THE METADISCOURSE OF
RENAISSANCE HUMANISM

ed. Annet den Haan

Introduction

This book is dedicated to the topic of metadiscourse in the works of the Renaissance humanists. The word 'metadiscourse' is not commonly used among historians or literary scholars, but most of us have an intuitive understanding of its meaning. This is how the Oxford English Dictionary defines it:

> Any discourse which is concerned with or alludes to other discourses. Also: a general or universal discourse which sets the parameters within which other discourses are employed.

In this volume, metadiscourse is understood as a reflective discourse about discourse, particularly as theorization on a work or genre. As such, it is a discourse that sets the parameters for the production and interpretation of texts. This kind of reflective discourse can be found both in paratextual material – prefaces, dedicatory letters, commentary, etc. – and embedded in texts themselves. Metadiscourse necessarily reflects the shared values, priorities, and conventions of a cultural community. It can be used to construct a cultural identity and also to reinforce, promote, and disseminate a cultural matrix.

This definition of metadiscourse may be new to those familiar with its use in applied linguistics and discourse analysis, where the term has a different meaning. There, it is used mainly to describe how authors interact with readers in the text, guide them through it, and help them structure and interpret the material ('signposting').[1] Although metadiscourse in this sense can be – and has been – studied in historical texts as well, this is not how we choose to approach the concept in the present volume.[2]

Our use of the term 'metadiscourse' originates in the research project "Cultural Encounter as a Precondition of European Identity," run by Aarhus University and the Danish Academy in Rome. The project formulates its main hypothesis around this concept. Its aim is to investigate the cultural encounter that took place as Renaissance humanism was received in Northern Europe from the end of the fifteenth century onwards. This encounter was, among other things, a confrontation with the classical tradition as it had been transformed by Italian fourteenth- and fifteenth-century humanism and later modified by Northern humanism. It was a

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[1] Vande Kopple 1985; Hyland and Tse 2004; Hyland 2005.

[2] For studies on this kind of metadiscourse in historical texts, see: Boggel 2009; Taavitsainen 2008; Taavitsainen and Hiltunen 2012; Domínguez-Rodríguez and Rodríguez-Álvarez 2015. But the word is used in various ways. For an approach closer to the one adopted in this book, see e.g. Hoek 1985.

confluence that touched almost all aspects of life and that influenced the cultural identity of Northern Europe, forming habits that are still active. The "Cultural Encounter" project examines how and in which forms the culture of Renaissance Italy migrated north. Rather than identifying external factors such as the political, geopolitical or socioeconomic, the project focuses on metadiscourse as an internal driver of the spread of humanism.[3]

Reflection and theorization in the writings of Renaissance humanists is not a new subject in the field of Renaissance studies, but it is underexplored. Recently, Patrick Baker has studied humanistic biographies in order to determine which features and characteristics the humanists themselves considered to be essential to their movement.[4] Baker makes the case that the humanists' self-perception and self-conceptualization should be central to our understanding of the movement, which too often is influenced by modern concerns.[5] Like Baker, the "Cultural Encounter" project studies the success of the humanist movement by focusing on contemporary humanist accounts. Unlike previous studies, it compares instances of metadiscourse in various genres and contexts.

The present volume is the fruit of a workshop organized at the Danish Academy in Rome in January 2016. The purpose of the meeting was to explore the various guises taken by metadiscourse in the writings of Renaissance humanists. Thus the case studies in this volume explore metadiscourse on translation, letter writing, Biblical criticism, poetry, and Latin grammar and composition. In addition, the papers examine the role played by metadiscourse in the dissemination of Renaissance humanism, and how the authors communicate key elements of the humanistic cultural programme.

Marianne Pade's case study explores a body of metatexts on Renaissance translations, taking as its point of departure Lorenzo Valla's 1452 translation of Thucydides' *Historiae*. Pade discusses Valla's preface in the context of contemporary translation theory.

The Latin language plays a central role in the humanist movement, and reflections on its correct use are the subject of Camilla Horster's paper. Comparing theory with practice, Horster concentrates on grammatical

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[3] The project, which runs from 2015 to 2018, is funded by the Carlsberg Foundation and the Danish Council for Independent Research. For a description of the project, see http://www.acdan.it/projekter/ce/index.html.

[4] Baker 2015.

[5] Baker 2015, 3–6. Baker mentions Trinkaus 1960 and two chapters in McManamon 1989 as positive exceptions. For a similar approach in the field of humanist translation theory, see Baldassarri 2003.

discussions of *quia* and its use in the neo-Latin writings of fifteenth-century Italian authors.

Annet den Haan discusses Valla's reflections on Biblical criticism, proposing that these should be read in the context of contemporary humanist Biblical scholarship at the court of Nicholas V, rather than in that of his more programmatic works on the relative merits of rhetoric and Latin eloquence compared to scholastic learning.

From Antiquity, writers have been taught to structure their discourses, whether oral or in written form, with the help of *loci communes*. Marc van der Poel examines how Erasmus adapted ancient practice to new needs in his *Encomium matrimonii*.

In Johann Ramminger's contribution, the casus is letter writing. The paper examines the reception of Italian epistolary theory in the context of German *Frühhumanismus* in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, addressing how the classical models, filtered through Italian humanism, came to be articulated in the evolving humanist practice and theory of letter writing north of the Alps.

Trine Arlund Hass's paper examines metadiscourse on bucolic genre decorum in the *Bucolica* of the Danish writer, Erasmus Lætus. On a central position in his work, Lætus's narrator renegotiates the conventional poetic ambition of striving towards heroic epic. By comparing Lætus's renegotiation with a similar passage in Baptista Mantuanus' *Adolescentia*, Hass discusses how metadiscourse on genre can be read as a vehicle for allegory.

These explorations of metadiscourse allow us to draw several tentative conclusions. First, metadiscourse appears in various forms and contexts, ranging from metadisciplinary texts (such as Lorenzo Valla's *Elegantiae* in HORSTER and Rudolph Agricola's *De inventione dialectica* in VAN DER POEL) to metadiscursive comments accompanying propositional content inside a text (as in RAMMINGER). In between, we find paratextual material (letters and treatises) that comments both on particular texts and on the genre to which they belong (PADE, DEN HAAN). Metadiscourse can also be ingeniously embedded inside a literary work, to be fully appreciated only by readers thoroughly familiar with the genre, as in Erasmus Lætus's case (HASS). Metadiscursive comments range in nature from the reasons and justifications given by authors for engaging in the practice they describe to practical instructions as to how to engage in it, and these comments problematize the gap between theory and practice (esp. HORSTER, RAMMINGER, VAN DER POEL).

Second, the case studies show – perhaps not surprisingly – a preoccupation with classical examples. Antiquity is held up as a gold standard, resulting in a preoccupation with correct Latin (HORSTER) and an earnest

desire to conform to the conventions of the classical genres (RAMMINGER, VAN DER POEL, HASS) – although the humanist authors discussed in this volume occasionally disagree as to the best classical models to follow. But the reception of Antiquity is not always direct. Humanists interpret their classical models through mediators such as Late Antique commentaries (HASS), and they themselves can, in their turn, become examples for their peers and successors. Thus Italian humanism laid down norms for Northerners who wished to identify with the movement (RAMMINGER, HASS).

Furthermore, the reception of the classical matrix took place in more than one way: humanists debated norms among themselves (PADE, DEN HAAN), and they could choose not to adopt earlier humanist transformations of ancient practice, opting to turn directly to the classics instead (as in the case of Erasmus and Agricola, VAN DER POEL).

Systematic discussion of the impact of metadiscourse on actual practice is beyond the scope of this book, but the contributions show that it did shape the dissemination of humanism in at least three ways. Metadiscourse plays a role in the construction of a common humanist identity, and it is also an indicator of familiarity with a cultural matrix – as long as a practice is perceived as 'foreign,' explanation is necessary (HORSTER, RAMMINGER). Third, discussions of ancient literary genres that were at first glimpse academic could become part of broader ideological debates. Erasmus's *Encomium* was read as an endorsement of Lutheranism (VAN DER POEL); Mantuanus's poetical reflections are also comments on a conflict within the Carmelite order (HASS); and humanist translation theory is appropriated by Luther in his *Sendbrieff von Dolmetschen* and is used as a propaganda text for his Reformation (PADE). Thus the contributions in this volume – necessarily limited in scope – illustrate the potential of humanist metadiscourse as a field of study, and will hopefully provide a starting-point for more research on the subject.

Annet den Haan
Aarhus University

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Miscellanea

Translating Thucydides:
the metadiscourse of Italian humanist translators

By Marianne Pade

In 1452 Lorenzo Valla finished what became the standard translation of Thucydides for the next several hundred years. Identifying the central themes taken up by Valla in the dedicatory letter to Pope Nicholas V, this article will discuss Valla's letter, as well as his glosses on the translation, in the context of contemporary translation theory. It will also briefly sketch the sixteenth-century reception of Valla's translation.

My contribution in this volume on the metadiscourse of Renaissance humanism will address a number of metatexts in which Renaissance humanists commented on translations, sometimes those by others, but very often their own. In the latter case, the metatexts constitute a specific sort of writer–reader interaction regarding the translations. The purpose may be to explain the purpose of the translation, or of translation in general, its use for the intended reader(s), how it had been done, or how it should be done.

Fifteenth-century Italy witnessed an explosion both in the production of Latin translations from the Greek and in metadiscursive writings on translation. These may take many forms, but it is possible to point to a number of recurrent themes. From the early fifteenth century, we find the humanist metadiscourse on translation at work in correspondence between humanists, in dedicatory letters, in fully fledged treatises on the subject, but also in annotations to translations that were meant to be copied alongside the text itself.

When humanism crossed the Alps from Italy, humanist translation theory came with it, although it had to be modified in order to accommodate new reader communities. Even though, or perhaps because, the cultural export from Italy was so successful, the overwhelming Italian influence also generated resentment in some areas.[1] Nevertheless, Transalpine writers would often express their criticism of Italian cultural preponderance in the very classicizing Latin and literary forms that were so skilfully promoted by

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[1] See Cowling 2012.

the Italians. In this article I shall trace the formation and development of humanist translation theory by looking at metatexts concerning translations of one author, namely Thucydides. My point of departure will be Lorenzo Valla's hugely influential 1452 translation of the *Historiae* into Latin. The prefatory letter of dedication to Pope Nicholas V, who commissioned the translation, shows Valla as a writer fully attuned to contemporary trends in humanist translation. In the sixteenth century Valla's Latin version was in its turn the basis of further vernacular translations, just as there were vernacular translations made directly from the Greek.[2] All these translations are accompanied by a more or less extensive apparatus of paratexts.

Lorenzo Valla

By the end of the 1440s it was clear to most people that what was left of Byzantium would soon fall to the Ottoman Turks. The West was reluctant to send military help to the East, but the humanist Pope Nicholas V, wishing to salvage what he could of Greek culture, planned to have what was known of Greek literature at the time translated into Latin. Lorenzo Valla's (1407–1457) translation of Thucydides was part of the Pope's impressive project. Valla began work on the translation early in 1448; according to the autograph postscript of the presentation copy, the *Vaticanus latinus* 1801, the translation was finished in 1452. In the *postscriptum* to the presentation copy, Valla sanctions it as the *archetypus* of his translation, revised and corrected by himself.[3]

Valla's Thucydides enjoyed a wide manuscript diffusion that continued well into the sixteenth century. I know of twenty-two MSS containing the entire text of Valla's translation, two lost ones, and one manuscript containing a fragment that seems to have come from a copy of the complete text.[4] It was first printed c. 1483.[5]

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[2] Some of these are discussed below in the paragraph on *Reception in the Sixteenth Century*. For a more thorough list, see Pade 2003, 113–117.

[3] "Hunc Thucydidis codicem, qualis nullus, ut opinor, unquam apud ipsos Grecos uel scriptus uel ornatus est magnificentius, idem ego Laurentius, iussu sanctissimi domini nostri domini Nicolai diuina prouidentia pape Quinti, recognoui cum ipso Ioanne, qui eum tam egregie scripsit. Ideoque hec meo chirographo subscripsi ut esset hic codex mee translationis archetypus unde cetera possent exemplaria emendari," Vat. lat. 1801, f. 184r, autograph note. Cp. Manfredi 1994, 243–44, no. 384. On the use of the word *archetypus* in humanist Latin, see Rizzo 1973, 308–317.

[4] See Pade 2000; 2003, 122–25; and 2008b.

[5] [*c*. 1483], [Treviso]: [Johannes Rubeus]. H *15511. This edition is the only incunable containing Valla's translation. For a list of sixteenth-century editions, see Pade 2003, 125–26.

The letter of dedication to Nicolas V – in context
a. The appropriation of the original

Text 1

Like Aeneas in Virgil, highest Pontiff, I can now say – and because it is in verse, even chant: "what joy to have escaped so many Argive towns and to have kept my direction through the midst of foes" [*Aen. 3,282–83*]. I do feel as if I had escaped from Argive towns and from the midst of foes, having now finished the campaign you ordered me to embark upon. Residing in Rome to oversee the affairs of the city themselves, Roman generals such as Augustus, Antoninus Pius and many others used to delegate especially foreign wars to their commanders. Like them – your dignity makes me use that comparison – you yourself attend to worship, holy ceremonies, divine and secular law, peace, wealth and the welfare of the Latin world. Others were assigned different missions, but, as if we were your prefects, or tribunes or commanders, those of us with a mastery of both languages were ordered to bring as much as possible of Greece under your rule, that is to translate Greek books into Latin for you.[6]

Valla's imagery is interesting for several reasons. It reminds us that Nicholas' commissioning of the translation must be seen against the background of contemporary politics, in which the military successes of the Ottoman Turks threatened to eradicate Byzantine Greece as an independent state and, presumably, to sever the cultural tradition that in Greek-speaking areas went back, uninterrupted, to the time of Homer. That danger was to be met with weapons of the intellect, and Greek culture could to some extent be salvaged in the Latin West. However, the metaphors do not suggest that Valla and his fellow translators should travel to Greece to learn from its old and venerable culture, but that they bring it under Latin rule. Valla goes on to praise translation as a kind of commerce that is even more useful than

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[6] "Quod Eneas apud Virgilium, Nicole Quinte summe pontifex, id ego nunc possum dicere et, quia carmen est, etiam decantare: 'iuuat euasisse tot urbes Argolicas mediosque uiam tenuisse per hostes' [*Aen. 3,282–83*]. Nam ex Argolicis urbibus atque ex mediis hostibus euasisse mihi uideor, militia iam quam mihi imperaueras perfunctus. Etenim quemadmodum romani olim imperatores, qualis Augustus Antoninus aliique permulti (tua dignitas facit ut hac utar comparatione), Rome considentes ac per sese urbana negotia procurantes, bella presertim peregrina ducibus demandabant, ita tu, cum sacra, religionem, diuina atque humana iura, pacem, amplitudinem, salutem latini orbis per teipsum cures, mandasti cum alia aliis tum uero nobis, quasi tuis prefectis, tribunis, ducibus, utriusque lingue peritis, ut omnem, quoad possemus, Greciam tue ditioni subiiceremus, id est ut grecos tibi libros in latinum traduceremus," Vat. lat. 1801, f. 1r. The most comprehensive reading of Valla's preface so far is in Regoliosi 2001.

trade in material merchandise. What was traded in translation nourished the intellect and refined one's style.[7] Moreover, we would have had no communication, no 'commerce' with God, had not the Old Testament been translated from Hebrew and the New from Greek. To translate from a foreign language into Latin was at least as useful as conquering foreign lands and adding them to the Roman Empire.[8]

At the end of the paragraph, Valla returns to the military image, comparing translation to the acquisition of new provinces by the Empire. Though the images acknowledge the value of what is acquired, whether by conquest or trade, in both instances the end result is that what has been foreign becomes Latin property, comes under Latin dominion.

That translation is useful – that the translated texts may instruct and enrich our intellect – was a commonplace. However, Valla also resembles many other fifteenth-century humanist translators in his insistence that the value of translation transcends merely making the foreign accessible. To stay with his imagery, it actually brought foreign cultural manifestations under Latin rule, integrating them into the Latin cultural orbit. In the famous letter on his translation of Plato's *Phaedo* (1404–5), Leonardo Bruni formulated this golden rule:

Text 2

I follow a Plato whom I represent to myself as a man who knew Latin and was able to express his own opinions in it [. . .] Plato himself asks me to do that, for a man who wore a most elegant aspect among the Greeks surely does not want to appear crude and clumsy among the Latins.[9]

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[7] See Regoliosi 2001 for Valla's indebtedness to Quint. *inst.* 10,5,2–3 in this passage.

[8] "Nam quid utilius, quid uberius, quid etiam magis necessarium librorum interpretatione, ut haec mihi mercatura quedam optimarum artium esse uideatur? […] Siquidem ex rebus quas ista transferendi negotiatio nobis apportat animi aluntur, uestiuntur, roborantur, ornantur, delectantur ac prope diuiniores efficiuntur […] Adeo nullum cum Deo nos Latini commercium haberemus, nisi Testamentum Vetus ex hebreo et Novum e greco foret traductum. […] non minus tibi gloriosum est, romane pontifex, libros graecos qui reliqui sunt transferendos curare quam aut Asiam, aut Macedoniam, aut ceteram Greciam romano adiicere imperio," *ibid.* ff. 1r–v. Valla used the trade comparison already in the dedicatory letter to his 1434 translation of Demosthenes' *Pro Ctesiphonte*, cp. Lo Monaco 1986, 163.

[9] "ego autem Platoni adhaereo, quem ego ipse michi effinxi, et quidem latine scientem, ut judicare possit […] Hoc enim ipse Plato praesens me facere jubet, qui cum elegantissimi oris apud Graecos sit, non vult certe apud Latinos ineptus videri," BRVNI *ep* 1,1 (1,8 M.) When possible I refer to Neo-Latin texts with the sigla used by Johann Ramminger in *Neulateinische Wortliste* (www.neulatein.de).

As Johann Ramminger has shown, it was probably in this very letter that Bruni coined the immensely successful neologism *traducere/traductio* for to translate/translation, a metaphor that in itself shows the effort to integrate the foreign text into the Latin cultural context.[10] As James Hankins put it, Bruni wanted to "pull his Greek author into the Latin world, to imagine how he would have written had Latin been his native language."[11] Some thirty years later, Valla alluded to this passage in the preface to his translation of Demosthenes' *Pro Ctesiphonte* (or *On the Crown*).[12] The translation was made in open and admiring competition with Bruni's 1407/1421 version: where Bruni had surpassed all others in his earlier translations, in the *Pro Ctesiphonte* he had surpassed himself.[13] However, with usual lack of modesty, Valla declared that he set out to compete with three great orators, Leonardo Bruni, Cicero, whose translation of the speech – if it ever existed – is lost,[14] and Demosthenes:

Text 3

[*I emulate*] Leonardo, intending to reach the goal by a different road; Cicero, hoping to steer the same course as he claimed to have done (see n. 14); and Demosthenes to make sure that, if at all possible, he is not, through me, made to speak Latin any worse than he spoke Greek on his own.[15]

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[10] Ramminger 2015–2016, with copious discussion of earlier literature.

[11] Griffiths, Hankins & Thompson 1987, 10 and n. 5.

[12] For the complicated question of the date of Valla's translation and the preface, I follow Lo Monaco 1986 and 2000, 396–397. For the fifteenth-century Latin translations of the oration, see Monfasani 1976, 61–68.

[13] "Ita enim fere constat, in aliis translationibus a Leonardo omnes, in hac autem etiam ipsum a se fuisse superatum. Adeo omnem vim Demosthenis nitoremque expressit et quemadmodum si Ciceronis extaret illa conversio hic non scripsisset, ita post se scribendum non esse<t>, qui fecit ne Tullianam magnopere desideremus," Lo Monaco 1986, 162. For Bruni's translation, see Accame Lanzillotta 1986.

[14] The spurious *De optimo genere oratorum* presents itself as Cicero's preface to his translation of the *Pro Ctesiphonte* and the opposing speech by Aeschines – also translated by Bruni. The famous passage, "Converti enim ex Atticis duorum eloquentissimorum nobilissimas orationes inter se que contrarias, Aeschini et Demostheni; nec converti ut interpres, sed ut orator, sententiis isdem et earum formis tamquam figuris, verbis ad nostram consuetudinem aptis," (*opt. gen.* 14), was quoted *verbatim* in St Jerome's letter to Pammachius (§ 5), a core text for humanist translation theory.

[15] "nunc ad emulationem trium maximorum oratorum me exerceo: Leonardi, Ciceronis, Demosthenis. Leonardi quidem ut alio itinere secum ad metam perveniam; Ciceronis vero, ut quem cursum tenuisse se dicit eundem ego teneam; Demosthenis autem ut non peius loquatur per me latine, si fas est, quam per se grece," Lo Monaco 1986, 163. As stated by Regoliosi 2001, 456–461 it is the *emulatio* of the original that for Valla makes translation a worthwhile exercise.

Valla probably aimed to surpass the original: explaining how one should go about recreating a text like Demosthenes' speech in Latin, he says that the translator must almost "vie with the author himself" (*cum ipso auctore certandum*).

Valla's wish that Demosthenes should not be made to speak Latin less well in the translation than he had himself spoken Greek echoes Bruni's famous statement about Plato (see Text 2), and I believe there are other allusions to Bruni in the preface. It has often been noticed that Bruni's treatise *De interpretatione recta* (On the correct way of translation) was to some degree neglected by his contemporaries.[16] We have already seen that Valla was very aware of Bruni, both as a translator and as a theoretical writer on the *ars interpretandi*. Therefore one would assume that he would have gone to some length to acquire a copy of the *De interpretatione*. In the treatise, Bruni repeatedly stresses the importance of the careful rendering of figures of speech and thought and of prose rhythm, and the final section of the treatise discusses the subject in detail.[17] Clearly Valla agrees with Bruni that the translator should respect these characteristics of the original, but in order to "vie with the author himself," with the aim of surpassing him, Valla is convinced that the translator must transform them:

Text 4
Often one must let go of the specific characteristics of the Greek and rethink them, finding parallels to figures of speech and thought, only to preserve the rhythm.[18]

I have not come across other fifteenth-century writers who emphasize the importance of rendering prose rhythm in translations. However, as Ronald Witt has shown, from Bruni's generation onwards there is a growing tendency among writers of humanist Latin to avoid the accentual patterns of the medieval *cursus* and a preference for a quantitative prose rhythm.[19] This process has been seen as a key factor in the genesis of classicizing prose,

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[16] E.g. Botley 2004, 41 and n. 173 (I know of 11 manuscripts of the work). It should, however, be noticed that Gianozzo Manetti quotes the *De interpretatione recta* extensively in *Apologeticus* V. On this, see now den Haan 2016, 123–139.

[17] E.g. "His vero exemplis abunde patet neminem posse primi auctoris maiestatem servare, nisi ornatum illius numerositatemque conservet" (These examples should suffice to show that one cannot render intact the grandeur of the original writer, if one does not preserve ornaments and rythm), BRVNI *interpr* 29.

[18] "Est enim relinquendus frequenter caracter ipse grecus, excogitandus novus, pariende figure, numeris omnino serviendum," Lo Monaco 1986, 163.

[19] Witt 2000, 509–514 (and *passim*).

and clearly both Bruni and Valla view translation as part of their attempt to recuperate a classical prose style.

Only a couple of years after Valla wrote the dedicatory preface to Nicholas V, Niccolò Perotti presented a similar idea to the Pope in the dedication of his Latin translation of Polybius:[20]

Text 5

Can we offer the soul any sweeter nourishment than the reading of history? Especially when, as in this work, important and varied events are related in a brilliant style, and delightful language is sprinkled with starry phrases. In a single work Polybius has proven himself, to my mind at least, to be a most accomplished historian, an excellent orator, as well as an outstanding philosopher. [*Therefore it was a great pleasure to translate Polybius*] because I hoped that I would win considerable renown among our people, if through me a writer of his great fame would not remain a foreigner but become Roman and, giving up his native language, learn to speak Latin.[21]

Polybius is not simply translated into Latin, he actually ceases to be foreign and becomes Roman; and, in what is perhaps the most radical part of the image, he not only learns to speak Latin, but ceases to use his own language (*omissa gentili lingua*). Like Bruni's Plato (see Text 2), the Polybius of Perotti is pulled into the Latin world.

As Paul Botley has remarked, this appropriative attitude towards the Greek cultural heritage did not go unnoticed among the Greeks themselves. Michael Apostolis, an impoverished Greek teacher, wrote indignantly that:

Text 6

if someone were to say that the Italian teachers translate Greek into their own language and manner very ably and appropriately, what does this have to do with the Greeks and their learning? It is rather a great offence which deserves strong penalties. In this way they are

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[20] For Perotti's translation of Polybius, Reynolds 1954; Milne 1989; Pace 1988, 1989 and 1991; Bononi 1999; d'Alessandro 2001 and 2007; Pade 2008a, and Charlet 2011.

[21] "Quis enim suauior animo cibus offerri potest quam lectio historiae? Huius praesertim, in qua cum magnitudine ac diuersitate rerum gestarum splendor quoque uerborum coniunctus est, et suauitas orationis quibusdam quasi luminibus sententiarum respersa, ut mihi uideatur uno in opere Polybius et summus historicus et orator maximus et optimus philosophus fuisse […] quod non mediocrem me apud nostros homines gloriam consecuturum sperabam, si mea opera tam praeclarus auctor ex peregrino aliquando Romanus factus esset et omissa gentili lingua latine loqui didicisset," N. Perotti, letter of dedication to Nicholas V of his translation of Polybius I–V a. 1454. Text from my forthcoming edition of Perotti's letters of dedication.

trying gradually to obliterate the Greek language, and have practically made the Greeks into Romans.[22]

b. Reception in the Roman world

The 'province' assigned to Valla was not an easy one; on the contrary, he clearly wanted to make quite sure that Nicholas was aware of the difficulties he had encountered in his endeavours to perform the task given to him. Translating the eight books had been like conquering eight cities, protected by inaccessible peaks. But he was not the only one to think so. Everyone admitted that Thucydides was hard and stony, not least in the speeches. Even Cicero, who was called "the Greek" by his contemporaries, says as much in *Orator*: "these speeches contain so many and so obscure thoughts as to be barely intelligible."[23] Moreover, Valla's patron, the Greek Cardinal Bessarion, had been abroad and was therefore unable to help him. However, Thucydides was worth it all:

> **Text 7**
>
> For of Greek historians, Thucydides is like the porphyry of marbles or the gold of metals. He has such dignity, such power, he inspires such unconditional belief – which is paramount in history writing – that readers never doubt his account [. . .] He and Herodotus are unquestionably the most eminent Greek historians, as Sallust and Livy are among ours. This is attested by both Cicero and Quintilian. Cicero said that "*Herodotus* flows like a peace-ful stream without any disturbances; *Thucydides* advances more rapidly and describing war his tone is also somehow warlike"; and Quintilian that "history has been written by many with distinction, but no one questions that there are two far superior to the rest, whose very different excellences have won them almost equal praise. Thucydides is close-textured, concise, always pressing himself hard: Herodotus is pleasing, transparent, expansive. Thucydides is better at the tenser emotions, Herodotus at the more relaxed: Thucydides at set speeches, Herodotus at dialogue.

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[22] "Εἰ δέ τις φαίη τοὺς Ῥωμαίων πορθμέας εὐθέτως καὶ ὡς προσήκει διερμηνεύειν τὸν ἕλληνα ἐς τὴν σφετέραν φώνην τε καὶ συνήθειαν, τί τοῦτο πρὸς Ἕλληνας καὶ σοφίαν αὐτῶν; μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀδικία μεγίστη καὶ πολλῶν ἀξία τιμωρίων. τούτῳ δὴ τῷ τρόπῳ κατὰ μικρόν τἀκείνων ἀφανίζειν ἐπιχειροῦσι, καὶ οὕτως ἀνθ᾽ Ἑλλήνων ὅσον οὐκ ἤδη Ῥωμαίους πεποιήκασι," quoted from Botley 2004, 168. English translation by Paul Botley, *ibid*.
[23] "Nam omnium confessione arduus est saxeusque Thucydides, cum ceteris in locis, tum uero in orationibus quibus octo eius referti sunt libri, ut Ciceronis, quem grecum sue etatis homines appellabant, uerbis constat dicentis in *Oratore*: 'ipse ille contiones ita multas habent abditasque sententias uix ut intelligantur' [*30*]," Vat. lat. 1801, f. 1v.

Thucydides excels in force, Herodotus in giving pleasure." Highest Pontiff, this is how Thucydides is in Greek. If you should deem that in my translation he preserves the same dignity, I shall forget all my toils.[24]

Valla here describes the qualities of the Greek Thucydides to Nicholas, both in his own words and quoting ancient testimonies. As a translator, Valla takes the reception of Thucydides in the Latin world into account and uses it as a guide for his own work, in which he aims at recreating the *Historiae* in Latin as they were perceived by Cicero and Quintilian. The focus of fifteenth-century translation theory on the rendering of style made it necessary for translators to pay conscious attention to the stylistic characteristics of the original. Bruni had clearly done that with Plato's *Phaedo*. In the letter quoted above (see Text 2), Bruni describes Plato's elegance, the method and subtlety of his arguments, and how the fruitful and divine viewpoints of the interlocutors are related with such astounding jollity and incredible richness of language. His speeches were easy flowing and graceful, with nothing laboured or forced. Bruni sums up:

Text 8

This is how Plato is among the Greeks. If I don't also show him like that to the Latins, I hope they realize that he has been made a lesser writer because of my deficiencies and that they are reading not Plato, but my nonsense.[25]

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[24] "Etenim Thucydides […] talis est inter historicos grecos quale inter marmora prophyreticum, aut inter metalla aurum. Tanta in eo grauitas, tanta uis, tanta sine ulla, ut sic dicam, scoria fides, quod est in historia precipuum, ut ista qui legunt uera prorsus fuisse non dubitent […] Hic igitur sine controuersia atque Herodotus ita inter grecos historicos extitere principes, ut inter nostros Sallustius ac Liuius, quod testatur tum Cicero: 'Alter enim sine ullis salebris quasi sedatus amnis fluit, alter incitatior fertur et de bellicis rebus canit etiam quodammodo bellicum' [*Orat. 39*]; tum Quintilianus: 'Historiam multi scripsere preclare, sed nemo dubitat longe duos ceteris preferendos, quorum diuersa uirtus laudem pene est parem consecuta. Densus et breuis et semper instans sibi Thucydides, dulcis et candidus et fusus Herodotus; ille concitatis, hic remissis affectibus melior; ille contionibus, hic sermonibus; ille ui, hic uoluptate.' Habes itaque, summe pontifex, qualis sit grece Thucydides, quem si a me traductum censebis eandem seruare dignitatem omnis mei laboris obliuiscar…" Vat. lat. 1801, ff. 1v–2r. I have used Donald A. Russel's 2001 translation in the Loeb series for the Quintilian quote.

[25] "Est enim in illo plurima urbanitas, summaque disputandi ratio, ac subtilitas, uberrimae divinaeque sententiae disputantium mirifica jocunditate, et incredibili dicendi copia referuntur. In oratione vero summa facilitas, et multa, atque admiranda, ut Graeci dicunt χάρις. Nichil est enim insudationis, nichil violenti […] Ejusmodi quidem apud Graecos est Plato, quem ego nisi apud latinos quoque talem ostendero; aperte sciant, illum

We recognize the emphasis on *how* the Greek writer was in the original and the need to render that. Like Valla, Bruni also used the reception of a Greek author, the way he was perceived by Latin writers, as an argument for the stylistic choices that he made in his translations. In the preface to his translation of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, he criticized the medieval translator (Robert Grosseteste) for his barbarous Latin style: as we know from Cicero, Aristotle strove to be eloquent, and his books were splendidly written in a high rhetorical style.[26] So clearly Bruni's choice to aim at a rhetorical style in the translation was justified.

The reception of a Greek author in the Latin world became a topos in translation literature. In the dedicatory letter written to accompany his 1430 translations of Xenophon's *Agesilaus*, Francesco Filelfo mentioned several times that Xenophon had been known as *musa Attica* (he is so called by Cicero, *orat*. 62 and Quintilian, *inst*. 10,1,31), complaining that his own Latin could not do justice to Xenophon's splendid style, which even Cicero had admired.[27] Many years later, when he had translated the *Cyri paedia*, Filelfo wrote to Pope Paul II that of course he was not so conceited as to claim that his style could match the elegance and refinement of Xenophon, the *musa Attica*. One reason was that as a translator he was not free, he could not use his own *inventio*, but had to follow the original.[28]

In his dedicatory letter to Nicholas V, Perotti too compares Polybius to a Roman writer, namely Livy. In his reworking of Polybius' Greek text into Latin, the *Commentaria de primo bello punico* from around 1420, Bruni had clearly stated that he wanted to supply what was missing in Livy's *Ab urbe condita*; had that part of the *AUC* survived, he would never have undertaken

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meo vicio deteriorem factum, nec se Platonem legere putent, sed meas ineptias," BRVNI *ep* 1,1 (1,8 M.).

[26] "Atqui studiosum eloquentiae fuisse Aristotelem et dicendi artem cum sapientia coniunxisse et Cicero ipse multis in locis testatur et libri eius summo cum eloquentiae studio luculentissime scripti declarant," BRVNI *praef Aristoteles eth Nicom*.

[27] "Sed in hac traductione id mihi molestum fuit, quod non eiusmodi divina haec oratio apud nostros appareat qualis apud Graecos effulget et tanquam sol aliquis irradiat. Quis enim Musam Atticam (ita nanque Xenophontem prisci cognominarunt) dicendo apud nostros expresserit? Quis talem hanc Agesilai laudationem, quam ipse etiam eloquentiae deus Cicero pluribus in locis et unice laudavit et maiorem in modum admiratus est, ulla dicendi arte, ullo ingenio, ulla demum exercitatione pro dignitate interpretari se posse vel crediderit vel sperarit?," Filelfo 2012, 19–20.

[28] "Non enim sum adeo impudens ut velim me a quoquam existimari ita eleganter et perpolite sonoram illam ac suavem Xenophontis orationem expressisse ut etiam ipse Musa Attica debeam appellari, praesertim cum et aliud sit aliorum inventa interpretandi, et aliud nostra scribendi munus," Filelfo 2012, 105.

the work.[29] Perotti appears to have valued Polybius more in his own right. In a long passage in the letter to Nicholas, he compares Polybius and Livy, mentioning that Livy had relied heavily on Polybius' third book in Book 21 of the *AUC*. The differences between the two were that Livy's narrative was sometimes rather brief; and that he was more prone to report portents, oracles and visions, whereas Polybius tended to insert moral precepts into his History. Livy reported entire speeches, whereas Polybius preferred indirect speech (at this point in the margin of cod. S.12.2 of the Biblioteca Malatestiana in Cesena, Perotti added *Comparatio Liuii ac Polybii*, Comparison between Livy and Polybius). To Perotti's taste, Polybius was never longwinded but Livy was sometimes too brief, and he preferred the mottoes and sentences of the Greek to Livy's portents.[30] Perotti was definitely aware of Polybius' style and historiographical technique, and his remarks must be based on personal observation, since, as far as I am aware, we have neither the classical nor the contemporary sources for such a comparison.

Even though Perotti evidently preferred Polybius to Livy on some points, he used the Roman historian as stylistic model in his translation. Critics have accused him of introducing unnecessary additions to the original, but on closer inspection these often consist of Livian phrases. Moreover, in his preface, Perotti mentions that Livy regularly reports entire speeches whereas Polybius prefers *oratio obliqua*. At least once Perotti actually transposes Polybius' indirect discourse into direct speech, complete with an apostrophe that of course is absent from the original.[31]

We have a rather extreme example of what insistence on the literary forms of the target culture might lead to in a letter by Guarino Veronese

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[29] "Cuius libri si exstarent, nihil opus erat novo labore," Baron 1928, 123. On the *Commentaria*, see Reynolds 1954 and Ianziti 2012, 61–88.

[30] "Nam ut de reliquis taceam, manifestissimis argumentis deprehendi potest Titum Liuium Patauinum, historicorum apud latinos principem, hunc potius quam Fabium Pictorem (*AUC* 1,44,2) aut Pisonem (*AUC* 2,32,2; 2,58,1; 25,39,15), quos ipse memorat, secutum fuisse, quippe et in iis, in quibus Polybius illos reprehendit, Polybii sententiam haud obscure sequitur, et ita nonnunquam illius uestigiis inhaeret, ut mihi quidem uigesimus primus liber Liuii ex tertio Polybii libro fere ad uerbum translatus esse uideatur, ac nihil sane inter eos interest, nisi quod Liuius aliquanto breuius res gestas refert, Polybius diffusius, Liuius portenta ac prodigia plurima et oracula ac uisiones deorum commemorat, Polybius his omnibus dimissis praecepta quaedam interserit ad uitae institutionem necessaria. Postremo Liuius contiones integras atque directas, Polybius obliquas exponit. […] Verum equidem in Polybio breuitatem non desidero, in Liuio interdum fortasse aliquid latius. Flosculi uero sententiarum, quos operi suo Polybius inserit, magis profecto mihi mentem implent quam portenta Liuii atque prodigia," N. Perotti, letter of dedication of Nicholas V, see n. 21.

[31] For this, see Pade 2008.

dating from 1427. His long-time friend Girolamo Gualdo had asked Guarino to translate some or all of the twenty-third book of the *Odyssey*. The translation itself is unfortunately lost, but in the letter Guarino explained to Gualdo how he had worked:

> **Text 9**
>
> I have translated the verses you asked for into Latin and send them to you. Some I translated almost literally, but there were passages where I more or less summed up the content, as I have seen that our Virgil often did. When a group of objects can be taken one by one, as for instance when you make bread, he thought it sufficient to say 'the tools of Ceres' (*Cerealia. . . arma*), in order not to bore the reader by listing baking tools or diminish the poem's dignity by stooping to the base and the common. Homer, on the contrary, is very careful to describe all particulars and diligent in his rendering of the smallest detail.

Guarino goes on to say that he had used the Virgilian method in translating the passage about Odysseus' bed. He had simply summed up Homer's long description about how the olive tree was cut down, etc., in a few words.[32]

Some years later Leonardo Bruni translated, or rewrote, the speeches of Odysseus, Achilles, and Phoenix from *Iliad* 9,222–605 in rhetorical Latin prose. He wanted to show how ridiculous it was to maintain that rhetoric had been invented by the Sicilians Corax and Tisias when Homer, who wrote centuries before them, could write speeches that were almost perfect in their eloquence, making use of high as well as middle and low style. For his own pleasure, Bruni decided to translate:

> **Text 10**
>
> Homer's speeches into Latin as an orator. Leaving out the epithets, which are characteristic of poetry, but not at all appropriate in

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[32] "Curavi ut versus illos Homeri tibi traducerem in linguam latinam. Eos tibi transmitto, in quibus nonnulla ex verbo ferme converti, quaedam summatim exposui, quod a Virgilio nostro factitatum animadverti. nam cum plura particulatim intelligenda sint, ut in pane faciundo, satis habuit dicere 'Cerealiaque arma' (*Aen*. 1,177), ne pistoria enumerans instrumenta fastidio afficeret auditorem vel ad infima et vulgaria descendens, carmini dignitatem auferret. Homerus contra in omnibus exponendis rebus poeta diligentissimus et usque ad minutissima accuratissimus cum lecti ab Ulixe facti mentionem faceret, cuiusdam oleagini trunci delationem descripsit, deinde ad rubricam directum, tum perforatum pedibus impositis expressit; quae singula paucis dixisse contentus particularia tacui, quocirca eos versus (*Od*. 23,190–204) tibi latine <o>missos, graece scribere neglexi.," GVARINO *ep* 408, *a*. 1427. For a more thorough discussion of this letter, see Pade 2013.

rhetoric, I forged the sentences and the other words into rhetorical prose, following the order of the original.[33]

Bruni here uses, if not the reception into Latin of Homer, then the later development of rhetoric to explain his method of translation.

Valla's prefatory letter to his Thucydides is probably more grandiose than most other examples of the genre. Still, its main themes are fairly typical of fifteenth-century humanist discourse on translation. Other contemporary writers describe humanist translation as a process that renders foreign cultural manifestations subject to Latin rule and integrates them into the Latin cultural orbit (e.g. texts 2 and 5); they try to give the reader an idea of the stylistic qualities of the original and use the reception of the Greek author by classical Latin writers to explain their own translation choices. Much of this is found already in Bruni's letter to Niccolò Niccoli on his translation of Plato's *Phaedo*, a letter that actually circulated with the translation itself from an early date, a clear indication that it was seen as an important message from Bruni to readers of the translation, not just to Niccoli.[34]

Valla's glosses: a corollary to his translation

Valla's translation of Thucydides is, as mentioned above, extant in twenty-two complete manuscripts, including the dedication copy to Nicholas V. A number of the early manuscripts contain a set of glosses composed by Valla. Some of these are transmitted in one or more of the early manuscript copies of the translation, but not in the dedication, a clear indication that although Valla in the *postscriptum* to the Vat. lat. 1801 declared it the *archetypus* of his translation, it was in fact not the exemplar of later copies.[35]

The glosses or *marginalia* found in early manuscript copies of Valla's translation may be divided into three categories: *notabilia* or rubrics, which mainly draw attention to interesting passages in the text; translations from

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[33] "[…] has Homeri orationes oratorio more in latinum traduxi. Relinquens enim epitheta, que propria poetarum sunt – oratori autem nullo modo congruunt –, sententias eius ac verba cetera servato eorum ordine solutam in orationem conieci," BRVNI *or Hom* pp. 66–68. For the complicated question of the date of Bruni's *Orationes Homeri*, see Thiermann 1993, 118–129.

[34] Browsing Lucia Gualdo Rosa's monumental *Censimento dei codici dell'epistolario di Leonardo Bruni*, one sees that the letter to Niccoli enjoyed a wide diffusion also outside Italy from an early date, thanks to a number of manuscripts of Bruni's works copied for collectors at the Council of Constance in 1416–1417. For early manuscripts of the letter, see Gualdo Rosa 1993–2004, I 11, 69, 77, 150, 232; II 9, 89, 151, 162, 246, 276, 291. On the early diffusion of Bruni's *Familiares* in general, see Gualdo Rosa 1991.

[35] For this see Pade 2000 and 2010, 290.

Greek scholia or of information from other Greek writers, e.g. Plutarch or
Marcellinus' *Vita Thucydidis*; and comments on the Latin wording of his
translations, which is the group that interests me here.

I mentioned that some of the glosses were not in the dedication copy. The
reason why I do not hesitate to attribute them to Valla all the same is that
they include translations of Greek scholia (and very few scribes knew Greek
well enough to translate them on their own account), and that, in one gloss,
Valla speaks of his method of translation in the first person singular.
Opposite a passage in Pericles' speech at the end of Book One, Valla
remarks upon the many *homoioptota* and antitheses in the orations, saying
that he has tried to render these also in Latin.

> **Text 11**
> Multa sunt similiter cadentia et contraposita et talia apud Thucydidem
> que in Latino reddere laboravi (there are many similar cadences and
> antitheses and the like in Thucydides that I have tried to render in
> Latin, I 141,4)

Valla here quotes Quintilian's discussion on prose rhythm in rhetoric and
historiography (*inst*. 9,4,18), a passage he had actually also commented
upon in his glosses on the *Istitutio oratoria,* where he said that there were
many such passages in Thucydides ("Multa sunt huiuscemodi in Thucydide
[. . .]").[36] In this passage, Valla not only uses the ancient critic, in this case
Quintilian, to describe the style of the Greek author (cp. above texts 7 and
9), he also strives to render the speech figures described by Quintilian:

> καὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι οὔτε ναῦς πληροῦντες οὔτε πεζὰς στρατιὰς πολλάκις
> ἐκπέμπειν δύνανται, *ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων τε ἅμα ἀπόντες καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν
> δαπανῶντες* (*Hist*. 1,141,4)

> Atque huiuscemodi homines non sepe aut naues implere possunt, aut
> pedestres exercitus emittere, quod *ab re familiari sunt absentes pariter
> et absumentes* (*tr. Valla*)

Valla's reading of the *Istitutio oratoria* prompted another gloss commenting
on the translation. Quintilian had noted that Sallust often translated Greek
expressions, in other words made loan translations, one of them being the
Thucydidean φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι that becomes *amat fieri* ("Ex Graeco vero
translata vel Sallusti plurima, quale est [vulgus] amat fieri," *inst*. 9,3,17). In
his glosses on Quintilian, Valla refers to a passage in Book Two of the
Histories where Thucydides used the expression (2,65,4); but the gloss on
the loan translation is in Book Three:

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[36] Valla 1996 *ad loc.*

Text 12

Mos suus loquendi Thucydidis, ut Sallustius eum imitatus "uulgus amat fieri" (an expression often used by Thucydides and imitated by Sallust when he says "it generally happens [cp. *Iug*. 34,1]" 3,42,1).

Bruni had repeatedly criticized the medieval translator of Aristotle's *Politics* (William of Moerbeke, c. 1215–1286) for simply transliterating Greek works when there were perfectly good Latin expressions for the same concept.[37] In general, Valla does not transliterate Greek terms, but perhaps Bruni's strictures towards Moerbeke's Latin made him careful to explain the Graecisms or loan translations that he did use: they were, in fact, sanctioned by *usus auctorum* in that they had already been adopted by classical, authoritative writers like Sallust.

We have a related example in a series of nine glosses that explain Valla's rendering of the Greek ὅσον οὐ or ὅσον οὐκ by *tantum non*, an expression he has already discussed in the *Elegantiae*: "[. . .] quem modum loquendi a Graecis mutuati sumus" (an expression we have borrowed from the Greeks, *eleg*. 2,31). The longest of the nine glosses is opposite a passage in Book Four on the preparation of the Syracusans for a war that was almost upon them:

Text 13

tantum non idest pene, uidelicet quia tantum hoc abest quod res iam iam sit presens. Hunc Grecorum loquendi modum multi sunt Latini imitati (*tantum non*, that is 'nearly,' 'namely' because it is not any further away than as to be as good as there already. This Greek expression has been imitated by many Latin writers, 4,45).

Valla here not only explains the Latin *tantum non*, he also carefully points out that the loan translation is not a newly coined expression but, on the contrary, is attested in good, classical Latin.

In a few instances Valla comments on rare words or rare expressions he has used in the translation. One gloss explains the difference between two kinds of envoys: "Legati in pace dicuntur. Caduceatores in bello" (they are

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[37] E.g. BRVNI *interpr* 95. For Bruni's translation of the *Politics*, now see Schütrumpf 2014 with earlier literature. In 1441, Bruni sent a copy of his translation of the *Politics* to Alfonso of Aragon in Naples, where Valla got to see it. He criticised Bruni's Latin in the translation in a letter of 1446, but evidently still respected his judgement. Cp. Valla 1984, 276–277, and letter 34, *ibid.,* 288–289. On the influence of Bruni's translation on Valla, see moreover Pade, forthcoming.

called legates in peacetime and heralds in war, 4,118,13).[38] Another is on the expression *demereor te* (I deserve well of you), which Valla also discusses in the *Elegantiae* and in his glosses on Quintilian: "demereor te est obsequio te prosequor et meritis" (I deserve well of you, that is I attend you loyally and according to your deserts 8,65,2).[39]

The glosses I have discussed here all comment on the translation rather than on the Greek text, and they touch upon themes current in the contemporary metadiscourse of translation. Valla uses the reception into Latin literature, if not of the *Histories* themselves then of the genre of historiography, to explain his translation choices (see Text 11), and he is careful to explain to the reader that the loan translations *amat fieri* and *tantum non* are not his invention, but have been used by *auctores* for many centuries (see texts 12 and 13).

At this point it might be reasonable to ask whether this set of scattered notes, though clearly reflecting contemporary issues, are in fact part of the humanists' metadiscourse on translation. Are they a soliloquy for which the reader is only an unintended public, or are they in fact intended as writer–reader interaction regarding the translation? Their material transmission suggests the latter. Not only are they written carefully into the margins of the Vat. lat. 1801 by the copyist, Johann Lamperts von Rodenberg, but selections from them are actually found in twelve other manuscript copies of the translation. The paratextual apparatus was clearly seen as an integral part of Valla's work. Moreover, there is reason to believe that Valla had specific readers in mind when he penned the glosses in the margins of his text, not just Nicholas, learned as he was. A number of early copies of the translation were commissioned by friends or pupils of Valla's, collectors of books with humanist interests. Some of them are known to have possessed other works by Valla and, as I have shown elsewhere, their copies of his Thucydides were made from Valla's personal exemplar and contained his glosses. These people were discerning readers, probably au courant with contemporary trends in translation theory, and they would be able to appreciate Valla's reflections on his own translation practice. Suffice it here to mention Jean Jouffroy, who had studied with Valla in the 1430s and who commissioned the present Vat. lat. 1799 already in 1452; the Englishman William Gray, who knew Valla in Rome and also had a copy of the

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[38] Cp. Paul. Fest. p.47: "(*caduceatores*) legati pacem petentes"; and Serv. *Aen.* 4,242: "unde secundum Livium legati pacis caduceatores dicuntur: sicut enim per fetiales, a foedere, bella indicebantur, ita pax per caduceatores fiebat."

[39] Cp. Valla 1996 Quint. *inst.* 1 pr. 3: "'Demereor te' est 'de te bene mereor,' ut apud Ovidium: 'Crimine te potui demeruisse meo' [*ep.* 2,28]"; and *eleg.* 5,99: "Demereor quoque pro 'bene de aliquo mereor' accipitur cum accusatiuo, […]. "

Thucydides made in the year it was completed (now Kk 4. 2 of the University Library in Cambridge); and Miguel Ferrer, secretary of Pope Calixtus III, who probably knew Valla from his years in Naples and whose splendid copy is dated 1457 (now Stockholm, Royal Library, cod. 4).40

Reception in the sixteenth century

One of the questions this volume seeks to answer is the role played by metadiscourse in the dissemination of Renaissance humanism. With regard to translation, it has been shown that the Italian humanists' metadiscourse had a definite impact on translation theory in other parts of Europe.[41] A salient example of this is Etienne Dolet's use of Bruni's *De interpretatione recta* in his *La manière de bien traduire d'une langue en une autre* (Lyon, 1540). An important difference between the two treatises is that Dolet wrote about translation into French, which at the time did not have the prestige of Latin; but apart from that one may almost see *La manière* as an abbreviated version of Bruni's tract.[42] Luther's famous *Sendbrieff von Dolmetschen* (1530) has a very different format from either Bruni's or Dolet's tract. It is first and foremost a propaganda text for Luther's Reformation, and is not a scholarly text. It is also a complaint that his translation of the New Testament had been stolen and reprinted by a certain Hieronymus Emser, who published it under his own name. Still, it is possible to recognize the influence of humanist translation theory, for instance in the principle that the translation should correspond to the sense of the original, not necessarily to its wording.[43]

Valla's translation of Thucydides also crossed the Alps. It was twice translated into the vernacular. Claude de Seyssel's (1450–1520) French rendering, begun before 1515, was printed in Paris in 1527 and reprinted nine times.[44] Seyssel included Valla's preface in his translation, which became very popular,[45] but his own dedication of the first version to Louis XII tells us little about his views on translation. He does however lament the fact that many Greek and Latin historians had never been translated into

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[40] See Pade 2000, 262–266.

[41] See Gualdo Rosa 1985, 185 ff. and Berti 1988, 252.

[42] For this see Pade, forthcoming. For the reception of humanist translation theory in France, see Norton 1984.

[43] See Lefevere 1977, 7–9. For Berthold of Henneberg's ordinance of censorship of translations into German (1485) and its humanist background see Ramminger 2015–16, 46–48.

[44] See Boone 2000, 570–74. On Seyssel's translations, see also Chavy 1973 and Dionisotti 1995.

[45] See Burke 1996, 135.

French, although they contained much that was useful for people in public positions, and he stresses that Thucydides was a writer worthy of his new reader, the French king.[46]

The second vernacular version is Hieronymus Boner's German translation, which left out Valla's preface. The translation was completed in 1532 and printed in 1533 at Augsburg. In the dedication to Herr Eitelecken von Rüschach, Boner declares that he published the translation in Eitel-ecken's name "zu ewiger löblichen und Ritterlichen gedächtnis [. . .] dann der [*i.e. Thucydides*] schreybt von den aller ritterlichsten thaten" (Thucydides 1533, sig. iir). The theme of knighthood is evident also in the many woodcuts of the edition, and the overall impression is that Boner aimed at a different public than Seyssel.

However, the Latin version remained important. After the *editio princeps* it was reprinted – in more or less revised form – in France, Germany, Switzerland, and England for almost the next 400 years. In the first couple of hundred years after its completion, Valla's translation was often severely criticized by editors. In the last two centuries, discussions have mostly focused on the translation as a source for the Greek textual tradition.

It is beyond the scope of this article to analyse the reception of Valla's Latin Thucydides in detail, and with it of his discourse on translation. Instead I shall use the reactions of one student of Thucydides as an example of how the translation was perceived. Henri Estienne was probably the severest sixteenth-century critic of Valla's Thucydides. He edited it several times, but still complained about its lack of consistency and bad Latin. Estienne evidently did not appreciate Valla's very rhetorical translation; for him, the Latin translation should not substitute the original, as Valla clearly aimed to do, but be an aid to understanding it.[47] Estienne's strictures may be indicative of how, at least in France, the role of Latin had changed by the middle of the sixteenth century. To a large degree, the vernacular had taken over as the medium in which one could compete with the ancients for richness and elegance of expression. Accordingly, metadiscourse on translation discussed translation into the vernaculars, not into Latin, although it continued to deal with the themes the Italians had taken up in the preceding century.

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[46] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fr. 17211–12, f.1r. On Seyssel's endeavours to promote French literature through translation, see Norton 1974, 1.

[47] See Thucydides 1564, sig. *iir and Pade 2007, Ch. I.7. For the distinction between the various functions of a translation, see Botley 2004, 164ff, the chapter "Renaissance Translations: Some Categories."

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VALLA ON BIBLICAL SCHOLARSHIP:

metadiscourse at the court of Nicholas V

By Annet den Haan

Lorenzo Valla's Annotationes *to the New Testament have been the object of study both as part of the history of Biblical scholarship and in the context of Valla's own intellectual development. The work was, however, embedded in the intellectual context of the Vatican court in the 1450s, where several humanists were engaged in Biblical scholarship. A comparison of Valla's approach to the Bible with that of Cardinal Bessarion, George of Trebizond, and Giannozzo Manetti shows that these authors shared a set of principles which they debated among themselves and applied each in their own way.*

Introduction

Like the other chapters in this volume, this contribution concentrates on humanist metadiscourse in one particular field, in this case Biblical scholarship. I use the word 'metadiscourse' to denote the way the authors concerned discuss and reflect on their practice, ranging from their statements and claims about the purpose and relevance of their work to concrete instructions as to how the work is to be carried out. For my investigation of humanist metadiscourse on Biblical scholarship, I take the work of Lorenzo Valla (1407–1457) as a starting-point. Written in the middle of the fifteenth century, Valla's *Annotationes* to the New Testament were discovered and published by Erasmus half a century later, and they had an immense impact on Erasmus' own *Novum Instrumentum* (1516).

In the past, Valla's notes have been studied in roughly two ways: as part of the history of Biblical scholarship, and as part of Valla's own intellectual development. Valla's reception in the early sixteenth century was such that his new philological approach to the Bible could be (and often was) studied as part of a progressive line that was seen to culminate in modern Biblical criticism. This was done, for example, by Charles Trinkaus and Jerry Bentley.[1] Looking backwards in time, Cornelia Linde investigated the assump-

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[1] Trinkaus 1970; Bentley 1977; Bentley 1983.

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tions and beliefs underlying the Biblical scholarship of a number of medieval and early Renaissance authors, including Valla.[2] The place of the *Annotationes* in the context of Valla's oeuvre was thoroughly examined by Mario Fois, Giovanni di Napoli, and Salvatore Camporeale.[3]

What all these studies have in common is that they pick and choose from among Valla's notes in order to illustrate a broader development. Christopher Celenza problematized this approach, proposing to study the notes in their own right, reading each comment in the context of the work as a whole. When this is done, the philological nature of the work stands out much more clearly than its occasional theological implications.[4]

Building on these earlier studies, the present paper suggests that Valla's *Annotationes* deserves to be studied in the context of fifteenth-century Roman humanism. Pope Nicholas V (1447–1455) was one of the most prominent patrons of humanism of his time. At his court, numerous commentaries to and translations of Greek works were produced, including the translation of Xenophon's *Cyropedia* by Poggio Bracciolini, translations of Plato and Aristotle by George of Trebizond and Giovanni Tortelli, and Valla's versions of Herodotus and Thucydides.[5] In this environment, several scholars were engaged in Biblical scholarship, and their work was informed by a set of shared principles – a common metadiscourse. These principles were philological in nature, which helps explain why Valla's notes, in sharp contrast to some of his other works, are only occasionally concerned with theological issues. The shared metadiscourse, however, was applied in various ways, and the humanists debated it among themselves. The humanists discussed in this paper did not all reside at the Vatican at the same time, and they held very different positions there. Although it is likely that there were connections between their works, these are often difficult to prove. Yet they were all part of the same intellectual context.

In what follows, Valla's work on the Bible and its underlying principles will be introduced first, as well as the attack on him by Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459). Next, Valla's view on Biblical scholarship will be compared with some of the arguments forwarded in the debate between Cardinal Bes-

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[2] Linde 2012.

[3] Fois 1969; di Napoli 1971; Camporeale 1972. Some of Camporeale's work on Valla was recently published in English translation (Camporeale 2014).

[4] Celenza 1994. In an article on Valla's theology, John Monfasani remarks that, theologically speaking, the notes are 'weak soup.' Monfasani based his discussion on other works (see footnote 25 below).

[5] Valla's translation of Thucydides is discussed by Marianne Pade elsewhere in this volume.

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sarion (1403–1472) and George of Trebizond (c. 1395–c. 1472). Finally, Valla's case will be compared to that of Giannozzo Manetti (1396–1459).

Valla's Collatio or Annotationes

Valla worked on his notes to the New Testament during the 1440s and 1450s, both in Naples and Rome.[6] In 1446 he lost his working copy, and after his move to Rome in 1447 he started all over again. Because of his doubtful reputation with regard to religious matters, it had been impossible for him to acquire a position at the Vatican under Eugenius IV. But Nicholas V, the humanist Pope, was more open-minded and more sensitive to Valla's obvious talents. Valla would eventually rise to become papal secretary in 1455.

Once at the Vatican, he showed his work on the New Testament to close friends, intending to dedicate it to Nicholas V. He wrote a preface addressed to the Pope, but the work was not published in his lifetime.[7] Valla's notes are known today mostly through Erasmus' edition of them, which appeared in 1505. This text, which is commonly referred to as the *Annotationes*, after Erasmus' title for the work, is based on the later redaction written in Rome.[8] An earlier version, closer to the Neapolitan redaction that Valla lost, was discovered several decades ago in a Parisian manuscript. This redaction was published by Alessandro Perosa in 1970, and is now known as the *Collatio*.[9] The *Collatio* and the *Annotationes* partly overlap, and I distinguish between the two only when necessary.

The purpose of Valla's work on the New Testament was to correct the Vulgate, the Latin translation commonly used in his time, which was ascribed to Jerome.[10] Valla was familiar with Jerome's writings and he highly admired the Church Father.[11] And yet, by criticizing the Vulgate, he challenged Jerome's authority. Valla's excuse was that the Vulgate in the fif-

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[6] For the development and sources of Valla's work, see e.g. Bentley 1983, 34–36.

[7] This text exists in two versions; the second dates from 1449. They were published for the first time by Alfonso De Petris together with his edition of the *Collatio* (Valla 1970), and more recently by Christopher Celenza, with facing English translation (Celenza 2012).

[8] The full title of Valla's notes in Erasmus' edition is *Laurentii Vallensis viri tam graecae quam latinae linguae peritissimi in Latinam Noui testamenti interpretationem ex collatione Graecorum exemplarium Adnotationes apprime vtiles*. The work was published in Valla 1962, vol. 1, 801–895. This is a reprint of the 1540 *Opera omnia* edition.

[9] Valla 1970.

[10] The name 'Vulgate' was not yet in use in the fifteenth century, but I use it here for convenience's sake.

[11] Valla annotated a copy of Jerome's correspondence. Interestingly, there seems to be no connection between these marginal notes and Valla's *Annotationes* to the New Testament (Manfredi 1992).

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teenth century was not identical with the translation Jerome had written: not only had the text become corrupted over time, but Jerome may not have been the author of the Vulgate in the first place.[12] Paradoxically, Valla legitimized his revision project by identifying with Jerome and by borrowing his argumentation. Just as Jerome had corrected the existing Latin translations in his time, Valla corrected the errors in the Vulgate.[13]

Valla's reflections on the practice of Biblical scholarship concern mainly two points. Firstly, he requires fidelity to the Greek.[14] Where the Latin and the Greek differ, the Greek must be in the right. This is why Valla follows the Greek variant readings in his manuscripts and aims at consistent translation of Greek terms. He was convinced that a good Latin version of the Scriptures was required as a basis for sound theology, and argued that exegesis should be based not on the Latin, but on the source text.[15] As a consequence, Valla felt free to criticize authorities such as Augustine and Thomas Aquinas for not knowing Greek. For example, at John 18:28, part of the Latin manuscript tradition reads *ad Caipham* (to Caiaphas) instead of *a Caipha* (from Caiaphas), which corresponds to the Greek. In the context of the passage, the former reading is problematic, and Augustine tried to account for it by giving a convoluted interpretation of the verse. Valla criticized Augustine for this:

> Hoc in loco incassum laborat Augustinus eruere sententiam contra Evangelii ueritatem; quem non consuluisse graecum fontem, multo magis mirum quam in superioribus fuit, cum praesertim permulti codices latini reperiantur uenerandae uetustatis in quibus legitur 'a Caipha.' (Valla, *Annotationes* at John 18:28)

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[12] E.g. in the *Annotationes* at Luke 16:2 and 1 Corinthians 2:9. For the Renaissance debate on Jerome's authorship of the Vulgate, see Rice 1985, 173–199.

[13] Valla makes this point most explicitly in his preface to the *Annotationes* (Celenza 2012).

[14] Valla's interest in the Greek text of the Bible was not shared by the Italian humanists in general, as appears from contemporary manuscript collections: copies of the Greek New Testament are scarce, new and better manuscripts were not an object for humanists hunting for 'new' classical texts, and the Bible is typically catalogued after Greek classics and Patristics (Manfredi 2005).

[15] For Valla's textual criticism and comments on translation and exegesis, see Bentley 1983, 36–66. Valla comments on inconsistency in the Vulgate in many places throughout the *Annotationes*, e.g. at Mark 14:72 and John 9:31. The most famous example of a misinterpretation based on an inaccurate translation is the notion of cooperative grace, which Valla dismisses because it was based on a misinterpretation of 1 Corinthians 15:10 (Trinkaus 1970, vol. 2, 575). Monfasani qualifies the theological significance of Valla's note, though (Monfasani 2008, 23, n. 53).

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> Here Augustine struggled in vain to produce a meaning contrary to the truth of the Gospel. It is strange that he did not consult the Greek source here, even more than in the above, especially because there are numerous Latin manuscripts available, of a respectable age, which read *a Caipha*.

Valla also comments on Thomas Aquinas's lack of Greek skills in the *Annotationes* at 1 Corinthians 9:13. There, he reports a story in which the Apostle Paul appears to Thomas, praising him for understanding his epistles better than anyone else. Valla sarcastically remarks that he does not believe this to be a true story – it would have been much more convincing if Paul had pointed out some of Thomas's erroneous interpretations resulting from his lack of Greek.[16]

Valla's criticism of authoritative authors was one of the main reasons why his contemporaries objected to his work on the Bible. Poggio Bracciolini wrote a series of invectives (*Orationes* or *Invectivae*) against Valla in which, among other things, he addresses Valla's Biblical scholarship.[17] His main objection to Valla's earlier work – especially the *Elegantiae* – was that Valla did not respect the ancient authorities. Although Poggio had not seen Valla's work on the New Testament when he wrote the first *Invectiva* in 1451, he expected Valla to be disrespectful towards Jerome and others in the *Annotationes*, and in any case he objected to any attempt to replace the Vulgate translation. Valla replied in his first *Antidotum* (1452) that he had not changed sacred Scripture – nor Jerome's translation, for that matter. Jerome had only corrected an existing translation, not provided a new one; the Latin translation revised by Valla was no longer identical with Jerome's text, and no translation could be as authoritative as the original anyway.[18] In the *Antidotum*, Valla expressed the same philological principles as in the *Annotationes*: only the Greek text is authoritative, not the Latin translation, even if it is sanctified by tradition.[19]

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[16] For Valla and Thomas Aquinas, see Camporeale 2014, 145–202.

[17] On the long-standing conflict between Poggio and Valla, see Valla 1978, 25–37. The Latin text of Poggio's *Invectivae* was published by Fubini – this is a reprint of the 1538 Basel edition (Bracciolini 1964, vol. 1, 188–251). The passage about Valla's work on the New Testament is on pp. 199–200.

[18] Valla, *Antidotum Primum* I, 135–153 (Valla 1978). Lack of respect for authorities is a general concern in Poggio's writings against Valla, also regarding other authors in addition to Jerome. Poggio's disapproval, then, does not primarily concern Biblical scholarship. Monfasani qualified the importance of Valla's *Collatio* in the controversy with Poggio (Monfasani 2008, 28).

[19] Camporeale points out that Valla's criticism at the expense of the authorities is absent from the earlier *Collatio*, and from earlier redactions of the *Disputationes dialecticae*: it postdates the controversy with Poggio (Camporeale 1972, 308).

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Secondly, while rendering the Greek faithfully is paramount, Valla also objected to the bad Latin that comes with an overly literal translation method. The rules of Latin elegance apply to sacred and secular texts alike. In the *Annotationes*, Valla often mentions issues of grammar and idiom that he had already discussed in his *Elegantiae*, his main work on correct Latin usage. He believes that theology is subservient to the rules of grammar, like any other discipline:

> [...] quanquam sint qui negent theologiam inseruire praeceptis artis grammaticae. At ego dico, illam debere seruire [*sic*; = seruare] etiam cuiuslibet linguae usum, qua loquitur, nedum literatae. Nam quid stultius, quam linguam, qua uteris, uelle corrumpere, et committere ne ab iis, apud quos loqueris, intelligaris? Nemo enim intelligat eum, qui proprietatem linguae non seruat, quam nemo unquam fuit qui non seruaret uolens et prudens, sed per imprudentiam labens. (Valla, *Annotationes* at Matthew 4:10)

> [...] although there are those who deny that theology must obey the rules of grammar. But I say that theology must observe the usage of whatever language it speaks, and not least if it is a cultured language. For what is more foolish than to corrupt the language you use, to the effect that you are not understood by those to whom you speak? Nobody would understand someone who does not observe the special characteristics of the language. And nobody in their right mind ever neglected that on purpose; if they slipped up it was inadvertently.

The rules of grammar to which Valla refers are derived from classical examples, and pagan authors are quoted alongside Christian ones. Valla comments on linguistic purity in various ways. He repeatedly expresses his disapproval of the use of Graecisms and of literal translations in the Vulgate.[20] In his preface to the *Annotationes*, he writes that the Vulgate is often confusing and unclear, "[...] non interpretis vitio, sed interpretationis lege atque necessitate, utique illius que non ad sensum sit sed ad verbum [...]" (not through the translator's fault, but rather because of the rules and demands of translation, at least of that kind of translation that is not sense for sense but word for word [...]).[21]

Valla's emphasis on the use of correct and elegant Latin in the *Annotationes* is in line with some of his comments on the relation between eloquence and theology in his other writings. For example, in the preface to Book III of the *Elegantiae*, he refers to the Latin language "[...] sine qua

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[20] Valla commented on the use of Graecisms e.g. in the *Annotationes* at Matthew 6:2.
[21] Valla 1970, 9.

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caeca omnis doctrina est, et illiberalis" (without which all doctrine is blind and ignoble).[22] In the preface to Book IV, he argues that rhetoric is not only harmless, but even essential to theology: "At qui ignarus eloquentiae est, hunc indignum prorsus qui de theologia loquatur, existimo" (And someone who is ignorant of eloquence is altogether unworthy of discussing theology, in my view).[23] Because of his belief in the importance of rhetoric for all disciplines, Valla was critical of scholastic theology: his main objection to the practice of the scholastic theologians was that they had invented a new technical jargon that was alien to the classical sources and that obscured the pure and natural thinking of the ancients and the early Church.[24]

However, Valla's objections to scholasticism do not inform his *Annotationes* as much as one would expect. Although scholars have looked for exegetical innovations or rejections of scholastic doctrine in the notes, these appear in only a handful of cases. For the most part, the notes are concerned with purely grammatical and philological issues. The theological significance of Valla's *Annotationes* has been debated over the years, but it is questionable: generally speaking, Valla was concerned with grammar, not exegesis.[25]

Bessarion and Trebizond

Around the same time when Valla was working on his *Annotationes*, other humanists connected to the Vatican court were discussing matters of Biblical criticism as well. Cardinal Bessarion was one of the main promotors of humanism in the Curia until he was sent as a legate to Bologna in early 1450. From there, he remained involved with the intellectual life at the Vatican. He recommended certain humanists to Nicholas's favour – Theodore Gaza and Lorenzo Valla himself – and he assisted Nicholas with collecting books for the Vatican library.[26]

George of Trebizond had come to Rome under Eugenius IV, and would remain connected to the Vatican throughout his later years, even after he left it in 1452. He was apostolic secretary and lecturer at the Studio Romano,

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[22] Valla 1962, vol. 1, 80.

[23] Valla 1962, vol. 1, 120.

[24] See e.g. Nauta 2009. For Valla's *theologia rhetorica*, see e.g. (Camporeale 2014, 254–96; Trinkaus 1970, vol. 2, pp. 683–721).

[25] Monfasani summarizes this discussion, arguing that Valla was more concerned with grammar than theology in his notes and that the few exceptions to this are not very significant (Monfasani 2008, 23–26). See also Monfasani's discussion of Valla's position on some theological problems, with multiple references to earlier literature on Valla's theology (Monfasani 2000). This study is based not on the *Annotationes*, but on Valla's *Disputationes dialecticae*, *De libero arbitrio*, *De vero bono* and *De professione religiosorum*.

[26] On this episode in Bessarion's life, see Mohler 1967, vol. 1, pp. 258–269.

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and was very productive as a translator of Greek classics for Nicholas V. But he did not mix very well with the other humanists at the papal court. He did not belong to Bessarion's inner circle, and he lived in constant conflict with Valla, Theodore Gaza, and Poggio. A fight with the latter in May 1452 led to his departure from the Vatican.[27]

We know that discussions on Biblical criticism must have taken place in the early 1450s, because both George of Trebizond and Cardinal Bessarion wrote about a particular textual problem, defending opposing positions. The problem concerned a variant reading at John 21:22: "sic/si illum volo manere" (thus/if I want him to stay). Bessarion believed that the Vulgate reading *sic* (thus) was an error, and that it should be corrected into *si* (if). Apparently, Bessarion suggested that Valla comment on this reading in the *Annotationes*, as Valla himself informs us:

> Nam Cardinalis Nicenus, uir de me optime meritus, et qui, ut Romam uenirem, mihi autor extitit, habet in opere meo partem: quippe qui illud, cuius supra feci mentionem: *Sic eum uolo manere, quid ad te?* quod ego non animaduerterem, ut adderem, admonuit. (Valla, *Secundum antidotum*)[28]

> For Cardinalis Nicenus [i.e. Bessarion], a man who has treated me very well, and on whose advice I came to Rome, has a part in my work, for it was he who suggested that I would add what I referred to above, *Sic eum uolo manere*, *quid ad te*?, which I did not observe.

As Valla writes here, he had initially overlooked the reading – he makes no mention of it in the *Collatio*, the earlier redaction of his notes – but he followed Bessarion in the *Annotationes*.[29]

Valla does not write anything else about the debate on John 21:22. What we know about it derives mainly from other texts. In 1451, George of Trebizond wrote a treatise about John 21:22, addressed to Pietro da Monte, in which he gave his reasons for believing that *sic*, the traditional reading, was correct. Most of this treatise was repeated several years later in George's attack on Theodore Gaza's translations of Aristotle, which is the text I refer to here.[30] Bessarion wrote a treatise in reaction to George's, the dating of

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[27] For George's time at the court of Nicholas V, see Monfasani 1976, 69–113.

[28] The *Secundum antidotum* is printed as *Antidotum iiii* in the *Opera omnia* edition of Valla's works: Valla 1962, vol. 1, 325–366, there 340.

[29] A reference in the *Annotationes* (at Acts 17:22–34) to a circle of learned Greeks at the Vatican probably also refers to Bessarion. The comment concerns the authorship of the Pseudo-Dionysian corpus (Bentley 1983, 65–66).

[30] *Adversus Theodorum Gazam in perversionem problematum Aristotelis* (1453–1454). This work was published in Mohler 1967, vol. 3, 274–342. The discussion on John 21:22 is

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which is uncertain.[31] Unlike Valla, George did not belong to Bessarion's inner circle.[32] The treatises written by George and Bessarion mostly concern philological arguments for one reading or the other, but they occasionally touch upon underlying assumptions and convictions with regard to the correct way to practice Biblical criticism.

The most important issue at hand is the authority of the Vulgate. Bessarion believed that it was possible to improve on existing translations of the Bible and that they should not be considered as final and infallible. Textual variety had existed from the beginning. Referring to Augustine, Bessarion describes how multiple translations of the Bible were made over time, first from the Hebrew into the Greek, then from the Greek into Latin. When Jerome produced his new Latin translation, he created something new out of what was already there, and corrected the mistakes of his predecessors, as he openly professed himself. This means that correcting existing translations is perfectly legitimate:

> E quibus omnibus luce clarius apparet, liceatne, et pium an nefas sit sacram Scripturam ex alia translatam lingua ad originalis linguae, unde traducta est, veritatem reducere (Bessarion, *In illud: sic eum volo manere*).[33]

> From all this it is perfectly clear whether it is allowed, and whether it is duty or a crime to restore sacred Scripture, which is translated from another language, to the truth of the original language from which it was translated.

Bessarion does not question the inspiration of the Evangelists and Apostles, but he believes that translations based on their text can be erroneous, and that if they are, they ought to be corrected – statements to this effect are found in the works of Jerome and Augustine.[34]

Bessarion elaborates on this point further on in the text: the Greek Fathers are not less saintly or knowledgeable than the Latin ones, and the Greek original is more authoritative than the Latin translation. That some

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on pp. 330–337. The text addressed to Pietro da Monte was discovered by Kristeller in a Parma manuscript (Monfasani 1976, 92, n. 102).

[31] The title of this work is *In illud*: *sic eum volo manere*. The Greek version of Bessarion's treatise was published in Mohler 1967, vol. 3, 70–87. The Latin version, to which I refer here, is in the *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 161, 623–640. Mohler dated this treatise to 1456, but Monfasani believes that it was written much later (Monfasani 1976, 94, n. 112). George addressed a treatise on the same subject to Sixtus IV (PG 161, 868–882).

[32] Monfasani 1976, 81.

[33] PG 161, 628A.

[34] PG 161, 629D–630D.

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Latin Fathers (including Augustine) read *sic* here does not signify much, since the textual variety in the New Testament in general is considerable.[35] Some interpretations forwarded by the Doctors of the Church are simply wrong because they are based on faulty translations, and the multiple layers of meaning in Scripture complicate matters even further.[36] Again, Bessarion believes that it is perfectly legitimate to correct a faulty text, as Jerome did.[37]

These philological considerations correspond roughly to Valla's view on Biblical scholarship. However, other opinions for which Valla is famous – his rejection of scholastic terminology and his praise of rhetoric – are absent from Bessarion's treatise.[38]

Whereas Bessarion and Valla agree that the Latin translation may be corrected, George of Trebizond differs from both on this point. George did not have a problem with purging the text from corruptions, but he objected to tampering with the translation:[39]

> [N]on sunt labefactanda fundamenta, non removendi fines, non quassandi termini, qui a patribuss nostris iacti, constituti firmatique sunt. Unus apex aut unus iota si remotum ex evangelio fuerit, facile data licentia cetera diripientur. [...] Minimum aliquid ex evangelio remotum parva primum, deinde paulatim serpens maxima secum trahet. [...] Quas ob res nihil, o patres, removendum, nihil addendum, nihil mutandum in evangelio Christi catholicis est. (George of Trebizond, *Adversus Theodorum Gazam*, 35, 2)[40]

> We must not weaken the foundations, remove the boundaries, or tamper with the limits that were laid down, established and fixed by our Fathers. If one apex or one iota were to be removed from the Gospel, everything else will be torn to pieces once this licence is granted. Once the smallest element is removed from the Gospel, it first drags along smaller matters, and eventually the most important ones. Which is why, O Fathers, nothing ought to be removed, nothing added, nothing changed in the Gospel of Christ by orthodox Christians.

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[35] PG 161, 634A–B.

[36] PG 161, 635D–636A.

[37] PG 161, 636B–C. For a more in-depth discussion of Bessarion's position, see Linde 2012, 212–213.

[38] Bessarion was not at all averse to scholastic learning: see e.g. Monfasani 2011.

[39] Monfasani takes George's warnings against tampering with the Greek text as a sign of his disapproval of Valla's project (Monfasani 1976, 93–94).

[40] References are to numbers in Mohler's edition (see above, footnote 30).

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George explains that the Latin translation deviates from the literal meaning of the Greek here only to make explicit what was implicit in the original. For him, the authority of the Church Fathers carries considerable weight: Augustine quoted the passage with *sic*, and Jerome, when producing the Vulgate translation, did not correct it. This is significant, because Jerome was not only knowledgeable (*doctissimus*), but also guided by the Holy Spirit ("gratia spiritus sancti plenus," 35, 3). The authority of tradition, George writes, is much more important in matters of Scripture than in other fields such as grammar or mathematics (35,5). In this respect, George's view on Biblical criticism differs fundamentally from Valla's and Bessarion's.

It should be noted, however, that George essentially subscribes to the same philological principles as Valla and Bessarion.[41] His respect for the authority of the Fathers is partly based on their linguistic skills (35, 3–4). George uses grammatical arguments and examples from ancient literature to make a case for the traditional reading, with numerous references to Cicero and Virgil (35, 6–7). He adds arguments based on the internal logic of the passage (35, 8–9) and on the nature of the Greek language (35, 10). All this is meant to prove that the Latin reading is accurate, and that the Fathers, interpreting the Greek correctly, rendered it in such a way that it would be unambiguous to future, more ignorant, generations (35, 11). In other words, George does not simply adopt the Latin reading because he takes the authority of Augustine and Jerome for granted. He believes they are right because the reading is supported by philological arguments.

Manetti

The fourth humanist who engaged in Biblical scholarship at Nicholas's court was Giannozzo Manetti. Manetti had made a career in the *studia humanitatis* in Florence, where he had been part of a circle of prominent humanists, including Leonardo Bruni, Poggio Bracciolini, and Tommaso Parentucelli – the future Nicholas V – himself. In the early 1450s Manetti's position in Florence became very uncomfortable because of his political enemies, and he moved to the papal court in 1452 or early 1453.[42]

Manetti produced a new translation of the Psalter as well as the New Testament in the 1450s.[43] Both appear to be first instalments of a more ambi-

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[41] Bessarion and Trebizond also disagreed because they came to different conclusions on exegetical grounds (Monfasani 1976, 97–99).

[42] On the circumstances of Manetti's move to Rome, see Botley 2004. For Manetti's biography of Nicholas V and his works on architecture, see Smith and O'Connor 2006.

[43] There are no studies on Manetti's Psalter, and it has not yet appeared in print. For Manetti's New Testament, see den Haan 2016; den Haan 2014.

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tious project: a new Latin translation of the entire Bible. We can gather from Manetti's biography of Pope Nicholas V that he embarked on this project after coming to the Vatican in 1453, and he presents his new translation as part of Nicholas's cultural and literary programme.[44] It is uncertain if Manetti considered his New Testament translation as a finished work. He never wrote a preface to it, although he clearly intended to do so.[45] But he did author a preface to his new translation of the Psalter, and an additional text in defence of this translation, *Apologeticus*, which was written about a year after the Psalter was published.[46]

It seems likely that Manetti knew of the discussions on Biblical criticism that took place in Bessarion's circle, but there is no proof that he participated in them. We know that he admired Bessarion's translation of Aristotle's *Metaphysica*, which he mentions as a positive example in *Apologeticus*.[47] But he does not refer to Bessarion's Biblical criticism, and it is unclear if he was influenced by it.[48]

The connection between Manetti and Valla, however, is quite another matter. Manetti never mentions Valla in connection with his own translation project, but his translation is clearly influenced by Valla. Some of his changes to the Vulgate result from following grammatical or stylistic rules set down by Valla in the *Elegantiae*.[49] More importantly, numerous translation decisions in Manetti's text are based directly on Valla's notes, especially in the Gospels. Manetti must have had access to an intermediate version of Valla's work, somewhere in between the *Collatio* and the *Annotationes*.[50] This is the only case in which, as far as we know, Valla's work on the New Testament influenced another Biblical scholar before the sixteenth century.

Manetti never presented the principles that informed his Biblical scholarship as clearly as the humanists discussed above, but he touched upon some relevant issues in his preface to the Psalter translation and in *Apologeticus*. His *modus operandi* can to some extent be reconstructed from the working

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[44] Manetti, *De vita ac gestis Nicolai Quinti* II, 25 (Manetti 2005).

[45] As he announced in his biography of Nicholas (II, 25).

[46] The preface to the Psalter was published in Botley 2004, 178–181. The *Apologeticus* was published in critical edition by Alfonso De Petris (Manetti 1981) and discussed by Trinkaus (Trinkaus 1970, vol. 2, 583–601) and Botley (Botley 2004, 105–113). A new edition with facing English translation appeared recently (Manetti 2016).

[47] Manetti, *Apologeticus* V, 42.

[48] See den Haan 2016, 74–78.

[49] E.g. his use of *an* and *aut* (den Haan 2016, 48).

[50] Den Haan 2016, 48–57, 72–83.

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copy of his translation, and from the sources he used for it, which were pre-served among the manuscripts of his library.[51]

In his preface to the Psalter, Manetti briefly touches upon his reasons for making a new translation in addition to the existing versions. In this text, he gives an interesting reason for translating the Bible anew: that the common Latin translation lacked credibility among the enemies of the Faith.

> Cum enim uere ac solide utriusque et prisce et moderne (ut ita dixerim) theologie fundamenta in cunctis ueteris ac noui testamenti codicibus tantum modo omnium doctorum hominum consensu iaciantur, atque ambo illa a ueris hebreorum ac grecorum fontibus in latinam linguam traducta ab ipsis a quibus ea suscepimus quotidie carpi lacerarique acciperem, pro uirili mea ulterius equo animo ferre ac tolerare non potui. Quocirca, hac precipua causa adductus, laborem noue amborum testamentorum traductionis non iniuria nuper assumpsi. (Manetti, Preface to his translation of the Psalter)[52]

> For because the foundations of the true and sound theology, both ancient and modern, so to speak, are exclusively laid in all the books of the Old and New Testament, as all learned men agree, and because I heard them both, in their Latin translations from the Hebrew and Greek sources, criticized and lashed daily by the people we received them from [i.e. the Jews and the Greeks], I for my part could no longer bear and tolerate it with composure. And therefore, driven by this particular reason, I recently took up the task of translating both testaments anew, and rightly so.

Manetti does not explain why his own new version would satisfy the critics of the Vulgate, but he evidently believes that replacing it is justified.

The other source for Manetti's view on Biblical scholarship is *Apologeticus*, the treatise he wrote in defence of his new Psalter translation. The first four books of the work are dedicated to various problems concerning the existing Latin versions of the Psalter. In the fifth book, Manetti discusses correct translation in particular.

Like Valla, Manetti bases his view of Biblical scholarship on philological principles. Although he does not write about the importance of the Greek

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[51] The text of the translation, with corrections in Manetti's handwriting, is in Pal.lat.45. The sources he used were Pal.lat.18, a copy of the Vulgate annotated by Manetti, and Pal.gr.171, Pal.gr.189 and Pal.gr.229 (den Haan 2016, 30–37). Manetti's library was sold to the German book-collector Ulrich Fugger in the early sixteenth century, and ended up among the Palatini in the Vatican a century later (Lehmann 1960; Cagni 1960).

[52] Botley 2004, 179.

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tradition, or about his own textually critical considerations, he clearly believed that the source text is always more authoritative than any translation – including the Vulgate. He discusses the textual tradition of the Old Testament in great detail in *Apologeticus* I–II. In *Apologeticus* III–IV, he gives a long list of differences between the two existing Latin translations. One of these was based on the Hebrew text of the Psalter, the other on the Greek Septuagint.[53] The purpose of this comparison was to account for the differences between the existing Latin versions and additionally to justify Manetti's own new version, which is based on the Hebrew text. Although Manetti does not openly disqualify the Septuagint translation, he questions its authority indirectly by reporting the debate on its inspiration between Augustine and Jerome, and by choosing the Hebrew text as a basis for his own version. It is clear, therefore, that Manetti valued the source text more than the translation, regardless of the status of the translator.[54]

Secondly, Manetti believed that the Bible should be read in good classical Latin. In *Apologeticus* V, he expounds his own theory of correct translation, which draws on patristic and humanist models: Jerome's letter 57 to Pammachius (also known as *De optimo genere interpretandi*) – traditionally referred to by Bible translators – and Bruni's treatise on correct translation, *De interpretatione recta*.[55] Like Bruni, Manetti rejected word-for-word translation, and he recommended a good linguistic training in both the source and the target language. The translator should be well versed in classical authors, and if he translates the Bible, he should be familiar with the writings of the Doctors of the Church.[56]

Manetti does not, however, touch upon some of the trickier aspects of Bible translating. Bruni, his model, had objected strongly to overly literal translation and to the use of Graecisms.[57] As we have seen above, similar points had been raised by Valla, who had criticized the use of Graecisms in the Vulgate and pointed out the consequences of literal translation choices and of translating Greek words inconsistently.[58] Manetti never mentions these issues in *Apologeticus*, and in his preface to the Psalter he simply

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[53] The Roman and Gallican Psalter, both ascribed to Jerome, were based on the Greek Septuagint text of the Psalms. Jerome's translation from the Hebrew was known as the *Hebraica veritas* (Hebrew truth).

[54] As for Manetti's translation practice, a comparison of his translation with the Greek sources in his library shows that he followed the Greek carefully (den Haan 2016, 64–84; 153–190).

[55] Edited by Paolo Viti (Bruni 2004). For Bruni's translation theory, see Marianne Pade's paper in this volume.

[56] Manetti, *Apologeticus* V, 23.

[57] Bruni, *De interpretatione recta* 43–44 (Bruni 2004).

[58] See footnotes 15 and 20 above.

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blames all misinterpretation on the enemies of the Faith. Furthermore, Manetti did not share Valla's ideas on the importance of rhetoric for philosophy and theology, or his criticism of the artificial language of the scholastics.[59]

Conclusions

When Valla's Biblical scholarship is compared with that of other humanists working in the same environment, it turns out that there are considerable similarities between the principles informing their work. All the humanists discussed here – Valla, Bessarion, Trebizond and Manetti – agree that Biblical criticism is a philological matter. They are all convinced that the language of the Latin Bible ought to agree with classical usage; problematic readings are compared to the Greek text. In the metadiscourse regarding Biblical textual scholarship, these common principles are sometimes expressed explicitly, in other cases they are followed implicitly.

Within the common humanist framework, however, there is room for the author's own preferences and personality. The metadiscourse is flexible: each humanist applies it in his own way. Manetti is the least polemical of the four, subscribing to the same philological principles as the others, but without problematizing deviations from the standard. Paradoxically, he is also the most radical: he actually produced a new translation of the New Testament. The other humanists negotiated and debated the metadiscourse more explicitly among themselves. George of Trebizond (and Poggio Bracciolini) objected to changing the Vulgate translation. Valla is exceptional in his explicit rejection of authorities that do not meet his standards of linguistic competence.

In the early sixteenth century, it was Valla's rejection of scholastic theology, together with his belief that the grammarian was authorized to engage in Biblical criticism, that made him popular among Northern humanists and reformers, especially by way of his reception by Erasmus. But these features of Valla's Biblical scholarship were not universally shared in the fifteenth century. Ironically, those aspects of his thinking for which he would eventually become most famous are the least representative of his own work on the Bible, and of Biblical scholarship in the 1450s in general.

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[59] On Manetti's conception of humanism as learning in general, including scholasticism, see Baker 2015, 90–132.

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Forms and effects of the humanists' grammatical metadiscourse:

Valla's *Elegantiae* and the development of humanist Latin*

By Camilla Plesner Horster

Taking clauses with quia *as an example, this article addresses the relationship between grammatical metadiscourse on how one should compose in Latin and actual practice among humanist writers in order to shed light on the workings of grammatical metadiscourse. The investigation compares quantitative data on the distribution of clauses with* quia *to Lorenzo Valla's warnings in his* Elegantiae *against the complement use of* quia. *It is shown how value-laden and multi-faceted this particular grammatical question is in the humanists' treatment, and how grammatical discussions interact with linguistic practice as well as with other topics in humanist metadiscourse.*

Introduction

Lorenzo Valla's *De elegantiis latinae linguae* is considered one of the most influential works on the Latin language from the fifteenth century. But Valla (1407–1457) does not describe a language system as a linguist would today. He supplies his reader with innumerable observations on classical Latin usage intended to help the experienced writer of Latin to refine his skills and write a more nuanced, varied, and stylistically appropriate Latin. He not only gives rules for correct usage, but draws attention to the different practices – the *usus* – in the different genres and periods of the Latin language.[1]

Valla's *Elegantiae* reflects the general nature and the position of humanist Latin. That which distinguishes humanist Latin from other Latin variants of the fifteenth century is less a matter of grammar than of stylistics,

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[1] For a recent description of the structure and the arguments in the *Elegantiae*, see the introduction in Marsico 2013.

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eloquence, and imitation.[2] Humanist Latin was, to a certain degree, a re-action against a too-strict focus on grammatical rules and theoretical discussions, and a movement back towards the classical texts themselves. Humanists would learn to integrate the language of the classical Latin authors into their own language by reading, observing, and practising literary language, rather than by speculating about grammatical rules. While they did not underestimate correctness, the development of humanist Latin would go beyond correctness, aiming at elegant, eloquent Latin.[3]

This article investigates a specific grammatical question, namely clauses with *quia*, in Valla's metadisciplinary writings as well as in his linguistic practice. Valla's practice is compared to that of other Italian neo-Latin writers, both earlier and later in the fifteenth century. By focusing on theory and practice regarding this particular syntactic phenomenon, we shall see, on a micro scale, how even grammar reflects key elements of the humanist cultural programme: how grammar interacts with stylistics, tradition, trends, and literary genres. We shall see how observations regarding the word *quia* assist humanists in reinforcing antiquity as the gold standard. We shall also see how the humanists' awareness of a particularity supports their increased familiarity with the ancient practice and makes possible the continuing refinement of their writing skills.

Valla's favourite topics were often concerned with the lexicon, with describing the small nuances between near-synonyms – differences in meaning as well as how they are to be constructed correctly. However, some syntactic constructions seem to concern him as well, and cause him to return to them. One such is the question whether one should use the conjunctions *quod*, *quia* and *quoniam* (all meaning "because"/"that") after *verba dicendi* and *sentiendi* (verbs of saying and sensing). Curiously, Valla's literary writings show a certain interest in *quia* also in practice, and his use of the conjunction may have had a certain influence on its popularity. For this reason, we shall compare Valla's grammatical observations on *quia* to the popularity of *quia* in fifteenth-century Italian neo-Latin.

But the ambition behind Valla's writings on the Latin language is not to give a systematic account of grammar, and his comments on *quia* are scattered among a plurality of linguistic and stylistic observations. In order

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[2] On the similarities between teaching methods used in the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance, and on the changes in the texts studied at the advanced levels, see Black 2001. For a recent study showing the central place of eloquence in the humanists' self-representation, see Baker 2015. See also the article by den Haan in this volume for the dependency between Biblical studies, language and style. Grafton & Jardine 1986 also notice the occupation with discussing literary expressions in the humanist classroom.

[3] On imitation, see McLaughlin 1995, on the distinction between *grammatice* and *Latine*, esp. 145.

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to fill some of the gaps in our understanding of the grammatical discussions of *quia* in Valla's time, we shall also draw upon his successor Niccolò Perotti (1430–1480). Besides his immense *Cornu copiae* – formally a commentary on Martial, but in practice an abundance of observations on the Latin language[4] – Perotti also wrote a beginner's grammar, the *Rudimenta grammatices*. This was the first Renaissance grammar to comprise both morphology and some aspects of Latin syntax, concluding with a manual on the stylistics of letter writing. With a different purpose and a different audience, this school book supplements the insights on *quia* that we find in Valla's learned discussions with his peers.

The linguistic results presented in this article are based on a text corpus of thirteen humanist writers of neo-Latin from fifteenth-century Italy.[5] The corpus contains a total of 302,045 words of Latin literary prose, from five different genres: history, speeches, letters, treatises, and dialogues. The linguistic study is based primarily on 361 clauses with *quia*, and on information on the contexts in which they appear. This data gives a detailed overview of the frequency of *quia* and shows whether it is associated with the language of individual authors, with specific genres, or with either the early or the late fifteenth century. Further discussions of the data, the corpus, and the test statistics are presented in the appendix.

The starting point of this investigation is Valla's discussion of the complement use of *quia* (as opposed to *quod*), compared with his own and Perotti's discussions of *quia* and *quod* as causal conjunctions. There then follows an investigation of the frequency of *quia in* fifteenth-century Latin.

The essential difference between *quia* and *quod*

The conjunction *quia* is best known in the grammatical debates of the fifteenth century for its role in the discussion of the use of noun clauses with *quod*, *quia* or *quoniam* rather than the *Accusativus cum Infinitivo* (AcI, accusative with infinitive). While in classical Latin the main clause of the reported speech is most often transferred into the AcI,[6] in neo-Latin both the AcI and the complement clause with *quod* are accepted. That *quod* is

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[4] On the *Cornu copiae* in the grammatical tradition, see Percival 1981; on the method and the form of the *Cornu copiae*, see e.g. Furno 1995 and Pade 2005.

[5] Leonardo Bruni (1370–1444), Guarino Guarini, of Verona (1374–1460), Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459), Gianozzo Manetti (1396–1459), Francesco Filelfo (1398–1481), Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472), Lorenzo Valla (1407–1457), Giovanni Giovio Pontano (1429–1503), Niccolò Perotti (1430–1480), Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499), Battista Guarino (1434–1503), Ermolao Barbaro (1454–1493), and Angelo Ambrogini, il Poliziano (1454–1494).

[6] On reported speech in classical Latin, e.g. Kühner & Stegmann 1914, vol. II §§ 237–39.

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accepted without reservations in these constructions, while *quia* and *quoniam* are not, is made clear by Valla in his *Elegantiae*. His view on complement *quia* and *quod* turns up within a discussion of Latin translations of Matthew 5,17. In her article in this volume, Annet den Haan addresses Valla's challenge to the authority of the Latin language in the Vulgate and his position that theology must obey the rules of grammar in order to be clear and comprehensible. To substantiate his views, Valla enlarges on the correct use of certain syntactical constructions. After dissuading a certain use of the infinitive inspired by the Greek, he claims:

> Quam enim causam habes, ut alienam linguam secteris, relinquas tuam? Quanquam ne illam quidem sequaris, quum careas articulis quibus Graeci utuntur. Et quod illi habent καθότι, tu malis dicere *Quia*, aut *Quoniam*, quam *Quod*; ut in eodem *putatis quia veni solvere legem*, quum esset dicendum *Quod*. (Valla, *Eleg.*, 1,27).[7]

> There is no reason to follow a foreign language and give up one's own. Although one does not even follow it when one leaves out the articles that the Greeks use. And because they have *kathoti*, one prefers to say *Quia*, or *Quoniam*, rather than *Quod*. As in this example*: you think that I have come to abolish the Law*, when *Quod* should have been used.

As examples of his accusation that the Vulgate translation forsakes its own Latin language, Valla here presents some very specific grammatical obser-vations. Comparing Latin to Greek, he explains this use of *quia* and *quoniam* as influence from the Greek use of καθότι (in what manner), pro-bably referring to the contamination of certain adverbs and conjunctions in Koine, such as the contamination of καθώς (even as) with ὡς (that).[8] Consequently, the complement use of *quia* and *quoniam* becomes one of the symbols of the contamination of Latin by Greek that Valla is fighting against; and avoiding it comes to symbolize a Latin language that respects its own grammar. It is worth noticing that Valla does not here suggest the infinitive construction as an alternative, but rather gives *quod* as the prefer-red conjunction. The differences in the use of *quia* and *quod* are what concerns him here.

But why this distinction between *quia* and *quod*? Valla does not give any classical sources, as is otherwise his custom, to support his acceptance of *quod* in these constructions. Perhaps his acceptance of *quod* in this situation could be connected to his reading of the Latin authors who first used *quod*

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[7] Valla 1999.
[8] Blass & Debrunner 1976, § 453; § 456; Muraoka 1964.

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to express reported speech.[9] Among the first authors who do this are writers who were often read by the humanists and cherished for other qualities than their language. Two such authors were Vitruvius (81 BC-15 AD), the humanists' architectural authority, and Aulus Gellius (c. AD 130-c. 180), whose work *Noctes Atticae* was an inspiration for the characteristic new *miscellanea* (miscellaneous) form of Renaissance commentaries represented by, among others, Perotti's *Cornu copiae*.[10] The use of *quia* in this position is a slightly later innovation, *quoniam* even later. Correspondingly, a recent study by Paolo Greco shows that *quod* is the preferred conjunction for expressing reported speech in some late Latin texts, while *quia* comes to be preferred over *quod* when introducing direct discourse.[11]

Whether this development in the Latin models cherished by the humanists is the direct reason for Valla to accept the use of *quod* as an alternative to the AcI while rejecting *quia* and *quoniam*, we can only speculate. But we shall keep in mind that the humanists' distinction between *quod* and *quia* is in correspondence with a development in ancient Latin, and could simply indicate their familiarity with their ancient models – including those that do not strictly adhere to Cicero's norms.[12]

It also seems decisive that this sharp distinction between *quia* and *quod* is limited to the complement constructions. For when in *Elegantiae* 2,37 Valla returns to the conjunctions in a discussion of *Non quia* and *Non quod* (not because), the two are treated as parallel expressions, with no difference in quality.[13] Here he explores the possible combinations of the two conjunctions with examples mostly taken from Quintilian that endorse this use of *quia*; and here he also discusses the moods that can follow in different positions, as well as other detailed observations that do not differ in expressions with *quia*

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[9] On the spread of *quod*, *quia* and *quoniam* in this function, see Kühner & Stegmann 1914, vol. II § 192,2. e; Stotz 1996–2004, vol. IV, book IX § 103.2. On some differences in use of AcI and *quia/quod* in late Latin, see Herman 1989.

[10] For comparisons of Perotti to Gellius, see Charlet 1997, esp. 96; for Perotti's own comparison of his work to Gellius, see Pade 2012b. Compare also Perotti's descriptions of etymology to Gellius's, cf. e.g. Cavazza 1987.

[11] Greco 2014 is based upon a study of sixth- and seventh-century Gallic hagiography.

[12] Tournoy & Tunberg 1996 argue in favour of a broader delimitation of "Latin" when looking for influence on neo-Latin from earlier Latin variants, for example including late Latin writers. The diversity of the grammatical norms that existed in antiquity is illustrated in various studies in Ferri & Zago 2016. See for instance the comparison of Varro's norm and practice with Cicero's by Chahoud 2016.

[13] This possibly reflects that the causal use of the two conjunctions in classical Latin is quite similar and to be distinguished only by small details, whereas *quoniam* differs more distinctively from *quia* and *quod*. See Fugier 1989 for a comparative study of the three conjunctions in Ciceronian Latin. On the complement use of *quia* as a result of Greek influence, as opposed to *quod*, see Cuzzolin.

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and *quod*.[14] Afterwards, *quia* and *quod* are again treated together as conjunctions expressing the *causa efficiens* (effecting cause), as opposed to the *causa finalis* (cause to what end) expressed with *quo* and *ut* (in order that). The complete interchangeability of *quia* and *quod* in this case becomes apparent when Valla summarizes a rule intended to avoid confusion of *quod* and *quo*: "Ubi est *quod*, illhic posse poni *quia*; et ubi *quo*, illic *ut*, vel duplex vel simplex, iam dictum est." (It has now been stated that where *quod* is, there can *quia* be placed; and where *quo* is, there *ut*, either twice or once. *Eleg.* 2,37). This use of *quia* is the only one described in Perotti's *Cornu copiae*, in which *quia* is mentioned only as a *coniunctio causalis* (causal conjunction, in 3,6 and 3,42), described as meaning the same as *quod*. Perotti's description in 3,42 clearly relies on Valla's; it first treats the difference between on the one hand *quod* and *quia* and on the other *quo* and *ut*, even repeating some of Valla's examples. As a causal conjunction, *quia* therefore seems uncontroversial. These grammatical observations by Valla and Perotti allow writers of humanist Latin to vary their language between causal *quia* and *quod*, so long as what combinations to use, and what semantic nuances to connect with the two (as opposed to *quo* and *ut*), are kept in mind.

In medieval Latin the AcI is frequently used, side by side with the tensed subordinate clauses, after *verba sentiendi* and *dicendi*. Though clauses with *quia* and *quod* become increasingly frequent, the AcI remains the predominant construction in most medieval Latin texts.[15] Accordingly, Petrarch seemed to use *quod* and the AcI interchangeably as a matter of stylistic variation, as described by Antonietta Bufano.[16] This relationship between the two constructions is described explicitly in Perotti's much later manual on elegant letter writing, *De componendis epistolis* at the end of his *Rudimenta grammatices*. Here, the difference between the two constructions seems to be a matter of stylistics, with the infinitive clause presented as the more "elegant":

> Quid hic in primis notandum est? Quod ea quae per subiunctiuum uerbum cum coniunctione *quod* dici possunt longe elegantius sine *quod* per infinitiuum dicuntur. (Perotti, *De comp. ep.,*[17] § 1147; italics mine).

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[14] For example with his quotation from Quintilian, *Inst.* 9,4,133: "*Non quia* negem hoc bene esse compositum, sed *quia* legem hanc esse componendi in omnibus principiis recusem." (Valla, *Eleg.* 2,37).

[15] Stotz 1996–2004, vol. IV, book IX §§ 103–10; in diachronic text corpora, Bamman *et al.* 2008 compare the spread of *quod* and *quia* in the place of the AcI after *verba dicendi* and *sentiendi* to that after impersonal verbs.

[16] Bufano 1961.

[17] Perotti 2010.

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> What should at first be noted here? That what can be said with a verb in the subjunctive[18] and the conjunction *quod* is said much more elegantly with the infinitive without *quod*.

However, more "elegant" could mean a difference in the stylistic quality as well as that of agreeing with the correct usage. But the fact that *quod* is given as a possible variation alongside the AcI, while *quia* is not, indicates that Perotti does not accept *quia* in this position. The context of this question in his grammar may also be important. This linguistic question is presented in that part of the grammar that truly defines humanist Latin, the section on eloquence. To Perotti, this is not a matter of basic grammar, but of elegant prose style.

When Valla discusses the translation of Matthew 5,17 again in his *Antidotum in Poggium* from 1452-53, he stands by his views in the *Elegantiae*. He still thinks *quia* and *quoniam* should be avoided, even in Bible translations; but now he adds the AcI as another possible variation:

> Ego me fateor, ut in Elegantiis dixi, potius translaturum fuisse 'Putatis quod venerim' sive Putatis me venisse ad legem solvendam' sive 'ut solvam legem: non veni ad solvendam, sed ad implendam' sive 'non veni ut solvam, sed ut impleam.' Et hoc opinor futurum fuisse Latinius et perinde apertius nec minus verum. (Valla, *in Poggium* 1,138[19])

> I acknowledge, as I said in the *Elegantiae*, that I would have translated into 'You think that I have come' or 'You think I have come to abolish the Law' or 'in order to abolish the Law: I have not come to abolish it, but to fulfil it' or 'I have not come in order to abolish it, but to fulfil it.' And I think this would have been more proper, just as clear and no less correct.

Valla does not claim that the one expression is better than the other, as likewise he refrains from choosing between several good possibilities for expressing "to abolish it" and "to fulfil it." But he associates his variety of suggestions with some central ideals about the Latin language: namely that it should be good and clear Latin, in addition to correct. Similarly, in yet another repetition of the discussion in his *Collatio Novi Testamenti* (Collation of the New Testament, Matt. 2,13[20]), he argues in favour of these con-

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[18] Note that Perotti's notion of grammatical mood is not consistent, and that "subiunctiuum" may sometimes be related to the subjunctive mood as opposed to the indicative, and sometimes merely denote a verb subordinate to another verb by means of a conjunction. This latter case seems to apply here, where he afterwards gives the following examples, with the indicative verb *legis*: "Verbi gratia: Io so che tu leggi. Scio quod tu legis: Scio te legere."

[19] Valla 1978.

[20] Valla 1970.

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structions because they meet this basic requirement, "sermo latinior ita planior" (the clearer, the better Latin). Such observations on syntactic choices are therefore connected with the very ideals of humanist Latin. Not only do they support clarity and variation indirectly, but the preferred expressions are explicitly signalled to have been deemed worthy by central humanist seals of approval.

A first impression of the actual use of *quia*

We have seen how Valla and Perotti were quite alert to differences in the use of *quia* and *quod*. But how did this awareness relate to the neo-Latin practice? In the present study, 361 clauses with *quia* were studied. None of them are complement clauses, following *verba sentiendi* and *dicendi*. This tells us that something effectively suppressed this practice from the neo-

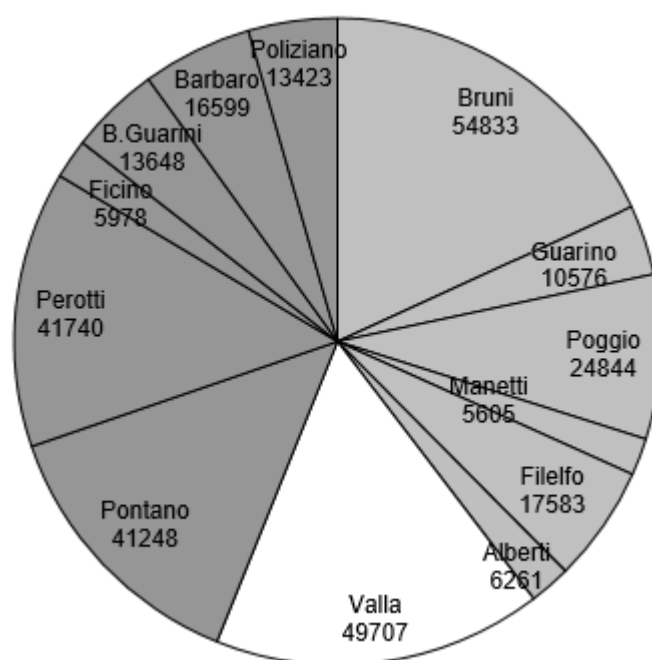*Distribution of words across individual authors*

Figure 1a: *Total number of words in corpus*

Latin language. But was it the direct effect of grammatical awareness such as Valla's and Perotti's?[21] One could argue that mere imitation of classical Latin could have had this effect, especially when it is clear that some of the

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[21] I suggest such effects with caution because of the general complexity of human language, shaped by numerous factors, both internal, cognitive, socioeconomic, social, and pragmatic – as indicated by the sheer diversity of subjects in any introduction to language change, such as Joseph & Janda 2004.

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authors whom the humanists read used the *quod* construction (which is found in neo-Latin), but not the *quia* construction (which generally is not). And 'sheer imitation' may certainly play its part here as well. However, the grammatical writings in this case construct a picture of Latin that coincides with practice.

But there is yet another peculiar circumstance surrounding the use of *quia*: a significant and curious development. Figure 1a shows the total number of words in the total corpus written by each author. The authors are
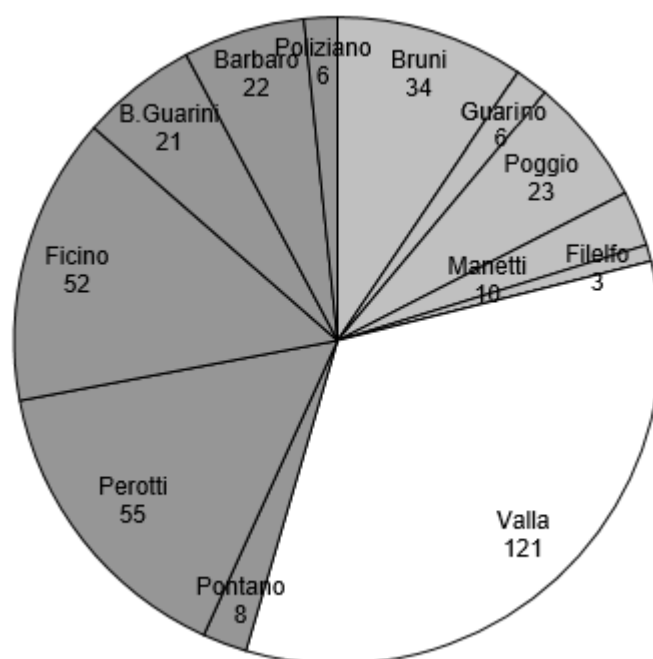
Distribution of words across individual authors

Figure 1b: *Number of clauses with* quia *in corpus*

arranged chronologically, and it is clear that Valla is represented by the largest individual share, and that the remaining corpus is fairly equally divided between those authors (light grey) who were active before the appearance of Valla's influential *Elegantiae* around 1444, and those (dark grey) who, roughly, learned Latin after Valla. I know that on the basis of my present material I cannot prove an influence from the humanist grammarians' discussions of *quia* and *quod* and actual linguistic practice. However, my figures show a significant coincidence. Figure 1b shows the number of clauses with *quia* that were found in the total corpus written by each author. This indicates that *quia* is generally unpopular among the

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earlier fifteenth-century humanists, and becomes more popular after Valla.[22] In her study of the translation of the New Testament by Gianozzo Manetti (1396–1459), Annet den Haan has shown how it is part of his ongoing revision of the text to replace *quia* and *quoniam* with *quod* in the process of making the Latin language more 'classical' (along with many other stylistic improvements) also directly influenced by Valla's grammatical writings.[23] This supports my data in indicating that *quia* was generally not considered to be properly classical in the first half of the century, and that it was very deliberately avoided. Yet, while Figure 1 shows a broad avoidance of *quia* in the first half of the fifteenth century*,* Valla's own practice may be fundamentally different. And something apparently happened in the mid-fifteenth century that made *quia* more popular. It may or may not be related to Valla.

How Valla differs from other humanists in his use of *quia*

Valla's practical use of *quia* compared to the other humanists displays several peculiar characteristics. In the entire study, only around fifteen clauses with *quia* appear subordinate to an AcI as part of reported speech, introduced by either a verbum dicendi or sentiendi. Six of those were written by Valla – which itself is not remarkable, given his dominant share in the corpus in total, cf. Figure 1a. But only once in the data predating Valla does *quia* occur subordinate to an AcI that complements a verbum dicendi or sentiendi, namely in a letter by Guarino of Verona in 1413.[24] It would basically seem illogical that the avoidance of complement *quia* affects the use of *quia* in the subordination of the complement AcI – where the clause with *quia* does not itself have a complement function. But the avoidance of *quia* subordinate to the AcI may be an overgeneralization of the dissociation of *quia* from the AcI, spreading to grammatical positions that are not in themselves problematic. From a statistical point of view, this is insignificant, but a glance at Valla's practice in this rare construction will shed light on his – perhaps changed – view on *quia*.

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[22] There is a significant difference between the "early" and "late" authors in the number of clauses with quia compared to the total number of words in each subdivision of the corpus: $\chi2 = 23.96$*, p* < .01. But Ficino in many respects writes differently from the other humanists in the corpus, and he is the reason for a large share of the difference between early and late authors. However, if we test his influence by removing Ficino from the investigation, the difference is still significant: $\chi2 = 5.02$*, p* < .05. For more details, see Figure 2 and the discussion of it below.

[23] den Haan 2016, 47. Percival 1975, 232, also discusses the influence of the grammarians in the fifteenth century.

[24] "Haec ita contingere arbitror non vestro animi vitio aut rapiendi cupiditate, sed quia dum carissimas res meas habetis, eas a vobis divelli iniquo fertis animo." (*Epistolario* I,21 [1414], Guarino 1915).

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In practice, Valla sometimes uses *quia* in contexts where he wishes to express a reason that is subordinate to an AcI. In a letter, for example, he gives the reasons for a late deliverance reported to him by a courier:

> Hic ait alio adventu suo detulisse ad me vestras litteras, sed eas, *quia* rex eo tempore obsidebat Neapolim, non *potuisse* mihi reddere, qui essem Caiete: (Valla, *Lettere*, 10; italics mine).[25]

> He says that he has brought your letter down to me elsewhere on his arrival, but that he *could* not return it to me, who was in Gaeta, *because* the king occupied Naples then.

Valla also describes a barbarian king's reported reasons in a clause with *quia*:

> At ubi delectum ducem Ferdinandum comperit, vel magis *timuisse* dicitur, *quia* non per alium, ut rex fuerat, sed per se esset bella gesturus… (Valla, *Gesta Fernandi Regis Aragonum*, I,V; italics mine).[26]

> But when he learned that Ferdinand had been selected as duke, he is said to *have feared* even more, *because* he was to wage war not through another, after becoming king, but on his own…

Though this construction also appears in Valla's letters, it occurs most frequently in his historical work, *Gesta Fernandi Regis Aragonum*, where it is found four times. As shown in Figure 1b, Valla is represented in the study with 121 clauses with *quia*. Of those, 92 appear in his *Gesta Fernandi Regis*, which is a very high proportion of the 121 clauses compared with the popularity of the other clause types in this study of his language (cf. also Figure 2a below). Taking a look at the classical Latin authors, Cicero uses *quia* relatively rarely. Statistics from the Perseus Digital Library[27] return a relative frequency for *quia* in Cicero's works at 0.0007 – which means that we find seven appearances of *quia* for every 10,000 words in Cicero's texts. By contrast, *quia* is twice as frequent in Sallust's Latin, for example, where the relative frequency of *quia* is 0.0015, or Livy's at 0.0012. For comparison, Valla's relative frequency of *quia* in the present study is 0.0030, i.e. twice as high as Sallust's. Joseph Denooz has shown in a recent quantitative study based on the LASLA corpus at Université de Liège how the frequencies of specific subordinating conjunctions seem to converge

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[25] Bufano 1961.

[26] Valla 1973.

[27] The Latin Vocabulary Tool, available online at: http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/vocablist?lang=la. The collection contains 1,318,334 words by Cicero, 898 of which are *quia*; compared to 80,274/121 in Sallust, 2,048,135/2,430 in Livy, and 49,707/149 in Valla.

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among authors of the same genres in classical Latin;[28] perhaps *quia* is, similarly, a "historical" conjunction among the classical authors.

It may be asked, therefore, if Valla's preference for *quia* in the historical genre is based upon his observation that this conjunction is particularly characteristic of some of the historical writers of antiquity. We cannot say for sure if Valla noticed this particular difference between the ancient authors, because his miscellaneous treatment does not examine *quia* with regard to the preferences of the particular ancient authors. But his grammatical writings clearly show a general attention to a variety of genres, as Keith Percival demonstrates in his article on "Lorenzo Valla and the Criterion of Exemplary Usage," where he argues that Valla saw such considerations on genre as part of the higher levels of composition – as opposed to the usefulness of the stricter prescriptive *regule* taught at entry level.[29]

Valla on language and genres

Valla's possible distinction between various classical authors within various genres sets the development of *quia* within the humanist debates of imitation and preferred models. Some authors from the earlier division of my corpus, such as Bruni and Poggio, are known to have argued both that humanists should not build their own Latin upon too many different ancient models, and that Cicero was the best ancient author to imitate.[30] Valla in his turn considered the imitation of several good writers as the basis from which the *ingenium* (natural talent) of the humanist author could be developed, a view which is also reflected in his *Elegantiae*, where he quotes numerous named ancient authors as his sources for Latin linguistic practice. There are also instances where Valla discusses the differences in the individual language of the ancient authors with reference to different genres. In a discussion of the figure *synecdoche* (generalization/particularization), he distinguishes between the language of historians such as Sallust and orators such as Cicero and Quintilian:

> In quo protinus admoniti sumus oratores summopere synecdochen refugisse; quale foret *gentem stridore horrendam...* historici non refugerunt, ut Sallustius: *At ex altera parte C. Antonius pedibus aeger*

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[28] Denooz 2013. See also the description by Steele (1906) of the use of causal conjunctions in Livy, of which *quia* is the most frequent (esp. p. 57).

[29] Percival 1996.

[30] On the many ancient authors worth studying and Cicero as the prime model, see Bruni 2002, *De studiis*, esp. §§ 5; 8; 18. See also Percival 1996 and the introduction by DellaNeva 2007. On imitation in general, see McLaughlin 1995.

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> *in proelio adesse nequibat.* Cicero Quintilianusque dixissent pedibus aegris… (Valla, *Eleg.*, 3.17)
>
> In this, we have constantly been reminded that the orators worked hard to avoid the synecdoche, such as *a species terrible with trumpeting...*[31] The historians did not avoid the existence of such an expression, for instance Sallust: *But on the other hand, Gaius Antonius could not partake in the battle, being sick in his feet.* Cicero and Quintilian would have said *with sick feet…*

Valla's distinction between genres should therefore be seen, not merely as a random grammatical observation, but as a part of his contribution to a debate on the very core of neo-Latin: which ancient authors were worthy of imitation? I suggest that the general early fifteenth-century avoidance of *quia* may be an overgeneralization by humanists struggling to avoid the complement *quia*. Cicero's language does not provide reason for, in effect, banning *quia* from the Latin language. But the comparative rarity in Cicero of *quia* may have been a supporting factor when the early humanists preferred to avoid those conjunctions that were associated with the disreputable complement clauses used instead of the AcI. Similarly, the fact that *quia* was found more frequently among writers of history may have been the observation based on which Valla revived it, especially in the historical genre.

We do not have evidence from his grammatical writings that Valla was aware of this particular relation between *quia* and the historical genre. But there are other examples that indicate that there is a genre sensitivity in his grammatical metadiscourse that corresponds to his genre-sensitive practice. For example, his awareness of variation in the use of conjunctions in different genres is clear from his observation in *Elegantiae* 3,53 that *post* in *postquam* (after) is often omitted in historiography.[32] Similarly, Valla mentions the historical present in passing, the *more historico* (in the historical manner, Valla, *Eleg.*, 3.34).

After Valla, *quia* gained acceptance in the overall Latin language of the authors represented in the late division of the corpus, as we saw in the clear difference between early and late authors in Figure 1b. Especially Niccolò Perotti and Marsilio Ficino are fond of *quia*, and it is reasonable to consider at least Perotti as being somehow inspired by Valla, whose *Elegantiae* is

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[31] E.g. Liv. 44, 5: "elephanti … cum horrendo stridore..."

[32] Aliquando in huiusmodi genere sermonis omittimus *post*; sic: *Intra decem dies, quam venit, confecit omne negotium; in paucis diebus, quam Rhodum appulit, uxorem duxit.* Id est, *postquam venit, postquam appulit*, quae exempla apud historicos sunt plurima. (Valla, *Eleg.*, 3,53).

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also the source of some of the items in Perotti's *Cornu copiae*.[33] But the data presented in Figures 2b and 2c cannot support a spread of Valla's genre-sensitive use of *quia* to his successors.

Figure 2: *Frequencies of* quia *in five genres, comparison of Valla, the early and the late fifteenth century*

	History	Speeches	Letters	Treatises	Dialogues
Words in corpus	26,042	1,553	9,338	6,258	6,516
Quia	95	2	6	7	14
Relative frequency	0.0036	0.0013	0.0006	0.0011	0.0021

Figure 2a: *Valla*

	History	Speeches	Letters	Treatises	Dialogues
Words in corpus	30875	11035	28783	36302	12707
Quia	8	4	29	22	13
Relative frequency	0.0003	0.0004	0.001	0.0006	0.001

Figure 2b: *Early fifteenth century*

	History	Speeches	Letters	Treatises	Dialogues
Words in corpus	3781	38048	27340	27399	36068
Quia	0	50	26	68	20
Relative frequency	0	0.0013	0.001	0.0025	0.0006

Figure 2c: *Late fifteenth century*

A comparison of the relative frequency of *quia* in the historical genre and in others in the late fifteenth century is hindered by too sparse data, even if the

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[33] On Perotti's sources, see Ramminger 2011. Ficino's use of moods, tenses and types of clauses is in many respects less varied than the remaining authors in the study. His language may be influenced more by Biblical Latin and Greek, and it would be useful to consider if his preference for *quia* could be an influence from Greek. Accordingly, it is questionable whether his language should be taken as representative for humanist Latin.

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sheer absence of *quia* in the late historical corpus would seem remarkable in its own right. All the data can tell us is that we cannot reject the possibility that the distribution of *quia* is independent of the historical genre in the late fifteenth century. Research will have to be completed on more historical writings before we can say for sure if *quia* after Valla gained general acceptance into several genres of the neo-Latin language, or as his particular marker of historical genre.

Conclusions

The grammatical discussions of *quia* and related constructions that have been studied here concern themselves with how one should write Latin after the classical model. We have seen some possible effects of the grammatical discussions of Valla and Perotti on the linguistic practice. We have also seen what may have been the intended outcome of avoiding complement *quia*, perhaps even a more thorough banning of the conjunction from other functions than can be accounted for in the grammars. We may even have seen an indication of the kind of influence that grammatical discussions can have as a driving force behind the change in the Latin norm, but without the detailed control over language that grammatical rules seem to intend: Valla may have his opinion on the use of *quia*, but only the details that hold a central position in the discussion of humanist identity become a common trait in both his and his fellow humanists' language. This pattern to some degree corresponds to the patterns described by Johann Ramminger with regard to the limited spread and acceptance of certain words coined by Perotti in the *Cornu copiae*,[34] and the similarly limited effect of Perotti's rejection of a word as unclassical. An example of this is Perotti's rejection of *complurimus*, which was repeated in the somewhat later dictionary by Ambrogio Calepino, while it remained in use in the language of the humanists.[35] Such patterns may be a good indication of the nature and the extent of the influence grammatical discussions can have on the actual outcome of the humanist language project. They may set things in motion; but they cannot alone direct the change.

Whether or not an actual dependency between theory and practice can be argued for, this investigation has shown a general agreement between the two. Furthermore, in the details of *quia*, theory as well as practice is consistent with the general project of the humanists. We have, for instance, seen imitation in Valla's distinctions between genres in his use of *quia*. We saw the humanist focus on eloquence when Perotti positioned the *quod*/AcI

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[34] Ramminger 2012.
[35] Ramminger 2011, 174–75.

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discussion in his manual on letter writing. We found the humanists' urge to refine their skills and come closer to the ancient model in the fact that the use of *quia* develops over the fifteenth century, as well as in Valla's repeated and further developed discussions of *quia*. Finally, the humanists' aversion to grammatical rules and their love of literary practice are reflected in the very nature of the grammatical treatment of *quia*, scattered and turning up in different contexts.

In short, the evidence on *quia* presented here shows how the grammatical problem touches upon a variety of other topics – among them genre, Holy languages, translation, authorities, *elegantia*, variation, *Latinitas*. Both in theory and in practice, *quia* seems entangled in other, central aspects of humanist metadiscourse, sometimes explicitly attached to them. *Quia* is shaping within the parameters set by other aspects of humanist metadiscourse and in its turn supports and develops the refinement of humanist activities and humanist identity.

Appendix: the data and the corpus

In this appendix, the data, corpus and test statistics are further discussed in order to clarify what can be concluded, and what cannot, on the basis of the investigation. The neo-Latin authors represented in the corpus are representative only of literary prose of that time, and not of all neo-Latin, because the language is also found in diverse textual typologies not covered here.[36] The composition of the corpus was particularly dependent on the availability of modern digitized editions, and the primary principle behind the selection was the wish to establish equally large sub-corpora for each of the five genres represented. Secondarily, some of the neo-Latin authors were chosen because of their prominent role in the linguistic discussions of their time – i.e. actively engaging with the metadiscourse studied here – including leading teachers and writers of grammatical and didactic treatises such as Guarino of Verona (*Regulae grammaticales*, c. 1418[37]), Leonardo Bruni (*De studiis et litteris liber ad Baptistam de Malatestis*, 1422–29), Battista Guarino (*De ordine docendi ac studendi*, appeared 1459), Lorenzo Valla (*De elegantiis latinae linguae*, appeared c. 1444[38]), and Niccolò Perotti

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[36] Such as poetry and administrative language. For a recent examination of related administrative Latin, see Demo 2014. For a discussion of the representative/normative nature of the data in historical linguistics, see Labov 1994, 11; or similar considerations in Rieger 1979.

[37] On the composition and copies of the *Regulae*, see Percival 1978.

[38] Percival 1975, 232.

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(*Rudimenta grammatices*, appeared c. 1468[39]; *Cornu copiae*, printed 1489). The corpus may therefore be biased by the authors' relatively high Latin proficiency.

The 361 clauses with *quia* in the data collection were identified manually and entered into a system that stores quantitative data. This data contains information on the distribution of *quia* in various contexts.[40] Because quantitative distributions may to some degree have appeared by chance, test statistics are presented to ensure that conclusions are not drawn from apparent relations between contexts and grammatical forms which merely *seem* to depend on each other but which probably appeared at random. Results presented as significant have at least a 95 per cent chance of reflecting an actual dependency. For all statistical tests, it is shown if the probability of the figure occurring by chance was less than 5 per cent or even less than 1 per cent, with the denotations $p < .05$ and $p < .01$, or an exact value $p =$. The exact result of the test will also be mentioned, using the Chi-squared test for independence.

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[39] Percival 1981, 234.

[40] E.g. whether the superordinate clause is a main clause, an AcI, or a subordinate clause; whether the clause is part of reported speech; if there were negations nearby; which tense is found in the main clause; which genre the clause appears in; who the author is. Further details are found in the unpublished PhD dissertation, Horster 2013.

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C ONSVETUDO V ETERVM– M OS I TALORUM :

Vos and tu in the Latin letters of early German humanism

By Johann Ramminger

The re-establishment of the private letter as a genre in its own right was one of the most significant achievements of humanist literary culture. As a consequence, the Italian humanists adopted the classical 'tu' instead of the customary (i.e. medieval) 'vos' as the form of address in contexts outside the political sphere, irrespective of social rank. By the time Southern German intellectuals had begun to embrace Italian (i. e. humanist) literary customs in the middle of the Quattrocento, this feature was firmly established in Italy and was vigorously promoted by the leading Italian humanist at the Emperor's court, Enea Silvio Piccolomini. German humanists did not find it easy to adopt the new custom which went against their own and their recipients' social sensibilities. Up until the 1480s, we find them inserting metadiscursive comments into their letters explaining the new 'tu' to their correspondents as the 'way the Italians write' and as the 'custom of the Ancients.'

1. Introduction

The following explores an aspect of the early reception of Italian humanism in Southern Germany. The period on which this study focuses is commonly called Early German Humanism, "Frühhumanismus," and lasts from the late 1440s to the 1480s; some of my observations will extend to the early sixteenth century.[1] My examples will come from (in modern terms) Bavaria, Swabia, Austria and the German-speaking part of Switzerland. At the beginning of this period this area had a highly developed late medieval culture, which slowly morphed into German humanism with the integration of concepts originating in Italy. This process brought about shifts in how some social relations were understood as well as changes in the linguistic form in which they were expressed. My paper studies one particular form of social

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[1] Reasons for the periodization are discussed by Bernstein 1978, Worstbrock 1991, among others.

expression: letter writing, the humanist activity *par excellence*.[2] I will focus on a small, but rather significant detail of letter writing: how to address the recipient of a letter and whether this would be with *vos* or with *tu*.[3] Specifically I will discuss the metadiscourse generated by the reception of Italian epistolographic theory, that is, texts explaining how and why the actors in this process perceived themselves to be innovating.[4]

2. Medieval Letter Writing Theory

Medieval letter writing theory, the *ars epistolandi*, developed a unified set of rules covering every imaginable social contact, from pope and emperor to friends and lovers, from self-promotion and admiration to indifference and hostility.[5] The question of when to use *tu* or *vos* was expressed in a practical formula by Guido Faba in his *Doctrina ad inueniendas incipiendas et formandas materias et ad ea quae circa huiusmodi requiruntur* (On how to find, begin, and formulate content, and what is needed for that, c. 1230):[6]

> Et scias quod in plurali numero de se loquentur majores, eisdem scribetur similiter in plurali.

> You should know that persons of higher rank will speak of themselves in the plural: accordingly, they should be addressed in the plural.

Contact with persons higher up the ladders of power or dignity was an exercise not to be undertaken lightly; the offered rule was as simple as it was usable. How it was to be applied is specified, for example, by Walter de

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[2] See the contributions in Worstbrock 1983, which I found inspiring. A copious overview is now in Landtsheer 2014.

[3] On the Latin system of pronouns of address within the context of European languages see Mazzon 2010.

[4] I will use the term *metacomment* for the authorial 'intrusions' into the propositional content of the letters that explain the author's stance towards conspicuous (in our case humanist) features of their or their correspondents' letters (see Domínguez-Rodríguez & Rodríguez-Álvarez 2015); esp. in the latter case the distinction between propositional content and metadiscourse is – as has often been emphasized in other contexts – not always clear. *Metadiscourse* will be used in the general sense given by the *Oxford English Dictionary*: "[…] a general or universal discourse which sets the parameters within which other discourses are employed" (*OED* Third Edition, December 2001, online); in our case it will be a superordinate term for theorizations of (epistolary) discourse of any length. Cf. den Haan in the introduction to this volume.

[5] For the earlier development of the use of the pluralis maiestatis see Lohrmann 1968, 291–296 ("Exkurs: Zum Gebrauch des Singulars der 1. Person in den älteren Papstbriefen"); for the use of the second person plural (pluralis reverentiae), *ibid*. 292 n.7. Regarding the medieval development of *tu/vos*, see Ehrismann 1911.

[6] The quotation is in Ehrismann 1911, 133, from the edition in Rockinger 1863, I, 189. For Faba/Fava see Bausi 1995.

Argentina (Murner) in his *Notabilia de modo scribendi* (Notes on the ways of writing, 1382) for a specific office at the *curia*, the *penitentiarius*:[7]

> Item nota quod omnis maior penitentiarius sive regens officium, etiam si non sit prelatus, episcopos et electos confirmatos ecclesiarum cathedralium et illis maiores in suis litteris sibi preponit et illos reverenter vobisat seu pluraliter nominat, aliis vero omnibus prelatis et non prelatis se preponit et illos reveretur, sed tibizat et singulariter nominat.

> Also note: every *penitentiarius maior* or the administrator of the office, churchman or not, names cathedral church bishops and those elected and confirmed in that office before naming himself in his letters, as he does with persons of higher rank than those, addressing them respectfully with *vos*, that is, naming them in the plural. All others, members of the Church or not, he names after naming himself and expresses his respect, but addresses them with *tu* and names them in the singular.

It is not necessary for us to enter into the details of this passage, which probably reflects anxiety about the increasing confusion of competing ecclesiastical hierarchies in the *Great Schism* (from 1380). The use of *tu/vos* called for delicate judgements by the writer about the rank of the addressee relative to his own in order to avoid offending those higher up the social scale while preserving his own dignity in relation to those meriting only the *tu*.

Medieval writers were aware of the fact that many letters written in antiquity used social codes different from their own, for instance indiscriminately employing *tu* when addressing the recipient of a letter. A universally known source for this was the letters of the Apostle Paul to individual recipients in the New Testament. However, this mode of address was outdated, as Boncompagno da Signa assures the reader in his *V tabule salutationum* (Five lists of greetings, 1194/1203):[8]

> Quod autem Paulus apostolus narrando salutabat non est trahendum ad consequentiam quia ebreorum consuetudinem imitabat [!] et frequentius in secunda persona salutabat quod nos hodie non facimus quia ecclesia romana ipsum in his nullatenus imitatur.

> The fact that the Apostle Paul included narrative elements in his greetings is irrelevant, because he followed Hebrew customs and frequently greeted [the addressee] in the second person [singular] –

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[7] Ed. Göller 1907, 78–89.
[8] Quotation from ed. Voltolina 1990, 11. For Boncompagno see Pini 1963.

this we do not do nowadays, because the Roman Church simply does not follow him in this at all.

Boncompagno's affirmation that the social norms of antiquity were superseded by the new rules extended even to texts which only fictively belonged to antiquity. A striking example is a medieval letter from Penelope to Odysseus. In Ovid, Penelope had without question used *tu* for her husband (*Her.* 1, inc.: *Haec tua Penelope lento tibi mittit, Ulixe*); but in a further letter to Odysseus from the thirteenth century, Penelope addresses her husband as *vos*.[9]

Some criticism of the use of the plural for individuals was articulated already while the *ars epistolandi* was still developing its rules. In the *Policraticus* (c. 1159), John of Salisbury expresses his scorn for the "fawning pandering" (*adulandi lenocinium*) used to "decorate the singular number with the honour of plurality" (*dum singularitatem honore multitudinis decoramus*).[10] The same argument was used more pointedly in reference to communication between churchmen in a letter by Peter of Blois (1178), who apologized for writing "using *tu*, *tibi*, and *te*" (*per tu et tibi et te*); he felt that "the plural form, with which we lie in talking to one, is a pandering style of expression far removed from sacred eloquence" (*pluralis […] locutio, qua uni loquendo mentimur, sermo adulatorius est, longe a sacro eloquio alienus*).[11]

The unsuitability of the plural form for single individuals will be a recurring topic of all humanist metadiscourse concerning the re-establishment of the classical 'simplicity.' The arguments brought forth will shift significantly, though; the reasoning above had a moral dimension. Italian humanism will talk about coherence of use and the logic of grammar; north of the Alps, the social implications of the shift will be emphasized.

3. Humanism

Looking back over his life, Petrarch took pride in the fact that he had been the first to reintroduce the universal *tu* in epistolary style:[12]

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[9] Cartellieri 1898, 14–15, no. 62 (my italics): "Mansuetum *vos* habui […] me *vobis* morigeram […] ad casum Troie *vos* traxit ultro peccatum Paridis." The manuscript was dated by the editor to the early 1280s, probably belonging as a formulary to the chancellery of the Archbishop of Salzburg; the collection itself was dated by the editor to 1178/1187, originating in France.

[10] *Policraticus* 3,10, *PL* 199 col. 496.

[11] Petrus Blesensis, *Epistola* XV. *Ad comitem Rainaldum electum in episcopum Carnotensem*, *PL* 207 col. 58.

[12] For Petrarch and the *ars dictaminis*, see Hausmann 1983 with further literature. While Petrarch in reality has to share this achievement with Cola di Rienzo, certainly he propagated the new style more widely and over a longer period of time than the latter. See Piur

Petrarca *sen* 16,1, to Luca della Penna (Arqua 1373)[13]

Dabis veniam, insignis Vir, stylo, ut quibusdam fortasse videbitur irreverenti, sed Deum testor minime insolenti: stylo enim alio uti nescio. Singulariter te alloquor, cum sis unus, et in hoc naturam sequor ac maiorum morem, non blanditias modernorum […] Denique sic Romanum Imperatorem regesque alios, sic Romanos quoque Pontifices alloqui soleo: si aliter facerem, viderer mihi mentiri. Quid ni autem, cum Iesum Christum ipsum Regem regum et Dominum dominantium, ut minores alios longe, licet maximos sileam, non aliter alloquamur. […] styli huius per Italiam non auctor quidem, sed instaurator ipse mihi videor, quo cum uti inciperem, adolescens a coetaneis irridebar, qui in hoc ipso certatim me postea sunt secuti.

You will excuse, in your excellence, my style which to some might perhaps appear less than respectful, but, by God, it is not impudent: I do not know how to write differently. I speak to you in the singular because you are one; I follow nature and the custom of our forebears, not the flattery of the moderns. […] Finally, it is thus that I address the Roman emperor, the other kings, thus the Roman popes: If I did otherwise I would seem to myself to lie. Furthermore, when we address Jesus Christ, King of Kings and Lord of Lords, not to mention the lesser, though still highest [the Saints], we do not address them differently. […] I believe that I have not invented this style in Italy, but restored it. When I began with this, I was young and was laughed at by my contemporaries; later, however, all outdid one another in following me in this.

In Petrarch's disdain for the "flattery of the moderns" (*blanditi*[*ae*] *modernorum*) we have an echo of the medieval criticism mentioned above. The problem, however, went deeper than this. Medieval letter writing theory did not distinguish between the public and the private letter. The private prose

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1933, 148, who also observes that Petrarch's practice varied, before he consistently inserted the *tu* in his letters when he prepared them for edition (also Hausmann 1983, 69). Rienzo offers a short justification of the new style in a letter to the emperor Charles IV (August, 1350): "Non mireris, domine mi Cesar Auguste, si de singulari divino precepto, quod caritas esse dinoscitur, verbo te alloquar singulari. Nam et regentem <reges> nos singulis atque reges spirituales doctores et Romanos Cesares Romani oratores verbis vtique singularibus perorarunt" (Do not be surprised, my Lord August Emperor, if I – following the divine injunction in the singular concerning love – address you in the singular. For kings have addressed us in my reign in the singular, spiritual teachers have addressed kings, and Roman orators have addressed Roman emperors entirely with words in the singular; Rienzo 1912, no. 58 p. 279).

[13] In the following I will use the sigla of the *Neulateinische Wortliste* (Ramminger 2003–) as far as possible. The editions used are indicated *ibid.*

letter was revived as a distinct category by Italian humanists, beginning with Geri d'Arezzo (imitating Pliny the Younger) and of course Petrarch.[14] For Italian humanists of the subsequent generation, there was no question that the universal *tu* of the letters of Cicero and Pliny was the model to follow, at least in private letters.[15] At a certain point the Chancellor of the Florentine republic, Coluccio Salutati, even dreamt aloud of introducing it into the official correspondence of the city:[16]

> SALVTATI *ep* 8,11, to Giovanni Conversini (1393)
>
> nec in exemplum adducas velim cancellarie Florentine stilum, quam si licuisset atque liceret arbitrio meo formare, vel cum ad illam ascitus fui vel etiam nunc, et in hoc et in multis aliis correxissem. ambulamus equidem in istis allocutionibus per antecessorum vestigia; et que a maioribus recepta est, licet irrationabilis et corrupta, non auderem consuetudinem immutare.
>
> Just don't mention the style of the Florentine chancellery; if I could have changed it when I assumed the office or change it now in the way I wanted, I would have corrected it in this as in many other ways. In these types of address we walk in the footsteps of our forebears. The custom we have taken over from earlier generations, even if irrational and corrupt, I would not venture to change.

Thus Salutati indicates the cleavage that opened up with the development of the humanist letter between the style of the humanists and the style that Poggio, thirty years later, will call the "public silliness":

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[14] See Witt 2000, 226–227.

[15] For the reception see Schmidt 1983.

[16] The style of Salutati's official correspondence is discussed in its context by Witt 2000, 300–314, for the use of *tu* cf. *ibid.* 324–325. Witt proceeded from copious archival studies. Recent editions confirm his observations. Amongst the letters in Salutati 2003a, all dating from 1375, most are addressed to public authorities with a number of members und thus *perforce* use the plural. The others, too, use the plural (to the Pope, members of the Gonzaga, Visconti, and Este families). There is one recipient who has incurred the displeasure of Florence, the chancellor to the *Anziani* of Pistoia, and he is the only one who is addressed as *tu*, as a distinct mark of disfavour (no. XLIII = Nuzzo 2008, no. 4033). Even without implied messages as in this letter, the rule proposed by the *ars dictaminis* seems to remain in force: the government of Florence addresses other governments as *vos*, individuals on a lower echelon of power as *tu*, esp. if the message has a personal colouring, such as the one to Pietro Turchi congratulating him on his appointment as chancellor of Carlo Malatesta of Rimini (Salutati 2003b, no. II = Nuzzo 2008, no. 407). Further examples in Langkabel 1981 (observations on the style *ibid.* 47–54). The incipits and explicits in Nuzzo 2008 are too short to permit any conclusions.

POGGIO *ep* I 47, to Niccolò Niccoli (1424)

Epistola tua mihi fuit gratissima. Unum me offendit, quod me appellas nomine plurali. Quid ego immutatus sum? Aut tu publicas ineptias sequeris? Ego idem ille sum, qui fueram; apage a nobis hic mos loquendi. Scribito more tuo. Facessat a singularitate animi pluralitas verborum. Cave amplius mecum loquaris hoc modo.

I really liked your letter. Just one thing irritated me: that you address me in the plural. Have I changed? Or are you following the public silliness? I am the same I always have been, away with this way of speaking. Write in your own style. Away from the one single mind with this plural of words. Just don't speak to me like that any more.

With these three quotations we have covered most of the arguments for the reintroduction of the universal *tu* used by the Italian humanists:

- logicality: it is natural to use the grammatical singular for one person
- antiquity: it is the *mos maiorum*
- coherence of use: since we address God as *tu* (in the *Pater noster*), people of higher rank than ourselves can be addressed the same way without disrespect

The humanists' use of metacomments in order to articulate rules of engagment continued a late medieval form of metadiscourse concerning societal norms of address. But whereas the medieval examples I cited offer justifications for individual transgressions of contemporary norms (e.g. to avoid pandering), Italian humanists later than Petrarch's generation no longer felt the need to justify the *vos/tu* shift and related changes in epistolary style. Rather, they promoted its adoption in private correspondence by members of the humanist community lagging behind – an act of norm control intended to ensure coherence within the humanist text community. Salutati's lament over the style of public correspondence – a theme commonly voiced by humanists in public office – was probably intended mainly to emphasize his linguistic identity as a humanist; public correspondence in Florence, as elsewhere, had remained and would continue to remain firmly anchored in late medieval letter writing codes (see also Piccolomini below). The theoretical texts we have discussed do not stand seperately, but are inserted into letters. They are not primarily intended to explain a particular transgression of current literary codes, but are much more substantial and wide-ranging than necessary to address a specific problem, and thus pave the way for a comprehensive humanist theory of letter writing to replace the medieval *artes dictaminis*.

4. Southern German Humanism

It should be emphasized that the acceptance of Italian literary codes beyond Italy itself was not the straight and linear *gradus ad Parnassum* that might appear from the following, but rather an uneven process of progression and compromise.[17] The process depended not only on cultural trends absorbed at varying speed, but also on subjective qualities which were thus difficult to measure, such as a particular writer's linguistic competence and receptivity to Italian humanist culture. Before the late fifteenth century, additionally, humanist culture in Europe consisted very much of islands separated from one another by time and space that communicated – if at all – only via Italy. Thus the discussions and arguments that I will present in the following have antecedents (unknown to our writers) half a century earlier in early French humanists such as Jean de Montreuil.[18] An intellectual like Rudolphus Agricola, who spent formative years in Italy, wrote polished humanist Latin without equal amongst the contemporary Latin writers under purview here, but had no discernible influence on the contemporary Southern German literary landscape.[19]

The medieval style of letter writing could be learned in schools and from a great number of manuals and collections of form letters, some of which I have mentioned above. In the middle of the fifteenth century, as Italian humanism was spreading to Southern Germany, there were as yet no Italian manuals of the new humanist style. Anyone interested could learn mainly from examples – from the letters both of ancient authors and of contemporaries, the latter a well-documented form of intellectual exchange within the Italian peninsula.

How did the new ideas come to be promoted north of the Alps?[20] An important conduit would be German students in Italy.[21] Even if they studied

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[17] See below p.76 and n.39. Niklas von Wyle also published conflicting advice concerning the *tu/vos* in the tenth and eighteenth translations at the same time (see p.76 and p.74).

[18] Jean de Montreuil, *letter* 162 (1394) to John of Gaunt: "Volo finem facere, optime princeps, ne ulterius fastidiam tuas aures, […], iterum obnixe supplicans ut [...] digneris, [...] non moleste ferre quod tibi in singulari numero sum loquutus, quoniam [...] ille modus est oratorum loquendi per 'tu,' vel scribendi" (I would like to come to the end, best prince, and not bore your ears any more, just asking again in earnest that you be not offended that I have spoken to you in the singular, because this is the way of [classical] orators speaking or writing; Montreuil 1963, 240–248). The *orator* par excellence for Montreuil was of course Cicero, see e.g. *letter* 38 p. 54.

[19] I would like to thank Marc van der Poel, who first mentioned Agricola in the discussion following my paper in Rome. The oldest letter of Agricola's *familiares* was written in Pavia 1469; neither he nor his correspondents ever seem to have felt the need for an explanation of the *tu/vos* shift. The letters of Agricola are edited in Agricola 2002.

[20] The following considerations owe much to Rundle 2012.

[21] Fundamental for German students in Italy is Sottili 1993.

other subjects, they had a lively interest in the new literary trends; the returnees from Italy brought with them a widened knowledge of classical authors and awareness of the core principles of Italian humanism. The exchange of letters with the more polished Italian humanists, however, seems to have been no more than a theoretical possibility: for most Italians of this period, there is no trace of a sustained exchange of letters with correspondents outside Italy – the gap between the cultures was still too wide.[22] Among the letters of Guarino there is not a single one to an addressee outside Italy, and the German pupils – who revered him – nevertheless seem not to have written to him ever again after their return home.[23] Among later humanists there are exceptions, such as Aldus Manutius and Beroaldo the Elder, but they are too late to be of importance for the export of humanist style. With the spread of printing, the letters of the Italian humanists would become easily accessible even without personal connection.[24]

The promotion of the new cultural ideals could also take place through the agency of Italian humanists travelling or residing outside Italy, and it was one Italian expatriate who came to play an outsized role in the propagation of humanist culture in the area under purview here: Enea Silvio Piccolomini, who was employed in the chancellery of Frederik III (Piccolomini took up residence in Wiener Neustadt in January 1443). His influential position allowed him to ignore or transcend traditional rules of engagement when writing to people who were lower than himself in the hierarchy. And his self-confidence was such that, soon after he took up his position, we find him explaining the rules of humanist style to a young princeling of sixteen, the Duke Sigismund of Tyrol (1427–1496):

> PICCOLOMINI *ep* I-1 99, to Duke Sigismund (5 December 1443)
>
> omnes hodie fere, qui scribunt, quamvis unum alloquantur, numero utuntur plurali, tanquam multiplicando personas plus honoris adjiciant reverentioresque videantur. que consuetudo late in Germania patet et apud Italos aliquandiu viguit. […] hi nunc eos, ad quos scribunt, sin-

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[22] Petrarch is the remarkable exception; his letters to Charles IV and Johann von Neumarkt promoted the new style of letters as replacement of the *ars dictaminis*. The promotion of *tu* over *vos* – which at one point became a proxy in a tug of war over Petrarch's cancelled plans to visit the court – ultimately failed to give a permanent impetus to the adoption of the new *tu*. See Piur 1933, 148.

[23] The few known non-Italians amongst Guarino's correspondents (Nicola Losicki, Giovanni da Spilimbergo) were all residents in Italy; conversely, amongst the 105 pieces of the correspondence of the early German humanist Hermann Schedel (the nephew of the better known Hartmann) not a single one addresses a non-German.

[24] See below p. 78 on the role of printing in the distribution of Perotti's *Rudimenta*.

gulari compellant numero, quia tam Grecos quam Latinos sic locutos fuisse commemorant.

Nearly all who write nowadays use the plural, even when they speak to one person, as if they honoured the persons more and seemed more respectful by multiplying them. This custom is widely diffused in Germany and was once widespread also in Italy. [...] But nowadays [humanists] address those they write to in the singular, because they are aware of the fact that Greek as well as Latin writers used to do so.

This is the beginning of a longish exposé, in which Piccolomini makes the following points:

- Italians imitate the letters of Cicero and Maecenas written "to people of the highest rank" (*ad maximos viros*),[25] but also those of Christian writers – Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory
- These writers above also address God in the singular, even though they could have used the plural much more elegantly than can we
- It would be reasonable for Sigismund to expect people to write to him in the same way he addresses them, i. e. in the plural (we recognize the rule promoted by Guido Faba).
- Princes and magistrates use the plural from modesty to emphasize that they are acting not alone, but on the counsel of others
- The principle of reciprocity can actually be unworkable (though the pope signs his missives as "servus servorum Dei," we of course do not address him as "servant of servants," but as "father of fathers" [pater patrum]).

We note that Piccolomini specifically describes the whole phenomenon as a characteristic of Italian culture (*apud Italos*). The message is: Italian writers imitate the ancients, German letter writers should imitate the Italians. The central point which Piccolomini makes (also by addressing the prince as *tu*) is that according to the new rules of letter writing, people can and should address not only their equals, but also their social betters as *tu*.

Piccolomini's short treatise on the humanist *tu* is put forward as a justification for his own use of the second person singular for the addressee in the initial part of a long letter which discusses the intellectual attainments of an *optimus princeps*. This metacomment explains a point on which the letter

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[25] It may be that the mention of Maecenas is a reference to his testament. There, Maecenas uses the second person sing. towards Augustus, SVET. *vita Hor.* p. 45,7 "Horati Flacci ut mei esto memor" (if *esto* is in the second person sing.). There is one letter from Augustus to Maecenas, quoted in Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 2,4,12, which uses the *tu*. The mention of Maecenas may be a form of flattery, since it puts Piccolomini in the role of Maecenas versus Sigismund as Augustus.

writer transgresses the societal norms expected by the addressee by referring to the Italians and the Ancients. Thus, it reverts to an earlier typology of metadiscourse, of which we have cited late medieval and early humanist examples (Petrarch). It will be taken up by German humanists after Piccolomini and used in many variations, which I will discuss in the following.

The actual influence of this letter is of course difficult to gauge. That the letter must have circulated is attested by the fact that it was translated into German by the early editor of Piccolomini's letters, Niklas von Wyle, as the tenth piece of his *Translatzen* (Translations).[26] In general, Piccolomini did not hesitate to dispense appreciation and encouragement to his German correspondents.[27]

Piccolomini had drawn no theoretical distinction between the public and the private letter, but in his practice diverged considerably from his theoretical premises. He remained on 'humanist' terms, including the second person singular, with Sigismund, whom only weeks later he provided with an example letter in Latin to express his love to a young lady (*ep* I-1 104). But Thomas Ebendorfer, an imperial official, who at that point in his career acted as an ambassador for King Frederic, was addressed by him in the plural:

PICCOLOMINI *ep* I-1 107, to Thomas Ebendorfer (27. 12. 1443)

Eximie doctor major honorande. litteras, quas ad me nuper misistis …

Excellent and most honourable doctor. The letter you [*vos*] recently sent me … .

This was obviously a necessity at the time; when Piccolomini revised his collected letters, he carefully 'converted' this and other letters to the second person singular.[28]

Before we look at how German letter writers articulated the problems posed by the adoption of the universal *tu*, it may be useful to discuss at least briefly the larger context for the usage of *tu* and *vos*.[29] As far as the sources

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[26] Wyle 1861, 199–220. The translation is undated. Since it refers to editorial plans of Wyle which never came to fruition, it may have been written shortly before his death in 1478. For a brief appreciation see Bernstein 1978, 52–53. Wyle's edition of Piccolomini's *Epistole familiares* appeared 'not after 1478,' the printer and the place of printing are not indicated (ISTC ip00716000). The letter to Sigismund is on fol.94r–101r. For Niklas von Wyle's biography see Worstbrock 1987 and 1993.

[27] See PICCOLOMINI *ep* III-1 47 to Niklas von Wyle (ca. July 1452), where the *caracteres rotundi* of his handwriting as well as the style of a letter of Niklas are praised. On Piccolomini's "literarische Werbekampagne" (literary publicity campaign) see Weinig 1998, 98–99.

[28] See Wolkan in Piccolomini 1909, XIV–XVI.

[29] I would like to thank Annet den Haan who alerted me to extant variations in addressing God in European vernaculars.

permit us to say, the preferred mode of address in the oldest Germanic writings we have was the second person singular. Latin writings in the early Middle Ages also oscillated to some degree: *vos* expressing a larger – social as well as geographical – distance, while the *tu* could indicate closer contact, also between social unequals.[30] With the codification of rules in the *artes epistolandi*, usage became more fixed, and at the beginning of the period under purview the *tu* seems to have been used only between young people of the same sex in more or less private contexts. Even married couples (see Penelope's letter mentioned above) and young lovers addressed each other as *vos* in public (also in German).[31] In other social contacts, in so far as they are put into writing, the *vos* seems to dominate. Niklas von Wyle's eighteenth translation dating from 1478, with the topic "wie man aim yeden in sinem stande ain gebürlich vberschrift setzen sŏlt" (how to use the correct address for all according to their rank, p. 191), basically upholds the precepts of the *ars epistolandi*.[32]

One problem for German letter writers wishing to use the new universal *tu* was the fact that the new trends of style were not yet widely known in the North. [33] Again and again a writer inserted a metacomment to explain why

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[30] Ehrismann 1901. The social sensibilities involved from the perspective of the noble-man complaining about the lack of the respect he felt was due to him are formulated by Felix Hemmerlin in his *De nobilitate et rusticitate dialogus*, chapter 3 (c. 1444/1450). See *Felicis malleoli vulgo hemmerlein* […] *De nobilitate et rusticitate dialogus et alia opuscula*. [Straßburg: Johann Prüss], [c. 1500] (ISTC ih00015000), fol.IX^v–XIII^r. For Hemmerlin see Colberg 1981.

[31] A splendid example from Nuremberg, 1465, of how young lovers and their friends addressed each other in German in public and private is in the papers of a court case publi-shed by Reicke 1908. In short, Barbara Löffelholtz, the young lady at the centre of the affaire, uses the second person plural in the amorous banter with her boyfriend (p. 142 & 143 = p. 166 & 169), second person singular with her female best friend (p. 144 = p. 167) and once the *du* with her boyfriend in a rhyme (p. 162). The papers also quote a formula for concluding the marriage customary in Nuremberg, which uses the second person singular (p. 172).

[32] I use the text printed in Wyle 2002, 191–204. The discussion about the social para-meters determining the pronoun in the singular or plural is in chapter 5, p. 200 (= Wyle 1861, 360). Wyle's examples make it clear that he is concerned with official correspon-dence only. A brief overview is in Bernstein 1978, 59.

[33] Presumably, an explanation was inserted when the recipient might be unaware of the new custom or find it objectionable, not necessarily because it was new *per se*. No such declaration is e.g. known between Hermann Schedel and Sigismund Gossembrot, although SCHEDEL-He *ep* 9 from 1458 (a letter of congratulations to Gossembrot, who had become mayor) shows this was still a matter that needed reflection. In this case Schedel wrote the initial draft using *vos* and only later corrected it to *tu*; see the edition by Worstbrock 2000, 48–52, for *vos/tu ibid.* p. 48.

he used *tu* against the expectations of the addressee; in this way we can catch a glimpse of their 'inner monologue,' as it were. [34]

The introduction of the *tu* was probably least risky between friends, as between Hermann Schedel and his (younger) uncle Hartmann:[35]

> SCHEDEL-He *ep* 31, to Hartmann Schedel (1460)
>
> Deinde, patrue amantissime, ne dedigneris velim, quod singulariter sim te allocutus scribendo, quia zelus intimi amoris plus tibizando quam vobizando meo iudicio ostenditur, quod utique summum, temporibus quoad vixero, fixum in me fore scias.[36]
>
> Now, my dear uncle, please don't be indignant because I address you in the singular in writing. In my opinion the zeal of intense love is better expressed by 'tu' than by 'vos.' You can be sure that this [i. e. my affection for you] will be fixed in me in the highest degree in all the time of my life.

The declaration may have been triggered by the promotion of Hartmann to the *magisterium*[37] at the university of Leipzig (the letter quoted is a letter of congratulation), since the owner of a university degree according to medieval standards could have expected a more formal address. The same Hermann Schedel encourages another of his correspondents, Wilhelm von Reichenau, to use the new *tu*:

> SCHEDEL-He *ep* 38, to Wilhelm von Reichenau, vicar of the bishop of Eichstätt[38] (1460)
>
> Preterea familiarius amplius mihi tibisando scribas velim, quoniam zelus fraterni ac intimi amoris plus tibisando quam vobisando meo iudicio dinoscitur.
>
> Anyway, henceforth I would like you to address me more familiarly with the 'tu;' in my opinion the intensity of close brotherly affection is more visible using 'tu' than 'vos.'

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[34] Whether there would be a difference between written and oral metacomments of this type cannot be discussed here, since we lack examples of the latter. The metadiscursive insertions in letters that we are going to discuss are what has been designated *conceptually oral* elements in variationist terminology, as is emphasized by the frequent presence of words like *loqui* and *alloqui* besides *scribere* (see Koch & Oesterreicher 2001 and Dürscheid 2003; about the rich terminology see Mao 1996).

[35] For Hartmann Schedel see Hernad & Worstbrock 2011, for the uncle Hermann, Schnell 1992.

[36] The recurring phrase "quia zelus intimi amoris …" appears first in a letter of Gossembrot from 1459 quoted below; Hermann Schedel must have known this or a similar letter.

[37] As noted by Hermann 1896, 39.

[38] For Wilhelm von Reichenau see Wendehorst 2006, 220–241.

In both passages, the shift to the humanist *tu* is combined with another topos of humanist letter writing, the expression of unlimited affection between sender and recipient. In the latter case the person who might, as a Church official, be higher up the social ladder is invited to use the *tu* by the sender of the letter, who sets the example simply by using it.

Later letters in Schedel's correspondence show that in the 1460s the introduction of the humanist *tu* was still very much under development. Hartmann does not follow Hermann Schedel's example, but addresses his (older) nephew with *vos* (*ep* 44 and 45, both from 1462), as does Hermann himself the young Ulrich Gossembrot (the son of Sigismund; *ep* 50, 1463) and others; he even returns to the *vos* in letters to Hartmann and Valentin Eber, whom he had previously addressed as *tu*.[39]

Once there was a major social distance between sender and recipient, the shift to the universal *tu* became commensurately more complex, and the operation had to be undertaken with great care. In the following quotation, Sigismund Gossembrot, an Augsburg business man, is writing to Cardinal Peter of Schaumberg, Bishop of Augsburg. The bishop had a certain interest in the new cultural currents and was in fact a sort of patron of intellectuals in the city:[40]

> GOSSEMBROT-S *Schedel-H ep* 18, to Cardinal Peter von Schaumberg (1459)
>
> Denique, maior affabilissime, ne dedigneris velim, quod singulariter sim te allocutus. Pater celestis ita sibi affari nos docuit, cui tu magna virtutum et dignitatum excellencia appropinquas, tum zelus intimi amoris plus tibizando quam vobisando meo iudicio ostenditur.
>
> All in all, most courteous of men, please do not be angry because I have addressed you in the singular. The heavenly father whom you approach in your worthy and excellent virtues has taught us to address him thus, and in my opinion one's close affection is better shown by 'tu' than by 'vos.'

Here two reasons are combined: we address God in the singular, and affection is better expressed in the singular. The argument that we address God in the singular in our prayers is not new, but Gossembrot adapts it to

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[39] To Hartmann Schedel: *ep* 85, which is tentantively dated to 1470. As we have only Hermann's draft we cannot be sure whether and in what form the letter was actually sent. — To Valentin Eber: *tu*: *ep* 37 (1460), 73 (1467); *vos*: *ep* 74 (1467; this letter is a continuation of *ep* 73; thus the shift from *tu* to *vos* is all the more jarring), 75, 76, 77 (all 1467), 81 (1468), 102 (undated). An explanation was offered by Hermann 1896, 39–40. About Valentin Eber see Worstbrock 1980.

[40] For Gossembrot see Worstbrock 1981, for Peter von Schaumberg Kreuzer 2001.

his own social exigencies by giving it a twist: it is not that what is good enough for God must suffice for human beings, but that the cardinal, being godlike, *deserves* the same address we use for Him. Gossembrot adds an argument that had been a favourite of the Italians, the grammatical illogicality of using the plural for a single entity:

> cum de te loquor alijs, non dico: "reverendissimus Cardinalis mihi dixerunt," set: "dixit," ubi claret, quod vobisacio litterarum non tanti honoris est.

> when I speak of you to others, I do not say: "The most reverend cardinal have said," but "has said;" here it is clear that the plural in the letters does not indicate that much honour.

The one argument which was always present, implicitly or explicitly, was that the universal *tu* was a custom of the ancients. In the examples we have seen so far, the sender – despite all protestations – simply created a *fait accompli* by using the *tu* and apologizing for it or explaining it afterwards. Obviously Ludwig Rad,[41] secretary to Peter of Schaumberg, was less sure of himself, even though he was writing to his cousin, shifting back and forth between *tu* and *vos*:

> RAD-L *Wyle ep ed. Wolkan* 23, to Victor Nigri (1462)

> Sit uobis gratum, oro, singularis mea allocucio, suaue enim admodum mihi visum est et priscorum normam sapere.

> I pray that my address in the singular be welcome to you [*vobis*!]. In my opinion it is very pleasant and expresses the way of writing of the ancients.

The problem probably was that the addressee of the letter, Victor Nigri (Schwarzhans), was abbot of the monastery of Alpirsbach,[42] thus a person of distinction; four years later, the same Ludwig Rad was still not sure how the recipient would take the use of the *singularis numerus*, although here Rad simply uses it and explains afterwards:

> RAD-L *Wyle ep ed. Wolkan* 10, to the same (1466)

> Allocutus sum te, obseruantissime pater et suauissime patruelis, singulari numero, non, mihi crede, elata ceruice aut spiritu superbo, sed ut littere antiquitatem saperent, quam plurimum amo.

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[41] For Rad see Worstbrock 1989b.
[42] For Nigri see Weining 1998, 73 n.132. Lehmann 1918, 422.

I have addressed you [*te*], venerable father and sweetest cousin, in the singular, not – believe me – from pride and arrogance, but so that my letter would have a sheen of antiquity, which I love very much.

German humanists adopted the new style because it was the custom of *antiquitas*; this is an argument which Piccolomini had already brought forth (see above), accompanying his second argument, that it was the custom of the country from which the new cultural trends came. Niklas von Wyle,[43] the translator and editor of Piccolomini, formulated his admiration for the 'Italian' style in the following way:

WYLE *ep* 2, to a Swiss correspondent (c. 1450)

Vale et quod te singulari modo numero appellavi, non egre ferto, quia et Italorum morem et omnium veterum haud ignoras consuetudinem.

Farewell, and don't be offended that I just addressed you in the singular: you know very well the usage of the Italians and the custom of all the ancients.

This is in one sentence the core motivation for much of the reception of Italian humanism in Southern Germany: the reception of the custom of the Italians and, through it, access to the usage of antiquity.

5. New Grammars for New Rules

The 'usage of the Italians' was finally presented in a coherent system in the first humanist *ars epistolandi,* Niccolò Perotti's *De epistolis componendis*, published in Rome in 1473 as part of the *Rudimenta grammatices* (Basics of grammar). Perotti is unequivocal in his disdain for the traditional *vos*:

PEROTTI *rud* 1121

Illud etiam summo studio fugiendum est ne ad unum scribens pluratiuo numero utaris, in quem errorem omnes feré nostrae aetatis homines incurrerunt, putantes se magis honorare eum ad quem scribunt si barbare loquantur. In qua re non tam ignorantiam hominum admiror quam stultitiam. Nam si id honoris causa non faciunt, cur barbare loquuntur? Si uero id honoris causa agunt, cur eo quoque sermone deum non honorant, quem singulari numero affantur? An maior in loquendo reuerentia regi aut pontifici debetur quam deo?

Also to be utterly avoided is the use of the plural when you write to one person. This is an error committed by nearly all in our times, thinking that they honour the person they write to more by expressing themselves barbarously. In this I found people's stupidity even more

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[43] For Wyle see above p.73 and n.26.

astounding than their ignorance. If this has to do with respect, why not speak to God in the same way? Him they address in the singular. Or should speech to a king or a pope express more reverence than to God?

And later he categorically declares (*rud* 1122):

In secunda uero persona nemo unquam doctus ad unum dirigens sermonem pluraliter locutus est.

Regarding the second person, no one of any learning has ever used the plural when addressing *one*.

Perotti's grammar was reprinted some fifty times in the first ten years after its initial printing, and especially from Venice easily penetrated the Southern German market. Indeed, Perotti's grammar was everywhere, as the syndicus of Vienna University, Bernhard Perger, observed approvingly. However, according to him it was not ideally suited for German students because it presupposed an unrealistically high level of Latin and because its example sentences were in Italian.[44]

Perger[45] himself in 1479 therefore wrote a *Grammatica nova* with the subtitle *Artis grammaticae introductorium [...] fere ex Nicolae Peroti grammatici eruditissimi traditionibus [...] translatum* (Introduction to grammar mainly derived from the rules of the most learned grammarian Niccolò Perotti),[46] which, like Perotti's *Rudimenta*, contained a chapter on letter writing. Perger tried to make his work more useful to the students he expected to study from it. Perotti's rant on the barbarity of not saying *tu* to all is absent and is not even mentioned as an alternative possibility, as discussed by Perger in other cases (e.g. the *salutatio*, where he admits both the tra-

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[44] "Nam et si Nicolai Peroti rudimenta, que passim a librariis venalia circumferuntur adeo [ado *ed.*] docte, adeo plane grammatice vim atque naturam explicent ut nihil suppletione dignum scriptoribus reliquerit, tamen et ob italicorum linguam vernaculam plerisque in locis insertam et exempla presertim propriorum nominum nostris prorsus incognita, tum ob multa alia que solidiore egent etate, parum vsui eam doctrinam adolescentibus alemanicis obuenire comperimus" (Perotti's *Basics of Grammar* can be bought everywhere in bookstores; they explain the aim and nature of grammar with so much learning and clarity that they seem to leave nothing to add to other authors. However, since they contain Italian vernacular phrases in many spots and examples, especially with proper names which are entirely unknown to readers here and also because they contain much other stuff which requires a more advanced age, we have made the experience that this model of teaching is less than useful for German youngsters; Bernard Perger, *Nova grammatica*, Heidelberg ? ca. 1491, ISTC ip00280300, sig.a2v).

[45] See Worstbrock 1989a; for Perger's grammar Simoniti 1975, 214–216.

[46] The 'subtitle' (in reality the colophon) changes from print to print; this one is quoted from the edition Heidelberg ? ca. 1491, ISTC ip00280300, sig.viiir (explicit).

ditional and the new/classical form). Clearly Perger did not think this piece of humanist revolution was going to be useful to German letter writers.

It will take twenty years more for this particular facet of the Italian humanist style to enter the manuals of letter writing composed by German humanists, with Heinrich Bebel's *Commentaria epistolarum conficiendarum*, first published in Strassburg 1503. Bebel has a chapter "Ne quemquam vnum in scribendo alloquemur numero plurali et, vt vulgo dicitur, ne vobisemus illum ad quem scribimus" (That we should not address a single person in the plural in writing, and, as one says, '*vos*ize' [*vobisemus*] the person we write to):

> BEBEL *Commentaria epistolarum conficiendarum* fol.XII^v–XIII^r (1503)
>
> Omnium igitur tam graecorum et latinorum quam hebraeorum tam gentilium quam christianorum consensu id approbatum est, vt omnes cuiuscumque conditionis vel dignitatis homines singulari numero alloquemur. qui aliter fecerit sciat se non solum contra omnium maiorum quos tamen honestissimum est sequi consuetudinem fecisse, sed etiam barbarissime se locutum.
>
> There is broad agreement among Greeks, Latins, Hebrews, heathens as well as Christians that we address all persons of whatever standing or dignity in the singular. Anybody doing otherwise should know that he is disregarding the practice of earlier generations whom it is most proper to follow, and he is expressing himself in a most clumsy way.

By this point, this is a fairly well known rule of Italian epistolography. It has been a long time since a letter writer had to explain to a recipient why he was addressing him with the intimate *tu*.[47]

6. Conclusion

In Italian humanism, epistolary theory concerning the use of *tu* was initially propagated by metacomments, that is, explanatory statements inserted into letters. At first these were, as they had been in the late Middle Ages, authorial justifications for transgression of the traditional norm. In the generation after Petrarch these shifted to a more assertive (meta)discourse concerning the adoption of the *tu* within the humanist community and beyond. By the time the first larger theoretical text (Perotti's *De epistolis scribendis*) was written, the innovation was universally accepted and individual metacomments were no longer needed. In an overlapping timeframe, the

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[47] Erasmus' *Libellus de conscribendis epistolis*, completed c. 1499 (but printed only in 1521), uses the *tu* throughout the example sentences given. For date and context see Henderson 2009, 26.

development repeated itself within Early Southern German humanism. The crucial stimulus by Italian humanism was provided by Piccolomini, who at the very beginning of his tenure at the imperial court brought humanist epistolary theory to an environment as yet untouched by, and for some time wary of, Italian intellectual trends. Piccolomini offered his version of the humanist metadiscourse on letter writing as a passage in a letter where he used the *tu* 'inappropriately' to address a social superior. For as long as the tenets of the new movement were insufficiently established within the nascent humanist community, it was this form of transgressive meta-comment that was the standard form of explanation of the humanist *tu* used by Southern German letter writers. Every metacomment in a letter contained an illocutionary element and thus – in a *mise en abyme*[48] – had to apply internally the very rule it offered for the text into which it was inserted. In the Italian examples we have cited, the metacomments followed the same rule internally as the surrounding text. Southern German writers, on the other hand, sometimes explained the *tu* in a letter by a metacomment using *vos*, thus revealing the tension in social sensibility created by the spread of this particular epistolary rule. In the same vein, the back-shifting from *tu* to *vos* that we can occasionally observe in consecutive letters to the same recipient (Hermann Schedel) shows not only that the new cultural paradigm was only being haltingly accepted, but also that the private letter as a category with a distinct code of writing was slow to establish itself (see Piccolomini's editorial interventions in his own letters). Metacomments in Southern German humanism were mostly authorial: that is to say, they explained the choices of the letter writer concerning his own text. Only rarely do we have a metacomment that exhorts another to adopt the new *tu*. The lengthy metacomments offered by Italian humanists (such as Piccolomini) have no counterpart in Southern German humanism. In the end, as in Italy, metacomments concerning the *tu* were no longer necessary, as the German humanist community had become widely aware of the new Italian paradigm of classical epistolary style, which soon could be learned from new theoretical texts (Bebel's *Commentaria epistolarum conficiendarum*).

The advent of the new humanist manuals of style opened a new chapter in the reception of Italian humanist epistolography. With the adoption of printing as a means of distributing cultural information, the access to Italian culture became significantly easier. If anything, this increased the tension between the new Italian and the established late medieval style: the 'pure'

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[48] The definition most useful to me was Wolf 2004/2013.

Italian theory was adapted in various ways so as to accommodate the social needs of transalpine letter writers of the early sixteenth century.[49]

Thus, the achievements of the early German humanists did not lie in their writings; indeed, from a standpoint of pure humanist language use it was all too easy to find points to criticize. What these early adopters of Italian culture developed was a basic understanding of how Italian humanist culture could be integrated into a preexisting social value system: how it could be used to transform an intellectual world substantially different from the one in which humanist culture had originated. The development of a new cultural identity, of which I have presented a small detail, was the achievement upon which successive generations of Latin writers would build.

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[49] I would like to thank the anonymous peer reviewer for pointing out that the question of classical vs. late medieval usage not only was an ongoing concern in the circle of Erasmus and amongst contemporary humanists, but remained alive into the seventeenth century; the reviewer also referred me to Henderson's article (2009) exploring the development in the early sixteenth century.

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QUESTIONING VIRGIL:

Poetic Ambition and Religious Reform in Erasmus Lætus and Baptista Mantuanus

By Trine Arlund Hass

The main focus of this paper is the Neo-Latin work Bucolica *(Wittenberg 1560) by the Danish humanist poet Erasmus Lætus, and in particular the introduction to his third eclogue. Laetus's* Bucolica *is permeated by a striving both after a loftier genre and for career advancement on behalf of the poet. However, at the beginning of the third eclogue the reader is presented with a metadiscursive passage in which a first-person narrator (Lætus?) hails and celebrates the validity of bucolic poetry and challenges the imperative to strive after nobler genres. Comparing Lætus's work with Baptista Mantuanus's* Adolescentia *(1498), which also renders an inversion of similar ambitions as a metadiscourse, the paper examines the questioning of poetic ambition in Lætus's work and attempts to reconcile it with the seemingly contradictory ambition for epic that is also expressed.*

This paper examines metadiscourse on poetics, style and content in a passage staged as a Muse invocation: that is, in a passage where the narrator/poet reflects on his narrative and its form. *Metadiscourse* is here understood as reflection within a work on the work itself and its code, where code is understood as genre or poetics.[1] This kind of metadiscourse may also be defined as *metapoetics*:[2] poems reflecting on their own poetic nature. The investigations are especially directed towards the poems' reflections on their own genre and on genre decorum.

The main focus is a bucolic collection of Neo-Latin eclogues: Danish Erasmus Lætus's *Bucolica,* printed in Wittenberg in 1560. Lætus's

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[1] For instance, this complies with Roman Jakobson's definition of the metalingual language function as communication about code: "A distinction has been made in modern logic between two levels of language: 'object language' speaking of objects and 'meta-language' speaking of language [Jakobson refers to Alfred Tarski]. But metalanguage is not only a necessary scientific tool utilized by logicians and linguists; it plays also an important role in our everyday language... Whenever the addresser and/or the addressee need to check up whether they use the same code, speech is focused on the code: it performs a *metalingual* (i.e. glossing) function." Jakobson 2010, 1150.

[2] For a general definition see e.g. Beardsley & Raval 1993, s.v. "Metacriticism."

introduction to the third eclogue will be the core of the study. In this poem
we are presented with a metadiscursive passage in which the narrator states
that the bucolic form should be considered as valid in its own right, and that,
in spite of traditional views, such genres as tragedy and heroic epic should
not necessarily be the object of the poet's ambitions. In view of the overall
design of the work, this statement seems peculiar, since there is a general
movement towards heroic epic in the work, especially towards the end,
where the poet recommends himself as capable of loftier genres.

The paper has three parts. After an initial presentation of the metadis-
course in question and its role in bucolic poetry, the introduction of Eclogue
3 will, first, be treated with regard to intertextuality to see how it relates to
Virgil, the most important classical model in this period. The aim is to show
how Lætus inverts his classical model so as to present an alternative state-
ment. Secondly, Lætus's passage will be compared to *Eclogue* 5 of the
influential work, *Adolescentia*, 1498, by the Carmelite poet Baptista Mantu-
anus (Mantuan), where we also find an unusual rejection of poetic ambition
presented as a metadiscourse. The analysis of Mantuan is contextualized in
the paper's third part, where the circumstances and immediate *fortuna* of the
work are considered and compared to the political and religious
circumstances of Lætus's *Bucolica*. In this light, an interpretation of Lætus's
metadiscourse is suggested that will allow the seemingly contrasting
statements about poetic ambition in his work to be reconciled.

Bucolic poetry and metadiscoursivity

A frequent theme of metareflections in bucolic poetry is tension between
form and content. From its very origin, one of the core elements of this
genre has been the tension between low and high style. In Theocritus's
Idylls, simple shepherds converse in rustic Doric dialect, but their lines are
organized in effortless hexameters, the epic metre, and many of their stories
and descriptions of pastoral events and objects are intertextual and based on
Homeric sources or *hypotexts*, to use Genette's term.[3] Virgil too employs
the tension between simple and complex, low and high in his *Eclogues*. At
the beginning of his fourth eclogue, this tension is verbalized by the narrator
as he admits to transgressing the limits of the humble bucolic universe in
order to describe the coming of the Golden Age:

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[3] Genette 1997, 5: "By hypertextuality I mean any relationship uniting a text B (which I
shall call the *hypertext*) to an earlier text A (I shall, of course, call it the *hypotext*), upon
which it is grafted in a manner that is not that of commentary." In this text, *intertextuality*,
the term coined by Julia Kristeva, is used to designate the imitative relationship between
texts on a general level. Genette has suggested the alternative term *transtextuality*.

> Sicelides Musae paulo maiora canamus
> Non omnis arbusta iuvant humilesque myricae;
> Si canimus silvas, silvae sint consule dignae.

(Sicilian Muses, let us sing a somewhat loftier strain. Not all do the orchards please and the lowly tamarisks. If our song is of the woodland, let the woodland be worthy of a consul. Virgil, Eclogue 4. 1–3)[4]

The Muses are invited to inspire a slightly more elevated song to please those who do not favour the low style. They will still sing of rural matters, but in a way refined enough to please distinguished people accustomed to urbane poetry in the high style. The Sicilian Muses are the Muses of Theocritus of Sicily: they inspire and cherish bucolic poetry and style; and the trees and tamarisks, although they have figurative meaning, may evoke associations with the woodland Muse addressed at the beginning of the collection: "Tityre tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi/ silvestrem tenui Musam meditaris avena;" (You, Tityrus, lie under your spreading beech's covert, Wooing the woodland Muse on slender reed: Virgil, Eclogue 1.1–2).[5] The invocation to the Muses in Virgil's Eclogue 4.1–2 can, consequently, be read as a metadiscourse, a verbalized reflection on the decorum of the bucolic genre in which Virgil's narrator voice is discussing the code of the poem he is introducing by considering the relationship between code, content, and receivers.

For the Renaissance humanists, it was not only Virgil, but the Late Antique understandings of his life and works that influenced the conception and orchestration of Latin poetry in the Virgilian genres.[6] In the prefaces to the Late Antique commentaries, the conventional intratextual tension between bucolic and epic poetry is associated with Virgil's literary career. Donatus's preface to the lost commentary on the *Eclogues* assigns the three levels of style to the three Virgilian genres:

> aut cum tres modi sint elocutionum, quos χαρακτῆρας Graeci uocant, ἰσχνός qui tenuis, μέσος qui moderatus, ἁδρός qui ualidus intellegitur, credibile erit Vergilium, qui in omni genere praeualeret, Bucolica ad primum modum, Georgica ad secundum, Aeneidem ad tertium uoluisse conferre.

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[4] Tr. Fairclough, see Virgil 1935.

[5] Ibid.

[6] The popularity of the works by Servius and Donatus is reflected in the amount of editions of the commentaries circulating in the Renaissance. Servius tops Wilson-Okamura's list of "Virgil commentaries ranked by number of printings". He has registered 119 editions of the commentary on the *Eclogues* printed between 1469 and 1599 with 119 editions. Donatus's *Vita* is second on the list with 107 editions. Wilson-Okamura 2010, 31–35 & 268.

(or, since there are three styles [*modi*] of speech – what the Greeks call *charaktêrai*: *ischnos*, which is understood to mean "meagre" [*tenuis*]; *mesos*, "moderate" [*moderatus*]; and *hadros*, "powerful" [*validus*] – one might think that Virgil desired to devote his *Bucolics* to the first mode, his *Georgics* to the second, and the *Aeneid* to the third, in order to distinguish himself in every kind [*genus*] of poetry. Donatus, *Vita Virgilii* 58–59)[7]

This passage may seem to force a label of low or simple style on the *Eclogues*, but at the same time it underlines the link between that poetic genre and the higher literary styles, because the three genres – bucolic, didactic and heroic epic poetry – are presented as a coherent hierarchy. This means that engagement in the composition of Virgilian eclogues inherently prompts the reader to envision his progression towards didactic and heroic epic; and this same expectation arises for the poet who subscribes to the traditional understanding of Virgil.

For the humanists, this way of reading and understanding Virgil was so well established that it is expressed in the humanistic bucolic poems proper. The conception of bucolic poetry as a stepping stone, working in parallel with the conception of Virgil's poems as autobiographical allegories, makes way for metadiscourses about how and with what purpose bucolic poetry is to be composed. Petrarch can serve as example: in the first eclogue of his *Bucolicum Carmen*, Petrarch's poetic persona is presented with a simple pastoral life in the religious orders, which he rejects in favour of a more troublesome secular path. He chooses Homer and Virgil as his role-models in preference to the David of the Old Testament, who is presented as an alternative model, and his endeavours to pursue his ideal are what drive the general plot of the work forward. This choice leads to the presentation of a journey shaped after the Virgilian career model, leading from Vaucluse to Italy and from bucolic poetry towards heroic epic.[8] Petrarch's use of Virgil as model not only for his poetry but for the description of his career thus

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[7] Tr. Wilson-Okamura, see Donatus 2008. Servius has the same classification, but uses the following terms for the three *genera dicendi*: *humile*, *medium*, *grandiloquum* (Servius, *In Vergilii Bucolicon Librum, Pr.* l. 16–21).

[8] For an introduction to *Bucolicum Carmen*, its themes and general plot, and a reading of the twelve eclogues as an allusion to the twelve books of Virgil's *Aeneid*, see Carrai 2009. Hass 2013b treats Eclogue 11 of *Bucolicum Carmen* as a key to the fictionalization of Petrarch's poetic career in order to make it match the Virgilian model. This text also considers Perarch's notations in Ambr. S. P. 10/27 where both Virgil's text and Servius' commentary is annotated. Laird 2010 investigates the role of Virgil's career for Petrarch and confirms how Petrarch displays his works as following Virgil's model although that is a fictionalization of reality (esp. Laird 2010, 145-47).

confirms how dependent he is on the conception of the Virgilian genres that goes back at least to Late Antiquity. In this context, his work functions as an example of what develops into a tendency: one, however, that is directly opposed by Mantuan's work and seemingly questioned by Lætus's Eclogue 3, as we shall see in the following.[9]

Erasmus Lætus's Eclogue 3

Bucolica is a collection of seven Neo-Latin eclogues written by the Danish theologian Erasmus Lætus (ennobled in 1563), published in Wittenberg in 1560.[10] Lætus was an important intellectual and poetic figure in sixteenth-century Denmark. In 1559, the year before he published the *Bucolica*, he was made professor of theology at the university in Copenhagen. In 1560, Lætus was in Wittenberg to obtain the doctorate degree in theology required to take up the office of professor. Lætus actually managed to imitate Virgil's literary career. He wrote several other extensive works of Latin poetry. Among them are a didactic poem, *De Re Nautica* (Basel 1573), dedicated to the city council of Venice, and two epic poems, *Margaretica* (Frankfurt am Main 1573), dedicated to Queen Elizabeth of England, and *Res Danicae* (Frankfurt am Main 1574) dedicated to Danish King Frederik II.

Current research agrees that Lætus's *Bucolica* is permeated by personal and poetic ambition.[11] The work has a dedicatory letter by none other than Philipp Melanchthon, addressed to none other than the Danish king, Frederik II (r. 1559–1588), and although only two of its seven eclogues explicitly treat matters of kings, these two poems take up half of the total number of verses in the work: 1,607 of 3,215 verses.[12] Lætus's poetic persona is staged as a main character in the work, while he himself does not figure as interlocutor until the last eclogue. This poem begins with the classical Muses being translated to Denmark in the sense of a *translatio studii*. The poem is set just outside Copenhagen, indicating that Lætus is ready to enter the city and take up the urbane poetic genres. The ending of the work should be seen as an offer to the Danish King: Lætus offers his services as court poet, as he offers King Frederik the poetic fame and praise of a Renaissance prince; Lætus can make Frederik into a Danish Augustus if the King supports him and allows him to become a Danish Virgil, and

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[9] For a survey of Neo-Latin pastoral see e.g. Marsh 2014, s.v. 'Pastoral,' who confirms the above-described tendency.

[10] An account of Lætus's life in English can be found in Skovgaard-Petersen & Zeeberg, 1992, 399–400.

[11] See especially Skafte Jensen 1984 & 2004, and Zeeberg 2010.

[12] This division is identified by Skafte Jensen 2004, 27–36.

together the two of them can turn Copenhagen, and Denmark, into a new Rome.[13]

However, this ambition, which otherwise seems to tie the work together, is questioned by the narrator in another central location of the work, Eclogue 3, which is the centrepiece of the first part of the collection. Eclogue 3 opens with a dedication to Philipp Melanchthon in v. 1–22 which will be discussed below. First, we shall see how Lætus addresses Melanchthon (v. 1–6); and then there follows an analysis of how the key passage at v. 7–22 is shaped after Virgil's Eclogue 4.

The beginning of Eclogue 3 reads as follows:

> Pastorum Musam Iustique et Thyrsidis, æquo
> Certatam studio, lepidisqué relatibus auctam,
> Dicemus. Tu nostra, dijs accepte Melanthon
> Plectra moues, folijsque animam uiresqué dicatis,
> 5 Et placidus confers, et uotis ritè uocatus
> Agricolis, humilesqué casas et rura tueris.

(Let me tell of the Muse of shepherds Iustus and Thyrsis, for whom they competed with equal keenness and whom they enriched with their pleasant recitals. Melanchthon, you who have the gods' ears, you are moving our plectra, you are kindly turning your attention and energy to the pages dedicated to you, and solemnly called by the rustic prayers you are guarding the humble cottages and the fields.)[14]

The dedication is not graphically demarcated from the rest of the text: it is in dactylic hexameters like the rest and thus only stands out from the remaining text by virtue of the direct address to Melanchthon. The dedicatee is referred to by his actual name, not as a bucolic persona. In this way Lætus makes use of what Genette terms a metalepsis as he lets his (extradiegetic) narrator address a person of the extrafictional world without adapting this person to the diegetic universe by fictionalizing him.[15] The metalepsis can

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[13] Zeeberg 2010, 845 and Skafte Jensen 2004, 63–64.

[14] Unless otherwise indicated, translations are my own.

[15] "Any intrusion by the extradiegetic narrator or narratee into the diegetic universe (or by diegetic characters into a metadiegetic universe, etc.), or the inverse [. . .]" (Genette [1972] 1980, 234–35), quoted from Pier 2016 who explains the narratological metalepsis as "a paradoxical contamination between the world of the telling and the world of the told" (ibid.) and goes on to quote a further characterization by Genette of narrative metalepsis as creating "deliberate transgression of the threshold of embedding […]: when an author (or his reader) introduces himself into the fictive action of the narrative or when a character in that fiction intrudes into the extradiegetic existence of the author or reader, such intrusions disturb, to say the least, the distinction between levels," (Genette [1983] 1988, 88, quoted from Pier 2016).

be seen as an effective way of marking a break in the fictional plot of the narrative and introducing a metadiscourse without leaving the artful world of fiction entirely. On the one hand the real name and person suggest that this passage is not on the same figurative level as the rest of the work, but on the other hand Melanchthon is placed side by side with fictional shepherds and addressed in the bucolic metre.

Melanchthon's status is briefly and naturally established from the beginning: he has the ear of the gods, he is the inspiration and drive of the singing shepherds, and he cares about the rustic environment and its inhabitants. Melanchthon thereby takes the place of the Muse in this poem, in a passage drawing on the well-established form of an invocation of a Muse.[16] The narrator is not concretized, but presented in the first-person plural. This means that the sender of the message can be read not only as the poet or narrator, but also as a conflation of the narrator and the evoked Muse, as is typical in invocations of the Muse.[17]

The respectful addressing of Melanchthon creates a contrast to the *agricolae*, for whom he is an inspiration and even a patron. In the description of their *casae* we find the term *humilis*. This word is a value-laden term in the discourse of bucolic decorum: it is Servius's synonym for Donatus's *tenuis,* used in his preface to designate the modest bucolic genre.[18] As I shall argue in the following, *humilis* can be seen as a marker of what will be the theme in the rest of the metadiscursive passage.

Here follow vv. 7–22 where the core of the metadiscourse unfolds. The underlining marks intertextual references to Virgil. My analysis of the relationship of Lætus's text to Virgil's aims to show how Lætus in his use of Virgil expands from what Genette would define as *hypertextuality*[19] to *metatextuality*, a presentation of critical commentary on the hypotext.[20]

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[16] Cf. Skafte Jensen 1993, 141: "The third eclogue has an introductory address to him, an invocation, as it were, in which the poet declares that Melanchthon is the one who has inspired him, having taught him to sing to the shepherd's lute ('Tu nostra... plectra moues')."

[17] E.g. Lucan, *Bellum Civile* 1.1–2: "Bella per Emathios plus quam ciuilia campos/ iusque datum sceleri canimus." (Of war I sing, war worse than civil, waged over the plains of Emathia, and of legality conferred on crime, tr. Duff, see Lucan 1928). The division of labour between singer and Muse is a debated matter. For a discussion, see e.g. De Jong 1987, 45–53.

[18] Servius, *In Vergilii Bucolicon Librum, Pr.* l. 16–21.

[19] Defined in note 3.

[20] *Metatextuality* is one of Genette's five types of transtextuality which he defines as one text critically commenting on another: "it unites a given text to another, of which it speaks without necessarily citing it (without summoning it), in fact sometimes even without naming it." Genette 1997, 4.

> Haud omnes excelsa iuuant Elea, superbis
> Sæpe quidem pulsata iugis, ubi Dædala tellus
> Ardua præcipiti statuit certamina cursu,
> 10 Et quinquennales palmæ dedit orbita ludos.
> Nec semper, quæ magna placent, grandique cothurno
> Scripta, Pelethronijs permixta laboribus ardent,
> Alcidæue ferunt calamo spumante labores:
> Sæpe etiam extremas, despectaqué culmina, Diui
> 15 Intrauere casas, latuitqué obscurus arenis
> Iuppiter hercæis, stagnisqué Tridentifer actus
> Exercet ualidas gyrata per æquora uires.
> Oblectant arbusta igitur, segnesque myricæ,
> Et conferre iocos, alternaque condere dicta
> 20 Pastorum, liceat: mollique retexere uersu
> Quam medias inter corylos, umbrasqué cadentes
> Personuit facilem mihi rustica tibia Musam.

(Not all men love advanced Elean matters like those often beaten in the proud acres where the hard, Daedalic ground raised competitions in rapid race, and the victory track gave the quinquennial games. And it is not always so that grand material is pleasing, that material written for the grave boot of tragedy and writings mixed with Pelethronic efforts shine, or that the labours of the Alcide can tolerate when the reedpipe is spluttering. The gods have also often looked down from their mountaintop and visited low cottages: Jupiter has hidden secretly in the sand as protector of the house, and the trident-bearer exercises his mighty powers in lakes when the surface is put into circular motion. Orchards and rustic tamarisks are, consequently, pleasing, and it must be allowed to make jests and construct alternating pastoral lines, and to renew the Muse in mellow verse, the easy Muse to whom my rustic flute gave voice where shadows fall among hazels. Lætus 3.7–22, my emphases).[21]

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[21] *Elea*, 'of Elis,' I take to mean 'Olympian' (Lewis & Short, s.v. 'Elis, II. A. Eleus, a, um, adj.'), as *quinquennales palmæ* must refer to the Olympic Games held with four-year intervals. The *gravis cothurnus* represents tragedy and elevated style as in Horace, *Ars Poetica* v. 80: "hunc socci cepere pedem [*i.e. iambum*] grandesque coturni" (this foot [*i.e. the iambus*] comic sock and high buskins alike adopted, tr. Fairclough, see Horace 1926) and on the connection of tragedy and high style: "Aeschylus … docuit magnumque loqui nitique cothurno" (Aeschylus … taught a lofty speech and stately gait on the buskin. Tr. Fairclough, see Horace 1926). Chiron taught Achilles to play the lyre, which accompanies heroic songs like those reported to be sung by Achilles in *Iliad* 9, in a cave in Pelethron (cf.

To begin with the formal aspect, this entire passage builds on an intertextual model; it is an amplification of the second verse of Virgil's Eclogue 4:

> Sicelides Musae, paulo maiora canamus.
> <u>non omnis arbusta juvant humilesque myricae</u>
> Si canimus silvas, silvae sint consule dignae.

(Sicilian Muses, let us sing a somewhat loftier strain. Not all do the orchards please and the lowly tamarisks. If our song is of the woodland, let the woodland be worthy of a consul. Virgil, Eclogue 4.1–3, my emphasis)[22]

Virgil's statement is made in very general terms. He creates an image using various components from the semantic sphere of flora and two adjectives designating low and high value. With very few words, Virgil's narrator states how the simple environment of pastoral is not to everyone's taste, and how he consequently hopes that the Muse will bestow dignity on the present poem and its attempt at a treatment of loftier material.

In his passage, Lætus has three references to Virgil's v. 2: v. 7, 11, and 18 (underlined in the quotation above). The three references divide Lætus's argument into three parts. The first reference comes close enough to the famous hypotext for the reader to recognize the model: it begins with a negation and repeats *omnis* (Lætus has *omnes*) and *juvant*. But then Lætus substitutes Virgil's brief and general statement, the *arbusta* and *humiles myricae*, with multiple examples extending over several lines, all the way down to v. 13. First he describes what can be interpreted as lyric poetry, exemplified with Pindaric Olympian odes (v. 7–10). Then Lætus recalls his version of the Virgilian premise again in v. 11, this time using entirely his own words. This second part exemplifies lofty poetry – tragedy (v. 11) and epic (v. 12) – and becomes as concrete as introducing a theme of this kind of poetry, namely the Labours of Heracles (v. 13).

V. 14–17 is a bridge to the third part. After arguing that the greatest of gods are present in the smallest things and the most modest environments, Lætus refers to Virgil's Eclogue 4. 2 for the third time in v. 18: "Oblectant arbusta igitur, segnesque myricæ." The last reference is a conclusive statement that is followed up by a final appeal to Melanchthon and (or as) the Muse.

On a formal level, we can see how Lætus weaves his own text into Virgil's. There is a movement from a partial re-use of Virgilian words to a

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e.g. Servius on Virgil, *Georgica* 3. 115). V. 13 probably refers to *The Shield of Hercules*, the didactic epic attributed to Hesiod.

[22] Tr. Fairclough, see Virgil 1935.

completely original phrasing, and lastly a return to Virgil's choice of words as Lætus mentions the *arbusta* and *myrica* in his v. 18. The expansion of Virgil's argument by a catalogue of genres suggests that Lætus reads his model as a statement about poetic hierarchy and genre decorum. However, the most conspicuous aspect of his use of the model is that in spite of returning to its wording, Lætus is not confirming the statement, but inverting it; in Lætus's argument, it is the loftier genres that are not pleasing to everyone. His reversion to Virgil's wording in the third reference highlights the contrast between his statement and that in his hypotext, whereby the relationship to Virgil's text transgresses from *hypertextuality* to *metatextuality*: Lætus is not merely building his text on Virgil's, he is presenting a critique of it. Lætus is not moving away from, but rather speaks in favour of modest bucolic poetry, and he uses Neptune's and Jupiter's care for modest places and people as his argument.

In v. 18 Lætus has replaced the genre term *humilis* with *segnis*.[23] This shows both that the argument is considered strong enough and that the model it is based on is familiar enough to stand alone without an explicit statement of what tradition conceives of as a keyword in the determination of style. *Humilis* is moved out of its original context and away from the noun it modifies in Virgil's text, and placed as early as v. 6 in the initial address of Melanchthon in order to present this leitmotif. Each of these three reworkings of Virgil's Eclogue 4. 2 presented, and especially the last, confirms *humilitas* to be the centre around which the introduction and its argument revolves. The repeated use of Eclogue 4. 2 as a hypotext thus demonstrates how Lætus embeds his argument in that of Virgil; but just as the hypotext is interwoven into Lætus's words and phrases, so he takes over the argument and transforms and adapts it to his particular context.

The opening of Virgil's Eclogue 4 contains a metadiscourse regarding bucolic decorum. The narrator acknowledges that the poem will deviate from the style and practice elsewhere in the collection, because the subject

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[23] According to the contemporary lexicon by Danish Henrik Smith, *Hortulus synonymorum*, *segnis* works as a synonym of *humilis*. *Segnis* is found among the following synonyms at the entry "v høuesk eller bonachtegh" (un-courtly or rustic/peasant-like): "Inurbanus, rusticus, leuis, inconditus, impolitus, indoctus, rudis, segnis, inefficax, tardus, obtusus, imprudens, stolidus, incomptus, horridus, incultus, sordidus, abiectus, vulgaris, humilis, barbarus, barbasculus, inquinatus, contaminatus, corruptus, inflatus, ventosus, vanus, inanis, spurcus, difficilis, dirus, illiberalis, angusti animi, abiecti animi." Smith 1974, 89, s.v. "segnis." I have used a digitized version through the database www.renæssance-sprog.dk published by the Danish Society of Language and Literature. On Smith's thesaurus, see the subpage http://xn--renssancesprog-2ib.dk/ordboger/om-ordboegerne/henrik-smith-1520. There are no indications as to whether Lætus used *Hortulus Synonymorum* or not.

requires it to. In the Virgilian tradition, these statements are connected to the ideas of bucolic decorum and the hierarchal division between the Virgilian genres. Servius describes Eclogue 4 as one of three eclogues that are not "entirely bucolic" in the proem of his commentary on the *Eclogues*:

> sane sciendum, vii. eclogas esse meras rusticas, quas Theocritus x. habet. hic in tribus a bucolico carmine, sed cum excusatione discessit, ut in genethliaco Salonini et in Sileni theologia, vel ut ex insertis altioribus rebus posset placere, vel quia tot varietates implere non poterat.

> (It is well-known that there are seven entirely rustic eclogues. Theocritus has ten of them. Virgil moves away from bucolic poetry in three eclogues, but he has an excuse like in Saloninus's birthday poem and in the theology of Silenus, either that he attempts to please by introducing certain higher subjects, or that he was unable to vary his material to that extent. Servius, *In Vergilii Bucolicon librum, Pr.* l. 64–67)[24]

Servius describes how the major part of the work is in a strictly rustic style corresponding to the ten bucolic idylls of Theocritus's corpus. Three poems, however, for various reasons adopt a higher style, whereby they can be seen to transgress the category of *humilis* introduced in the beginning of Servius's text.[25] This serves to signal that the *Eclogues* are to be understood as containing the ambition or progression entailed in the Virgilian *rota*.

Servius identifies the child in Virgil's Eclogue 4 as the son of Asinius Pollio, a boy named Saloninus. This means that he exemplifies the deviation from *eclogae merae rusticae* with Eclogues 4 and 6. The first reason suggested for the deviations – to please by introducing higher subjects – must apply here. Pollio was instrumental in introducing Virgil to Augustus and thus in his recovery of his estates in Mantua, as explained in the biography.[26] The idea expressed by Servius is, consequently, that in order to flatter influential men close to his prospective patron, Virgil has broken with the simplistic framework of the rustic bucolic poems.[27]

Lætus making the opposite point to Virgil draws extra attention to his statement that he is formulating his argument using this particular hypotext, and the fame of the hypotext – the 'messianic' eclogue – ensures that no

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[24] I follow Schiebe 1998, 54, who interprets the slightly obscure last part as meaning "not being able to form his (bucolic) material in a varied way so many times" (my translation).

[25] Servius, *In Vergilii Bucolicon librum, Pr.* l. 16–21.

[26] Donatus, *Vita Virgilii* 63 & Servius, *In Vergilii Aeneidos libros* 1, *Pr.* l. 13–21.

[27] See also Donatus, *Vita Virgilii* 65 for a similar explanation of the exposition of Eclogue 4.

reader will miss Lætus's innovation. Like Virgil, he celebrates an important supporter of his own work and career but Lætus also argues in favour of the quality of bucolic poetry, not necessarily in preferring it to other genres but as a valid alternative. The simplicity is not excused, but is recognized as valuable in its own right.

The desire to progress to more advanced genres is frequently found in humanistic bucolic poetry, as stated in my introduction and exemplified in Petrarch. For that reason it is remarkable that Lætus questions it in Eclogue 3, the more so since the rest of the work clearly displays an aspiration towards epic poetry and ensuring the king as his patron. However, if Lætus presents us with a coherent work yet does not intend us to read Eclogue 3 as an entirely separate entity with its own logic, he must be using the discussion of genre poetics and ambition as vehicle for a different theme. It may provide some insight into this seeming conflict to explore a parallel that may have been a source of inspiration for Eclogue 3.

Mantuan and the bucolic ambition

Lætus's conceptual model for this inversion of Virgil's introduction to Eclogue 4 may well be Baptista Mantuanus, the Carmelite monk whose bucolic work, *Adolescentia*, first printed in 1498, was more successful north of the Alps than in Italy: 165 editions of the work were printed between 1498 and 1600, only ten of them in Italy.[28] The work made its way into many school curricula, and a number of school commentaries appeared at the beginning of the sixteenth century.[29] In this work, Mantuan makes a point of not adhering to the tradition of ambition. He insists on rusticity and simplicity, to such a degree that Scaliger criticizes *Adolescentia* for being entirely rural and not containing anything urbane.[30] Mantuan explicitly makes this point in Eclogue 5, which will be my focus in the following. The core of this section is an analysis of the metadiscourse in Eclogue 5; but before that analysis, I will present the work and its central themes.

Adolescentia appears to have influenced Lætus's *Bucolica*. The most visible sign is Lætus's use of the name Myrmix. The name is used by Mantuan in his Eclogue 10, but does not predate it, and does not become a typical name after him in the bucolic tradition.[31] In Lætus's collection, a shepherd by the name of Myrmix plays an important role on the narrative level in the first part of the collection. Myrmix is the subject of Eclogues 2

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[28] Piepho 2009, Introduction 15.
[29] Coroleu 2014, 24–37surveys and discusses the commentaries.
[30] Scaliger, *Poetices libri septem* 1561, 6. 4.
[31] Mustard 1911, 150. On Mantuan, Eclogue 10. 3.

and 5, where he is described as a wise shepherd who learned divine secrets from the natural world around him in the Danish setting. There are various kinds of additional parallels and similarities between the two works: for instance, Lætus's last eclogue is entitled Faustus, just like Mantuan's first eclogue, and both works consist of a longer first part and a shorter second part with a slightly different theme.[32] However, the extent to which Mantuan's work can be said to have influenced Lætus's *Bucolica* still needs to be explored. The present suggestion of Mantuan's text as a source of inspiration for Lætus's metadiscursive passage in Eclogue 3 is based on conceptual intertextuality rather than straight textual, but the surrounding presence of eclogues telling Myrmix's story makes the comparison relevant.

Mantuan's collection consists of ten eclogues. He treats aspects of morality, love, and religion, and he presents both the story of his own calling to the religious life and a contemporary conflict within his own religious order over a major question touching its orientation and purpose. The collection can be divided into two parts which, according to the dedicatory letter written by Mantuan himself,[33] reflects the composition process. He wrote the first eight eclogues when he was young, before he became a monk, but revised and published them as *Adolescentia* in 1498, on which occasion the dedicatory preface was composed. Mantuan included two new eclogues, which he described as appropriate to and reflecting his current status as a Carmelite monk. The first part of *Adolescentia* ends with his entering on the religious life.

That the original work has been revised in the published work is directly visible in Eclogue 5. Here we meet a shepherd by the name of Candidus, although this persona does not fit into the part of the work containing the youthful poems since Candidus is the mask used by Mantuan for himself in Eclogues 9 and 10, that is, after he has become a monk. He uses this particular name because the word *candidus* (white) refers to the original uncoloured Carmelite habit, and because this marks his position in the Carmelite conflict.[34] But since the author's calling to the religious life is not described until Eclogues 7 and 8, Eclogue 5 (and 6) pause and disrupt the chronology of the overall trajectory of the collection.[35] Eclogue 5 treats the fate of poets and the role of patronage; and although in Eclogue 6 the interlocutors have changed, the considerations of city versus country life

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[32] These are presented in Hass 2011, 199–200 and Hass 2013a.

[33] "Frater Baptista Mantuanus Carmelita Paridi Ceresario dicit salutem," Severi 2010, 241.

[34] More about this in the following section.

[35] Hass 2012, 181 presents an alternative analysis of the work structure based on this observation.

found here can be seen as a continuation of the discussions in Eclogue 5. As will be demonstrated in the following, I read Eclogue 5 as a metadiscourse, because it explicitly discusses not only the work itself but also the bucolic genre.[36]

Eclogue 5 is introduced by Candidus's interlocutor, Silvanus, who asks Candidus why he is no longer grazing his flock in the company of Silvanus and his fellow shepherds. Candidus replies that he is unable to make a living and sing at the same time. He could do both when he was younger, but now he has become more fragile and he has more obligations. Silvanus suggests a solution to Candidus' problem:

> Candide, vidisti Romam sanctique senatus
> pontifices, ubi tot vates, ubi copia rerum
> tantarum? Facile est illis ditescere campis.

(Candidus, have you seen Rome and the prelates of its holy court where there are so many poets, so much abundance? 'Tis easy to grow wealthy in those fields. Mantuan 5. 111–113).[37]

This quotation shows how Mantuan relies on Virgil's ancient model: going to "urbem quam dicunt Romam"[38] to find security with the help of divine patronage is a topos known from Virgil's first eclogue. This model becomes important for the genre's success in the Renaissance as it includes the convention of applying for patronage. In Mantuan's work the potential patrons of Candidus's song are members of the *sanctus senatus*, an elegant adaption of the *deus* who provided Tityrus's *otium* in Virgil's text:[39] The traditional reading of Virgil's poem interprets the *deus* as Augustus, who restored Virgil his land, so the Pope and his court function nicely as a contemporary analogy. But when Candidus answers, we see that the nature of the references has changed, and that the distinction between fiction and reality is challenged as a consequence:

> Deciperis me velle putans ditescere. Vesci
> 115 et lupus omne animal crudis existimat escis,
> tuque putas alios quo tu pede claudere passum.

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[36] I read Eclogue 6 as a continuing the themes and discussions, but only Eclogue 5 will be treated here.

[37] Tr. Piepho 2009.

[38] Virgil, Eclogue 1. 19.

[39] Virgil, Eclogue 1. 6–8: O Meliboee, deus nobis haec otia fecit:/ namque erit ille mihi semper deus; illius aram/ saepe tener nostris ab ovilibus imbuet agnus. (O Meliboeus, it is a god who wrought for us this peace – for a god he shall ever be to me; often shall a tender lamb from our folds stain his altar. Tr. Fairclough, see Virgil 1935).

Non ego ditare cupio, sed vivere parvo.
Fac habeam tenuem sine solicitudine victum,
hoc contentus eam. Romana palatia vidi,
120 sed quid Roma putas mihi proderit? O Sylvane,
occidit Augustus nunquam rediturus ab Orco.
Si quid Roma dabit, nugas dabit; accipit aurum,
verba dat. Heu Romae nunc sola pecunia regnat!
Exilium virtus patitur. Sperare iubemur
125 undique et in toto vates spe pascimur orbe.
Sylv.: Dic pugnas, dic gesta virum, dic proelia regum,
vertere ad hos qui sceptra tenent, qui regna gubernant;
invenies qui te de sordibus eruat istis.
Can.: Inveniam qui me derideat et subsannet.
130 Tempestate ista reverentia tanta poesi
quanta lupanari; (…)

(You are deceived in thinking I want to grow wealthy. The wolf thinks that all animals devour their food raw, and indeed you believe that other men frame their songs by the measure you have allowed. I don't desire to become rich but to live with little. Give me a slender diet without care, with this I will live content. I have seen Rome's palaces. But why do you suppose Rome will help me? Oh Silvanus, Augustus has perished, never will he return from Orcus. If Rome will give anything, it will give me baubles. It takes gold but gives only words. Alas, wealth alone now rules in Rome. Virtue is banished. We are bidden to be hopeful, and indeed all round the whole world poets are fed on hope. SIL: sing of battles, sing of men's deeds, sing of the strife of kings. Turn your thoughts to those who wield the sceptre and govern kingdoms. You will find someone to rescue you from your squalor. CAN: nay, I'll find only men to deride and mock me. In that tempest poetry has as much respect as a bawdyhouse. (...). Mantuan 5. 114–131)[40]

Candidus here underlines that he is not striving to become rich; what he wants is enough to be free from cares. Furthermore, he is able to make a qualified evaluation of Silvanus's suggestion. Like Virgil's Tityrus, he has been in Rome. He also has knowledge of the suggested patrons. In reference to them, Virgil's *deus* is reworked, as it was in Silvanus's line. Mantuan here uses a metalepsis: he allows Candidus to refer to Augustus, thus transgressing the fictional universe and displaying an unexpected sense of

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[40] Tr. Piepho 2009.

historical reality.[41] As in Lætus's poem, the metalepsis introduces a metadiscourse on the poetic norms and standards of the work.

The mention of Augustus who will never return to the living deprives Candidus/Mantuan and his fellow *vates* of the possibilities that had been open to Tityrus/Virgil and his colleagues: Rome has changed, and so have the patrons. Now they are focused on gold and on wealth; so their poets must be so too if they wish to win their support.

Although he is poor and needy, Candidus is not willing to compromise on the nature of his poetry. He rejects singing of heroes and wars to please those who have money; he desires *tenuis victus* (118), a modest way of life. *Tenuis* is the term used by Donatus to designate bucolic poetry in his categorization of Virgilian styles.[42] It is a synonym for Servius's *humilis* and the Latin equivalent to the Callimachean ideal *leptos*, slender poetry. The term is used by Horace in *Ars Poetica* v. 46 and is frequently found in poems that encourage metapoetic readings – for instance Tityrus plays his *tenuis avena*, his slender reedpipe, in Virgil's Eclogue 1. 1–2. The use of this poetologically laden term supports a reading of Mantuan's passage as an explicit evocation and renegotiation of poetic norms. I read the quote as Candidus's insistence on composing rustic poetry, rejecting the advance to urbane poetry in the high style to please his potential patrons. Like Lætus, Mantuan shapes his statement with a metatextual use of Virgil, here the first eclogue. Mantuan's Eclogue 5 must be considered as standing in a metatextual relationship to Virgil's Eclogue 1, as Lætus's text did to Virgil's Eclogue 4, as it discusses whether its example should be followed. Like Lætus, Mantuan rejects the suggestion in Virgil's text.

Mantuan's rejection of poetic ambition is more emphatic than Lætus's. As stated initially, the insistent rusticity expressed directly in Eclogue 5 permeates the work. Mantuan sticks to truly rustic poetry, renders his character with an otherwise unknown realism, and allows episodes from the shepherd's daily life and work to interfere with the narratives of the poem.[43] This he does in order to make a point in the aforementioned conflict. This will be unfolded in the next section, since it connects Mantuan's work to Lætus's.

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[41] Another example of this conflation of literal and fictional levels is found in v. 96, where Candidus refers to the riches of Cosimo de' Medici (1389–1464): "Non ego divitias Cosmi, non Serica posco/ pallia (…)" (Mantuan 5. 96 & Severi 2010, 282 n96).

[42] Cf. Donatus, *Vita Virgilii* 58–59, quoted above.

[43] On the rustic style of *Adolescentia* see also Severi 2010, 47–48 (with references to works by Cardini, Coppini, Zabughin and Fabbri).

Reform discourse

As argued above, Mantuan is inverting the standard thrust of Virgilian bucolic poetry in which the Virgilian career path is an exemplary point of reference. For that reason I consider Mantuan's Eclogue 5 to be more than "complaints against the niggardliness of patrons," as Piepho describes it in his notes.[44] The complaints challenge one of the conventionally understood implications of bucolic poetry by directly rejecting the Virgilian model presented by Silvanus. In spite of his age (v. 33), Candidus refuses to give up his rural life and pastoral song and move on with his career, even if bucolic poetry is thought to be only for the poet while young. In so doing he rejects the Virgilian career path and challenges poetic expectations. Candidus's rejection of Rome and his devotion to rustic bucolic poetry is followed up in Eclogue 6, where city and country dwellers are compared and once again city dwellers are criticized. The statements in Eclogues 5 and 6 must be read together, and they must also be understood in connection with the conflict in the Carmelite order, as already stated. In order to unfold his analysis further the conflict will be explained in more detail here.

The conflict originated as a consequence of a revision of the foundations of the Carmelite order, the rule of St. Albert, by Pope Innocent IV in 1247. The revision gave the originally hermitic Carmelites the status of religious mendicants and allowed Carmelite monasteries to be established in cities. The revision caused a division: for centuries some Carmelites continued to opt for a solitary life in agreement with the original rule, while others opted for community life corresponding to the 1247 (and later) moderation. The colour of the habit was itself a part of the conflict: originally it seems to have been made of undyed wool, but over time the use of a black habit had become the norm and was confirmed in a papal bull of 1483, a development considered by Mantuan to be a sign of decay. Mantuan had an important voice in the order: he was elected to the office of vicar-general of the congregation at Mantua five times between 1489 and 1513, and in 1513 for the entire Carmelite order. Pleading with Pope Sixtus IV, he managed to get the undyed grey habit reinstated.[45] The name Candidus in *Adolescentia* thus refers to the bright, undyed habit of the observant Carmelite, as well as to the preference for a return to the original ways of the order. The conflict over the habit is dealt with explicitly in Eclogue 10, while Eclogue 9 deals with the view of piety that the order is in need of reform, and expresses a

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[44] Piepho 2009, on Mantuan, Eclogue 3. 17–27.
[45] Piepho 2009, Introduction 3.

critique of the papal curia as corrupt.[46] The observance of the original hermit status of the order and its origin in the desert on Mount Carmel are treated in Eclogues 7 and 8. It seems very plausible that the aversion to the city and the preference for the country life in Eclogue 6, as well as the aversion to Rome and the insistence on rustic poetry in Eclogue 5, should be seen as allegorical statement about Mantuan's attitude towards the Carmelite conflict.[47]

Mantuan was not the first to criticize the papacy and religious ways in bucolic poetry. Petrarch famously did so in his Eclogues 5 and 6, but the call to reform is new and important. Although Mantuan's extensive treatment of the conflict over the colour of the habit could seem quite particular, it ties into a general, strongly felt insistence on the reform of corrupted religious ways and a return to the true and original ways of the past. Mantuan's order was known to be furthering reforms in this period.[48] It is for his Christian morality, his call for religious reforms and his critique of the papal curia that Mantuan became famous and his writings popular in the north. He was read as a 'proto-reformer': an encourager of a modest and truly Christian life. Luther credits him, describing Mantuan as the first contemporary poet he read, and quotes several of his works including Eclogue 1.114 in his comment on Hebr. 3:14.[49] Consequently, when he uses his metadiscourse in Eclogue 5 to express himself on the conflict in the Carmelite order, Mantuan connects the rejection of poetic ambition and the insistence on bucolic poetry to a discourse on Christian reform. Bucolic poetry represents true and honest Christianity, which does not compromise for the convenience of the preacher or to flatter the patrons. In so doing he offers a model for bucolic poets to express a discourse of religious reform.

The formal grip, the rejection of the Virgilian bucolic ambition, is unusual. This means that we must consider the possibility of influence from or an intended reference to Mantuan's Eclogue 5 and its discussions when Virgilian ambition is rejected in later poems, especially taking account of Mantuan's success. As already stated, there are signs of direct influence from Mantuan's *Adolescentia* in Lætus's *Bucolica,* so we know that the

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[46] Piepho 2009, Introduction 24. The problem of the colour of the habit is treated in Eclogue 10.

[47] Piepho 2009, ibid. On Eclogue 6, which he describes as "il più periocoloso ricettacolo di concezioni dissidenti" (Severi 2010, 48) Severi concludes: "Siamo evidentemente di fronte ad un filone del radicalismo contadino che il movimento della Riforma contribuirà a far emergere in tutta la sua virulenza, per poi tragicamente soffocarlo nel sangue." (ibid., 49).

[48] Watanabe 1987, 44.

[49] Luther's Works, Weimar Edition 57 III, 151, 12 (reference from Watanabe 1987, 45).

work functioned as a point of reference in some cases. We now therefore turn our attention to Denmark, and the political and theological landscape of Lætus's work, in order to examine how the reform discourse conveyed by Mantuan's rejection of Virgilian ambition may inform the interpretation of Lætus's Eclogue 3.

The Kingdom of Denmark adopted Evangelical Lutheran Christianity in 1536, when Christian III ascended the throne. It was the first kingdom to adopt the new branch of the Christian faith in its entirety. Christian III was a dedicated Lutheran. He carried out a Reformation of the Church and of the educational system (including the university), in close collaboration with the reformers in Wittenberg. On New Year's Day 1559, Christian III died. His son Frederik II, the dedicatee of Lætus's work, succeeded to the throne. The Evangelical Lutheran church was still young in Denmark, and the death of its foremost Danish advocate and protector might have caused a crisis if the new King had not been like-minded and as invested as his father. For that reason, there was a natural eagerness in Wittenberg to maintain a close relationship with the Danish throne. This may have motivated one of the key figures of the Reformation, Philipp Melanchthon, to compose the dedicatory letter of Lætus's bucolic work. In fact, that dedication is the fourth composed by Melanchthon to Frederik II since the death of Christian III.[50] All four dedications celebrate the deceased Christian and more or less explicitly encourage Frederik to follow in his footsteps as protector of the Lutheran Church and Lutheran education.

Treatments of Lætus's *Bucolica* have mostly explored its use of classical models and its ambitious discourse, but Melanchthon focuses just as much on the work as a theological communication. In his presentation, Lætus is characterized above all as a competent Evangelical Lutheran theologian who, with his God-given poetic talent, will praise God and work for the advancement of good ways. If we follow Melanchthon's lead and consider Lætus's voice to be first and foremost the voice of a theologian, he is comparable to Mantuan in that respect as well. That means we have two

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[50] The first, dated 23 March 1559, functions as the preface to the work *Librorum Moisi* by renowned Danish theologian Peder Palladius. The work aims to explain the books of Moses, and the preface can be considered as an obituary of Christian III. The second, dated 1 April 1559, functions as the preface of the work *Historia Regum Israelitarum* by German humanist Hieronymus Osius. This is a didactic epic about Israeli kings. In the third text, Melanchthon dedicates volume 12, the last volume of the Wittenberg edition of Luther's works in German (published 1539–1559), to Frederik II. Another volume of this work had been dedicated to Christian III, so in this respect, too, Frederic follows in his father's footsteps. In the preface, Christian III is presented as a mirror of all Christian and royal virtues, both in his public and private life. Schwarz Lausten 2010, 293–297.

metadiscursive passages narrated by (masks of) theologians in favour of reform who argue in favour of bucolic poetry by questioning or directly rejecting poetic ambition. Lætus's passage can be analysed as a parallel to Mantuan's: Lætus's narrator would be taking the role and view of the observant Candidus. He would be insisting on bucolic poetry as the pure and true Evangelical Lutheran theology. In his case, that implicates considering bucolic poetry as original poetry, consistent with the *ad fontes* principle of the Reformation, since the eclogue continues to discuss education.

Lætus's rhetoric is not as sharp as Mantuan's, perhaps because Lætus's situation is not entirely the same as Mantuan's. Lætus is not calling for a theological Reformation, because Denmark has already undergone this. This may also explain why Lætus's work can contain both the desire for poetic ambition and the problematizing of it: Lætus is appealing to Frederik II, who he hopes will be the patron of his future, more advanced poetry. Frederik II is a Lutheran, he is virtuous, and if he follows in the footsteps of his father he will be a model for all to follow. Mantuan, on the other hand, dedicates his work to a fellow humanist, Paride Ceresara (1466–1532), rather than a higher-ranking person, a logical move considering the discussion of patrons in Eclogue 5. Candidus's problem with his potential patrons – who were so corrupt and so concerned with themselves and their worldly wealth that he would have to compromise with his poetry in order to gain their support –is absent in Lætus's case. The problematizing of poetic ambition in Lætus's Eclogue 3 can thus be seen as an emphasis on the values of the Reformation, both theological and educational, because of the connotations created by Mantuan. Lætus can reconcile his emphasis on the bucolic or on reform with advancing towards a more ambitious genre of poetry because his potential patron shares the values implied by the discourse of religious reform.

Conclusion

In his Eclogue 3, Lætus presents a metadiscourse that problematizes poetic ambition. The article has demonstrated that he does so by using Virgil Eclogue 4. 1–2 as a hypotext in order to create metatextuality as he problematizes Virgil's statement in his own text. However, the message of the metadiscourse – that bucolic poetry is a valid alternative to genres normally considered more advanced – seems to contradict the overall direction of the work, which strives towards heroic epic and appeals quite explicitly to King Frederik II to take the role of patron for a future epic.

Suggesting how the contradictory tendencies in Lætus's work can be rconciled, a similar metadiscourse in Mantuan's *Adolescentia* was presented. Here, the problematizing of poetic ambition following Virgil's

example is linked to a discourse of religious reform: bucolic poetry comes to represent the true, original practice of Christianity. This was a new development in the genre. It is consistent with the Northern conception of Mantuan as *Christianus Maro*, whose eclogues were read in schools and considered expressions of true Christian values suitable for educating young people. It is Mantuan's connection between bucolic poetry and Christian reform, combined with its particular formal expression as a metadiscourse rejecting the Virgilian career pattern as a model that is suggested as the key to a reconciling Lætus's opposing attitudes to poetic ambition.

The problematizing of poetic ambition in Lætus's Eclogue 3 highlights the author's status as a Lutheran theologian voicing the principles of the Reformation. Lætus is not only a successor of Mantuan in a chronological sense, but also in the sense that he is practising and upholding the values of a reform that Mantuan advocated but did not live to experience. That puts Lætus in a very different situation. He has no reason to complain about the successors of Augustus or about being expected to direct his work towards the city; his local prince is not corrupt, his city is not decayed. On the contrary, if Frederik II stands firm on the Lutheran values and follows in his father's footsteps, as Melanchthon and Lætus hope and advocate, he may become the Augustus redivivus for whom Mantuan found no reason to hope.

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T OPICS AND *LOCI COMMUNES*

as agents of cultural unity and diversity[*]

By Marc van der Poel

Topical invention is a systematized method of finding arguments to discuss abstract, philosophical questions and specific questions determined by circumstances of time and space. It was developed in ancient Greece and Rome as the key instrument for producing and interpreting texts, and it continued to be used for similar purposes during the Middle Ages, with some important adaptations particularly in the context of the academic disputatio. *In the Renaissance, the tools of topical invention – topics,* loci communes *and commonplaces – were universally applied in the teaching and practice of reading, writing and reasoning. The purpose of this contribution is to propose that a study of the uses of topical invention in the Renaissance may contribute to our knowledge of the cultural and intellectual unity and diversity during this period.*

Topics and topical invention have been the subject of many studies, but two key aspects have hitherto been practically ignored.[1] First, the theory and practice of the topics in their mutual interaction have not yet received substantial attention, and second, topical invention has never been analysed across time. This leaves a significant gap in our knowledge, because the ways in which topics functioned as channels through which classical patterns of thought and reasoning were transmitted in antiquity and later in European civilization have remained hidden. The aim of this paper is to

[1] See, on top of the literature mentioned in the course of this contribution, Wagner 2009 and Ostheeren 2009 for brief surveys of topical invention and topics in general from antiquity until the modern period. Curtius 1948 has changed the ancient concept of *topos* and *locus communis* from means of persuasion to typical parts of literary texts, whether as standard elements such as the invocation of the muses at the beginning of a poem or the declaration of love in a romantic story, or as recurring motifs across genres and periods, such as the topic of unequal love between a young woman and an old man, or the topic of the world turned upside down. This modified concept of topic and commonplace, as well as the application of topics in specific disciplines such as theology, jurisprudence and the visual arts, is beyond the scope of the present study.

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propose that a study of these classical patterns and their adaptations in the theory and practice of Renaissance topical invention may contribute to the study of metadiscourse in the project "Cultural Encounter as a Precondition for European Identity." In the perspective of the project, the system of topical invention, as described in theories and practical textbooks of eloquence, constitutes a theoretical framework which we can use to interpret Renaissance texts intended to express and disseminate opinions about topical issues.

The first part of this paper contains an introductory – and by necessity generalizing – survey of the theory and practice of topical invention in antiquity. The second part presents an outline of the reception of topics and topical invention in Renaissance rhetoric, dialectic, and pedagogical literature. It discusses Erasmus's *Declamation on the Praise of Marriage* to illustrate the interaction between the theory and practice of topical invention and how Erasmus's use of topics reflects his moral beliefs.

Topical invention in antiquity: theory and practice

Topical invention teaches the student of rhetoric how to find correct or persuasive arguments by means of topics or "places." It applies to inquiries concerning all subject matter that can be brought up for debate: that is, all matters about which the truth is unknown and for which arguments both for and against can be found. In antiquity, this domain was divided into two parts: dialectic and rhetoric. Dialectic concerns general or abstract questions: that is, questions discussed by philosophers, both in their schools and in the public sphere. Rhetoric concerns practical questions connected to the tangible world in which we live: in antiquity, following a division commonly adopted in ancient theories of eloquence, rhetoric was the domain of orators delivering judicial speeches in courtrooms, political speeches in citizen assemblies, or speeches of praise or blame in private or public ceremonial gatherings. Aristotle taught both dialectic and rhetoric. His *Topics* (Τοπικά, *Topica*), written for students in the Academy of Plato, discusses strategies for finding valid arguments in philosophical discussions; his *Rhetoric* (Τέχνη ῥητορική, *Ars rhetorica*), on the other hand, a compilation of students' notes on his lectures, describes the field of public oratory and presents the various kinds of topics available to the orators and the ways in which they may be used to convince their audiences. Topics figure prominently in both these works, and continued to form the heart of the methods of effective argument in dialectic and rhetoric not only in antiquity after Aristotle, but also after antiquity. Topical invention is more a method than a theory, and the views about it that we find in handbooks over the centuries closely follow the practice of arguing, which varied in accordance with historical and cultural contexts.

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Ancient rhetoricians developed different views on how to set up the topical system for the production of arguments. The key notion in the system of finding arguments is "τόποι" or *loci* (places), the core idea being that the orator in search of arguments is offered a storehouse of arguments in which those arguments are classified systematically and arranged conveniently so that they can be found and produced at once.[2] Which arguments were provided, and the ways in which they were classified in the storehouse –the system of topics – varied from the time of the oldest Greek textbooks onwards, depending on the theoretical insights of the teacher of eloquence and the practical purpose and the audience for which he was writing. Thus one finds specific topics that can be used only in certain cases and circumstances (e.g. in a criminal case, it is important to see if from the course of his previous life you can deduce an argument for or against the defendant, for instance an earlier conviction; this is an argument drawn from the topic "accidents of the person"), in addition to formal topics that can be applied in any discourse (e.g. an argument from the greater to the lesser: if it is possible to find the resources to fight a great war, then it is also possible to find the resources necessary for a small war).[3]

A third category of topics are the κοινοὶ τόποι or *loci communes* (common topics). By the time of Cicero in the first century BCE, there existed a refined classification of *loci communes*. In *De inventione* (2.48), Cicero defines these *loci* as arguments that can be carried over to many cases ("argumenta, quae transferri in multas causas possunt"; cases at law are meant). He discerns two kinds: common topics that contain an elaboration of something that everyone agrees about (*amplificatio certae rei*), and those in which one develops something about which one can argue both for and against (*amplificatio dubiae rei*). By means of an *amplificatio dubiae rei,*

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[2] Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 2.26.1, calls a topic (or an element, στοιχεῖον) a label under which many enthymemes are comprised. Cicero presents topics as the places where arguments can be found (*sedes argumentorum*; *Topica*, 7), as the hunting ground where one chases and examines what one is looking for ("regiones, intra quas venere et pervestiges, quod quaeras": *De oratore* 2, 147), as the store from which arguments are drawn out (*thesauri*; *De finibus* 4,10); Quintilian uses a combination of the metaphors from *Topica*, 7 and *De oratore*, 2, 147. Joannes Mattheus Phrissemius, in his commentary on Rudolph Agricola's *De inventione dialectica*, book 1, chapter 2, appropriately thinks of topics as iron or wooden road signs in the form of a hand pointing travellers in the right direction at road junctions ("ut (..) ferreae aut ligneae manus, quas crucibus in biviis affixas videmus, indicant viatori, qua vertendum sit iter": Agricola 1523, 9r).

[3] The key source texts in antiquity are: Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 1.2.21–22; 1.3.7–9; 2.23; ps.-Cicero, *Ad Herennium*, 2. 3–26; Cicero, *De inventione*, 1.34–43; *Topica*, 6–7; 9–23; 26–78; *De oratore*, 2, 152–177; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 5.10.20–94. A comprehensive study of the ancient system of topics is still lacking; notably good partial studies are Emrich 1973 and Pernot 1986.

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the orator brings his particular case at hand to the underlying general question, which, according to Cicero, should always be addressed in each case (e.g. in a case involving a defendant who is extravagant, desirous of other people's money, and seditious, the orator should speak about prodigality, avarice, and rebellious and bad citizens; cf. *De oratore* 2.135). This type of *locus communis* was originally a philosophical exercise or θέσις (translated by Cicero alternately as quaestio, [infinita] consultatio, propositum, quaestio quacunque de re, universi generis [communis] quaestio), a type of exercise in which Cicero still trained himself in his adult years (*Ep. Q. fr.* 3.3.4 and *Att.* 9.4). An *amplificatio certae rei*, on the other hand, is a digression on some undisputed matter, either within a rational argumentation or as a means to stir emotions.

Because the *amplificatio certae rei* was often elaborated with careful attention to stylistic embellishment, often in the context of a speech of praise or blame, there has been much discussion among teachers of eloquence about whether these topics are primarily rational or emotional. For example, in his speech delivered in 66 BCE to the popular assembly in Rome in support of the bill of the tribune C. Manilius, Cicero proposed giving general Pompey the sole and supreme command in a difficult war fought by the Roman state in the eastern part of the Empire. This bill was opposed by the Roman Senate because it would entrust Pompey with unprecedented power. Amid a series of arguments about the political implications of the law, Cicero inserts a long digression on the definition of the best general, which he develops by appeal to the sentiments of patriotism, Roman bravery, and moral superiority in such a way as to present Pompey as the best general Rome has ever had and thus the only one to whom the command in this dangerous war can safely be entrusted. This *locus communis* has nothing to do with the merits of Manilius's bill, and it serves in the context of the speech mainly to give concrete shape to the audience's patriotism, in the form of a eulogy of Pompey. Cicero recorded in his *Orator* (102) that he had tailored the style of his entire speech to this eulogy, and two centuries later Marcus Cornelius Fronto wrote that it was the best eulogy ever addressed in either Greek or Latin to a people's assembly (p. 210, 9–14 van den Hout). The speech is not strong on the key political issue at stake, but Cicero did win the argument, and the Lex Manilia was carried. It can be debated whether the function of the *locus communis* was primarily rational or emotional: was the audience rationally persuaded that Pompey was the best qualified general for the war in the east, or did the audience feel that, on account of Cicero's appeal to their patriotism? What is undebated, however, is that the *locus communis* was the key to the success of the speech.

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Topical invention was a standard subject in the ancient schools of rhetoric, and future orators were trained in both types of *loci communes* defined by Cicero in *De inventione*; both the *amplificatio certae rei* and *amplificatio dubiae rei* figure among the series of Greek *progymnasmata* or preliminary exercises preparing the future orator to write and deliver full-scale orations, of which four second- to fourth-century CE collections survive.[4]

In philosophical writing on topics, Aristotle's *Topics* were the key work throughout antiquity. There was an important tradition of writing commentaries on Aristotle's works, and a second-century CE commentary on the *Topics* is still extant. Boethius (sixth century CE), whose commentaries on Aristotle's logical works were the only commentaries in Latin available in the Latin West during the Middle Ages, wrote an entire treatise on topics in dialectic (*De topicis differentiis*).[5] His sharp division, which had not been typical in antiquity, between dialectic as an art concerning general questions and rhetoric as an art concerning practical questions was universally adopted in the Middle Ages. In particular, Boethius's work was very important for the development of topics as a means to test the validity of propositions in philosophical debates at medieval universities. In the medieval rhetorical practice of writing letters and poetry, topics remained the standard method of invention.[6] Boethius also wrote a commentary on Cicero's *Topica*, whose division of topics into those which are inherent to the subject under discussion and those which are drawn to it from without became very influential in the Renaissance.[7]

Topical invention in the Renaissance: theory and practice

This double tradition of discussing and using topics in dialectic and rhetoric was still flourishing at the time when the humanists were rediscovering and studying, in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the many source texts of classical rhetoric in Latin and Greek that had been unknown during the Middle Ages. The humanists' concern with topics and topical invention originated in their effort to revise the late medieval liberal arts curriculum. In the faculties of arts, this curriculum focused on logic and dia-

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[4] For the *Progymnasmata* see Bonner 1977, chapter XVIII (p. 250–276), Kraus 2005, 159–164, and Kennedy 2003. One of the collections was translated into Latin in late antiquity.

[5] Latin text in Boethius 1847, 1173–1216, English translation Stump 1978.

[6] For the topics in medieval dialectic see Green Pedersen 1984, Peter of Spain 2014, Introduction, 38–41; for the topics in the medieval arts of prose and poetry, see Kelly 2004, p. 13, note 75.

[7] Latin text in Boethius 1847, 1039–1174, English translation Stump 1988. Cicero's *Topica*: Reinhardt 2003.

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lectic, intended to prepare students for the academic study of theology and the other sciences. The humanists advocated the liberal arts as a programme of secular training, including a detailed programme of reading the Greco-Roman classics and of composition exercises, with a twin focus both on writing skills and on moral education aimed at the perfection of the Christian, both as an individual and as a member of the Christian commonwealth. Topics, *loci communes,* and topical invention in general came to play a huge role in the didactics of this humanist programme of liberal education, the *studia humanitatis.* For this reason they figure prominently in the handbooks of rhetoric, whether produced as textbooks for schools and universities or as reference works for teachers and scholars, pastors and ministers, diplomats and public officials.[8] In the field of topical invention, the Renaissance marks the return to the flexible boundary line between dialectic and rhetoric, a line that is visible, for instance, in the discussion of a general, philosophical question in the context of a topical case, for instance the formulation of an advice to an individual person facing a dilemma, such as Erasmus's letter to a young man of noble birth, which we will take a look at below.

The extensive reading programme in the ancient classics, including orators, poets, historians and philosophers, not only provided students with models for imitation, but also supplied them with ready knowledge which was to be made productive in their own writing and thinking. To make this feasible, the humanists developed a method to arrange and memorize data that was, conveniently, similar to the art of memory developed in antiquity for the benefit of philosophers (who had to build a stock of propositions as a source of arguments: Aristotle, *Topics*, 1, 13 105b 13–16) and orators (who had to collect supplies of historical examples, laws, lawyers' opinions, sayings and facts as material to support their arguments or embellish their style: Quintilian, *Inst.*, 11.2.1).[9] The classical system aimed to support the natural memory by means of mental pictures of places (*loci* or *loca*),[10] i.e. localities such as a house with many rooms in which one sets images (*imagines*) of things to remember. The humanistic counterpart of this mnemonic system was generally termed *loci communes* or commonplaces (not to be confused

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[8] See for a brief discussion of the various kinds of manuals of rhetoric in the Renaissance van der Poel 2015, for a comprehensive history of Renaissance rhetoric Mack 2011. Vasoli 2007 (originally 1967) is a standard work on invention and method in the Renaissance.

[9] The mnemonic system was developed after the time of Aristotle, and is described in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, 3.28–40, Cicero, *De oratore*, 2.350–360, and Quintilian, *Inst.*, 11.2.

[10] *Loci* is the term used by the author of *Ad Herennium* and Cicero; Quintilian uses *loca* (*Inst*. 11.2.17).

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with *locus communis* as *amplificatio certae rei*). This idea was based on the notion that the *loci* or headings used to arrange material collected as we read can be applied in any situation or discourse (e.g. virtue, honour, friendship, and their counterparts, etc.). The memorization and constant repetition of the headings and the data collected under them was thought to produce a storehouse of knowledge readily available for use whenever we need it. The Frisian scholar Rudolph Agricola described this mnemonic system in his pedagogical treatise in the form of a letter, *De formando studio*, written in 1484.[11] The principle which makes his headings ("capita rerum": Agricola does not use the term *locus communis* in this letter) easy to memorize is not visualization (i.e. imagining them as part of a concrete structure, e.g. a house consisting of a series of rooms), but juxtaposition in pairs of contraries: virtue–vice, life–death, learning–ignorance, goodwill–hostility, "and other similar things that are universally and publicly in use (so to speak) for all purposes."[12] Agricola stresses that the key function of this didactic method is not only to make knowledge readily accessible, but also to make it productive, i.e. to enable the student to produce something original in writing: "the second thing is that from what we have learned, we must be capable of discovering and accomplishing something of one's own that goes beyond this [i.e. beyond the things one retains in one's memory], something to claim for ourselves, something that we can positively call our own."[13] In his theory of argumentation, *De inventione dialectica*, completed in 1479,[14] Agricola presented a new system of topics that was intended to make systematically arranged knowledge productive in the composition of texts.

Agricola's De inventione dialectica

In this original work, Agricola built on the work on dialectic by humanists such as Lorenzo Valla – Agricola became intimately acquainted with quattrocento humanism during his stay in Northern Italy between 1469 and 1479 – but he is innovative in his treatment of the topics. Agricola was critical of the distinction made in antiquity between dialectic and rhetoric. He proposed a new approach, in which arguing on general subjects (i.e. dialectic)

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[11] Agricola 2002, 200–219, p. 212–214 for the mnemonic system.

[12] ". . . et reliqua id genus, quorum usus fere communis ad omnia et tamquam publicus sit" (Agricola 2002, p. 212, lines 32–33; translation by Van der Laan-Akkerman).

[13] "Alterum est, ut ex eis, que accepimus, ipsi preter hec invenire aliqua possimus et conficere, que nobis asseramus nostraque esse queamus affirmare" (Agricola 2002, p. 212, lines 27–29; translation by Van der Laan-Akkerman).

[14] Moss 1996, 73–82, has a good discussion of *De formando studio* and the connection between the system of *capita rerum* it describes and Agricola's system of topics in *De inventione dialectica*.

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and arguing on specific subjects (i.e. rhetoric) are combined in one integrated theory. This resulted in a new list of twenty-four topics, based on Cicero's list in the *Topica*, which had contained both formal and specific topics.[15] Agricola describes the method of topical invention in two steps. First, the topics are to be used to describe things as they manifest themselves in reality: a procedure that Agricola calls, using a term derived from ancient rhetoric, *descriptio rei* (description of a thing: book 2, chapter 28). For instance, a description of "philosopher" will first contain a definition (the first topic in Agricola's list): "a man who strives after knowledge of divine and human things, coupled with virtue"; then the species (topic 3) are "Stoic, Academic, Epicurean and the other schools of philosophers which can be enumerated"; while the topics of place and time (15 and 16) produce information concerning the philosopher's place of birth, the place in which he lives and teaches or the places he visits in order to fulfil his task of being a corrector of cities and peoples. In the initial phase, the topics are general headings, comparable to headings in the mnemonic system ("communis quaedam nota," *De inventione dialectica* 1.2; cf. "capita rerum... quorum usus fere communis... sit," *De formando studio*, Agricola 2002, p. 212, lines 31–33). In the second phase, however, the topics are seats of arguments as described by the classical rhetoricians. Here, the items collected under each given topic in the description of a thing provide arguments once they are compared with the description of the second thing with which, in the subject matter taken up for discussion, the first thing is connected: that is, in a *quaestio* or question (book 2, chapter 29). Thus in raising for discussion the question whether a philosopher should marry, first one makes a topical description of "philosopher" and "spouse," and then one compares the elements in each description to determine whether they agree or disagree. If they agree, they will form an argument which answers the question in the affirmative; if they disagree, they will form an opposite argument. Thus the definition of philosopher contains the element virtue, and its combination with the definition of spouse ("a spouse is a woman received legally as a companion in life for the sake of producing children") will produce a positive argument in the context of the observation that it is a virtuous task to bring forth children. Alternatively, in the form of a syllogism, a philosopher is a virtuous man; it is virtuous to have children; therefore a philosopher

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[15] See for Agricola's topics Mack 1988 and Mack 1993, 130–167. The first book of *De inventione* is entirely devoted to a detailed description of the new system and of each topic individually. The modern edition of *De inventione dialecta* by Mundt (1992) is based on the 1539 edition by Alardus of Amsterdam. A new critical edition by M. van der Poel is in preparation.

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must have children. A complete argumentation will consist of a string of arguments and hence a string of syllogisms. However, since conviction consists not only in agreement by the intellect but also of emotional assent, argumentations should never be presented in their bare intellectual form, but always in an oratorical manner suited to the time, place and circumstances, in accordance with the practice in ancient philosophy and literature.

In *De inventione dialectica,* Agricola also presents a model for the topical analysis of texts in both poetry and prose, using examples taken from classical literature, and in addition for reducing stylistically elaborated argumentations to their basic syllogistic form (Book 2, chapters 26–27). He also wrote a detailed topical analysis of Cicero's speech *De lege Manilia,* following the method set forth in *De inventione dialectica.*[16] These texts show very clearly how the integration of dialectic and rhetoric works in practice.

During the sixteenth century, *De formando studio* and *De inventione dialectica*, as well several synopses of *De inventione dialectica*, went through many printings in various editions.[17] Although Agricola's system of twenty-four topics and his unique combination of the arts of dialectic and rhetoric did not replace the classical system of treating the two arts separately, his dialectical approach – using texts in both prose and poetry, written in a complex style adapted to the subject, the audience and the author's intentions – was typical in the analysis and production of texts during the entire period of the Renaissance. The emphasis on morals and ethics visible, for instance, in Agricola's choice of commonplace headings in *De formando studio* (virtue–vice, life–death, learning–ignorance, goodwill–hostility) is also a standard common feature of Renaissance school education. Countless commonplace books were produced,[18] as well as textbooks containing dialectical analyses of classical texts focusing on topics and *loci communes* or *theses,*[19] and editions in Latin of *progymnasmata* with contemporary examples of *loci communes*, *theses* and the other preliminary exercises.[20] Human-

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[16] Van der Poel 1997 and 1999.

[17] Mack 1993, 257–279, and Huisman 1985.

[18] Morhof 1747 has a useful discussion of commonplace books, including a survey of important works (*Polyhistor literarius*, Book 1, ch. 21 *De locorum communium scriptoribus*, p. 236–258). The standard modern study on the subject is Moss 1996, see also Moss 2004, chapter 7 (Arguments: Common places).

[19] Morhof 1747 has a useful discussion of this type of textbook, including a survey of important works (*Polyhistor literarius*, Book 3, chapters 8 (*De Excerptis Oratoriis Systematicis*, p. 606–611), 9 (*De excerptis oratoriis enthymematicis*, p. 611–621), and 10 (*De excerptis poeticis*, p. 622–631).

[20] See on this category of school texts Clark 1952, Margolin 1979, Kraus 2005, 167–183.

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ists and scholars working in the humanistic tradition up to the eighteenth century all wrote their essays, letters, orations, declamations, diatribes, and dialogues using the commonplace book and topical invention as standard writing tools.

Much can be learnt about topics and topical invention from the considerable body of scholarship on Renaissance pedagogy, the school curriculums, school textbooks, rhetoric and dialectic, commonplace books, and the literary and philosophical genres practised by Renaissance authors writing in Latin. What is still needed, however, is a study devoted to topical invention which highlights the interaction between theory and practice and focuses on the similarities and differences with ancient and medieval topical invention, and on the developments in both theory and practice as well as their interaction in the course of the Renaissance period.

Erasmus' Encomium matrimonii

To illustrate the interaction between the theory and the practice of topical invention in Northern Humanism around the time of the outbreak of the Protestant Reformation, we will take a brief look at the famous *Declamatio in genere suasorio de laude matrimonii,* or *Encomium matrimonii,* by Erasmus. This is a letter in the *genus deliberativum*, modelled after the ancient practice speech or *declamatio* in the genre of political oratory (*suasoria*), included in Erasmus's treatise on letter writing, *De conscribendis epistolis*, written in the 1490s and published in 1522. This fictional letter is addressed to a young man of noble birth who is the only son and heir and therefore his parents' only hope for the continuation of the family line. He, however, is determined to remain celibate because he wishes to be a good Christian, although rather than truly having a spiritual vocation, he has in fact an affectionate relationship with a beautiful young lady who loves him very much. Erasmus sets out to explain to the young man that his religious scruples against marriage are wrong, and that he should not desire to remain celibate, because a Christian marriage is as good a way of life as one of clerical celibacy, and even better if a true vocation is lacking. He urges the young man not to ignore the love which binds him and his lady friend, and calls upon him to fulfil his obligation towards his family and continue the family line. The purpose of this seemingly innocent set piece was to argue for a positive appraisal of marriage as an institution of the Church and to expose the abuses of clerical celibacy which existed in Erasmus's time. In *De conscribendis epistolis*, this letter is followed by a draft of one against marriage; but when the letter in favour of marriage was published separately in a collection of Erasmus's declamations in 1518, conservative theologians from the universities of Louvain and Paris unchained a polemic against Eras-

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mus's views on marriage and celibacy and accused him of Lutheran heresy.[21] In order to understand this excessive reaction, we need to take a look at the structure of Erasmus's argumentation and the topics he used to develop it.

Although Erasmus had great admiration for Agricola and agreed that students should be introduced to the study of dialectic,[22] rather than following Agricola's new topical system, he followed the ancient system of rhetorical topics. In his discussion of the theory of the deliberative field in letter writing, he follows in particular Cicero's *De inventione* (Book. 2.156–178) and Quintilian (*Inst.* 3.8.1–48), but adapts the theory to the contemporary circumstances of his case and the purpose of his argumentation. The case of the young man who did not wish to marry belongs to the *genus deliberativum*: that is, in antiquity, the genre of speeches on political matters delivered in the various citizens' assemblies. Classical rhetoric distinguishes expediency and honour as the key questions to address in political speeches, and therefore *utilitas* (expediency) and *honestum* (honour) and their opposites are defined as the standard topics for this *genus*. To each of these topics, others may be added, as required by the subject of the deliberation and the argumentation developed by the orator. Cicero, for instance, discusses *necessitas* ('necessity') and *affectio* ('affection') as attributes of both expediency and honour (*Inv.* 2. 170–176): for "it is necessary for a people under siege to surrender, unless they prefer to die of starvation" (*Inv.* 2.171; tr. Loeb ed.), or "it is an act of baseness to go over to the enemy, but not if done with the purpose which Ulysses had" (*Inv.* 2.176; tr. Loeb ed.). Quintilian, on the other hand, states that in deliberations there is no room for arguments based on necessity, for necessity implies absence of doubt, and this precludes debate (*Inst.* 3.8.25). Erasmus, for his part, broadens the scope of the *genus deliberativum* on the grounds that letters are written not only to give political advice, but also to ask for something, to recommend something, to reflect on something, to admonish or to console someone (Erasmus 1971, p. 366, lines 2–3). He discerns the following main topics (using the word *rationes*) for this field: *honestum* (honour), *utile* (expediency), *tutum* (safety), *iucundum* (pleasure), *facile* (facility), and *necessitas* (necessity). He then divides each topic following a taxonomic hierarchy, thus producing a series of categories which can function both as headings in a commonplace

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[21] See for the polemic van der Poel 2005.

[22] Erasmus's testimonies on Agricola have been collected and discussed in their context by Akkerman 2012, 183–240. At the beginning of *De ratione studii*, Erasmus says that the principles of dialectic should be learned directly from Aristotle, leaving aside contemporary dialectic taught at the university.

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book and as topics from which arguments may be drawn. For instance, *hon-estum* is divided into *rectum* (what is right) and *laudabile* (what is praise-worthy); *rectum* into *virtus* (virtue) and *officium* (duty); *virtus* into *pruden-tia* (prudence)*, iustitia* (justice)*, fortitudo* (fortitude), and *temperantia* (tem-perance); *prudentia* into *intelligentia* (understanding), *memoria* (recollec-tion), and *providentia* (foresight), and so on.[23] Erasmus discusses the taxonomy of *honestum* in great detail and of *utilitas* quite briefly, but does not discuss the four other main topics or *rationes*. It is very clear that Eras-mus, while following his classical models closely, has attuned the topics to the contemporary social, historical and even religious context, and to his own programme of Christian humanism. In sum, we observe that Erasmus's theory of the topics reflects the historical context and the practical purposes for which he teaches them.

In the model letter on the case of the young man who wished not to marry, Erasmus uses three main topics, *honestum, iucundum* and *utile-necessarium*.[24] The treatment of the topic *honestum* takes up the greater part of the argumentation (p. 402–420), consisting mainly of a general theologi-cal argument that presents scores of *auctoritates* against the view held by conservative theologians that celibacy is inherently better than marriage. Erasmus positions his discussion of *honestum* safely within the framework of the fictional case at hand by addressing the young man directly (e.g. "homo homini loquor," p. 418, line 12); but its substance constitutes an *am-plificatio dubiae rei* or *thesis*, which gives this part of the letter the appear-ance of a brief essay on moral theology. The next topic, *iucundum*, is treated in far less detail (p. 420, line 19 to p. 425, line 16) and is presented in the form of an *amplificatio certae rei,* or commonplace on the joy of love and companionship. This section of the letter is written in a personal style and is intended to persuade the young man emotionally rather than rationally, be-cause Erasmus wishes him not only to agree with him intellectually, but also to change his personal conviction about marriage and accordingly to make a different choice for his life. In the last part of the letter, Erasmus combines the topics *utile* and *necessarium* in order to convince the young man, by means of a score of historical examples, that he should prefer marriage to celibacy in view of his duty to secure his family line (p. 425, line 16 – 428, line 4). This section is written in a very lively and personal style, clearly

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[23] Erasmus 1971, p. 366, line 1 – p. 367, line 2. The entire section on the topics of deliberative letter writing is at pp. 365–370.

[24] This paragraph is based entirely on van der Poel 2000, where the argumentation is discussed in more detail than here. The text used is Erasmus 1971, p. 401, line 19 – p. 428, line 24.

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intended to evoke both an intellectual and an emotional response from the addressee. It also brings the main argument of the letter, which for the greater part had been firmly on the level of a general question, back to the level of the particular case at hand.

In *De conscribendis epistolis*, the case of the young man who wishes to remain celibate is followed by the contrary case of a young man who wishes to marry for the wrong reasons. The arguments for persuading this young man to choose celibacy are presented in outline only, and they consist for a substantial part of the usual misogynistic ideas found in the classical poets and the Church Fathers (p. 430, line 4 to 432, line 14). Thus Erasmus places his discussion of marriage vs celibacy accurately within the field of dialectical reasoning pro and con, while the two fictional cases make it clear that he is not interested in an academic discussion of Christian marriage among theologians, but is setting out to stimulate lay people to develop their own judgment about the matter. The university theologians who accused him thus either failed to understand Erasmus's position or categorically rejected it and therefore accused him of heresy.

This example shows well that in both theory and practice, Erasmus adapts Cicero's and Quintilian's topics for deliberative oratory to the context of his time and the purpose of his writing. A series of similar case studies from different times and intellectual contexts might reveal changes in the uses of topics capable of being interpreted in the light of contemporary developments in society. The *Declamation in Praise of Marriage* is one of a series of writings by means of which Erasmus was attempting to stimulate debate on religious matters against a background of increasing intolerance due to the beginning of Lutheranism. By the middle of the sixteenth century the Church had issued, in response to the Protestant movement, clear statements of its official teachings in disputed issues, as well as clear pronouncements about what it regarded as Protestant heresies. From that time onwards, "open" debates directly involving lay people, such as Erasmus had initiated by publishing his *Declamation on the praise of marriage*, had become virtually impossible. It would be interesting to explore whether this change of intellectual climate had its effect on the theory and practice of topics in rhetorical texts. In particular, it would be worthwhile to investigate whether there are any developments in the occurrences of *loci communes* and their uses. A study of the use of topics and *loci communes* will constitute a fundamental contribution to our knowledge of the intellectual culture of the Renaissance, because it will be based entirely on the study of a corpus of source texts dating from the period, be analysed and interpreted by using the very theory and method by which they were composed.

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THE EARLY CIRCULATION

of Andrea Dandolo's *Chronica per extensum descripta* in the light of the ms. Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, J.IV.7 [1]

By Miika Kuha

This article examines the early circulation of the universal chronicle of the doge and prehumanist Andrea Dandolo (1306–1354). The focus of the present study is to give new insights in the transmission of Dandolo's chronicle – and in general in the Venetian textual culture of the period – by analysing its second oldest manuscript witness, the ms. J. IV. 7 of the Turin National University Library. It will be argued, furthermore, that the Turin copy is closely linked to an early reworking of Dandolo's chronicle, the Chronica Venetiarum attributed to the Gran Chancellor Benintendi de' Ravagnani (c. 1318–1365). Both Chronica Venetiarum and the Turin copy reflect the response of contemporary readers to Dandolo's chronicle as it started to circulate outside the ducal chancellery.

Andrea Dandolo's historical works

During the decades after and before the dogeship of Andrea Dandolo (1342–1354)[2], history writing flourished in Venice both in vernacular and in Latin.

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[2] See the Dandolo bibliography in Ravegnani 1986. The last two decades have seen the publication of a number of studies dedicated to Dandolo's dogeship, especially as regards his artistic patronage. For the latter aspect, see Pincus 2010 and Belting 2006. On

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These are the beginnings of the so-called Patrician chronicle, a term used to describe the role of the leading men of the Venetian Republic as patrons and authors of historical works.[3] The historiographical production of the period also reflects the important role of the chanceries as centres of learning and dissemination of knowledge in the Late Middle Ages. In Venice, as elsewhere, various members of the chanceries were involved in history writing.[4]

The key figure of this phase of Venetian historiography was the doge Andrea Dandolo, described by some contemporaries as wise and learned, by others as untrustworthy.[5] The historians of the early modern period remembered Andrea Dandolo as a man of letters connected to Petrarch, who spent a long time in Venice.[6] For Flavio Biondo, he was the only Venetian man of letters worth mentioning before Carlo Zeno (1334–1418), humanist and hero of the War of Chioggia.[7] The two surviving letters from Dandolo to Petrarch were known to the wider public through several fifteenth- and sixteenth-century copies, both manuscript and printed, of Petrarch's Latin works.[8]

In addition to his correspondence, Dandolo's two chronicles, the *Chronica brevis* and the *Chronica per extensum descripta*,[9] were widely read in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance but only published in print as late as the eighteenth century (Muratori 1728).[10] The first chronicle was probably written before Dandolo's election as doge. Despite its conventional structure and contents, the *Brevis* was pivotal in the proliferation of history writing in Venice during the latter half of the fourteenth century. In

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Dandolo's role in Venetian prehumanism, see Mann 1976a & 1976b, Lazzarini 1930 & 1976.

[3] Melville Jones 2007. For an ample bibliography on history writing in Venice, see Fiori 2014.

[4] For the production of historical works by members of the chanceries, see Zabbia 1999.

[5] For a discussion on differing contemporary views with regard to Dandolo's dogeship, see Carile 1969, 7–10, 47 and Vespignani 2005, 184–190.

[6] Superbi 1628, III, 96–97, Egnazio 1554, 67–68.

[7] Biondo 2005,160. "Habuit semper hactenus urbs Veneta viros maritimorum bellorum et mercaturae gloria claros. Sed ante patrum aetatem nullo decorata est viro litteris ornato, praeter quam Andrea Dandulo duce, quem Francesco (*sic!*) Petrarchae testimonio doctum fuisse scimus."

[8] For a description of the manuscripts and prints preserving the Venetian collection of Petrarch's letters, see Voigt 1882, Rossi 1933, L–LX and Rausa 2000. The latter study contains a critical edition of Dandolo's letters to Petrarch.

[9] In the following the titles *Brevis* and *Extensa* will be used.

[10] The oldest printed version was published in the eighteenth-century *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* vol. 12. It includes the *Extensa*, an extract of the *Brevis*, and the chronicle of Venice written by Rafaino Caresini. The circulation of manuscripts containing these texts will be sketched below p.140. The modern editions of the *Brevis* and *Extensa* were published by Ester Pastorello in 1938 (Dandolo 1938a & 1938b).

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contrast to earlier chronicles, mostly anonymous, the *Brevis* was invested with the honour and dignity stemming both from the connection to the ducal institution and from the great deeds associated with the House of Dandolo.[11]

The *Extensa* greatly differs from the *Brevis* both with regard to contents and structure. It covers the history of Venice from the revelation of St. Mark during his travel across the Venetian lagoon until the year 1280, a narrative merging local and universal history. It is particularly the latter aspect, a wider perspective, that distinguished the *Extensa* from previous works on the city's past. Compared to other medieval Venetian chronicles, the *Extensa* was a monumental work drawing extensively on both local documents and the universal chronicle, *Satirica Ystoria*, by Paulinus Minorita.[12]

The aspect of *Chronica per extensum descripta* in the manuscript Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, J.IV.7

The process of compiling the *Extensa* is illustrated by Ester Pastorello, the editor, through a codicological and palaeographical analysis of the oldest manuscript of the work, now Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. Z. 400 (=2028). On the basis of its physical and textual structure, Pastorello argued that this manuscript would have been the working copy produced in the ducal chancery.[13] The organization of the text shows that it was meant to be used as a reference work. The chronicle was rigidly divided into books (*libri*), chapters (*capitula*), and smaller units called *partes*, usually consisting of a few sentences only. Since there is most often neither a chronological nor a thematical connection between the adjacent *partes*, the chronicle conspicuously lacks narrative coherence. Furthermore, each book is preceded by a table of contents indicating the titles of the *capitula* and *partes*.

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[11] This aspect of the *Brevis* is discussed in Arnaldi 1970,145–147. Cracco (1967, 401–407) analysed the *Brevis* in terms of Dandolo's policy of elevating the status of the dogeship and of reconciliation between the patricians and the plebeians. For a bibliography on Dandolo's historical works, see Marin 2010–2011 (published in 2015).

[12] Paulinus Minorita and his historical works are presented in Heullant-Donat 1993. In the *Extensa*, the information on global history was counterbalanced by a conclusive metatext at the end of each book explaining the transformations of Venice. As the metatexts have largely been neglected by scholars, with the exception of Zabbia 1999, 234, we shall resume the contents here: 1) the beginning of the fifth book (the *Extensa* beginning from the fourth book) marks the foundation of the city of Rialto (Dandolo 1938a, 47,27–29); 2) the Metropolitan seat of Aquileia is trasferred to Grado in the sixth book (76,31–33); 3) the first doge Paulucius is elected in the seventh book (102,37–39); 4) the important removal of the seat of government from Malamocco to Rialto by the doge Agnellus Particiacus is described in the eighth book (133,1–3); 5) the beginnings of Venetian hegemony in the Adriatic are described in the ninth book (187,35–36); 6) the tenth book is introduced with a brief mention of the first ducal elections, starting with the doge Sebastiano Ziani (253,3–4).

[13] Pastorello 1938a, XXXVII–XLIX.

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Despite auxiliary paratextual elements facilitating the consultation of the manuscript, the structure of this first version of the *Extensa* is far from optimal for a reference work. The text is written in long lines with only two vertical lines and the number of the *pars* in the interlinear space [the word *p(ar)s* together with the number] separating the units. No doubt due to various *partes* being rather difficult to locate, corresponding marginal titles were sometimes added. Since these marginalia, together with the vertical lines, the numbers in the interlinear space, and the tables of contents seem to have been added after the transcription of the text proper, it has been suggested that the original plan would have been to articulate the text on two hierarchical levels only, those of the *libri* and the *capitula*, the division in *partes* having been created afterwards.[14] An examination of the manuscript reveals, however, that the majority of the *partes* are also separated by a gap on the line. This gap is clearly wider than a space between words. The beginning of a new *pars* was also highlighted with a point on the base line (*punctus*) and a majuscule letter. Normally, the scribe marks sentence limits and other pauses with hair-line strokes (*virgulae suspensivae*), sometimes with *punctus elevati* both followed by a minuscule letter.[15] The idea to divide the *Extensa* in *partes* is therefore not a later addition.

Pastorello's introductory chapter also includes brief descriptions of the most important manuscript witnesses with some remarks on their mutual relations. The editor did not provide a full *stemma codicum*. Consequently, several questions regarding the early dissemination of the *Extensa* are pending. To address some of these questions, we shall compare the Marciana ms. to its earliest copy, now Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, J.IV.7.

Pastorello's short description is still the most detailed study on the Turin ms. It is partly based on Giovanni Monticolo's remarks made before the volume was severely damaged in the 1904 fire. According to Monticolo, a colophon identified the scribe as Giovanni Ferrarese da Pola, notary, who made the copy in the years 1359–1370. Monticolo also lists a series of documents and a history of Venice written by Rafaino Caresini, Grand Chancellor of Venice. This text was a continuation of Dandolo's shorter chronicle.[16]

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[14] Zabbia 1999, 235.

[15] For the present article ff. 1r–9r were examined.

[16] Pastorello 1938a, L–LI, for Monticolo's remarks, see Sanudo 1900, 361–362, n. 1. There are short descriptions of the Turin ms. in Vinay 1947, 218, Giaccaria 1986, 48–49, Cosentini 1922, n. 1409 and Peyron, *Appendice*. So far it has not been possible to identify either the person who commissioned the volume or any early owner. Two Venetian chronicles are mentioned in Giulio Torrini's catalogue of the Ducal Library (Torrini 1659, 52 & 53 both titled "Chronica de Venetia Ms.") and three similar works in the eighteenth-

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Since many leaves damaged in the fire were restored in 1937–38, 1949–1963, and 2009, it is now possible to get a better picture of the physical characteristics and contents of the volume.[17] It is a parchment manuscript written in *littera semitextualis*[18] in two columns. While all of the volume suffered some damage, the leaves in the inner part of the volume, least exposed to fire and water, are fairly well preserved. For one of them, f. 46, the measures are *c*. 20.8 x 13.1 cm.; most of the inner and probably some of the upper and lower margins are, however, missing. On the same leaf, the columns measure *c*. 15.5 x 4.3 cm., the intercolumnal space being *c*. 0.9 cm. The dimensions of the letters and columns also vary from leaf to leaf depending on the amount of twisting caused by water.

The Marciana and Turin manuscripts differ in layout. In the Turin volume the *partes* are separated from each other by a line return, coloured *pied-de-mouche* (blue and red alternating) and, occasionally, an empty space at the end of the first line of the new unit. The beginning of each chapter, *capitulum*, is also highlighted with a rubric and with a red or blue initial. Furthermore, the manuscript, not unlike the Marciana volume, is divided into books, *libri*. There is a blank space at the end of the last page of each book, so that a new book always begins on a new page. The beginning of each book presents a rubric and an initial taller than the secondary initials

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century catalogue of the Royal Library (Machet 1713, 667 "Cronica de Venezia M.S. no 153.154.155"). The absence of the name of the author makes it improbable that in particular the Machet catalogue entry would refer to the Turin ms. More likely, both catalogue items regard the other chronicles of Venice still held by the Turin National University Library, such as N.III.1. For the catalogues and the formation of the Royal Library, see Giaccaria 1984.

[17] For the restoration, see Giaccaria 1986, 49. While the leaves restored in 2009 are kept unbound in a box, in the earlier operations leaves were attached to paper and bound inside covers. During the rearrangement, several leaves were misplaced. Despite information on some of the accidents in the present volume, it is somewhat difficult to consult the manuscript. Here is the correct order of the leaves. The *Extensa*: 1r–5v, 10, 7, 6, 9, 107, 11–17, 104, 19–20, 8, 22–92, **118 (97), 117 (98), 121 (99), 124 (100), 122 (101), 119 (102), 125, 120 (104), 126 (105), 123, 127 (107)**. A fragment of the *Brevis* covering the years 1280–1342: 93r–94r. *Raphayni de Caresinis cancellarii Venetiarum Chronica*: 94v–99, 101, 100, 102–103, 18, 105–106, 109, 108, 21, 110–111, 113, 112, 114–115. Part of the *Partitio terrarum imperii Romanie*: 116. The numbering corresponds to the present order of the leaves both in the volume and in the box holding the recently restored unbound leaves. The folio numbers of the latter are marked in bold. For the unbound leaves, also the page number in the upper right-hand corner is indicated in parentheses. The unbound leaves cover the final part of the *Extensa* from the dogeship of Jacopo Tiepolo onwards (295,1 Pastorello, f. 118 inc. "q(ui) se in na-").

[18] The scripts are identified according to the classification system developed by Albert Derolez (Derolez 2003).

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marking the beginning of a chapter.[19] In the Turin ms. the three-tiered structure of the *Extensa* is thus made obvious to the reader, from *partes* to *libri*.

The Turin volume lacks the tables of contents present in the Marciana ms. This would seem to contradict both the referential concept of the *Extensa* and the three-tiered structure of the Turin ms., facilitating the retrieval of information. It is plausible that a plan to add tables of contents existed but was never carried out.

The Turin ms. seems uncompleted, which is shown e.g. by the frequent absence of rubrics for the *partes*. Three fairly well-preserved leaves in the middle of the manuscript (ff. 29v–30r and f. 32v), which have rubrics for all the 32 *partes* of these leaves, give, however, an idea of what the volume was supposed to look like.[20] The rubrics mostly correspond to the titles contained in the table of contents of the Marciana ms. The model of the Turin ms. thus seems to have contained the titles of the *partes* or at least part of them.

There are also other leaves with rubrics pertaining to *partes* in the Turin volume. On several folios, they serve to highlight episodes and documents regarding Rialto and surroundings. Some further rubrics pertain to facts of general interest, such as prince-electors.[21]

While some of the *partes* pertaining to key episodes in the history of Venice were rubricated, many others were not, e.g. the *pars* on the translation of St. Mark's relics.[22] The first rubricated *pars* contains Cassiodorus' letter on the society of the Venetian lagoon. Since the letter eulogizes the early Venetians, it became central to the myth of Venice.[23] The text also circulated indepedently, e.g. in two fifteenth-century miscellaneous manuscripts containing orations and poems by humanists. In these manuscripts, the letter is placed next to a text on the legend of the foundation of Venice. Both the letter and the legend probably originate in the *Extensa*.[24]

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[19] Both types of initials are situated in an empty space left by the scribe inside the column. The rubric of the ninth book exceptionally occupies the last two lines of f. 61r, while the book begins from the verso side of that leaf.

[20] They correspond to Dandolo 1938a 90,10–93,13 & 99,14–100,33.

[21] The rubrics on ff. 23r (on the pope John III, Dandolo 1938a, 73,7–8), 34r (on the synod of Aquileia, *ib.* 116,16–18), 62v (on prince-electors, *ib.* 196,16–21).

[22] Dandolo 1938a, 146,24 –147,38 lat. J.IV.7, 46r–46v.

[23] There is an edition of the letter in Cassiodorus 1894, 379–380. For the letter, see also Carile & Fedalto 1978, 157–158 and 174–182.

[24] The manuscripts are Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ham. 254 and Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, H.III.8. For a description of the Turin manuscript, see Kristeller 1967, 181 and Cipolla & De Sanctis & Frati 1904, 546. The catalogue of the Hamilton Latin manuscripts attributes the legend passage to the *Chronica Venetiarum* by Benintendi de' Ravagnani (Boese 1966, 126), a compendium of

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The Turin copy and the *Chronica Venetiarum* attributed to Benintendi de' Ravagnani

An early compendium of the *Extensa*, titled *Chronica Venetiarum secundum Benintendi* (sic!) *cancellarium eius*, represents a similar approach to the *Extensa*.[25] The *Chronica Venetiarum* mainly uses *Extensa*'s material on local events, most of the universal history being left out. Even the structure is different. The *Chronica Venetiarum* is divided into chapters in general corresponding to single dogeships. In the oldest manuscript witness, the Princeton University Library, Garrett 156 (fourteenth century), these chapters are marked by an initial in red or blue. Some of the chapters are also divided into smaller units by a *pied-de-mouche* situated in the middle of the text. The layout is typical of fourteenth-century Venetian chronicle manuscripts.

The title attributes the text to the Venetian prehumanist Benintendi de' Ravagnani, Grand Chancellor, head of not only the chanceries of Venice but of the entire civil service of the Republic.[26] He is best known for his correspondance with Petrarch. Six of the letters survive, two from Benintendi to Petrarch, the other four by the poet. These letters, together with Benintendi's correspondance with the humanist Moggio Moggi of Parma, circulated in manuscripts and editions that also preserved Dandolo's letters. Several other works have also been attributed to Ravagnani, e.g. an oration to King Louis of Hungary and a continuation of the *Brevis*.[27]

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the *Extensa* that will be discussed below. A comparison of the Turin manuscript, the Berlin manuscript, and the *Extensa* with the *Chronica Venetiarum* would seem to invalidate this hypothesis. Firstly, there are readings present in the Turin and Berlin manuscripts as well as the *Extensa* but absent in the *Chronica Venetiarum*. Secondly, the Turin and Berlin manuscripts show no traces of the modifications and additions that the author of the *Chronica Venetiarum* made to the passage. It was enriched e.g. by accounts of biblical events and martyrdoms purported to have occurred on the day that Venice was founded. For details on the legend passage, see Kuha 2012, 86–87.

[25] For the manuscript tradition, see Kuha 2012. To the three copies described in that article should be added Venice, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Gradenigo Dolfin 34. The Correr manuscript was copied from Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. XIV. 177 (=4607), which is shown e.g. by some omissions caused by *saut du même au même*. The author is currently preparing a critical edition of the *Chronica Venetiarum*. The edition will be based on an unpublished Licenciate thesis discussed at the University of Jyväskylä on 18 January 2014 (*Benintendi de' Ravagnani, Chronica Venetiarum: Edizione critica con introduzione*).

[26] For a biography of Ravagnani, see Bellemo 1912.

[27] For Ravagnani's works, see Bellemo 1912. In addition to the manuscripts of the Venetian collection of Petrarch's letters, there are at least two copies that preserve Ravagnani's letters. These are Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, L III 35 (the second letter of Ravagnani to Moggio Moggi, inc. "Rem non novam") and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 5223 (letter from Ravagnani to his collegues in the ducal chancery, inc. "Si conceptum sermonem" and the letter of presentation of the

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The material selected for the *Chronica Venetiarum* was most probably rewritten in order to increase the readability of the text. To use St. Bonaventure's famous terminology in his prologue to the commentary on the Sentences, the author seems to be closest to a compiler (*compilator*) who "copies the words of someone else and adds material, not of his own, but someone else's".[28] Yet, to say that the he merely copies, does not cover all of the operation, since the source text is often radically altered. There is also material absent in the *Extensa*. A close look at the additions reveals that they often clarify the text, e.g. by making causalities more evident. The author modified those specific passages like a *commentator*, who "uses someone else's material and his own, but mostly someone else's and his own as a supplement added for clarification".[29]

The *Chronica Venetiarum* also supplements the *Extensa* with a brief prologue emphasizing the providential role of Venice as guardian of justice and refuge of the faithful in terms borrowed from the Bible.[30] The prologue seems an integral part of the chronicle that also evidences several other re-

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Extensa, inc. "Frequenter sciscitatus sum"). The letter of presentation is also transmitted in numerous *Extensa* manuscripts and three copies of the *Chronica Venetiarum*. The oration to King Louis (inc. "Quanta de virtutibus et probitatibus") has a more complex transmission history. Seven copies are currently known: 1) Fiecht bei Schwaz, Stiftsbibliothek der Benediktinerabtei St. Georgenberg-Fiecht, 183; 2) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Nouv. acq. lat. 1152; 3) Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, ms. 14579-14585; 4) Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, lat. H. III. 4; 5) Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, M. IV. F. 61; 6) Milan, Biblioteca dell'Università Cattolica del S. Cuore, Visconti di Modrone 2 and 7) Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Z. lat. 476 (=1944). The Marciana copy, a luxury manuscript of Petrarch's works, is the only fourteenth-century one containing the oration. This manuscript was probably used by Simone da Lovere and Andrea Torresano, who published a printed edition of Petrarch's Latin works in 1501 (*1501 Librorum Francisci Petrarche Impressorum Annotatio…Impressis Venetiis: impe(n)sis d(omi)ni Andree Torresani de Asula : per Simonem de Luere, Anno Incarnationis Christi M.CCCCCJ. die. XXVIJ. Marcij. Feliciter.*). The volume also contains Ravagnani's oration. The printed edition presents all of the marginalia of the Marciana manuscript written by two different hands (the fourteenth-century hand *a* writes the marginalia from *prudentia* to *fides* and *Jacobus Apostolus* at the end; the fifteenth-century hand *b* writes the names of Andrea Contarini and Michele Faledro, members of the delegation to King Louis with Ravagnani). For the Marciana manuscript, see Rotondi 1935 and Belloni 1983, 44. The print is described in Rossi 1933, xciii. On the attribution of historical works to Ravagnani, see Voigt 1882, 62–63, Pastorello 1938b, 338–340, Arnaldi 1970, 151, Zabbia 1999, 224–228 and 259–264, Ortalli & Pittarello 2014, 33–43.

[28] "Aliquis scribit aliena, addendo, sed non de suo; et iste compilator dicitur". The terminology of the prologue is discussed in Minnis 1979, 415.

[29] Minnis 1979, 416. "Aliquis scribit et aliena et sua, sed aliena tamquam principalia, et sua tamquam annexa ad evidentiam". For examples of the modifications, see Kuha 2012 and Zabbia 1999, 246–251.

[30] For the prologue, see Kuha 2012, 86.

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ligiously motivated modifications and additions. Like in many chronicles of Venice, the identity of the writer is not revealed. The prologue also lacks reference to both the aims and methods of the writer. More importantly, it does not mention Dandolo's historical works or the ducal institution, which seems problematic, since Dandolo and Ravagnani were close collaborators. The prologue, therefore, raises doubt on the identity of the writer.

Since the Marciana ms. must have been known to Ravagnani, it is important to compare the *Chronica Venetiarum* with the early witnesses of the *Extensa*. The comparison also gives information on the earliest diffusion of the *Extensa*, since the Princeton manuscript of the *Chronica Venetiarum* (p. 133) was written during the dogeship of Dandolo or soon afterwards. This is indicated by the miniature on the first leaf which resembles those of a Roman Missal made for St. Mark's Basilica in the middle decades of the fourteenth century.[31]

A comparison between these texts is often hampered by the numerous modifications present in the *Chronica Venetiarum*. Although the order and structure of the sentences is mostly similar, there are considerable differences in vocabulary and spelling. The parts that seem to show fewer divergences are the documents and letters, abundant in the *Extensa*. The legal and esthetic values associated with the documents thus probably prohibited large-scale interventions to these parts.

The *Chronica Venetiarum* only contains four of these. The first item in common is Cassiodorus's letter (see p.132), which unfortunately provides little material for comparison. This is due to the poor condition of the leaves in that part of the Turin ms. The leaves containing the second and the third items are much better preserved. These are the acts of the synod of Grado in 579 and the letter of pope Pelagius confirming the transfer of the Metropolitan seat to Grado.

The following example is taken from the subscriptions at the end of the acts of the Synod. To facilitate the comparison, the parts omitted in the Turin ms. and the *Chronica Venetiarum* are emboldened, while the modification connecting the two is in italics. The *Chronica Venetiarum* and the Turin volume also share an addition (*similiter*) which is underlined.

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[31] I wish to thank Susy Marcon (Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana) for her kind help with the datation. The Missal manuscript is now Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. III. 111 (=2116).

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Extensa, p. 83, ll. 35–39

Virgilius episcopus **sancte ecclesie** scarauaciensis superueniens **sancto synodo his gestis sinus relictis** (sub)subscripsi

Laurentius presbiter superueniens **in Sancta sinodo**, locum *faciens* **viri beatissimi Frontei** episcopi **sancte ecclesie** feltrine, **his gestis michi relictis** subscripsi.

Martianus episcopus **sancte** ecclesie patenatis superueniens **sancta** sinodo, **his gestis michi relictis** subscripsi.

Extensa, Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, J.IV.7, 27r

Virgilius episcopus scarauaciensis subscripsi superueniens subscripsi

Laurentius presbyter <u>similiter</u> superueniens locum *tenens* episcopi feltrensis subscripsi

Martianus episcopus ecclesie patenatis superueniens sinodo subscripsi

Chronica Venetiarum, Princeton, Garrett 156, 6v

Virgilius episcopus scarauaciensis superueniens subscripsi

Laurentius presbyter <u>similiter</u> superueniens locum *tenens* episcopi feltrensis subscripsi

Martianus episcopus ecclesie pathenatis superueniens sinodo subscripsi

The subscriptions clearly show substantial differences between the Turin and Marciana manuscripts, thus reflecting authorial or early scribal interventions. Despite some modifications, the Turin ms., however, generally corresponds to the Marciana ms. The *Extensa* scribes, thus, mostly seem to have preserved the text they were copying.[32] Importantly, the passage also indicates a connection between *Chronica Venetiarum* and the Turin volume. It is evident, consequently, that the *Chronica Venetiarum* was not based on the Marciana ms. There are, however, some differences between the Turin ms. and the *Chronica Venetiarum*, which possibly indicate that the connection is not direct.[33]

It should be pointed out that a considerable amount of readings of the Turin ms. was left out of the modern edition. Most of the omissions are probably due to the dire condition of the manuscript before the restoration, while some variant readings may have been deliberately discarded by the editor. It is difficult to determine why a particular reading is not present in the appa-

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[32] By contrast, the vernacular chronicles of Venice written in the Late Middle Ages were subject to extensive scribal interventions. For the transmission of Venetian chronicles, see Carile 1969.

[33] Pastorello argued (1938a, LI) that the Turin ms. does not contain the revised official version, since it presents numerous errors.

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ratus, since the editorial principles are only briefly described.[34] The apparatus also lacks any remarks on the legibility of the Turin ms. Consequently, it is of very little help in reconstructing the Turin text.[35] To give an example, none of the differences between the Turin and the Marciana manuscripts indicated above are registered in Pastorello's apparatus.[36]

The role of the Turin copy in the transmission of Andrea Dandolo's chronicles and the *Venetiarum Chronica* by Rafaino Caresini

As we already mentioned (p.131), significant parts of the Turin ms. have been recovered since Pastorello's edition.[37] The most valuable of them is no doubt the chronicle of Venice written by Rafaino Caresini (c. 1314–1390), and placed after the *Extensa* in the volume (ff. 94v–115v).[38] This section,

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[34] Pastorello 1938a, LXXVI: "Benchè la riproduzione della stesura originale tolga valore alle varianti delle copie, pure sono date, ogni qual volta presentino: o una diversa forma di nome proprio, o una costruzione sintattica più corretta, o un dato di fatto comunque osservabile, le letture diverse dei codici già singolarmente indicati più sopra."

[35] The problems of Pastorello's apparatus are demonstrated by a recently published edition of Piero Giustiniani's Latin chronicle of Venice, partly based on the *Extensa*. According to the editor of Giustiniani's chronicle, the author would have used a version close to that in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 5842, a fifteenth-century copy of *Extensa* (Fiori 2014, CXII–CXIV). Most of the passages supporting the argument are, however, also present in the Turin ms. contrary to the information given by Pastorello's apparatus. The passage regarding the election of Domenico Gradenigo may be found on f. 66r, the notice on the voluntary submission of Dubrovnik in 1251 on f. 124r of the Turin ms. Even the third passage quoted by the editor was probably to be read in the Turin ms. before the fire. On the severely damaged leaf, which would have contained the text in question, the last word of the penultimate line of the chapter ends in *–em*. The last words of the passage reads in Pastorello's edition "ad pristinam subiecion**em** pie recepti sunt" (Dandolo 1938a, 304). The ending *–em* close to the end of the chapter may only be explained by the presence of the addition in the Turin ms. Without this addition, the chapter would have ended in the words "annulo et pastorali baculo, congruis temporibus, uti valeat". As the part of the f. 91, which would have presented the fourth passage quoted by the editor, perished in the fire, it is impossible to verify its contents.

[36] Here are some other examples: Dandolo 1938a, 58,31 virgo quedam nobilis *T* (= Turin ms.) virgo quedam, 59,2 processit *T* procedit, 59,3 adiacentem *marg.* contiguum *T* contiguum, 61,5 quibus nunc repatriantibus *T* quibus repatriantibus, 73,21 arcerato *marg.* obturato *T* obturato, 81,1 in ecclesia *T* in ipsa ecclesia, 81,7 Elias episcopus sancte eiusdem *T* episcopus sancte eiusdem, 81,26 incesu *T* incursu, 82,14 per inmissionis tue veneramde (*sic*) confrater breviarium, consentientibus T per immissio [lacuna] consentientibus. This list is based on a comparison between the parts of the *Extensa* present in the *Chronica Venetiarum*.

[37] The Caresini chronicle was mentioned in two descriptions made before the fire, i.e. Peyron, *Appendice al Pasini* and Sanudo 1900, 361–362.

[38] Some of the leaves containing Caresini's chronicle were subsequently misplaced. The correct order is presented in note 17 above. Only one leaf of the third codicological unit has been recovered. The leaf, situated at the end of the present volume (f. 116), has a passage

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though written in a different hand (*littera hybrida*), has a decoration (pen-flourished blue and red initials) and layout (in two columns) similar to those in the codicological unit containing the *Extensa*. The two units seem thus to have been conceived as being transmitted together.

The Turin ms. is one of the most important witnesses of Caresini's chronicle. It presents a word in Venetian vernacular (*açovade*) in the middle of the Latin narrative, a distinctive variant shared by three other key copies, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. X, 237 (fifteenth century), Venice, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Provenienze Diverse 142c (fifteenth century) and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 5874 (fifteenth century). Pastorello identifies the text of the Marc. lat. X, 237 as the source of the Venetian translation of Caresini's chronicle.[39]

Furthermore, Pastorello derives the text present in the Paris manuscript from an early copy revised by the author. This revised text had a lacuna, which would have been reproduced by the scribe of the Paris manuscript only. Pastorello was later able to identify the source of this copy in the Cor-

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from the *Partitio Romanie* written in two columns (see the edition in Tafel & Thomas 1856, 464–488) with rubrics distinguishing single chapters. The third chapter and the beginning of the fourth are only partly preserved, and the outer margin is missing as well. The first chapter, though preserved, is barely readable. The *Partitio* was written in *littera semitextualis* but not in the *Extensa* hand. Originally, the volume also contained other documentation pertaining to the Fourth Crusade. The documents, identified by Monticolo (according to Pastorello, they correspond to Tafel & Thomas 1856, 358–373 and 444–452), were probably situated at the beginning of the manuscript. This is where Peyron located them in the nineteenth century (Peyron, *Appendice* "Danduli Andreae Chronicon Venetum, I. IV. 7, fol. 5 – Raphaini de Caresinis Chronaca Veneta, I. IV. 7 fol. 109b – Pacta varia cum Ducibus Venetiarum pro passagio terrae Sanctae I. IV. 7 – Sacramentum Theobaldi Comitis Trecensis et Palatini id. fol. 1b – Sacramentum Nuntiorum Balduini Comitis Flandriae factum inclyto Domino Henrico pro passagio terrae sanctae I. IV. 7 fol. 1"). The folio numbering shows that the leaves containing the documents were added later. There are scant traces of the oldest folio numbers in the upper right-hand corner on the recto side of some of the leaves (e.g. on the ff. 56r and 71r). Later folio numbers are placed in the upper right-hand corner below the older numbers and in the middle of the lower margin. The numbers in the lower margin were probably made after the documents had been added to the volume. Those numbers always give a figure four units higher than the folio number. This must have been the number of the leaves of the codicological unit in question.

According to Monticolo, the Turin ms. also contained a letter from the bishop of Capri to the doge Giovanni Dolfin written in 1359 (Sanudo 1900, 361–362). The letter would have been in the same hand as the *Extensa* and contained on f. 82 B (according to the old folio numbers) or 86 B (according to the later numbers). Despite severe damage to this part, Monticolo's indications make it possible to locate the beginning of the letter to the left column on f. 82v (the fifth line from the bottom, Dandolo 1938a, 264,32) and the end to the left column of f. 83v.

[39] Pastorello 1922, XV–XVI. For a description of the Marc. lat. X, 237, see Fiori 2014, LXXVIII–LXXIII.

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rer manuscript, briefly described in her edition of the *Extensa*. The lacuna, in fact, also occurs in the Correr manuscript, highlighted by a marginal note similar to that in the Paris manuscript.[40] This lacuna closely links these copies to the Turin ms., which shows a gap in the same place, similar in dimensions to the lacuna of the Paris and Correr manuscripts (from two to three lines).[41] The Turin and the Paris manuscripts also seem to preserve the same revised version of Caresini's chronicle, different from the text in Marc. lat. X, 237.[42]

The Caresini apparatus registers, however, a number of variants connecting the Paris manuscript with the other copies and separating it from the Turin copy.[43] These readings should be verified, since the apparatus was compiled according to principles observed by Pastorello in editing the *Extensa*. Consequently, it does not indicate if part of a copy is missing. This also concerns the Paris manuscript, which is partly damaged. The apparatus does not give the exact location of the unreadable or missing parts.[44]

The Turin ms. also contains part of the *Brevis* covering the period from the end of the *Extensa* (*a*. 1280) to the beginning of Caresini's chronicle (*a*. 1342).[45] This section, unsurprisingly placed between the *Extensa* and Caresini's chronicle (f. 93r–94r), was copied by the same scribe as Caresini's chronicle. The presence of the section in the Turin manuscript is particularly important, because the *Extensa* circulates with the same texts in a number of manuscripts. A similar triad of Venetian chronicles is transmitted by the Paris and Correr manuscripts and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vati-

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[40] Venice, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Provenienze Diverse 142c, 159v deficiu(n)t hic due line.

[41] Pastorello 1922, XVI–XIX. The lacuna belongs to a passage relating the death sentences passed on the leaders of the Cretan rebellion of 1363–1364. In the Turin ms. the lacuna occurs at the end of the inner column on f. 97r.

[42] The Turin ms. was compared to the extracts from the other versions presented in Pastorello 1922, XVIII–XIX.

[43] For example Caresini 19,2 laedere non valuit *T* minime ledere valuit, ib. 24,9 Thadeus Iustiniano *T* Thadeus, ib. 33,16 Vir Hugo *T* Egregius Vir Hugo, 33,20 domina Valentina *T* Illustrissima Valentina.

[44] The Paris manuscript belong to a seventeenth-century bibliophile Raphaël Trichet du Fresne (1611–1661), librarian to Queen Christina of Sweden at the time of her abdication (Pastorello 1922, XVII). Du Fresne's collection contained *c*. 22000 volumes including 107 Greek and 91 Latin manuscritps (Callmer 1977, 74–76 and Delisle 1868, 269–270). In 1662 the collection was sold to the Royal Library in Paris. According to Élisabeth Pellegrin (1986, 202 & 208), the Paris manuscript would have been in the library of Pierre Michon Bourdelot, Queen Christina's physician when Trichet du Fresne was working for the Queen. Bourdelot's library was sold to Christina in 1654 (Nilsson Nylander 2011, 59–60).

[45] In Muratori's edition (see note 10 above) the extract has the title "Andreae Danduli tomus secundus incipit cum continuatione Raphayni Caresini D. Benintendio Ravagnino Magno Cancelliario Venetiarum".

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cana, lat. 5286 (fourteenth century) and lat. 5842 (fifteenth century). A series of later copies also contain the three texts.

Conclusion

The study of Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, J.IV.7 gives important new information on the early circulation of Andrea Dandolo's *Chronica per extensum descripta*. Its layout and decoration highlight the three-tiered structure of the text more clearly than the oldest extant copy, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. Z. 400 (=2028). Moreover, the partial rubrication of the Turin ms. shows an interest towards material pertaining to the local history.

The comparison between the Turin manuscript and the *Chronica Venetiarum* attributed to Benintendi de' Ravagnani indicates that the two texts are closely connected. Consequently, the *Chronica Venetiarum* cannot derive from the Marciana manuscript, the assumed working copy of the *Extensa*. The study of these texts has also revealed a series of Turin readings unregistered in the modern edition. It is necessary, therefore, to examine at least the Turin manuscript when studying texts connected to the *Extensa*.

The Turin manuscript also contains one of the key copies of Caresini's chronicle, quite obviously linked to the manuscripts Venice, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Provenienze Diverse 142c and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 5874. The combination of texts in the Turin manuscripts furthermore suggests that it is the archetype of several later copies. Hence, a thorough analysis of the later copies would probably uncover plenty of new data on the reception of Dandolo's historical works.

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