non tanto possesso personale quanto patrimonio da lasciare all'umanità, da mettere in salvo contro il rischio di perdite incolmabili; come tutti sanno, la donò alla Repubblica di Venezia (1468). Ho usato le espressioni “eredità culturale” e “patrimonio dell'umanità” perché mi sembra che si applichino bene alla ~~loro~~ concezione dell'uno e dell'altro. Un po' diversa quella di Pio II. Per lui, umanista, letterato, autore di opere storico-geografiche e di una storia dei suoi tempi in chiave autobiografica, i *Commentarii rerum memorabilium que temporibus suis contigerunt*, i libri erano fonte di conoscenza, strumenti di studio e di lavoro,⁷ ma per uso privato; costituivano una proprietà personale,⁸ trasmissibile appunto agli eredi. Neppure si astenne, papa Piccolomini, dal sottrarre manoscritti alla raccolta Vaticana di Niccolò V; per esempio il Città

³ Per la ricostruzione delle vicende si veda Avesani 1964, 1–83; una sintesi in Niutta 2011, 55–58. Delle sorti dei codici senesi dà una nitida sintesi Lenzi 1998.

⁴ Una parte dei manoscritti passò nella raccolta della Regina Cristina: cfr. Vian 1998, 577–706.

⁵ Cugnoni 1883, 17–22.

⁶ Il suo biografo Giannozzo Manetti dedica buona parte del secondo libro all'esaltazione dell'impegno messo dal papa nella creazione della biblioteca, al fine – ripete – di accrescere l'autorità e il prestigio della Chiesa romana e della Sede apostolica, e per assicurare a sé fama e gloria futura: la preservazione del patrimonio culturale era quindi quasi un effetto collaterale; Niccolò V poté permettersi importanti acquisti e commissionare nuove opere e numerose versioni dal greco grazie ai proventi eccezionali realizzati col Giubileo del 1450: Manetti 2005, 53–66 (II, 16–25).

⁷ Ma non trascurava certo l'aspetto dei manoscritti; sui suoi miniati realizzati a Roma, Ruysschaert 1968.

⁸ Manfredi 2010, 189: “Sembra disinteressarsi della Biblioteca pontificia, dedicando invece grande attenzione alla propria biblioteca personale”.

del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chig. H.VIII.254 con la prima decade di Livio, identificato con un codice mancante dell'inventario di Niccolò V.⁹

Livio fu uno degli autori più frequentati tanto da Niccolò V¹⁰ che da Pio II. Tra i volumi Piccolomini dispersi c'è un semiconosciuto codice membranaceo con la quarta decade staccatosi dalla biblioteca Piccolomini in epoca imprecisata, e giunto nel 1893 alla Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma (Vitt. Em. 448). Ha l'arme di Pio II (d'argento alla croce d'azzurro caricata di cinque lune montanti d'oro) e alcune sue postille. Ci sono pochi dubbi che sia da identificare con un altro codice registrato negli inventari della biblioteca Vaticana di Niccolò V che risulta scomparso.¹¹ Di questo gruppo di manoscritti di Livio fa parte anche il BAV, Reg. lat. 1955, con la terza decade; anche qui, come nel Chig. H.VIII.254 con la prima decade, l'arme Piccolomini venne aggiunta; anche questo può essere identificato con un codice disperso dell'inventario di Niccolò V.¹²

Diverso il caso della *Geografia* di Strabone tradotta da Guarino Veronese per impulso di Niccolò V, che però non fece a tempo a vederne la versione compiuta; nella sua biblioteca non figura affatto. Invece Pio II ne ebbe almeno cinque manoscritti;¹³ Strabone è uno degli autori che usa e cita con maggiore frequenza non solo nelle opere storico-geografiche ma anche nei *Commentarii*. Quattro manoscritti riportano la traduzione di Guarino Veronese (1374–1460), uno dei più quotati grecisti dell'epoca.¹⁴ Prodigio sempre di giudizi taglienti e mai di apprezzamenti, di Guarino papa Piccolomini tesse le lodi nell'*Asia Minor* e nei *Commentarii*. Nel secondo libro dei *Commentarii* in cui descrive il viaggio del 1459 verso Mantova dove aveva convocato i principi cristiani per la crociata contro il Turco, rievocando la sosta a Ferrara e l'orazione di benvenuto che Guarino gli aveva indirizzato,

⁹ Manfredi 2010, 188–190; cita anche altri codici su cui papa Piccolomini aggiunse la propria arme, ma osserva anche che Pio II portò a compimento imprese di traduzione avviate prima di lui, facendone collocare nella debita sede gli esemplari ufficiali (191).

¹⁰ Manfredi 1994.

¹¹ Niuitta 2011, 55–69.

¹² Niuitta 2011, 61–62.

¹³ Ne do l'elenco: Città del Vaticano, BAV, Chig. J.VIII.279, libri I–XVII, traduzione di Guarino Veronese; Reg. lat. 1989, libri XI–XVII, traduzione di Guarino Veronese; Vat. lat. 2050, libri I–X, traduzione di Guarino Veronese; Vat. lat. 2051, libri XI–XVII, traduzione di Gregorio Tifernate; British Library, Burney 107, libri I–IX, traduzione di Guarino Veronese. Sui codici di Strabone di Pio II c'è un bell'articolo di Casella 1972, che però non conosceva il manoscritto Burney 107 della British Library.

¹⁴ Guarino aveva anche al suo attivo la versione di numerose *Vite* di Plutarco, a cui Marianne Pade ha dedicato lavori fondamentali. Mi limito qui a ricordare Pade 1990, Pade 1991, Pade 2002, Plutarco 2013, oltre ai due volumi Pade 2007 sulla ricezione delle *Vite* in Italia.

lo chiama “venerabilis senex, magister fere omnium, qui nostra etate in humanitatis studio floruerunt” (vecchio venerabile, maestro di quasi tutti quelli che nel nostro tempo si segnarono nello studio delle lettere).¹⁵ A gennaio dell’anno dopo ne ricorda con commozione la morte, e cita proprio la traduzione di Strabone.¹⁶ Lui stesso aveva copiato, prima del rientro definitivo in Italia (1455), una parte della traduzione di Guarino nel manoscritto Londra, British Library, Burney 107, manoscritto che ha qualcosa in comune con i codici liviani e con la *Gratulatio* di Aliotti.

I tre codici di Livio, BAV, Chig. H.VIII.254 e Reg. lat. 1955, e BNCR, Vitt. Em. 448, che costituiscono un piccolo *corpus*, sono accomunati dall’identica fattura dello stemma Piccolomini, estremamente sobrio, su fondo bianco, con appena due volute e solicelli d’oro ai lati, sormontato da tiara pontificia; d’oro anche i cinque crescenti sulla croce. È assai distante dalla varietà e ricchezza di ornamentazione d’oro e colori dei manoscritti che si possono vedere nelle tavole di Ruyschaert, che non riportano invece questo tipo. Lo stesso stemma troviamo sul Burney 107 di Strabone, cartaceo, della British Library. Purtroppo non ci sono riproduzioni online dei due manoscritti vaticani;¹⁷ invece si possono vedere e confrontare il BNCR, Vitt. Em. 448 di Livio¹⁸ e il manoscritto di Strabone Burney 107.¹⁹ Risulta evidente che lo stemma su entrambi fu aggiunto in un secondo tempo, perché la punta superiore della tiara si sovrappone leggermente all’ultima linea di scrittura. Certamente l’aggiunta fu fatta da un unico miniatore, che vorrei invitare qualche specialista a identificare. Lo stesso tipo di stemma troveremo tra poco sul manoscritto con la *Gratulatio* di Aliotti.

Girolamo Aliotti

È comparso da poco in un catalogo di antiquariato un manoscritto sconosciuto²⁰ con la *Pro felici ac secundo ex Mantuana preregrinatione reditu gratulatio* per Pio II scritta da Girolamo Aliotti, abate del monastero

¹⁵ Pio II 1984, I, 167 (libro II, 41).

¹⁶ Pio II 1984, I, 317 (libro V, 7): “Flevere docti transitum eius, discipuli presertim, qui ad eum tota Europa confluxere; Latinas enim et Grecas litteras docuit; cuius laborem Strabonem legimus” (Piansero il suo trapasso i dotti e soprattutto gli allievi che confluivano presso di lui da tutta Europa; insegnò infatti lettere latine e greche. Tradusse molte opere dal greco in latino; grazie al suo lavoro leggiamo in latino Strabone).

¹⁷ Il Chig. H.VIII.254, c. 2r, con lo stemma, si può vedere in Manfredi 2010, 188, fig. 33.

¹⁸ Si può vedere sul sito della Biblioteca Nazionale:

http://digitale.bnc.roma.sbn.it/tecadigitale/manoscrittoantico/BNCR_Ms_VE_0448/BNCR_Ms_VE_0448/1,2_gennaio_2022.

¹⁹ Si può vedere sul sito della British Library, in fondo alla scheda catalogafica (<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=1459&CollID=18&NStart=107>), 2 gennaio 2022.

²⁰ Ampia descrizione nel catalogo online Anonimo 2019, 21–31.

benedettino delle sante Flora e Lucilla di Arezzo; il testo è scarsamente noto e quasi per nulla diffuso. Credo che possa essere di utilità segnalare l'apparizione del codice nella speranza che venga messo a disposizione degli studiosi in una pubblica biblioteca. Non avendo avuto l'opportunità di vederlo, devo rifarmi alla descrizione del catalogo. È un codice di presentazione, forse uscito dalla bottega di Vespasiano da Bisticci, membranaceo, con l'arme Piccolomini sulla prima pagina e sul f. [18]r. L'autore, quasi del tutto dimenticato – non compare nel *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* – ha attirato negli ultimi anni l'attenzione di due studiose, Cécile Caby ed Elisa Tinelli, che gli hanno dedicato numerosi articoli; Caby ne ha offerto un voluminoso ritratto.²¹ Sia l'una che l'altra hanno dato una edizione critica del *De optimo genere degende vite*, il suo scritto maggiore;²² Tinelli è anche autrice di un saggio sulla *Gratulatio*.²³ L'augurio è che chi vuole abbia la possibilità di rivolgere le proprie cure editoriali anche a questo testo.

Dopo avere studiato a Siena retorica e filosofia con Guido Antonio Piccolomini, ed essere entrato nell'ordine benedettino presso il monastero delle sante Flora e Lucilla di Arezzo (1430), Girolamo Aliotti (Arezzo 1412–1480) aveva iniziato una carriera curiale al servizio di Bartolomeo Zabarella, arcivescovo di Spalato e dal 1440 di Firenze (morto a Siena nel 1445). Fra il 1439 e il 1440 lo accompagna nelle legazioni in Francia e Britannia; vi si recano insieme al cardinale Juan de Torquemada. Poi segue lo Zabarella a Roma. Ma è un curiale riluttante. Dopo qualche tempo è lui stesso – caso alquanto raro – a chiedere al suo protettore l'autorizzazione a lasciare la Curia per Firenze; perché in Curia “torpet ingenium, sensus hebescit, tempus amittitur, ocium omne pro foribus teritur exspectando” (l'intelligenza si intorpidisce, la coscienza si ottunde, il tempo si spreca, tutto si rovina aspettando nell'ozio davanti alle porte). La lettera, datata 1444 senza mese e giorno, deve essere successiva al 18 luglio di quell'anno, quando scriveva a Benedetto Accolti lamentandosi del caldo romano.²⁴ E poi Roma è molto più dispendiosa di Firenze, dove – scrive – riesce a vivere con poco insegnando e copiando libri, avendo destinato i proventi del suo beneficio alla dote delle sorelle ancora bambine.²⁵ Diventerà poi *familiaris ac cappellanus* del cardinal Torquemada, ma sempre a distanza.²⁶

²¹ Caby 2018; in appendice una selezione di lettere, in parte inedite.

²² Caby 2012, 405–482; Tinelli in Aliotti 2016; alle pp. 7–108 la biografia di Aliotti.

²³ Tinelli 2017, ^{409–418}. De Vincentiis 2012, 76–81, si sofferma sui rapporti dell'Aliotti con Pio II e sulla *Gratulatio*. Aliotti è citato da qualche altro studioso moderno, che Caby 2018 elenca alle pp. XXXIII–XXXIV.

²⁴ Aliotti 1769, I, 91.

²⁵ Aliotti 1769, I, 95–97; questa della dote per le fanciulle della famiglia è una preoccupazione da cui sarà afflitto anche in anni seguenti.

²⁶ Aliotti 1769, I, 423, lettera del I agosto 1460.

E tuttavia Aliotti ha aspirazioni letterarie e di carriera. Ci ha lasciato alcuni opuscoli e un copioso epistolario, pubblicati tre secoli più tardi da Gabriele Maria Scarmagli, suo successore nella carica di abate del monastero, sulla base della raccolta dell'odierno ms. 400 della Biblioteca Città di Arezzo, proveniente appunto dal convento delle sante Flora e Lucilla.²⁷ Nell'epistolario troviamo corrispondenti illustri (da Traversari a Poggio Bracciolini a Tortelli, solo per fare qualche nome). Cinque sono le lettere da lui indirizzate a Pio II; non ce n'è nessuna del papa a lui. Traversari gli manifestava grande affetto; Poggio, che ne fece un interlocutore con Carlo Marsuppini del *Contra hypocritas* (1447–48), lo definiva “vir praestans eloquentia et moribus vitae” (uomo insigne per eloquenza e modo di vivere). Nonostante qualche dissidio intervenuto con Traversari, dopo la sua morte (ottobre 1439) Aliotti si adoperò – invano – perché ne venisse scritta una biografia da Carlo Marsuppini o da Leon Battista Alberti.²⁸

La Gratulatio

Pio II, di ritorno dal convegno di Mantova con i principi cristiani per organizzare la crociata contro il Turco, all'inizio del 1460 fa tappa a Siena, da dove ripartirà per Roma nove mesi più tardi, il 10 settembre. Durante la primavera e l'estate compie lunghi soggiorni per curarsi alle terme di Petriolo. L'Aliotti, da lungo tempo ormai (1446) abate ad Arezzo del monastero delle sante Flora e Lucilla, è perennemente alla ricerca di una posizione più soddisfacente per prestigio e rendite, e coglie l'occasione della permanenza del papa a Siena per andare a incontrarlo e porgergli la *Pro foelici ac secundo ex Mantuana preregrinatione reditu gratulatio*. Col futuro Pio II, più anziano di lui di sette anni, Aliotti vantava una frequentazione quinquennale proprio a Siena, dove aveva studiato; anzi asseriva che il Piccolomini aveva avuto un'influenza decisiva nell'introdurlo allo studio delle lettere e delle arti:²⁹

in cuius medio sinu atque intimo gremio pueritia mea et adolescentia
quinquennio fota est; cuius ope atque auxilio effluxit in me quantula
nunc est litterarum et bonarum arctium disciplina

per cinque anni, nella fanciullezza e nell'adolescenza, sono cresciuto
sotto la sua guida affettuosa. Grazie alla sua influenza e con il suo aiuto
è sgorgato in me quel poco di conoscenza delle lettere e delle arti che
ora possiedo.

²⁷ Aliotti 1769. Con una biografia di Aliotti, I, XIII–XXX.

²⁸ Si veda per esempio la lettera ad Alberti, Aliotti 1769, I, 33–34; dei rapporti con l'ordine camaldolese tratta Caby 2014.

²⁹ Aliotti 1769, I, 415–417, lettera dell'8 giugno 1460.

Questo avrebbe scritto in una lettera l'8 giugno. Non solo. Rivendicava anche radici familiari comuni con Pio II (però Pio II pretendeva di avere origini romane!).³⁰ Un mese prima dell'incontro a Siena, alla ricerca costante di sovvenzioni per sé, il padre, parenti e congiunti, sorelle e nipoti maschi e femmine scriveva che doveva “iuvare nepotulos meos praecipue feminas quae dotes postulant” (aiutare i piccoli nipoti, soprattutto le femmine che pretendono una dote), lamentava la “rei familiaris angustia” (ristrettezze economiche), chiedeva una sovvenzione (“opem aliquam”).³¹ Nella lettera citata dell'8 giugno avrebbe avanzato al papa la richiesta di prendere il posto del vescovo di Città di Castello che era in fin di vita, rimanendo anche abate del monastero di Arezzo.

La *Gratulatio* è un dialogo di Aliotti con Guido Antonio (o Guidantonio) Piccolomini, magistrato e preside di Orvieto, suo antico insegnante a Siena, seguito da 78 esametri in onore del papa. Il manoscritto riporta anche altri due dialoghi composti in precedenza dall'Aliotti, il *De optimo genere degende vite*, dedicato in origine (1439) a Bartolomeo Zabarella, arcivescovo di Spalato, protettore dell'autore, e il *De monachis erudiendis*, già dedicato ad Eugenio IV (1444) e ancora prima (1441) a Giacomo Lavagnola, eminente personalità politica veronese.³² Sono entrambi preceduti da brevi componimenti in versi per Pio II. La *Gratulatio* non ebbe circolazione, anche se risulta dalle lettere che Aliotti dovette mandarne in giro qualche esemplare; una copia datata 1461, la più antica nota prima che comparisse questo manoscritto, è contenuta nel codice Magliab. XXI 151, ff. 25r–45r, della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze. Ma ebbe un'edizione a stampa nella raccolta organizzata da Scarmagli.³³ Cécile Caby, avendone cercato invano il manoscritto nei luoghi deputati, scriveva: “Je n'ai retrouvé aucune trace”³⁴ (non ho trovato traccia alcuna). Naturalmente; perché il codice era nascosto in qualche collezione privata.

³⁰ Pio II 1984, I, 41 (libro I, 1): “Familia Piccolomineorum, ex Roma in Senas translata” (la famiglia Piccolomini si era trasferita a Siena da Roma), e I, 290 (libro IV, 38).

³¹ Aliotti 1769, I, 411, lettera del marzo 1460.

³² La descrizione del manoscritto si vede nel catalogo online citato sopra (n. 21). Ripeto comunque i dati essenziali: membr., mm 252 x 181, ff. 139, quinioni, testo a piena pagina, richiami al centro, rigatura a inchiostro, 28 linee, scrittura umanistica di unica mano. Iniziali in oro, decorazione a bianchi girari; arme di Pio II sul recto del primo foglio e del f. [18]r, dove inizia il componimento poetico per Pio II. La *Gratulatio*, seguita da 78 esametri, occupa i ff. [1]r–[19]v; *inc.*: “Ego beatissime pater cum per hos superiores dies Roma rediens; *expl.*: “meae gratulationis cantus adorar sic placet”; cfr. Aliotti 1769, II, 323–345. Ai ff. [20]v–[40]r il *Dialogus de optimo vite genere deligendo*; cfr. le edd. di Caby 2012, 461–480, e di Tinelli 2016. Ai ff. [40]v–[138]r il *De monachis erudiendis*; cfr. Aliotti 1769, I, 180–292.

³³ Aliotti 1769, II, 323–345.

³⁴ Caby 2018, 416.

Caby ricostruisce, servendosi della corrispondenza dell'Aliotti e dell'inedita *Synopsis monumentorum SS. Florae et Lucillae* dello stesso Scarmagli, la storia della sua realizzazione e della donazione a Pio II.³⁵ Aliotti ottiene in prestito una cospicua somma, settanta fiorini, che impiega per far eseguire dalla bottega di Vespasiano da Bisticci il manoscritto da offrire al papa;³⁶ parte della somma usa per fornirsi di due cavalcature per il viaggio. Ora, si dà per scontato che a Siena Aliotti venisse ricevuto dal papa; ma su questo avrei qualche dubbio. Non mi sembra che nelle lettere vi sia alcun accenno all'incontro. Qualche mese dopo, il 1 agosto, Aliotti scrive al cardinale Torquemada ricordando che alla fine di aprile era stato a Siena per saldare due debiti: baciare i piedi del papa, e visitare il cardinale stesso. Del secondo debito dice che non ha potuto scioglierlo perché il Torquemada era ai bagni di Petriolo, e quindi lo invita ad Arezzo presso il proprio monastero; del primo, verso il papa, tace, non precisa se il debito fu stato saldato, se l'incontro avvenne;³⁷ né vi accenna altrove nelle lettere raccolte da Scarmagli; ed è singolare – con tutte le riserve per un *argumentum ex silentio* – che non ritorni su quello che doveva essere un evento cardine della sua vita, per cui si era preparato con cura e dispendio. Ma il papa fra aprile e giugno fu quasi sempre fuori Siena, a curarsi ai bagni di Petriolo – dove era anche il Torquemada – come racconta nel IV libro dei *Commentarii*. Mi pare quindi piuttosto difficile che Aliotti abbia potuto esaudire a Siena il desiderio di baciargli i piedi.

Non molto dopo (28 agosto) Aliotti scrive ancora al Torquemada perché vorrebbe conoscere il giudizio del papa sul suo *libellus*. La risposta non si fa attendere (31 agosto): il papa ne ha letto poco, ma “affirmat sibi placuisse” (afferma che gli è piaciuto), e ha dato incarico a qualcun altro, “nescio cui episcopo” (a non so quale vescovo), di esaminarlo.³⁸ Naturalmente Pio II è preso da ben altri pensieri: nodi da sciogliere, dissidi da sanare, mediazioni da esercitare, mezzi da trovare per poter realizzare il sogno della sua crociata.³⁹ E poi forse, dal poco che aveva visto del testo, non gli era sembrato del tutto di suo gusto.

³⁵ Caby 2018, 413–417.

³⁶ Se fu veramente confezionato presso Vespasiano da Bisticci, fu l'unico codice per Pio II che si conosca uscito da questa bottega; cfr. il censimento pubblicato da Albinia de la Mare 1985, 555–574. Nella descrizione fornita nel catalogo di Philobiblon si suggerisce un'attribuzione delle miniature a Francesco di Antonio del Chierico o alla sua bottega; lasciamo la questione agli specialisti, quando – speriamo – potranno avere accesso al codice.

³⁷ Aliotti 1769, I, 423.

³⁸ Aliotti 1769, II, 369.

³⁹ Esch 2003, e soprattutto il quarto libro dei *Commentarii*, Pio II 1984, I, 243–296, che include il viaggio di ritorno fino a Roma.

Il dialogo fra Aliotti e Guido Antonio Piccolomini è pervaso di scetticismo sul buon esito della crociata. È come se Aliotti volesse giustificare *a priori* una sconfitta. Perché – argomenta – certamente Dio è dalla parte dei Cristiani, ma i suoi disegni sono imperscrutabili – “alia sunt iudicia hominum, alia Dei”⁴⁰ (altro sono i giudizi degli uomini, altro quelli di Dio) – come mostrano la crocifissione di Cristo, le persecuzioni subite dai Cristiani nel corso della storia, le eresie, gli scismi, le guerre; la crociata contro il Turco sarebbe stata comunque, quale che ne fosse stato l’esito, un’impresa gloriosa e degna di lode. Ma “qualem vero Deus per haec tempora rebus nostris conditionem esse velit et an nos victores an victos evadere, ipse viderit” (quale sorte Dio voglia assegnare in questo tempo alle nostre vicende, e se farci uscire vincitori o vinti, sta solo a lui).

Un punto di vista dunque alieno da ogni trionfalismo, adottato anche nel componimento finale in versi: “Nam finis tandem quicumque haec coepta sequetur / semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt” (Qualunque esito infatti consegua da questa impresa, il tuo onore, il tuo nome, la tua gloria rimarranno per sempre). Poteva risultare gradito questo atteggiamento, che era quasi un invito alla rassegnazione, al papa che dall’inizio del suo pontificato aveva convogliato sull’impresa tutte le sue energie, ed ora, pur amareggiato per l’adesione tardiva e svogliata di principi e governi stranieri e italiani, sempre saldo nella sua decisione – mirava comunque alla vittoria? Stando al Torquemada, il papa diede solo uno sguardo al manoscritto (ma la quarantina di pagine della *Gratulatio* si legge molto rapidamente), quanto bastava per rendersi conto di che cosa si trattasse, e lo passò a un vescovo innominato. Il dono non ottenne l’effetto sperato: Aliotti rimase a vita abate del convento delle sante Flora e Lucilla. Pure, scrisse una difesa di Pio II quando questi dopo morto venne attaccato in un libello.⁴¹

L’arme Piccolomini compare due volte nel manoscritto:⁴² al f. [18]r, all’inizio del componimento poetico per Pio II, dove è riccamente ornata, attorniata da una corona d’alloro in una cornice a bianchi girari in cui sono inseriti due putti reggitemma; e sul *recto* del primo foglio, completamente diversa, uguale a quella dei manoscritti Piccolomini di Livio e di Strabone considerati sopra; ha solo in più ai lati invece delle volute delle bacche colorate di rosso e di verde. Anche nel manoscritto di Aliotti lo stemma fu aggiunto, perché la punta della tiara che sormonta lo scudo si sovrappone all’ultima riga di scrittura. Insomma, se pure forse non entusiasta

⁴⁰ Aliotti 1796, I, 332.

⁴¹ Aliotti 1769, II, 346–357; cfr. Ammannati Piccolomini 1997, II, 544, n. 3.

⁴² Si possono vedere in Anonimo 2019. Azzardo che forse lo stemma del f. [18]r è quello fatto apporre originariamente dal dedicante, e quello sulla prima pagina venne fatto aggiungere dal papa.

dell'omaggio, il papa lo integrò nella sua biblioteca facendovi apporre lo stesso stemma di codici che gli erano sicuramente cari.

Per quanto riguarda le vicende del manoscritto, come accennato sopra Fabio Chigi, *alias* papa Alessandro VII, ebbe una lista dei codici Piccolomini rimasti a Siena fra i quali scelse quelli da acquistare per la sua biblioteca. La *Gratulatio* non figura nella lista. Ma questo è poco significativo, poiché potrebbe non aver fatto parte dei manoscritti rimasti a Siena, o essere stata alienata prima, o non essere stata giudicata interessante per il Chigi dall'estensore della lista ed essere rimasta ancora a Siena per essere venduta in seguito... Insomma i dati in nostro possesso non consentono oggi alcuna ipotesi attendibile; qualche elemento potrebbe però venire dallo studio degli altri quattro codici accomunati a questo dal tipo di stemma. Per l'epoca più recente il catalogo di vendita di Philobiblon (Anonimo 2019), a cui rimando, fa menzione di un paio di possessori; ultimo è l'editore e libraio Moritz Diesterweg, 1834–1906.

Un altro codice ritrovato

C'è un altro codice di presentazione per Pio II, emerso pochi decenni fa, sullo stesso tema: l'incitamento a combattere il Turco. Tra i tesori della straordinaria collezione umanistica di Giannalisa Feltrinelli andata all'asta da Christie's nel 1997 dopo essere stata in deposito presso la Pierpont Morgan Library di New York, c'era un manoscritto assai pregevole dedicato a Pio II, l'*Epistolarum liber de exhortatione in Turchos*.⁴³ L'autore è Pietro Apollonio Collazio, sacerdote di Novara, che acquisì una certa notorietà col poema epico *De eversione urbis Hierusalem* (o *De excidio Hierosolimitano*) sulla distruzione di Gerusalemme da parte di Vespasiano.⁴⁴ L'*Epistolarum liber*, che Albinia de la Mare nel catalogo di Christie's riconosce scritto da Pagano Raudense e che è ornato di cornice e iniziali miniate, non ebbe invece circolazione. È una raccolta di sette lettere di incitamento alla lotta contro il Turco in distici elegiaci; la prima, la più lunga, è indirizzata a Pio II; le altre all'imperatore Federico III, a Carlo VII re di Francia, al delfino Luigi, a re Ferdinando di Napoli, a Francesco Sforza, e a tutti i Cristiani. Il codice

⁴³ Anonimo 1997, 62, lotto 152. Ne avevo dato notizia in Niuitta 1997. Sull'allegato foglio di *Auction results* si legge che fu venduto per 21.850 sterline. È da presumere che sia stato acquistato da un collezionista privato; non ho avuto risposta da Christie's, a cui ho chiesto conferma. Il manoscritto dell'*Epistolarum liber* ha peregrinato di qua e di là dell'Atlantico; in precedenza era stato presso la Yale University Library, New Haven, acquistato dal curatore Thomas Marston negli anni '50 del 1900 e poi rivenduto. Viene identificato col codice 33 della Biblioteca dell'Accademia Rubiconia dei Filopatridi di Savignano sul Rubicone, poi perduto; una sintesi delle sue vicende in Zaggia 2007, 363, n. 35.

⁴⁴ Su Collazio si veda Ricciardi 1982; il *De eversione urbis Hierusalem* fu pubblicato a Milano nel 1481.

dovette essere dedicato al papa fra il 1459 e il 1460, all'epoca dell'appello ai principi per il convegno di Mantova, ma il testo rimase ignorato. Fu scoperto solo nel 1781 da Tiraboschi in un codice di Savignano sul Rubicone (poi perduto), probabilmente da identificare col manoscritto Feltrinelli. Fu pubblicato a stampa nel 1887 sulla base di un apografo del codice di Savignano – anch'esso scomparso. Temperie e materia sono le stesse che hanno ispirato la *Gratulatio* di Aliotti, nonché la vasta produzione encomiastica in prosa e in versi innescata dal sogno di Pio II della crociata.⁴⁵ Ma come la *Gratulatio* di Aliotti incorse in un destino sfortunato.

Pio II fece raccogliere in un manoscritto di lusso novantaquattro componimenti poetici di autori “minori o minimi, neppure tutti identificabili” ma anche “variamente rilevanti” (BAV, Chig. J.VII.260, *Epaeneticorum ad Pium II pont. max. libri V*).⁴⁶ Ne fece fare anche una seconda copia, decorata da Gioacchino de Gigantibus (Trieste, Biblioteca Civica, Rossetti Piccol. II 25), che i nipoti avrebbero dovuto conservare – ipotizzava Augusto Campana – nel palazzo di Pienza.⁴⁷ In analogia con i *Commentarii*, i componimenti celebravano il pontificato e i suoi momenti salienti, sempre nell'ottica della lotta per debellare il Turco, e incitavano a muovere contro il nemico della fede. La raccolta comprese anche due poesie contro Maometto II dello stesso papa. Invece un gran numero di poesie a lui rivolte fu escluso. L'*Epistolarum liber* di Collazio non fu incluso né furono inclusi i versi che accompagnavano la *Gratulatio* di Aliotti.

⁴⁵ Cfr. Bianca 2003; da non dimenticare la *Contra Teucros exhortatio* di Niccolò Della Valle, su cui Bianchi 1988, e Malvezzi da Corneto 2016.

⁴⁶ Prendo tutto questo e quello che segue da Avesani 1968, che pubblica anche i testi dei componimenti.

⁴⁷ Avesani 1968, 88–89.

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RESCUING THE REMAINS OF SALLUST'S *HISTORIAE*:



From Petrarch to Perotti

By Patricia J. Osmond*

*After the last known copy of Sallust's *Historiae* (covering the period 78–67 BC) perished in the early Middle Ages, little was remembered of this “plenissima” and “perpetua” history. But we see a reawakening of interest in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: in Petrarch's praises of the work; in the efforts of humanists, especially Pomponio Leto, to preserve and publish the larger fragments (the speeches and letters from Vatican City, *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana*, Vat. lat. 3864); and in the growing attention, especially by Valla and Perotti, to the smaller fragments from the indirect tradition, important sources for the study of the Latin language.*

In the preface to a commentary on Sallust's *De coniuratione Catilinae* attributed to Lorenzo Valla at the time it was printed in Venice in 1491 (but circulating anonymously in manuscript since the 1460s), the author laments how little had survived of Sallust's work.¹ The two monographs, on the Conspiracy of Catiline and on the Jugurthine War, he states, were mere preliminary exercises or *progymnasmata* written in preparation for his “very complete history”, which embraced not only Roman affairs but those of foreign nations.

Quod si tantorum uirorum [*scil.* Quintilian and Martial] testimonio primum in historia locum obtinet, summa nos ope niti decet [*cf. Cat.* 1,1] ut praeclara eius monumenta, si qua adhuc restant, non tantum ipsi studio condiscamus sed, si fieri etiam possit, quam plurimis nostra industria omni sint ex parte conspicua. Atque id ipsum hoc enixius praestandum, quod post tantam nostratium litterarum iacturam, quantam gotthicis temporibus factam fuisse constat, paucissima quaedam uestigia, ne fragmenta dicam, ac illa ipsa pene euanescentia ex locupletissima Crispi ornatissimaque historia ad haec tempora peruenere et quod iniquius ferat aliquis fuerunt haec progymnasmata quaedam, ut graeco utar uerbo, castissimae illius Mineruae, quae nobis reliqua cum temporis tamen (tum *ed. 1500*) hominum fecit iniuria. Nam

quod plenissimam Crispus scripserit historiam, quae non res Romanas solum sed externarum etiam gentium sit complexa, abunde constat, uerum a Catilinae coniuratione, quasi ingenii experientiam daturus, eam uideri potest auspicatus, quod et ipsum operis proemium haud dubie demonstrat, cui ad stili consummationem credibile est Iugurthae bellum subiecisse. Sed quanti illa momenti fuerint, quae prorsus interiere, ex iis quae hodie exstant facilis est coniectura, quippe cum nulla possit uirtus in historia elucere, quum non in hac uel illa meditatione facile recognoscas, sed quo eius sunt uirtutes altiores minusque uulgo proxime, eo maiore nobis studio, ut dixi, est nitendum, ne illae nostra uel inertia uel negligentia diutius in obscuro sint.¹

But if by the testimony of such great men [*scil.* Quintilian and Martial] he [Crispus] holds the first place in history, it is fitting that we strive with all our might so that his splendid literary works, if any survive until now, not only we ourselves may learn with zeal, but, if that can even be done, they may be known in part to as many as possible through our effort. And this above all must be strenuously carried out for this reason, that after such a great loss to our letters – how great it was during the Gothic times is evident – very few remains, as it were, lest I say fragments, and those indeed nearly vanishing, have reached these times out of the very eloquent and rhetorically embellished history of Crispus and, what someone may feel even more adversely, these were certain preliminary exercises, to use the Greek word, of that most chaste Minerva, relics that the injustice both of time and of men has made for us. For the fact that Crispus wrote a very full history, which encompasses not only Roman affairs but those of foreign nations, is abundantly clear; however, he can seem to have started this with the conspiracy of Catiline, as if to give a trial of his talent – as even the proem of his work undoubtedly shows – to which work, in order to perfect his style, he attached the Jugurthine War.

*This essay reconsiders and elaborates upon a paper presented at the XXV Congresso Internazionale di Studi Umanistici, Sassoferrato, 30 June–3 July 2004, at the kind invitation of Marianne Pade and Geoffrey Eatough. I am grateful to Marianne for many stimulating and fruitful discussions in the past years on Sallust and the Pomponiani, and to Robert Ulery and the Editors of this volume for their helpful comments and contributions. – Sallustius Crispus 1491. The incipit reads: “Laurentii Vallensis in C. Crispi Sallustii Catilinarium Commentarii”. On the question of Valla’s authorship, see Osmond 2005. On the publisher of the 1491 edition, Antonio Moretto (or Moreto), see Monfasani 1988, especially 16–17 and Appendix II, Osmond and Sandal 2008, 231–250 and Pade 2021.

¹ In this and the following transcriptions of Latin passages I have retained the spelling but capitalized proper nouns and regularized the punctuation. The text follows that published in the Appendix to Osmond 2005, based, with minor editorial changes, on that in Osmond and Ulery 2003, 237–238 (“Version A”).

Other humanists of the Quattrocento were also deploring the loss of Sallust's history. In the preface to his Paris c. 1477 edition of Sallust, Beroaldus the Elder complains of the great misfortune that the Latin language has suffered from the loss of these books: “Et magnam profecto iacturam passa est latina lingua deperditis Salustii libris quibus gesta Romanorum complectebantur” (And indeed the Latin language was greatly diminished when Sallust's books containing the history of the Romans were lost).² Paolo Pompilio, pupil of Pomponio Leto and later fellow teacher at the Studium Urbis, remarks in the proem to his commentary on the *Catilina* (c. 1481) that Sallust had written a “perpetua historia” (“continuous history”) but that this had been lost due to the fault of the times.³

Sallust's two monographs, the *De coniuratione Catilinae* (or *Bellum Catilinae*) and *De bello Iugurthino* (or *Bellum Iugurthinum*), had been a fixed part of the arts curriculum from late antiquity through the Middle Ages, and they remained part of the canon of Latin texts throughout the Renaissance, and beyond. In the course of the fifteenth century the number of manuscripts of these two monographs grew to more than 500.⁴ The *Historiae*, however, composed of five books in annalistic format, covering the period from 78 BC (following the abdication of Sulla) to 67 BC (the Gabinian Law), survived only in fragments of varying length and provenance. The parts saved through direct manuscript tradition include a set of orations and letters in a late ninth-century florilegium (now BAV, Vat. lat. 3864), originally copied at Corbie; parts of eight leaves from the fifth-century Fleury manuscript (now divided between BAV, Reg. lat. 12838, Orléans, Médiathèque municipale 192 and Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, lat. 4^o 364); the fourth-century Vienna fragment (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, P. Vindob. L 117); and two second/third(?)-century papyrus fragments (Manchester, The John Rylands Library, Papyrus III 473 and Oxford, Sackler Library, P. Oxy. 68 6B.20/L (10-13)a). Far more numerous, though often quite small, are the remains transmitted indirectly through some 500 quotations and references in c. 46 authors, of whom the most important are grammarians and commentators of the fourth to sixth centuries: Nonius, Servius, Arusianus Messius, Donatus and Priscianus.⁵

² Sallustius Crispus [not after 1478].

³ Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, 1351; see Osmond & Ulery 2003, 244–245. On Pietro Paolo Pompilio, see Gottschalck 2020 and for his *Vita Sallustii*, Osmond 2015, 45–46 and Appendix, 55–56.

⁴ Reynolds 1983, vii and Sallustius Crispus 1991, vi.

⁵ See in particular Sallustius Crispus 1992, 610, and for a fuller discussion of the various sources of the indirect tradition and survey of the editions of the *Historiae*, La Penna 2015, “Prolegomena”, 1–42.

During the Middle Ages the very knowledge of the *Historiae* nearly vanished. Most of the *accessus*, including a popular thirteenth-century introduction to a commentary later attributed to Ognibene da Lonigo, mention only the monographs.⁶ On the few occasions in which the work is cited, little or no reliable information is offered. The *accessus* to Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14477 (part I), dated to the eleventh century, states simply that Sallust, having decided to abandon a public career, took up the writing of history: “retraxit se ad studium et complures historias composuit. De quibus tamen non utimur ulla, nisi catilinaria et iugurthina” (he returned to his studies and composed several histories, concerning which, however, we don’t use any other than the Catilinaria and Iugurthina). The author of the *accessus* to BAV, Vat. lat. 9991, dated to the second half of the twelfth century, tells us that the work contained the complete history of the Romans in 10 volumes: “Et comprehendit omnes historias Romanorum decem uoluminibus.” But this number was multiplied tenfold in the *accessus* to a thirteenth-century manuscript, Munich, BSB, Clm 19480, which reports that the *Historiae* had contained 100 (!) books, and that it was, in fact, its prolixity (along with our own laziness) that accounts for the loss of the work: “omnes romanorum historias in centum uoluminibus inscripsit, quod ob prolixitatem operis et pigriciam nostram non transtulimus”.⁷

We have to wait until the mid-fourteenth century for Petrarch to open the way – as he did in so many areas of classical studies – to a renewed interest in the *Historiae*. Recalling St. Augustine’s own praise of Sallust as “nobilitatae veritatis historicus” (historian of ennobled truth; *Civ.* I, 5), Petrarch included him in the summary of illustrious men of antiquity introducing his *Rerum memorandarum libri*, calling attention to his careful research in North Africa before writing the Jugurthine War and the polished style of his Conspiracy of Catiline. Yet he also noted regretfully that he was more famous for his *Histories* than for any other book, renowned indeed among the ancients but lost to the present age and surviving only in name: “Sed nullo famosior quam Historiarum libro, qui etati quoque nostre [...] amissus est: ueterum quidem testimonio illustris et apud nos solo iam nomine superstes”⁸

⁶ On this commentary, attributed in the printed edition of Venice, 1500 to Omnibonus Leonicensis, see Ulery 2005.

⁷ Cf. Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, 2^o ms. 544, a miscellany from the fifteenth century, see Daniel & Schott & Zahn 1979, 62. The transcriptions of this and the previous *accessus* have kindly been provided by Robert Ulery.

⁸ Petrarch 1941, I, XVII. For an overview of Sallust’s reception in the Renaissance, see Osmond 2020, and on the several *vitae Sallustii*, Osmond 2015.

Although, as Petrarch believed, Sallust's most important work existed by then only in name, it was perhaps during his lifetime that the Corbie manuscript arrived in Italy or at least became known to some of his contemporaries: the florilegium containing the four speeches and two letters from the *Historiae* – the *orationes* of Lepidus, Philippus, Cotta and Macer, and the *epistulae* of Gnaeus Pompeius and Mithridates – as well as speeches and letters from the two monographs.⁹ Petrarch's friend Guglielmo da Pastrengo refers to codices of the *Historiae* in his brief entry on Sallust in the *De viris illustribus* (completed in the 1350s): “Salustius Crispus, Romanus ex nobili Crisporum familia, Romanas eleganti stilo scripsit hystorias, sed harum codices apud nos non ad plenum habentur” (Salustius Crispus, a Roman from the noble family of the Crispi, wrote Roman histories in an elegant style but we do not have the complete codices of these).¹⁰

Whether or not Guglielmo da Pastrengo actually saw the Corbie manuscript, however, and if so in Verona or elsewhere, we do not know.¹¹ The first reference to the copying of any of the excerpts occurs only much later, between 1435 and 1439, when Pier Candido Decembrio transcribed the *Epistula Pompei*, found, he says, in a very old codex belonging to Francesco Pizolpasso, archbishop of Milan, which he mistook at the time for a genuine letter of Gnaeus Pompeius to the Senate. Sometime afterwards, in Milan, or perhaps while serving in the chancellery of Nicholas V in Rome (1450–1455), he copied this into another notebook along with the speeches of Lepidus and Philippus (Milan, Venerabile Biblioteca Ambrosiana, R 88 sup., fols 64v, 98r–99v).¹²

It is in Rome, in any case, in the last quarter of the fifteenth century that the excerpts in BAV, Vat. lat. 3864 are first printed and subsequently included in the corpus of Sallust's opera, and it is in the circles of Niccolò Perotti and Pomponio Leto that the modern history of identifying and recording fragments from the indirect transmission of the *Historiae* also begins. Precisely when and how the Corbie manuscript entered the Vatican is, like

⁹ On the transmission of the excerpts in BAV, Vat. lat. 3864, as well as the *folia* of Orléans, Médiathèque municipale, 192, see Sallustius Crispus 1991, xviii–xix, with earlier bibliography.

¹⁰ Guglielmo da Pastrengo 1991, 205. Pier Candido Decembrio also had access to a (now lost) manuscript in the collection of archbishop Francesco Pizolpasso; see Sallustius Crispus 1991, xix and nn. 12.

¹¹ See Osmond & Ulery 2003, 197 and n. 68, citing the studies of Remigio Sabbadini, Antonio La Penna, and B. L. Ullman.

¹² Sabbadini 1903, 267–269. Cf. Sallustius Crispus 1991, xviii–xix.

the time and circumstances of its earlier arrival in Italy, uncertain,¹³ but it was clearly in the papal library by the summer of 1475, and in September of that same year Arnold Pannartz printed the first edition of the excerpts: *Ex libris Historiarum C. Crispi Salusti*.¹⁴ Shortly afterwards, a slightly different edition was produced in Mantua by Johann Schall, printer at the court of Federico I Gonzaga.¹⁵

There is no preface to Pannartz's 1475 edition of the excerpts, and we do not know who edited the texts. One possible candidate, of course, is Pomponio, who, alone or in collaboration with Bartolomeo Platina and/or Niccolò Perotti, could have advised Pannartz on the desirability of printing this as-yet-unpublished work of Sallust and helped see it through the press. Clearly he had the opportunity to examine the florilegium, for we know that on 17 June 1475 the newly appointed librarian of the Vatican, Bartolomeo Platina, recorded his name in the register of books on loan: "Ego Platyna commodavi Pomponio Commentaria Caesaris litteris antiquis ex albo, die XVII iunii 1475".¹⁶ It is puzzling, nevertheless, that when Pomponio published his edition of Sallust's opera, including the excerpts from the *Historiae*, at the Rome press of Eucharius Silber in 1490, he made no mention of the *princeps* – either to take credit for his own pioneering work (if indeed he had been involved in the earlier publication) or to call attention to his emendations to the text.¹⁷ Nor has a collation of sample passages in the three redactions (Romae 1475, Mantuae 1475 and Romae 1490) yielded any clues,

¹³ On the Maffei brothers who came to Rome from Verona in or before 1473, and Pomponio's dedication copy of his 1490 edition of Sallust, see Ullman 1973 and especially Pade 2011a.

¹⁴ Sallustius Crispus, Gaius 1475. The colophon reads: "Impressus Romae: In domo nobilis viri Petri d(e) Maximis Per .M. Arnoldum pannartz alamanum. Anno Salutis. M.CCCC.LXXV. Die XXV. mensis septembris. Seden(te) Syxto IIII. Pon(tifice) Max(imo) Anno eius Quinto. Deo Laus".

¹⁵ Sallustius Crispus [after Sept. 1475]. As L.D. Reynolds pointed out, a number of manuscripts from the latter part of the Quattrocento containing the speeches and letters "were neither independent nor copied from V but rather from one or other of the early printed editions," as demonstrated by Hauler 1895, 104–121, including BAV, Vat. lat. 3415, written in 1484 by a student of Pomponio, which is dependent upon the Rome 1475 edition, while BAV, Urb. lat. 411, written by Federico Veterani for Federico da Montefeltro between 1478 and 1482 derives from the 1475 Mantua edition. See Reynolds 1983, 349–350 and Sallustius Crispus 1991, xix and n. 4. On Schall see n. 22.

¹⁶ Bertola 1942, 3, who adds in n. 6: "Pomponio Leto. Il cod. chiesto è il Vat. lat. 3864 [...] Pomponio se ne servì per l'edizione di Sallustio del 1490 (HAIN, no 14217)". Cf. Sallustius Crispus 1991, xix and n. 3.

¹⁷ Sallustius Crispus, Gaius 1490. In his dedicatory letter to Agostino Maffei, Pomponio says that he has emended the texts, but there is no specific reference to the excerpts from the *Historiae*. On this letter and Pomponio's editorial criteria, see Pade 2011b, 110–112.

as readings in the 1490 edition do not follow consistently either of the two previous versions.

In the early 1470s we know that Niccolò Perotti was also collaborating with Pomponio and Pannartz. With Pomponio he had worked on Statius (1469–1470) and Martial (1473), and Pannartz, while still in business with Sweynheim, had published their edition of Martial's *Epigrammata* (30 April 1473) and, in the same years, Perotti's edition of Pliny's *Historia naturalis*, his translation of Polybius' books 1–5 and his *Rudimenta grammatices*.¹⁸ Indeed, as Marianne Pade has pointed out, it was Pomponio – in the words attributed to Perotti's nephew Pirro in the proem to the *Cornu copiae* (BAV, Urb. lat. 301) – who had urged Perotti to produce an emended text of Martial “pro communi studiosorum utilitate” (for the common benefit of scholars), a project that in the years 1477–1480 would turn into a monumental commentary on the entire Latin language.¹⁹

The absence of a preface to the edition of the Sallustian excerpts of 1475 might also point to Perotti's role, or influence, in the publication of this work, for he had complained in his letter of 1470 to Francesco Guarnieri about defiling the texts of famous authors with extraneous material (“quid enim turpius videri potest, quid magis indignum quam are cloacam iungere” (for what can seem more disgraceful, what more unworthy than to attach a sewer to an altar).²⁰ It would also be interesting to know more about the persons and circumstances connected with preparations for the ms. BAV, Urb. lat. 411, which contains the excerpts from the *Historiae* copied from Schall's 1475 Mantua edition by Federico Veterani, librarian and scribe at the court of Federico da Montefeltro, duke of Urbino, to whom Perotti's *Cornu copiae* was dedicated.²¹

It may seem surprising – even considering the absence of prefaces in editions printed by Pannartz for Perotti and Platina – that, as far as we know, there was no overt response to the appearance of this *editio princeps*. Today,

¹⁸ Martialis 1473, Plinius Secundus 1473. In this same period Perotti also published his *Rudimenta grammatices* (Perotti 1473), and his translation of Polybius, books 1–5 (Polybius [1472]). The *Rudimenta grammatices* was republished by Pannartz in 1474 (Perotti 1474) and again in c. 1476 (Perotti 1476). On the collaboration between Pomponio and Perotti on various authors, see Pade 2008 on Martial, Rammingner 2017 and 2018b on Perotti's *Commemoratio vitae M. Valerii Martialis*, and Pade 2014 and 2015b on the *Vitae Statii*.

¹⁹ Pade 2014, 73.

²⁰ On the letter, see Monfasani 1988 and Charlet 2003. On prefaces to editions of early printed books see Farenga 1994.

²¹ On BAV, Urb. lat. 411 see the entry in the catalogue of the Vatican Library and Martelli 2007, who identifies the copyist with Federico Veterani, librarian and scribe to Duke Federico da Montefeltro, dating it to the period 1478–1482. On Johann Schall, physician and printer at the court of marchese Federico Gonzaga, see Canova 2014, 14–15, 24–25 and de Viesti 2014, 36–37.

we recognize that BAV, Vat. lat. 3864 is (almost entirely) the unique witness to the set of speeches and letters in Sallust's *Historiae*, which in turn have proved essential to reconstructing the chronological scope, content and aims of the work. But at a time when there was still hope of turning up lost works, these excerpts may have seemed like a modest affair.²² Pomponio himself, when he refers to the excerpts in his *C. Crispi Sallusti Vita* appended to his 1490 edition of Sallust's *opera*, describes them in a rather off-handed way as “quaedam contiones e libris bellorum civilium” (certain speeches from the books of the civil wars).²³ His own interest in Sallust focused chiefly on the historical and antiquarian, rather than on the literary or rhetorical, aspects of his work and the copious manuscript notes in his personal copy of the 1490 Sallust (BAV, Inc. Ross. 441), as in other annotated copies of this edition, cover only the two monographs.²⁴

As Robert Ulery and I observed in our article on Sallust in the *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum* 8, Sallustian scholarship in the heroic age of the early Renaissance was more a case of cumulative progress than of dramatic rediscoveries.²⁵ While the humanists of the latter part of the fifteenth century succeeded in preserving and printing the larger fragments and restoring them to the corpus of Sallust's work and of Latin literature in general, their successors in the sixteenth century from Josse Bade (1504) to Antonio Zeno (1569) and Federico Ceruti (1589) produced new editions and commentaries, especially for use in the schools and as models – like the speeches and letters of the monographs – in the teaching of rhetoric. From the 1560s and '70s Aldo Manuzio the Younger, Antonio Riccoboni, Ludovico Carrio and others not only edited and annotated the texts but gradually began integrating them into the broader historical context they were reconstructing with their growing collections of fragments from the indirect tradition as well as the even wider historiographical tradition of the Roman annalists.²⁶

²² As an anthology of speeches and letters, the excerpts also possessed a completeness of their own that could set them apart from the category of lost works, cf. Dionisotti 1997.

²³ On the *vita*, see Ullman 1973, Osmond 2015, including an edition of Pomponio's *vita* at pp. 36–37 and Pade 2011b. Pietro Crinito also characterizes the set of speeches and letters as “quaedam reliquiae” (certain remains, Crinito 1503, a[v]r) in his *Vita Sallustii*, first published at the Giunti press in Crinito 1503, but shows more interest than Pomponio in the content of the work, Osmond 2015, 46–47, 56–59.

²⁴ Osmond 2003, 2010, 2011, 2011b, 2014. See also Farenga 2003, Ulery 2003, and Pade 2011b.

²⁵ Osmond and Ulery 2003, 197.

²⁶ For brief descriptions of these editions and commentaries from the early sixteenth to the early seventeenth century, see Osmond & Ulery 2003, 302–315. On the efforts from the sixteenth century on to read and interpret Sallust's *Historiae* within the literary and intellectual tradition of his own times, see Santangelo 2020. For a review of modern scholarship and an analysis of the structure and themes of the *Historiae*, see La Penna 1968,

The painstaking task of ordering, editing and analyzing the hundreds of fragments transmitted indirectly in the course of several centuries thus belongs to this later, post-1560 stage in the history of Sallustian scholarship, which – considering its scope and complexity – deserves a further, separate study. Meanwhile, though, we can see that even among the humanists of the mid- to late 1400s, particularly in Rome, the groundwork was being laid for later collections and editions of the smaller or “lesser” fragments, as scholars began scouring the works of grammarians, lexicographers and scholiasts to explain the significance and etymology of a word, illustrate specific points of orthography, syntax and prosody, or gather information on Roman civil and military history. Among the ancient witnesses, in fact, one name especially stands out: Nonius Marcellus, author of the *De compendiosa doctrina*, of uncertain date but probably of the fourth or early fifth century.²⁷ It is also a name that brings us back to the beginning of this essay and to a slightly different (manuscript) version of the preface to the *Catilina*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. XIV 179 (=4488), which not only laments the loss of the “continuous” *Historiae* but cites Nonius as a source of many of the surviving fragments.

[...] Quamobrem cum tanta eloquentia fuerit Salustius ut tantis scriptoribus tam graecis quam latinis non modo possit comparari sed et praefendus esse uideatur, magna incitatione ad hunc librum perdiscendum commoueri debemur. Sed animaduertendum est quod quom ambitione deterritus aliisque malis se ab rei publicae administratione remouisset et se otio scribendi dedisset, primo quaedam quasi praeludia dicendi aggressus est, Catilinae scilicet seditiones et Iugurthae bellum, deinde perpetuam scripsit historiam latinam, graecam atque barbaricam. Sed maximum linguae Romanae detrimentum est quod libros perpetuae historiae amisimus. Qui multum a Nonio Marcello et ceteris qui aliquid egregium scribunt commemorantur. Hoc tamen quod nobis relictum est perdiscere debemus, ut cum tanta Salustii eloquentia negligentia nostra amissa sit, persistamus ut in hoc quod nobis datur negligentibus esse non uideamur.²⁸

Therefore, since Sallust’s eloquence was so great that not only can he be compared with so many writers both Greek and Latin but he even seems to be worthy of higher esteem, we ought to be moved by [such a] great incentive to acquire a full knowledge of this book. But it must

247–311, partially translated in Batstone & Feldherr 2020, 350–370, and the introductions and notes in the recent editions by McGushin (Sallustius Crispus 1992–1994), La Penna & Funari (Sallustius Crispus 2015a) and Ramsey (Sallustius Crispus 2015b).

²⁷ Paolo Gatti dates the work to the early fifth century: Gatti 2014, xiii.

²⁸ “Praefatio”, BNM, lat. XIV 179 (= 4488), fol. 149r, edited in Osmond & Ulery 2003, 240–241 (Version B).

be observed that when deterred by ambition and other evils he had withdrawn from public life and devoted his leisure to writing, at first he undertook certain, as it were expository preludes, namely, the seditions of Catiline and the war of Jugurtha, then wrote a continuous history of the Latins, Greeks and foreigners. But the greatest detriment to the Roman language is that we have lost the books of his continuous history, which are much commemorated by Nonius Marcellus and others who write something of distinction. That which is left us, however, we must learn thoroughly, so that, despite the loss of so much of Sallust's eloquence on account of our negligence, we may persevere, lest, in this which is given to us, we seem to be negligent.

The reference to Nonius, I believe, provides an important indicator of the direction that studies of Sallust's *Historiae* would subsequently take. Whether or not Valla was the author of this preface (as claimed in the Venice 1491 edition), he was among the first to draw upon quotations from Sallust's lost books in the *De compendiosa doctrina* to illustrate lexical and grammatical usage in his *Elegantie* and other writings.²⁹ Pomponio Leto edited Nonius' *De proprietate latini sermonis* at the request of Georg Lauer (c.1470 or 1474–1476), collating earlier copies of the text with the assistance of Antonio Volsco.³⁰ Perotti, of course, made even more extensive use of Nonius, as evident in his *Cornu copiae* – and clearly documented in the important Sassoferrato edition – as well as in the many publications by the team of scholars working on this project.³¹ According to Revido P. Oliver, of the 28 genuine references to passages in Sallust's books 1–5 or the *incerta*, 19, that is, more than half, come from Nonius – nearly a third of the total number of Nonius fragments reported by Patrick McGushin.³² As for the unidentified “new fragments” that have not been found in our editions of Nonius and have led to the question of a Nonius *auctus* or *plenior*, we can perhaps best describe the debate by quoting a statement by Jean-Louis Charlet of some years ago but still valid today:

la valeur des citations de Perotti peut être très variable, toutes les citations non identifiées ne sont peut-être pas authentiques [...] mais

²⁹ A more detailed discussion of the citations from Nonius in Valla, Pomponio, Perotti and others must await further study. It is important to note, however, their frequent borrowing of material from grammatical works and from each other's commentaries. See, for instance, Pade 2000 and Charlet 2001 on Perotti's debts to Valla.

³⁰ Nonius Marcellus [1474–1476]. The work was reprinted in several editions with Festus and Varro between 1480 and 1500 (see GW and ISTC). On Lauer see Veneziani 2008 and Ramming 2018 on Pomponio's prefatory letter to Gaspare Biondo.

³¹ Perotti 1989–2001.

³² Oliver 1947, 400–405; Sallustius Crispus 1992, 8. See also the Index to the references to Sallust's *Historiae* in the Sassoferrato edition (Perotti 1989–2001) of the *Cornu copiae* 8.

toutes ne sont peut-être pas non plus fausses [...]. Reste à identifier ses sources et à en déterminer la valeur.³³

the value of Perotti's citations can vary greatly ; all the unidentified citations are perhaps not authentic [...] but neither perhaps are they all false [...]. It remains to identify his sources and determine their value.

In the fifteenth century there is as yet no deliberate plan to collect the fragments of Sallust's *Historiae* so as to reconstruct as much as possible of his missing work. Nevertheless, as Antonio La Penna writes in his "Prolegomena" to the first volume of *C. Sallusti Crispi Historiae*:

Nella seconda metà del Quattrocento [...] c'è la coscienza che l'opera più importante di Sallustio è andata perduta e che solo attraverso le citazioni degli antichi se ne può avere una conoscenza, per quanto limitata; benché non ci sia il disegno di raccogliere e ordinare i frammenti, affiora, però, il bisogno di una tale impresa filologica.³⁴

In the second half of the Quattrocento [...] there is the awareness that the most important work of Sallust has been lost and that only through the citations of the ancients can one have a knowledge of it, however limited; although there is no plan to collect and order the fragments, there emerges, however, the need for such a philological enterprise.

In particular, I would say that the later scholarship on the *Historiarum fragmenta* owes much to the the humanist circles in Rome. It is the efforts of these Roman humanists to identify and transcribe passages—quotations and references in *veteres scriptores*—to illustrate correct usage, as W. Keith Percival has pointed out in his article on the role of Perotti's *Rudimenta grammatices* in the history of Latin grammar, to explain the meanings and spelling of words, syntax and style, as Jean-Louis Charlet has described the complementary work of Valla, Tortelli, and Perotti, or to provide, in the *Cornu copiae*, as Marianne Pade has observed, not only a commentary on Martial but an encyclopedia of the classical world, a source of material on all aspects of ancient civilization, embracing the humanist pedagogical ideals of both *rerum scientia* and *litterarum peritia*.³⁵ Just as the Roman humanists sought to preserve and publish the set of speeches and letters in Vat. lat. 3864, restoring them to the Sallustian corpus, so they realized the importance of recording the scattered remains, however small and seemingly random, of Sallust's *plenissima* and *perpetua historia*, opening the way to the more

³³ Charlet 1991, quoted in Bertini 2005, 39. Most modern editors also remain skeptical but still include these fragments among the "fragments of uncertain reference". On Perotti and Nonio see also Bertini 1981.

³⁴ Sallustius Crispus 2015a, 34.

³⁵ Percival 1979, Charlet 2001, Pade 2005a.

conscious and systematic collecting, editing and annotating of these *reliquiae* in the following century.

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TOWARDS A DIGITAL PROFILE OF EARLY MODERN LATIN:



Word frequency and dispersion in some Neo-Latin historiographical texts

By Johann Ramminger

*The paper examines some textual metrics commonly applied to English texts in corpus linguistics, specifically their usefulness for Latin, in particular for Neo-Latin texts. They are tested on a corpus of five Neo-Latin historiographical texts on the background of Livy's *Ab urbe condita* (since it was considered a stylistic ideal by many later historiographers). The metrics concern frequency (Gini-Index and Lorenz-curve) and dispersion (inter-arrival time and $dpnorm$ Gries). The analyses throw light on the inner structure of Latin texts in general (esp. the relative frequency of grammatical words vs. lexical words) and connect words and ideas in the political and social realities of the worlds depicted by chronologically disparate texts (e.g., dispersion of *rex* in Livy and Valla's *Gesta Ferdinandi*).*

Despite promising initiatives, quantitative linguistics research concerning Latin texts is still very much in its infancy.¹ “Traditional” Classical Philology has since the nineteenth century created one of the most nuanced philologies with grammars, lexica, and literary histories of a depth and penetration unthinkable in most modern languages. Thus the need for new philological

I would like to thank Lene Schøsler and Trine Arlund Hass for a close reading of this paper and countless improvements. Also, I discussed many points with the (unsuspecting) dedicatee of this volume.

¹ Open Access corpora with lemmatizations are offered e.g. by Perseus (<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/>), Corpus Corporum (<http://www.mlat.uzh.ch/>), CompHistSem (<https://www.comphistsem.org/home.html>), and Lasciva Roma (<https://github.com/lascivaroma>), a.o. While these can be extremely useful in many cases, without extensive corrections they are unusable for the fine-grained studies envisaged here. Proofread Open Access lemmatizations exist, e.g., PROIEL (<https://www.hf.uio.no/ifikk/english/research/projects/proiel/>), the Dante Treebank (https://github.com/UniversalDependencies/UD_Latin-UDante/) and LT4HALA (<https://github.com/CIRCSE/LT4HALA>), but they are necessarily much smaller.

tools may seem less urgent (although new language technologies can still provide new answers to old questions).² The field is less cultivated as regards medieval Latin texts and even less concerning the Latin language(s) of Early Modern Europe (which in the following for convenience's sake will be called Neo-Latin), even though European writers, lawyers, clergymen, administrators, etc. produced texts at a rate which in its heyday far exceeded the contemporary production in national languages. The sheer amount of Neo-Latin texts makes this part of Latin literature a promising field for distant reading, i.e., the application of quantitative analytical methods.³

This paper will test the applicability of some methods of corpus linguistics for lexico-semantic research in Neo-Latin, focusing on frequency and dispersion. All the approaches I will discuss in the following have been developed for and tested on texts in English, a language with few morphological markers; some of them have also been applied to other languages. Whether parameters fitted to English are suitable for languages with rich morphology such as Latin, has seldomly been tested, since few quantitative methods have been applied to Latin texts in general, even fewer to Neo-Latin texts.⁴

Corpus

I have used a corpus of historiographical texts in Latin developed for this purpose (see Appendix). It comprises two texts from Antiquity, Livy and Ammianus,⁵ and five Latin texts from Early Modern Europe,⁶ from the (Italian) fifteenth century Leonardo Bruni's *Historiae*, Flavio Biondo's *Historiarum*

² See the extraordinary results of Field 2016 (Caesar), Stover & Kestemont 2016 (Apuleius), Vainio et al. 2019 (re-attribution of the *De optimo genere oratoris* to Cicero).

³ As defined, e.g., by Underwood 2016.

⁴ See the impressive study Bloem et al. 2020. The only field where Latin texts have played a notable role, is stylometrics, not least because texts need little preprocessing and the software developed by the Computational Stylistics Group, mainly based at Cracow University has made the method accessible also to researchers with no mathematical background (<https://computationalstylistics.github.io/>). For an application of stylometrics to Neo-Latin texts see Ramminger 2019/2021.

⁵ It should be noted that both Livy and Ammianus are fragments; in Livy's case by far the largest part has been lost. Obviously, about the lexicon of the lost parts and lexico-semantic developments no assumptions can be made.

⁶ *Token* designates the words, as they appear one after the other in the text, *form* is their morphological appearance (in Corpus Linguistics commonly called *type*), *lemma* is the form used as headword in a dictionary. E.g., in Flavio Biondo there are 75 tokens for the lemma *bombarda*; these appear in six different forms (all that are possible): *bombarda* (3x), *bombardae* (11x), *bombardam* (2x), *bombardarum* (11x), *bombardas* (15x), *bombardis* (33x). For the unlemmatized words, the Type-Token-Ratio is 75:6, for the lemmatized words 6:1. In comparison, the English lemma *cannon* has only two forms (*cannon*, *cannons*); if we hypothesize a English translation precisely corresponding to the Latin text of Biondo, the TTR for the unlemmatized English text would be 75:2, for the lemmatized version 2:1.

decades (the third decade only), and Lorenzo Valla's *Gesta Ferdinandi Regis*; from the later period Thomas More's *Historia Richardi III*, and the Danish writer Erasmus Laetus' *De nato Christiano* (for all dates see Appendix). In order to perform comparisons using frequency tests I have furthermore used three other Latin texts from different periods and genres, Cicero's *De officiis*, Thomas Aquinas' *Summa theologica* (part 4), and Thomas More's *Utopia*, as well as George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. All of them (except for Orwell) have been lemmatized or proofed and part-of-speech tagged with *Collatinus* and corrected manually.⁷

The lemmatization of Latin

Tokenization (the splitting of a text into words as smallest units) is generally unproblematic in Early Modern Latin. It should be remembered, however, that the division of written text into words was not always a feature of Latin; in Antiquity and the early Middle Ages *scriptura continua* (continuous script) was used widely.⁸ Thus we may assume that for most Latin texts from Antiquity the tokenization found in later manuscripts and modern editions is a reconstruction, liable to misinterpretations and ambiguities; equally, the frequent problem of distinguishing collocations from compounded tokens (*quamobrem*, *postmodum*) was inexistent during a sizeable period of Latin textual transmission.⁹

No standards for defining Latin lemmas have been formulated.¹⁰ Thus lemmatizations from different projects are usually incompatible to some

⁷ *Collatinus* is a lemmatizer developed by Yves Ouvrard and Philippe Verkerk. It is published with a GNU GPL v3 license and thus can easily be adapted to specific needs (<https://outils.bibliissima.fr/en/collatinus/>). Manual proofreading of my corpus allowed, e. g., the consistent tagging of enclitic *-que* (and), which is usually ignored in lemmatizations of Latin texts, although it is one of the most frequent words in Latin. The prepositions *a/ab* and *e/ex* have been lemmatized as *ab* and *ex*, *neque/nec* as *neque*. Homograph forms from different lemmata have been disambiguated (e.g. *opera* from *opus* or *opera*).

⁸ See the Vatican Virgil manuscript (Vatican, *Biblioteca Apostolica*, Cod. Vat. lat. 3225), written in Rome at about 400 AD. It contains fragments of *Aeneis* and *Georgica* by the Roman poet Virgil (70 BC–19 BC). See Bischof 1990, 172. Or the Codex Florentinus of the Collection of Roman law texts, commonly called *Digesta* or *Pandectae*, made at the behest of the emperor Justinian officially issued in 529 AD; the manuscript was written between 529 and 557 AD. See Baldi 2010 (with illustrations).

⁹ See *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* 1900-, 10.2 1225,59 s.v. *pridem* for *iam pridem* vs. *iampridem* (F. Spoth, *pridem*); 10.2 237, 73-78 (Euler, *postmodo et postmodum*) for *post modum* vs. *postmodum*, where both tokenizations are identifiable from syntactical evidence. A beautiful example of the ambiguities resulting from *scriptura continua* is presented in 7.2, 1807, 81-84 s.v. *lumbus* (Salvadore).

¹⁰ See e.g. Gleim et al. 2019, Korkiakangas 2020.

degree.¹¹ In particular, the many words that can either be spelt as one word or a bigram (such as *prius-quam*, *uerum-tamen*, *ueri-similis*, etc.) and fixed phrases (*quo pacto*, how) present problems for which a consensus has yet to be established. The same holds true for the innumerable adjectival participles and lemmas used both as adjectives and nouns (e. g. *inimicus*, *contrarius*), which need to be harmonized for an effective lemmatization. Printed dictionaries have found pragmatic solutions for these (notably in the decision between different orthographies for compounds with *ab-*, *con-*, *sub-* *trans-* etc.), and digital databases can link such cases without deciding. In general, I have followed the lemmatizations of the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* as a standard and used analogous patterns for words not contained there.¹² The lemmatization of proper names presents different problems, not least because of the sheer mass and diversity of the material. They have in the following only been used for dispersion metrics.

For morphologically rich languages normalization either by lemmatization or stemming has long been recognized as an essential preparatory step for corpus-based research, if the inflectional properties of a word are not important for a task.¹³

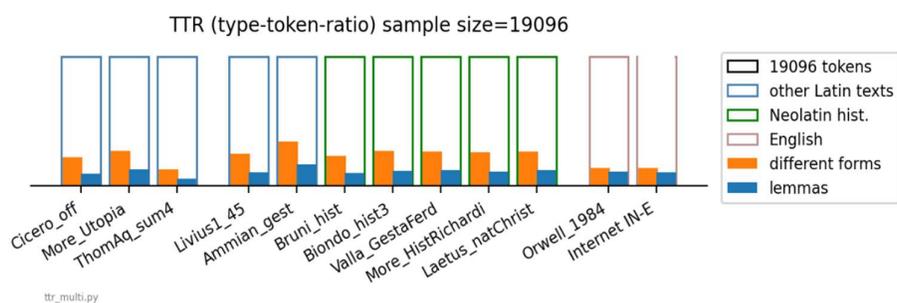


Figure 1: The lemmatization of Classical, Medieval, Neo-Latin & English texts (terminology see n.6)

¹¹ Cp. Mambrini & Passarotti 2019. Already in printed dictionaries some design decisions such as the numbering of homographs (e.g., the compounds of *cado* and *caedo*) are left to serendipity. The basic decision about which form to use as the lemma already decides interoperability (dictionaries of Classical Latin customarily use the first person singular of the present tense as lemma form of verbs, whereas dictionaries of Medieval Latin use the active infinitive of the present tense).

¹² The most important deviation from the *Oxford Latin Dictionary's* model is that derived adverbs are lemmatized under the adjectival form, unless the adverb has developed a significant *fortuna* of its own (i. e. *occulte* under *occultus*, but *abunde* separate from *abundus*, since the adverb *abunde* is quite common, the adjective *abundus* rare). This follows the classification used by Gardner 1971.

¹³ Kettunen 2014; Bentz et al. 2017 (for English and German); Kutuzov & Kuzmenko 2019. For Latin verbs, the morphological richness has recently been shown by Pellegrini & Passarotti 2018. For French, see Treffers-Daller 2013.

	length	sample	forms	lemmas	forms/lemmas
Cicero_off	33472	19096	5428	2292	42%
More_Utopia	27366	19096	6711	3158	47%
ThomAq_sum4	80557	19096	3126	1363	44%
Livy1_45	463349	19096	6186	2548	41%
Ammian_gest	117465	19096	8721	4159	48%
Bruni_hist	140045	19096	6054	2550	42%
Biondo_hist3	94554	19096	6931	2922	42%
Valla_GestaFerd	41290	19096	6785	3055	45%
More_HistRichardi	19096	19096	6684	2778	42%
Laetus_natChrist	42565	19096	6852	3028	44%
Orwell_1984	101866	19096	3577	2745	77%

Table 1: The lemmatization of Classical, Medieval, Neo-Latin and English texts (sample from middle of text, see n. 14)

The statistic (figure 1 and table 1) shows the type-token-ratio (TTR) between tokens and forms before, and between forms and lemmas after lemmatization.¹⁴ The transformation of Latin texts by lemmatization is dramatic in terms of numbers. The repertory of forms in Latin seems to be about one fourth of the number of tokens (i.e., the length of the text), except for Thomas Aquinas: The formalized style of the scholastic Latin of the *Summa* needs a much smaller number of different forms to express its content. The impact of lemmatization on Latin texts is much higher than on English texts; whereas the number of forms of Latin texts are generally reduced by more than half by lemmatization, for the English texts in our comparison this is only one fifth.¹⁵ If Orwell is any indication, English behaves very differently with a

¹⁴ As the type-token ratio (TTR) decreases with text size and our texts are of very different size, the statistic is based on a sample equal to the shortest text in the corpus (except IN-E, see n. 15). See Baayen 2001, Malvern et al. 2004; Van Gijssel et al. 2005; Corral et al. 2015.

¹⁵ The data for the English InternetCorpus IN-E could not be sampled (therefore the column in the graph is open at the top). For IN-E (source: <http://corpus.leeds.ac.uk/list.html>) the numbers are: all: 181.376.006, unique forms: 2.195.987, lemmas: 1.701.333. The ratio of numbers of forms to tokens (much smaller than in Orwell) may be due to the absolute length of the corpus (the type-token-ratio decreases with text length) as well as the repetitive nature of the texts contained. While the reduction from tokens to forms is much larger than in Orwell (1.21 forms per 100 tokens, Orwell: 19.77 per 100), the ratio of forms to lemmas is essentially the same (IN-E: 77.47 lemmas per 100 forms, Orwell: 78.16). The same proportions of forms to lemmas in English texts were observed e. g. by Toman et al. 2006. Obviously, the ratio tokens/lemmas depends largely on language typology. I have also calculated the numbers for

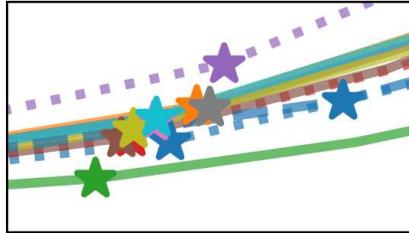


Figure. 2a: Detail from Figure 2; the * indicates the point where the series of lemmas switches from frequency 1 to 2

One reason why the TTR (in its basic form) is unreliable, lies in the internal structure of Latin (and other European languages) which organizes the information – aside from morphology – with the help of grammatical words (often also called function words or closed class words), in general comprising pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, and some adverbs.¹⁷ These are words of high frequency and in Latin mostly morphologically invariant. For some types of analyses these collected as stop-words and discarded. Their dominant role as the “glue” of a Latin text can be expressed by calculating the distribution of the frequencies of the lemmas present in the text.

To quantify the frequency distribution of texts Popescu in 2009 introduced the Gini index (GI) into linguistics.¹⁸ The Gini index was formulated in 1912 by the statistician Corrado Gini as a measure of inequality and is widely used in economics to express income or wealth distribution within a population.¹⁹ The GI is a number between 0 and 1; a GI of zero would describe a population of equally rich members, a GI of 1 would describe a population where one member possessed everything. Transferred to texts the GI describes how much of a text a word (in our case a lemma) “possesses”, i. e., how frequently it occurs compared to the other lemmas in the same text. Since the GI increa-

¹⁷ Discussions of function words/grammatical words/closed-class words in: Smith & Witten 1993, 3-4; Foolen 1996; Hartman & James 2002, 60; Argamon & Levitan 2005; Atkins & Rundel 2008, 164–165; Rosén 2009, 334-336; Kroon 2011; Rybicki & Eder 2011; Kestemont 2014. Their role in second language acquisition (note that Latin for a major part of its history was only learned as a second language): Laufer 2003; Restrepo Ramos 2015. Their role in the frequency ranking of a text (synsemantics/autosemantics): Popescu 2009, 95 (applying Hirsch 2005); Chen & Liu 2015.

¹⁸ Popescu 2009, 54–63.

¹⁹ Gini 1912; see also Deltas 2003 and the discussion in Ceriani & Verme 2012.

ses with text length, the following calculations are again based on a lemmatized sample equal in length to the shortest text.²⁰ Visually, the GI can be represented by the Lorenz curve developed by the American economist Max Lorenz.²¹

Figure 2 shows the Lorenz curves of our texts, and gives us information which the Gini index as a number alone cannot express. If none of the lemmas in a text occurred more than once, the Lorenz curve would be a straight line from the bottom left to the top right corner (here in orange) and half of the lemmas would contribute half of the text (at the intersection between orange line and the horizontal dotted line). Such a text (where every lemma occurred once), if it were possible at all, would be quite difficult to understand.

In reality, every text consists of many lemmas that occupy little of the text and a few that contribute much; the intersection of the 50%–line with the Lorenz curve shows that for most of our texts 10% or less of the lemmas contribute half of the text). Again, Orwell (in English) stands out: while the left part of the curve indicates a well-balanced variety of lemmas – more than half of the lemmas occur only once (the part of the curve to the left of the *) –, the curve rises late and is the most extreme towards the end (briefly even exceeding Thomas Aquinas), due to the high frequency of very few (grammatical) words.

Among the Latin texts Ammianus again behaves quite differently from the other texts. It is the one with the most lemmas used only once. As a further indication of the lexical richness of Ammian’s text even the right tail of the curve is more spread out than that of the other texts. Thomas Aquinas’ text, on the other hand, is quite repetitive – as one would expect from a medieval scholastic text; the number of lemmas used once is the smallest of all texts – though not by far (see the position of *) – since variation is not the stylistic aim of philosophical style; the internal organization seems to be dominated by few high frequent lemmas (the steep increase of the right tail). The Neo-Latin historical texts behave quite similarly to each other; the cut-off points (figure 2a) are clustered quite closely together; Valla’s text is again shown to be the richest lexically.

A look at the most frequent lemmas in the historical texts (Table 2) confirms that it is indeed the grammatical words which are “in possession” of the text:

²⁰ For the dependence of textual richness on text length, see recently Shi & Lei 2020. The point has of course been made often before.

²¹ Lorenz 1905. The Lorenz curve is construed by ordering all elements (in this case words) by frequency (rarest first, to the left) and adding their frequencies on top of each other. Since words with low frequency are at the left of the curve, it rises slowly at the beginning; words with high frequency are added last (to the right) and cause the curve to rise steeply.

Livy	ab	ad	atque	et		in	is		que	qui	sum	ut	
Ammian		ad		et	hic	in	is		que	qui	sum	ut	per
Bruni	ab	ad	atque	et	hic	in	is		que	qui	sum	14	
Biondo	ab	ad		et		in	is		que	qui	sum	ut	pontifex
Valla	14	ad	atque	et	hic	in	is	non	que	qui	sum	11	
More	20	17	atque	et	hic	in	is	non	que	qui	sum	ut	
Laetus	13		atque	et	hic	in	is	12	que	qui	sum	ut	cum <i>cj.</i>

Table 2: The most frequent words (in alphabetical order) shared in the historical texts. Numbers indicate a rank higher than 10.

The list in table 2 gives an overview over the ten most frequent words in our texts. When a word (i.e., a lemma) ranked under the first ten in most texts is not under the first ten, but under rank 11 to 20, the number in the table indicates the rank between 11 and 20; empty spots indicate that a word is not even among the twenty most frequent words. Part of the inequalities may be due to the vagaries of sampling.

The list shows the remarkable homogeneity of the texts. While the ten most frequent words are nearly all grammatical words (with the exception of *pontifex* in Biondo), up to rank 20 some semantic lemmas make an appearance (11–20 are not shown in table 2): *urbs* and *consul* in Livy, *hostis* and *urbs* in Bruni, in addition to *pontifex* also *hostis* in Biondo, *rex* in Valla and More.

Dispersion

Frequency alone is a poor indicator of Lexical Richness (metrics of the quality of the vocabulary), Keyness (the importance and distinctiveness of terms used) etc. An additional and equally important metric is dispersion. Dispersion is in corpus linguistics commonly understood as the pattern of recurrence of a word (or any other phenomenon) in a corpus of texts.²² Equally, dispersion measures can be used to discover structures and patterns within a single text (i.e., the regularity of a word's recurrence).

The following will focus on the latter, i. e., on intra-textual dispersion measures. I will explore two strategies: first I will explore the distance between individual occurrences of a lemma (interarrival time), secondly, I will test regularity by observing the occurrence within segments of the text (deviation of dispersion). For reasons of space the following analysis will focus on one text, Valla's *Gesta Ferdinandi*.

²² See the example in Gries 2020..

Interarrival time

The analysis of interarrival time is a common analytical process when a sequence of events recurring at uneven intervals is considered (arrival of flights, entry of clients into a shop, etc.), e. g., to predict waiting times. It was first used in corpus linguistics by Lijffijt in 2011²³ and is an attractive exploratory method because it replicates the natural reading process.

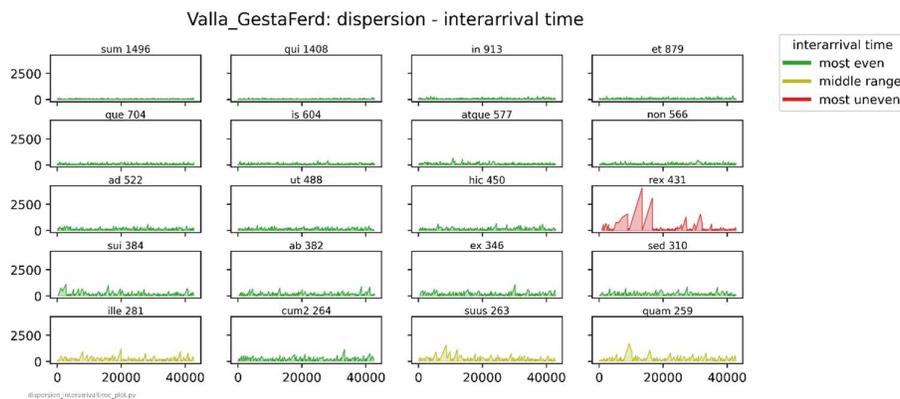


Figure 3: Interarrival time of the 20 most frequent lemmas in Valla (with frequency)

Interpreting figure 3 we see that for the majority of the most frequent lemmas interarrival times (or usage intervals) stay low continuously. The only exception is *rex* – also the only lexical lemma among them – which is only used intermittently in approximately the first third of the text.

The boxplot in figure 4 shows a more fine-grained view of the intervals between recurring instances of a lemma. The graph for every lemma consists of a core block at the bottom and some outliers (small horizontal lines above) connected with a vertical line. The core block at the bottom contains the most frequent intervals. With lemmas such as *sum*, *qui*, and *in* the core is very compact because the intervals are uniform and uniformly short (i. e., the lemmas are frequent and evenly spaced out). The cores are somewhat higher towards the right, indicating that there is a bigger variation in the distance even where the lemma is used regularly. Also, many of the grammatical words (coloured in grey) are very evenly dispersed, there are hardly any passages in the text where they do not occur (few outliers).

²³ Lijffijt et al. 2011, later also applied by Lijffijt et al. 2016.

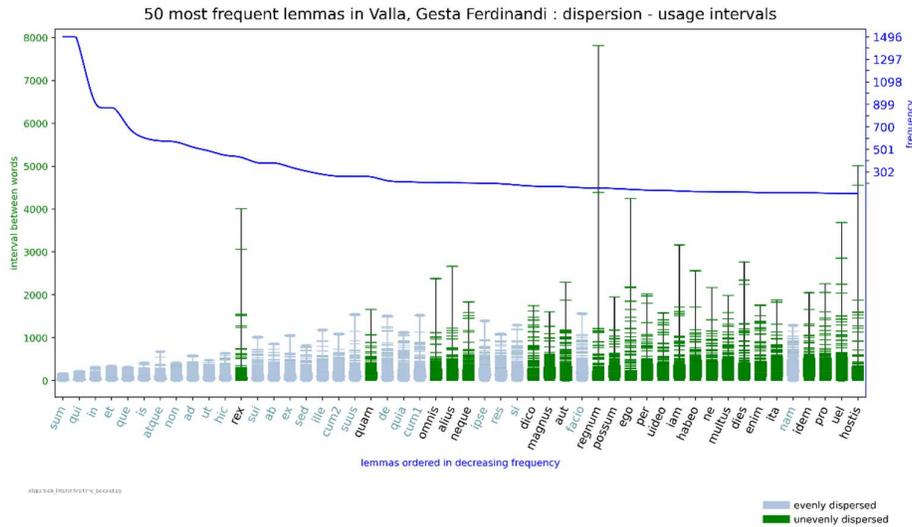


Figure 4: Dispersion of the 50 most frequent lemmas in Valla²⁴

The most frequent unevenly dispersed lemma is *rex*, with maximum intervals between examples of ca. 4000 and 3000 words), and *regnum*, which has one interval of nearly 8000 words with no occurrence (see below). The blue line (with the scale on the right) indicates the frequency of the lemmas in Valla. Except for the most frequent words there is no correlation between frequency and dispersion (note *nam*, which is relatively rare, but used evenly).²⁵

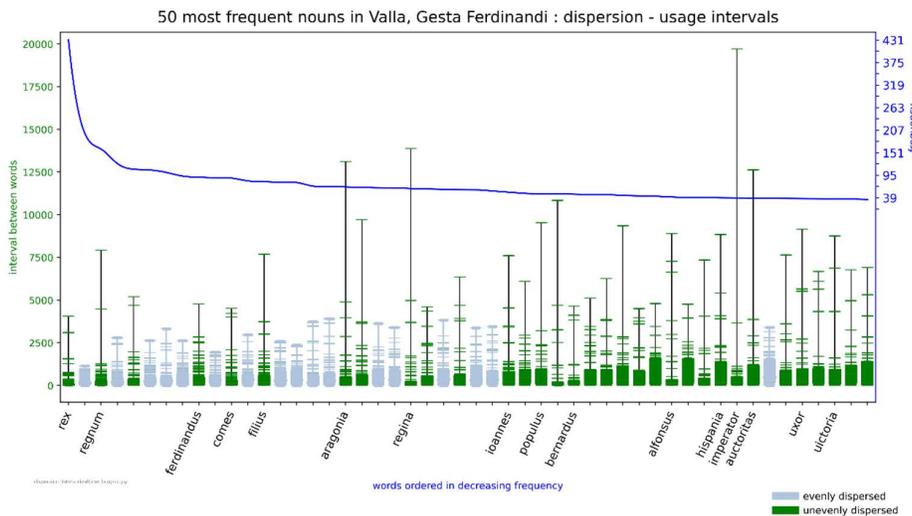


Figure 5: The most frequent nouns in Valla

²⁴ *cum1* is the preposition, *cum2* the conjunction.

²⁵ See Gries 2020, 117–118.

Figure 5, a list of the fifty most frequent nouns in Valla, brings us closer to the actual contents of Valla's work.²⁶ Greyed out are the nouns that are evenly dispersed throughout the *Gesta*.²⁷ Also I have not labelled the unevenly dispersed nouns with a more general meaning and no specific relation to the contents of the *Gesta*.²⁸ While the importance of the kings Ferdinando (I) (*ferdinandus*) and Alfonso (V) (*alfonsus*) is hardly surprising, *bernardus* brings another person to the foreground: most of the examples refer to the Spanish-Sicilian nobleman Bernardo de Centelles, a leading figure at the courts of both Alfonso and his successor.²⁹ I have left *ioannes* in the list to emphasize the need to disambiguate proper names before analysis; it refers to a number of different personages from the Aragonese orbit, notably kings John I and John II of Castile; thus its frequency has no analytical value. A further caveat relates to the dispersion of proper nouns: In passages with high occurrence the proper noun would often be substituted by a pronoun or in Latin just be implicit in the verb. Thus, neither frequency nor dispersion alone represent the semantic presence of the persons within the text.

dpnorm (Gries)

An alternative approach to measuring dispersion was proposed by Stefan Gries; it is based on registering the presence or absence of a word in contiguous segments of text.³⁰ If the dispersion within a corpus is measured, the segment is usually a work. The method can equally well be used for individual texts; in this case the segments can either be extracted from the structure of the text (chapters etc.) or arbitrarily established (if there are no "natural" segments).³¹ An advantage of this method is that it allows us to put a number to the dispersion and thus compare different texts.

²⁶ Cp. Gries 2021. Words plotted (50): *alfonsus, animus, aragonia, arma, auctoritas, auxilium, bellum, bernardus, caput, castra, causa, comes, consilium, corpus, dies, domus, dux, eques, equus, ferdinandus, filius, hispania, homo, hostis, imperator, ioannes, ius, locus, manus, miles, mors, murus, nomen, oppidum, pars, pater, populus, regina, regnum, res, rex, socius, spes, tempus, turris, uictoria, uir, uita, urbs, uxor*.

²⁷ Words evenly dispersed, not labelled (17): *animus, bellum, causa, dies, domus, dux, homo, locus, manus, nomen, pars, pater, res, spes, tempus, uir, urbs*.

²⁸ Words unevenly dispersed, not labelled (17): *arma, auxilium, caput, castra, consilium, corpus, eques, equus, hostis, ius, miles, mors, murus, oppidum, socius, turris, uita*.

²⁹ See Putzulu 1979.

³⁰ See Gries 2008, Gries 2010; Lijffijt & Gries 2012.

³¹ If used for individual texts with arbitrary segment length, the result will be influenced by word clusters occurring at segment borders; if a cluster is divided between two segments, the dispersion will appear more even than it actually is. To compensate for such cases I have calculated the dispersion of overlapping segments by moving the segment border one word

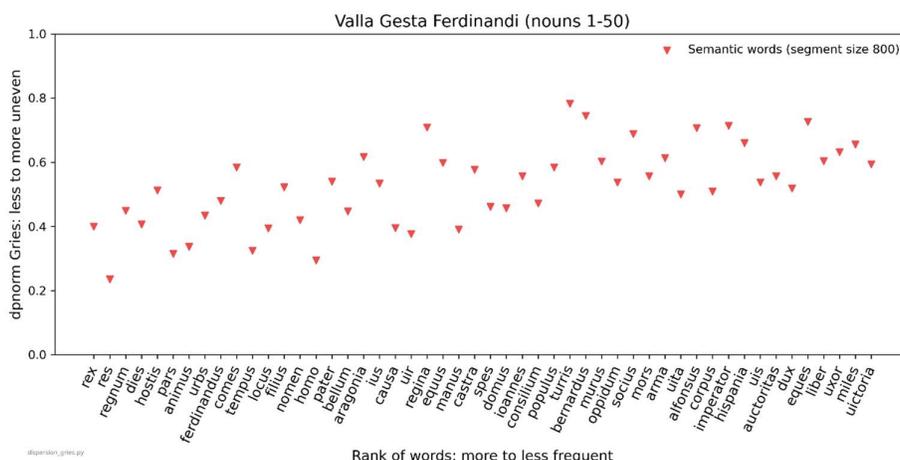


Fig. 6: The 50 most frequent nouns (incl. proper nouns) and their dispersion

The results plotted in figure 6 are essentially the same; again, it is quite clear that frequency and dispersion are independent from each other (even if we discern a slight tendency towards more uneven dispersion at the right). The dispersion metric becomes extremely useful for comparing texts. In our case I have compared Valla’s *Gesta* to the authoritative example of historiography in Latin, Livy’s *Ab urbe condita*.

The comparison plotted in figure 7 allows us several observations.³² Some differences in dispersion are clearly connected with the contents: *rex* and *regina* are simply more pervasive factors in Valla’s narrative than in Livy’s. The same holds true for *pater* and *filius*, in many cases connected to dynastic considerations or family politics – again less prominent in Livy. On the other hand, words and concepts such as *hostis* and *bellum* are much more unevenly dispersed in Valla; this may have to do with changing political concepts, but also with the fact that a large part of Livy is occupied with warfare (not least with Hannibal, the public enemy number one). Certainly, the numbers for dispersion and frequency support each other in this case, *bellum* occurs in Livy 2452 times, in Valla a mere 67; this is significant, even allowing for the difference in length.

In other cases, the difference can be explained by a semantic development (for *imperator* and *socius* see below). It needs to be emphasized, however, that not in all cases the differences of dispersion can easily be

further through the whole text and calculating the mean. The segment length has been arbitrarily established at 800 words.

³² The following words have the same dispersion in both texts (threshold 0.05) and are not plotted in figure 7: *animus*, *caput*, *causa*, *consilium*, *dies*, *dux*, *equus*, *locus*, *nomen*, *pars*, *populus*, *res*, *tempus*, *urbs*.

explained; the differences in dispersion between the two texts of *vita* and *victoria* would probably merit a closer analysis.

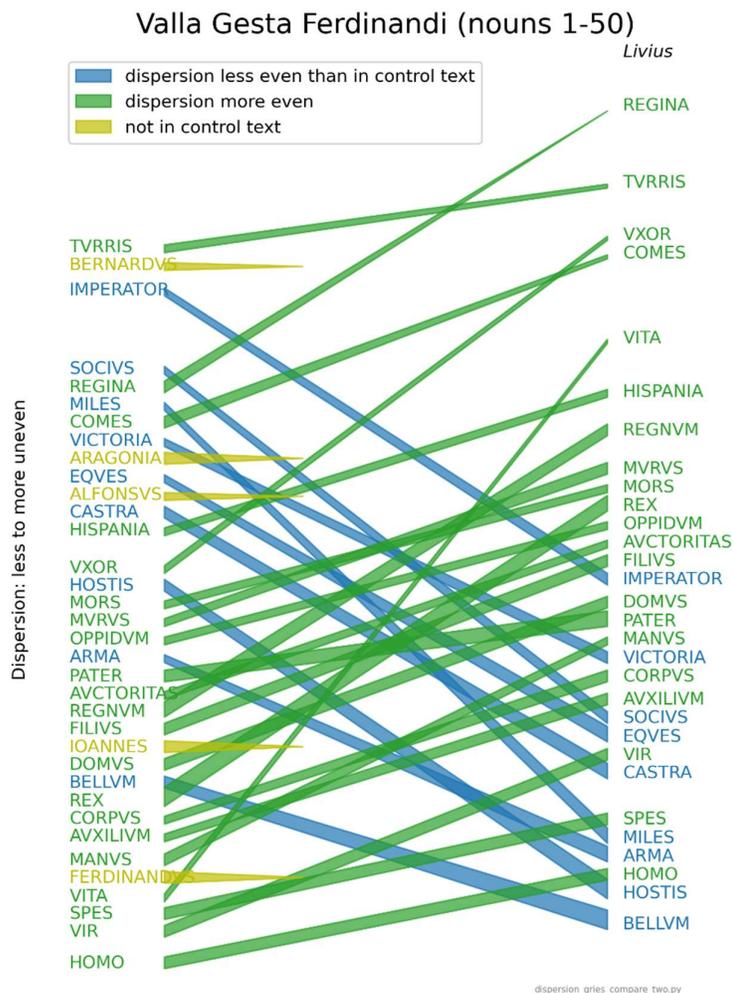


Figure 7: Comparison of dispersion between Valla and Livy. The fifty most frequent nouns in Valla ordered according to their dispersion.

Obviously, the proper nouns important for Valla do not occur in Livy (marked in yellow), except for *Hispania* which shows an interesting dispersion both in Valla and in Livy (figure 8):

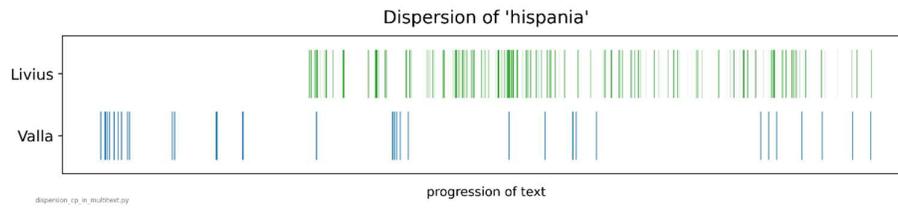


Figure 8: Dispersion of *Hispania* in Valla and Livy

In Valla there is a cluster at the very beginning of the work, where Valla gives a brief outline of the geographic and political parameters of Spain.³³ A second cluster corresponds to the speech Fernando gives upon the death of king Martin I in 1410, in which he claims the throne of Aragon. In Livy mention of Spain begins with Book 21, treating the beginning of the Second Punic War which is triggered by warfare between Roman and Carthaginian military in Spain. Other differences in dispersion indicate semantic change: *imperator* in Livy is the commander-in-chief of an army and as such pervasive from early on, while in Valla it is nearly exclusively the *imperator Romanorum*, i. e., the Emperor, and thus limited to parts of his narration where the Emperor plays a role. With *rex* and *regnum* (figure 9), the realities referred to are different in both authors:

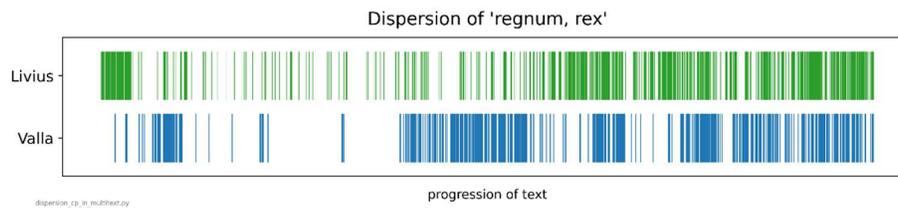


Fig. 9: Dispersion of *rex* and *regnum* in Valla and Livy

In Valla, after the initial discussion of the Spanish political situation, *rex/regnum* become key terms in the narration after the accession of Fernando to the throne. In Livy, there is an initial cluster, dealing with the early era of the Roman kings; in the second half the graph reflects the ever-increasing presence of the kings of the East in Livy's narration, with the description of

³³ As Valla announces at the end of the preface: “Sed quoniam de duobus Hispanis regibus locuturus sum, Ferdinando qui primus e Castella regno Aragonie, Alfonso eius filio qui primus ex Aragonia regno Italie potitus est, aliquid de ipsa Hispania altius repetam” (But since I am going to talk about two Spanish kings, Ferdinando who as the first from Castile gained the kingdom of Aragon, and his son Alfonso who as the first from Aragon gained the kingdom of Italy, I will present Spain itself in more detail).

the Eastern wars starting in Book 31 and filling the remainder of the preserved part of Livy's *History*.

We find an analogous semantic development with *socius* ('ally'). Whereas allies are part of the political fabric of Roman warfare from early on, *socius* is hardly ever used in this sense in Valla's narration (*socius* in Valla mainly refers to an individual in a group connected to someone(?) by some circumstance, i. e., 'companion').

Conclusion

This paper has hardly scratched the surface as regards the possibilities of quantitative research in our authors. The vast fields of Lexical Richness and Keyness have only been marginally touched upon. Nevertheless, we could establish the usefulness of several text metrics for research in Latin and specifically Neo-Latin. The Gini Index (and the Lorenz-curve as its graphical representation) analysed the very fabric of Latin, drawing attention to the importance of grammatical words for the construction and organization of information in the text. Differences due to the chronological dispersion of the texts were hardly visible; outliers in the lemmatization metrics such as Ammianus and Thomas Aquinas are due to the individual style of the former and the genre of the latter. Metrics of dispersion allowed us to connect the information contained in the narratives to specific features (i.e., words) of the texts; the comparison between Valla's *Gesta Ferdinandi* and Livy's *Ab urbe condita* expressed the differences in political structure between the worlds depicted in the two texts by connecting it to specific words in the texts. Thus, through a combination of quantitative analysis (distant reading) and 'traditional' close reading we can highlight important aspects of our texts.

Appendix: Sources

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IGNIS FATUUS

Debatten über das Irrlicht in der lateinischen frühneuzeitlich-protestantischen Universitätskultur



Von Bernd Roling

Since early modern times, the Will-o'-the-Wisp was well known in folklore and part of the local traditions also in Germany and Scandinavia. While popular superstition connected the ignis fatuus, as it was called in Latin, with the Souls of the Purgatory or with demonic forces, since the sixteenth century the university culture tried to develop an explanation, based on natural laws. How did these physical explanations change over time? And how did the scholars integrate the possible demonic nature of the fire? To survey the many hypotheses and their development, this article will examine a series of Latin academic dissertations. Continuity and transformation of the ignis fatuus will be reconstructed through the analysis of Aristotelian, Cartesian and Post-Cartesian treatises.

Einleitung: Das Irrlicht zwischen Überlieferung und Wissenschaft

Im Moor im westfriesischen Weener, nicht unweit des Emslandes, so erzählte man sich im 19. Jahrhundert, hatten sich zwei Mädchen einmal auf den Weg zu einer Kartenlegerin gemacht. Längst war es *balkendüster* geworden, als eines der Mädchen aus der Ferne ein Licht funkeln sieht. Die andere junge Frau bekommt es mit der Angst; es war ein *Dodenlicht*, wie sie zu bedenken gibt. Nein, es war das Fenster des *Wickerswief*, wie die andere entgegnet, das dort leuchtete. Trotz des inständigen Flehens ihrer Gefährtin rennt sie dem Licht entgegen. Im Dunkel der sumpfigen Gegend verschwunden, hört man sie kurz darauf um Hilfe schreien, dann herrscht furchterregende Stille.¹ „Volksglaube“ und wissenschaftlicher Anspruch waren auch schon Jahrhunderte vorher, in der lateinischen Universitäts- und Wissenschaftskultur der Frühen Neuzeit, aufeinandergetroffen. Die akademischen Versuche, die scheinbar irrationalen Erscheinungen auf ein

¹ Van der Kooi & Schuster 2003, 132, Nr. 102, weitere Berichte 129–133, oder Sundermann 1869, 50f. Eine Übersicht von Irrlicht-Traditionen findet sich bei Ranke 1931, 779–786, dazu z. B. Kuhn 1843, 373, Bartsch 1880, 4, Lemke 1884, 64, oder Gande 1894, 48–52, Nr. 122–135. Als jüngere Behandlung z. B. Simon 2004, 405–414.

Gefüge von natürlichen Ursachen zu reduzieren, stießen hier auf ein Unbehagen, das sich mit der Residualkategorie des Unerklärlichen verband oder eben der diabolischen Domäne. Wie hatte man diesen Konflikt aufgelöst? Wollte man ihn auflösen? Im Folgenden soll die diskursive Konfrontation der unterschiedlichen Interpretationen des *ignis fatuus*, des Irrlichtes oder Irrwisches, anhand eines Mediums nachvollzogen werden, das wie kein anderes eine diachrone Rekonstruktion einer akademischen Debatte ermöglicht, der Universitätsdisputation. Über einen Zeitraum von mehr als 150 Jahren ist in solchen Disputationen wieder und wieder versucht worden, die Natur des Irrlichtes zu bestimmen. Wandel und Kontinuität der Deutungen, die schrittweise Marginalisierung der Dämonologie zugunsten der komplett physikalischen Entschlüsselung, aber auch die Resistenz der Instanz des Numinosen lassen sich auf diese Weise in einem Querschnitt durch die Epochen nachvollziehen. Auf welche Autoritäten hat man sich gestützt? Welche Erfahrungswirklichkeit ließ sich für welche Deutung ins Feld führen? Nach einer allgemeinen Einleitung soll aus den unterschiedlichen Perioden der Debatte jeweils eine exemplarische Arbeit herausgegriffen, gewürdigt und in den größeren Kontext eingeordnet werden.

Kaum ein Gelehrter der Frühen Neuzeit konnte ignorieren, daß man die flackernden Feuer, die auf den nebeligen Äckern des Nordens bald hierhin, bald dorthin zu fliehen schienen, im Kreis der Menschen, die gerne als das “einfache Volk” angesprochen wurden, mit Argwohn betrachtete. Es waren die Seelen aus dem Fegefeuer, wie man in vielen Regionen glaubte, die um Hilfe riefen und ihr reinigendes Feuer wie eine Last mit sich trugen. Antoine Mizauld berichtet in seiner *Cometographia*, die auch Girolamo Cardano noch heranzieht, daß viele Wanderer auf dem Feld die irrlichternden feurigen Seelen nicht nur schreien gehört hätten. Sie hätten auch bezeugen können, daß die Gestalt kleiner Kinder im Feuerschein sichtbar geworden wäre.² Der Glaube an ein Fegefeuer hatte sich durch die Grundsatzentscheidung Luthers und Melanchthons und die *Confessio Augustana* erübrigt; kein Protestant konnte daher mehr entlang der Ostseeküste eine solche Position vertreten. Nur auf den ersten Blick jedoch war es aufgrund dieser Voraussetzung leichter geworden, sich im Habitus des Aufklärers als Vertreter des Fortschritts zu gerieren. Luther hatte 1530 in seinem berühmten *Widerruf vom Fegefeuer* die Annahme, die Irrwische seien arme Seelen, mit Nachdruck zurückgewiesen.³ Was aber waren die *ignes fatui* dann? Die Antwort gab dem Wittenberger die Dämonologie. Bei den Irrlichtern, so Luther, handelte es

² Mizauld 1549, 34–36, und Cardano 1557, 931f., und Camerarius 1609, 52–56.

³ Luther 1909, 385.

sich “um schwebende Teuffel, qui homines in pericula ducunt” (schwebende Teufel, die die Menschen ins Verderben stürzen).⁴

Die akademische Meteorologie hatte den *ignis fatuus* im Gefolge des Aristoteles gleichwohl zu den feurigen Meteoren der unteren Himmelsregion gezählt und ihm eine säkulare und rein physikalische Erklärung zur Seite gestellt.⁵ Auch Irrlichter, so der allgemeine Konsens, waren die Folge von Erdausdünstungen, die durch Sonnenhitze aus dem Boden gezogen wurden. Ihre oft schwefelige Natur sorgte für ihre leichte Brennbarkeit. Einmal entflammt, flackerten sie in Nähe des Erdbodens und mußten beim Betrachter entsprechende Verunsicherung hinterlassen. Ihre Feuernatur zog den Menschen an. Nur zu oft waren daher Unfälle, ein Tod durch Ertrinken oder ein Sturz die Folge. Die humanistisch geprägte lateinische und Aristoteles verpflichtete Schulphilosophie der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts hatte diese Lesart des *ignis fatuus* aufgegriffen und mit einer Fülle von Details angereichert. Ob sich der entsprechende Gelehrte später im lutherischen oder reformierten Lager verortete oder aber im katholischen, spielte keine Rolle; das Konzept bewahrte seine Gültigkeit. Zu den Verfassern von Standard-meteorologien und -physiken, die diese Sichtweise für das protestantische Milieu in Deutschland und Skandinavien repetierten, gehörten der Wittenberger Johannes Garcaeus,⁶ Bartholomaeus Keckermann in Danzig,⁷ Michael Neander in Ilfeld⁸ und vor allem Libert Froidmont, der mit seinen konsequent geozentrischen *Meteorologicorum libri sex* als Katholik die einflußreichste Meteorologie seiner Zeit vorgelegt hatte⁹, die im ganzen protestantischen Umfeld großen Erfolg verbuchen konnte.¹⁰ Als weitere Vertreter der Universitätsphilosophie sollten später der als Korpuskulartheoretiker bekannte Daniel Sennert,¹¹ Daniel Lagus aus Danzig,¹² Conrad Cellarius und

⁴ Luther 1906, 177, und Luther 1911, 365.

⁵ In jeder Hinsicht grundlegend zur Kometentheorie der Frühen Neuzeit ist die Arbeit von Weichenhan 2004, dort 133–362, ergänzend für den frühen Protestantismus Brosseder 2003, 99–109. Als Überblickstudie zur Meteorologie der Frühen Neuzeit Martin 2011, passim.

⁶ Garcaeus 1568, 54rf.

⁷ Keckermann 1612, 643–648.

⁸ Neander 1585, 76f.

⁹ Froidmont 1627, 35–37. Als weitere katholische Meteorologien im Gefolge Froidmonts z. B. Resta 1644, , 121–125, oder vorher schon Arnigio 1568, 13f. Ebenfalls zum Problemfeld Castro 1642, 93–114, und Eustachius a Sancto Paulo 1629, 149f.

¹⁰ Eine allgemeine Einschätzung Froidmonts im Spannungsfeld zwischen Kopernikus und Descartes liefert Ariew 2011, 196–201, 204–207, zur Meteorologie im Besonderen Vanpaemel 2014, 53–68.

¹¹ Sennert 1618, 274f., und auch Sennert & Schubert 1600, A3v.

¹² Lagus 1650, 17–21.

Georg Liebler aus Tübingen,¹³ Jean Crassot,¹⁴ Konrad Horneius aus Helmstedt,¹⁵ Wolfgang Meurer aus Leipzig,¹⁶ Johannes Magirus aus Tübingen,¹⁷ Arnold Senguerdus aus Utrecht und sein Sohn Wolferdus,¹⁸ Johann Sperling aus Wittenberg und viele weitere dazukommen, die das Thema bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts weiter ventilieren.¹⁹

Gleichzeitig aber blieb das Irrlicht ein Gegenstand der Dämonologie, doch im Regelfall, ohne daß ihm dabei besondere Bedeutung zugebilligt wurde.²⁰ Der wohl bekannteste unter den katholischen Dämonologen, Martin del Rio, der den Teufel sonst gerne als letzte Kraft hinter abseitigen Begebenheiten vermutete, ging in seinen *Disquisitiones magicae* noch einen Schritt weiter und richtete sich an den Protestantismus. Offenbarte die Geschwindigkeit, mit der Luther den Irrwisch zu den Strategien des Teufels zu rechnen bereit war, nicht, wie leichtgläubig die Protestanten im Unterschied zu den Anhängern der katholischen Kirche waren, obwohl sich die Phänomene physikalisch erklären ließen?²¹ Die ersten protestantischen Dämonologen waren daher unsicher, wie sie mit dem Irrlicht umgehen sollten. Der Schweizer Ludwig Lavater, dessen Traktat zu den *spectra* zu den Klassikern seines Genres gehörte, hält die *Blawe Lichtly* für “Dampf auß der Erden” und spricht ihnen jedes Bedrohungspotential ab.²² Sigismund Scherertz, der Luther als Wittenberger stärker verpflichtet war, widerspricht seinem Kollegen mit Nachdruck. Auch wenn die Feuer auf Ausdünstungen zurückzuführen waren, so Scherertz, konnte sich ihrer der Teufel bedienen, um den Menschen ins Verderben zu stürzen. Spätestens wenn das Irrlicht mit akustischen Signalen, einer wehklagenden Stimme, einherging, mußte offenkundig sein, daß die Mächte der Finsternis ihre Hände im Spiel hatten.²³

Im Graben zwischen Dämonologie und Physik: Eine schularistotelische Annäherung an das Irrlicht

Wie reagierten die protestantischen Gelehrten auf dieses Dilemma? Ließen sich Theologie und Physik in Einklang bringen? In den ersten Disputationen

¹³ Cellarius 1627, und Cellarius & Cappeller 1624, 8f., Liebler 1575, 292f.

¹⁴ Crassot 1618, 471.

¹⁵ Horneius 1650, 142f.

¹⁶ Meurer 1587, 120–125.

¹⁷ Magirus 1597, 127.

¹⁸ Senguerdus 1644, 332f., Senguerdus 1685, 284f.

¹⁹ Aus den vielen Auflagen dieses Standardwerkes Sperling 1664, 791, 796, oder aus ähnlich vielen Auflagen Sperling 1649, 168f., dazu auch Thomasius 1670, 103–106.

²⁰ Remi 1596, 211–213, Le Loyer 1605, 63r–66r.

²¹ Del Rio 1604, 119–122.

²² Lavater 1578, 38f., und auch lateinisch Lavater 1570, 63f.

²³ Scherertz 1620, B2vf., D4v, oder Alsted 1615, 353.

zum *ignis fatuus*, die in der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts entstanden, dominiert das Paradigma der aristotelischen Schulmeteorologie. Aus der Menge von möglichen Beispielen, deren Zahl sich leicht vermehren ließe,²⁴ sei die Arbeit von Johannes Ittig aus Leipzig genannt. Johannes Ittig hatte eine Professur für Physik inne und hatte vor allem Abhandlungen zur Psychologie und Erkenntnistheorie vorgelegt.²⁵ Ittig definiert das Irrlicht mit den Schulmeteorologien als unsteten Feuermeteor, der seinen natürlichen Ort in Bodennähe hatte. Er entstand aus schwefeligen Dämpfen, die durch Erdausdünstungen entstanden.²⁶ In seiner Substanz unterschied er sich damit, so Ittig, nicht von den übrigen Meteoren, sondern nur in seiner akzidentellen Form. Elmsfeuer, Castor und Pollux, und der *draco volans*, eine kugelförmige Kometenvariante, die sich ebenfalls in den unteren Luftschichten ansiedelte, waren dem Irrlicht verwandt, auch wenn sie eine andere Gestalt aufwiesen.²⁷ Was aber entzündete die Irrwische? Eine Antwort gab ein Phänomen, das für Ittig vor allem Pierre Gassendi beschrieben hatte, die Antiperistase. Sie sollte noch viele andere Physiker zu Stellungnahmen nötigen. Der Dampf aus Schwefelpartikeln, der bereits inwendig Wärme in sich trug, wurde von der Kälte, die ihn umgab, eingeschlossen; er verdichtete sich. Die Konfrontation von Kälte und Wärme sorgte schließlich für die Entzündung der Partikelwolke.²⁸ Ittig weiß, daß ein bekannter Gelehrter, Robert Fludd, statt der brennenden Schwefelkonglomerate eine andere Substanz der Irrlichter hatte ausfindig machen wollen. Ein von ihm entdeckter *ignis fatuus* hatte aus einer klebrigen gallertartigen Masse bestanden, die Fludd an Froschsperma erinnert hatte. Die Masse war gesprenkelt mit dunklen Flecken, die für den englischen Gelehrten das Bild eines Spiegels angenommen hatten, der die Sterne wiedergab. Ittig überzeugt diese Beobachtung ebenso wenig wie vorher seinen Gewährsmann Gassendi. Die Partikel, die das Substrat des Irrlichtes bildeten, durften nicht so fester Natur sein, Fludd hatte sich gerirrt.²⁹

Zur Antiperistase kamen weitere Ursachen, die für die Entflammung des Lichtes sorgten, die erdeigene Wärme und als Hauptursache die Sonne, deren

²⁴ Als weitere zeitgenössische Einlassungen zum *ignis fatuus* im Disputationenformat unter anderem Olearius & Luther 1622, Agerius & Reutter 1629, begleitend auch Agerius & Gerle 1634, Wichelmann & Lepner 1645, Watson & Lobessen 1652, 87–116, Mylius & Praetorius 1653, Trew & Hüttel 1654, Brf., Elmenhorst & Frenzel 1655, Pomarius & Hentschel 1652, und Sperling & Fessel 1656.

²⁵ Als Beispiele Ittig & Schultz 1655 oder Ittig & Bierhausen 1648.

²⁶ Ittig & Hermann 1655, A2r.

²⁷ Ittig & Hermann 1655, A3r–A4r, A4r–Br, dazu für Ittig auch Thomasius & Cuningham 1650, A2r–Cr.

²⁸ Ittig & Hermann 1655, Brf., dazu Gassendi 1649, 1171–1177, bes. 1176f.

²⁹ Ittig & Hermann 1655, Bv, dazu Fludd 1617, 126, und in Ergänzung auch Fludd 1626, 107–109, und vorher Paracelsus 1566, 62v–65v.

Wärme sich das Emporsteigen der Dämpfe verdankte. Bei Hitze öffnete die Erde ihre Poren, nicht anders, so Ittig, als ein Mensch, der schwitzte. Noch andere Begleiterscheinungen des Irrlichtes waren zu erklären. Die Feuer erschienen des Nachts häufig auf Friedhöfen, denn Gräber sonderten Schwefel ab und die Nachtkälte war der Antiperistase förderlich. Das unstete Flackern war auf den fluiden Brennstoff des Feuers zurückzuführen, den der Wind weitertrieb.³⁰ Die Flamme schien dem Betrachter aus deshalb zu folgen, so Ittig, weil der Rückstoß der Luft, die er selbst bewegte, das Irrlicht hinter sich herzog. Im Regelfall traten die Lichter im Herbst in Erscheinung, wie Ittig weiß. Die Hitze des Sommers klang noch nach, die kühleren Abende sorgten für die notwendige Konfrontation der Temperaturen. Warum aber wurde der *ignis fatuus* für den Menschen zur Gefahr? Auch hier bemüht sich Ittig zunächst um eine naturwissenschaftliche Erklärung. Viele Menschen hielten das leuchtende Feuer auf ihrer Reise für das Fenster eines Hauses, folgten ihm irrtümlich und stürzten in Gräben oder einen Abhang herunter. Andere wurden vom Irrlicht derart erschreckt, daß ihre Lebensgeister vollständig blockiert wurden und sie verstarben. Für die Töne, die die Irrlichter auszustoßen schienen, ließ sich ebenfalls eine plausible Hypothese finden. Die brennende Schwefelwolke selbst stieß *spiritus* aus und sorgte auf diese Weise für zischende Geräusche.³¹ Wie aber verhielt es sich mit den Dämonen, die Luther in den Irrlichtern hatte erkennen wollen? Ittig erinnert sich, daß auch seine eigenen Eltern wie andere Bauern seiner böhmischen Heimat fest geglaubt hatten, die Feuer seien die Seelen ungetaufter Kinder, die um ihr Schicksal klagten. Diese Vorstellung konnte auf keiner Grundlage beruhen; damit jedoch war die Wirkmacht diabolischer Mächte in keiner Weise ausgeschlossen. Gott konnte den Dämonen, wie Ittig zum Abschluß unterstreicht, zugestehen, sich eines Irrlichtes zu bemächtigen, um den Menschen in Versuchung zu führen.³²

Eine cartesianische Aufarbeitung im Universitätsmilieu

Von etwa 1660 an war auf der Bühne der protestantischen Universitäten eine neue Autorität aufgetreten, René Descartes, der, wie bekannt, für einen der entscheidenden Paradigmenwechsel in der Frühen Neuzeit gesorgt hatte.³³ Auch Descartes hatte den bodennahen Feuermeteoriten in seiner Meteorologie

³⁰ Ittig & Hermann 1655, Bv–B2v.

³¹ Ittig & Hermann 1655, B4v–Cr.

³² Ittig & Hermann 1655, Crf.

³³ Als allgemeine Einschätzung der *Meteores* Descartes', die im Jahre 1637, also vor den *Principia* entstanden war, unter vielen z. B. Martin 2011, 125–147, Gaukroger 2002, 8–10, 25f., 59–61, oder Martin 2013, 237–262.

Rechnung getragen.³⁴ Viele der cartesianischen Physiker wie Jacques Rohault oder Honoré Fabri waren ihm in seiner Meteorologie gefolgt.³⁵ Es wundert so nicht, daß die cartesianische Physik auch in der Erklärung des *ignis fatuus* Eingang fand. Unter den vielen möglichen Behandlungen sei hier nur eine herausgegriffen,³⁶ die Arbeit Adam Rechenbergs. Rechenberg, der bei Jacob Thomasius in Leipzig studiert hatte, sollte später zu einem der prominentesten lutherischen Theologen der Leipziger Universität werden, der sich als Kirchenhistoriker und Verteidiger der lutherischen Orthodoxie einen Namen machte.³⁷

Adam Rechenbergs Abhandlung erscheint in ihrem Tonfall weniger von der Kontroverstheologie getragen als vorausgegangene Thesen, im Gegenteil, der Leipziger gesteht zu, daß auch Caspar Schott und andere Jesuiten in Coimbra oder Rom sich um physikalische Auflösungen des *ignis fatuus* bemüht hatten und der Katholizismus souveräner war als es schien. Zugleich findet Rechenberg seine Opponenten in den protestantischen Theologen, die der Dämonologie noch immer größeren Raum hatten zubilligen wollen. Rechenberg folgt Descartes und hält die Materialursache des Irrlichtes für eine Vermengung von Öl-, Feuer- und Schwefelpartikeln, angereichert mit anderen Stoffen, die aus Kadavern und Fäulnis entstanden waren.³⁸ Im Unterschied zu den Kollegen, die Froidmont gefolgt waren, spielte das unterirdische Feuer als Zündhilfe bei der Entstehung des Irrlichtes keine Rolle mehr. Auch die Kraft der Sonne, so Rechenberg, wäre nicht ausreichend gewesen, wenn nicht die Antiperistase hinzugekommen wäre, für die sich zurecht auch Jesuiten wie die Kommentatoren von Coimbra oder Rodrigo Arriaga stark gemacht hatten. In die Poren sublunarer Körper, die mit feinstofflich-spiritueller Substanz angereichert waren, drang Wärme ein, die den Durchmesser der Partikel so schrumpfen ließ, daß sie außen diffundierten. Der Ausfluß wurde von der sie umgebenden Kälte blockiert, eine Konzentration der Partikel war zunächst die Folge, dann die Entflammung der *particula spiritualia* und schließlich das Brennen der ganzen Wolke der *corpuscula*. Nicht anders, so Rechenberg mit Schott, schlug Wolle Funken, wenn sie mit Haaren in Berührung kam. Daß Descartes

³⁴ Descartes 1637, 246–248.

³⁵ Unter den vielen Auflagen Rouhault 1682, dort allgemein zu den Meteoren 76–82, Fabri 1670, dort zum *ignis fatuus* 496f.

³⁶ Als weitere mögliche Beispiele Crusius 1660, 317–342, Schultze & Fritzsche 1672, Saltzmann & Raupp 1664, Wagner & Warlitz 1668, Ziegra & Engler 1680, Müller & Ziegra 1676, dort A3r–A4v, und Lagerlöf & Vigelius 1687.

³⁷ Zu Leben und dem kaum überschaubaren Werk Adam Rechenbergs Döring 1833, 475–480.

³⁸ Rechenberg & Riedel 1666, A3v–A4v.

selbst die Antiperistase in Zweifel gezogen hatte, war für den Leipziger dabei zweitrangig.³⁹

Es war kein Zufall, so Rechenberg, daß nach der Schlacht von Lützen der Erdboden von Irrlichtern übersät war. In der Bestimmung der schwefelgesättigten Erscheinungsorte der *ignes fatui*, ihrer Bewegungsmodi, der Brenndauer, der üblichen Zeit ihres Auftretens und ihrer reinigenden Funktion hat Rechenberg wenig Neues zu berichten.⁴⁰ Wichtiger erschien es, noch einmal die mögliche Macht des Teufels in den Blick zu nehmen. Rudolf Goclenius hatte, wie Rechenberg behauptet, das Irrlicht noch zu Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts zu den Intrigen Satans gezählt, Zeitgenossen wie Jacob Thomasius oder Johann Konrad Dannhauer waren hier, wie Rechenberg erinnert, mit gutem Grund zurückhaltender gewesen. Doch hatte nicht auch Luther den Irrwisch für ein Werkzeug der Dämonen gehalten? Rechenberg nimmt den protestantischen Erzvater – wohl wider besseren Wissens – in Schutz, Luther hatte lediglich die Grenzen naturwissenschaftlicher Beweisführung aufzeigen wollen. Alle Argumente aber, die Theologen wie Goclenius für das diabolische Irrlicht ins Feld geführt hatte, mußten sich erübrigen. Die willkürliche Bewegung der Flamme war auf Faktoren wie Tau und Wind zurückzuführen, die Geräusche auf das Brennen der *materia viscosa et sulphurea*. Knisterte nicht schon die gewöhnliche Kerze? Blieb ein *ignis fatuus* stehen, wie es Froidmont geschildert hatte, ließ sich ein solcher, scheinbar bedrohlicher Stillstand den Luftschichten zuschreiben, die den brennenden Feuermeteor eingeschlossen hatten. Der verängstigte Betrachter schied durch die Blockade seines *spiritus vitalis* aus dem Leben und bisweilen, so Rechenberg, auch aufgrund der giftigen Dämpfe, die er inhaliert hatte.⁴¹

Die nachcartesianische Schulphysik des 18. Jahrhunderts

Auch im 18. Jahrhundert war das Interesse am *ignis fatuus* nicht erloschen. Um die Kontinuität der Diskussion zu dokumentieren, seien zum Ende noch einmal eine Arbeit aus der reichen Zahl der vorhandenen Untersuchungen herausgegriffen.⁴² Sie verdankt sich Friedrich von Schaeuwen aus Königsberg.

³⁹ Rechenberg & Riedel 1666, A4v–Bv, dazu aus der Jesuitenphysik für Rechenberg z. B. zum Irrlicht Fonseca *et al.* 1593, 17, Schott 1662, 1206–1209, zur Antiperistase mit gewohnter Skepsis Arriaga 1644, 497–499.

⁴⁰ Rechenberg & Riedel 1666, Bv–B2v.

⁴¹ Rechenberg & Riedel 1666, B2v–B4v, dazu für Rechenberg & Dannhauer 1666, 407–409, Goclenius der Ältere 1593, 69f., und ergänzend Goclenius & Leuchter 1599, A3rf., und Goclenius 1613, 242f., die zeigen, daß Rechenberg Goclenius eigentlich Unrecht tut.

⁴² Als weitere prominente Einlassungen z. B. Derham 1729, 204–214, oder später Bildsöe & Overgaard 1727, und selbst noch Jón Ólafsson 1999, dort die Edition von Véturlíði Óskarsson 1999, 85–89, oder Wucherer & Hübschmann 1724.

Von Schaewen sollte sich im Anschluß der alttestamentlichen Theologie zuwenden und die Universität schließlich als Pfarrer verlassen. Er dokumentiert nach 80 Jahren und trotz der Fülle neuer Autoritäten und einander widersprechender Weltbilder eher die Kontinuität des Zugriffs, als daß er zum Zeugen großer Umwälzungen erhoben werden könnte. Er erweitert den Katalog der Schulphysiken, die heranzuziehen waren, um eine ganze Galerie von cartesianischen und postcartesianischen Standardwerken, darunter Jean-Baptiste Du Hamel oder der schon genannte Honoré Fabri,⁴³ aber auch Abkömmlinge des deutschen Universitätsbetriebes wie Johannes Greydanus,⁴⁴ Johannes Kipping,⁴⁵ Johannes Sturm, den wohl wichtigsten Schulphysiker vor Wolff,⁴⁶ und auch um eher abseitige Autoritäten wie David Crusius oder Gottfried Voigt.⁴⁷ Was hatte Fludd vor sich liegen gehabt, als er glaubte, die Substanz des Irrlichtes gefunden zu haben? Konnte es nicht ein vom Himmel gefallener Stern gewesen sein? Der Klärung des Irrlicht-Phänomens war Fludds Vorschlag in jedem Fall nicht dienlich.⁴⁸ Von Schaewen rekonstruiert mit Hilfe der cartesianischen Physiken die Genese des *ignis fatuus* und gelangt zu einem Ergebnis, das sich nur wenig von seinen Vorgängern unterscheidet. Flüssigkeiten vergoren unter der Erdoberfläche und sorgten durch Fäulnis für den Ausstoß von Schwefel- und Öldämpfen. Die natürliche Wärme verdichtete die Schwefelwolken und erreichte ihre Entzündung, das Irrlicht war sichtbar geworden.⁴⁹

Von Schaewen fühlt sich berufen, auch auf eine alternative Erklärung des Irrlichtes einzugehen, das Glühwürmchen. Christian Franciscus Paullini, einer der vielen barocken Polyhistoren und Buntschriftsteller, hatte sich für diese Hypothese ausgesprochen.⁵⁰ Größere Schwärme natürlich leuchtender Insekten, wie sie vor allem in Italien oder Spanien anzutreffen waren, hatten dem *ignis fatuus* die Grundlage geliefert. Aber waren, so von Schaewen, die Insekten in der Lage, eine kegelförmige Flammengestalt nachzubilden, wenn sie in großen Wolken ausflogen? Auch wenn die *lampyrides*, die Glühwürmchen, gelegentlich Anlaß gegeben haben konnten, sie für einen

⁴³ Du Hamel 1681, 328.

⁴⁴ Greydanus 1671, 174f.

⁴⁵ Kipping 1670, 189f.

⁴⁶ Sturm 1704, 542–548, und später Sturm 1722, 1285–1288, oder Kaschube 1718, 184–186.

⁴⁷ Crusius 1616, dort 142f., und Voigt 1694, 445f.

⁴⁸ Von Schaewen & Fries 1714, 4f.

⁴⁹ Von Schaewen & Fries 1714, 5–7.

⁵⁰ Paullini 1695, 33–36. Paullini integriert in die *Annales Corbeienses*, die er weitgehend selbst geschrieben hatte, die *seductio* eines mittelalterlichen Mönchs durch ein *ignis fatuus*, dazu Paullini 1698, 385 (Anno 1034). Zu den leuchtenden Insekten Scaliger 1582, 628f., und auch Schenck 1663, 72–75 und später Ray 1673, 409f., Lange 1698, 624–627. Grundlegend war Bartholin 1647, 167–237.

Irrwisch zu halten, konnten sie keine allgemeingültige Erklärung liefern.⁵¹ Die Antworten, die von Schaewen zu den Einzelaspekten des Irrlichtes vorlegt, sind uns bereits geläufig: Schwefeldünste quollen im Herbst aus dem Boden, weil die Erde zu dieser Zeit noch warm und trocken genug war. Die Schwefelpartikel kollidierten mit der Kälte der Herbstnächte, die die Verdichtung der Partikelwolken beschleunigte und das entsprechende Feuer hervorrief. Der von anderen Gelehrten ins Spiel gebrachte Tau hatte dagegen keinen Einfluß auf die Genese des *ignis fatuus*, wie von Schaewen noch hinzufügt. Sturm und Regen verhinderten die Entstehung von Irrlichtern; größere Schwefelkonglomerate entzündeten sich darüber hinaus in höheren Luftregionen in Gewittern.⁵² Von Schaewen wendet sich auch den Paracelsisten zu und nimmt gemeinsam mit ihnen auch noch einmal die Dämonologie in den Blick. Nach fünfzig Jahren offenbart der abfällige Ton von Schaewens nun, daß die Herausforderung, die von Luther ausging, überwunden war. Johannes Praetorius hatte in seinem *Anthropodemus plutonicus* eine Zusammenfassung der paracelsischen Anthropologie vorgelegt.⁵³ Irrlichter waren hier zu den Salamandern und Feuermännern zu zählen, die den Menschen ins Wasser locken wollten.⁵⁴ Wer aber, so von Schaewen, sich zu einer solchen Vermutung verstieg oder mit dem Irrlicht die Macht des Teufels heraufbeschwor, hatte das “Haus der Physik” verlassen.⁵⁵

Fazit

Es wäre möglich, diese Geschichte bis zur Zeit Friedrich Wilhelm Bessels weiterzuschreiben und Arbeiten zur Sprache zu bringen, die im ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert brennenden Phosphor, Stickgase, Methan und ähnliche Erscheinungen mit dem Irrlicht assoziieren.⁵⁶ Gleiches gilt natürlich für die Option der Elektrizität, die im Gefolge Benjamin Franklins immer größere Reichweite beanspruchen konnte und dem Irrlicht ebenfalls neue Deutungen bescherte.⁵⁷ Das Wechselspiel von Transformation und Kontinuität, das die Debatte um den *ignis fatuus* auszeichnete, ist dennoch deutlich geworden. Trotz des europaweiten Siegeszuges der cartesianischen Philosophie, der auch die so lange vorherrschende aristotelische Lesart der Meteorologie

⁵¹ Von Schaewen & Fries 1714, 7f.

⁵² Von Schaewen & Fries 1714, 9–13.

⁵³ Einen kursorischen Überblick über den Inhalt und die zentralen Themen des *Anthropodemus plutonicus* gibt Scholz Williams 2006, 25–66.

⁵⁴ Praetorius 1666, 302–306.

⁵⁵ Von Schaewen & Fries 1714, 14f.

⁵⁶ Als Beispiele Scherer 1795, *passim*, und zur Elektrizität von “Feuermeteoriten” grundlegend Volta 1777, *passim*, und Bertholon 1787, *passim*.

⁵⁷ Mitchell 1829, 73–75, Blesson 1833, 408–412, Bessel 1838, 366–368. Ein kleiner Katalog angelsächsischer Traditionen findet sich bei Allies 1846, dort bes. 41.

grundlegend verändern mußte, trotz der neuen mechanistischen und korpuskulartheoretischen Physiken, die das alte Bild des Feuermeteors stark revidiert hatten, veränderte sich die Erklärung des Irrlichts in der Substanz kaum. Die Interaktion von Ausdünstung und Entzündung blieb als Leitmotiv bestehen, das Phänomen verlor bei aller pflichtgemäßen Rationalisierung, die ihm zuteilwurde, seine Faszinationskraft nicht. Daß die Dämonologie über einen Zeitraum von hundert Jahren immer weiter an den Rand gedrängt wurde, verwundert als Ergebnis wenig. Daß sich unsere Autoren jedoch auch über den Vollständigkeitsanspruch einer Disputation hinaus noch im frühen 18. Jahrhundert, wenn auch abwehrend und mit verschämter Zurückhaltung, genötigt sahen, dem diabolischen Ursprung der Flamme einige Sätze zu schenken, offenbart, daß die Begegnung mit dem Irrlicht seinen unheimlichen und verstörenden Charakter hatte bewahren können.

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NAPOLI:

lo splendore di una grande capitale dall'età del Boccaccio alla fine del regno



Di Lucia Gualdo Rosa

Questo articolo porta su alcune descrizioni della Napoli angioina e aragonese. Nelle opere di Boccaccio, che visse a Napoli dal 1327 al 1340, spiccano espressioni di entusiasmo per le bellezze e tante attrattive della città partenopea lasciata con rammarico. Al suo ritorno, anni più tardi, fu però trattato malissimo e rifugò a Venezia da Petrarca. Altri ammiratori di Napoli furono l'umanista siciliano Giovanni Aurispa, che conobbe la città nella gioventù, dal 1390 al 1402, lo stesso Carlo VIII, re di Francia, che la conquistò nel 1495, e Iacopo Sannazzaro, che ne descrisse gli splendori in un'elegia nel 1501.

Come è noto, il Boccaccio visse a Napoli gli anni più felici della sua vita, dal 1327 al 1340; in quell'anno infelice, in seguito al fallimento della banca dei Bardi, fu costretto a tornare a Firenze, presso un padre divenuto ostile anche a causa dei suoi rovesci economici. Tormentato dalla nostalgia, così scrive a Niccolò Acciaiuoli, gran siniscalco del regno, da cui sperava di essere aiutato a ritornare nella città dei suoi sogni:

Dell'esser mio in Firenze contra piacere niente vi scrivo. però che più tosto co' lagrime che con inchiostro sarebbe da dimostrare [...]

*Data in Firenze adi XXVIII d'agosto MCCCXLI.*¹

Non è difficile quindi trovare nell'opera del Boccaccio espressioni di entusiasmo per le bellezze e le mille attrattive di quella Napoli, talora definita "virgiliana". Mi limiterò qui a citare due quartine tratte dalle *Rime*:

Inter' Barbaro monte e'l mar Tirreno
sied'l lago d'Averno, intorniato
da calde fonti e dal sinistro lato
gli sta Pozzuoli, ed al destro Miseno.

Il qual sent'ora ogni suo grembo pieno
di belle donne, avendo riacquistato

¹ Cfr. Boccaccio 1992, 543.

le frondi, la verdura e'l tempo ornato
di feste, di diletto e di sereno.²

Solo una volta il Boccaccio credette di poter realizzare il sogno di ritornare nella città tanto rimpiaanta, ma, come si ricava da una lunga lettera indirizzata a Francesco Nelli nel 1363, fu trattato in modo così altezzoso e sgarbato, che fu costretto a fuggire a Venezia, dove fu accolto affettuosamente dal Petrarca.³

La Napoli rimpiaanta dal Boccaccio è quella in cui regnarono i primi tre sovrani angioini, proprio quelli tanto detestati dalla nostra storiografia risorgimentale; quando, nel 1888, Tommaso Solaro, su incarico di re Umberto I, raffigurò Carlo I d'Angiò nella facciata del Palazzo Reale di Napoli, gli conferì ovviamente un'espressione torva e crudele, mentre bella ed amabile appare la figura del suo predecessore, Federico II di Svevia. Se Federico II ebbe il grande merito di creare a Napoli una delle più antiche università d'Europa – la terza dopo quelle di Parigi e di Bologna e la prima università statale, dove non c'era la facoltà di teologia – il suo contributo urbanistico fu inesistente, anche perché non a Napoli, ma a Palermo egli volle fissare la sede della sua corte.

Quelli che arricchirono Napoli di mille splendidi monumenti – a partire dal Maschio Angioino – e soprattutto di magnifiche chiese gotiche; tra le quali mi basterà ricordare la cattedrale di S. Lorenzo Maggiore, la chiesa di S. Domenico Maggiore e quella di S. Chiara, furono proprio i sovrani angioini. Perfino la chiesa di S. Anna dei Lombardi (o di Monteoliveto), dove si conserva lo splendido *Compianto su Cristo depresso* di Guido Mazzoni, del 1492, celebrazione figurata della corte aragonese, era stata fondata nel 1411 da Gorello Origlia, protonotaro di re Ladislao d'Angiò-Durazzo.⁴

Un altro elogio di Napoli si può trovare nell'epistola XXI di un umanista siciliano, Giovanni Aurispa, vissuto a Napoli negli anni della sua adolescenza, tra il 1390 e il 1402: “Neapolis per id tempus civitas erat omnium quae in Italia sunt amoenissima” (In quel tempo, Napoli era la città più bella tra tutte quelle che sono in Italia).⁵ La Napoli di cui parla l'Aurispa era quella durazzesca, illustrata in particolare dallo splendido monumento funebre di Ladislao d'Angiò-Durazzo, nella Chiesa di S. Giovanni a Carbonara.

² Cfr. *Rime* LXI, Boccaccio 1992, 61.

³ Cfr. Boccaccio, *Ep.* XIII (giugno 1363), Boccaccio 1992, 596–629. Francesco Nelli, priore di SS. Apostoli a Firenze, su invito del siniscalco Niccolò Acciaiuoli, si trasferì a Napoli nel 1361, dove ottenne una carica di prestigio.

⁴ Cfr. Vitale 2013.

⁵ Cfr. Aurispa 1931, 32. La lettera, indirizzata al giurista Niccolò d'Ancona, è datata Bologna, 22 agosto 1422.

Ancora più entusiasta della bellezza di Napoli appare proprio il re francese che la conquistò, quel Carlo VIII, che così si esprime in una lettera inviata il 28 marzo del 1495 al duca di Borbone, suo fratello:

[...] vous ne pourriez croire les beaux jardins que j'ai en ceste ville, car, sur ma foy, il semble qu'il n'y faille qu'Adam et Eve pour en faire un paradis terrestre [...].⁶

[...] voi non potreste credere i bei giardini che ho in questa città, perché, in fede mia, sembra che non manchino che Adamo ed Eva per farne un paradiso terrestre [...]

Con Carlo VIII, siamo ormai arrivati al tramonto del regno, un tramonto tanto imprevisto quanto rapido e catastrofico.

Pochi anni dopo, nel 1501, mentre si accingeva a lasciare Napoli, per accompagnare nell'esilio di Francia l'amato ultimo re di Napoli, Federico d'Aragona, così la salutava Iacopo Sannazaro:

Ad Patriam, antequam iret in exilium
Parthenope mihi culta vale, blandissima Siren,
atque horti valeant Hesperidesque tuae.
Mergillina vale, nostri memor et mea flentis
serta cape, heu, domini munera avara tui.
Maternae salvete umbrae, salvete paternae,
accipite et vestris turea dona focis.
Neve nega optatos, virgo Sebethias, amnes
abstentique tuas det mihi somnus aquas.
Det fesso aestivas umbras sopor et levis aura
flumina ipsa suo lene sonent strepitu.
Exilium nam sponte sequor, Sors ipsa favebit;
fortibus haec solita est saepe et adesse viris.
Et mihi sunt comites Musae, sunt numina vatam
et mens laeta suis gaudet ab auspiciis.
Blanditurque animi constans sententia, quamvis
exilii meritum sit satis ipsa fides.⁷

Addio, adorata Partenope, addio, dolcissima Sirena, addio, giardino delle Esperidi! Addio, Mergellina, ricordati di me ed accetta questa corona bagnata dal mio pianto, ahimè, piccolo dono del tuo signore. Addio, ombra della madre ed ombra del padre; accettate l'incenso che getto sul vostro altare. O vergine, ninfa del Sebeto, non negarmi la tua acqua; fa' che io la possa vedere anche da lontano, in sogno. Il sonno mi porti, quando sarò stanco, l'ombra tua estiva; la brezza leggera ed il

⁶ Cfr. De Dovitiis 2011, 332.

⁷ Cf. Iacopo Sannazaro, *Epigrammata* III, 9 (Sannazaro 1964).

tuo stesso fiume mi facciano sentire il loro lieve mormorio. Spontaneamente infatti vado in esilio, e la fortuna mi aiuterà, poiché suole assistere gli uomini coraggiosi. Mi accompagnano le Muse, mi accompagnano i numi tutelari dei poeti, e la mia mente lieta gode dei buoni auspici. Mi conforta la costanza del mio animo, benché, come compenso per l'esilio, mi basti la mia sola fedeltà.

Il regno della dinastia aragonese era durato un po' meno di sessant'anni, dal 1443 al 1500. Di quel regno rimangono a Napoli l'arco di trionfo che si ammira nella facciata del Maschio Angioino, e proprio il già citato *Compianto* della chiesa di S. Anna dei Lombardi. Più che sul piano urbanistico, gli Aragonesi ebbero il merito di far fiorire a Napoli uno dei più illustri circoli letterari dell'umanesimo, quell'Accademia Pontaniana, che annovera i più grandi tra i poeti neolatini del'400: mi basterà ricordare, accanto al Sannazaro, Michele Marullo e Giovanni Pontano. Fu quella una dinastia molto combattuta dalla nobiltà locale ed altrettanto rimpianta, dopo la sua definitiva sconfitta. Dovranno passare due secoli perché Napoli riconquisti non solo il ruolo di capitale di un regno, ma anche un analogo splendore culturale ed artistico.

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“CUM ESSEM MONACHUS,
NIHIL ALIUD FECI,
QUAM QUOD PERDIDI
TEMPUS, ADFLIXI MEAM
VALETUDINEM” (MARTIN
LUTHER), “TIME IS
MONEY” (BENJAMIN
FRANKLIN):



Investigation du concept TEMPUS (temps)

Par Lene Schøsler & Michael Skovgaard-Hansen

The aim of our investigation is to test the hypothesis that language, society and conceptualisation are connected in such a way that societal and conceptual changes manifest themselves in the language. We use the texts of Calvin and Luther as objects of investigation, more precisely their use of the word tempus, because their period witnessed remarkable changes in society and ideology. Our investigation presents a chronological analysis of the use of the word tempus and raises the following questions: Its exact meaning in classical antiquity? Identical meaning during the Reformation? Influence of the Greek equivalent in the original New Testament? Did the catchword “Time is money” originate with the reformers? (Max Weber)

Introduction

Inspirés par la recherche de Marianne Pade sur les modifications dénotatives des mots-clés politiques depuis les langues classiques aux langues vernaculaires, prenant en considération l’influence des conditions politiques et sociales (voir par exemple Pade 2021), le but de notre contribution est d’examiner l’évolution du concept TEMPUS (temps).¹ À cette fin, nous allons combiner trois théories. La première concerne le lien entre notre

¹ La citation dans le titre provient de Luther, *In genesin enarrationes* 29 (Luther 2002–2020) (Quand j’étais moine, je ne faisais que gaspiller mon temps et nuire à ma santé). – Écrit en majuscules, TEMPUS, renvoie au concept dénoté par les formes du mot lexical latin *tempus* ou ses équivalents dans d’autres langues, soit en français *temps* ou en anglais *time*.

conceptualisation et le langage. Il existe une version forte concernant la nature de ce lien, connu comme “the Sapir & Whorf hypothesis of linguistic relativity”, selon laquelle le langage forme nos concepts dans la mesure où la langue conditionne la vision du monde d'une communauté linguistique, car les catégories linguistiques déterminent notre catégorisation cognitive. Notre approche repose sur une version faible de la relativité linguistique, affirmant une influence réciproque entre la langue, la société et la conceptualisation, influence qui se matérialise concrètement, selon notre hypothèse, de sorte que les changements sociaux et conceptuels se manifestent dans des changements linguistiques. La deuxième hypothèse, compatible avec la première, caractérisée par l'idée du relativisme épistémologique, propose une systématisation des réalisations linguistiques de notre conceptualisation. Selon Lakoff et Johnson, cette conception est ancrée dans les expériences du monde physique² et les concepts au moyen desquels nous appréhendons les aspects de l'expérience sont d'emblée métaphoriques. La troisième hypothèse s'inspire de Max Weber,³ elle vise à examiner le rapprochement souvent fait entre l'éthique protestante et l'esprit du capitalisme, en particulier l'importance du travail. Concrètement, nous allons explorer l'usage d'un concept clé, TEMPUS, dans le but de constater si son usage se modifie, et si ces modifications ont un rapport avec des changements survenus pendant la période des Réformateurs.

Notre recherche présuppose d'abord une investigation chronologique de l'usage du mot *tempus* et implique les questions suivantes: Que signifie ce mot dans l'Antiquité? Quelle est sa signification chez les Réformateurs qui se réfèrent aux écrits de l'Antiquité? Est-il pertinent d'examiner son usage dans le Nouveau Testament grec et latin? S'agit-il d'un changement d'usage pendant la Réforme? Pour répondre à ces questions, nous allons puiser nos informations dans les diverses ressources disponibles, entre autres les dictionnaires. Afin de comprendre l'usage des Réformateurs, nous allons explorer leurs écrits. Nous avons choisi de nous concentrer sur l'usage du mot *tempus* chez Calvin et Luther. Notre choix s'explique par l'idée mentionnée ci-dessus et très répandue que le capitalisme et l'importance du travail remontent à l'éthique protestante, en particulier au calvinisme. Notre investigation vise à examiner s'il est possible de prouver cette idée à l'aide des écrits des deux Réformateurs. En effet, une réflexion correspondant à la devise de Benjamin Franklin, “time is money” (v. ci-dessous) existe-t-elle

² Lakoff & Johnson 1999.

³ Weber 2016.

déjà chez nos deux auteurs?⁴ On verra que notre étude va combiner les trois domaines de la linguistique, de l’histoire des idées et de la sociologie.⁵

Le point de départ des Réformateurs: le sens de TEMPUS dans l’Antiquité et dans le Nouveau Testament, introduction

Il faut distinguer au moins trois sources d’inspiration pour la compréhension de TEMPUS chez les Réformateurs: premièrement la tradition classique du latin dans laquelle ils sont formés, deuxièmement la Vulgate du Nouveau Testament (dorénavant NT),⁶ et troisièmement l’original grec du Nouveau Testament, source des Réformateurs, qui sera de nouveau traduit par les Humanistes en latin et notamment en langue vernaculaire pour devenir le texte de référence de la Réforme.

En ce qui concerne notre sujet, il est intéressant d’observer qu’une des désignations clés de la notion de temps, à savoir *kairos* dans la version grecque, où elle figure 86 fois, se traduit de façon assez conséquente en Vulgate par le terme *tempus*. Formés en grec, mais maîtrisant avant tout la langue latine, les Réformateurs associent sans doute le terme grec au terme latin en utilisant *tempus*. Dans ce qui suit, nous allons rappeler quelques différences fondamentales entre la conception du temps dans les deux traditions qui nous intéressent, celle de l’Antiquité gréco-latine et celle de la religion chrétienne (catholique, et plus tard réformée),⁷ en particulier la distinction entre la conception cyclique dans la tradition grecque et la conception chrétienne qui est linéaire et irréversible. On verra néanmoins qu’il faudra revoir le caractère strict de cette opposition.

Definition du mot *tempus*

Afin de définir le mot-clé *tempus*, nous avons d’abord consulté le dictionnaire Lewis & Short 1879 (1961). On y distingue deux utilisations que nous allons

⁴ Si nous inversons la chronologie des deux auteurs (Luther 1483–1546, Calvin 1509–1564), cela s’explique par les considérations suivantes: *primo*, les textes de Calvin sont plus facilement accessibles que ceux de Luther, *secundo*, nous allons exploiter la traduction française par Calvin de son *Institutio* qui nous permettra de vérifier notre interprétation de son utilisation du mot latin, dans la mesure où les passages sont traduits en français. *Tertio* nous venons de constater que l’idée répandue de l’influence de l’éthique protestante sur le capitalisme renvoie en particulier au calvinisme.

⁵ Nous tenons à remercier notre collègue Bruno Courbon de l’Université Laval, Québec, pour sa disponibilité à revoir une version antérieure de notre texte et pour ses remarques utiles, tant sur le fond que sur la forme.

⁶ La Vulgate n’est qu’une des versions qui circulent au début du Moyen Âge. Généralement reconnue depuis l’époque de Charlemagne, elle n’acquiert pourtant une position officielle que lors du Concile de Trente (1546) et cela dans l’Église catholique.

⁷ Nous utilisons le terme Réforme, Réformateurs pour l’ensemble des oppositions à l’église catholique, qu’elles soient évangélique, protestante, calviniste ou autre.

désigner comme quantitative ou qualitative. Selon la première, le mot dénote un point ou une période limitée, souvent associé à *spatium: tempus et spatium* (temps et espace) éventuellement précisé à l’aide d’une épithète comme *tempus committendi proelii* (le moment pour livrer bataille). La deuxième utilisation est qualitative, d’abord référant au terme grec *kairos*, illustré par “nunc occasio est et tempus” (il est maintenant le moment propice et le temps) En effet, *occasio* va devenir la traduction standard de *kairos* en latin. Il dénote la chance, le moment déterminant, le moment opportun pour agir, qui se retrouve fréquemment dans son emploi adverbial *tempore* (au moment opportun). Un second usage qualitatif est souvent associé négativement, pour signaler des situations désagréables ou coercitives: “tempori cedere, id est necessitati” (céder aux temps, c’est-à-dire aux circonstances). Nous allons retrouver ces utilisations du mot *tempus* dans les textes des Réformateurs, mais nous allons démontrer dans la section suivante que la désignation qualitative du mot *tempus*, proche de *kairos*, va acquérir un rôle particulier dans la tradition chrétienne.

S’il est intéressant que Lewis et Short renvoient à *kairos*, leur présentation des sens lexicaux laissent pourtant à désirer. Pour cette raison, nous nous sommes tournés vers *Oxford Latin Dictionary*.⁸ Ici le sens est structuré en 14 sections qui nous intéressent particulièrement, car certaines divisions correspondent à ce que nous allons désigner comme des métaphores (dans le sens de Lakoff et de Johnson, voir plus loin la section “*Tempus* comme métaphore”). Nous retenons dans OLD les sections 3–5, avec les mot-clés “period” (respectivement “season (of the year)”, “a (particular) period in history”, “a period of time (w. respect to duration)”), correspondant en gros à la métaphore 3, “Time as a container”. Section 6: “A sufficiency of time (for particular purpose), time available” correspond à la métaphore 4, “Time as a resource”. Section 7, “The passage of time” correspond à la métaphore 1, “The moving time”. L’irréversibilité du temps est bien illustrée par le passage de Virgile “fugit irreparabile tempus”, *Georg.* 3, 284 (le temps s’enfuit irrévocablement). Les sections 8 et 9, respectivement “the proper or due time” et “a favourable or convenient time” correspondent *grosso modo* à notre notion de *kairos*, donc, selon notre classification, à la métaphore 4. Exemples: Sen. *Ep.* 89, 15, “si in ipsa rerum actione tempora ignores nec scias quando quidque [...] agi debeat” (Si en pleine action tu ignores les moments propices et ne sais pas quand il faut faire quoi [...]) et Cic. *Fam.* 10, 5, 3 “gratiae gloriaeque cave tempus amittas” (attention à ne pas perdre l’occasion d’influence et d’honneur).

⁸ Glare & Stray 2012; Désormais OLD.

Kairos

La traduction standard du terme grec *kairos*⁹ renvoie au moment propice, à une occasion favorable, aux saisons de l’année, ou simplement à ce qui est utile ou avantageux. À ceci, Bauer ajoute les sens suivants: ‘Gegenwart’ (temps présent), ‘bestimmte, festgesetzte Zeit’ (temps déterminé et fixé), et surtout ‘Endzeit’ (la fin des temps) dans son emploi eschatologique.¹⁰ Bref, *kairos* ne désigne pas un moment quelconque. Ces précisions nous permettent de cerner le terme grec afin de comparer la conception du temps de l’Antiquité gréco-romaine avec celle de la religion chrétienne.

Caractériser la conception du temps de l’Antiquité comme cyclique comporte une part de généralisation, qui laisse de côté la tradition lacunaire des philosophes présocratiques, d’Aristote et des Épicuriens, et qui ignore le fait qu’il existe d’autres visions que celles des philosophes, c’est-à-dire celle de la métaphysique. Néanmoins, dans l’Antiquité domine une attitude d’hostilité contre la matière, contre la diversité, le mouvement, le changement et, au contraire, une attraction vers l’idéal, l’homogénéité et la constance. Nietzsche utilise les termes “apollinien” et “dionysiaque” pour désigner cette opposition. Des paires comparables sont Zeus et Kronos,¹¹ Zeus et *Kairos*, Parménide et Héraclite: permanence – flux perpétuel, Formes/Idees – Phénomènes/Réalité sensible (Platon) et *sophia* (la sagesse philosophique) – *metis* (la ruse de l’intelligence). N’oublions pas comment Ulysse, *polymetis* (débrouillard), s’est organisé grâce à *metis*, pour échapper de la caverne du cyclope à l’aide d’un bélier. Or, pour sortir de la caverne de Platon, depuis le monde des ombres vers la lumière, il faut *sophia*, un bélier n’est pas d’utilité. La paire d’opposition Zeus – *Kairos* est moins bien connue. Selon un mythe transmis par Pausanias, *Kairos* était le fils cadet de Zeus, destiné à le renverser. Le cadet a négligé la chance de saisir le pouvoir, car il perdait son temps à courtiser la déesse *Tyche*, dont le nom en latin est *Fortuna*. *Kairos* est représenté avec une chevelure fournie sur le front, la nuque chauve, ailé, sur les pointes des pieds ou en courant. C’est un jeune homme très beau, comparé dans l’Antiquité avec Dionysos, fait pertinent dans notre contexte. Il passe rapidement: pour le saisir, il faut réagir vite, en le prenant par les cheveux du front. Si on hésite à profiter de son passage mais qu’on se ravise en cherchant à le saisir par les cheveux, les mains glissent sur sa nuque dégarnie.

⁹ Voir par ex. Berg 1950 et Liddell & Scott & Jones 1940.

¹⁰ Bauer 1971.

¹¹ Les philosophes grecs, par exemple Platon, ont identifié, par erreur, le titan Kronos, fils d’Ouranos, avec le terme *chronos* ‘temps’. Pourtant, il n’y a pas de lien étymologique entre les deux termes.

Ainsi, *Kairos* est associé à *Tyche/Fortuna*, il exige la maîtrise de *metis* devant l'imprévisible et l'irrationnel. Le terme *kairos* a un sens comparable en rhétorique, par exemple chez les sophistes et chez Isocrate. L'art (*techne*) de l'orateur se développe devant un public relativement imprévisible, et son talent consiste à choisir les formules appropriées au bon moment, *kairos*. Pareillement pour *techne*, le talent d'un artiste, par exemple un sculpteur, confronté la matière irrationnelle, dont il va dégager son secret. Son expérience, *empeiria*, lui permettra de saisir *kairos* par les cheveux. *Kairos* correspond au moment où l'action humaine vient rencontrer un processus naturel qui se développe au rythme de sa durée propre.¹² En conséquence de cette pensée, les expériences scientifiques de l'Antiquité n'étaient pas considérées comme vérifiables grâce à leur reproductibilité, car celle-ci dépendait, selon eux, de *tyche*.

La conception du temps dans l'Antiquité et chez les chrétiens

Nous venons de voir que pour les Anciens le temps ne se concevait pas uniquement comme cyclique (chez les philosophes), mais aussi comme irréversible: *Kairos* passe en volant, imprévisible, et ne revient pas si on est incapable de le saisir. C'est au croisement de la métaphysique rationnelle et désacralisée des philosophes et les versatilités de la vie entre *fortuna* et *kairos*, que se place le Dieu chrétien, créateur du monde, qu'il ne faut pas confondre avec celui de Platon, le démiurge du *Timée*. Le Dieu chrétien n'est pas seulement créateur, mais aussi celui qui soutient sa création, car après la création et la chute originelle, il envoie d'abord la Loi, ensuite son Fils, c'est-à-dire en terme théologique: la Grâce, pour que les chrétiens vivent dans l'attente du Jugement dernier et de l'Éternité. Pour les Anciens il y avait certes des dieux, mais ceux-ci n'intervenaient aucunement dans la vie des hommes, selon les Épicuriens, adhérents à la métaphysique presque athée de l'atomisme. Comment alors expliquent-ils l'existence des dieux? Ces derniers symbolisent un état de béatitude permanente. Prétendre que les dieux n'existent pas serait dans l'Antiquité une preuve de folie, tout comme clamer qu'il n'existe pas de procès naturels, par exemple la mort, non maîtrisés par les hommes. Les Anciens étaient d'ailleurs généralement convaincus de l'existence des dieux, car ceux-ci se manifestaient souvent dans leurs rêves.¹³

Pour les chrétiens, Dieu a non seulement créé le monde, mais il dirige l'Histoire. *Tyche/Fortuna* se font remplacer par la volonté divine, *Kairos* s'est séparé de *Fortuna* pour s'allier à *Ekklesia*, l'Église. *K(Ch)ronos*, dévorant ses enfants, se fait renverser de son trône par *Kairos*. Selon le Nouveau

¹² Vernant 1971, 59.

¹³ Voir par exemple l'*Onirocritique* d'Artémidore de Daldis (fl. 101 apr. J.-C.).

Testament¹⁴ *kairos* désigne non seulement le moment opportun, mais aussi l’intervention divine, en particulier au moment de l’Apocalypse. Cette analyse nous permet de revenir aux définitions déjà énoncées: *kairos* ne désigne pas un moment quelconque, mais un moment particulier, pour les chrétiens un moment créé par Dieu.

Nous avons affirmé ci-dessus que la conception du temps des Réformateurs ainsi que leur usage de termes liés au temps sont sans doute influencés par leurs études des originaux grecs du Nouveau Testament. C’est la raison pour laquelle il nous a semblé indispensable d’étudier de près l’évolution de *kairos*. Les lectures grecques des Réformateurs nourrissent leur opposition à l’Église catholique ainsi qu’à la tradition de la Vulgate, dans laquelle ils étaient pourtant formés.

Tempus/kairos dans le Nouveau Testament (la Vulgate)

Dans la Vulgate, nous avons déjà vu que *kairos* est généralement traduit par le mot *tempus*.

Voici quelques illustrations dans notre corpus : L’arrivée du royaume de Dieu et l’Apocalypse, Évangile de Saint Marc 1, 15: “quoniam impletum est tempus [*kairos* dans l’original grec] et appropinquavit regnum dei” (le temps est accompli, et le royaume de Dieu est proche);¹⁵ Apocalypse de Saint Jean 11, 18: “et advenit ira tua et tempus [*kairos*] mortuorum iudicari et reddere mercedem” (et ta colère est venue, et le temps est venu de juger les morts, de récompenser).

Kairos concerne Dieu aussi bien que les hommes: Évangile de Saint Jean 7, 6: “tempus [*kairos*] meum nondum advenit: tempus [*kairos*] autem vestrum semper est paratum” ([Jésus leur dit:] mon temps n’est pas encore venu, mais votre temps est toujours prêt); Évangile de Saint Marc 13, 33: Videte, vigilate et orate: nescitis enim quando tempus [*kairos*] sit (Prenez garde, veillez et priez; car vous ne savez quand ce temps viendra).

Différence entre *chronos* (précisé dans la citation à l’aide de l’adjectif *aionios* (éternel)¹⁶ et *kairos*: Épître de Saint Paul à Tite 1, 3, “[...] spem vitae aeternae quam promisit qui non mentitur Deus ante tempora [*chronos*] saecularia: manifestavit autem temporibus [*kairos*] suis verbum suum in praedicatione [...]” ([...] l’espérance de la vie éternelle, promise dès les plus

¹⁴ Pour le NT grec, v. Nestle & Aland 1963.

¹⁵ Marc 1, 15: Erasmus traduit *kairos* par *tempus*, Erasmus 1516, 72. Photo: <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/PR-C-00002-00009/146>.

¹⁶ *Aion*, adjectif dérivé *aionios*. Dans NT *aion* ne désigne pas l’éternité, mais une période de longue durée, souvent au pluriel en grec, accompagné d’adjectifs, comme dans la citation. Il y a une distinction entre “cette période”, *aion outos*, c’est-à-dire la période précédant le salut, et “le futur”, *aion mellon*, dans son sens apocalyptique, à savoir le règne de Dieu. L’adjectif *aionios* est presque toujours utilisé dans le sens ‘éternel’.

anciens temps par le Dieu qui ne ment point, et qui a manifesté sa parole en son temps par la prédication [...]).

La destruction de Jérusalem, Évangile de Saint Luc 19,44:

et ad terram prosternent te et filios tuos, qui in te sunt et non relinquunt in te lapidem super lapidem: eo quod non cognoveris tempus [*kairos*] visitationis tuae.

ils te détruiront, toi et tes enfants au milieu de toi, et ils ne laisseront pas en toi pierre sur pierre, parce que tu n'as pas connu le temps où tu as été visitée.

Tempus dans les écrits de Calvin et de Luther, introduction

Notre étude de l'emploi du mot *tempus* dans les écrits de Calvin et de Luther est basée sur l'exploration quantitative et qualitative du contexte du mot-clé. Nous avons analysé des versions numérisées des deux Réformateurs, d'abord l'*Institutio religionis Christianae* (1536) de Calvin et sa propre traduction française, *Institution de la Religion Chrétienne* (1541, 1559, 1560, voir les références). Nous avons inclus la version française afin de contrôler notre interprétation du mot *tempus* dans les passages parallèles. Toutes les formes du mot-clé dans le texte de Calvin ont été analysées à l'aide des outils électroniques et à la main. Pour Luther, la situation est différente, vu la nature hétérogène (mélange d'allemand et de latin) et la taille du corpus. Nous avons exploré le corpus de Luther à partir de la version de Weimar numérisée à l'aide d'outils appropriés, puis les résultats ont été examinés manuellement.¹⁷

Analyse quantitative de Calvin

Nous avons commencé l'étude de Calvin par une simple liste des mots les plus fréquents. Sans surprise, ce sont surtout des mots grammaticaux – le seul mot lexical des 16 formes les plus fréquentes est une forme déclinée de *Deus*, voir la liste à fréquence décroissante: *et* 9497, *non* 6404, *est* 5488, *ut* 4724, *ad* 4400, *quod* 3949, *esse* 3644, *sed* 3111, *qui* 2933, *dei* 2894, *si* 2737, *quam* 2556, *se* 2483, *quae* 2380, *ac* 2210, *ex* 1992. Calvin emploie une forme du mot *tempus* 328 fois: *tempore* (110, c'est le no 443 sur la liste de fréquence), *tempus* (103, le no 471), *temporis* (47), *temporum* (34), *tempora* (21), *temporibus* (13).

¹⁷ Nos données proviennent de Calvin 2005 (*Institutio* se trouve dans le vol. 2) et de Luther 2002–2020, édition numérisée de l'édition de Weimar de l'œuvre de Luther. Notre accès a été assuré via la Bibliothèque Royale de Copenhague. Nous tenons à remercier J. Ramminger pour son soutien dans l'exploration des corpus numérisés. Il a créé les listes de fréquence et les concordances.

À partir des listes de fréquence nous avons examiné quels mots apparaissent le plus souvent dans le contexte d’une forme de *tempus*. Le contexte a été défini en tant que quatre mots avant ou après une forme de *tempus*. Les 16 mots les plus fréquents dans le contexte sont: *ad* 73, *et* 56, *in* 50, *quo* 42, *ut* 41, *non* 32, *est* 31, *sed* 22, *suo* 20, *pro* 18, *quod* 18, *si* 18, *de* 18, *eo* 18, *esse* 17, *fuisse* 17.

Ce résultat correspond grosso modo à la fréquence absolue des formes citées ci-dessus, avec beaucoup de mots grammaticaux, y compris des formes du verbe *sum*. Nous en déduisons que les statistiques brutes ne révèlent pas un lien particulier entre ces mots et *tempus*, car elles ne font que refléter leur fréquence générale, et qu’il faudra par conséquent procéder à une analyse plus qualitative afin d’identifier des cooccurrences qui puissent nous éclairer sur l’usage du mot-clé. En procédant ainsi nous avons l’espoir de démontrer des cas de continuité et/ou de changement par rapport à l’usage classique. Nous avons fait le choix de limiter notre investigation aux verbes précédant ou suivant le mot-clé, celui-ci fonctionnant comme sujet ou complément d’objet direct. Cette partie de notre investigation combine l’analyse quantitative et qualitative.

Analyse quantitative-qualitative de Calvin et de Luther

Les concordances KWIC (“key-word in context”, mot-clé en contexte) avec une forme du mot *tempus* constituent la base de notre investigation. Nous avons retenu la combinatoire des verbes les plus fréquents précédant ou suivant immédiatement une forme de *tempus* ayant la fonction de sujet ou d’objet. Les formes du verbe *sum* n’ont pas été incluses, étant donnée que pour *sum* c’est plutôt l’attribut et pas le verbe qui pourrait se révéler pertinent pour une étude qualitative, car ce verbe est rarement lexical, il fonctionne le plus souvent comme verbe copule. Une étude de *tempus* combiné avec le verbe lexical *sum* dans le sens ‘exister’ n’a pas été possible, vu la difficulté d’identifier l’usage lexical dans le corpus.

Tempus comme métaphore

Pourquoi avoir choisi d’examiner les contextes dans lesquels *tempus* figure comme sujet ou complément de verbes lexicaux? Notre choix est basé sur une hypothèse, compatible avec une certaine version du relativisme linguistique de Sapir et de Whorf (voir ci-dessus), élaborée par Lakoff et Johnson¹⁸ et désignée par le terme relativisme épistémologique. L’idée est que les expériences basiques du quotidien s’expriment grâce à des expressions révélant les attitudes et les valeurs fondamentales que partagent les locuteurs

¹⁸ Lakoff & Johnson 1980, Lakoff & Johnson 1999.

d’une communauté linguistique. Dans leurs recherches combinant l’histoire de la philosophie, l’anthropologie et la linguistique, les auteurs procèdent de façon systématique à des analyses métaphoriques du langage, couvrant la vaste gamme d’usages depuis des civilisations peu connues à ceux des philosophes. Leur analyse métaphorique du concept de TEMPUS est éclairante pour notre propos, notamment la “metaphorization of time”.¹⁹ Il ne faut pas confondre leur terme avec l’usage classique du mot métaphore, qui désigne une figure de style qui consiste à utiliser un mot ou une expression en lui donnant par analogie ou ressemblance un sens qu’on attribuerait normalement à un autre mot. Pour Lakoff et Johnson, la métaphorisation consiste à interpréter un phénomène cognitif à l’aide de termes provenant d’un domaine différent, le but étant de permettre une systématisation des phénomènes cognitifs, qui sont issus de nos expériences quotidiennes et qui s’expriment dans notre langage. L’étude systématique des emplois métaphoriques, tels qu’ils se manifestent concrètement dans le contexte du mot *tempus* dans nos corpus va nous révéler, espérons-nous, les attitudes sous-jacentes des Réformateurs.

Nous allons nous référer à quatre métaphores proposées par Lakoff et Johnson, 1 “the moving time metaphor”, 2 “the moving observer metaphor”, 3 “time as a container” et 4 “time as a resource”, voir la section sur la définition du mot *tempus* plus haut, en particulier les exemples cités de l’OLD illustrant trois de ces métaphores. Les deux premières envisagent le concept TEMPUS par rapport à un mouvement dans l’espace. La première, illustrée par les exemples suivants: “The deadline is approaching”, “time is flying by”²⁰ (la date butoir s’approche, le temps s’envole), conçoit le temps en tant que mouvement dans l’espace. La deuxième implique la présence d’un observateur suivant un mouvement dans un espace, ponctué d’étapes, voir les exemples suivants: “We passed the deadline” (nous avons dépassé la date butoir), “We’ve reached June already” (il est déjà juin).²¹ Si la première métaphore s’associe facilement avec l’image du temps qui s’écoule comme un fleuve, la seconde évoque l’image de l’observateur en mouvement, pour qui le passé est derrière lui, le futur devant lui. La troisième métaphore n’implique pas de mouvement, mais une localisation dans un espace clos, comme l’illustre l’exemple “Harry had a heart attack during the rock concert” (Harry a eu un AVC pendant le concert rock);²² en d’autres mots: le concert rock est conçu comme un espace clos où se déroule l’action. Selon la quatrième métaphore le temps est interprété comme une ressource, riche ou

¹⁹ Lakoff & Johnson 1999, 139–153.

²⁰ Lakoff & Johnson 1999, 143.

²¹ Lakoff & Johnson 1999, 146.

²² Lakoff & Johnson 1999, 154.

maigre, illustrée par les exemples suivants: “time ran out”, et “you have some time left” (le temps a expiré, il vous reste encore du temps).²³

Après la présentation du cadre théorique de l’investigation, nous allons examiner l’usage des formes du mot *tempus* en tant que sujet ou complément d’objet dans les textes de Calvin et de Luther, en nous référant aux quatre métaphores. En effet, TEMPUS nous semble particulièrement intéressant pour éclairer le rapport entre les catégorisations cognitives et linguistiques. Tout en étant un concept communément partagé par les humains, il n’est nullement universel dans le sens que tous les êtres humains le conçoivent ou l’expriment de la même façon. Au contraire, les connotations ainsi que les dénnotations d’un concept tel que TEMPUS se modifient au cours du temps, reflétant des changements sociaux des locuteurs.²⁴ Nous défendrons l’hypothèse que la conception du temps en tant que ressource (la quatrième métaphore ci-dessus) va se modifier, depuis l’Antiquité à l’époque moderne, avec la période de la Réforme comme une étape charnière, à cause des changements sociaux et religieux.

Les métaphores de *tempus* chez Calvin et Luther: Calvin

Nous avons étudié l’ensemble des verbes lexicaux dans le contexte immédiat d’une forme de *tempus*, à partir d’une concordance KWIC de l’*Institutio*. Nous avons relevé six cas de *tempus* en fonction de sujet du verbe *venio* (venir), quatre sujets postposés, deux antéposés; nous avons rencontré deux sujets postposés aux verbes *finio* (finir) et *urgeo* (presser). En fonction de complément d’objet direct, *tempus* suit les verbes *muto* (changer), *dico* (dire) et *terro* (user), chacun un cas. Les exemples de *venio* et d’*urgeo* illustrent le premier type de métaphore présenté ci-dessus: “the moving time metaphor”, car le temps y est en mouvement, voir les exemples cités ci-dessous. Il est intéressant que le cas comportant le verbe *muto* illustre non seulement le mouvement du temps, donc le type 1 “the moving time metaphor”, mais aussi un pouvoir, *dominus*, cause du mouvement, mais qui n’est pas un observateur. Voilà pourquoi cet exemple n’illustre pas le deuxième type de métaphore. Le type 3 “time as a container, the space-time metaphor”, est exemplifié avec le verbe *finio*; il s’agit de signaler un moment ponctuel dans un espace limité. Finalement, le type 4 “time as a resource”, avec le verbe *terro*, comporte une critique envers ceux qui perdent leur temps; en d’autres mots, le temps est interprété comme une ressource limitée. Ci-dessous sont cités les trois types de métaphores relevés dans *Institutio*, on notera l’absence du type 2 “the moving observer metaphor”; nous y reviendrons ci-dessous.

²³ Lakoff & Johnson 1999, 161.

²⁴ Voir Lakoff & Johnson 1999, 150–151.

Type 1 “the moving time metaphor”

Les exemples avec le verbe *venio* illustrent bien cette métaphore: “et ueniet tempus angustiae, quale non fuit ex quo gentes esse coeperunt” (2, 10, 22)²⁵ (et viendra un temps de détresse, un tel qui n’est pas arrivé depuis la genèse des peuples); on rencontre également d’autres verbes, par exemple *muto*: “dominus mutat tempora et uices temporum, abiicit reges et instituit” (1, 8, 8) (le seigneur change les temps et leurs vicissitudes, il renverse et installe les rois).

Type 3 “time as a container”

“annis septuaginta finiret tempus captivitatis” (1, 8, 8) (en soixante-dix années serait terminé le temps de captivité [à propos de l’achèvement de la captivité babylonienne]).

Type 4 “time as a resource”

“dum alii preculas easdem iterando tempus frustra terunt” (3, 20, 29) (tandis qu’il y en a qui en vain gaspillent leur temps en répétant les mêmes prières).

Les métaphores de *tempus* chez Calvin et Luther: Luther

Nous avons exploré suivant les mêmes principes le contexte immédiat d’une forme de *tempus*, sujet ou complément, avec les verbes les plus fréquents chez Luther. Comme expliqué plus haut, le verbe *sum* a été exclu de l’étude. À l’instar de Calvin, le type métaphorique 2 “the moving observer metaphor” brille par son absence. Comme chez Calvin, le verbe *venio* est le verbe lexical le plus fréquent: au total 106 cas, 84 sujets antéposés, 22 postposés. Dans tous ces cas il s’agit de rendre l’image du temps qui avance vers l’observateur, à savoir le type 1 “the moving time metaphor”: “possumus igitur exemplo prophetae dicere, quod tempus ueniet, cum nimium catholici et pacifici papistis erimus” (nous pouvons donc affirmer avec le prophète qu’il viendra un temps où nous serons trop catholiques et paisibles envers les papistes). Les exemples avec *facio* illustrent également le type métaphorique 1.

Le verbe *adsum* est relativement fréquent: 33 sujets, dont 16 antéposés, 17 postposés. Ces constructions présentent le temps comme un espace clos ou comme un point, typique du type métaphorique 3 “time as a container”: “iam adest tempus, omnia impleta quae de eo scripta” (voilà arrivé le moment, tout ce qui est écrit sur lui est accompli). Les verbes *dico* et *video* (usage

²⁵ Les références à Calvin renvoient respectivement au livre, au chapitre, à la section. La concordance de Luther ne permet pas de référence à la source. Notre investigation des deux Réformateurs a été effectuée selon les mêmes principes, mais comme les données luthériennes sont plus volumineuses et plus composites que celles de Calvin, il y aura inévitablement des différences de présentation.

exclusivement passif), et *significo* (formes actives) illustrent également le type 3.

Nous rencontrons *tempus* comme sujet du verbe *perdo* dans des constructions passives qui expriment toutes la perte du temps ou l’incapacité de saisir l’occasion propice, soit le type métaphorique 4 “time as a resource”: “Solum tempus misere perditur” (seul le temps est gaspillé misérablement). Le verbe *terro* se rencontre dans des contextes comparables: “primo anno omnia quidem laeta et iucunda sunt, teritur tempus illud risu et blanditiis” (pendant la première année tout est sans doute gai et joyeux, [mais] le temps est gaspillé en rires et en divertissements).

Une forme de *tempus* en fonction de complément d’objet se rencontre le plus souvent avec le verbe *perdo*: 41 occurrences, 15 antéposées, 26 postposées); tous les cas expriment la perte du temps ou l’occasion ratée, soit le type 4 “time as a resource”, illustrée ici par la parole de Luther sur sa vie monacale: “cum essem monachus, nihil aliud feci, quam quod perdidit tempus, afflixit meam ualeitudinem” (quand j’étais moine je ne faisais que gaspiller mon temps et nuire à ma santé). Nous rencontrons un usage comparable avec le verbe *habeo*: 20 occurrences, dont 19 antéposées, le plus souvent accompagnées d’une négation, fait prévisible, vu le sens de la construction: “ad mortem raperetur, non possit saluari, quia non habet tempus colligendi peccata” (il serait emporté vers la mort, ne pourrait pas être sauvé parce qu’il n’avait pas le temps de méditer sur ses péchés). Les verbes *terro* et *utor* apparaissent également dans ce type métaphorique, type 4 “time as a resource”: “Iam utere tempore, ut gladio contra Turcam” (sers-toi du temps comme tu te sers d’une épée contre le Turc). Le verbe *significo* est assez fréquent: 23 occurrences, dont 18 antéposées, 5 postposées. Ces cas désignent tous une date, une période limitée et une fois la saison. Ils illustrent tous le type métaphorique 3 “time as a container”, “duo scio: unum, quod ‘mane’ in scripturis mystice significat tempus gratiae, quod christus sol iustitiae gratiose oriens illuminat [...]” (je sais deux choses: d’abord que ‘demain’ dans les écrits signifie de façon métaphorique ‘le temps de la grâce’, que le Christ dans sa grâce illumine comme le soleil levant de la justice [...]). Un usage comparable se rencontre avec les verbes *dico*, *video* et *facio*. Comme signalé plus haut, le type métaphorique 2 “the moving observer” est absent du corpus de Luther.

Mise au point de l’analyse quantitative-qualitative de Calvin et de Luther

Dans ce qui précède nous avons présenté les résultats de notre exploration du contexte verbal des formes de *tempus*, sujet ou complément d’objet direct, dans les écrits de Calvin et de Luther, en les évaluant par rapport à des concepts cognitifs. Plus précisément, nous les avons analysés à la lumière des

quatre métaphores de Lakoff & Johnson 1999, “the moving time metaphor”, “the moving observer metaphor”, “time as a container” et “time as a resource”. Nous avons pu constater que trois de ces métaphores éclairent l’usage de *tempus* dans nos données de façon satisfaisante. Elles confirment en même temps notre hypothèse initiale, à savoir qu’il existe une relation de réciprocité entre le niveau cognitif et le niveau du langage.

Nous avons noté chez les deux Réformateurs l’absence du type métaphorique 2 “the moving observer”. Nous proposons que cette absence est conforme à la pensée chrétienne présentée ci-dessus, selon laquelle Dieu dirige l’Histoire et le Temps, nous confinant dans le rôle d’observateur. Les résultats de l’analyse quantitative-qualitative nous motivent à préciser la visée de notre investigation en proposant l’hypothèse que l’interprétation métaphorique du temps comme une ressource va se modifier depuis l’Antiquité aux temps modernes. Nous allons justifier cette hypothèse d’abord en étudiant le sens lexical du mot *tempus* et ensuite en corrélant nos résultats et l’analyse du contexte social approprié.

Investigation lexicale du mot *tempus* chez Calvin et Luther: introduction

Le défi de notre investigation réside dans le fait que le mot *tempus* conserve les mêmes formes sur une longue période de latinité classique et postclassique. Afin de détecter un changement de sens, il nous faut identifier les éventuelles modifications de dénotation du mot à partir d’une étude diachronique des contextes dans lesquels apparaît *tempus*. L’usage classique est décrit dans ce qui suit à l’aide d’ouvrages de référence, en particulier le dictionnaire de Lewis et de Short.²⁶ Ensuite, l’usage classique a été comparé à ceux des Réformateurs, d’abord à celui de Calvin, à l’aide d’une exploration semi-automatique du corpus numérisé, suivi d’une analyse manuelle de chaque occurrence d’une forme de *tempus* dans *Institutio*. L’analyse lexicale a résulté dans un aperçu global des usages du mot. Nous avons pu procéder à une vérification de notre compréhension des usages du mot chez Calvin en comparant l’original latin avec sa propre traduction en français. C’est là un des avantages à étudier Calvin. L’investigation lexicale de l’usage de Luther a été effectuée de manière semi-automatique comparable, à l’aide d’une analyse qualitative des résultats de la concordance KWIC du corpus.

Nous avons brièvement introduit la présentation du mot *tempus* et de ses formes déclinées faite par Lewis et Short ci-dessus. Ce dictionnaire distingue entre son usage en tant que nom et en tant qu’adverbe. Nous allons résumer la présentation de *tempus* comme nom. Lewis et Short identifient deux usages

²⁶ Comme signalé plus haut, la présentation du mot-clé dans Lewis & Short est moins détaillée que celle de l’OLD, présentée plus haut; son avantage pour nous est d’être breve et de renvoyer à kairós.

fondamentaux: concret ou figuré, ce dernier divisé en trois usages, pour lesquels on saisit difficilement les critères de classement:

- Usage concret, indiquant un moment (jour, heure, saison), une période, l'intervalle entre deux moments
- Usage figuré: le concept de TEMPUS
- Usage figuré correspondant à *kairos* (voir ci-dessus), à savoir le moment opportun; le plus souvent au singulier, plus rarement au pluriel
- Usage figuré indiquant une situation ou un état, avantageux ou désavantageux, au singulier et au pluriel.

Toutes les occurrences des formes de Calvin (*Institutio / Institution*) ont été examinées manuellement en prenant en compte les informations puisées dans les ouvrages de référence; nous les avons classées en trois groupes qui seront illustrés ci-dessous:

- Usage quantitatif, objectif ou neutre, indiquant la chronologie, les saisons etc., avec ou sans rapport avec la vie humaine.
- Un premier usage qualitatif lié à la vie humaine, correspondant à *kairos*, à savoir le moment opportun, mais bref, éphémère. Nous pensons que cet usage se modifie pendant la période envisagée.
- Un deuxième usage qualitatif lié à la vie humaine, désignant une durée, une condition humaine de bonne ou de mauvaise nature; c'est avant tout l'idée de condition durable qui distingue cet usage du précédent (de *kairos*).

Nous rappelons que l'analyse des occurrences de *tempus* chez Calvin est ancrée dans son original latin, puis comparée à sa traduction française, à l'exception, évidemment, des passages non traduits, dans le but de consolider notre analyse. Nous présenterons plus loin notre analyse de l'usage de Luther du mot *tempus*.

L'usage de *tempus* chez Calvin

Suivant le classement proposé ci-dessus, nous distinguons trois usages principaux du mot *tempus* chez Calvin:

Usage quantitatif, objectif ou neutre

Cet emploi est de grande fréquence, notamment comme adverbe, signalant une datation, une période: “Gregorii **tempore**” (4, 7, 12, du **temps** de saint Grégoire); la saison: “omnium motum ita temperare, ut dies et noctes, menses,

annos et anni **tempora** metiatur” (1, 14, 21, qu’il a tellement distribué le mouvement et le cours d’une chacune, qu’elles mesurent les temps pour diviser le jour et la nuit, les ans et **leurs saisons**). Nous rencontrons aussi un sens plus abstrait, dénotant ‘l’ordre universel créé’, voir l’exemple suivant, excellente illustration du type métaphorique 3 “time as a container”:

Constituimus ergo rursum, sermonem **extra temporis initium** a Deo conceptum, apud ipsum perpetuo resedisse; unde et aeternitas et vera essentia et divinitas eius comprobatur (1, 13, 8).

Je conclu donc derechef, que la Parole estant conceue de Dieu **devant tous temps**, a tousjours résidé en luy: dont son éternité, sa vraye essence, et sa divinité s’approuve très bien.

Un premier usage qualitatif lié à la vie humaine (*kairos*)

C’est notre conviction que ce premier usage qualitatif du mot *tempus* est particulièrement pertinent pour notre sujet, dans la mesure où nous observons une modification depuis la conception ancienne de *Kairos* et de *Fortuna*, telle qu’elle a été présentée ci-dessus, vers la conception chrétienne, comme l’illustre l’exemple ci-dessous de Calvin (1, 17, 11). Nous attirons l’attention sur le renvoi à la roue de Fortune à l’aide des verbes *volvitur* et *rotatur*, mais dans ce texte chrétien, la roue n’est évidemment plus gouvernée par Fortuna, mais par Dieu. Cette image de Dieu gouvernant la vie des hommes implique le déterminisme, voire la prédestination:

Eadem ratione David (Psal. 31, 16), quia propter varias conversiones, quibus assidue volvitur et quasi rotatur hominum vita, in hoc asyllum se recipit, **tempora** sua esse in manu Dei. Poterat aut vitae cursum, aut **tempus** in singulari numero ponere; sed **temporum** nomine exprimere voluit, quantumvis instabilis sit hominum conditio, quaecunque subinde accidunt vices divinitus gubernari

Par mesme raison David, à cause des révolutions dont la vie humaine est tournée et virée dessus et dessous, a son refuge à ceste doctrine, que les **temps** sont en la main de Dieu, Ps. 31.15. Il pouvoit mettre le cours ou le **temps** de sa vie en nombre singulier: mais [en précisant le mot **temps**] il a voulu mieux exprimer combien que la condition de l’homme n’ait nulle fermeté, mais qu’elle change du jour au lendemain, voire plus souvent: toutesfois quelque variété qui advienc, que le tout est gouverné de Dieu.

Dans ce contexte, nous trouvons particulièrement intéressantes les lamentations du temps gaspillé ou mal employé. Nous les interprétons comme une réinterprétation de l’ancienne conception de *kairos*:

Sed novae rursum curae obstrepebant, imo novi cruciatus excoriabant miseris animas: **non satis temporis impendi**, non iusta opera incubui,

multa per negligentiam praeterii, et oblivio quae ex incuria provenit non est excusabilis (3, 4, 17).

Mais encores nouvelles sollicitudes poignoyent, ou plustost nouveaux tormens escorchoyent les povres âmes, quand ces pensées leur venoyent au-devant: **Je n’y ay pas assez mis de temps**. J’ay omis une partie par nonchalance, et l’oubliance qui provient de négligence n’est pas excusable.

Autre exemple: “Dum alii preculas easdem iterando **tempus frustra terunt**, alii longa verborum congerie apud vulgus se venditant” (3, 20, 29, c’est que les uns en barbotant force Ave Maria, et réitérant cent fois un chapelet, **perdent une partie du temps**, les autres, comme les chanoines et caffars, en abbayant le parchemin jour et nuit, et barbotant leur bréviaire vendent leurs coquilles au peuple).

Un deuxième usage qualitatif lié à la vie humaine

Voici quelques illustrations du deuxième emploi qualitatif du mot *tempus*: “et veniet **tempus** angustiae, quale non fuit ex quo gentes esse coeperunt” (2, 10, 22, et viendra un **temps** de destresse, tel qu’il n’y en a jamais eu depuis que le monde est créé). Nous rencontrons en outre *tempus* dénotant une situation: “Sequuta sunt deinde **tempora** quibus invaluit nimis superstitiosa caelibatus admiratio” (4, 12, 27, exemple non traduit par Calvin, dont le sens équivaut à ceci: s’ensuivirent des **temps** où dominait une trop superstitieuse admiration du célibat).

L’usage de *tempus* chez Luther

Comme chez Calvin, nous distinguons trois usages principaux du mot *tempus* chez Luther:

Usage quantitatif, objectif ou neutre

L’exemple suivant illustre le sens de ‘saison’: “sicut iudaei quoque suum annum incipiunt, et primum mensem ueris **tempus** faciunt, cum terra quasi aperitur et omnia pullulant” (ainsi comme même les Juifs commencent leur année en nommant le premier mois “le **temps** du printemps” où la terre pour ainsi dire s’ouvre et où tout éclot).

Un premier usage qualitatif lié à la vie humaine (*kairos*)

À l’instar de Calvin, nous rencontrons des passages insistant sur le bon usage du temps ainsi que des avertissements contre le gaspillage du temps, en voici deux: “quisque sibi eligat, ut laboret et non otio terat **tempus**” (quiconque fait le choix de travailler et de ne pas gaspiller son **temps** dans l’oisiveté); “Sed si illo **tempore** bene uteris et non sineres praeterire et cogitares, quid serviret

tibi ad pacem” (mais si tu employais bien le **temps** et ne le laissais pas passer en ne pensant qu’à ce qui pourrait servir à ta tranquillité). Nous attirons l’attention à l’usage du verbe *praetereo*, ‘passer’, qui nous renvoie au mythe de *kairos*.

Un deuxième usage qualitatif lié à la vie humaine

Voici une illustration du deuxième emploi qualitatif chez Luther: “*ea erant felicia tempora, et adhuc non putamus infoelicia esse tempora, in quibus tantus est abusus optimarum rerum*” (c’étaient là des **temps** heureux et jusqu’à ce jour nous ne trouvons pas malheureux les **temps** d’un tel abus des meilleures choses).

Mise au point de l’analyse de l’usage de *tempus* chez les Réformateurs

Notre analyse des trois emplois principaux du mot *tempus* chez Calvin et Luther a révélé qu’il y a continuité et rupture par rapport à l’usage classique. La continuité s’observe dans ce que nous avons nommé l’usage quantitatif, objectif ou neutre et dans le deuxième usage qualitatif lié à la vie humaine. La rupture concerne le premier usage qualitatif de la vie humaine. À juger d’après l’étude de notre corpus, nous avons la conviction que le premier usage (*kairos*) a subi une réinterprétation depuis l’usage ancien au temps des Réformateurs. Nous allons brièvement considérer cette réinterprétation à la lumière de l’analyse épistémologique des métaphores ci-dessus, puis, plus en détail, de l’analyse sociologique ci-dessous.

Nous avons démontré la pertinence des hypothèses de Lakoff et Johnson pour nos données. Nous nous sommes intéressés en particulier sur le type métaphorique 4 “time as a resource”. Nous pensons que ce type correspond à notre premier usage qualitatif lié à la vie humaine, en particulier *kairos*, signalant le moment opportun, fugitif. Dans leurs écrits, nos deux Réformateurs se sont servis de cet usage pour exprimer l’attitude qu’il est essentiel de bien employer son temps, qu’il ne faut pas le gaspiller. Nous allons nous pencher sur cet usage de *tempus* dans ce qui suit.

Protestantisme et capitalisme: *Tempus perdere*

Revenons à l’Antiquité, d’abord à l’Antiquité grecque, pour explorer dans une perspective diachronique l’idée de “gaspiller son temps”. Déjà au V^e siècle avant notre ère, nous rencontrons des exemples de *kairos* en tant que complément d’objet régi de verbes signifiant ‘observer’ *terein*; ‘laisser s’échapper’, *parienai*; ‘prendre’, *labesthai*; et même ‘saisir’, *harpasai*. À l’époque il s’agit, comme nous avons vu plus haut, de *tyche*, c’est-à-dire du hasard, par conséquent l’interprétation de ces situations et en particulier de leur gravité dépendra du contexte: s’agit-il de passer à côté d’une affaire

profitable? ou de courir des risques plus sérieux de nature juridique, politique ou militaire, à cause d’une évaluation erronée de la situation?

L’expression *tempus perdere* est certes utilisée dans les textes classiques latins, mais à l’exception de Sénèque, elle est peu fréquente.²⁷ Les dictionnaires nous apprennent que *kairos* se rapporte au domaine quotidien sans lien prévisible avec le domaine philosophique. Plus haut nous avons opposé le domaine quotidien et la métaphysique rationnelle. Vu le fondement idéaliste de la tradition philosophique grecque et hellénistique, on ne s’attend pas à ce que soit présente l’idée de “perte de temps”. Néanmoins, cette idée est une thématique récurrente dans l’ouvrage de Sénèque, pourquoi? Il faut se rappeler que ce philosophe stoïque s’intéresse moins aux questions de métaphysique qu’à l’éthique et que, par conséquent, sa pensée s’oriente plutôt vers l’action. Elle se focalise principalement sur *arete*, en latin *virtus*, ainsi qu’à son incarnation humaine, *sapiens* (le sage). Celui-ci participe en quelque sorte au *logos* universel, en latin *ratio*. L’essentiel pour Sénèque réside dans la confrontation existentielle du sage vis-à-vis *tyche/fortuna* dans le sens des conditions de la vie quotidienne, notamment de nature physique et émotionnelle. Ces conditions sont de nature diverse, agréable ou désagréable; la mission de l’esprit est d’obtenir, grâce à la vertu rationnelle, *virtus*, une attitude d’équilibre devant le succès comme devant l’adversité afin de parvenir à la sérénité.

Parvenir à la sérénité était d’ailleurs une ambition commune des Stoïciens (*apatheia*) comme des Épicuriens (*ataraxia*), malgré leurs attitudes contrastées sur de nombreux points fondamentaux.²⁸ D’après Sénèque, nous perdons notre temps en nous laissant guider par les facteurs externes provoquant joie ou peur. Il ne s’ensuit pas une absence d’action, mais elle ne doit pas être dirigée par les passions. Selon la vision moniste des Stoïciens, le monde est de nature cohérente, rationnelle, déterministe et avant tout bienveillante (*natura, providentia*). Le mal n’existe pas en tant que tel, mais il existe *indifferentia*, qui risquent de se transformer en maux (*mala*) si l’on s’y engage émotionnellement. Parvenir à la sérénité consiste avant tout à suivre

²⁷ Nous remercions Giovanbattista Galdi, Université de Gand de cette information. V. *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* X, 2, 1267, 66–75, s.v. *perdo*,

<https://publikationen.badw.de/de/thesaurus/lemmata#66895>.

²⁸ Inspiré d’Épictète, Horace, dans son célèbre poème *Carmen* I, 11 (“carpe diem”, saisis l’instant), parvient au même résultat que Sénèque, à savoir que l’homme doit éviter de s’engager dans l’espoir vain du futur, *spem longam* (le futur lointain) au contraire il doit saisir l’instant, avec calme et sagesse, éventuellement en prenant un verre de vin (Sénèque n’insisterait pas là-dessus). Horace va jusqu’à se servir de la forme verbale de l’impératif du verbe *sapere* (cf. terme *sapiens* chez Sénèque) pour inviter à la sagesse en écrivant “sois sage!”. “L’instant” à saisir est interprété dans le poème comme le *kairos* proposé par la vie, c’est-à-dire la possibilité de parvenir à la sérénité.

natura, qui est guidée par *ratio*. En principe, comme le hasard est inexistant, le concept de TEMPUS n’est pas conçu comme un mal à éviter, au contraire. Ces réflexions nous forcent à constater que pour Sénèque, ce serait une perte de temps que de vouloir guetter l’arrivée de *kairos* dans un sentiment d’angoisse ou d’espoir, car selon le Stoïcien TEMPUS est une ressource naturelle.

Selon la métaphysique stoïcienne de Sénèque, TEMPUS est de nature cyclique et réversible, périodiquement jalonné de conflagrations mondiales. À l’époque était cité comme illustration de la cyclicité le fait que le même philosophe Socrate allait circuler à l’*agora* d’Athènes, en prononçant les mêmes paroles. Est-ce du prédéterminisme? Cette question faisait rage, notamment au début du stoïcisme. Au cours de l’évolution du stoïcisme l’idée s’est modifiée vers une version moins stricte de déterminisme, selon laquelle le cours du monde n’est fixé que dans ses grandes lignes. Les Stoïciens, monistes, considèrent l’individu comme une goutte d’eau dans l’océan, dont les actions possèdent une certaine marge de liberté, sans influence d’importance sur le monde. Ainsi sont sauvegardés le libre arbitre, et, en conséquence, l’éthique.

La notion de TEMPUS est envisagée différemment dans le NT et chez les Réformateurs, ses implications étant plus sérieuses, comme nous l’avons vu ci-dessus, illustrées dans l’exemple concernant la destruction de Jérusalem, repris ici: “ils te détruiront, toi et tes enfants au milieu de toi, et ils ne laisseront pas en toi pierre sur pierre, parce que **tu n’as pas connu le temps où tu as été visitée**, car il s’agit du salut”. *Kairos* trouve sa place dans une temporalité déterminée par Dieu, visant le salut de l’homme. L’homme a le choix de suivre le parcours prévu par Dieu, ou de ne pas le suivre et se voir condamner à la perdition. Nous pensons que la pertinence de cette interprétation est confirmée dans notre corpus par l’absence du type métaphorique 2 de Lakoff et Johnson, “the moving observer”, car pour les Réformateurs Dieu seul est au-dessus du temps, il en est capable d’observer le cours – et c’est Lui qui en est le moteur.

Max Weber et le capitalisme

À la suite de notre survol de *tempus perdere* le lecteur pourrait être tenté de penser que l’idée du temps envisagé comme une *ressource*, voire une richesse matérielle, existe bien avant le christianisme. En effet, dans l’Antiquité, *Kairos* avait dans certains contextes le sens de bénéfice ou profit; pareillement, le mot *tempus* signifiant ressource, pouvait dénoter tout ce dont avait besoin un général, un homme politique, un commerçant ou un auteur. La raison pour laquelle nous nous intéressons particulièrement au rapport entre *tempus perdere* chez les Réformateurs et la quatrième métaphore de

Lakoff et Johnson réside dans la thèse de Max Weber sur le lien entre l'éthique protestante et l'esprit du capitalisme. Est-il possible d'identifier des signes révélateurs de ce lien dans nos données? Est-il probable que le lien se manifeste à ce niveau d'analyse empirique? Pour pouvoir répondre à ces questions, il faut d'abord rappeler que ces questions présupposent déjà l'existence d'un lien entre le niveau cognitif et le langage. Nous pensons avoir pu en confirmer l'existence. Ensuite, il nous faut préciser la différence entre la conception du temps dans l'Antiquité non chrétienne et chez les Chrétiens. Nous avons constaté ci-dessus que l'idée de TEMPUS comme ressource s'est modifiée. *Kairos* (dans la réinterprétation chrétienne : le temps structuré) a remplacé *chronos* (Kronos : l'imprévisibilité destructrice). Dorénavant, TEMPUS s'offre à l'homme comme une opportunité fiable, contrairement à *kairos*, incarnant l'opportunité imprévisible, qui n'avait jusqu'alors jamais été conçue comme une ressource fiable.

La Réforme

Nous avons démontré comment *kairos* s'est allié à *ekklesia*, l'Église, qui gouverne TEMPUS, en tant que représentant de Dieu sur terre. Depuis le début jusqu'à la Réforme, l'autorité représentant Dieu est incarnée par le Pape et son clergé. La question du *dominium mundi* (domination du monde) en termes de suprématie politique et spirituelle, concerne la place laissée par l'Église catholique aux Princes, en particulier à l'Empereur. La Réforme abolit l'autorité papale et partiellement celle du clergé, en réclamant l'Écriture comme suprême autorité spirituelle. La Réforme luthérienne défend l'idée des deux régimes: d'un côté le domaine de la croyance en Dieu et de l'autre la laïcité, domaine du Prince. La Réforme suisse rejette l'autorité politique représentée par le Prince. Les adhérents de Zwingli et de Calvin étaient des bourgeois, conscients de leur propre valeur, vivant dans des cités-États aisées, pleines d'activité commerçante. Selon eux, il ne fallait pas distinguer les deux régimes: le comportement du bon citoyen est inséparable de celui du bon chrétien. Durant toute son existence, Calvin luttait contre l'intervention du Prince dans la vie spirituelle chrétienne. Toutefois, il se considérait comme disciple de Luther.

Avec “Dein Ruf ist dein Beruf” (Ta vocation est ta profession/ton métier), Luther signale que la vocation de tout un chacun n'est pas de chercher Dieu dans un couvent mais de s'engager dans le monde. Cette devise est une clé pour comprendre le rapport entre la Réforme et le capitalisme, et par là, la thèse de Weber. Les trois états instaurés par Dieu et qui constituent le cadre de l'existence humaine sont l'Église, la famille et l'État. Il importe de se rappeler que d'après Luther, Dieu n'est pas un créateur qui a terminé son œuvre le septième jour. La Création se poursuit de façon perpétuelle, et

l’homme y participe grâce au travail, à l’activité spécifique déterminée par sa profession. Les Réformateurs sont d’accord sur un point de principe: le Salut n’est pas garanti par les bonnes œuvres; pour les Réformateurs, les lettres d’indulgences en constituent la caricature. Ce ne sont pas les bonnes œuvres, mais exclusivement la Grâce et la Foi qui préparent la voie vers le Salut. La Foi se manifeste dans les bonnes œuvres, qui sont effectuées dans le travail – le cadre déterminé par Dieu – qui est *der Beruf* (la profession ou le métier). Dieu exige l’obéissance, autre mot-clé important, qui est un devoir, elle n’assure pas en tant que telle le Salut. Le Prince et l’État ont le devoir d’assurer l’ordre et la paix, le clergé a le devoir de faire entendre la parole de Dieu, suivant les Écritures, le bourgeois à la tête de la famille doit assurer en travaillant la prospérité matérielle de la famille, et par conséquent celle de la communauté et de l’État. Les calvinistes partagent cette vision, en écartant pourtant le Prince qui se fait remplacer par le Consistoire.

Qu’est-ce qu’il faut comprendre par le terme *prospérité matérielle*? Il ne faut pas oublier l’importance pour les croyants des péchés capitaux, parmi lesquels figurent *avaritia* (l’avarice), *invidia* (l’envie), *gula* (la gourmandise) et *luxuria* (la luxure). En particulier, les Réformateurs suisses condamnent avec vigueur toute forme de débauche et de luxe, comme la danse, la gourmandise, l’ivresse et la débauche.²⁹ Sur ce point, ils ne se distinguent pourtant guère, si ce n’est leur niveau de véhémence, de moralistes de tout temps, y inclus l’ancienne Athènes et Sénèque. Le but de la présente analyse est d’insister sur le fait que pour les luthériens comme pour les calvinistes, le travail menant à la prospérité matérielle est une vocation approuvée par Dieu, ce qui va nous amener à Max Weber.

Max Weber

Avant d’établir un lien entre le protestantisme et le capitalisme, comme proposé par Weber, il faudra préciser le fondement de celui-ci, qui concerne l’investissement du profit au lieu de sa consommation, car l’argent doit prospérer afin de se multiplier. Cette vision diffère de la tradition chrétienne qui condamnait l’usure et le gain d’argent en prêtant. Ce changement d’attitude, pourrait-il remonter au temps des Réformateurs?

L’interprétation de Weber est généralement reconnue, mais ne convainc pas l’ensemble des chercheurs en théologie ni en sociologie.³⁰ Il nous faut l’examiner de près. Selon Weber, les civilisations sont des systèmes de rationalité éthiques, structures collectives de sens.³¹ Dans sa typologie de

²⁹ La surveillance stricte des citoyens dès 1542 est documentée par Lambert *et al.* 1996.

³⁰ Voir par exemple Christensen & Göransson 1969, II, 189.

³¹ Voir Jensen & Knudsen & Stjernfelt 2006, III, 1936 ss.

déterminants d’action, il établit quatre types fondamentaux. Une action peut être motivée de quatre façons, elle est

- traditionnelle, c’est-à-dire qu’on agit comme d’habitude;
- affectuelle, c’est-à-dire que le sentiment, par exemple l’indignation, et l’action motivée par ce sentiment acquiert sa valeur dans une situation de partage social;
- rationnelle en valeur, ce qui implique que le but de l’action est d’appliquer certaines valeurs; le fait d’agir a du sens, car ainsi se manifestent les valeurs; en outre il obtient l’approbation sociale grâce aux valeurs partagées;
- rationnelle en finalité; l’action n’a pas de valeur intrinsèque, elle est réalisée en vue d’un but d’importance pour la collectivité.

Weber classe le protestantisme ascète ou le puritanisme comme le troisième type: action rationnelle en valeur. Le capitalisme est classifié comme le quatrième type: rationnel en finalité. Weber pense que les deux idéologies finissent par s’inscrire dans une même structure collective de sens, de sorte qu’il est plutôt question de conditionnement que de causalité au sens habituel. Dans des circonstances socio-économiques spécifiques, par exemple en Suisse, aux Pays Bas, en Angleterre et parmi certaines collectivités d’immigrants aux États-Unis, l’association du puritanisme et du capitalisme va jusqu’à une fusion des deux. L’analyse de Weber prend son point de départ dans le terme *Beruf* de Luther, mais il se réfère aussi aux textes de Richard Baxter (1615–1691), puritain anglophone dont l’influence est primordiale. Fort de sa documentation, Weber parvient à prouver que l’intégration des deux idéologies se produit au cours du XVII^e siècle, pas pendant la Réforme.

Nous avons affirmé plus haut que quelques chercheurs en théologie et en sociologie sont réticents vis-à-vis des analyses de Weber, en particulier de sa pensée concernant le rôle de la prédétermination comme lien entre les deux idéologies. On a tendance à confondre son idée de conditionnement (voir plus haut) avec une causalité directe. L’idée de la double prédétermination, vers le salut et vers la condamnation, existe bel et bien chez les Réformateurs, et même dans le christianisme ancien, par exemple chez Augustin.³²

Une interprétation simpliste des réflexions du puritain, faussement attribué à Weber se résume à ceci: comme il ignore s’il est destiné au salut ou à la condamnation, l’accumulation de sa richesse matérielle est perçue comme un signe qu’il appartient au groupe des élus. Par conséquent, la prospérité se transforme en une obligation pour ainsi dire religieuse, et qui contribue à

³² Voir Christensen & Göransson 1969, I, 188.

l’assurance du citoyen. Le capitalisme va se muer en religion. Cette interprétation simpliste convient parfaitement aux opposants du puritanisme et du capitalisme, attitude d’ailleurs pas tout à fait étranger à Weber lui-même, mais elle n’est pas correcte, et cadre mal avec le fond de la pensée de Weber, qui était surtout ancré dans les *Kulturwissenschaft* et *Geisteswissenschaft*³³ néokantiennes.

Si, d’autre part, on s’intéresse à la motivation psychologique du puritain, enracinée dans sa foi, il faut comprendre qu’il avait la conviction que l’accumulation de sa richesse personnelle n’était aucunement un moyen de gagner le salut, et qu’il n’aurait jamais eu la présomption d’interpréter la volonté divine. En d’autres mots, loin de lui l’idée que sa propre prospérité serait un signe d’élection. Le puritain accepte sa vocation comme un devoir imposé par Dieu, il n’est qu’un outil anonyme dans Sa main. L’idée théologique du Dieu qui se cache, *deus absconditus*, qui remonte à Duns Scot (XIII^e siècle), a beaucoup influencé les Réformateurs et par là les puritains. Cette pensée se réfère à l’impuissance de la raison humaine à appréhender Dieu, car Il ne se révèle qu’à travers les Écritures. D’où le rejet du rôle privilégié du Pape et du clergé comme interprètes et médiateurs de la pensée de Dieu. Revenons à la motivation psychologique du puritain: loin de lui l’idée qu’il puisse agir en vue de sa propre sélection. Par contre, à un niveau plus abstrait, celui de l’analyse sociologique, qui est celui de Weber, la thèse d’une structure collective de sens, rend plausible la tendance vers une fusion du puritanisme et du capitalisme – qui est d’ailleurs pleinement documentée par Weber. La conclusion de ce qui précède est que l’analyse de Weber est convaincante, mais qu’elle s’applique seulement à partir du XVII^e siècle, un siècle après nos Réformateurs.

Conclusion

Le but de notre investigation était de vérifier l’hypothèse selon laquelle sont liés langage, société et conceptualisation. La vérification de cette corrélation consiste à démontrer que certains changements sociaux et conceptuels se manifestent dans le langage. Nous avons choisi d’explorer les textes de Calvin et de Luther parce que les deux Réformateurs ont agi pendant une période de changements profonds et durables pour la société, pour la compréhension du monde et pour la cognition. Nous nous sommes posé la question initiale suivante: Ces changements d’importance se sont-ils manifestés dans le langage? Et par conséquent, pouvons-nous confirmer nos hypothèses formulées dans l’Introduction? Pour ce qui est des hypothèses liées aux

³³ Traduction approximative, les concepts n’existant pas en français: *Kulturwissenschaft* (‘science de la civilisation’ ou ‘culturologie’) et *Geisteswissenschaft* (‘science de l’esprit’).

recherches de Sapir et de Worf et de Lakoff et de Johnson, la réponse est affirmative. À l’aide des analyses de corpus, nous avons été en mesure de confirmer – et c’est là notre premier résultat – que la conception humaine, ancrée dans les expériences du monde physique, et les concepts au moyen desquels nous appréhendons les aspects de l’expérience, s’expriment en langage de manière métaphorique, bref, que notre conceptualisation et notre langage sont intimement liés. Après avoir choisi de concentrer notre investigation au concept TEMPUS, nous avons démontré – c’est notre deuxième résultat – que certains usages du mot *tempus* n’ont pas subi de modifications,³⁴ alors que l’usage que nous avons désigné comme “premier usage qualitatif lié à la vie humaine, correspondant à *kairos*” n’a plus les mêmes dénotations chez les Réformateurs que celles identifiées dans l’Antiquité. Nous nous sommes servis de *kairos* et du “temps comme ressource” pour cerner la différence entre ces époques, puis – c’est notre troisième résultat – nous avons fait le lien entre cette différence de dénotation et les faits sociaux et idéologiques. Car là où le *kairos* classique renvoie à une situation individuelle de courte durée, le *kairos* chrétien renvoie à une obligation collective et permanente de chacun des citoyens envers Dieu afin de bien exploiter son temps.³⁵ C’est là le point de départ de l’évolution ultérieure, notamment chez les puritains, vers le sens exprimé en 1748 avec les paroles de Benjamin Franklin “time is money” et qui va être analysé par Max Weber. Néanmoins, il ne se laisse pas tracer directement à la Réforme.

Remember that Time is Money. He that can earn Ten Shillings a Day by his Labour, and goes abroad, or sits idle one half of that Day, tho’ he spends but Sixpence during his Diversion or Idleness, ought not to reckon That the only Expence; he has really spent or rather thrown away Five Shillings besides.³⁶

³⁴ La conservation des deux dénotations s’explique peut-être par le fait que celles-ci reflètent des conditions humaines de nature plus universelle, moins soumises aux contingences sociales?

³⁵ Il n’est sans doute pas un hasard que les inventions mécaniques pour mesurer avec précision les heures du jour ont été faites vers la fin du Moyen Âge (invention de l’horloge mécanique à sonnerie au XIV^e siècle), ni que les premières montres portatives datent du XVI^e siècle. Ce n’est qu’au XVII^e siècle qu’on invente les mesures de minutes (1670) et de secondes (1680). Pour des présentations détaillées, voir Jouannic 1983 et Dohrn-van Rossum 1997.

³⁶ Cette citation provient de l’essai *Advice to a young Tradesman by an old One*, attribué à Franklin, qui adapta le manuel anglais de George Fisher à l’usage américain, v. [Franklin] 1748, 375–376.

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WHO TRANSLATED LUCIAN FOR ERCOLE D'ESTE (VATICAN, CHIGI L.VI.215)?



By Keith Sidwell*

The anonymous Lucian translations in Vatican MS Chigi L.VI.215 have recently been attributed to Nicolaus Leonicensus. But their sixteenth century publisher (a Ferrarese) attributed Lucius siue Asinus to Boiardo, and the rest to Leonicensus, though several texts have no Greek original. Reexamination of the evidence for attribution and the methodology used to argue the pieces were made directly from Greek into Italian suggests rather that Leonicensus' contributions were the selection of texts and Latin versions of them. Boiardo did translate the Asinus, from Leonicensus' Latin, but the rest (which used his versions and Latin texts of apocrypha) must remain anonymous.

The manuscript which is now Vatican Fondo Chigi L.VI.215, but was written in Ferrara, probably between 1477 and 1479, and belonged in the library of Ercole d'Este, contains a series of 37 works by or attributed to Lucian, translated into *volgare* (Italian). The presence of the d'Este arms guarantees its original ownership, but there is no dedicatory material to identify the translator. This MS was in turn clearly the main source also for a series of sixteenth century editions of most of these works (the exceptions being "Lucius, siue Asinus" [Lucius or the Ass] and "Dialogi Meretricii" [Dialogues of the Courtesans] 1 and 11), the first of which was produced in Venice by Niccolò di Aristotile da Ferrara, detto lo Zoppino, in 1525, without the ascription of the versions to anyone. Lo Zoppino had, however, separated off the first piece in the Chigi MS, "Lucius, siue Asinus" (Lucius or the Ass), and printed it in 1523, with an ascription to Matteo Maria Boiardo (emending the text from Poggio's Latin version).

When he came to reprint the selection in 1529, Lo Zoppino added to the title-page the following information: "di greco in uolgare tradotte per M. Nicolo da Lonigo" (translated into Italian from Greek by Niccolò da Lonigo). Nicolaus Leonicensus or Niccolò da Lonigo, the famous professor of Greek and Medicine, had taught in Ferrara from 1464 and died in 1524. Lo Zoppino, however, added no explanation in the 1529 edition to his 1525 prefatory letter

to tell his public how he had obtained this information. The only confirmation of the attribution comes from Paolo Giovio. In his “Elogia virorum litteris illustrium” (Eulogies of famous literary men) Giovio says of Leonicensis: “Dionis ... Historia, et Luciani Dialogi, vernacula loquentes lingua, Herculi latinarum litterarum imperito mire placuerunt” (Dio’s History and the Dialogues of Lucian, speaking in the vernacular, gave amazing pleasure to Ercole, who was ignorant of Latin).¹ But Giovio’s *Elogia* (Eulogies) were first published only in 1546 and Lo Zoppino’s evidence is earlier and different.

The problem, then, is that we know that the “Lucius, siue Asinus” (Lucius or the Ass) version was the same as that in the Chigi manuscript, as were the “Dilettevoli Dialogi” (Delightful Dialogues), but the same printer (a man from Ferrara) attributed one to Boiardo and the others to Leonicensis. Who translated the Lucian into Italian? The puzzle has generally been resolved in favour of Leonicensis, most recently and most rigorously in the monograph of Mariantonietta Acocella. But there are problems (which she acknowledges) and I think a review of the evidence and the methods used to assess it leads to a different answer, one which will better explain the curious doubleness of Lo Zoppino’s ascriptions.

It needs to be said at once that neither of the attributions canvassed by Lo Zoppino is inherently absurd. Matteo Maria Boiardo and Nicolaus Leonicensis were both important figures at Duke Ercole’s court. Boiardo was a translator (from the Latin) of Herodotus (Venice 1533, Giovanni Antonio di Niccolini di Sabbio) and of Xenophon’s *Cyropaedia* (Education of Cyrus) (B. Estense, G.5.1 – Ital. 416)² and appears (though the version was, according to Decembrio, actually done by his uncle Feltrino) as the translator of Apuleius in a 1518 imprint of Lo Zoppino in which the ending substitutes the close of Lucian’s *Asinus* (Ass) for the Apuleian original.³ And Leonicensis

* It is an enormous pleasure to present Marianne with a paper to celebrate this highly significant birthday. Since we met at an Italian conference, some 30 years ago, we have each grown older always attempting to learn many things (as Solon put it), Marianne about Plutarch’s reception, myself about that of Lucian. I trust this dish of Italian *risotto* will tickle her intellectual taste-buds and remind her of the days of Dolcetto and grappa: χρόνια πολλά!

¹ Giovio 1546, f. 44^r.

² See Gritti 2014.

³ Rossi 1937, 360, with nn. 1 and 6. In Angelo Decembrio’s *Politia litteraria*, Feltrino says: *Quid autem de Apuleio et Asino nostro aureo ... eum ego ipse in vernaculum sermonem transtuli*. The edition (Rossi 1937 360, n. 1) is: *Apulegio volgare, tradotto per el Conte Matteo Maria Boiardo. Stampato in la inclita citta de Venetia adi X de Septembrio MDXVIII. Per io Nicolo daristotile da Ferrara, et Vincenzo de Polo da Venetia mio compagno regnante lo inclito Principe Leonardo Lauredano*. Another edition appeared from their press in 1519. It is possible, of course, that Lo Zoppino had gained access to Boiardo’s papers and found

had indeed been a pioneer in the translation of Greek writings into the vernacular, having produced for Duke Ercole versions of Galen, Procopius and Dio Cassius, as well as now lost translations of Didorus Siculus (once in the Ducal library), Arrian and Appian.⁴

As regards Leonicensino, however, there are two serious objections to his direct involvement in the surviving compilation. First, the MS contains two works which were recent compositions by Italian humanists and had no Greek original. One is commonly ascribed to Lucian in this period, L.B. Alberti's *Intercoenalis* (Dinner Piece), "Virtus dea" (The Goddess Virtue) (Chigi L VI 215, ff. 27^r–28^v; Zoppino 1525, ff. XV^v–XXIII^r); the other is Maffeo Vegio's *Philalethes* (The Lover of Truth: Chigi L VI 215, ff. 285^r–294^v; Zoppino 1525, ff. XXIII^r–XXV^r).⁵ Secondly, the version of "Mortuorum Dialogi" (Dialogues of the Dead) 10.12 (77.25) contained in the Chigi MS (ff. 172^r–175^r) features the alterations made by Giovanni Aurispa in his so-called translation, though the first part of the dialogue appears to have been translated directly from the Greek and is not dependent on him.⁶

Many of the genuine works included in the selection were not available, as far as we know, in Latin versions at this point (e.g. *Amores* [Acts of Love] and "Dialogi meretricii" [Dialogues of the Courtesans]), so the selection and the translation had to have been done in the first instance by a Greek scholar.⁷ I find it very difficult to believe that so distinguished a Hellenist as Leonicensino could have thought the two pseudonymous Latin works were from Lucian's pen: if he were translating from the Greek, as he certainly did with Galen, Procopius and Dio Cassius, he could obviously not have found them in his Greek MS source (and we know he did own a Lucian, now Parisinus Graecus 2957, which incidentally contains all of the works translated in the Chigi MS, but just as obviously has no Greek text of the Latin *apocrypha*).⁸ It is even

both the Apuleius translation and the *Lucius, siue Asinus* version there as well (the latter, then, the draft for the Chigi MS).

⁴ Dapelo & Zoppelli 1998, 108; Fumagalli 1985, 166; Mugnai-Carrara 1979, 177–179; Monfasani 2016, 128.

⁵ The ascription to Lucian is slightly mysterious, because the work appears in many MSS and printed editions correctly attributed. But sixteenth-century vernacular versions followed the lead of the Chigi MS in ignoring Vegio and assigning it to Lucian. See Sidwell 1975, 218 with n. 8 and for details of the vernacular versions, Sidwell forthcoming.

⁶ Dapelo & Zoppelli 1998, 110 with n. 63.

⁷ For details of Latin versions of these pieces, see Sidwell forthcoming.

⁸ Dapelo & Zoppelli 1998, 109 citing Mugnai-Carrara 1991, 113. Dapelo & Zoppelli also doubt that this MS was the one used for the versions, as it belongs to the β tradition, while it looks as though a MS of the γ tradition was used. This does not necessarily rule out Leonicensino, however, since there were other MSS of Lucian in Ferrara (not least one owned by Guarino: Sidwell 1986, 242).

harder to see why, knowing they were fakes, he would present them as though they were not. And in any case, such anti-scholarly behaviour does not appear to be instanced from his extant work, where he was prepared, for example, to criticize Pliny's ignorance directly and against the views of his peers, such as Collenuccio ("De Plinii et aliorum in medicina erroribus" [On the errors of Pliny and others]). We must, therefore, lower unacceptably our evaluation of his honesty and his Greek scholarship if we are to ascribe the Chigi MS directly to his pen. Besides, recent study of Lucianic translation in this period shows that the ascription of these *apocrypha* to Lucian belongs to the compilers of Latin selections in MSS and to the printers of Latin and vernacular collections, but that Greek scholars (with the exception of Aurispa, who was responsible for the most successful of them all) were scrupulous in calling them out as fakes (as Micyllus did in his 1538 Latin *Opera* [Works]).⁹

And yet Acocella defends the attribution to Leoniceno of all the contents of the MS on the basis of the (presumed) dedicatee and the differing ideological atmosphere of the Duke's court. She concludes: "one can therefore presume that, given the non-academic purpose of the vernacular version of Lucian, Leoniceno sometimes favoured criteria other than the strictly philological, satisfying for example requests from Duke Ercole, who, it has been said, loved have a say in the matter of translations."¹⁰ There are two problems here. First, one must dismiss Lo Zoppino's attribution of one of these pieces to Boiardo (which may have come from a source other than the Chigi MS).¹¹ Secondly, one must accept the assumption that the intended audience for the translations had not originally been academic. In fact, however, at this period (and for centuries to come) this was almost always the primary context in which Lucian was encountered, specifically in Greek classes, where the language of discourse was always Latin, while vernacular translation was very rare and confined to individual pieces, usually made from preexisting Latin versions.¹²

⁹ See further Sidwell forthcoming (the *CTC* article on Lucian's translations up to 1600). See Micyllus' 1538 edition of the Latin Lucian (Frankfurt, Egenolphus), f. 40^v for *Mortuorum Dialogi* 10.12 (77.25): *Haec omnia, quae signavi, in Graecis exemplis non habentur*. F. 339^v introducing *Palinurus* (Maffeo Vegio) and *Virtus Dea* (Leon Battista Alberti): *Dialogi sequentes, Luciani non sunt, nec graecè scripti etiam*.

¹⁰ Acocella 2016, 359: "Si può quindi presumere che, data la destinazione non accademica del volgarizzamento di Luciano, il Leoniceno abbia privilegiato a volte criteri diversi da quelli più strettamente filologici, assecondando per esempio eventuali richieste del duca Ercole, che, si è detto, amava aver voce in capitolo nelle traduzioni."

¹¹ See above n. 5.

¹² This applies to most vernacular versions of *Mortuorum Dialogi* 10.12 (77.25), which are clearly based on Aurispa's 'enhanced' version and also to *De non temere credendo calumniae*. Though it is possible that della Fonte's version of the latter piece, dedicated to

I will return to the first point later. On the second, there is in fact evidence in the manuscript of a more academic origin for these versions. It seems reasonable to deduce, at any rate, from the way in which the Chigi MS introduces the “Dialogi Meretricii” (Dialogues of the Courtesans), that the translator connected them with Menander’s comedy (f. 179^r: “Questi sono dialogi amatorii di Luciano, la materia et soggetto di quali e tirata de le Comedie di Menandro” [These are amatory dialogues of Lucian, the material and subject for which have been drawn from the Comedies of Menander]). Menander’s might be a name known to those who could read Plautus and Terence in Latin (not Ercole, then), but this note then rather suggests that the pieces will have been provided originally in the context of classes or lecture courses and were not designed primarily for the pleasure of the court. Just before the translation of *Toxaris*, too, is a note outlining the story of Orestes and Pylades (f. 233) which also smacks of the lecture-hall. The choice of *Amores* (Acts of Love), a dialogue on the subject of homosexual versus heterosexual love, is also, one must say, egregious, but would have suited the interest of a Greek scholar who was also a doctor and the author of “De morbo Gallico” (On the French Disease), to whom a work entitled “Questions problématiques d’amours” (Problematic questions about love affairs) was ascribed (published in French several times in the sixteenth century, e.g. USTC 80207, [Rouen], Nicholas de Bruges, no date). If Leoniceno had a hand in translating these pieces, then, it seems much likelier that he would have made his versions in Latin, for his Greek and medical classes, than worked directly into Italian. Taken along with the appearance of works which had no Greek text attached, this consideration amplifies the argument for suggesting that Chigi is a *secondary* text, compiled by a scholar who knew Latin, but no Greek, and as Dapelo and Zoppelli shrewdly suggest ‘seems to bring us back to the “collecta hinc et illinc” (gathered from here and there) of Bordon [editor of a 1494 collection of Lucian works in Latin] rather than to the work of a unitary author’.¹³

Acocella’s move to excuse Leoniceno’s *cortegiano*-like behaviour in infiltrating into the collection two texts he knew could not possibly be by Lucian (and one, the Aurispa version of “Mortuorum Dialogi” (Dialogues of the Dead) 10.12 [77.25], for which he had a Greek text which did not include those additions) does not, of course, rest on nothing. She sees the evidence of Lo Zoppino’s 1529 edition, and finds it confirmed by Giovio, but she has

Ercole (see below), was made from the Greek, one must suspect that Guarino’s Latin version was the text actually used as its basis. For details, see Sidwell forthcoming (the *CTC* article on Lucian).

¹³ Dapelo & Zoppelli 1998, 107–108.

already been convinced by her and others' analyses of the texts offered by the Chigi MS that the versions were made directly from the Greek: Boiardo did not know Greek, *ergo* Leonicensis did the versions. Strinati, for example, looking only at the *Historia Vera* translation, established by careful collation that the version of the "De Veris Narrationibus" (On the True Narrations [also known as *Historia Vera/True History*]) in Chigi was not based on the standard Latin of Lilio Tifernate (Lilius Castellanus), but stays closer to the Greek, especially in the treatment of names.¹⁴ Acocella's own analysis has confirmed Strinati's judgement, and hence she concludes: "The *True History* in Chigi was translated from the Greek."¹⁵ In his 2006 edition of the two earliest Latin Lucian translations, Berti had already challenged the notion that the Chigi *Timon* was translated from Bertholdus' version, citing a number of passages which appear strongly to suggest that it was based directly on the Greek text.¹⁶ Acocella has now substantiated Berti's conclusions in detail.¹⁷ In her earlier work on Apuleius (2001) she had also used the same method to show that the Chigi *Asinus* was made directly from the Greek (and not from Poggio's existing version).¹⁸ For the other pieces for which Latin translations were available by the date of the Chigi versions, as far as I know, no detailed analysis of this kind has been done. But the sample suggests strongly that if it is now clear that works which did have existing Latin versions were *not* the sources employed by the Chigi translator and that they appear rather to reflect direct knowledge of the Greek text, then *a fortiori* we are likely to find that the same is true also in the case of works for which we know of no earlier versions ("Dialogi Meretricii" [Dialogues of the Courtesans] and *Amores* [Acts of Love], for egregious examples). On the basis of Acocella's findings, then, we might expect to have concluded perfectly reasonably (a) that the pieces in Chigi were translated from Greek and therefore (b) they were done by Leonicensis, the only Greek scholar for whom we have evidence of involvement in the project.

In fact, instead, we need to interrogate further the methodology used by Acocella and others to show that the versions of Chigi were made directly from the Greek. This is, invariably, comparison between existing Latin versions, the Greek text and the Chigi *volgare*. But this procedure does not exclude the possibility that there was an intermediate Latin version, now lost, which more accurately reflected the Greek than those now available. The

¹⁴ Strinati 1994–1995, 14–17.

¹⁵ Acocella, 2016, 214: "*La vera historia* di Chig è tradotta dal greco".

¹⁶ Luciano di Samosata 2006, XXXV–XXXVI.

¹⁷ Acocella, 2016, 363–373.

¹⁸ Acocella, 2001. See also Acocella, 2016, 360–361.

work of Strinati and Acocella on the *Historia Vera*, for instance, might merely demonstrate that *if* the Chigi MS translator was using a Latin text, it was one entirely different from Tifernate’s both in its Greek text and its style. To turn to Acocella’s treatment of *Timon*, it is true enough, that, for example, Bertholdus’ version of *Timon* 52: “τυραννίδι Τιμων ἐπιχειρεῖς *Tyrannus es Timon*” (You are aiming at tyranny, Timon – You are a tyrant Timon) could not have generated in the Chigi MS “Tu vòì, Timon, diventar tyranno” (You wish, Timon, to become a tyrant).¹⁹ But a different Latin version (‘Vis tu, Timon, tyrannus fieri’ You wish, Timon, to become a tyrant) could easily have done so, though we do not now have it for comparison. How, in such a case, would we be able to prove that an unknown Latin version was definitively *not* behind the vernacular? The answer is that we could not and therefore must accept that, given the problem of the inclusion of the *apocrypha*, if Leonicensus were somehow involved, it would have been at a distance: someone else borrowed his preexisting Latin versions, made for academic use, and added the *apocrypha* because he knew no better (or in the case of the Aurispa version, like many others, thought it superior because of its praise of Scipio). It is an uncomfortable thought, of course, that we may have lost a treasure-trove of Latin versions by Leonicensus, but we must in any case accept the fact that on the hypothesis that he translated directly from Greek into *volgare*, we must have lost his original MS, since, unless he behaved more like a courtier than a scholar he cannot have been the compiler of the Chigi MS.

At this point we must return to the issue of Lo Zoppino’s ascriptions. It is important to remember that he was native of Ferrara, even though he worked in Venice. It was his connections there, presumably, which allowed him to find out about the existence of the (now) Chigi MS and have it made available for his own use in the editions, and provided the information on which he based his ascriptions. The ascription of the *Asinus* (Ass) to Boiardo in the 1523 edition might be an error based on confusion between the Apuleius and the Lucianic “Lucius siue Asinus” (Lucius or the Ass). But the version printed is, nonetheless, in major part that of the Chigi MS (corrected from Poggio’s Latin version) and given the almost certain reuse of the Chigi version of *Timon* in Boiardo’s own dramatic adaptation,²⁰ it seems proven that Boiardo had first-hand acquaintance with this volume.²¹ The objection of Acocella

¹⁹ Acocella 2016, 370–371.

²⁰ Rossi 1937, 365–369 sets passages from the Greek text beside their equivalent in the versions of Bertholdus, the Chigi ms., and Boiardo’s *Timone*. See further Fumagalli 1985.

²¹ An expert must still have been around in Ferrara who helped Boiardo when he produced his *Timone* to correct the errors in the Chigi version (ultimately due to the Latin translator’s earlier misunderstandings), and on the view canvassed here that would have been Leonicensus

that the translation into *volgare* (Italian) cannot be Boiardo's because "he was not capable of translating directly from the Greek" is not relevant, if the translator was using a Latin version made by an expert (who was not Poggio).²² When the "Dilettevoli Dialogi" (Delightful Dialogues) were produced, however, from the very same MS in 1525, Lo Zoppino did not offer an ascription. Given that he *did* do so in the 1529 edition, we should infer (a) that he did not ascribe them to Boiardo, because he had been given no evidence of the Scandian's involvement (unlike in the case of "Lucius, siue Asinus' [Lucius or the Ass]) and (b) that one of his informants in Ferrara gave him information between 1525 and 1529 which prompted him to assign them to Leoniceno. This attribution is confirmed by Giovio (the source of whose evidence I discuss below). If both of Lo Zoppino's attributions are accurate, then, his first informant only knew (or Lo Zoppino's researches in Boiardo's papers only proved) that Boiardo had done the version of *Lucius*, but not how, and his second only that Leoniceno was somehow behind the versions. Since, however, Boiardo must have been working from a Latin translation (he did not know Greek) and one different from Poggio's, if Leoniceno was somehow behind all the versions in "Dilettevoli Dialogi" (Delightful Dialogues) (except the *apocrypha*), then he must also have been responsible for the Latin version of "Lucius, siue Asinus' (Lucius or the Ass) used by Boiardo. And if that is true, then *a fortiori* he did not translate the other texts into vernacular, but into Latin. This leaves a large gap, though it shows that, if Boiardo only did one of the Chigi versions, a third party must have been responsible for the project of collecting together the material and allocating it to more than one translator to put the pieces into *volgare* (Italian).

As for Giovio's evidence, he could not have derived his information from Lo Zoppino's edition or one of its later reprints, since those contain no allusion to the original context of the collection. He was, however, familiar with the Este court and did meet Leoniceno in person in 1522 and so could also have obtained this information directly.²³ But it is hard to see why the outsider (Giovio) would have this information to hand in 1546, but the man from Ferrara (Lo Zoppino) with access to the Ducal library could not discover it during Leoniceno's lifetime. The appeal of Lucian to Ercole might have been general knowledge in Ferrara or inferred from Collenuccio's "Specchio d'Esopo" (Aesop's mirror: see further below).²⁴ More likely, then, is that

(though this might in turn suggest that the translation of *Timon* used had not been done by him). Cf. Acocella 2016, 373.

²² Acocella 2016, 373: "non era in grado di tradurre direttamente dal greco".

²³ Acocella 2016, 391–394.

²⁴ On Collenuccio and Lucian, see Sidwell 1975, 254–264.

Giovio was given (like Lo Zoppino) inaccurate information about the provenance of the translations by a Ferrarese who had only vague knowledge of the translation process: he had heard somewhere of the connection between Leonicensis and the versions, but did not know the details. This story, then, was also in outline the one which induced Lo Zoppino to ascribe the versions directly to Leonicensis.

As things stand, we have no evidence on which to determine to whom we owe the compilation. But we might conceive of the process which ends with the Chigi MS as the result of a deliberate plan by a courtier to please the non-Latinate Ercole. There is a strong case to be made for the notion that Duke Ercole had a taste for comic writing. In Pandolfo Collenuccio's "Specchio d'Esopo" (Aesop's Mirror), mentioned above, a dialogue probably written for the Ferrarese court in the early 1490s, Lucian is an interlocutor and his speeches contain allusions to several of the works contained in the Chigi collection.²⁵ Boiardo's *Timone* (Timon), written for Ercole, confirms the reality of this proclivity, though we cannot say for certain precisely when it was composed.²⁶ A courtier who knew the Duke's taste for comic writing, then, as well as his lack of proficiency in Latin, could certainly have conceived the idea of supplying a vernacular Lucian. This compiler, acting on his own initiative, would then have had to gather sufficient material. This would naturally have meant Latin versions, since as yet there were hardly any in the vernacular. It is worth conjecturing that he had been able to make his plan because he knew that there already existed in Ferrara Latin versions of many other attractive works in the Lucianic corpus already produced for his lectures by some Greek teacher in Ferrara (most plausibly Leonicensis). On the scenario envisaged here, then, this compiler borrowed Leonicensis's Latin texts, then set up a group of translators. This included Boiardo.²⁷ For whatever reason, the Leonicensis MS containing the otherwise unrecorded Latin versions which was used for the work later vanished without trace (apparently it is not recorded in the inventory of his library curated after his death by his nephew).²⁸

²⁵ Sidwell, 1975, 82 and 254–264.

²⁶ If it was not staged, it could even be earlier than 1486, the date of the first recorded stage revival of an ancient play – Plautus' *Menaechmi*: Fumagalli 1985, 176–177.

²⁷ The delegation of work of this kind to secretaries is evidenced for Boiardo. See Tissoni Benvenuti 1972, 52. But Boiardo does not fall easily into this category.

²⁸ Now Vicenza, Biblioteca Civica ms. Gonzati 24.10.46. This is not surprising, as the survival of unique copies of such texts is entirely a matter of chance – witness the single copy of *Mortuorum Dialogi* 10.12 (77.25) by Bartolommeo Landi (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Lat. XIV, 214 [4674]ff. 8^r–11^v), which owes its survival to the diligence of a collector of local Veronese memorabilia.

But there is an alternative – and a more likely one – to the hypothesis of an independent compiler, working on his own initiative to anticipate the Duke's tastes. The Duke himself, if he was reading the vernacular works dedicated to him, would have known of Lucian, since Bartolommeo della Fonte had only recently dedicated to him his Italian version of “De non temere credendo calumniae” (On not rashly believing slander). There seems no reason not to believe that he might have suggested the plan for a wider selection himself.²⁹

Indeed, there is one final consideration which tends to support this conjecture, namely the fact that the Chigi MS has no dedication letter. This would not be normal procedure, especially when one considers the high quality of the book itself. In the cases of both Leonicensis and Boiardo, it also cuts across their normal practice, giving another reason to think neither was responsible for the collection. Leonicensis's “De Plinii et aliorum in medicina erroribus” (On the errors in medicine of Pliny and others) was dedicated to Angelus Politianus, his “De morbo Gallico” (On the French Disease) to Ioannes Franciscus Mirandulensis (Giovanfrancesco Pico II, Count of Mirandula [1469–1533]) and his *volgare* (Italian) version of Procopius, “De bello Gothico” (On the Gothic War), to Ercole d'Este (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana ms. A 272 inf., f. 1^r). Boiardo also dedicated his translation of Poggio's adaptation of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* (The education of Cyrus) to Ercole d'Este himself, which makes it doubly strange that there should be no preface in the Chigi MS, given that Giovio's evidence suggests the works delighted the Duke.³⁰ For some reason, then, this beautifully presented MS, the payment for which is possibly recorded in the Duke's accounts, and which is stamped with the d'Este insignia, did not advertise its origins or its dedicatee.³¹

Perhaps the most plausible explanation, then, for the production of the collection and the acephalous nature of the manuscript is that Duke himself had asked for the work. No one could then claim the credit because the initiative had come directly from the palace: a commission would usually be accompanied by effusive praise of the patron. Besides this, however, the big translation projects at Ercole's court were designed to serve a wider political

²⁹ Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen, codex 78.C.26, ff. 1–24^r. See further Trinkaus 1960.

³⁰ This information, might, just possibly, have been derived by conjecture from the manuscript itself, as an inference from the book's presence in the Ducal library and the appearance of the Este arms at its beginning. But I have suggested above that a more likely explanation is that the same misinformation about the origin of the translations was given both to Lo Zoppino and to Giovio by someone in Ferrara.

³¹ Acocella 2016, 38–45.

goal, that of enhancing the prestige of the city outside its boundaries.³² But what wider cultural or political purpose might be served by a public proclamation of Ercole's interest in an author who came from Byzantium burdened with a reputation for atheism and attacks on Christianity, and, more specifically, by this particular collection, which included the lubricious "Dialogi Meretricii" (Dialogues of the Courtesans) and *Amores* (Acts of Love)? It is hard to conceive of a good way to sell the court's interest in *those* works as anything but private indulgence in sexual titillation. The collection was, therefore, I believe, made on the Duke's request, for his private entertainment, and for this reason was deliberately left unequipped with the normal apparatus of courtly eulogy.

Given the various pieces of evidence which must be accommodated, then, the following is the account of the genesis of the Chigi MS that in my view best suits them. (1) The original group of versions were made in Latin by Leoniceno for various of his classes, including a beginners' Greek course (where Lucian's wit and the appeal of his material helped lighten the tedious learning process) and one, perhaps, on the pathology of sexuality. (2) The Duke knew of Lucian at least from Bartolommeo della Fonte's version of "De non temere credendo calumniae" (On not rashly believing slander) (1472), and perhaps also from conversation with others of his learned courtiers, was intrigued, and wanted to have more of his writings in a form accessible to him. (3) The Duke asked a courtier who was either a seasoned translator from Latin into *volgare* himself, or could be trusted to know whom to ask, and who also knew that Leoniceno had made Latin versions for his classes, to get those texts from Leoniceno and translate them – or have them translated, into Italian. (4) During the work the compiler also collected the pseudo-Lucanic modern works with no Greek text because they were accessible – or even because the Duke had been told about and wanted them. (5) The compiler parcelled the work of translation out to an unknown number of individuals, who included Boiardo. (6) The completed collection was handed over to a Ducal scribe to make a presentation copy (now Chigi L.VI.215), without a dedication letter because it was a copy made on the request of the Duke himself for the Duke's personal use and contained questionable material. (7) Lo Zoppino produced in 1523 an edition of the Lucianic *Asinus* (Ass) on its own, claiming it for Boiardo, speaking with inside knowledge. (8) When he came to use the rest of the MS, in his 1525 "Dilettevoli Dialoghi" (Delightful Dialogues), he made no claims about the authorship of the works, but in the 1529 edition attributed them to Leoniceno, because in the meantime someone had given him this information, though the informant clearly did not know or

³² Gritti 2014, 18–19 on Boiardo's Xenophon.

did not make it clear that it was the original Latin versions he had done. (9) This attribution was later taken up and confirmed by Giovio, though not directly from the Zoppino edition (nor from the MS itself). On this hypothesis, we must assume that Giovio's (Ferrarese?) informant had no idea of the double translation process involved and so in giving Giovio the information about Ercole's enjoyment of the collection ascribed the vernacular versions directly to Leoniceno. The bulk of these vernacular versions, then, must continue to be anonymous, though one should accept Boiardo as the translator (from a lost Latin text) of "Lucius, siue Asinus" (Lucius or the Ass) and Leoniceno as the author of the (at least the majority of) intermediary Latin translations of 35 of the 37 items in the Chigi MS.³³

³³ The analysis of Dapelo & Zoppelli 1998, 110–111 suggests that the translator of *Mortuorum Dialogi* 10.12 (77.25) used Leoniceno for the first part and Aurispa for the second.

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“A MATTER FOR THE HISTORY OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT”:



On C. A. Klotz' assessment of Saxo Grammaticus' history of Denmark in his edition of 1771

By Karen Skovgaard-Petersen

After its first appearance in print in 1514, Saxo Grammaticus' medieval history of Denmark enjoyed a considerable reputation for its elegant Latin in the emergent European republic of learning. In the following centuries it was published again several times, the most important edition being that of Stephanus in 1644-1645. In 1771 a new edition appeared, published by C. A. Klotz in Leipzig. The paper discusses Klotz' general assessment of Saxo arguing that Klotz is at one and the same time a late representative of the European republic of learning and an exponent of Enlightenment ideas.

In the early modern reception of Saxo Grammaticus' history of Denmark, two editions are of special importance. Christiern Pedersen's *editio princeps* printed in Paris in 1514 essentially secured the survival of the text. Once printed, Saxo's history not only had a profound influence on Danish historical writing, and indeed on Danish identity, it also gained a place in the canon of European historiography. The next seminal event in the history of Saxo scholarship was the edition of Stephanus Johs. Stephanus, Sorø 1644–1645, which presented a thoroughly revised text accompanied by a comprehensive introduction and a full-scale commentary.

Almost the same span of years separates Stephanus' edition from its successor, the edition of the German Christian Adolf Klotz, published in Leipzig 1771. Unlike its predecessor, however, it does not hold a prominent place in the textual history of Saxo; it is, as Karsten Friis-Jensen notes, “chiefly a reprint of Stephanus' edition.”¹ In his recent survey of editions of Saxo in *Dansk Editions historie*, Christian Troelsgaard has paid some attention to it. With its unassuming appearance and its neo-classical orthography this is, he sums up, the Enlightenment Saxo. This is in itself an

¹ Saxo, ed. Friis-Jensen 2015, lxii.

apt characterization.² In the present article I shall supplement Troelsgaard’s observations by considering Klotz’ assessment of Saxo’s history and the values underlying it. Klotz is, I believe, at one and the same time influenced by contemporary Enlightenment ideals and a late representative of the European learned republic.

Christian Adolf Klotz

But first let me give a brief presentation of the editor, Christian Adolf Klotz, himself.³ In the course of his short life – he died only 33 years old – he emerged as an energetic literary critic and student of Greek and Roman literature and antiquities. Born in Saxony in 1738, he studied in Leipzig 1758–1760, moved to Jena in 1761 and then became professor in Göttingen in 1762, but soon – after various clashes with colleagues – accepted an offer from Halle to become professor of rhetoric and philosophy there in 1765.

He published an overwhelming amount of writings, primarily on Greek and Roman literature and Greco-Roman numismatics. He was editor of several literary journals and involved himself in both satirical attacks on contemporary academic life and personal polemics. Nevertheless, young as he was, by the mid-1760s he enjoyed a notable reputation as a singularly gifted judge of literary taste. But soon things turned. From both G. E. Lessing (1729–1781) and J. G. Herder (1744–1803) he now encountered harsh criticism for his alleged superficial approach and unoriginal judgements.

At his death on 31 December 1771 Klotz’ star had fallen considerably, but he seems to have preserved a certain reputation after his death. Two biographies were published in 1772, and 11 years later followed a collection of letters written to him by German scholars.⁴ An enthusiastic review of Klotz’ edition of Saxo (largely summarizing Klotz’ own introduction), which was published at the time of his death in *Nova acta eruditorum*, likewise bears witness to continued recognition.⁵

One of the biographies was written by Karl Renatus Hausen (1740–1805), whose acquaintance with Klotz seems to go back to the late 1750s when they both studied in Leipzig. Hausen, like Klotz, became professor in Halle in 1765 but left Halle again the following year. The biography bears witness to a close friendship between the two, and Hausen seems to strive to give a balanced description of Klotz’ strengths and weaknesses. Regretting that Klotz’ polemic temper kept him from more useful academic undertakings, he

² Troelsgaard 2021, 797–848. On Klotz, *ibid.*, 824–825.

³ Bursian 1882, 228–231.

⁴ Hausen 1772; Mangelsdorf 1772; Hagen 1783.

⁵ Bel 1771, 64–75.

finds occasion to refer to the edition of Saxo as one his valuable accomplishments:

Alle diese Critiken, Streitigkeiten und Angriffe raubten ihm von viel edlern und nützlichern Beschäftigungen sehr wenige Zeit. Er gab die kleinen Schriften einiger würdigen Gelehrten heraus, des Bachs, Crusius, Bayers; begleitete die Schriften verdienter Männer mit Vorreden; beschäftigte sich mit einer sehr brauchbaren Ausgabe des Saxo Grammaticus; verbesserte seine numismatischen Schriften, und besorgte eine neue Ausgabe derselben, die er auch noch kurz vor seinem Tode vollendet hat (p. 48–49).

This is Hausen’s only reference to the Saxo edition. But he draws attention to several features of Klotz’ academic mindset which are also evident in the Saxo edition, first and foremost his lively and sharp style marked by distinct judgements and his ability to quickly grasp a new subject.

A similar picture emerges from the other biography, written by a student of Klotz’ in Halle, Karl Ehregott Mangelsdorf (1748-1802). Though enthusiastically celebrating Klotz’ academic merits – and generally taking Klotz’ part in the numerous disputes in which he involved himself – Mangelsdorf is not blind to his weaknesses, among them his irascibility.⁶ The edition of Saxo is to Mangelsdorf an astonishing illustration of Klotz’ versatile intellect. Schooled in classical literature as he was, he nevertheless conducted a many-sided and discerning discussion of Saxo’s Danish history in his substantial introduction.⁷

In later German intellectual history Klotz’ reputation seems to have been determined by the attacks of his more prominent opponents, Herder and Lessing. Indeed, Herman Jaumann in a recent short biography (2004) claims that Klotz fell victim to a regrettable tendency to accept the canonized. Be that as it may, the result is, as pointed out by Jaumann, that none of Klotz’ many works have been object of closer study.

The dedicatory letter to Christian VII.

Klotz dedicated his edition of Saxo to the Danish king, Christian VII (*r.* 1766-1808). In this he followed convention since it had been common practice since the sixteenth century to dedicate monumental works of national history – and an edition of Saxo certainly belongs to this category – to the ruling king.

⁶ Bursian describes Klotz’ talents in this way: “die Fähigkeit, sich auf verschiedenen Gebieten ohne tief eindringende Forschung zu orientiren, die Gabe lebhafter und witziger Darstellung in lateinischer wie in deutscher Sprache und die in jener Zeit der „schönen Geister“ besonders ansprechende ästhetisirende Behandlungsweise des klassischen Alterthums ...”.

⁷ Mangelsdorf 1772, 76–77.

It may be, as suggested by Christian Troelsgaard, that Klotz wanted to pave the way for an academic position in Denmark, but that must remain a speculation. What we do know with a high degree of certainty is that the king rewarded Klotz with a gold medal.⁸

Klotz’ dedicatory letter is, however, noteworthy for another reason. It celebrates in enthusiastic terms Christian VII’s recent and spectacular abolition of censorship. This pioneering act, granting unrestricted freedom of the press by a cabinet order of September 1770, was in effect the work of the German J. P. Struensee (1737–1772), doctor to the king and de facto ruler of Denmark for a brief and turbulent period until his downfall and execution in January 1772. In Copenhagen the sudden abolition of censorship gave rise to a massive amount of pamphlets, a day to day debate on a wide variety of topics.⁹ From France Voltaire (1694–1778) famously celebrated the Danish freedom of press in a letter to Christian VII, and Klotz’ dedication is yet another indication of the attention Struensee’s initiative attracted also abroad.

In his dedicatory letter Klotz, praising the king’s wisdom in abolishing censorship, articulates the widespread Enlightenment position among intellectuals of his day, that the securing of freedom of press is a beneficial act to mankind as a whole:

You realized that writers who wish to benefit the human race through their writings, should not have to depend on other people’s will. You did not want freedom of thought and writing to be subjected to the authority of any mortal [...] Hail again, your Majesty, who has served mankind so excellently.¹⁰

Rising above the barbarism of his own age

Klotz accompanied his edition with a substantial introduction to Saxo’s history, entitled – like his predecessor Stephanius’ introduction to his edition – *Prolegomena*. It is Klotz’ ambition, he explains (p. 3), to cover Saxo’s life and writings based on the rich scholarly literature on Saxo, throughout adding his own judgements.

In the following discussion of Klotz’ *Prolegomena* I shall not go into his many – and impressively learned – discussions of various topics of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Saxo scholarship, such as Saxo’s sources

⁸ Bel 1771, 74.

⁹ This fascinating material has recently been subjected to thorough investigation in Horstbøll, Langen & Stjernfelt 2020.

¹⁰ “Non ex aliorum voluntate, qui scriptis suis prodesse velint humano generi, rem agere debere censuisti; libertatemque cogitandi scribendique nullius mortalis arbitrio subditam esse voluisti ... Iterum salve, Rex de humano genere optime merite.” (Klotz’ dedicatory letter, Saxo 1771, unpag.). On discussions of censorship and freedom of press, see Tortarolo 2015 with further references. On the theme of mankind, see e.g. Bristow 2017.

to the older part of Danish history, his alleged Danish bias, and the fabulous and supernatural elements in the early part of his history. My focus will be on Klotz’ general assessment of Saxo – and hence also on his motives for publishing a new edition – as well as his final treatment of Saxo’s language and style. On this field, which is closely related to his overall evaluation, Klotz delivered his own contribution to Saxo scholarship.

From the outset (p. 1–3), Klotz makes clear that Saxo’s history, oratorically brilliant as it is, ranks among the works of the best of the classical historians. It is characterized by Saxo’s prudence, seriousness and wide knowledge, an excellent disposition, and a harmonious and transparent narrative.¹¹ The last part of this characteristic is borrowed from Quintilian’s description of Livy’s narrative qualities, thereby indirectly suggesting Saxo’s equivalence with the Roman historian.¹²

However, what is particularly remarkable about Saxo, Klotz goes on, is the utter barbarism of the age in which he lived. Klotz goes to some length and uses strong and indignant words to describe the literary decay of the Middle Ages when “the worst and most depraved discourse prevailed” (“vitosissimum corruptissimumque dicendi genus regnabat”, p. 2). When we come across a text from that period which stands out for its liveliness, Klotz goes on, we must embrace it with the same admiration and joy as a star brightening up a pitch-dark heaven or a specimen of excellent virtue in a totally depraved society. Saxo’s qualities, he insists, are truly immortal and place him among the very best historians, and it is no wonder, then, that learned men have discussed and commented upon Saxo in the same way that they have Livy, Thucydides, Sallust, and other classical historians unanimously praised for their elegance (*elegantia*) and prudence (*prudencia*).

Even in our depraved age, more prone to silliness and pleasure than to serious studies, Klotz reflects, Saxo’s work will be well received. Klotz has no doubt of the importance of his endeavour:

It is certainly a matter for the history of the human spirit to learn about this man who has so definitively distanced himself from the studies of his

¹¹ “Cuius posteaquam Historiam Danicam, tot verborum et sententiarum luminibus distinctam, attentius examinaui, optimorum historicorum numero locoque illum habendum esse, mihi persuasi. Quanta ille non solum prudentia et grauitate, sed etiam orationis elegantia res memoratu dignas explicuit! quae in eo antiquitatis cognitio! quae locorum hominumque scientia! Quam apta totius operis dispositio! In narrando vero miram illius iucunditatem clarissimumque candorem nemo est qui non animaduertat facile, et animaduersum amet laudetque.” (Saxo, ed. Klotz 1771, *Prolegomena*, 1).

¹² “[...] nec indignetur sibi Herodotus aequari Titum Livium, cum in narrando mirae iucunditatis clarissimique candoris [...]” (Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 10.1.101, my emphasis).

contemporaries and with the brilliance of his mind surpassed his own age,¹³

– he solemnly concludes this first part of his introduction.

In short, Saxo, being on a par with the great classical historian, belongs to the timeless elite of historians who have a place in the common history of mankind. In this context, Klotz displays no interest in the medieval, Nordic context of Saxo’s text. On the contrary, he is aggressively negative towards medieval literature, and he sees it as a tribute to Saxo’s genius that he was able to rise so high above his contemporaries.

Having thus established the immortal quality of Saxo’s text Klotz adds the practical circumstance that it is difficult to find copies of the older editions – and hence how he sees it as a duty to the world to secure its availability. His own edition, he adds, commends itself for its *luculenta species*, its clear and trustworthy appearance.

A philological justification for a new edition

Soon after, however, it becomes clear that Klotz had yet another motive for publishing a new edition of Saxo. He found the edition of his immediate predecessor Stephanius inadequate in several respects.

After an overview of Saxo’s biography (p. 3–15) he embarks on a discussion of the history itself (p. 15ff), beginning with the previous printed editions – Christiern Pedersen ed. 1514, Oporinus ed. 1534, Lonicerus ed. 1576, and Stephanius ed. 1644–1645 – devoting particular attention to the latter.

Stephanius, he notes, did not have any medieval manuscripts at his disposal, and hence he put the more effort into meticulous considerations of textual emendations. Again, Klotz cannot resist another jibe at pointless medieval learning: No wonder we have no medieval manuscripts of Saxo, since the hands of the fat monks were used to writing complex trifles, not useful books.¹⁴

But Klotz’ central point is that Stephanius’ editorial achievement does not live up to the high standards announced in his introduction. To be sure, Stephanius has conducted impressive and convincing textual emendations,

¹³ “Pertinet certe ad historiam ingenii humani, illum virum cognovisse, adeo qui recesserit ab aequalium studiis, suamque aetatem ingenii praestantia superauerit.” (Saxo, ed. Klotz 1771, *Prolegomena*, 2–3).

¹⁴ “Nec mirum. Obesorum monarchorum manus difficilibus nugis, non libris vtilibus, scribendis adsuetae erant.” Klotz here remarks on the intriguing but probably false claim by the philologist Caspar Barth (1587-1658) that he had been in possession of a manuscript version and two transcriptions of Saxo’s text – but alas, they had burned. (Saxo, ed. Stephanius, 1644–1645 *Notae uberiores*, *Prolegomena*, 8).

but too many errors have crept in, probably due to excessive haste. Klotz’ judgement is merciless:

This edition is marred by innumerable errors, and the signs by which the different parts of the discourse are separated, have been placed so poorly that the reader cannot figure out what Saxo wanted to say and gets tired from prolonged reading.¹⁵

Based on these grounds, Klotz has seen it as his own mission to present a better and more trustworthy text. His corrections are of two main types, he explains. Misplaced punctuation marks have been adjusted, and a number of emendations that Stephanius had suggested in his notes, have been noted as variants at the bottom of the page in question.

It is not the aim of the present paper to subject the validity of Klotz’ statement to closer scrutiny. A few random tests suggest that Klotz in many cases has added commas around participle constructions which may be said, as he himself claims, to facilitate the reading. But apart from that Klotz seems to have reproduced Stephanius’ text faithfully, and seen with modern eyes his sharp criticism seems exaggerated. Be that as it may, according to Klotz himself his new edition was justified by his allegedly innumerable corrections.

A change in scholarly communication

Klotz also finds faults with Stephanius’ commentaries to Saxo’s text, the *Notæ uberiores*. His criticism in this respect is of a more principled nature and reflects a broader change in scholarly communication.

Stephanius’ edition of Saxo’s text in 1644–1645 had marked a watershed in the scholarly history of Saxo. Accompanied by a thorough introduction and substantial commentaries to the text, it demonstrated not only Saxo’s debt to classical authors but also the close relationship between his history and the Old Norse literature, offering in addition a multitude of antiquarian observations and philological discussions.

This broad approach is what Klotz finds problematic. Though Stephanius’ commentary certainly deserves praise for its richness, it is in his eyes too wide-ranging and goes in too many directions, “embellished by a variety of digressions, seeking detours where either I myself get seriously lost or those people who are dominated by their love of antiquity, can rest peacefully,” Klotz declares somewhat sarcastically, paraphrasing a passage from Livy’s history where the historian declares his intention of not making unnecessarily

¹⁵ “Nam scatet innumerabili errorum copia haec editio, eaque, quibus membra orationis distinguuntur, signa, tam vitiose posita apparent, vt saepe, quid Saxo dicere voluerit, nescias, diuque fatiges animum lectioni intentum” (Saxo, ed. Klotz 1771, *Prolegomena*, 18).

digressions.¹⁶ Indeed, much in Stephanius’ commentary is simply superfluous in Klotz’ eyes: “Frankly, the reader who requires nothing more from the commentator than that he should briefly explain the difficult passages, may easily do without most of these notes.”¹⁷

On the other hand, Klotz also recognizes the value of Stephanius’ approach: If the reader goes to Stephanius’ *Notæ uberiores* to sharpen his intellect and for the sake of refinement, rich awards in terms of manifold knowledge are in store. He will see that Stephanius’ approach is very similar to those who have written brilliant commentaries to the texts of the old Greek and Roman writers. Indeed, Klotz declares, Stephanius may well be counted among the great heroes of learning such as Carl Andreas Duker, Caspar Barth, Isaac Casaubon and Justus Lipsius.¹⁸

This is indeed a precise description of Stephanius’ ambition in the *Notæ uberiores*. He strove to present Saxo’s text as a part of the common European literary heritage and did so by writing a commentary that closely resembled contemporary commentaries on classical authors. He entered into discussions on antiquarian, philological and even societal issues, raised by other members of the learned republic in their classical commentaries.¹⁹

Klotz, as we saw, shares this wish to demonstrate that Saxo belongs to the common history of humanity on a par with the admired writers of Antiquity, acknowledging that Stephanius’ commentary may well be compared to classical commentaries of the most famous philological scholars of the 17th century.

Nevertheless, Klotz distances himself from the all-inclusive approach of the learned republic in Stephanius’ day. His criticism of Stephanius’ notes for being too broad, too encompassing, applies to the early modern commentary tradition in general. The early modern commentary was, as it has been

¹⁶ “immensam illae [Stephanius’ notes] praeferunt lectionis vim, variaeque doctrinae vberimam copiam. Exspatiatur Stephanius non raro liberius, declinat a rerum ordine, atque varietatibus distinguendo opus diverticula quasi quaerit, vbi aut ego vehementer erro, aut, qui antiquitatis amore ducuntur, suauiter requiescunt.” (Saxo, ed. Klotz 1771, *Prolegomena*, 19). Cf. Livy 9.17.1: “Nihil minus quaesitum a principio huius operis videri potest quam ut plus iusto ab rerum ordine declinare varietatibusque distinguendo opere et legentibus velut deverticula amoena et requiem animo meo quaererem ...” (my emphasis).

¹⁷ “Profecto carere potest magna harum animaduersionum parte, qui nil aliud ab interprete postulat, quam vt is difficiliora loca paucis explicet.” (Saxo, ed. Klotz 1771, *Prolegomena*, 19).

¹⁸ “... neque alio modo in explicando Saxone versatum fuisse Stephanium videbit, quam qui veteres Graeciae et Romae auctores luculentis commentariis illustrauerunt. Equidem Stephanio inter Dukeros, Barthios Casaubonos, Lipsios locum dare nullus dubito.” (Saxo, ed. Klotz 1771, *Prolegomena* p. 19).

¹⁹ See Skovgaard-Petersen 2020.

formulated, “storehouses of learning.”²⁰ The classical texts commented on served as point of departure for discussions of all sorts of topics precisely as in the case of Stephanius’ *Notæ uberiores*.

To Klotz, writing in the second half of the eighteenth century, the classical commentary had lost this function. His view that a commentary ought only to explain difficult passages reflects the change that had taken place in scholarly communication in the eighteenth century. With the emergence of new genres and media of scholarly debate, notably the periodicals, commentaries on classical texts no longer functioned as vehicles for many-sided discussions.²¹

Interestingly, Klotz’ sarcastic remark about Stephanius’ boundlessness in the passage quoted above was reused 30 years later by Johann Wilhelm Raphael Fiorillo (1778–1816), philologist and librarian in Göttingen, in the preface to his edition of Herodes Atticus. Here Fiorillo, while expressing his admiration for the scholarship unfolded in a learned commentary of the seventeenth century – in this case by the French scholar Claude Saumaise (Salmasius, 1588-1653) – disapproves of its digressiveness using the same words as Klotz:

Salmasius, in his great commentary, displayed an enormous abundance of many-sided learning. He often divagates rather far, and by embellishing his work by a variety of digressions he seeks detours where those people who are dominated by their love of antiquity, can rest peacefully.²²

Whether Fiorillo took the wording from Klotz or they had a common source, the point is the same, that they distance themselves from the commentary tradition of the seventeenth century.

Klotz himself simply refrained from furnishing Saxo’s text with commentaries on single words and passages. The text of his edition is accompanied only with an index of memorable things as well as a few foot notes presenting variant readings. His sole aim, he explains, is to offer a clear and trustworthy edition of Saxo’s text – again he uses the adjective *luculentus* to describe his ambition – in order that everybody will be able to become acquainted with Saxo’s elegance and eloquence so often praised by learned

²⁰ See Enenkel & Nellen 2013, especially the editors’ introduction.

²¹ The period after 1700 is briefly touched upon by Enenkel & Nellen 2013, 69f. There is a rich literature on the emergence of the periodical press and more generally of new channels for circulating knowledge, see e.g. Siskin & Warner 2010 and Burke 2000 & 2012.

²² “*Aliam viam inii in explicandis carminibus. Salmasius, in magno suo Commentario, immensam protulit variae eruditionis copiam; exspatiatur non raro liberius, atque varietatibus distinguendo opus, diverticula quasi quaerit, ubi, qui antiquitatis amore ducuntur, suaviter requiescant.*” Herodes Atticus 1801, vii. Cf. the quotation from Klotz in note 16 (my emphasis).

men.²³ We may take it that he regarded this purpose to be fulfilled without further commentaries on philological or antiquarian matters.

Saxo’s linguistic and stylistic shortcomings

To Klotz, then, elegance and eloquence are the central qualities of Saxo’s text. In order to understand the closer meaning of these concepts we must turn to the final part of his *Prolegomena* which Klotz has devoted to a detailed description of Saxo’s Latin language and style (p. 47–63).

Saxo’s Latin style had been praised by many scholars such as Erasmus (1466–1536), Johannes Ludovicus Vives (1493–1540) and Gerardus Vossius (1577–1649). But as Klotz observes, none of them had undertaken to explicate the reasons for their appreciation of Saxo’s Latin.²⁴ This deficiency is what Klotz aims to remedy, and he now embarks on a discussion of diverse linguistic and stylistic aspects of Saxo’s text.

Klotz’ approach is strongly normative. He reveals himself as a rather narrow-minded classicist, and it now turns out that he does not find Saxo as unaffected by medieval depravity as his initial praise of the historian as a lonely star in the medieval darkness might suggest (p. 49–58).

His first complaint concerns Saxo’s extensive use of Valerius Maximus and Martianus Capella. Indeed, Saxo, in Klotz’ view, could hardly have chosen worse models – Valerius Maximus being uncultivated, plebeian and somewhat obscure, Martianus Capella barbarian and excessively pretentious. And though Saxo surpassed them both in elegance, there is no denying that they left their filthy traces in Saxo’s prose.²⁵

These were not the only writers to exercise their deplorable influence on Saxo, Klotz goes on, offering a list of “bad words” (*vitiose dicta*) in Saxo’s text, “spots that deform a beautiful body,”²⁶ and even though many of them have the authority of late antiquity writers, they must still, in Klotz’ eyes, be considered barbaric since they were unknown in ancient Latin.

²³ “Nihil enim mihi aliud propositum fuit, quam luculentam Saxonis editionem adornare, quae copiam faceret omnibus cognoscendae, toties in illo laudatae a viris doctis, elegantiae et facundiae.” (Saxo, ed. Klotz 1771, *Prolegomena* 18).

²⁴ “Praeclara omnino fuit horum virorum opinio de Latinitate Saxonis, licet subtilius opinionis suae causas explicare iidem debuissent.” (Saxo, ed. Klotz 1771, *Prolegomena*, 48). Klotz is aware of the existence of a work whose title promises to deal with Saxo’s Latin, Heinrich Hierild’s dissertation *Saxo Grammaticus vindicatus sive dissertatio philologico-historico-critica de puritate linguae latinae et castitate historiae Danicae in Saxone contra Joh. Goropi Becanum, Boxhorni et alios*, 1702, but regrets that he has not been able to acquire it. The little book does take up stylistic questions, but only superficially.

²⁵ “Nam traxit inde oratio Saxonis sordes quasdam et maculas, quae aures oculosque nostros offendunt.” (Saxo, ed. Klotz 1771, *Prolegomena*, 49).

²⁶ “deformant hae maculae pulchrum corpus” (Saxo, ed. Klotz 1771, *Prolegomena*, 51).

Also syntactically Saxo sometimes deviates from the Latin of the “best age,” using for instance *quod* constructions instead of the accusative and infinitive. Klotz here refers to a heated philological discussion carried on over centuries about the acceptability of *quod* after *dico* and similar verbs. He firmly disagrees with the philologists Perizonius (1651–1715), Gerardus Vossius and Kaspar Scioppius (1576–1649) who have defended this phenomenon in classical Latin.²⁷ To Klotz the decisive argument is that the construction is not found in the authors “who alone are to be imitated.”²⁸

Nor was Saxo immune to rhetorical imperfections of his age. His metaphors are often flat and inappropriate, and he is too fond of superficial and empty wordplay, which conflicts with the *gravitas* required of historiography.²⁹ And even though poetry and historiography are closely related and the historian may well make use of poetical effects as we see in Xenophon, Livy and Thucydides, Saxo on his part tends to confuse the poetical and prosaic styles. The same can be said of numerous philosophical words used by Saxo, words that seriously stand in the way of historiographical lustre (*splendor*, p. 58).

Briefly put, in Klotz’ view Saxo’s stylistic shortcomings – vocabulary, syntax and rhetorical conventions – are signs that he was not after all unaffected by the barbarian age in which he lived.

Elegance and prudence

This criticism, however, concerns Saxo’s prose. As to the poetical parts of Saxo’s history, they are in Klotz’ view much purer. Saxo’s verses stand out for their splendour, their power and gravity and magnificence of spirit. These memorable products of the human mind have a universal appeal, Klotz declares echoing his initial statement about Saxo’s place in the history of mankind.³⁰

²⁷ One important platform for the discussion was Perizonius’ commented edition of the *Minerva sive de causis linguae Latinae* (1562, 1587) by the Spanish philologist Franciscus Sanctius (1523–1600). Perizonius’ commented edition came out in 1687 and several times in the eighteenth century. I here quote some excerpts from Perizonius’ extensive discussion of the *dico quod*-construction: “Existimat ergo Sanctius barbare loqui, qui dicant, *Scio quod, Dico quod, Credo quod, & similia* ... In contrariam itaque sententiam abierunt Manutius ad Cicer. *Famil.* VII. 28., Henr. Stephanus de Latin. falso susp. Vossius de Construct. cap. 20 & 62. sed maxime Scioppius ... Et tamen, ut verum fatear, prorsus ego quidem cum Scioppio, &c. heic sentiam” (Sanctius, ed. Perizonius 1714, 501–502).

²⁸ “Nam auctorum, quos vnice sequi fas est, exemplum aduersatur” (Saxo, ed. Klotz 1771, *Prolegomena*, 55).

²⁹ E.g. “iam non lecto, sed letho studentes” (VII,6,8), “protinus sollicitudini remedium solitudine quaesiuit”, (IX,4,34).

³⁰ “Quis enim adeo incuriosus viuit cum rei poeticae tum antiquorum temporum, qui memorabilia haec ingenii humani monumenta cognoscere nolit?” (Saxo, ed. Klotz 1771, 52).

Moreover, we now learn that Klotz finds much more to praise than to blame in Saxo’s prose. After all, he says, the many reprehensible features are just spots. The central point is that Saxo, with his elegance and grace (*elegantia et venustas*), easily surpasses his contemporaries and may be ranged on a par with the best of the classical writers.³¹ We have already seen how Klotz highlights *elegantia* as the overall quality of Saxo’s text. On these final pages (p. 58–63) he describes the features that constitute Saxo’s *elegantia* and demonstrate his *prudentia*.

Klotz singles out four areas of Saxo’s mastery: His selection of important and relevant material, his vivid and visual descriptions of a wide variety of events and phenomena, his use of direct speech and his many useful sententiae and maxims. Throughout, Saxo is measured up against the classical historians. In Klotz’ eyes his excellence lies in his eminent ability to learn from the classics.³²

Following their example, Klotz notes, Saxo has inserted a large number of direct speeches into his narrative. Klotz is aware of Jean Le Clerc’s (1656–1736) rejection of invented speeches in his *Ars Critica* (1696) in opposition to Vossius’ *Ars historica* (1623), and Klotz sides with Vossius’ defense of classical historiographical convention.³³ He explains that the rendering of speeches by the persons involved is an efficient way of showing their motives, deliberations and plans, and for which reason speeches fit well into a pragmatic history.

This is the first time Klotz refers to Saxo’s history as pragmatic. But it now becomes clear that Saxo, in Klotz’ view, lives up to the classical ideal of pragmatic history, whose goal it is – as he illustrates with a quotation from Polybius (second century BC)³⁴ – to explain the causes of events and thereby

³¹ ... satis diu commorati sumus in vituperando Saxone, cuius oratio licet conspersa sit quibusdam maculis, elegantia tamen et venustate longe superat omnes, qui eo tempore vixerunt, scriptores, immo ab optimis antiqui aevi auctoribus proxime abest (Saxo, ed. Klotz 1771, *Prolegomena*, 58).

³² “Quae qui exempla consideraverit, nae ille admirabitur verborum vim, orationis vigorem, ingenii vbertatem, nihilque iis par aut simile illud aeuum protulisse fatebitur. Facile inde quisque intelliget, quanto studio pulcherrima antiqui Latii monimenta imitatus sit Saxo, quamque felici successu animum adiecerit ad exprimenda eloquentiae exempla praestantissima” (Saxo, ed. Klotz 1771, 60).

³³ Jean Le Clerc, *Ars Critica*, 1696, 3,3,8,15, p. 488; Gerardus Vossius, *Ars historica*, 1623, ch. 20–21.

³⁴ Polybius, *Histories* 3, 31,12: ἱστορίας γὰρ εἰάν ἀφέλη τις τὸ διὰ τί καὶ πῶς καὶ τίνος χάριν ἐπράχθη τὸ πραχθὲν καὶ πότερον εὐλογον ἔσχε τὸ τέλος, τὸ καταλειπόμενον αὐτῆς ἀγώνισμα μὲν μάθημα δ’ οὐ γίνεται (“For if you take from history all explanation of cause, principle, and motive, and of the adaptation of the means to the end, what is left is a mere panorama without being instructive,” trans. Shuckburgh).

to be instructive and useful. It was a historiographical ideal still held in high esteem in Klotz’ day.³⁵

This didactic aspect is further foregrounded in Klotz’ final praise of the many *sententiae*, i.e., general moral precepts, whereby Saxo strove to make his narrative as useful as possible. Aimed at the readers’ instruction, these *sententiae* are, says Klotz, always elegant and powerful, and Saxo has an excellent understanding of where and when to place them.³⁶ Sometimes they are even beautifully integrated into the narrative so that they appear not as a teacher’s precepts but as human examples of what is useful and what is harmful.

Summing up

Klotz’ emphasis on the *sententiae* and general precepts highlights the timeless aspect of his interpretation of Saxo. From the very beginning he makes it clear that Saxo belongs to the group of historians whose works stand out as immortal contributions to human civilization. In Klotz’ eyes, Saxo is able to exercise the *prudentia* and hence communicate with the *elegantia* of the immortal classical historians.

Klotz’ complaint of Saxo’s non-classical words and constructions may strike a modern reader as hide-bound and surprisingly close to the strict Ciceronian ideals of some renaissance humanists two centuries earlier. But perhaps his strict classicism could also be said to underpin his insistence on the timeless qualities of Saxo’s history. Arguably, it is Klotz’ position that Saxo’s enduring merits would come through even better, had he communicated in the pure classical Latin of the immortal Roman writers, a Latin untainted by later developments. It may be true to say that his reference to Saxo’s history as a contribution to the common history of mankind at one and the same time has a contemporary ring of Enlightenment and upholds the traditional renaissance cultivation of the classics.

Klotz insists that Saxo’s text itself should be in focus, undisturbed by extensive philological and antiquarian discussions. He distances himself from Stephanius’ wide-ranging commentaries and emphasizes the importance of the clear appearance, the *luculenta species*, of Saxo’s text in his own edition. While these editorial features reflect contemporary conventions of scholarly communication, there is a strong element of tradition in Klotz’ assessment of Saxo’s text itself. Not only in his adherence to classical historiographical and

³⁵ See the discussion in Olden-Jørgensen 2015, 15ff. with further references.

³⁶ “Diserte quoque praecepta viuendi agendique tradidit, frequentissimasque sententias, quibus animus lectorum ad recte sentiendi iudicandique de rebus consuetudinem adducitur, adpersit. Quod fecit et loco et tempore aptissimo ...” (Saxo, ed. Klotz 1771, *Prolegomena*, 61).

linguistical ideals but also in his dialogue with prominent scholars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Klotz, in short, is a late representative of the European learned republic. As such he wanted to secure Saxo’s immortal Latin masterpiece a renewed readership in his own day. Since few copies of the older editions were available, and since he found the interpunctuation of Stephanus’ edition inadequate, he had decided to publish a new edition. These are the motives Klotz himself offers as explanation for having prepared his new edition. But we cannot rule out, as suggested by Troelsgaard, that he also wanted to pave the way for an academic engagement in Copenhagen.

Had he come to Saxo’s native Denmark in the 1770s, however, he would have discovered that current debates on Saxo here went in other directions. In an undated essay, “In defence of Saxo Grammaticus”, the prominent historian Jacob Langebek (1710-1775) claimed that Saxo’s most serious error was his choice of language:

If Saxo can be blamed for anything, it must rather be for his much too high admiration for the Latin language, his idea that nothing of any quality could be written other than in Latin ... What would Saxo not have left us, a wonderful monument, an invaluable ornament to the Danish language, had he written his entire history in the Danish language of his age ... His fame may not have been as great among foreigners as it is now. But he would have earned a much more immortal name among his compatriots and deserved far more gratitude from all lovers of Danish antiquities and the Nordic languages.³⁷

This is a far cry from Klotz. As we have seen, he not only echoes but also elaborates and refines upon the enthusiastic praise of Saxo’s Latin elegance that European scholars had articulated since the sixteenth century. But new proto-Romantic winds were now blowing – ironically, they were inspired by Klotz’ old enemy Johann Gottfried Herder – and Langebek along with other Danish scholars now saw Saxo’s use of Latin as an unpatriotic mistake, almost a betrayal of his Danish roots. These scholars did not share Klotz’

³⁷ “Skulde Saxo lastes for Noget, da maatte det snarere skee derfor, at han har havt alt for høje Tanker om det latinske Sprog, og meent, at intet Godt kunde skrives uden paa Latin ... Hvad havde Saxo ikke efterladt os en herlig Ærestøtte og uskatterlige Zir for det danske Sprog, om han havde beskrevet os sin hele Historie paa sine Tiders Dansk ... Vel havde maaskee hans Rygte ikke blevet saa stort hos Fremmede, som det nu er; men han havde indlagt sig et langt udødeligere Navn hos sine Landsmænd, og fortjent langt større Tak af alle, som ere de danske Antiquiteter og de nordiske Sprogs Elskere,” Langebek 1794, 299–305 (here 302–303). See also Skovgaard-Petersen (forthcoming).

fundamental point of view that it was Saxo's Latin elegance and his adherence to rhetorical norms of the classical historians that secured him a place in mankind's common history.

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CIVIS EUROPEUS SUM: Some thoughts on Latin for lawyers



By Ditlev Tamm

Latin has a long history among lawyers. In this contribution we will look at this history and give examples of how lawyers made their own lawyers' Latin.

A fundamental principle of EU law, the law of the European Community, is what is called 'European citizenship,' which carries with it special rights within the Community. The statement "civis europeus sum," used here as the title of this essay, belongs in this context. The statement derives from the English Advocate General Jacobs. In the so-called Konstantinides case¹ before the European Court of Justice, Advocate General Jacobs in his opinion of 9 Dec. 1992 declared – in somewhat bombastic terms – that a citizen of the European Community who moves to another Member State for employment as a worker or as self-employed does not only have the right to exercise his trade on equal footing as the Member State's own citizens. He may also count on being treated in accordance with a common code of fundamental values and the European Human Rights Convention, whereupon the Advocate General let loose with this fanfare: "In other words, he is entitled to say 'civis europeus sum' and to invoke that status in order to oppose any violation of his fundamental rights."²

The Advocate General chose to express the effect of this so-called European citizenship in terms that lead one's thoughts back to the protection Roman citizens received in the Roman Empire. The quote naturally evokes – undoubtedly deliberately, given the Advocate General's classical training – associations with the famous passage in the Acts of the Apostles in which

¹ *Christos Konstantinidis v. Stadt Altensteig-Standesamt and Another (Case C-168/91)*. Before the Court of Justice of the European Communities (6th Chamber). Opinion of Advocate General Jacobs delivered on 9 Dec. 1992.

² The quote reads in its entirety: "46. In my opinion, a Community national, who goes to another Member State as a worker or self-employed person under Articles 48, 52 or 59 of the Treaty is entitled not just to pursue his trade or profession and to enjoy the same living and working conditions as nationals of the host State; he is in addition entitled to assume that, wherever he goes to earn his living in the European Community, he will be treated in accordance with a common code of fundamental values, in particular those laid down in the European Convention on Human Rights. In other words, he is entitled to say 'civis europeus sum' and to invoke that status in order to oppose any violation of his fundamental rights."

Paul pleads his Roman citizenship, which secures him from being interrogated and judged by the local authorities in Jerusalem.³

With this decision in the Konstantinidis case (a well-known case among legal professionals), the European Court of Justice in Luxembourg took a position on an issue – in itself a minor one but for classicists quite interesting – as to whether a Greek citizen who ran a business in Germany should have to accept having his Greek name transcribed in Germany according to an official system that, in his opinion, distorted his name and made it less recognizable to his business associates and, therefore, was, in reality, a discriminatory violation of his rights, contrary to EU law. Among his arguments was that his name *Christos* (Χρήστος), transcribed as *Hréstos*, was distorted in such a way that it approached a mockery of his religion.⁴ The German court that handled the case referred the matter to the European Court of Justice⁵, which held for Mr. Konstantinidis in accordance with what the Advocate General had recommended. Thus, the judgment became one of many on the rights of European citizens and, thanks to the almost Biblical formulation quoted here, a leading decision in EU law even though many today presumably do not quite understand the background and trenchancy of the statement.

We shall not delve more deeply here into either EU law, which is a part of Danish law, or into the principles for the transcription of Greek names. The issue here is to remind ourselves that Latin is still a living language among jurists. Latin was once the language of law. It is no longer, but there are still significant reminders of its Latin past in the language that lawyers actually

³ See Acts 22, v. 25–29: “And as they bound him with thongs, Paul said unto the centurion that stood by, is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman, and uncondemned? When the centurion heard that, he went and told the chief captain, saying, Take heed what thou doest: for this man is a Roman. Then the chief captain came, and said unto him, Tell me, art thou a Roman? He said, Yea. And the chief captain answered, With a great sum obtained I this freedom. And Paul said, But I was free born. Then straightway they departed from him which should have examined him: and the chief captain also was afraid, after he knew that he was a Roman, and because he had bound him.”

⁴ Thus, the Advocate General stated in paragraph 40 of his opinion (footnote 1 above): “In the case of Mr Konstantinidis, the violation of his moral rights, if he is compelled to bear the name ‘Hréstos’ instead of ‘Christos’, is particularly great; not only is his ethnic origin disguised, since ‘Hréstos’ does not look or sound like a Greek name and has a vaguely Slavonic flavour, but in addition his religious sentiments are offended, since the Christian character of his name is destroyed. At the hearing Mr Konstantinidis pointed out that he owes his name to his date of birth (25 December), Christos being the Greek name for the founder of the Christian — not ‘Hréstian’ — religion.”

⁵ In EU law, there is a system in which a national court, when facing an issue whose decision requires the use of EU law, may refer the question for a preliminary ruling (preliminary references). The decision of the European Court of Justice then forms the basis for the decision of the case by the national court. On this, see Broberg & Fenger 2021.

use.⁶ Many legal concepts may trace their history back to a Latin origin, but it is just as important that our entire mode of legal reasoning bears the marks of law's origin in ancient Rome. This is what we are reminded of when the English Advocate General paraphrases the words with which the apostle Paul claimed his Roman citizenship and his consequent claim to be tried under Roman law and its principles.

We are talking about lawyer's Latin or legal Latin. It was once the language, that jurists learned in order to read Roman legal sources. For a long time, it was also the academic language for law; and even when it was no longer used as a teaching language, it was the language in which legal dissertations were written. In Denmark, this was the case well into the 1800s. For a long time, people also studied Roman law through Latin sources. I still own my grandfather's copy of the Krüger edition of *Corpus Juris Civilis* with his marks and underlinings. My grandfather studied law in Copenhagen in the 1890s – so, even that late, law students were expected to know a sufficient amount of Latin to read the sources in the original language and, thus, form a direct acquaintance with the language of Roman jurists and, thus, grasp their way of analyzing legal cases. One may learn much here about precision, economizing language, and elegance of formulation. The Latin of Roman jurists from the classical period (approx. 1st century B.C.E. – 3rd century C.E.) is characterized by its accuracy when it comes to describing the facts to which a position is to be taken and, as a rule, a brief justification for the result that opens up great latitude for interpretation. In its origin, Roman law is case law; that is, it is linked to specific legal disputes on determined issues. This 'case law' is what one learns to study and reflect on as a jurist.

Roman law deals to a high degree with rights but only to a lesser degree with fundamental rights or human rights as in the Konstatinides judgment referred to above. The Romans would hardly have had much understanding for that sort of case. You could simply write your name in Greek and expect others would understand it. But the Romans would easily have understood the underlying premise that, if you had citizenship in the Roman Empire, then you enjoyed the protection of Roman law. Roman law was the right of Roman citizens; and, until Emperor Caracalla in 212 extended the right to call yourself a Roman citizen to everyone in the Roman Empire, Roman

⁶ There is extensive literature in many languages on so-called 'lawyers' Latin.' A number of works only contain an overview of Latin terms or are a collection of more or less well-known maxims. For a comparative linguistic introduction to legal language, see Mattila 2002 (2nd ed. 2017), which is translated into French as *Jurilinguistique comparée. Langage du droit, latin et langues moderne* (2014). A detailed section on Latin is found in an expanded edition in Spanish as *El latin juridico*, ed. Olejnik, Chile 2020. On legal Latin in Danish, see, for example, Tamm 1994.

citizenship, or being a *civis romanus*, was a privilege for only a limited number of the inhabitants of the Empire.

Danes call the study of law, or the legal curriculum, *jura* and, thus, use a plural form of the word *ius*, which means ‘law’. In Norway, they call the legal curriculum *jus*, but in Denmark we stick to the plural form, which points back to the medieval past in which a fully equipped university could boast two legal faculties: one where people studied Roman law and one where people studied ecclesiastical law, so-called canon law.⁷ A doctor of laws was a *doctor iuris utriusque*, who was expected to be familiar with these two basic legal disciplines of which Roman law was the first to be studied. A student of canon law would normally have followed courses in Roman law before entering ‘postgraduate’ training in the living law of the church with its own authoritative legal sources.

The phrase ‘source of law’⁸ is a favorite among lawyers. It designates the authorities to which reference may be made to find a legally valid result. As one may imagine, the phrase has its origin in Latin, *fons iuris*, but is international such as in the Danish *retskilde*, the German *Rechtsquelle* (from which the word entered into Danish), the Italian *fonte del diritto*, etc. Sources of law are typically statutes, judgments, customs or even legal treatises or general principles of law. The doctrine of source of law is a fundamental starting point in legal thinking. Historically, even a single person may have sufficient status to be considered a source of law. One of the most famous jurists of medieval Bologna, Johannes Andreae (ca. 1270–1348), was known as *iuris canonici fons et tuba*.⁹

Another central issue for academic jurists is whether law can be considered a ‘science’ on the same level as other recognized ‘sciences’ – especially, natural science. That law is not an exact science is well known, but can we really speak of a *scientia iuris*?¹⁰ We do, but we may doubt whether it is a *scientia* that entirely corresponds to the normal use of the English word ‘science’. Nevertheless, we talk about *legal science*, which is a translation of

⁷ On the oldest legal faculty at the University of Copenhagen and the history of the study of law, see Tamm 2006.

⁸ The phrase is used in every introduction to legal method; but, like other central legal concepts, there is no fixed definition of the concept or agreement about its content. See, for example, Ravnkilde 2013.

⁹ On him, see Kuttner 1964. It is also said that he had a daughter Novella (the same word as ‘new laws’ that were added to Justinian’s collection of laws!), who, when her father became ill, gave lectures in his stead. However, she was so beautiful that she had to hide behind a screen, see Donahue 2007, 215 n. 12.

¹⁰ Roman jurists spoke freely of *scientia* in connection with the law. See, for example: “Turis prudentia est divinarum atque humanarum rerum notitia, iusti atque iniusti scientia” (Ulpian in *Digest* (D) 1.1.10.2).

the German *Rechtswissenschaft*, which does not sound so exact; nor is it. Here, too, of course, we are facing some fundamental methodological questions: whether, as the so-called ‘realists’ believed, a sort of evidence can be created for legal statements by referring to practice, or whether we must understand law more as a linguistic discipline in which the primary weight lies in interpretation (hermeneutics) or the use or understanding of fundamental principles. Recognizing good jurists is a little like defining elephants. It is hard to specify what they are, but you recognize them when you meet them or – where attorneys are concerned – listen to them or read what they write. This was the case even with lawyers in ancient Rome. The Romans had their own hierarchy of jurists, whom they called *iureconsulti*, and the many extracts from the works of Roman jurists that have been transmitted in Emperor Justinian’s collection of Roman law¹¹ clearly show differences between jurists who took up more complicated legal problems and those who stuck to more elementary cases.¹² In the Republic’s final years, Cicero was perfectly clear about the special status of advocates. In his own self-understanding, he was not a jurist, even though he engaged in lawsuits and wrote about the law in a gifted way. He referred many times as an example of a genuine jurist to his older, contemporary friend Quintus Mucius Scaevola (169 B.C.E.–88 B.C.E.), while Cicero considered himself a rhetorician whose task was to litigate cases but not to debate legal details. And this was quite proper. Cicero’s mode of reasoning was very different from what we find in the Roman sources of law and what we understand as the genuine jurist’s way of reasoning.

It is also important for jurists to be able to make distinctions: *Distinguendum est!* In medieval universities, people learned to find a legal solution by maneuvering among the sources and reaching, through interpretation, the precise meaning of the source and its significance.¹³

Once, Latin bound together jurists all over Europe. You could travel from university to university and the basis for the study of law would be the same: Roman law and sometimes, to a certain extent, canon law. Over the course of the Middle Ages, the so-called *ius commune* developed: A ‘common’

¹¹ Roman law, including the writings of Roman jurists chiefly from the 1st century B.C.E. to the 3rd century C.E., was collected and published as *Digestae*, in English the *Digest*, by Emperor Justinian in Constantinople in the years 529–534. We are talking about the Code of Justinian or, since the end of the 1500s, the *Corpus Juris Civilis*.

¹² For an introduction to Roman law in Danish, see Tamm 1980 or in a shorter form Tamm 2020.

¹³ The method used is comprehended in this distichon:

*Præmitto, scindo, sumo, casumque figuro,
Perlego, do causas, connoto & objicio.*

On this, see, for example, Ernst Andersen: *Træk af juraens udvikling I* (1970).

European law that was built on Roman law, some procedural canon law, and other shared elements. This is the law you studied and the law a court would apply if the judge had received a legal education. Local law was known as *ius proprium*; and, in principle, it was only used by learned courts if evidence was produced that other rules in local law were applicable instead of Roman law. It is a part of this history that, in Denmark, Roman law never became *ius commune* and, thus, automatically used by the courts. Danish law is based on the recording in Danish of local law in the 13th century. Therefore, the influence of both Latin and Roman law in Danish legal language and Danish law is less – and, as a rule, later – than in the major countries of continental Europe: Germany, Italy, Spain, and, in part, France. Even English law has its own history, and English ‘common law’ is something quite different from the *ius commune*, which is the core of continental European law. English law is permeated by both so-called *Law French* and *Law Latin*, which has its own meaning in English law.¹⁴

The idea of a common European law suffered a decisive blow around and after 1800, when national codes of law began to see the light of day. Now, it was no longer Roman law that was taught but national law based on national codes in the national language. In particular, the French *Code civil* had wide circulation and laid the groundwork for new national legislation in much of Europe. It took a longer time in Germany, which did not compile one until 1900, *Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch*, which was based to a high degree on Roman law but which was a German national code written in German and was also quite complicated, albeit not as complicated, of course, as Roman law, which was disseminated across a sea of individual decisions. The crux of the so-called codifications, the new comprehensive national codes of law, was to simplify and systematize law, so that the code became the most important source of law and, thus, the natural place to consult when a legal solution had to be found. The new codes led to diversity in the law all over Europe. These codes were written in their national languages and, thus, the rationale behind the need for lawyer’s Latin ceased. One could still study Roman law on historical grounds, but since the Roman sources of law were no longer applicable law, it was not so relevant for jurists to spend time on it. Roman law was now history and no longer living law used by the courts. A steady decline of Latin for lawyers was, of course, the result. And even worse: Not even Latin terms of art were common to jurists anymore. Various Latin terms are used here and there, randomly and inconsistently in different countries.¹⁵

¹⁴ On this, Baker 1979; on the linguistic turn, Pope 1934.

¹⁵ On this, Mattila 2002 (id. note 1). For a study of Latin terms in Estonian legal language, see Ristikivi 2009, 123 ff. In Estonia, an introduction to Latin and Latin legal language is an obligatory part of the study of law. In Poland, there is a long tradition for the use of Latin;

In recent years, there has been a trend in most countries towards energetically getting rid of the still extant remnants of Latin. A good argument for this endeavor is that lawyers (or their clients) do not understand Latin. Fragments of Latin, thus, make it more difficult to understand what is meant – especially for lay people. In American law, for example, they use such terms as *prima facie*, which the somewhat Latin-savvy person can translate as ‘at first glance’ but would not immediately connect with the position in a lawsuit that a significant presumption is created as to the burden of proof. Or that *nisi prius* in English law has something to do with whether a case has been heard by a trial court. Nor is it obvious that an American *amicus curiae* is a person who, unbidden, addresses the court with information or declarations about a case.

The eradication of the Latin past has also left traces among Danish jurists. Familiarity with ordinary Latin maxims is in grave decline. Yet, one or two things stick. A number of jurists will presumably still be able to decipher an *audiatur et altera pars* as a call to respect the contradiction that both parties to a lawsuit must be heard or understand that the ultra-short statement *in dubio pro reo* refers to the fact that a presumption of innocence must be respected. They also know that the same case cannot be judged several times, *ne bis in idem*, and that no one should be punished unless there is a law criminalizing the relevant act, *nulla poena sine lege* or *nullum crimen sine lege*. Most would probably also know that, when we distinguish between so-called private law, which has to do with family and property, and public law, which is the part of the law that deals with crime, procedure, constitutional questions, and administrative authorities, then we are basing this on the Roman law distinction between *ius privatum* and *ius publicum*. That contracts must be observed is expressed in Latin as *pacta sunt servanda*, which does not even derive from Roman law but from the legal Latin of a later age¹⁶ when it was ordinary to develop general legal principles. The Romans did this only to a limited extent, but the last title in the Roman law code, the *Digest* (D. 50.17), is called *De Regula Iuris* and contains a long series of general rules. Corresponding general rules are found in canon law in Pope Boniface VIII’s *Liber Sextum* from 1298. Among the statements we find in the *Digest*’s title on legal rules is the rule often cited by lawyers that no one can be obliged to do the impossible, *impossibilium nulla obligatio est*.¹⁷ The statement is ascribed to the jurist Publius Juventius Celsus, who lived at the end of the 1st

and, in Russia in recent decades, there has been great interest in Roman law. Among other things, Justinian’s *Digest* has been translated in its entirety into Russian.

¹⁶ A collection with explanations of a number of legal phrases, see Liebs 1998.

¹⁷ On the statement and its use as a fundamental principle of the European law of obligations, see, for example, Zimmermann: 1990, 686 ff.

and beginning of the 2nd centuries C.E. Celsus was famous for his style, which is discussed by other jurists with admiration as *eleganter*. The Germans sometimes drop legal bromides (*Rechtsfloskeln*) without any real purpose than to show the speaker's familiarity with elementary Latin. That may sometimes be correct, but such statements express a deep, albeit general, truth that has been a leading legal principle for centuries.

For the Romans, private law or civil law was the basic component of law. The term 'civil law' also comes from Roman law. The ancient Romans referred to the law that only applied to Roman citizens as *jus civile*. The expression had several meanings. *Jus civile* was in contrast to *jus honorarium*, created by the Roman official the praetor, or to *ius gentium*, which is the law that applied to all peoples. In later Roman law, *jus civile* was also contrasted with natural law, *jus naturale*, i.e., general principles of law. All these expressions and meanings have had great significance for legal terminology. *Ius gentium* is another designation for the law of nations (or customary international law). In this discipline as well as in so-called international private law, a great deal of Latin is preserved.¹⁸

Despite eradication efforts, a number of Latin expressions are still in widespread use in Danish law and familiar to jurists. This is true, for example, for a fundamental distinction that jurists must respect between statements about law as it is, i.e., applicable law, and statements that express a desire for the law to be changed in some particular way. In legal language, this is expressed as statements *de lege lata*, about the given law, and *de lege ferenda*, about law as we would like it. It is also implied that a later law, a *lex posterior*, replaces an earlier law. In the same way, a law at a higher level, a *lex superior*, supersedes a law (or decree) at a lower level just as a more specialized law, a *lex specialis*, supersedes more general determinations.

Danish legal jargon has actually preserved astonishingly many Latin phrases or legal terms from Latin that are still prevalent in our legal vocabulary. Family law still expresses the presumption that a child born within wedlock is the child of the male spouse by referring to a principle from canon law, *pater est quem nuptiae demonstrant*, as a rule in the shortened form of the *pater-est* rule.¹⁹ In family law, people also speak of a dissolution of

¹⁸ On Latin terms in international law, see Fellmeth & Horwitz 2009.

¹⁹ The expression is so prevalent that it is even used in answers to questions in the Danish Parliament, see "Besvarelse af spørgsmål nr. 29 af 17. maj 2001" [Response to inquiry no. 29 of 17 May 2001] from Folketingets Retsudvalg (Parliament's Legal Affairs Committee) concerning a proposal on a children's act and a proposal to amend the law of civil procedure and other laws (*Ændringer som følge af børneloven m.v.*) (L 2/L3 – bilag 67): "the Minister is asked to undertake a comparison between his amendment proposal to § 6 in L 2 and the *pater est rule* [my emphasis] and account for any differences between the proposed amendment and this rule."

marriage by divorce (with effect from the time of divorce) as *ex nunc* and the annulment of marriage, which abrogates its effect with retroactive force, as *ex tunc*.

In the law of inheritance, the testamentary will is an invention of Roman law that, via canon law, entered into Danish law as an option for benefitting others than spouse and relatives. When I studied inheritance law many years ago, we also learned about the Roman principle, which is not applicable in Danish law, that you cannot both dispose of your estate by testament and partially allow the estate to be distributed to heirs in accordance with statute. This is expressed in Latin as “*nemo pro parte testatus pro parte intestate decedere potest*”, but you will not hear Danish lawyers quote it.²⁰ On the other hand, people speak about death as *mortis causa* and thus an inheritance-triggering factor.

An important question in the discipline called property law has to do with the transition of a right of ownership to an object that can be transferred from one person to another. The rules of Roman law on this (*mancipatio* and *in iure cessio*) are, in part, peculiar to Roman law; but, in Roman law, there is also a term, which is ordinary in European legal systems, that the actual surrender is decisive. The Roman term is *traditio*, and the juridical issue is, as a rule, whether ownership rights pass already upon entering into an agreement or not until *traditio*. This issue has many solutions, which shall not be discussed here.

A fundamental juridical discipline, and one in which law truly stands the test, is the so-called law of obligations. The word *obligatio* was used by the Romans as a designation for duties (from the word *ligare*) in connection with agreements or that arose from harmful actions or various other circumstances. The principles of the law of obligations may often be traced back to Roman law even in a legal system like Denmark's, which is not directly based on Roman law. Yet, Danish jurisprudence has been highly influenced by jurisprudence from Germany. The law of obligations was developed as an important discipline in the 1800s by a number of prominent German jurists with European-wide reputations. In Danish law, too, there is a tradition for a high level in the law of obligations. Much of the Latin here as in other places is no longer ready knowledge among lawyers, but we still talk about creditors and debtors, about delay as *mora*, about the misunderstandings between purchaser and seller as *error*, and we have preserved Latin designations for two idiosyncratic legal concepts. One we know in Danish as *uanmodet*

²⁰ Jurists of my generation will know the expression from Ernst Andersen's textbook on inheritance law, which contained many references to Latin and the Roman law foundation of the law of inheritance. The very expression is one of the so-called *brocardica*, which derive from medieval collections of legal expressions.

forretningsførelse (the ‘unsolicited management of business’), but today’s jurists also speak, as a rule, of *negotiorum gestio*, which exists when a person without express agreement undertakes obligations on another’s behalf in situations in which that person is incapable of safeguarding his or her interests. This, for example, may be a neighbor’s intervention in case of fire or some other detriment. In this case, the acting party has a right to have his or her own costs compensated. The Romans talked about quasi-contracts, and with this was also reckoned the principle that a debtor who repays too much to his or her creditor or a person who pays an amount in good faith to which another person has a claim may get the excess or the sum back. The first person in Danish law to write about quasi-contracts was Ludvig Holberg, a professor at the University of Copenhagen and a famous playwright (in later editions of his treatise on natural law from 1734 onwards). His Latin designations have remained standing even though the Latin terms could be replaced by the ‘unsolicited management of business’ or the somewhat heavier ‘action of recovery for debts paid on the presumption of an obligation’. Here, for once, the Latin is an easier way. In the law of obligations, we also find concepts such as ‘good faith’, which is a direct translation of the Romans’ *bona fides*.

However, probably the most striking example of Danish conservatism with respect to Roman law terminology ostensibly derives from so-called tort law (in Danish, *erstatningsret*, which is a part of the law of obligations and much of which overlaps with English tort law). This deals with the right of a victim to receive damages from a tortfeasor for harmful actions. In the law of damages, two fundamental principles face each other. One is the so-called doctrine of ‘strict liability’ (*objektivt ansvar*), when a tortfeasor is obligated to pay damages regardless of the fact that it cannot be proven specifically that he/she has committed a wrong. The rationale is that it is meaningless for the victim whether it was the tortfeasor’s “fault” or not. The damage was done, and it was not the victim’s fault. Today, such strict liability applies, *inter alia*, to automobile accidents and harms committed by dogs. The placement of liability is based on a balancing of where responsibility is most reasonably placed.

Strict liability was the original stance in the history of tort law. We find it in a four-thousand-year-old Babylonian law, Hammurabi’s Code, in the form of the so-called talionic principle – also from the Latin: *talio* – which emphasizes that compensation is measured exactly in relation to the damage and is a mirror reflection of it. If a house collapses and kills the owner’s son, the rule of this law is that the son of the builder must be killed. When it comes to the principles for compensation, Roman law marks an especially large step in civilizational progress. In the last century B.C.E., the Romans began to

reason in a new way with respect to tortious injuries. Roman jurists now put weight not on the damage but on whether the tortfeasor could be deemed responsible because he/she could have foreseen that an action could lead to harm. The Romans' standard of measure was what a so-called *bonus pater familias* would have foreseen and taken precautions for and, in relation to that, whether the tortfeasor acted with intent to cause damage, *dolus* (malice), or negligently, demonstrating *culpa* (fault).²¹

The Roman mode of reasoning with its starting point in what is to be expected from a tortfeasor became the leading principle in Danish tort law. It appeared for the first time in Danish law in the deliberations of the Danish Supreme Court in 1759²² in which one of the judges in a case about liability for damage caused by a raft that had come loose in Copenhagen's harbor said that the decisive thing was which of the parties had been *in culpa*. And *culpa* was here to stay although not until the beginning of the 1800s when the jurist A.S. Ørsted developed the principle of *culpa* in a more jurisprudential way as a principle in Danish tort law. Other codes of the time were based on the principle of *culpa* – for example, in the French Code from 1804 as *faute*, and the great German jurists worked with the principle known as *das Schuldprinzip*. One prominent jurist, Rudolph von Jhering, even created a legal neologism in the form of a special *culpa in contrahendo*²³ as the designation for when liability-incurring conduct occurred, before a contract was entered into. All this is legal hair-splitting, mentioned here simply to emphasize the creative power of Roman law and Latin legal terminology for the future. It is noteworthy that, in Denmark unlike in German law and other legal systems, we do not talk about a principle of “guilt or fault” (*skyldprincip*) but that we have preserved the term “*culpa* rule” as the ordinary principle in tort law, which puts weight on the victim's behavior, judged pursuant to a *bonus pater* measure. To that degree, the *culpa* rule has come to stay in Danish legal terminology in which the word *skyld* is used, as a rule, about a monetary debt but not about the subjective relationship in connection with tortious injury.

²¹ There is a comprehensive literature on the development of tort law. On the Roman *lex Aquilia*, reference may be made to previously mentioned works on Roman law. In Germany, the well-known jurist Thomasius (1655–1728) was made spokesman for the controversial point of view that the *culpa* rule (*lex Aquilia*) was not a part of German law. See Thomasius 2000.

²² On this, see Nielsen 1951, who found the relevant deliberations, which are now a fixed part of the curriculum in legal history for Danish jurists. See, for example, Tamm 2005, 302.

²³ von Jhering 1861, 1 ff. (also in von Jhering 1881). The expression is also used in Danish law even though its meaning is linked to the lack of a norm for responsibility in German contract law for such harms.

Legal Latin has just as long a history in Denmark as the study of law itself, which was introduced in the first university in Copenhagen in 1479. In reality, people were familiar with Latin legal terminology even earlier. The old Danish medieval laws from the 13th century were written in Danish, but to this body of laws also belongs a book about the law in the then Danish province of Scania (today, the southern part of Sweden), written by Archbishop Anders Sunesen in Lund.²⁴ He was familiar with Roman law; and, in this reproduction of Scanian law, he uses the legal concepts of his contemporaries as he presumably had learned them in Bologna. The history of Danish legal Latin is, thus, more than eight hundred years old. Anders Sunesen's work was translated into Danish, but a great number of dissertations authored by Danish jurists on legal topics are today inaccessible to modern readers, whose Latin abilities are limited to so-called legal bromides, a few resonant adages put forward without real understanding of the content, or simply to disconnected words such as *culpa*. Jurists have a long tradition behind them, but – as it is often said – nothing is so quickly forgotten as an old legal text. On the other hand, the ancient Roman legal texts that we find in Justinian's *Digest* are still alive and are also read as a part of modern studies of Roman law. However ruthlessly we purge Latin terms from our legal language, it is a part of being a European jurist to be familiar with our own tradition and to be able to identify the European Community with appropriate pride as a legal community based on fundamental principles formulated by Roman jurists.²⁵ Therefore, I join with the jurist Ulpian, the most productive and quoted of them all, who at the beginning of the 4th century wrote these words about law and justice – probably, the words most frequently quoted by lawyers throughout the course of time:

Juris praecepta sunt haec: honeste vivere, alterum non laedere, suum cuique tribuere.²⁶

That's how you should do it!

²⁴ The work is found in Danish (by Axel Olrik) in Brøndum-Nielsen 1933, reprinted in Kromann & Iuul 1945–1948. The most recent edition with an English translation is Tamm 2017.

²⁵ A foundational account of the connection between Europe and Roman law is Koschaker 1947.

²⁶ These words about the fundamental principle of the law – to live honorably, not to harm others, and to each their own – are at the very beginning of Justinian's *Digest* (D. 1.1.10.1). Similar thoughts are expressed by Cicero: "*Iustitia suum cuique distribuit*", see *De Natura Deorum*, 3.38.

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HERMES' HERB:

Homer's *moly* and Early Modern Iatrophilology



By Benjamin Wallura*

Homer was an epic poet – and a mine of information. To early modern readers, medical and pharmaceutical (if not magical) knowledge appeared to be more than present in the Iliad and the Odyssey. A Homeric plant most heatily discussed was the herb moly (μῶλυ) which Hermes gave to Ulysses in order to protect him from the incantations of Circe (Od. X, 302–307). This paper will explore some of the most significant debates dedicated to this Homeric plant in early modern iatrophilology.

Famous and Incognito: Homer's *moly* in a Long and Well-established Tradition

The poet speaks the truth, though he speaks in enigmas, though he speaks in fables, though he speaks in verse. I follow the enigmas, I investigate the fables, nor shall I be seduced by his song.¹

Some *loci* of classical literature have a larger fate than others. The fascinating *pharmakon* of *moly*, this “herba notissima iuxta et ignotissima” (most famous as well as unknown herb),² which Hermes gave to Ulysses in order to protect him from the incantations of Circe in Homer's *Odyssey*, is indeed one of them. An analysis of some of its echoes in Renaissance and early-modern intellectual thought must remain incomplete.³ Like other Homeric *pharmaka* discussed since antiquity, e.g. Helen's equally famous *nepenthes*,⁴ *moly* had almost as many interpretations as there were interpreters, and was

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¹ Maximus of Tyre 1804, 103; cf. also Stephanus 1557, 225; Triller 1766, 37.

² Reimann 1728, 159; Cf. also: Triller 1766, 61.

³ This is also an excuse for all the aspects of *moly* that are intentionally or ignorantly left out in this paper.

⁴ Cf. Wallura 2020.

permanently tied up between literal sense and allegorical meaning.⁵ The fields of early modern knowledge involved in these interpretation, such as botany, medicine, pharmacology, mythology, epic poetry and poetics tackled the problem with multiple (sometimes conflicting) interpretative approaches.

In this paper, I shall consequently narrow the focus on a field of knowledge identified by scholarship as relevant for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries but still underexplored, i.e. early modern iatrophilology.⁶ As shown by the Homeric passage, the text had easily inspired a commentary tradition characterised by an interpretation of *moly* (μῶλυ) that combined botany (both factual and magical) with philology and philosophy, weighing these approaches against each other:

ὦς ἄρα φωνήσας πόρε φάρμακον ἀργεϊφόντης
ἐκ γαίης ἐρύσας, καί μοι φύσιν αὐτοῦ ἔδειξε.
ῥίζη μὲν μέλαν ἔσκε, γάλακτι δὲ εἵκελον ἄνθος·
μῶλυ δὲ μιν καλέουσι θεοί: χαλεπὸν δὲ τ' ὀρύσσειν
ἀνδράσι γε θνητοῖσι, θεοὶ δὲ τε πάντα δύνανται.

So saying, Argeiphontes [i.e. Hermes] gave me the herb, drawing it from the ground, and showed me its nature. At the root it was black, but its flower was like milk. Moly the gods call it, and it is hard for mortal men to dig; but with the gods all things are possible.⁷

This description of *moly* is complicated and ambiguous. In *Od. X*, 287, where Hermes warns Ulysses of the incantations of Circe, showing how to prevent them, *moly* is called a *pharmakon* (φάρμακον), i.e. ‘drug, remedy, medicine, poison’, or – apt against the imminent threat from Circe the sorceress – even ‘charm’.⁸ All these meanings of *pharmakon* are continuously present in the episode involving Ulysses, Hermes, and Circe (*Od. X*, 274–574). *Pharmakon* is used not only to refer to the good substance (φάρμακον ἐσθλόν) of *moly* but also as a collective term for magic potions and harmful substances of the *polypharmake*⁹/*herbipotens* Circe.¹⁰ Even the sorceress herself refers to her

⁵ Cf. Stannard 1962; Kaiser 1964; Siede 2012.

⁶ According to Jaumann 2001, iatrophilology (*iatrophilologia* in Latin-language sources) involves an intersectional competence in both medicine/botany and philology, practiced by a series of scholars especially in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, ranging from bare metaphor to hermeneutic concepts. According to Jaumann 2001, the relationship between naturalists and philologists was to be reciprocal: for example medicine could incorporate philology in order to answer questions of medical history, and arts (including philology), could use medical and botanical arguments to reach better understanding of different types of texts (cf. Jaumann 2001, *passim*, especially 159).

⁷ Hom. *Od. X*, 302–306. The translation is taken from Murray 1946, 367.

⁸ Wahrig 2009, 517.

⁹ Kaiser 1964, 200.

¹⁰ Boet. *Cons.* 4, *Carm.* 3, Möller 2013, 196.

potions and charms by the term *pharmakon*.¹¹ This observation did, of course, not escape the numerous ancient and medieval interpreters and commentators of this episode, inducing them to assign to it a variety of meanings both allegorical and literal.¹²

The tension between the natural and somewhat magical character of *moly* turned into a major issue over centuries, triggering early modern Paracelsian and Hermetic interpretations. But already starting with the Pseudo-Plutarchian *Essay on the Life and Poetry of Homer* and Politian's *Oratio in expositione Homeri* (1498), both early modern poetics and study of Homeric poetry were highly influenced by the idea of the poet's ancient wisdom pointing both explicitly and allegorically to different "truths".¹³ However, it soon became a commonplace that *moly* must have been an entity with a tremendous pre-emptive effect on the human body. Ancient and early modern interpretations were grounded in the belief that natural substances, such as plants, and magical practices were not in contradiction with each other.¹⁴ Ancient botanical or medical works would also refer to magical implications if it suited the character of a given plant. It is not exaggerated to state that Homer's *moly* is the archetype of such substances in European classical tradition.

Consequently, it is not surprising that the first important post-Homeric account of *moly* should be found in Theophrastus, *History of Plants* (IX, 15, 7), which provides a botanical description of a plant termed *moly*, complete with indications on its use against spells and magical arts.¹⁵ Such authors as Dioscorides, Pliny and Galen give rather inconsistent accounts of *moly* based on the interpretational traditions they were indebted to.¹⁶ Pliny, for instance, is one of the few (but influential) sources for *moly* as a concrete antidote against poisons.¹⁷ The Stoic Cleanthes appears to be the first extant source for an allegorical interpretation of *moly*. Other ancient authors, such as Maximus of Tyre or Themistius, followed him, interpreting *moly* not as a plant, but as *logos*, *arete*, *paideia*, *lexis*, or as a rational entity of some kind.¹⁸ But apart

¹¹ Cf. the different uses in *Od.* X, 287, 292, 302, 304, 317, 392, and 394.

¹² For a comprehensive account of Roman and Byzantine antiquity, see Stannard 1962.

¹³ Ford 2006; not to mention the impact of the Homeric comments of Eustathius of Thessalonica (c. 1110–1195) on scholarship well into the seventeenth century, cf. e.g. Postel 1700, 366–390.

¹⁴ It would exceed the limits of this paper to discuss here the terms *natural* and *magical* in ancient, medieval and early modern thought. For more context, see Copenhaver 2010, Eming & Wels 2020 and Frietsch 2018.

¹⁵ Theophr. *Hist. plant.* 9, 15, 7; Stannard 1962, 256–257.

¹⁶ Dioscorides, *Mat. med.* 3, 47; Plin. *NH* 25, 79, 127; Gal. *De simpl. med. temp. et fac.* 7.

¹⁷ Stannard 1962, 270.

¹⁸ See, Kaiser 1964, 209; Möller 2013, 197 with n. 29.

from these allegorical interpretations, *moly* was often the object of botanical, medical, and natural historical reasoning combined with magical implications.¹⁹ Homer's account, according to which it is a root with botanical (even anti-magical) qualities, was taken for granted. The task for early modern interpretations, as we shall see, was to synthesise these naturalistic and allegorical meanings of *moly* into one distinct entity.

Since the beginning, the main problem for any interpretation was, however, to identify *moly*'s powers and the way it worked. How was Ulysses able to do or prevent things from happening to him with the aid of this Hermetic "herb"? A careful reader of Homer has to admit that the text is not clear, giving room for many an explanation. The only information gauged from the passage is Hermes handing *moly* to the hero and giving him some advice on how to interact with Circe.²⁰ Apart from this, it may be asked what Ulysses was actually doing with the plant. Did he ingest it? Was he just carrying it around? Homer remains oddly silent about it.²¹ The following examples will highlight only some of the debates regarding *moly* in early modern scholarship, situated at a hazy intersection of medicine, botany, Hermeticism, Paracelsism, and poetics, which may be subsumed under the term iatrophilology.

"Magna et vetus est eruditorum concertatio": Humanists and Botanists on *moly* (Mattioli, Guilandino, Gessner)

It is not surprising that mid-sixteenth-century humanist debates on *moly* should not only have focused on the Homeric text, but regarded the whole interpretational tradition since antiquity. Thanks to Homer's Western *editio princeps* (1488) supervised by Demetrius Chalcocondyles, the subsequent Aldine reprints, and the Latin translation of the *Odyssey* by Simon Lemnius (1549), humanist scholarship around 1550 was already aware of *moly*'s interpretative trickiness.²² Furthermore, the edition of Eustathius's commentaries on Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, published in four volumes by Nicolaus Majoranus in Rome in 1542–1550, had favoured the reading and

¹⁹ A good example for what triggered early modern scholarship here might be the link between Homer's *moly* interpreted as garlic and the early modern discussions on the so-called garlic effect, describing a phenomenon of antipathy and sympathy. According to this theory, iron coated with garlic would lose its magnetic effect. A Ulysses armoured with garlic (= *moly*) could protect himself from Circe's advances, keeping her at distance. Cf. the very instructive article by Sander 2020, in particular 538 and, again, Stannard 1962.

²⁰ Hermes instructs Ulysses to approach Circe without fear, threatening her with his sword in order to force her to re-transform his companions into humans and let them all set sail from her island, see Hom. *Od.* X, 295, 320–324).

²¹ I owe this keen observation to Schlemm 2018, 53–76, in particular 66.

²² Homerus 1488; Lemnius 1549, 283–284.

interpretation of controversial passages in Homer,²³ as had the influential scholia on Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* attributed to Didymus Chalcenterus.²⁴ In addition, several visual representations of *moly*, mostly by artists and emblemists of the Italian Renaissance, such as Giovanni Stradano or Andrea Alciato, based on humanist accounts and often raising questions on the Homeric text.²⁵ Crucial for sixteenth-century humanist interpretations of *moly* is the distinction between *Moly Homericum*, i.e. *moly* in the *Odyssey*, and uses of the term in other authors. The early modern arguments listed below heavily rely on the adoption (or rejection) of this distinction by the authors in question.

One important sixteenth-century humanist debate on this matter involved Pietro Andrea Mattioli (1500/1501–1577), Melchiorre Guilandino (1520–1589), and Conrad Gessner (1516–1565). Humanist medicine, botany, and pharmacology entered a new stage of professionalisation in the mid-sixteenth century. This is reflected in several chairs for botany at early modern academies and universities.²⁶ The Italian humanist Pietro Andrea Mattioli (1500/1501–1577), botanist and later personal physician to emperors Ferdinand II and Maximilian II, studied medicine in Padua and Perugia. One of his most important and most influential works was his well-known herbal, the *Compendium de plantis omnibus*.²⁷ Another influential work of his was the repeatedly re-issued and extended commentary on Dioscorides' *Materia medica*.²⁸ There, Mattioli, discussing *moly*, states that the accounts in Homer, Dioscorides, and Pliny do not quite match. While Homer describes *moly* as having deep roots in the soil, Dioscorides calls it a small, bulbous root resembling an onion or garlic. Pliny, who seems to consider the plant an onion-like root, contradicts himself by mentioning a fairly long root system. In addition, he maintains that the plant also grew in Campania, Italy. Mattioli is quite aware of discrepancies between the *Moly Homericum* and the *Moly Theophrasti, Dioscoridis, or Plinii*.²⁹ So far, he concludes, he could not find a plant either in Italy or elsewhere that would match the description of *moly* as it occurs in Dioscorides.³⁰

Instead, Mattioli suggests that plants might have been mixed up. He bases this hypothesis on a problem in the textual transmission of Dioscorides. There is, he argues, a certain resemblance between Dioscorides' μῶλυ (*moly*) and

²³ Nicolaus Majoranus 1542–1550.

²⁴ Didymus Chalcenterus 1535.

²⁵ See especially Caciorgna 2006.

²⁶ Findlen 1994; Touwaide 2008.

²⁷ Mattioli 1571.

²⁸ Mattioli 1554.

²⁹ Cf. Mattioli 1554, 349–350, on Πήγανον ἄγριον/*ruta silvestris* and Μῶλη/ Μῶλυ/*Moly*.

³⁰ Mattioli 1554, 350.

the plant μύλη (*myle*) encountered in Galen.³¹ Dioscorides' *moly* would in fact be a simple transmission error for Galen's *myle*. Mattioli quotes the Latin translation of Dioscorides' description of *moly* describing the plant's capacity to contract a woman's matrix if combined with a lily ointment.³² Clearly, as the humanist suggests, some copyists (*librarii*) might have mixed up the two terms due to the resemblance of μετὰ ἱρίνου μύρου ("cum irino ungento"), the term for lily ointment in Dioscorides, and μετὰ αἰρίνου ἀλεύρου ("cum farina loliacea"), the term for darnel-meal in Galen.³³ Mattioli adds that the factual difference between *moly* and *myle* remains, however, unclear.

Obviously, regarding *moly* in Homer's *Odyssey*, many questions remained unanswered. Mattioli did not pursue his analysis of the *Moly Homericum*. Unsurprisingly, the matter was soon tackled by another competent scholar, Melchiorre Guilandino/Melchior Wieland (c. 1520–1589).³⁴ It is well documented that Mattioli and Guilandino were constantly quarrelling over Guilandino's good connections to the well-known physician, anatomist, and botanist Gabriele Falloppio (1523–1562), who had been appointed to a professorship at the university of Padua in 1551. In 1557 Guilandino published his *De stirpium aliquot nominibus vetustis ac novis epistulae duo*, a pamphlet criticising the alleged mistakes of Mattioli's commentary on Dioscorides' *Materia medica*. It consisted of an exchange of letters with the famous physician and botanist Conrad Gessner (1516–1565).³⁵

More than Mattioli, Guilandino refers to the age-old debate on *moly* ("magna et vetus est eruditorum concertatio", the consensus of the the learned men is great and old), emphasising, in accordance with Pliny, Homer's profound wisdom, "unicus ingeniorum omnium fons et victor" (sole source and conqueror of all wisdom).³⁶ The numerous allegorical interpretations of Homer's *moly*, also known as *salving root* in Lycophron's *Alexandra*, did not escape Guilandino: Suidas, Eustathius, and Erasmus had already defined it ἀλληγορικῶς (allegorical) with its black root symbolising hard work and its white blossom standing for absolute virtue: *tranquillitas animi*.³⁷ But, as

³¹ Mattioli 1554, 350.

³² Mattioli 1554, 350.

³³ *Ibid.* Also cf. Galenus [1547], 489.

³⁴ Born in Königsberg, he had travelled to Calabria as a vagrant herbalist in his youth, and had just finished his studies in Bologna in 1555. He, too, was a physician and a botanist well acquainted with Mattioli's newly published work on Dioscorides. For additional references to Guilandino and his work, see Herrmann 2015.

³⁵ Guilandino 1557; also reprinted in Guilandino 1558; for the full context of these two editions of the pamphlet and the connections between Mattioli, Falloppio, and Guilandino, see Herrmann 2015, 3. While the text of Guilandino's account on *moly* is identical in both editions, the 1558 one lacks Gessner's account. In the following I shall use the 1557 edition.

³⁶ Guilandino 1557, 18.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

Guilandino immediately adds, there was also much obscenity in allegorical interpretations, such as the *carmina priapaea*, where a dark root tapering into a milk-white blossom is identified as *mentula* (penis).³⁸ Guilandino the botanist is inclined to explore other plants having possibly contributed to *moly*. Firstly, Guilandino attempts to deal with an inconsistency in Theophrastus and Pliny. While Theophrastus' *moly*, contrary to the Homeric plant, could easily be dug out, Pliny repeated the Homeric description, even calling the plant a very long root. According to Guilandino, however, both authors were wrong. Inspired by the scholiast commentary attributed to Didymus, he gave a completely different reading to the Homeric text, in particular its underlying botanical meaning: digging out the root was not hard in itself, but doing so meant endangering one's own life.³⁹

Consequently, Guilandino argues, Homer must have been referring to *Cynospastus* (whiterose, *Rosa sempervirens*), well known from accounts by Aelianus and Flavius Josephus. Despite Guilandino trying to move the debate from Dioscorides to the Homeric *moly*, he obviously stretches the Homeric sense of 'difficult to dig for mortals' to the extreme. Since it is dangerous to dig out *Cynospastus*, as Guilandino asserts, people would have worn amulets for protection and consecrated the soil where it grew. In the absence of amulets, humans would use dogs to extract the plant, condemning the animals to death.⁴⁰ Even Guilandino's discussion of the botanical qualities reprises Mattioli's account, for instance the use of the plant as an ointment against menstrual cramps.⁴¹ Furthermore, *Cynospastus* is efficient against possession by impure spirits (*spiritus immundi*).⁴² It becomes obvious that Guilandino – in contrast to Mattioli – attempts to interpret the characteristics of the Homeric *moly* as both botanical and preventive (in the sense of anti-magic). Guilandino's familiarity with recently published alchemical, magical and Hermetic literature is confirmed by the catalogue of his private library dating from the end of his life.⁴³

This brings us to Conrad Gessner's reply included in the 1557 edition. Gessner is much more cautious, looking for a middling solution between Guilandino and Mattioli. His own account sounds more like an indirect reminder for Guilandino to reconsider his own arguments: Guilandino is

³⁸ *Ibid.*; cf. *Carm. priap.* 68. This parodic imitation of *moly* is inspired by the Homeric text. In *Od. X*, 295 Hermes instructs Ulysses to approach Circe threatening her with his sword (cf. above n. 21). When he does so, Circe, recognizing him, asks him to sheathe his sword (*Hom. Od. X*, 330–334).

³⁹ Guilandino 1557, 19.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 19–20; *Ail. Var.* 14, 27; also cf. Gerard 1597, 829–833, especially 832.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 19.

⁴² *Ibid.* 20.

⁴³ Cf. Hermann 2015, 9.

wrong in criticising Gessner for his quest of truth and in accusing him of sympathising with *chymistae*, the most stupid of humans.⁴⁴ While Gessner could be referring here to sixteenth-century alchemists, he is most probably criticising Guilandino's interpretation of *Cynospastus* as a contender for Homer's *moly* without providing convincing arguments. According to Gessner, it is far-fetched to try to reconcile the accounts in Homeric scholia (the dangers of extracting *moly*) with those regarding the harvesting of *Cynospastus* in Aelianus and others. All of the proposed plants are completely unknown. In case they exist, it is difficult to import them from the Far East for examination. Some of the (seemingly exaggerated) qualities ascribed to the plants, e.g. those of *Cynospastus*, Gessner argues, are likely to be *miracula* never occurring in nature.⁴⁵

In 1561 Mattioli published his *Epistolarum medicinalium libri quinque*, addressing some of the issues raised by Guilandino and Gessner. He does not mince his words regarding Guilandino, who, he says, seems to be dwelling in Cimmerian darkness.⁴⁶ Mattioli's, just as Gessner's, reply regarding Guilandino's *Cynospastus* as Homeric *moly* is rather short, since neither saw any strict resemblance to any known plant. Guilandino's claims regarding *moly*'s magical qualities are not even commented on. Instead, Mattioli limits himself to botanical description, arguing that Guilandino is wrong as regards *Cynospastus* and its resemblance to a plant described by Flavius Josephus. Does not Homer, Mattioli asks, state that *moly*'s root is black whereas Flavius' plant has a red root of the colour of the sunset? Guilandino's claim is more of a fairy-tale (*fabulosa*), not even worth contemplating.⁴⁷

Debates on Homer's *moly*, obviously, were not fought on concepts of science and poetics. While all three scholars were acting as botanists and philologists alike, Gessner and Mattioli did not rule out magical interpretations of the Homeric passage. In the years following this controversy Guilandino embarked on a research trip to the Levant, Egypt, and Palestine, financed by the university of Padua and the Republic of Venice, in order to verify the information provided by Dioscorides. He discovered many materials, all lost due to his being imprisoned by pirates in the harbour of Cagliari. His friend Falloppio paid the ransom. In 1561, safely back in Italy, Guilandino was first appointed director of the botanical garden of Padua and, in 1567, university professor. Egyptian plants remained an important field for

⁴⁴ Guilandino 1557, 25.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 43.

⁴⁶ Mattioli 1561, 159.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 171–172. For the description of Βαάαϝ in Flavius Josephus, often compared with *Cynospastus*, see Jos. *Bell. Iud.* 7, 6, 3.

him, though he was never to find *moly*. Guilandino's work was, however, to influence subsequent interpretations of *moly*, focusing on Egypt.⁴⁸

Magical Plant Power: Homer's *moly* between Hermeticism, Paracelsism, and Galenic Medicine (Conring, Borch)

Very early on, the Western classical tradition linked magic to Egypt.⁴⁹ In *Od.* IV, Homer mentions that in Egypt Helen had received from Polydamna, Thon's wife, a potion containing a most powerful *pharmakon*. In Egypt

the earth [...] bears greatest store of drugs, many that are healing when mixed, and many that are baneful; there every man is a physician, wise above human kind; for they are of the race of Paeon.⁵⁰

Neither early modern exponents of Hermeticism and Paracelsism nor those of Galenic medicine and Aristotelianism failed to address these magical and/or pharmaceutical allusions to potent plants. While sixteenth-century humanists were mainly concerned with *moly*'s identity, seventeenth-century scholars were much more interested in its purported powers. How could a plant and antidote, such as the Homeric *moly*, have such an effect on the human body? This question was, of course, connected to several debates on magic in early modern Galenic medicine, Hermeticism, and Paracelsism.⁵¹ Due to the complex nature of the Hermetic and Paracelsian accounts of Homer's *moly*,⁵² I shall focus here on the controversy between Hermann Conring of Helmstedt and Ole Borch of Copenhagen in the second half of the seventeenth century.

One of the most important exponents of Galenic medicine and institutional Aristotelianism as practiced in the middle of the seventeenth century was the Lutheran professor Hermann Conring (1606–1681) of the Helmstedt *Academia Julia*.⁵³ His most famous work, which was reprinted several times, *De Hermetica Aegyptiorum vetere et Paracelsicorum nova medicina* (1648), provides a series of accounts of debates on the magical power of plants, which, according to Conring, a convinced anti-chemist and anti-Paracelsian, belonged to the realm of poetry, not to nature.⁵⁴ This claim quickly provoked a reply by Ole Borch (1626–1690), Danish physician, chemist, and polyhistor, who was much more inclined to Paracelsism and

⁴⁸ Cf. Sponde 1573, 142 (commentary on the *Odyssey*).

⁴⁹ Ebeling 2014.

⁵⁰ Hom. *Od.* IV, 228–232; Homerus 1946, 123.

⁵¹ Frietsch 2021.

⁵² See, for instance Maier 1620, 124–127; Kircher 1653, 439–441.

⁵³ On Conring's life and works, see most recently Nahrendorf 2020.

⁵⁴ Conring 1648; an in-depth discussion of the seventeenth-century use of the terms *magic* and *magical* would exceed the limits of this article. For further references, see Frietsch 2021.

Hermeticism. It gave rise to several controversies, all concerned with Hermes Trismegistus and the works attributed to him. Conring's and Borch's standpoints were wide apart. For Borch, for instance chemistry was an age-old discipline going back to pre-diluvian Tubalcain, originating in Egypt and then passing on to Greece, whereas Conring followed the tradition according to which Moses had introduced this discipline in Egypt. Borch, for his part, believed Moses to have received his knowledge in Egypt from none other than Hermes Trismegistus.⁵⁵ It is obvious that these standpoints also influenced Conring's and Borch's interpretations of Homer and Hermes' herb.

In 1668 Borch initiated a controversy in his dissertation *De ortu et progressu chemiae*.⁵⁶ In 1669 Conring reacted with a second edition of his *Hermetica medicina*, published under a slightly different title and complete with an *apologeticus* addressing Borch.⁵⁷ Listing Orpheus, Pythagoras, Empedocles, and many others said to have excelled in “magical medicine” (*magica medicina*),⁵⁸ Conring also mentions Homer and his famous *moly*. Homer's familiarity with magical arts, Conring says, is brought out by the *Odyssey*. As Pliny said, magical arts were the origin of the poet's works. Though Conring does not doubt the power of *moly*, he argues, this power does not work through magic, since healing wounds or alike through incantations is magical. This last point is doubted by Conring.⁵⁹ A few lines later he also makes it clear that a “magical power” (*magica vis*) attributed to a plant by some *magi* or idolaters cannot be considered natural (*naturalis vis*). Since *moly* belongs to magic in Homer's poetry, it must be interpreted as part of poetical fiction, Conring argues. It is a magical plant, regardless of how inaccurate this might seem from the point of view of natural sciences. Considering the presence of incantations in the Homeric passage, identifying *moly* with a real-world plant is more than questionable.

Ole Borch did not agree.⁶⁰ Since 1660 he was a *professor extraordinarius* lecturing in a very practice-oriented way not only on botany and chemistry, but also on poetics. Borch's extensive output in the field of poetics was well received even beyond the university of Copenhagen.⁶¹ In his reply, he urges

⁵⁵ For the wide-ranging seventeenth-century debates on Hermes Trismegistus, ancient Egyptian wisdom, and the Mosaic tradition, see e.g. Abbri 2000, in particular 218, with special regard to Conring and Borch; Law 2021 (forthcoming).

⁵⁶ Borch 1668.

⁵⁷ Conring 1669. For the *apologeticus* against Borch, see *ibid.* 421–447.

⁵⁸ Conring 1669, 107.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 107.

⁶⁰ On Borch's life and works, see Abbri 2000, Fink Jensen 2000 & 2006, Johnson & Maynard 2013 and Roling 2021.]

⁶¹ Cf. e.g. Borch 1683.

Conring to stop trying to impose views that had not been verified. According to Borch, physicians of the past have shown that plants may legitimately (*legitime*) defeat diseases induced by incantation.⁶² Physicians and astronomers, such as the Paracelsian Bartholomaeus Carrichter, had stated that black hellebore or *hypericum* seemed most efficient especially as regards diseases of the mind. There is no reason, says Borch, to attribute simple *superstitio* to Homer. Has the commentary tradition not shown that *moly* being “difficult to extract for mortals but not for gods” could also mean it being simply hard to find? Indeed, is it not hard to find most of these plants which are reported to be most effective against mental diseases? Galen himself had stated it on several occasions. The true nature of *moly* aside, while the practices and ceremonies described by the poet were, of course, superstitious, the thing (*res*), i.e. the plant, must have worked in a natural way (*naturaliter*)?⁶³

As shown by Conring and Borch, iatrophilology could be practiced in different ways. While Conring seemed to have opted for a strict distinction between poetry and natural philosophy, Borch adheres to the commentary tradition on Homer, seems to believe that natural phenomena might be identified in poetical descriptions of magical practices. The problem of the combination of concepts belonging to poetry, on the one hand, and natural philosophy, especially medicine and botany, on the other, became a core issue in subsequent iatrophilological debates on the Homeric *moly*.

Between Medicine and Poetics: *Homerus Medicus* and *Moly Homericum* (Wedel, Brendel, Triller)

By the end of the seventeenth century it was clear that iatrophilological readings of Homer needed adequate concepts of poetry. How could the long-lasting tradition of interpreting Homer be combined with medical and botanical reasoning? Here again, Eustathius and his commentaries on Homer were most influential for early modern iatrophilologists and their interpretations of *moly*. In one of his three short *propemptica* on Homer's *moly* published in quick succession in 1713,⁶⁴ Georg Wolfgang Wedel (1645–1721) argues that there are two meanings of this Homeric remedy: the “physical anti-aphrodisiac” and the “moral antidote” or “moral preservative”.⁶⁵ This, of course, follows Eustathius and established early modern poetics. Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are suspected to contain

⁶² Borch 1674, 130.

⁶³ Borch, *ibid.*

⁶⁴ Wedel 1713a; 1713b; 1713c.

⁶⁵ Wedel 1713a, 4.

allegories which have to be explained both *physice* and *moraliter*.⁶⁶ Homer's supposed moral allegories were, of course, already well-received at early modern universities, academies or gymnasia. Telling cases, such as the Lutheran theologian and schoolmaster in Schneeberg, Urban Gottfried Siber (1669–1741), and his oration *Moly, Hermetis herba* published in 1699, come to mind.⁶⁷

A likewise odd example, however, for the mainly physical reading of Homer is provided by Adam Brendel (d. 1719). He studied physics as well as poetics in Wittenberg and published in 1700 an academic dissertation with the programmatic title *De Homero medico*.⁶⁸ Homer, he says, did not only possess knowledge in diverse medical fields, such as epidemiology, surgery, and pharmacy,⁶⁹ but also in the therapeutics of mental diseases. These mental diseases, Brendel assures, can sometimes even be cured by songs (*carminibus sanantur*), as Homer himself would confirm.⁷⁰ It is to be noted that accounts like these, prominent in the Lutheran academic milieu, were not so much indebted to the Paracelsian or Hermetic tradition than to traditional Aristotelianism and Galenic medicine which, by the end of the seventeenth century, had already incorporated some of the experimental approaches proposed by more recent philosophical tendencies, represented by Boyle, Gassendi, Descartes and several others.

However, Georg Wolfgang Wedel's *propemptica* on Homer's *moly*, as mentioned above, are most revealing in regard to the combination of physical and moral interpretations and the idea of both readings providing holistic allegories. Since Homer's poems are a *Geschicht-Gedicht*, i.e. a story which is only probable, but far from true, Wedel proposes that it is in particular the duty of botany and medicine to dismantle the mythological elements of plants

⁶⁶ See, for instance, the preface in Postel 1697, 2r–2v; Postel 1700.

⁶⁷ Siber 1699, a3r–3v: “[...] secretos et reconditos Vatis sensus, qui fictionum velamento, egregias maximasque ad mores spectantes doctrinas, tegere et obvelare studuit” ([...] the poet's secret and hidden intentions, who, through the veil of fiction, aims to cover and hide the honourable and highest moral instructions). Somewhat later, a4v: “Eustathius [...] tradit omnem Odysseae Homericae historiam magis ad formandos instruendosque mores, quam tradendae veritatis [...]” (Eustathius [...] teaches that the whole story of Homer's Odyssey aimed more at forming and instructing morals than transmitting the truth).

⁶⁸ Brendel & Oertel 1700.

⁶⁹ Brendel & Oertel 1700, 20–24. Brendel and Oertel argue, knowledge of the miasma theory and the spread of epidemic diseases appears to be present in Homer, e.g. as regards cleaning houses out of precaution and disease prevention (e.g. at the end of Hom. *Od.* XXII). According to them, knowledge of surgery seems to inform Machaon's treatment of his battle wounds (Hom. *Il.* IV, 223ff.) and pharmacy, of course, seems essential to Helen's famous potion in Hom. *Od.* IV, 219ff.

⁷⁰ Brendel & Oertel 1700, 18. Their arguments are based on Hom. *Il.* IX, 186ff. The matter continued to interest Brendel, see Brendel & Pohle 1706.

described in poetry.⁷¹ Therefore, Wedel argues, in botanical terms *Nymphaea alba* would be a perfect match for *moly*, since it has all the required qualities. As it is floating on water, it is hard to grab. Interestingly enough, as it could also counteract sexual desire, Wedel reckons, it appears to be a perfect gift for Ulysses to face Circe, a creature of manifold charms.⁷² The physical interpretation, Wedel implies, has to serve the underlying moral sense of the passage as well. The physical description and the adjoining moral implications of the *pharmakon* have to be compatible. When *herbipotens* Circe transforms Ulysses's companions into pigs, she does not literally turn them into animals but only makes them mad and stupid by her pharmaceutical skills. Following the influential interpretation of Natale Conti's *Mythologiae* (1551) of the episode of Ulysses and Circe, for Wedel the companions act morally like animals while not literally being transformed into pigs by magic.⁷³ Hermes' herb, this gift to Ulysses, Wedel says, is nothing else than the ability to keep one's emotions and desires under control, i.e. *temperantia*.⁷⁴ This very same state of mind, this fortitude, he adds, would also preserve the human mind against malevolent incantations – a concession of Wedel's to the rather Paracelsian accounts by Borch and others.⁷⁵ These moralising iatrophilological argumentations, one should note, were not taking place in the margins of scholarship, especially since Wedel, Brendel, and others were core members of the *Academia naturae curiosorum*, which was to become the learned society *Leopoldina*.

Only three years after Wedel another German scholar, although a much younger one, provided a synthesis of the iatrophilological discussions on Homer's *moly*. Daniel Wilhelm Triller (1695–1782) studied philosophy and medicine in Leipzig, where he published a dissertation entitled *Moly Homericum detectum cum reliquis ad fabulam Circaeam pertinentibus* (The detected Moly of Homer with other adjoining Circean fables, 1716).⁷⁶ This title, of course, was meant to be programmatic. Triller was also interested in the combination of medicine and poetics. He did not only have a successful

⁷¹ Wedel 1713c; Wedel 1713b, 2; The term *Geschicht-Gedicht* used by Wedel is taken from the well-received treatise by Sigmund von Birken (Birken 1679) who had used the same term to classify the heroic poems of Homer and Vergil, but also more recent poetic genres, such as *Romanzi* or *Romans*.

⁷² Wedel 1713a, 5–6.

⁷³ Wedel 1713b, 5.

⁷⁴ Wedel 1713c, 3. Ulysses later sharing the bed with Circe does not seem contradictory to Wedel. After all, Ulysses manages to persuade Circe to transform his companions back into humans and let them leave the island. The sex with Circe, according to this interpretation, is sheer calculation on Ulysses' side to reach his goals.

⁷⁵ Wedel 1713c, 5–6.

⁷⁶ Triller & Wagner 1716; re-issued and revised in Triller 1766. This shows Triller's life-long interest in iatrophilology.

medical career, but made himself also known as editor of poetry by such a well-known German author and theoretician of poetry as Martin Opitz, among others.⁷⁷ Frequently referring to the interpretative tradition of Homer's *moly*, Triller joins in with Wedel in stating that Servius, in his commentary on Vergil, had presented Circe as being nothing else than a beautiful “noble courtisan” or “prostitute” (*nobile scortum/meretrix*) with singing skills.⁷⁸ An eighteenth-century Lutheran physician could of course not fail to warn his readers of the dangers of libidinous and voluptuous practices, out of both moral and medical reasons.

Then again, why Hermes, the messenger of gods, and not Apollo, who was much more closely linked with knowledge and healing crafts? The answer, Triller says, is obvious: in Matthew (Mat 17:5), the Christian God would have appeared to Jesus and the Disciples. And as Diogenes Laertius and Maximus of Tyre had shown, the one and only God was polyonymous, having manifested himself in antiquity under several names, including that of Hermes, who was referred to by expressions such as εἰμαρμένης (decreed by fate), ἔρουμα (safeguard) or ὄχυρῶμα (fortress). Therefore, argues Triller, Homer's choice for Hermes is well placed, not so much because of the link to λόγος (as concrete speech), but to λογισμὸν (reasoning power), which seems to be the underlying divine gift handed over to Ulysses by the plant *moly*. The Christian God saves mankind through natural gifts and enables it to protect itself against external dangers.⁷⁹ For Triller, this is not surprising, and fits contemporary poetics as regards Homeric poetry. Even Milton in his most famous *Paradise Lost* used archangel Michael as God's messenger who provides Adam with a cure for his optic nerve, thus enlightening him both literally and figuratively.⁸⁰

But what plant did actually provide the allegorical template for *moly*? Triller's conclusion, at first, seems surprising. There was never any plant called *moly*, as Wedel would already have noted.⁸¹ However, contrary to Wedel, for Triller the physical *schema* for the *sensus allegoricus* and *sensus moralis* cannot be *Nymphaea alba*. Triller's arguments underline the botanical differences between the *nymphaea* and the *moly*. Homer, in his poetic manner, says something while meaning something else (“aliud

⁷⁷ On this issue, see the instructive paper by Worms 2018.

⁷⁸ Triller 1716, 6–8; Triller 1766, 40–42.

⁷⁹ Triller 1766, 59–60.

⁸⁰ See, Otten 1970, 362 and 365, who convincingly analyses Milton's *rue* as a reference to Homer's *moly*.

⁸¹ Triller 1766, 63. For the sake of my argument I shall leave out Triller's accounts of diverse etymologies of *moly* and the problem of divine language as elaborated on in the commentary tradition.

proponit, aliud autem supponit”).⁸² Contrary to Wedel, Triller suspects Homer of referring to black hellebore (*Elleborus niger*) as the physical template for the allegorical interpretation of *moly*.⁸³ Is it not black hellebore which, like *moly*, has the power to clear the mind and strengthen one’s wits as, for instance, Erasmus and others had maintained?⁸⁴ Furthermore, by hellebore, Triller concludes, nothing else could be meant than *prudentia* (sharpness of mind). What Ulysses needed was not so much *paideia* (as proposed by Maximus of Tyre and others), than plain σοφία (cleverness) or βουλή (counsel): a good piece of advice on interacting with the enchanting sorceress Circe.⁸⁵ Finally, this would make black hellebore such a good candidate for Hermes’ herb, since that god (and allegorically the real Christian God) is supposed to provide counsel to humans in difficult situations.⁸⁶ This, Triller concludes, can only be the *sensus latens*, the meaning lying underneath Homer’s *moly*: black hellebore as a perfect match on natural, moral, and allegorical levels.

Conclusion: Multiple Readings and Projections

Homer’s *moly*, as has been shown, came a long way into early modern scholarship. Starting in Renaissance humanism, scholars became not only readers of but scholars doing research on Greek literature.⁸⁷ The ancient and medieval Greek and Latin commentary tradition using Homer’s *moly* for medical, botanical information laid the foundation for several iatrophilological readings of Homer in the following centuries. In the seventeenth century the Paracelsian and Hermetic approaches as well as

⁸² Triller 1766, 75.

⁸³ Triller 1766, 75.

⁸⁴ Triller 1766, 76: “Hic igitur sciendum, antiquitus primum Ellebori nigri ad levanda mentis et capitis vitia ipsumque ingenium acuendum, et sapientiam augendam et roborandam, fuisse usum, ut Erasmus loquitur” (Therefore, here one has to know that in ancient times the use of black hellebore was first to lessen the vices of the mind and head, to sharpen one’s wit itself, and to increase and strengthen one’s good sense, as Erasmus says).

⁸⁵ Triller 1766, 79.

⁸⁶ Triller 1766, 81 sums it up quite nicely: “Brevibus: voluit Homerus hacce in fabula, homines tum caeco impetu, in voluptates ruentes; tum iisdem temperanter et cum ratione utentes proponere, atque simul indicare damna et pericula priorum, quos in pecora versos fabulatus: et posteriorum securitatem et inconcussam quietem, sub effigie Ulyssis prudentia et temperantia a Deo instructi tuto ad Circen euntis nihilque adversi passi” (In short: with this story [of Circe] Homer wanted to show people that sometimes cede to their desires and sometimes manage them with temperance and reason. At once, he wanted to present the sufferings and dangers of the former, whom he in his tale described as having been transformed into animals, and the security and unshaken peace of the other in the form of Ulysses, who, instructed by God with wit and temperance, arrives safely to Circe without coming to any harm).

⁸⁷ Pade 2018.

traditional Galenic medicine were eager to solve the mysteries of Homer's poetry. In the late seventeenth century iatrophilologists constructed elaborate strategies of reading Homer's *realia*, tending towards not only holistic physical but also moral and allegorical interpretations. In the early eighteenth century, iatrophilological questions appear to be deeply intertwined with other influential modes of interpretation originating in physicotheology, as shown by the cases of Adam Brendel, Georg Wolfgang Wedel and Daniel Wilhelm Triller. Finally, a considerable number of early modern scholars were convinced of Hippocrates having read Homer, of Hesiod having been well versed in medicine, and of poets having arrived at their wisdom through study, not having been born with it.⁸⁸

This short survey, which has highlighted some parts of the interpretative tradition of Homer's *moly* in the Renaissance and the early modern period, has shown, as we hope, that Homeric poetry continued to fascinate and provide challenges to interpreters. Even today the "curse-breaker" *moly* continues to inspire writers.⁸⁹ The analysis of such debates makes it possible to trace important developments within early modern scholarship that are linked to the underlying methods of interpretation. Cases like these show the importance for modern research of evaluating early modern intellectual thought in its own right, appreciating the impressive learning of the predecessors of modern historical and philological research.

⁸⁸ Cf. the *colophon* in Triller 1716, 36: "Poëtae fiunt non nascuntur" (You become a poet, you are not born one).

⁸⁹ See e.g. Miller 2018, 87, Circe discovering *moly* at the beginning of her exile on Aiaia: "And there it was hidden in the leaf mould, beneath the ferns and mushrooms: a flower small as a fingernail, white as milk. The blood of that giant which my father had spilled in the sky. I plucked a stem out of the tangle. The roots clung hard a moment before yielding. They were black and thick, and smelled of metal and salt. The flower had no name that I knew so I called it *moly*, *root*, from the antique language of the gods. Oh, father, did you know the gift you gave me? For that flower, so delicate it could dissolve beneath your stepping foot, carried within it the unyielding power of *apotrope*, the turning aside of evil. Curse-breaker. Ward and bulwark against ruin, worshipped like a god, for it was pure. The only thing in all the world you could be certain would not turn against you."

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THE CHILD AT THE MIRROR:



Niels Bredal's *Børne Speigel* (1568)

By Anna Wegener

Niels Bredal's conduct book Børne Speigel (1568) has received surprisingly scant attention despite being considered the first work of children's literature in Danish. In Børne Speigel, an adult speaker directs his words to a young narratee, a 'you'. In this article, I explore the identity of this 'you' in an attempt to picture how children in early modern Denmark might have lived. I also discuss Bredal's possible sources of inspiration, showing that Børne Speigel is indebted not only to Erasmus' De civilitate morum puerilium (1530), as many scholars have pointed out, but also to Martin Luther's Kleiner Katechismus (1529).

A neglected text

Scholars concur that the first work of children's literature written in Danish is *Børne Speigel* (Mirror for children), a conduct book by the teacher and priest Niels Bredal.¹ It was printed in Copenhagen in 1568 by Mads Vingaard and only a single copy of it survives, which is held by the Royal Library in Copenhagen.

Bredal's book was made accessible to a wider audience in 1894 when the church historian Holger Fr. Rørdam republished it as part of a series of writings issued by Universitets-Jubilæets Danske Samfund (The University Anniversary's Danish Society), a society devoted to disseminating and preserving knowledge of the Danish language and Danish dialects.² Rørdam

¹ See e.g. Stybe 1969; Winge 1981, 14–15; Weinreich 2006, 15–21; Christensen 2012, 82. On Bredal's life and career, see Wegener 1846, 11–15; Rørdam 1894, III–VII; Vester 2012, 237–248; Bredal, whose exact dates of birth and death are not known, was probably born in the village of Bredal in the vicinity of Vejle in southern Jutland. He was a Dominican monk before the Reformation. In 1542, he became the first principal of the Latin school in Vejle, a position he held for many years. His name has been passed down to posterity for two reasons: first, because he authored *Børne Speigel*, and second because he was the teacher of Anders Sørensen Vedel, and indeed Vedel is said to have learned impeccable Latin as a boy under Bredal's guidance.

² *Børne Speigel* – the entire text or parts of it – exists in various editions. See Bredal 1894; Stybe 1969, 12–19; Bredal 2009. In this article I quote from the digital facsimile of

observed that Bredal's text contained many elements of interest for linguists and cultural historians, and he hoped that his edition would prompt scholars to study the work more closely. Rørdam considered *Børne Speigel* the first pedagogical treatise written in Danish. He viewed it as a historically interesting document revealing how "vore Forfædre" (our forefathers) lived and thought, but disregarded the fact that Bredal addresses children.³ While emphasizing its value for cultural historians, he ignored that *Børne Speigel* is children's literature.⁴

In 1969, Vibeke Stybe, a pioneer of children's literature studies, reinterpreted *Børne Speigel* as a text for children by including parts of it in her anthology of early Danish children's literature. Stybe even named her anthology after Bredal's text, finding that it was representative of the period under scrutiny in her book, i.e., the time from 1550 to 1850. According to Stybe, the history of Danish children's literature could be roughly divided into two parts: whereas early children's literature was aimed at educating children, authors of later periods – from approximately 1850 onward – focused on entertaining their young audience.⁵ Elsewhere, Stybe characterized early children's literature as follows: "Belæring og gudsfrygtighed [*sic*] er indholdet af de tidlige bøger for børn, og illustrationerne er af religiøs art" (Instruction and godliness are the content of early books for children, and the illustrations are of a religious nature).⁶ This description shows why *Børne Speigel* – despite Stybe's considering it a text that both inaugurates and represents an important period in the history of Danish children's literature – has hitherto never been subjected to thorough scholarly analysis. Bredal's text is both didactic and profoundly pious, and as such it does not seem to be 'good' children's literature by today's (normative) standards.⁷

the 1568 edition of The Royal Library in Copenhagen:

<http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/manus/696/eng/>.

³ Rørdam 1884, X. All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

⁴ For a standard definition of children's literature as literature written and published for children see Weinreich 2004, 33; Christensen 2012, 20. Troels Lund, author of *Dagligt Liv i Norden i det sekstende Aarhundrede* (Daily life in the Nordic countries in the sixteenth century), early recognized the value of Bredal's text as a source for the cultural historian, see e.g. Lund 1903 V, 101, 103.

⁵ For a criticism of this simplified view of the history of Danish children's literature, see Christensen 2012, 139–152.

⁶ Stybe 1993, 58.

⁷ According to Andrea Immel and Michael Witmore "some literary critics have stigmatized Enlightenment children's books as too crudely didactic to sustain serious critical attention" (Immel & Witmore 2006, 8). Bredal's book predates the Enlightenment, but their argument could also explain the lack of scholarly interest in his work. See also Christensen

Child figures

Internationally, however, there is currently a growing interest in exploring the history of childhood and children’s literature in both the medieval and early modern periods. Some important recent publications include Andrea Immel & Michael Witmore (2006), Lotta Paulin (2012), Edel Lamb (2018), Naomi J. Miller & Diane Purkiss (2020) and Anna French (2020).⁸ In Denmark, Charlotte Appel’s groundbreaking research on the history of schools and schooling has shed new light on the ways in which Danish children came into contact with the world of letters in the early modern period.⁹

I would like to contribute to this expanding field by examining the figure of the child in *Børne Spiegel*. Indeed, there is more than one child figure in the text – there are at least two.

Bredal’s title indicates that he adheres to the moral-didactic tradition of *speculum* literature. Titles in Latin including the term *speculum* were common from the twelfth century to the early modern period and beyond, and the vernacular counterparts *Spiegel/miroir/specchio* were also frequently employed. In Latin, the title had multiple functions: the entry on ‘Spiegelliteratur’ in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (1995) enumerates six different uses of *speculum* in titles.¹⁰ Of interest in this context is the fact that the *speculum*-term was used in the titles of works aiming to help readers improve themselves spiritually and morally by serving as a mirror of self-knowledge. Examples of this use of the term are found, among other sources, in works specifically targeted at a young audience, the most important being *Speculum virginum* (Mirror of virgins), a twelfth-century didactic dialogue indicating how a young woman should prepare herself for monastic life.¹¹ In children’s literature in the Scandinavian languages, the mirror metaphor appears not only in the title of Bredal’s book but also in two translations from German into Swedish: Conrad Porta’s *Een sköön och härligh Jungfrw Speghel* (A beautiful and glorious mirror of virgins, org. 1580, Swedish translation 1591) – traditionally considered the first Swedish children’s book – and Michael

2012, 9–10, 150–152, who argues that the Romantic construct of childhood has excluded Enlightenment children’s literature from scholarly attention.

⁸ In the Scandinavian area, Göte Klingberg pioneered research in early modern children’s literature. See Klingberg 1964 and Klingberg 1998. In Denmark, Nina Christensen has greatly advanced knowledge of Danish children’s literature of the eighteenth century, see Christensen 2012.

⁹ See e.g. Appel 2006 and 2017. See also Christensen & Appel 2021.

¹⁰ Roth *et al.* 1995, 2102.

¹¹ Regarding this text see Roth 1995, 2090; Paulin 2012, 175–196. On the mirror metaphor in medieval Danish ballads see Dahlerup 1998, 142–143. According to Dahlerup in the ballads the word ‘speil’ always refers to a woman who is an ideal for other women.

Sach's *Kyskheets spegel* (The mirror of chastity, orig. 1602, Swedish translation 1622).¹²

In choosing his title, Bredal shows that he intends to illustrate the proper role and conduct of a particular group in society, namely children. He formulates the virtues that children ought to possess – obedience, piousness, humility, diligence and temperance, to name the most important – and he does this not in an abstract way, but rather by stating how children ought to behave themselves in specific social situations. One might say that the text presents a figure of an ideal child, a child worthy of emulation. This figure comes into being not only through Bredal's representations of laudable behavior (positive examples), but also through his depictions of behavior that children ought to avoid (negative examples).

Børne Speigel is a conduct book, a genre that, as Luisa Tasca points out, is difficult to define because “it often merges into categories such a moral tutors, catechism[s], sports manuals, and guides to married and domestic life and hygiene.”¹³ Conduct books belong to the overall category of conduct literature, which, as Dietmar Till observes, covers “very different genres of texts, the common function of which is the regulation of individual behavior according to norms that were historically and socially subject to change.”¹⁴ *Børne Speigel* is thus a prescriptive text instructing, admonishing and giving advice on proper behavior for children.

In *Børne Speigel* an adult speaker – or narrator – addresses a child referred to as ‘you’. Following standard narratological terminology, I shall call this ‘you’ the text’s narratee, that is, “the addressee of the narrator, the fictive entity to which the narrator directs his narration.”¹⁵ The prescriptive function of the text rests on the speaker’s advice to the narratee. At the same time, the speaker has specific ideas about the identity of the narratee, the place where the narratee lives, the nature of the household that frames the narratee’s upbringing and the work and leisure activities that this young person engages in. I hypothesize that Bredal constructs his narratee in such a way that the actual readers of his text would have been able to put themselves in the narratee’s place and identify with the narratee’s conditions. One might even claim that *Børne Speigel* is children’s literature because the author writes about a world – with its household structures, physical spaces, games, etc. – that child readers would know from their own lives. Seen in this way, *Børne*

¹² On Laurentius Johannis Laelius’ Swedish adaptation of Conrad Porta’s *Jungfrauen Spiegel* see Klingberg 1991, 15–35.

¹³ Tasca 2015.

¹⁴ Till 2015.

¹⁵ Schmid 2013. On the concept of the narratee see also e.g. Chatman 1978, 253–262; O’Sullivan 2006, 99–101.

Speigel becomes a descriptive text depicting in general terms how children in mid-sixteenth century Denmark lived.¹⁶ Not all children, but the urban middle-class children – boys as well as girls – to whom the text was directed. It is this second child figure, the extratextual child to which the text beckons, that interests me in this article.

It needs to be pointed out, however, that one should generally be wary of using literature as a source not only of the life of children in the past but also of the changing conceptions of childhood as Nina Christensen, following Colin Heywood, has observed.¹⁷ In the case of *Børne Speigel*, one could argue that given this text's highly intertextual nature, it points less to historical reality than to other texts that it quotes and transforms. While it is certainly true that literature cannot give us direct access to historical reality, one could also claim – as I do here – that the conduct book by its very genre must, as Norbert Elias observes, “adhere closely to social reality [...]”¹⁸ Or, to quote Helena Sanson, conduct texts reflect “contemporary realities, norms, and customs.”¹⁹ I will thus claim that *Børne Speigel* sheds light, at least to some extent, on the life of middle-class children in mid-sixteenth century Denmark.

First, however, I would like to begin by providing an overview of the text itself while indicating some of Bredal's possible sources of inspiration. Holger Rørdam notes that Bredal might have been inspired by the Italian humanist Giovanni Sulpizio da Veroli's *De moribus puerorum in mensa servandis* (How to behave at the table), a short didactic poem from the end of the fifteenth century teaching moral precepts and proper table manners, and by Erasmus of Rotterdam's famous treatise *De civilitate morum puerilium* (*A Handbook on Good Manners for Children*) from 1530.²⁰ Both Holger Rørdam and later scholars have stressed that *Børne Speigel* is neither a translation nor a slavish repetition of someone else's thoughts: it has “et originalt dansk Præg” (an original Danish character).²¹ In terms of Bredal's relationship with Erasmus, Rørdam finds that the former uses the latter's treatise quite freely, borrowing what he needs while contributing much of his own. To Rørdam's observation it is necessary to add that for many centuries European children's literature was quite homogenous and characterized by numerous translations and translations of translations that circulated among various countries and

¹⁶ On prescriptive and descriptive aspects of conduct literature for women see Sanson 2016, 13, 34.

¹⁷ Christensen 2012, 50; Heywood 2001, 6.

¹⁸ Elias 2000, 63.

¹⁹ Sanson 2016, 34.

²⁰ Rørdam 1884, VII. Rørdam adds that Bredal might also have been inspired by the Italian humanist Antonio Mancinelli's *Speculum de moribus et officiis*, an edition of which appeared in Copenhagen in 1541. *Ibid.*, 32. On Erasmus's treatise see Elias 2000, 47–72.

²¹ Rørdam 1884, VIII.

language areas.²² It was thus not an exceptional move on Bredal's part to include translations or paraphrases of one or more texts written in Latin in his own work. Second, and this is my main point, although Bredal does rely on Latin sources (notably Erasmus), there is another major source of inspiration behind *Børne Speigel* that scholars have so far ignored, namely Martin Luther's *Kleiner Katechismus* (*Small Catechism*), which was published one year before Erasmus's treatise. I will point out examples of both Erasmian and Lutheran traces in *Børne Speigel*.

Børne Speigel: an overview

Børne Speigel spans 29 small printed pages plus a one-page preface. It is sparsely illustrated, containing just two illustrations, one of the Virgin with baby Jesus and one of Jesus on the Cross. Unlike Erasmus's work, which is written in prose, *Børne Speigel* is written in verse – so-called *knittelvers* – thus adhering to a medieval tradition, in which, as Elias notes, “rhymed precepts were one of the means used to try to impress on people's memories what they should and should not do in society, above all at table.”²³

The text can be divided into four parts which I will examine in the following order: 1) a preface, 2) some prayers and a hymn, 3) rules of conduct for specific social situations (in bed, at the table, at school, etc.), 4) instructions for personal hygiene and body language.

On the title page, Bredal dedicates his book to two mayors of Vejle, Jens Michilssen and Clement Søffrensen, as well as to the citizens of this city. In the preface, Bredal directly addresses these mayors and explains why he has written his book while revealing his conception of childhood. Many learned men have taken great care to describe how children should be brought up in godly and honest ways, but, Bredal argues, their counsel is partly inaccessible to young Danes because few parents send their children to school and even fewer children learn Latin.²⁴

²² Klingberg 1998, 10–11. According to Klingberg, the first time the phrase ‘Swedish original’ was used in the paratext of a children's book in Sweden was in 1839. On the basis of this finding he concludes that, in the preceding centuries, it does not seem to have been a point of interest whether a given children's book was an original or a translation. Nina Christensen observes with reference to eighteenth-century Danish children's literature that it is often difficult to find out whether a text is a translation or not, or if the translation is so different from the original that it must be considered a new original. See Christensen 2012, 142.

²³ Elias 2000, 53.

²⁴ Bredal's comment may regard the past rather than his own present. In the years around the Reformation, people stopped sending their children to school in part because Denmark was torn apart by a civil war (1534–1536) and in part because education no longer assured pupils a future occupation within the church. In a 1524 letter to German councilmen, Luther exhorted them to institute new schools, fearing that the abolition of church and monastery

Among the learned men who had written about children's manners, Bredal explicitly mentions Erasmus's name, a fact which testifies to the immense popularity of the Dutch humanist and *De civilitate* in sixteenth-century Europe – the educational treatise was published in numerous editions and translations and used in the Latin schools – and reveals Bredal's wish to borrow some of Erasmus's stardust to enhance the appeal of his own work.²⁵ The novelty of *Børne Speigel* thus resides, according to Bredal, in the fact that he has drawn on a Latin source – or multiple Latin sources – to extract some of the “fornæmmeligste Lærdomme” (palpable instructions) for children's proper conduct and reformulated them in Danish for the benefit of young Danish readers.

The reason why it is important to bring up children in a godly and honest way has to do with children's nature. In Bredal's view, children are highly receptive to learning; indeed, he considers them to be empty vessels awaiting the content that will be poured into them. However, this content must be good, because otherwise it will contaminate the vessel. As Bredal puts it: “Karret beholder gierne en smag aff det som først lades der wdi” (The vessel retains a taste of what is first poured into it).²⁶ As this striking metaphor shows, Bredal believed children are influenced for their entire lives by what they learn in childhood. To Bredal – and to many other educators of his kind – childhood is important not because it has any intrinsic value of its own, as the Romantics were later to sustain, but because it determined life in adulthood and old age.²⁷ The idea that children are highly receptive and malleable is present throughout *Børne Speigel*²⁸ and it is on the basis of this fundamental belief that Bredal justifies the writing of his book. Didactic literature – and *Børne Speigel* is obviously an example of didactic literature – is important in Bredal's view because it molds children and helps them become competent adults.²⁹

schools would have a negative impact on children's education. Since Bredal's text was dedicated to two mayors, he might have drawn indirectly on Luther's text, which was translated into Danish in 1531, to call for their moral and financial support for the Latin school in Vejle. Klingberg also points out that the primary purpose of dedications at this time in history was that the dedicatee should give money to the dedicator. Klingberg 1991, 19. Regarding Luther's 1524 letter, see Appel 2017, 252. See also Jørgensen 1957–1958, 21–22.

²⁵ On the popularity of Erasmus's text, see e.g. Klingberg 1998, 21; Elias 2000, 47–48; Hahn 2015, 81.

²⁶ Bredal 1568, 1.

²⁷ In the long stretch from the Reformation to the Enlightenment, childhood was seen as a preparation for adulthood. See Klingberg 1998, 13; Paulin 2012, 54–55.

²⁸ See e.g. the following verses: “Thi hvad Børn wdi ungdommen vennis til / Di det saa nødigt forlade vil.” (For what children in (their) youth get accustomed to / they leave only reluctantly). *Ibid.*, 25, vv. 10–11.

²⁹ On didactic children's literature see Ewers 2012, 140–142.

Børne Speigel also contains a number of prayers and a hymn. Rørdam notes that, as a poet, Bredal was particularly successful with his morning and table prayers.³⁰ This statement suggests that these prayers were Bredal's own inventions, but this is partly incorrect. While the table prayer was written by Bredal, the morning prayer derives from Luther's *Small Catechism*.³¹ Given the importance and diffusion of Luther's text, anyone reading *Børne Speigel* in the sixteenth century would have recognized the provenance of the morning prayer. The opening of the text also leads the reader back to Luther. The narrator exhorts the narratee to rise early in the morning and read the Ten Commandments, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. This is another way of saying that the narratee should read the *Catechism*, which contains Luther's explication of precisely these three pillars of the Christian faith.³² The *Catechism* also includes Luther's interpretation of the meaning of the Protestant sacraments, some prayers – the morning prayer already mentioned, among others – and a so-called *Haustafel* (Table of Duties), which, based on a division of society into three estates – ecclesiastical estate, the household and the civil government – outlines the duties and responsibilities of all members of the society. According to Luther, every person was a member of all three estates and occupied within each estate the role as either ruler or ruled.³³

In addition, Bredal offers rules of conduct for a wide range of everyday situations, paying special attention to desirable table manners. The narrator urges the narratee to set the table, serve the diners, engage in respectable behavior while eating and to clear the table after the meal has ended as well as avoid uncouth acts such as coughing, spitting, throwing leftovers on the floor, etc. Bredal's advice stems partly from Erasmus, but it also draws on Giovanni Sulpizio da Veroli and Bredal seems to explicitly quote Sulpizio when exhorting his reader to eat in moderation.³⁴ From Bredal's precepts of good table manner it is very clear that children occupy the lowest place in the family hierarchy, as can be seen from the speaker's advice to the narratee to seat himself or herself at the lowliest, most humble place at the dinner table.³⁵

³⁰ Rørdam 1894, VIII.

³¹ Cf. Bredal 1568, 1 and Luther 2006, 65–68.

³² Scholars have discussed when the broad population in Denmark became acquainted with the *Catechism*. Bredal's advice to the narratee to begin the day by reading the *Catechism* suggests that Luther's text must have been common knowledge among the middleclass by the mid-sixteenth century. See Kofoed & Sigh 2017, 328.

³³ On the Table of Duties see Appel 2017, 254; Kofoed & Sigh 2017, 327–350.

³⁴ Cf. Bredal 1568, 12, v. 17–18 and Martini 1980, 50, v. 76: “Du leffuer icke attu skalt æde oc tære / Men du eder / At tu leffuinde kand være” and “Esse decet vivas vivere non ut edas”.

³⁵ Bredal 1568, 8, vv. 24–25.

Finally, Bredal presents advice on personal hygiene and body language through a systematic top-to-bottom approach, beginning with the hair, head and face, moving on to the shoulders, arms, hands and waist and ending with the legs and feet. This part of the text reads indeed almost like a pious version of the modern children’s song “Head, Shoulders, Knees and Toes”. Erasmus’s influence is once again palpable in this part of the book. Bredal is not only interested in the body as a purely physical entity that might decay if not taken care of properly, but he also sees it as his task to admonish children not to assume certain postures or positions because they connote bad character. For example, Bredal – like Erasmus – suggests that children should not stand with their arms behind their backs because this posture is typical of thieves.³⁶ At the same time, however, Bredal holds not only that the outer appearance reflects the inner state, but he also argues that the former affects the latter. By disciplining the body – combing one’s hair, walking properly, etc. – one also disciplines the mind. This last part of the book is invested with an important Christian meaning. It opens with a series of verses about what the different species on the ladder of creation – from the lowliest to the noblest, from worm to mankind – are destined to do. In contrast to the other species, man was created in the image and likeness of God, Bredal states in accordance with the Bible. Man was not made to crawl, swim, fly or walk on four legs, but to walk upright with his face turned toward Heaven hereby expressing that his longing is directed toward God.³⁷ Bredal invests bodily comportment (erect posture) with religious significance, and he seems to think that, by keeping his body clean and holding it properly, man honors God in whose likeness he was created.

The child at the mirror

Who is the child that is supposed to look into Bredal’s mirror and imitate the image of the ideal child present in it? What is the age and gender of this young person? Where does s/he live and what life does s/he lead?

The adult speaker exhorted the narratee to read the *Catechism* in the early morning. For this reason the narratee cannot be extremely young and must instead be a child who has already acquired certain skills, such as reading, and has certain tasks and duties to perform.

In contrast to Sulpizio and Erasmus, who both operate with a male narratee, Bredal’s narratee does not have a specific gender. The gender references in the text are quite vague and fluctuating. Most of the narrator’s advice is directed at both genders, whereas other parts are meant for one

³⁶ Bredal 1568, 22, vv. 5–6; Erasmus 2004, 41.

³⁷ Bredal 1568, 16, vv. 5–6.

gender exclusively. He has boys in mind particularly when he offers elaborate counsel on how one shares a bed with a male companion, as the term ‘Staldbroder’ (fellow) attests, which furthermore shows that children in Denmark at this time did not have their own bed or bedroom.³⁸ Indeed, before the Industrial Revolution there were no distinct physical spaces for children in houses anywhere in the Western world.³⁹ On one occasion, however, the narrator does specifically advise girls when he points out how the narratee ought to take care of her hair. Long hair is a woman’s glory, the narrator states in accordance with St. Paul’s teachings (1 Cor. 11:15), but he urges the narratee not to try to improve her looks in any way, for instance by using pins and hair lotion to make her hair curlier and more lustrous.⁴⁰

That the narratee can be both a boy and a girl is important. Bredal’s choice is linked in part to his decision to write *Børne Speigel* in Danish. Girls in the early modern period would normally not learn Latin, and thus would not have been able to read Sulpizio’s or Erasmus’s Latin texts in the original language.⁴¹ In contrast, by writing in Danish, Bredal made his counsel – and that of his Latin sources – available to the female sex as well. After the Reformation, an increasing number of girls were taught to read in their mother tongue out of the belief that anybody should be able to access the basic articles of the Christian faith as described in the *Small Catechism*.⁴²

Bredal’s choice to address both girls and boys can indeed be seen as a Lutheran trait. In his catechism, Luther discusses, among other things, the role of children vis-à-vis parents (in his interpretation of the Fourth Commandment) and in the household (in the abovementioned *Haustafel* which was based on Luther’s interpretation of the Fourth Commandment). The German reformer does not assign specific duties to girls and boys in the *Haustafel*, but stresses that children in general should obey parents and other authority figures. This does not mean that Luther promoted gender equality; he saw men and women as spiritually equal before God, but in the home the wife owed submission to her husband.⁴³ Like Luther, Bredal is interested in the role and duties of children as submissive beings irrespective of their

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 3, vv. 19–30.

³⁹ Gutman 2013, 251.

⁴⁰ Bredal 1568, 17, vv. 7–12.

⁴¹ Only girls from the upper nobility would have been offered the opportunity to learn Latin. There is unfortunately few written sources relating to the education of upper-class girls, but they were certainly taught religion and reading and writing. There is evidence that some girls also learned math, while others learned German. A few girls were taught Latin and other languages. However, their education was not only intellectual, but also manual, and they were active in lace-making, embroidery and sewing. See Appel 2017, 266–268.

⁴² Appel 2006, 191.

⁴³ Koefoed & Sigh 2017, 328–330.

gender, although there are some passages, as we have seen, where he focused on proper behavior for either boys or girls.

Far from being a contextless individual, Bredal's narratee is positioned in a clearly defined social setting. First of all, s/he lives in a city and not the countryside: in two instances the narrator describes the narratee as going to school or running errands in town. *Børne Speigel* was dedicated, as we have seen, to two mayors of Vejle as well as to the citizens of this city, and the urban setting of the narratee's upbringing is probably a smaller town (*købstad*) in the Danish provinces. By placing the narratee in this context, we also understand that s/he is the child of neither peasants nor nobles, but rather of middle-class citizens.⁴⁴

The child is part of a large nuclear family with servants and lives in a big house in town. According to Anna French, “when considering the lives of early modern children, it is [...] important to take into account the families and households of which they were an integral part.”⁴⁵ Indeed, the history of childhood cannot be separated from the history of the household, meaning “a group of people as well as a physical space and location in which the family member ate, slept and prayed” because, for obvious reasons, children's lives are influenced by the familial context and physical surroundings in which they grow up.

It is unclear, however, whether the narratee actually lives with his or her own parents. The term ‘Foreldre’ (parents) is used four times,⁴⁶ fewer times than the term ‘Hosbond,’ the figure the child is first and foremost duty-bound to respect in Bredal's text.⁴⁷ ‘Hosbond’ refers to a man who is in charge of a household, the master of the house. The fact that ‘Hosbond’ appears more often than ‘Foreldre’ may mean several things. First of all, it is an obvious indication of the complete sidelining of maternal caregiver figures in Bredal's text. Indeed, the Danish word for ‘mother’ does not appear anywhere in the text. It could also be seen as yet another Lutheran trace in that ‘Hosbond’ is a synonym of ‘Husfader’ (*Hausvater*), the figure in the *Small Catechism* who stands above and rules over the other members of the household and is responsible for teaching them the cornerstones of the Christian faith.

The preference for the term ‘Hosbond’ may also indicate that the child does not in fact live with his or her parents. It was not unusual, as Katie Barclay observes, for children in this period to be moved to other households and families after the death of one or both of their parents. In early modern Europe, “only a minority of children would grow to adulthood without having

⁴⁴ Regarding the four estates in early modern Denmark, see Scocozza 2006, 44–61.

⁴⁵ French 2020, 5.

⁴⁶ Bredal 1568, 2, 10, 15.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 2, 7, 8, 12, 13.

lost at least one parent.”⁴⁸ If one parent died, the remaining one might remarry and the child would thus gain a step-parent. Both death and remarriage could act as forces pushing the child into a different household. Children were also dislodged from their homes for other reasons: parents could place them in the care of childless relatives in the hope of securing them an inheritance, or in other households so that they may learn a trade or domestic skill.⁴⁹ We cannot be certain, therefore, if the narratee actually lives with his or her biological family.

This middle-class child has the opportunity to go to school, as appears from one of the most interesting sections of the text dedicated to children’s education (“Om Børne Lære”). The child is taught somewhere outside the home; s/he does not study the liberal arts, such as Erasmus’s narratee, but learns more basic skills like reading, writing, weaving and/or sewing.⁵⁰ From Bredal’s representation of the school environment, it is evident that corporal punishments were quite frequent, as one may deduct from the following quotation, written in the prescriptive mode:

Vere dennom hørige som teg skal lære
 Beuisse dennom al tucht: heder oc ære.
 Giør gierne effter deris vilge oc bud,
 Thi de ere oc dine foreldre for Gud.
 Hug oc straf tolmodige fordrag,
 Knurre icke eller vredelig paa dennom klag.⁵¹

Bredal explains why children should accept corporal discipling by relying – once more – on Luther and more precisely on his interpretation of the Fourth Commandment in the *Catechism*. To Luther, this commandment meant that one should honor, serve and obey not only one’s own parents but also other authorities, treating the latter as parent-like figures.⁵² Luther framed, in other words, all social relations as family relations, with one person in the role of the parent and one in the role of the child. This meant that the family was, so to speak, everywhere in society. Since the teacher was a parental surrogate any attempt to rebel against his authority would be seen as a rebellion against a parent and this parent’s God-given authority. Reading this passage of

⁴⁸ Barclay 2020, 16. See also Appel 2017, 258–259.

⁴⁹ Barclay 2020, 24. Leonora Christina mentions in her *Jammers-Minde (Memoirs of Leonora Christina)* that Maren Larsdatter, the servant who accompanied her on her journey to England, had served her since the girl was only eight years old. Ulfeldt 1949, 174. See also King 2007, 372–376.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 15, v. 10.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, vv. 29–24. (Be obedient to those who teach you / Show them all your decency, esteem, and honor. / Do as they want and bid, / For they are also your parents before God. / Patiently endure beatings and punishments / Do not grumble or complain angrily about them.)

⁵² Luther 2016, 20. Kofoed & Sigh 2017, 328.

Bredal's text also suggests that the 'Hosbond' would, as the head of the household, automatically assume parent-like responsibilities vis-à-vis the child, even if this man was not the child's biological parent. It suggests that parenthood to Bredal was a question of a particular social role rather than of biological affiliation.

One aspect of the text that cannot but strike a modern reader is the way the narrator admonishes the narratee to take up his or her 'Kald' (calling) early in the morning.⁵³ The child should work, serve and never be idle. Childhood is not segregated from adulthood in this view; rather, children seem to take part in the household chores alongside adults. However, on some occasions, children are allowed to play. "Børn skulle icke alle tide forbiudendis at lege" (Children should not always be forbidden to play) the narrator states, while offering an intriguing view into the games and playtime activities of sixteenth-century children:

Med skudsten, Bold, Trild oc top,
 Med Klode oc keile, løbe oc hop.
 At siunge, quæde, dantze oc springe,
 Med Hackebred, Tromper oc gier at klinge,
 At skerme oc fickte monne ey skade,
 Om det er venligt oc til maade.⁵⁴

The above are all physical or musical activities, and the narrator distinguishes them from other games, such as playing cards or dice, that he believes will lead children to neglect "deris kald" (their calling). In this context, 'calling' probably refers not only to the child's daily tasks, but also to the role that Luther believed the child should assume more generally, namely that of being ruled. In other words, the narrator suggests that certain games will disrupt the hierarchical order of the family and, more generally, society.

Børne Spiegel is an important text that set the scene for didactic children's literature in Denmark for several centuries. Here I have used it as a possible source of information for sixteenth-century childhood in Denmark, while also showing that it is an ambitious and fairly complex work that incorporates contemporary humanistic texts in Latin. However, as we have seen, another important source of inspiration has been completely sidelined in the criticism

⁵³ Bredal 1568, 2, v.3

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 14, vv.13–19. (Playing with pebbles, ball, hoop, and top, / With bowls and ninepins, running and hopping, / Singing, chanting, dancing, and jumping / Playing the dulcimer, trumpets, and fiddles. / Fencing and fighting may do no harm, / If it is done in a friendly spirit and not exaggerated.) English translation available at: <http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/manus/696/eng/?var=>. According to Leif Søndergaard this passage reveals a new humanist understanding of the importance of relaxation and play for children's wellbeing, see Søndergaard 2008, 309.

devoted to the book. Was Luther's influence too obvious to bear mentioning? Did Rørdam overlook him because late nineteenth-century modernization and secularization were in the process of diminishing Luther's importance more generally in society? Or did Rørdam and later scholars simply find the Latin sources of inspiration for *Børne Speigel* more 'exotic' and worthy of attention than a German one? Whatever the reason for this previous omission, there is no question that *Børne Speigel* displays many significant traces of Lutheran influence.

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THE LANGUAGE OF THE PROFESSORS:



Latin/Danish code-switching around 1600

By Peter Zeeberg

Among bilinguals code-switching, the mixing of languages, is extremely common, especially in spoken language, but also in writing. This phenomenon has been studied extensively over the last decennia in bilingual communities all over the world. The present article looks into a similar bilingual community in the past, namely sixteenth and seventeenth-century academics, who were as fluent in Latin as in the vernacular. The source material for the study is taken from the minutes of the professors' assembly, the consistorium, at the University of Copenhagen, 1599–1608. These texts are written partly in Danish, partly in Latin, and partly in a mixture of the two. Some passages may reflect the words actually spoken at the meetings, but in general it is advisable to consider the material as written language. The code-switching is in many ways typical of a bilingual community, but it also demonstrates the different roles of the two languages within this community.

Vnd kan ich *propriâ experientia edoctus* in warheit sagen *quod coniugia sint fatalia*.

(Thus, I can, *from my own experience*, say for sure *that marriages are ruled by fate*.¹)

The words were written in 1604 by the Hamburg printer and bookseller Georg Ludwig Froben in his unfinished and only partially preserved memoirs.² The manuscript is in German, but here, at the emotional point where he recounts how he found his wife, he switches from German into Latin twice in a single sentence.

¹ In this, and in all the following examples of mixed language, Latin text and the corresponding parts of the translations are printed in italics.

² *Bruchstück aus der eigenhändig geschriebenen Lebensgeschichte Herrn Georg Ludwig Froben*, Royal Library, Copenhagen, NKS 2596 fol. Cf. Zeeberg 2003.

This is an example of what is today normally termed code-switching, a phenomenon that has received a great deal of attention in linguistic circles, especially over the last thirty years.³ It has become clear that code-switching is to be found in all bilingual communities. The mixing of languages, both below sentence level (intra-sentential code-switching) and on sentence level (inter-sentential code-switching) is extremely common, especially in conversation between bilinguals, but also in writing.

With globalisation, greater mobility and increasing immigration the phenomenon has become more present over the last decades. But it has always been there. A classic example in Denmark is what was once called ‘spritbådsdansk’ or ‘spritbådstysk’: a mixture of Danish and German spoken in the border area, which was likened to the tax-free ferries that previously ran back and forth between the countries. The term ‘booze-cruise Danish’ is characteristically pejorative. Code-switching has traditionally been viewed as an example of language degeneration. But modern research has shown that on the contrary it is “an index of bilingual proficiency.”⁴ The true bilingual can operate freely in both languages separately – *and* in certain contexts and situations in a refined mix of both languages. Code-switching is a natural part of being bilingual.

And bilingual is exactly what learned people were in the early modern period. Froben was a learned man with a thorough Latin education. There is no reason to doubt that he both spoke and wrote Latin as fluently as his mother-tongue, High German. When speaking or writing, such a person would always have a choice to make between (in this case) the two languages he mastered, depending on many factors: the audience, the situation, the topic etc.

In many cases the choice was easy. A learned book should be in Latin. A letter to your mum should be in the vernacular. In other cases, it was more complex. Latin could be chosen for its prestige, as a social signal, to include an international audience, to exclude un-initiated readers etc.; the vernacular for a number of other reasons. And in certain contexts, as we have seen, a mixed language would be a possibility. An obvious case for that is private correspondence between bilinguals.

But if you want to go deeper into the psychology of language choice, you need to study informal texts, texts written without thought for conventions or the demands of an audience. One such text has been studied by Minna Skaft Jensen, namely the almanac notes of Peder Hegelund (1542–1614), bishop of Ribe in Jutland, Denmark.⁵ According to this study the overall picture was

³ For an introduction to the topic see Bullock & Toribio 2009.

⁴ Bullock & Toribio 2009, 1, cf. Muysken 2000, 2.

⁵ Skaft Jensen 2004, 111–114.

that in his youth as a student in Germany Hegelund wrote almost exclusively Latin, but back home in Ribe, in a Danish-speaking community, Danish gradually took over without ever ousting Latin completely. German, Greek and Hebrew had minor roles. Another finding was that the languages had a tendency to follow the topic. Especially, academic topics are in Latin while notes about daily life are in Danish as we find it in May 1578:

12. *Scripsi Mathiæ Vinitori Typographo de Susanna imprimenda, misi x ioachimicos* ved Anders Oluffsen.

20. Fick ieg saltfisk hiem fra Mandø ...⁶

(12. *I wrote to Mads Vingaard, the printer, about the printing of Susanna [a play] and sent 10 thaler* by Anders Olufsen. 20. I got salted fish home from Mandø ...)

When we find code-switching in informal written texts as Hegelund's it seems inevitable that the same feature could be found in the *spoken* language within the same milieu. On this point, however, the sources are very scarce. But we do have a few instances of notes from meetings and the like which may reflect the actual spoken language. The most convincing example is Luther's *Tischreden*, mealtime conversations, that were recorded in writing by friends who dined with him. These have been examined in a classic study by Birgit Stolt, in which she shows and scrupulously analyses a very high degree of code-switching.⁷

Here we shall look into a somewhat similar material from Denmark, namely the minutes of the *consistorium* at the University of Copenhagen. The *consistorium* was the professors' assembly, which functioned both as the governing body of the university and as the country's academic court. Before 1599 only fragments and various excerpts from the minutes have been preserved, but from June 1599 the original minute books are extant at the Danish National Archives with only one volume (1724–1748) missing. Basis for the following small study are the two volumes which cover the period 1599–1608,⁸ and only in a few instances the earlier fragments. For the sake of convenience, I have mostly used Holger Frederik Rørdam's printed edition, which covers the entire fragment material known to Rørdam⁹ and extensive excerpts from the extant volumes.¹⁰

⁶ Kaae 1976.

⁷ Stolt 1964.

⁸ The Danish National Archives (Rigsarkivet), Copenhagen, *Acta Consistorii* (1566–1911), pk. 4 (1599–1604, 1203–02) & pk. 5 (1604–1608, 1203–03 – 1203–04).

⁹ Rørdam 1857–1859, Rørdam 1869–1871.

¹⁰ Rørdam 1895–1897a, Rørdam 1895–1897b.

The writing in the extant volumes is so uniform and has so few corrections that this cannot have been written directly at the meetings. This must be a fair copy made from notes taken during the proceedings. Later in the seventeenth century the minutes are provided exclusively in Danish, but in this early material we find a mixture of Danish and Latin. Whether this means that the spoken language changed, or the standards of the written minutes changed we cannot say for certain, but the latter seems most likely. In the early material from 1599 till 1608 some passages – the largest part – are in Danish with only a few Latin words. Other parts are exclusively in Latin, and others still are written in a mixed language with frequent code-switching. From 1598, e.g., we have a case of students being harassed in the streets by courtiers and seamen. The rector concludes:

*Deberent potius ferre quam inferre injuriam, Bliffue hiemme præsertim noctu in suis cubiculis, och icke komme nogen vnder Øyne med forsett, som de kunde komme vdj trette med, och ellers sky theris Selskaff och Omgengsell, quibus scirent esse otiosum studiosorum nomen, ...*¹¹

(They should rather endure harm than do harm, stay at home, especially at night, in their rooms, and not deliberately face people they might fall foul of, and in general avoid the company of those people about whom they knew that they hated all students, ...)

This is a typical case of code-switching. And presumably it reflects the language spoken at the meeting. The secretary or *notarius* (normally one of the junior professors¹²) would hardly have translated spoken pure Latin or Danish into a written mixture of the two languages. It seems more probable that the monolingual passages at least to some degree present an edited version of a more mixed spoken language. But, of course, reflecting is not the same as reproducing. The transformation from spoken word to writing unavoidably involves some degree of editing. This is confirmed by the fact that Stolt found quite another level of mixture in Luther's *Tischreden*. There the languages were closely interwoven in ways that we do not find in our material. German pronouns were combined with Latin nouns (e.g. "Mein *Theologiam*", "alle *locos*"), and German adjectives were used as attributes to Latin nouns.¹³ She even found Latin nouns with German definite articles,¹⁴ but that would not be possible in Danish, where the articles are enclitic. If a similar language was spoken at the University in Copenhagen, the minutes

¹¹ 1 Sept. 1598, Rørdam 1857–1859, 66.

¹² Rørdam 1868–1874 2, 670–672; Rørdam 1868–1874 3, 650–662.

¹³ Stolt 1964, 125, 129.

¹⁴ Stolt 1964, 131.

have revised it into something less complicated. But at some points you get the feeling that the text is close to what was actually said:

Klagett ViceRector om den store wskickelighed med *Studiosis*, att de siden S. Hans Dag haffde opdruckitt 16 eller 18 t^r Tyskøll,
[...]
Vocatus est Henricus Norwegianus; interrogatus, an dederat Symbolam.
Resp.: non.
Quoties interfuit, rogatus.
R. Tres dies, Dominica, Visitationis et ante Octiduum.
Quot tonnas ebiberunt?
R. 1 huer dag.
Quot essent?
R. fire 30.
R. Resenius: eratis 26.
Quis author esset conuiuorum.
R. Jeg ued dett icke.¹⁵

(The vice-rector complained about the unseemliness of *the students*, in that they since midsummer had drunk 16 or 18 casks of German beer ... *Henrik the Norwegian was called in and asked whether he had contributed.*
Answer: No.
How often had he participated, he was asked.
Answer: Three days, Sunday, the Visitation of the Virgin and a week before.
How many casks had they drunk?
Answer: One per day.
How many were they?
Answer: Thirty-four.
Resen: You were Twenty-six.
Who was the instigator of these parties?
Answer: I don't know.)

Such a passage may well, at least in some details, represent the actual words that were spoken. The case is presented in Danish. The interrogation of the culprit is held in formal Latin, but three times the nervous student lapses into Danish. The questions are given in *oratio obliqua*, but the answers are in direct speech, and so is the sharp objection by (Hans Poulsen) Resen, the professor of theology, when the young man tries to diminish his own drinking by enlarging the number of drinkers. The odd spelling of the number 34 (“fire 30”) may well be the result of a simultaneous taking down of the spoken word

¹⁵ 6 July 1604, Rørdam 1895–1897b, 513–514. The line breaks are mine.

as in Danish units go before the tens, so 4 is pronounced before the 30 (fireogtredive).

Other examples (with *oratio recta* in Danish):

... *violenta manu Pedellum detinebant a proposito, adeoque violentas manus inferre volebant, ita ut rediens clamaret: de wille sla mig ihiel.*¹⁶

(... *they violently kept the caretaker from doing what he had planned, and they were so intent on laying hands on him that when he came back he cried: They were going to kill me!*)

Proponerede Magnificus om Peder Galt, som uar relægerit, oc hans tiid var ude. *Quid faciendum? Responsum: commendet se præceptori suo privato.* Om hand motte admitteris tiill kosten, som var dett meste. *Responsum: Saa maa hand skicke sig.*¹⁷

(The rector submitted the case of Peder Galt, who had been expelled, and his time was up. *What should be done? Answer: He must commit himself to the care of his private tutor.* Whether he might be admitted to the meals, which was the most important thing? *Answer: Then he will have to behave!*)

The first example quotes a remark from a witness in *oratio recta*. In all likelihood this can be regarded as the words that were actually spoken. The last words in the second example (“Saa maa hand skicke sig”) sound very much like an impatient exclamation. But there is no way to prove it. In some instances, the choice of language seems to reflect what actually went on at the meeting, without being *oratio recta*, as in the following. The professors treat the case of a certain Oluf Brender, who is in debt. The entire text in Latin until:

... *Comparuit pro fratre Jacobus, som undskyllede M. Oluff, hand var icke hieme, men var ventendes i morgen. Concl. Dett skall opstaa, indtill hand kommer hiem.*¹⁸

(*His brother Jakob entered, who apologised for Master Oluf. He was not at home but was expected back tomorrow. Conclusion: This must stand over till he comes home.*)

The brother, who was a burgher and a member of the city council in Copenhagen,¹⁹ presumably spoke Danish. And that is reflected in a change of

¹⁶ 19. Aug. 1603, Rørdam 1895–1897, 111.

¹⁷ 3 Oct. 1604, Rørdam 1895–1897b, 518.

¹⁸ 27 June 1599, Rørdam 1895–1897a, 72.

¹⁹ Rørdam 1868–1874 2, 713.

language in the minutes. But the opposite is also found. In some instances, the language written is clearly not the same as was spoken:

Niels Monsøns Quinde, Buolld i Clarup gaardtt, kom ind oc sagde, hurledes hun var fraa hannom kommen: først laa hun y laenn *eius metu*, oc siden drog hun tiill Skourideren Christoffer och bad hannom, at hand uillde følge [hende til] hannom, *et quomodo ejecta fuisset ab illo, qui noluit illam recipere*.²⁰

(Niels Monsen's woman Boel from the farm Klarup entered and told how she had escaped him. At first she lay in the barn *for fear of him*, and later she went to the forest supervisor Christoffer asking him to accompany her to him, *and how she had been sent away by him as he would not take her back*.)

The entire passage is an account of what the woman told the *consistorium*. And as a peasant woman we can be absolutely sure that she spoke nothing but Danish. Nevertheless, parts of the account are in Latin. This therefore is the secretary's code-switching, not a reflection of the spoken language.

Thus, although it is indisputable that the mixed language in the minutes reflects a spoken language with similar code-switching, we cannot take the minutes as a source for spoken language. Some passages have clearly been edited harder than others, e.g. into pure Latin. Such passages must be further removed from the actual spoken words than passages in mixed language. But that does not mean that the mixed passages are a precise rendering of the spoken words. In some instances, where remarks are quoted in *oratio recta*, it may well be the case, but in general the safe attitude to this material is to take it as written language.²¹

In the following we shall take a closer look at the code-switching we find in this material, using the categories proposed by Pieter Muysken: *insertion*, *alternation* and *congruent lexicalisation*.²²

Insertion is when a word or phrase (typically a noun or noun phrase) is inserted into a sentence in another language (the matrix language):

Rector ... wilde y fremtthiden planthe ther en Hortum Medicum hoss.²³

(In the future the rector intended to plant a *medicine garden* near there.)

Rector and *Hortum Medicum* are a Latin noun and a Latin noun phrase embedded in the matrix language Danish. This example immediately shows

²⁰ 27 July 1608, Rørdam 1895–1897b, 798.

²¹ Historic code-switching in writing is a rather new field of study. See Sebba, Mahootian & Jonsson 2012.

²² Muysken 2000. Muysken uses the term 'code-mixing', while reserving 'code-switching' for a more limited sense, namely the category congruent lexicalisation.

²³ 12 July 1600, Rørdam 1895–1897a, 90.

an obvious difficulty with insertion as a type of code-switching. The word *rector* is of course Latin, but it is also a loanword in Danish. It could just as well have occurred in a purely Danish text. *Hortum Medicum* is different. This is clearly Latin as it is declined in Latin. But actually, Latin loanwords were normally declined in Latin even in purely Danish texts. A random example from an approximately contemporaneous text, Anders Arrebo's poem *Hexaameron* (1618):

Nu *Naso*, hiid din Pen, igiennem torfver grønne,
O at du underjords din *venam* vild' ej sønne,
Men i et Øjeblik min *Musæ* den forlæne,
Da hun med urte-strøø dit grafsted skulde tiene.²⁴

(Now, *Naso*, hand me your pen through the green turf. / I hope you will not keep your [poetic] *vein* underground, / but for a moment hand it over to my *muse* / as she is going to sprinkle your grave with herbs.)

Vena and *Musa* are both declined in Latin, in the accusative and the dative respectively, according to their function within the Danish syntax. And that is quite normal in Danish until at least the eighteenth century. A random example from our material:

... ett bref aff Helmstads Uniuersitett til *Vniuersitatem* om *Christiano Fabricio* om nogen giæld, ...²⁵

(... a letter from the University of Helmstedt to *the university* about *Christian Fabricius* about some debt)

Such single noun insertions abound in this material. Words like *rector*, *professor* and *cancellarius* do not appear in Danish versions in this material (although some of them do have Danish equivalents). They are used in Latin and declined in Latin whether the matrix language is Latin or Danish, and therefore they should be regarded as loanwords in Danish. But insertion of more complicated structures is just as common, be it noun phrases or prepositional phrases:

D. Resenius sagde sig att haffue verrit huos *Mag:m Dominum Cancellarium*, som talde om *Versione Bibliorum*, ...²⁶

(Dr. Resen announced that he had visited *his excellency the Chancellor*, who talked about *the translation of the Bible*, ...)

²⁴ Arrebo 1965–1968 1, 180.

²⁵ 16 July 1603, Rørdam 1895–1897a, 108.

²⁶ 26 Oct. 1604, ms. In the Danish National Archives, see note 8.

H. Jørgens Syster paa Amager er sprungen y en brønd; hannem er forløffuet att begraffue hinde *in angulo quodam Cæmiterij*.²⁷

(Mr. Jørgen's sister in Amager has jumped into a well, he has been allowed to bury her *in a corner of the cemetery*.)

Danish loanwords in Latin do not occur. And in general, Danish insertions in Latin text are rare. But they do occur:

Conquestum est de petulantia et improbitate Studiosorum quorundam, qui potaverant in ædibus Matthiæ Francisci paa Nørregaade.²⁸

(*There was a complaint about some impudent and shameless students who had been drinking in the house of Mads Frandsen in Nørregade [a street in Copenhagen]*)

Likewise, we find some stock phrases like:

Seorsim admonendus, ut a mensa se contineat ad aliquot dies, thill videre beskedem.²⁹

(*He should be told to stay away from the table for some days, until further notice*.)

Alternation implies a shift from one language to another. Consider the following:

Sed tandem illuc venit (Dibvadio negante simpliciter), at di in gratiam Magnifici Domini Cancellarii villde tillade hende dette vden festing,
...³⁰

(*Finally, the result was (although Dybvad denied it completely) that they – to please his excellency the chancellor – would allow her this without a fee*.)

The shift from Latin in the main clause to Danish in the subordinate clause is a case of alternation while a Latin prepositional phrase (*in gratiam ... Cancellarii*) is inserted into a Danish context. Other examples:

Om skuolmesteren y Malmøe, om hand icke skulle hid convoceris *et edere confessionem suæ fidei, cum sit suspectæ fidei*.³¹

(About the schoolmaster in Malmö whether he should be called over here *and read the Creed as his faith is under suspicion*.)

²⁷ 22 Dec. 1599, Rørdam 1895–1897a, 83–84.

²⁸ 14 July 1604, Rørdam 1895–1897b, 514.

²⁹ 27 Oct. 1599, Rørdam 1895–1897a, 81.

³⁰ 19 April 1605, ms. in the Danish National Archives, see note 8.

³¹ 30 July 1603, Rørdam 1895–1897a, 109.

*Aderat studiosus quidam Michael antehac furiosus oc haffde slagett Dñi Episcopi vinduer vd; petiit mensam in Communitate. Consilium dabatur ipsi, hand skulle giffue sig til ett Handverck, cum nec posset fieri minister, neque diaconus.*³²

(A student by the name of Michael appeared who had previously been quite mad and had knocked out the bishop's windows; he applied for free meals. He was advised to learn a trade as he could neither become a vicar nor a parish clerk.)

These are examples of real shifts between the languages, where arguably the matrix language changes (in some instances more than once). But it is important to emphasise that such examples are relatively rare. In general, mixed passages tend to have Danish as matrix language as in the following:

*Studiosus Johannes Martini Petrafontanus Vdby Jesuvita er atter begierind att maa læse. Recitabat Pro-Rector verba Foundationis: Att de, som kommer ex Scholis exteris et Academiis, skulle før offuerhøris a facultate theologica, an sint sinceræ religionis etc. Och effterdy hand kom non solum ex peregrinis sed Jesuviticis academiis, burde hand jo billig att offuerhøris, och erbød sig daa Dn. Pro-Rector Resenius et D. Dibvadius, att de gerne ville conferere med hanom och examinere hanom, om hand vor sincerus in articulis Christianæ religionis, om hand vilde komme til denom, paa dett de kunde liberare conscientiam, och siden vilde de commendare ipsum Academiæ juxta foundationem.*³³

(The student Johannes Mortensen Petrafontanus [from] Udby, a Jesuit, once more asks for permission to study. The pro-rector recited the words of the charter: That persons who arrive from foreign schools and universities should be examined by the Faculty of Theology whether they are of true faith etc. And as he has arrived not only from foreign but from Jesuit universities he ought to be examined, and thus the pro-rector Resen and Dr. Dybvad offered to confer with him and examine him whether he was faithful to the articles of the Christian faith, whether he would come to them so that they could free his conscience, and after that they would commend him to the University according to the charter.)

³² 28 Nov. 1604, Rørdam 1895–1897b, 520.

³³ 17 Dec. 1603, ms. in the Danish National Archives, see note 8.

Apart from *recitabat* all main verbs in this passage are Danish. There are a few subordinate clauses and one main clause in Latin which may well be described as alternation, but the general picture is that the text is in Danish.

The two first categories demonstrate a difference between the two languages. Alternation can be found in both directions, Latin to Danish and Danish to Latin. Latin insertion is extremely common in Danish matrix language while Danish insertion in Latin is rare.

The third category, *congruent lexicalisation*, is the situation where two languages share a common grammatical structure. Such an agreement cannot be expected between two structurally so different languages as Danish and Latin, the basic difference being that Danish syntax relies basically on word order while Latin syntax relies on inflection. But consider the last part of the previous example:

... om hand vilde komme til denom, paa dett de kunde *liberare conscientiam*, och siden vilde de *commendare ipsum Academiae juxta foundationem*.

This sentence is basically Danish. The word order is exactly what we would expect from a Danish sentence, and all the embedded Latin constituents are placed according to Danish word order, rather than standard Latin word order. The linguistic structures are not common as in congruent lexicalisation but *harmonised*.³⁴ In standard Latin the word order would have been markedly different (e.g. object-infinitive-modal verb as opposed to modal verb-infinitive-object). Another example:

In hoc casu haffde *Magnificus* sendt *pedellos* til *Dibuadium*, att hand skulle selffuer *comparere in persona*, *nec posse ipsum agere per schedulam*, *quam miserat*. Dennom suarede *D. Dibuadius*, att hand gad icke gaa vdt.³⁵

(*In this case* the [rector] *magnificus* had sent the *caretakers* to *Dybvad* [to announce] that he had to *appear in person*, and that he could not *plead his case by means of the paper he had sent*. Dr. *Dybvad* answered them that he could not go out.)

Again the word order is Danish – up until *in persona*. At this point the matrix language switches, and until *miserat* the structure is Latin with a very Latin accusative and infinitive, thus demonstrating sensitivity to avoiding clashes between different structures. The same phenomenon was found in Froben's words "Vnd kan ich *propriâ experientia edoctus* in warheit sagen *quod coniugia sint fatalia*," where the *quod*-sentence has been chosen instead of an

³⁴ Cf. Mark Sebba on 'harmonisation' in Sebba 2009, 48.

³⁵ 12 July 1606, ms. In the Danish National Archives, see note 8.

accusative and infinitive in compliance with the practices of German. In the minutes a Danish declarative verb ('siger', 'sagde' etc.) is never followed directly by Latin *oratio obliqua*, while the opposite is quite common:

*Respondit Resenius, att hand haffde giffuit tiill Schuolen 500 thr.*³⁶

(*Resen answered that he had given 500 thaler to the school.*)

A similar difference can be noticed in the case of prepositions. We have already met several examples of Danish prepositions with Latin (inflected) nouns. But Latin prepositions with Danish nouns are not found. The same phenomenon was found by Birgit Stolt in Luther's *Tischreden*.³⁷ She explained it with the problem of what to do with the German articles after a Latin preposition, especially as German definite articles have a tendency to be fused with the prepositions (e.g. *in dem* > *im*). This is different in Danish as Danish articles are not inflected, and definite articles are enclitic, but it may still have felt awkward either combining a Latin preposition with an article or using a Danish noun without an article.

Another explanation may be found in the fact that Danish nouns are not inflected, apart from plural and genitive. A person who had learned Latin would expect a Latin preposition to be followed by a noun in a certain case. Therefore, a Danish preposition with an inflected Latin noun is allowed while a Latin preposition with a Danish noun is not. We are dealing with an environment where rules of grammar and syntax are primarily, or even exclusively, bound to one of the languages, namely Latin. To the extent these people thought of grammatical rules for the vernacular, these rules would have been copied from Latin.

An interesting example of Latin lurking below a Danish surface is the following:

*Andreae Toxotis breff bleff læst, quibus excusat ...*³⁸

(*Anders Skytte's letter was read, in which he excuses ...*)

The relative pronoun in plural can only be explained by the fact that the Latin word for letter, *litterae*, is plural.³⁹

Is there a pattern in the code-switching in the minutes of the *consistorium*? The expected answer is that the two languages had different domains, Latin for academic topics, Danish for non-academic topics as we saw it in Peder Hegelund's almanacs. And such a pattern can be observed, at least roughly. Announcements of the appointment of new professors or a new *rector* are

³⁶ 5 Jan. 1605, Rørdam 1895–1897b, 523.

³⁷ Stolt 1964, 137–138.

³⁸ 31 Oct. 1604, Rørdam 1895–1897b, 519.

³⁹ For similar examples from French-Arabic code-switching see Sebba 2009, 53–54.

always in Latin. Discussions about student and their behaviour are generally in Latin. Discussions of agricultural topics are normally in Danish, etc. It is obvious that the availability of technical terms in the two languages is of importance. And in many cases the choice of language may have been influenced by the documents or witnesses that a given case was based on.

This, however, is by no means a rule. In long monolingual passages any topic can be treated. And in mixed passages the switches do often seem completely random, with no relation to the contents:

Resterede 8. gylden 13 thr., som M. Hans icke haffde udlagt.
*Dubitabatur, an floreni essent communes, an aurei.*⁴⁰

(There remained 8 florins and 13 thalers, which Master Hans had not spent. *It was uncertain whether they were normal florins or florins in gold.*)

Similarly, we may compare the following two entries, two weeks apart:

Indkom Claus Morttenssøn Rigens skriffuer paa Kong. Maitz vegne oc
bar en skreffuen bog *in Consistorium* ...⁴¹

(Claus Mortensen, the clerk of the realm appeared on behalf of the king bringing a book to the consistorium ...)

*Adfuit Claudius Martini Scriba Regni et recitata est ordinatio, quæ
usurpabitur in Regno Norvagiæ* ...⁴²

(Claus Mortensen, the clerk of the realm appeared, and a rule which is to be used in Norway was recited ...).

The same person is described as doing approximately the same thing, but in different languages.

In some cases a switch is caused by a technical term or a stock phrase:

Conclusum, att M. Jonas skall invitere *nomine facultatis, ut oportet, et quemadmodum ante ipsum fecerunt alii.*⁴³

(*It was concluded that Master Jonas shall make the invitation on behalf of the faculty, as it behooves him and as others have one before him.*)

⁴⁰ 5 June 1604, Rørdam 1895–1897a, 125.

⁴¹ 24 April 1607, Rørdam 1895–1897b, 776.

⁴² 6 May 1607, Rørdam 1895–1897b, 776.

⁴³ 22 Febr. 1603, Rørdam 1895–1897a, 105.

*D. Resenius proponerede nomine Uxoris Elsæ defuncti, Joh. Reinholls, qui fuerat tutor liberorum M. Petri Baggæi, quod ...*⁴⁴

(*Doctor Resen put forth on behalf of Else, wife of the late Joh. Reinholls, who had been tutor to the children of Peder Bagge, that ...*)

The Latin phrase *nomine facultatis/Uxoris* slips into a Danish passage, and from there the writer continues in Latin.

But even in passages characterised by a high degree of random switches, some switches seem to reflect the topic in a way similar to what we saw in Peder Hegelund's almanacs. These are apparently subconscious switches where the language changes follow the contents even when no technical terms are involved:

*Item proposuit M. Rector, at en Pige klager paa Jens Valentzued, qui ambit diaconatum.*⁴⁵

(*The rector put forth the case that a girl complains about Jens Vallensved, who is applying for a post as parish clerk.*)

Otte Pederszøn *studiosus, qui alterum occiderat casuali homicidio oc dømbtt tiill bod aff Borremester oc Raad, comparuit, petens scire (ut ante) si posset admitti ad functionem Ecclesiasticam.*⁴⁶

(*Otte Pedersen, a student who had killed another by accident and had been fined by the mayor and the city council, appeared to ask (as previously) whether it would be possible for him to obtain an ecclesiastical office.*)

Det er mellem bynderne selff, *et nihil ad professores.*⁴⁷

(*That is between the peasants themselves, and it does not concern the professors.*)

To sum up: The minutes from the professors' meetings at the University of Copenhagen are important linguistic source material for the language situation among academics *c.* 1600. They are based on spoken language, and some passages may even be more or less precise renderings of spoken words. But on this point a certain cautiousness is advisable.

Even as written texts the minutes afford us a rare glimpse into the day-to-day language situation among the professors at the university. We find a

⁴⁴ 7 March 1604, Rørdam 1895–1897a, 120.

⁴⁵ 15 June 1608, Rørdam 1895–1897b, 796.

⁴⁶ 28 Nov. 1604, Rørdam 1895–1897b, 520.

⁴⁷ 24 Aug. 1603, Rørdam 1895–1897a, 112.

group of true bilinguals. They use Danish and Latin nearly indiscriminately – although with a tendency to choose language according to the topic. And they use code-switching. Here the difference between the languages becomes clear. Alternation between the languages is not uncommon, but the majority of the code-switching consists of the insertion of Latin into Danish. In a Danish-language context Latin words or phrases constantly presented themselves for the writer, ready to be used. Large parts of the minutes were written in Danish, but for these academics with far more Latin than Danish schooling, Latin was never far away.

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(Web-edition: <http://www.phil-hum-ren.uni-muenchen.de/GermLat/Acta/Zeeberg.htm>, last viewed 5 January 2022).

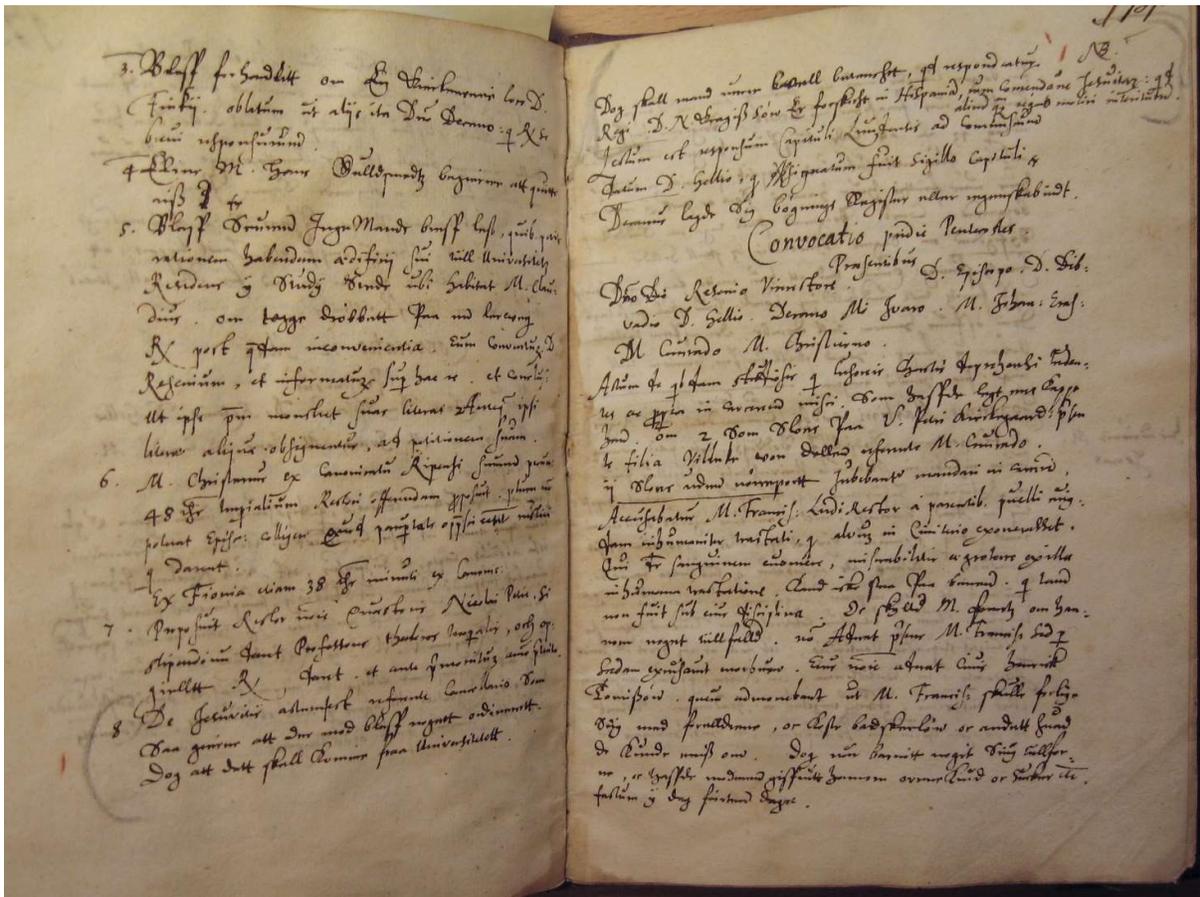


Fig. 1

Acta Consistorii, meetings in May 1604. Under *pridie Pentecostes* (May 26) the text starts: “*Actum de quibusdam studiosis qui lusoreis Chartis deprehensi ludentes ac propterea in carcerem missi. Som haffde legt ens Kappe hen. Om 2, som sloes paa S. Petri Kierkegaard: præsente filia VILLECKE von Dellen referente M. Cunrado. ij sloes uden Nørreport. Jubebantur mandari in carcerem.*” (“The case of some students who had been caught playing cards, and who had therefore been sent to jail. Who had gambled away a gown belonging to of one of them. About two who had been in a fight at S. Peter’s churchyard in the presence of the daughter of Wilke von Dellen, according to Master Konrad. Two were in a fight outside the northern gate. They were sent to jail.” The Danish National Archives, Copenhagen, *Acta Consistorii*, pk. 4, 1599–1604, photo Peter Zeeberg).

THE DREAM OF A GERMAN RENAISSANCE:



Conrad Celtis, Albrecht Dürer, and Apollo in Walter Pater's "Duke Carl of Rosenmold" (1887)

By Lene Østermark-Johansen

A reference to the German humanist Conrad Celtis's Ars Versificandi (1486) and to his "Ode to Apollo" occurs rather surprisingly in a short piece of fiction, "Duke Carl of Rosenmold", published in 1887 by the English classics don, writer, and critic Walter Pater. This essay explores Pater's "Duke Carl" as a Victorian caricature of Celtis and discusses potential sources for Pater's late Victorian interest in Celtis, in his friend and collaborator, Albrecht Dürer, and their mutual cult of Apollo, the god of the arts and of light.

The German Renaissance humanist Conrad Celtis (1459–1508) plays a key role in a short piece of fiction, "Duke Carl of Rosenmold", which first appeared in *Macmillan's Magazine* in May 1887.¹ The author was Walter Pater (1839–94), a classics don at Brasenose College, Oxford. By 1887 he was best known for his controversial first book, *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* (1873) which through a series of biographical essays on Italian and French renaissance figures (Pico della Mirandola, Botticelli, Leonardo, Michelangelo, Ronsard) had brought the renaissance into the context of French and English aestheticism, advocating an art for art's sake approach to art and literature which would prove highly innovative for English criticism. Representing the renaissance as a state of mind, covering some five hundred years, rather than a clearly demarcated historical period, Pater challenged conventional historical periodization. His volume became Oscar Wilde's "golden book of spirit and sense, the holy writ of beauty", which he carried with him always, even in Reading Gaol.² In Oxford, the word "renaissance" became inseparably associated with Pater's name and aesthetic philosophy to such an extent that the renaissance courses offered in the History Faculty deliberately avoided the use of the term and defined themselves on the basis of dates instead, with special subjects such as "Italy 1492–1513".³

¹ Pater 1887.

² Wilde, 1908, 13:539. For Wilde's reading of Pater in prison, see Wright 2008, 243, 319.

³ See Chambers 2005, 215.

In “Duke Carl of Rosenmold”, Pater dealt with the concept of the renaissance in a new way, and the figure of Celtis enabled him to bridge the ancient world with fifteenth- and eighteenth-century Germany. The text was one of Pater’s so-called “imaginary portraits”, short pieces of fiction which blended essay with life-writing, short story, and travelogue and explored the lives of fictitious European individuals in a variety of historical settings ranging from medieval France, and renaissance Italy, to nineteenth-century England.⁴ Celtis’s “Ode to Apollo”, which concludes his *Ars Versificandi* (1486),⁵ constitutes a pivotal text in Pater’s narrative of the eighteenth-century German Duke Carl, desiring to bring the God of Light and Poetry to Germany in order to enlighten northern darkness. Pater’s portrait is set in a fairy-tale dukedom with the suggestive name of “Rosenmold”: the young Duke, white and pink like a Dresden figurine, is the only flowering rose in a decadent aristocratic realm where everything has ground to a halt. As in Grimm’s fairy-tale of the “Sleeping Beauty”, all human activity has been arrested as by a magic wand, and with the exception of the Duke, the inhabitants have become as mouldy as the architecture. Time is ripe for a renaissance or a proto-enlightenment, and the ambitious young aristocrat takes it upon himself to bring about this revival. One day Carl goes exploring in the family castle, and the treasure he discovers is none other than Celtis’s slim volume:

It was in a delightful rummaging of one of those lumber-rooms, escaped from that candle-light into the broad day of the upper-most windows, that the young Duke Carl laid his hand on an old volume of the year 1486, printed in heavy type, with frontispiece, perhaps, by Albert Dürer – *Ars Versificandi: The Art of Versification*: by Conrad Celtes. Crowned poet of the Emperor Frederick the Third, he had the right to speak on that subject; for while he vindicated as best he might old German literature against the charge of barbarism, he did also a man’s part towards reviving in the Fatherland the knowledge of the poetry of Greece and Rome; and for Carl, the pearl, the golden nugget, of the volume was the Sapphic ode with which it closed – *To Apollo, praying that he would come to us from Italy, bringing his lyre with him: Ad Apollinem, ut ab Italis cum lyra ad Germanos veniat*. The god of light,

⁴ All Pater’s eight imaginary portraits appeared first in periodical form, primarily in *Macmillan’s Magazine*. Four of them were collected in the volume *Imaginary Portraits* (London: Macmillan, 1887), “Duke Carl of Rosenmold” among them. See Pater 2019.

⁵ A copy of the 1494 edition of Celtis’s *Ars versificandi et carminum*, in the collection of the Biblioteca Nazionale of Florence, is available online through *Early European Books*: <https://www-proquest-com.ep.fjernadgang.kb.dk/eeb/docview/2090331856/pageLevelImage/9CD648D6081A4D1EPQ/1?accountid=13607&imgSeq=16> (accessed on 2 March 2021).

coming to Germany from some more favoured world beyond it, over leagues of rainy hill and mountain, making soft day there: that had ever been the dream of the ghost-ridden yet deep-feeling and certainly meek German soul; of the great Dürer, for instance, who had been the friend of this Conrad Celtis, and himself, all German as he was, like a gleam of real day amid that hyperborean German darkness – a darkness which clave to him, too, at that dim time, when there were violent robbers, nay, real live devils, in every German wood. And it was precisely the aspiration of Carl himself. Those verses, coming to the boy's hand at the right moment, brought a beam of effectual day-light to a whole magazine of observation, fancy, desire, stored up from the first impressions of childhood. To bring Apollo with his lyre to Germany! It was precisely what he, Carl, desired to do – was, as he might flatter himself, actually doing.⁶

The passage raises a number of questions, not all of which will be answered here, the central one being the extent of Pater's knowledge of Celtis, of his collaboration with Dürer, and their mutual cult of Apollo. The sun god runs as a *Leitmotif* throughout Pater's text in illustration of Carl's obsession with the arts, with antiquity, with light and enlightenment, and with reversing north and south with allusions to Apollo's time spent with the Hyperboreans.⁷ Pater's nineteenth-century narrator places the protagonist in relief against Apollo worshippers of Carl's past, present, and future: Celtis and Dürer, Louis XIV – the *Roi Soleil* – and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. The ideal of the *Apollo Belvedere* (fig. 1) sits as the ghostly form behind the three images which lie submerged in Pater's text: Dürer's *Apollo* (1501–4) (fig. 2), Louis XIV dressed up as Apollo in the *Ballet de la nuit* (1653) (fig. 3), and Wilhelm von Kaulbach's image of the *Young Goethe skating in Frankfurt* (1862) (fig. 4), based on a passage in Book XVI of Goethe's *Dichtung und Wahrheit* which concludes Pater's narrative. Although it is difficult to produce concrete evidence that Pater had read much else by Celtis than his "Ode to Apollo", I suggest that Celtis's Apollo cult, his European project of bringing a southern renaissance to the north, and establishing Germany as a new Rome or Florence served as a profound inspiration for Pater's caricatured figure of

⁶ Pater 2019, 117.

⁷ Hyperborean means literally 'northern', i.e. beyond Boreas, the North wind in Greek mythology. Hesiod, Homer, Herodotus, Pausanias, Pindar and Plutarch all wrote about the Hyperboreans, a mythical northern people, living in a paradisaical world of eternal happiness in a country where the sun never set. Apollo was supposed to spend his winters there, but there was much uncertainty as to the exact location of Hyperborea: Northern Greece, Northern Asia, France, Germany, Britain, Scandinavia were all potential locations. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Germans and Scandinavians frequently identified with the Hyperboreans in their flirtation with Mediterranean culture as antiquaries and archaeologists.

Duke Carl who, although desiring to move south and conquer Italy and Greece, only arrives in Strasbourg before he decides to turn his back on Europe and return to Germany in a fit of patriotic longing for the *Vaterland*. As a text published only some 15 years after the Franco-Prussian War, “Duke Carl of Rosenmold” deals with Franco-Prussian relations with a vengeance, as the Francophile Carl, imitating Louis XIV in his fashion and architecture, ends his brief life slaughtered by French soldiers in the Seven Years’ War (1756–63).

Crowned Poet Laureate by Frederick III in Nürnberg in 1487, when he was only 28 years old, as the third in line from Petrarch and Enea Silvio Piccolomini,⁸ Celtis explored and cultivated a myth of himself as specially singled out by the Leader of the Muses. In his first book of elegies, he described his own birth as an event presided over by Apollo:

Candidus inflexa phoebus tunc stabat in urna,
 Proxima cui nitidae stella serena lyrae,
 Cumque sagittiferi surgebant sydera signi
 Horaeque post medium tercia noctis erat
 Tunc mea me genitrix reserata effudit ab alvo
 Et dederat vitae stamina prima meae
 Illa nocte lyram nemo conspexit olimpo
 Phoebus enim roseis hanc sibi iunxit equis
 Plectraque pulsabat toto resonantia coelo
 Et dixit: phoebo nascere quisquis eris
 Ipse meam citharam plectro gestabis eburno
 Lesboaque canes carmina blanda cheli,
 Seu te germano contingat cardine nasci
 Sive Italo, Gallo, Sarmaticove polo
 Nam mea sunt toti communia numina mundo
 Sim licet arctois languidior radiis.

Radiant Phoebus [Apollo] stood in the curved Urn [Aquarius], next to him the bright star of the brilliant Lyre, and when the constellation of the Archer was rising, it was three o’clock after midnight. It was then that my mother sent me forth from her opening womb, giving me my life’s thread. That night no-one could see the Lyre in the heavens, since Phoebus bound it to his rose-colored horses. Then he plucked the strings, making the whole sky resound, and said: “Be born for Phoebus, whoever you will be! You will take with yourself my lyre with the ivory plectrum, and you will sing charming songs in the style of the lyre of Lesbos, no matter where you are born, under a German sky, or under

⁸ For the Poet Laureateship, see Flood 2006, 303–311 on Celtis.

an Italian, Gallic or Sarmatian; because I have the same power all over the world, even if my rays are weaker in the North.”⁹

Surely anyone born under such auspicious circumstances was bound to possess quite extraordinary qualities. As Katharina N. Piechocki phrases it, “The event of Celtis’s birth, moreover, deprives not only Greece, but the heavens themselves of ‘the brilliant Lyre,’ now deposited, in a movement of *translatio artium*, in Germany. Through his own birth, Celtis’s poetic voice triumphantly and self-confidently proclaims, Germany is transformed from a Nordic site of death and darkness into a creative fulcrum productive of a hitherto unknown but now illuminated artistic bounty.”¹⁰ Celtis was not exactly modest in his personal creation myth; even if Apollo’s rays were weaker in the North, the deity had provided his German protégé with just the right powers to compose his Sapphic “Ode to Apollo” which concluded his *Ars Versificandi*:

AD PHOEBUM, UT GERMANIAM PETAT

Phoebe, qui blandae citharae repertor,
linque delectos Helicon, Pindum et,
ac veni in nostras vocitatus oras
 carmine grato.

Certis, ut laetae properent Camenae,
et canant dulces gelido sub axe;
tu veni incultam fidibus canoris
 visere terram.

Barbarus quem olim genuit vel acer
vel parens hirtus, Latii leporis
nescius, nunc sit duce te docendus
 dicere carmen,

Orpheus quails cencinit Pelasgis,
quem ferae atroces agilesque cervi
arboresque altae nemorum secutae
 plectra moventem.

Tu celer vastum poteras per aequor
laetus a Graecis Latium videre,
invehens Musas, voluisti gratas
 pandere et artes.

⁹ Quoted from Piechocki 2019, 39–40.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 41.

Sic velis nostras rogitamus oras
Italas ceu quondam aditare terras,
barbarus sermo fugiatque, ut atrum
subruat omne.¹¹

Phoebus, who the sweet-noted lyre constructed,
Leave fair Helicon and depart your Pindus,
And by pleasant song designated, hasten
To these our borders.

You perceive how joyous the Muses gather,
Sweetly singing under a frozen heaven;
Come yourself, and with your melodious harp-strings,
Gaze on these wastelands.

So must he, whom sometime a rude or rustic
Parent fostered, barbarous, all unknowing
Latium's splendors, choose you now as his teacher
At writing verses.

Just as Orpheus sang to the old Pelasgians,
Orpheus, whom swift stags, beasts of savage custom,
Whom the lofty trees of the forest followed,
Charmed by his plectrum.

Swift and joyous, once you forswore, and gladly,
Greece for Latium, passing the mighty ocean;
There you wished your delectable arts to broadcast,
Leading the Muses.

Thus it is our prayer you may wish to visit
Our abode, as once those Italian reaches.
May wild tongue take flight, and may all of darkness
Come to destruction.¹²

Writing from what he describes as the “wastelands”, Celtis prays for the destruction of northern darkness, a darkness which Pater repeatedly evokes in the passage quoted above. Pater's text mixes elements from Gothic fiction with ideas of the enlightenment as a renaissance revival. The text begins in utter darkness on a macabre note, when the mortal remains of Carl and his betrothed are found in the soil and have to be identified by nineteenth-century

¹¹ The text follows Celtis' *Libri odarum* 4.5 as rendered by Schäfer in Celtis 2008.

¹² English translation from Spitz 1957, 10.

German bone science. It progresses retrospectively through an account of the young Carl's ambitions to transform life at the Rosenmold Court into a flourishing cultural centre, in imitation of life at the court of the French Sun King. Celtis's "Ode to Apollo" serves as the poetic manifesto for Carl's grandiose project, but he dies before any of it comes to fruition. Carl has merely been a precursor of an international enlightenment; the figure who rises triumphant at the end of Pater's narrative is the young Goethe, skating across the Main, a luminous figure, the reincarnation of Apollo, heading for the modern world.

Celtis was not exactly a household name to Victorian readers; when one trawls through the Proquest full-text database of Victorian periodicals,¹³ which often provides useful clues to topics raised in Pater's writings, one discovers very few references to the German poet. Editions of and critical writings on Celtis are mainly a twentieth-century phenomenon, and when trying to map his place in late Victorian England we only catch sporadic glimpses of him. He makes a brief appearance in August von Eye's *Leben und Wirken Albrecht Dürers* (1860) where Dürer's friendship with Celtis and his elaborate illustrations for the *Quatuor Libri Amorum* (1502) was discussed. The 1869 edition was in Oxford's Bodleian Library, and Pater may have been familiar with it.¹⁴ In Richard Ford Heath's slim volume on Albrecht Dürer (1881) we learn that

He furnished drawings for Celtes's books – the *Philosophy*, *Apollo with Daphne*, and *Apollo in Parnassus*; also one of *Celtes before the Emperor Maximillian*. Some were not, however, to the taste of his employers, and were unnoticed. For instance, the beautiful etching of *Apollo* in the British Museum, and that remarkable drawing in Windsor Castle, bearing the inscription "Pupilla Augusta", with the view of Nürnberg in the background, which was probably intended for the title page of Celtes's description of the city.¹⁵

Heath was an Oxford man, residing in Hertford College, and Pater may have discussed Dürer and Celtis with him. They share a speculative style about the extent of the collaboration between poet and painter; Pater's suggestion that Dürer produced a graphic title page for the *Ars Versificandi* belongs to the realm of myth. The copies I have been able to consult (admittedly only of the 1494 edition) are without illustrative graphic work, and by 1486 Dürer would have been a very young man of fifteen. The most recent research suggests that

¹³ https://about.proquest.com/products-services/british_periodicals.html (accessed on 17 March 2021).

¹⁴ Eye 1869.

¹⁵ Heath, 1881, 29–30.

the friendship between the two began only in 1496.¹⁶ The British Isles hold only two copies of the *Ars Versificandi*,¹⁷ and I wonder whether Pater ever laid hands on a physical copy of the book. Aware of the typefont, of the position of the “Ode to Apollo” as the concluding text in Celtis’s volume, and familiar with the content of the Ode, Pater treats the book as one he knew well. At the moment, the trail ends here; primary material about Pater is minimal: no notebooks or diaries, and only a slim volume of not very informative letters. The Oxford libraries, which Pater consulted, have limited holdings of Celtis’s works and there is no evidence that Pater borrowed any of them.¹⁸ His own experience of Germany went back to the late 1850s and early 1860s when, together with his sisters Hester and Clara, Walter Pater made lengthy visits to their aunt who resided in Heidelberg and Dresden. Pater’s fictitious realm of Rosenmold merges aspects of the two German cities, but whether his early German travels also provided him with an early encounter with Celtis must remain in the realm of speculation.

I would suggest that for the Victorians, Dürer served as a way into Celtis. Among the artists in the Pre-Raphaelite circle there was a keen interest in German woodcuts and incunables. John Ruskin (1819–1900) repeatedly praised Dürer as the greatest of German artists (without mentioning Celtis), William Morris (1834–96), founder of the Kelmscott Press, had an impressive private collection of German incunables, now at the Pierpont Morgan Library. Morris’s and Edward Burne-Jones’s studio assistant, the painter and art dealer Charles Fairfax Murray (1849–1919) had his own copy of Celtis’s *Quatuor Libri Amorum* (1502).¹⁹ In Pater’s circles Celtis was gradually becoming a presence, a representative of the German renaissance, whose figure appeared in prints, and whose writings were, if not actually read, then certainly connected with book illustration and early print culture. On the outskirts of Pater’s social and artistic circles, in touch with such Pater acquaintances as Sidney Colvin and Herbert Horne, was the private collector William Mitchell (1821–1908), whose passion for German woodcuts was reflected in the exhibitions in the Burlington Fine Arts Club, of which he was a founding

¹⁶ Schauerte 2015, convincingly connects a series of Dürer’s graphic works from 1496 to his friendship with Celtis.

¹⁷ See *British Library Incunabula Short Title Catalogue*, locating one copy in the British Library IA.8067 and another in the National Library of Wales, <https://data.cerl.org/istc/ic00369000> (accessed on 17 March 2021).

¹⁸ Thus the authority on Pater’s reading, Inman 1981 and Inman 1990, finds no evidence of him owning or borrowing any texts by or about Celtis. The only other critic who discusses Pater’s use of Celtis is Monsman 1967, 127–129, who provides no additional information on Pater’s reading of Celtis.

¹⁹ Anon. 1917, lot. 116.

member.²⁰ The exhibitions in 1869 and 1882 focussed on Dürer and his circles,²¹ displaying in 1882 Hans Burgkmair the Elder's Celtis epitaph, his so-called "Sterbebild", executed in 1504 some four years before his death.²² If visiting the exhibition, Pater would have been face to face with Celtis's extraordinary death portrait (fig. 5): mourned by Apollo and Hermes, the poet rests his hand on his four most important volumes: the *Odes*, the *Epigrams*, the *Amores* and his illustrated *History of Germany*.²³ In 1895 Mitchell donated his German woodcuts to the British Museum adding to its collection of prints relating to Celtis which had been formed largely in the nineteenth century. A modern facsimile of Dürer's illustration of Celtis presenting his *Amores* to Emperor Maximilian was given to the Museum in 1870,²⁴ and in 1887, the same year as Pater published his "Duke Carl of Rosenmold", the Museum acquired its copy of Dürer's *Philosophia* (fig. 6),²⁵ the frontispiece to Celtis's *Quatuor Libri Amorum secundum Quatuor Latera Germanie*, a book which, apart from Celtis's love elegies in the manner of Propertius and Tibullus, also contained a treatise on Germany (*Germania generalis*). In 1904 Mitchell gave his own copy of the book to the Museum.²⁶

With its allegorical representation of Lady Philosophy, presiding over the Seven Liberal Arts, surrounded by roundels depicting Plato, Ptolomy, Cicero, Virgil, and Albertus Magnus in a composition where the Western, Southern, Northern, and Eastern winds blow from each their corner, Dürer's image introduces Celtis's complex work, described by Piechocki as an extraordinary piece of cartographic humanism which defines a new Europe, challenging conventional notions of the roles played by northern and southern Europe in the development of humanism. Highlighting the "movement of the *translatio artium* from Italy to Germany", Celtis fashioned "Germany as the very site where the arts originate. By stressing recent groundbreaking scientific and artistic achievements like the printing press," Celtis "framed Germany as the hub of technological innovation and Italy as its beneficiary".²⁷ As Susanne de Beer points out, Celtis connected the German to the Italian Renaissance through relocation, contestation, and imitation, presenting "the German revival of *literature* not so much as an alternative, but rather as a successor to the Italian Renaissance."²⁸ In legitimising a migration of the Renaissance

²⁰ See Coppel 2004.

²¹ Anon 1869; Anon 1882.

²² Anon 1882, no. 70 and 96.

²³ BM 1895, 0122.391. See Panofsky 1942; Vredevelde 2013, 509–521.

²⁴ BM 1870,0813.314.

²⁵ BM 1887,1010.16.

²⁶ BM 1904,0206.4

²⁷ Piechocki 2019, 41.

²⁸ de Beer 2020, 19.

northwards, Celtis claimed superiority for the Germans as an indigenous and authentic people, thus using “the exact same arguments once made by Tacitus to prove the Germans’ barbarism: namely, that they are untainted ‘noble savages’, the product of their peculiarly harsh climate.”²⁹ Turning the traditional contrast between Roman virtue and German vice on its head, Celtis made Germany “both the diametrical opposite of Italy, which he portrays as a den of immorality, and the antithesis of how it is perceived by the Italians: as a barbarous country.”³⁰

In Pater’s layered narrative, Carl’s quest for the South results in his discovery of the strength of his own patriotism. From having had the grandest of cosmopolitan ambitions, he ends up turning his back on Europe, as his life takes its course from ideals of the large world to the reality of the small world and directly into the grave. He becomes an eighteenth-century caricature of Celtis, caught between Celtis and Dürer as the renaissance luminaries and the poetic genius of Goethe. Incapable of embracing the wider European question of Germany’s place within Europe, he makes his dreamlike realm of Rosenmold an escapist fantasy with a modern referent. The Bavarian Ludwig II, popularly known as the “fairy-tale King”, had died only in the summer of 1886, and the English periodicals had written lengthy accounts of his castles and his mysterious death in the Starnberger See. One of the astutest of Pater’s reviewers, Oscar Wilde, immediately detected the contemporary reference: “Duke Carl is not unlike the late King of Bavaria, in his love of France, his admiration for the *Grand Monarque*, and his fantastic desire to amaze and to bewilder, but the resemblance is possibly only a chance one.”³¹ When thinking about the renaissance as a recurrent phenomenon, Pater’s text provides us with an intricate set of layerings, as nineteenth-century Oxford writes of nineteenth-century Germany through an imaginary enlightenment Duke’s discovery of a fifteenth-century Poet Laureate’s desire to bring the ancient God of light and poetry to the north to bring about a second renaissance. Should we think of “Duke Carl of Rosenmold” as a centenary text, celebrating the four hundred years since Celtis’s coronation as Poet Laureate? In spite of relatively feeble evidence, I rather suspect that Pater knew more of Celtis than has hitherto been supposed, and the “Ode to Apollo”, Carl’s “golden nugget” was only the beginning.

²⁹ Ibid., 27.

³⁰ Ibid., 27.

³¹ Oscar Wilde unsigned review of Pater’s *Imaginary Portraits*, *Pall Mall Gazette* 11 June 1887, 2–3. Quoted from Seiler (ed.) 1980, 162–165, 164.

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Illustrations



Fig. 1

Anon, *Apollo Belvedere*, Roman copy after a Greek original of the fifth century BC, 224 cm, marble Rome, Musei Vaticani

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:0_Apollon_du_Belvédère -
_Cortile_Ottagono_-_Museo_Pio-Clementino_-_Vatican_\(1\).JPG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:0_Apollon_du_Belvédère_-_Cortile_Ottagono_-_Museo_Pio-Clementino_-_Vatican_(1).JPG)

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Photographer Jean-Pol Grandmont



Fig. 2

Albrecht Dürer, *Apollo* (1501–4), 28.3 x 20.5 cm, pen on paper, London, British Museum BM SL,5218.183

https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_SL-5218-183 - Creative Commons CC BY-NC-SA 4.0 © The Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 3

Henri Gissey, *Louis XIV as Apollo in Le Ballet Royal de la Nuit* (1653), pen, wash and gouache, 16.7 x 26 cm, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ballet_de_la_nuit_1653.jpg
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Fig. 4

Wilhelm von Kaulbach, *Goethe in Frankfurt*, 1862, Engraving from Wilhelm von Kaulbach, *Female Characters of Goethe. From the Original Drawings of Wilhelm Kaulbach. With Explanatory Text by G.H. Lewes* (London: n.p., 1867), Collections Online, McLean Museum and Art Gallery, Inverclyde Archives <https://mcleannmuseum.pastperfectonline.com/media/479B90DA-4A77-4F0D-B158-530402732640> – Creative Commons CC-BY-NC-SA 4.0.



Fig. 5

Hans Burgkmair the Elder, Epitaph of Conrad Celtis (1504), 29.4 x 20.7 cm, print (woodcut), London, British Museum BM 1895,0122.391
https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1895-0122-391 – Creative Commons CC-BY-NC-SA 4.0 © The Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 6

Albrecht Dürer, *Philosophia*, frontispiece to Celtis's *Quatuor Libri Amorum secundum Quatuor Latera Germanie* (1502), 21.5 x 14.8 cm, print (woodcut), London, British Museum BM 1887,1010.16
https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1887-1010-16 –
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