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**Essays in honour of
Johann Ramminger**

**Eds. Giancarlo Abbamonte,
Minna Skafté Jensen & Marianne Pade**



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Preface

For almost 40 years, Johann Ramminger worked at the *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*, the world-wide largest dictionary of ancient Latin. This exceptional experience as a lexicographer and as a Latinist has informed his work on the Latinity of other periods, too. Ever since Hans attended the Wolfenbüttel meeting of the *International Association for Neo-Latin Studies* (IANLS), in now far-away 1985, he became fascinated with the idea of writing a dictionary of Neo-Latin. He began – foolheartedly as he himself willingly admits – by compiling a list of neologisms in post-medieval Latin in the traditional manner, simply by excerpting texts he read. However, as Latin scholarship entered the digital age, he also made extensive use of searchable corpora of Neo-Latin texts made available on the internet. In 2003, the *Neulateinische Wortliste* went online and by 2005 it had 3000 entries, continuing to grow steadily. By 2015, it comprised 20.000 entries, and since this journal is based in Denmark, it may be relevant to notice that lemma no. 20.000 was [danebroga](#), the Latin name for the Danish flag. As we write this, the *Neulateinische Wortliste* has 21.254 entries and is thus easily our most comprehensive Neo-Latin dictionary.

Besides his lexicographical work, Hans has in recent years increasingly studied other aspects of Neo-Latin as a language, using digital tools. He has, in fact, become one of the pioneers in the field, and his work on e.g. stylo-metrics and lexical richness has opened up novel paths within his chosen discipline.

Hans has also been an active member of the Neo-Latin community: he was for many years IANLS' Chair of Digital Resources and he is now a driving force behind the corpus work of the new Centre for Danish Neo-Latin.

The present volume is meant to reflect both Hans' scholarly interests and his wide-ranging network of friends and colleagues in the Neo-Latin *Res Publica Litterarum*. The editors wish to thank the contributors for both their articles and for ready collaboration during the editorial process; we hope the result will please the dedicatee.

Giancarlo Abbamonte, Minna Skafte Jensen & Marianne Pade
Naples, Copenhagen, and Aarhus, November 2022

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AMICUS ET AMICITIA DANS LA LEXICOGRAPHIE HUMANISTE :



Niccolò Perotti et Calepino

Par Jean-Louis Charlet

Niccolò Perotti's Cornu copiae [1489] and Calepino's Latin dictionaries from the second half of the sixteenth century are chronologically at opposite ends of humanist Latin lexicography. Though heavily indebted to the Cornu copiae, Calepino adds quotations and Latin and Greek proverbs, but in both authors we see a contrast, based on classical and Christian conceptions, between friendship, a noble and durable feeling, and love, reduced to physical love, shortlived and shameful.

Pour honorer mon ami de 30 ans Johann Ramminger, *Perottianus* éminemment émérite, un sujet s'est imposé à moi, celui de l'amitié et, pour rester dans le domaine où nous avons collaboré pendant ces dizaines d'années, la lexicographie latine humaniste, j'ai donc choisi d'étudier le champ lexicographique d'*amicus* et d'*amicitia* dans le grand œuvre de Niccolò Perotti, trésor de la langue latine sous couvert de commentaire à Martial, le *Cornu copiae*, à l'édition critique duquel Johann a participé si activement, en particulier pour la partie qui concerne directement cette thématique, et de comparer cette première approche lexicographique humaniste rédigée à la fin de la vie de N. Perotti (mort en 1480) et publiée à Venise en 1489,¹ à ce qu'était devenue cette lexicographie à la fin de l'humanisme, dans la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle, avec les éditions posthumes, remaniées et augmentées, du célèbre Calepino, par déformation du nom de son auteur l'augustinien Giacomo Calepio, dont la première édition avait été imprimée en 1502 à Reggio Emilia.²

¹ *Editio princeps*, Venise, Paganino de'Paganini, 1489. Nous travaillerons sur l'édition critique publiée à Sassoferrato par l'Istituto Internazionale di Studi Piceni de 1989 à 2001 (= CC); sauf indication contraire, les références sont données par rapport au numéro de l'épigramme de Martial commentée par Perotti. Pour une bibliographie critique de Perotti, voir Charlet 2011; pour des études de lexicographie analogues à celle-ci, Charlet 1997, 2003, 2008 et 2012.

² J'ai travaillé sur mes exemplaires des éditions de Lyon (7 langues, 1578) et de Bâle (8 langues, avec le flamand, Sebastianus Henricpetrus, 1584). Hormis les *orthographica* (normalisation de v consonne et de u voyelle) et quelques variations dans les abréviations

À partir du terme *inimica*, employé par Martial dans le premier vers de la quatrième épigramme du *Liber de spectaculis*, à propos de “la foule ennemie d’un tranquille repos” (*turba... placidaeque inimica quieti*), Perotti explore le champ sémantique de *amo*, *amicus*, *amicitia*... dans un cadre lexicographique fourni par ses prédécesseurs médiévaux Papias (*inimicus*, *amicus*) et Hugutio (*amo*),³ le lien entre *amicus*, *amicitia* et *amo*, *amor* ayant été clairement établi dès l’antiquité (Cic. *Lael.* 26 et 100; *fin.* 2,78...):

CC IV,15 INIMICA. Aduersa, contraria, hostis. Amicus dicitur qui amat et indissolubili familiaritatis iure coniunctus est. Eius contrarium est inimicus. Ab amando autem amicus appellatus. Et honesta quidem res est significat que eum cum quo uera amicitia coniuncti sumus, quum amica, quando ad uirum refertur, inhonesta res sit, ut ‘haec amica mea est’, hoc est concubina ; ego uero eius non amicus sum, sed amator. Amatorem quippe dicimus qui ad tempus et ueneree amat. Vnde amor eiusmodi amatio dicitur. Plautus: “Nimis penè inepta atque odiosa eius amatio est. Et ab eo fit diminutium amatorculus”. Plautus: “Nam quum sedulo munditer nos habemus, uix aegre amatorculos inuenimus”. Amicum uero, qui pudice ac perpetuo amat. Si uero haec cum re inanimata iunguntur, significant utile siue gratum, ut ‘amicus pratis humor’, ‘amica frugibus aestas’, ‘amicum plantis sydus’. Ab amica fit amicula diminutium. Plynus: “Miserat etiam epistolas Romam ad amiculam quandam”.

[...] 18 Ab amico amicitia deriuatur, quae diffinitur studiorum omnium uoluntatum que consensus. Cuius contrarium inimicitiae sunt plurali duntaxat numero, quamuis ueteres etiam singulari aliquando protulerunt. Ennius: “Amicitiam atque inimicitiam in fronte promptam gero”.

[...] 20 Item ab amans fit amantior comparatiuum et amantissimus superlatiuum et aduerbia amanter, amantius, amantissime. Item ab amico amicior, amicissimus et aduerbia amice, amicius, amicissime, sicut ab inimicus inimicior, inimicissimus, inimice, inimicius, inimicissime.

des références et dans l’accentuation, je n’ai relevé que le remplacement de l’abréviation .)- (. par *Cuius contrarius*, la suppression du *et*, *honestè* et *in perpetuum* (lemme *Amicus*), ainsi que quatre coquilles: *Amaie* pour *Amie* dans la traduction d’*Amica*; *amicis* pour *amicius* dans le quatrième proverbe du lemme *Amicus*, *substantiuum* et *fortunati* au lieu d’*infortunati* dans le proverbe qui suit (le 5^{ème}); enfin *censent* au lieu de *censet* dans la citation d’Horace du lemme *Amiculus*. On donne ici le texte de l’édition de 1578 (& est résolu en *et*). Les parallèles textuels avec Perotti ont été mis en italiques pour pouvoir être aisément repérés. Pour une approche de Calepino, voir Charlet 2006.

³ CC , t. IV, p. 13-15.

21 Antiqui pro amico et amica ametum et ametam dicebant. Laberius in lacu Auerno mulierem fuisse ametabundam scripsit, hoc est amantem. Et amasso pro amauero.

Calepino, lui, suit une présentation alphabétique (Lyon, 1578, p. 72):

Amica, -cæ. Quam quis amat *inhonesté* [...] Gal. Amie, amoureuse [...] Horat. Epist. I [1,1,20], Vt nox longa quibus mentitur amica, diésque. Terent. in And. [216 var. ?]⁴ Siue ista vxor, siue amica est, grauida è Pamphilo est.

Amicula, diminutiuum ab amica [...] Gal. Amiette, petite amie. Plin. Miserat etiam epistolas Romam ad amiculam quandam. Suet. in Calig. [Cal. 33] Quoties vxoris vel amiculae collum exoscularetur.

Amicus, substantiuum, Beneuolus, necessarius, qui honesto amore aliquem complectitur, et indissolubili familiaritatis iure ei est coniunctus .)-(inimicus [...] Gal. Amy. [...] Paulus iureconsultus [dig. 50,16,223, 1], Amicos appellare debemus, non leui notitia *coniunctos*, sed quibus fuerint *iura* cum patrefamilias, honestis *familiaritatis* quæsita rationibus. Interest autem inter *amicum et amatorem* : quòd *amator uenereè amat ad tempus* : *amicus uerò honestè et in perpetuum*. Denique vt Donatus [ad Andr. 718] tradit: Amicus, animi est : Amator, corporis. Cic. 5 Verr. [ex II, 3,158]⁵ Poteritne Alba tuus antiquissimus non solùm amicus, verumetiam amator absoluere?

Suit une série de proverbes commentés qui ne concernent pas notre propos:

Mores amici noueris, non oderis...
Amicorum communia Omnia...
Amicus certus in re incerta cernitur...
Nihil homini amico opportuno amicius...
Viri infortunati procul amici...
Felicitas multos habet amicos...
Amicus magis necessarius quàm ignis et aqua...
Nouos parans amicos, ne obliuiscere veterum...
Mendico ne parentes quidem amici...
Vnus Deus, et plures amici...
Amicos tragædos æmulatur...
Amico amicus...
Lingua amicus...
Cum amico non certandum æmulatione...
Pereant amici, dum vnà inimici intereant...
Neque nullis sis amicus, neque multis...
Vbi amici, ibi opes...

⁴ Les éditions modernes donnent *Si... siue*.

⁵ Suppression de *te ipse* devant *Alba*.

Vsque ad aras amicus...

Verbotenus amicus...

Amiculus, Diminutivum ab Amicus. [...] Gal. Petit amy. [...] Cic. 5 Verr. [ex Verr. II 3,79]⁶ Decimus amiculus meus. Horat. in Episto. [epist. 1,17,3] Disce docendus adhuc, quæ censet amiculus. Amiculus dulcis, Catull. [30,2].

Amicus, ca, cum, adiect. Benevolus, amicitia coniunctus. [...] Gal. Allié par amitié, agreable. [...] Cice. Attic. [ex Att. 16,16A,7]⁷ Mihi nemo est nec amicior, nec iucundior, nec charior Attico. Idem ad Quintum Fratr. [Q. 1,2,16] Prætores habemus amicissimos.

Iunctum cum re inanimata, significat vtile, siue gratum: vt, Amicus ratis humor, Amica frugibus æstas, Amicum plantis sydus.

Si tibi amicum, nec mihi inimicum, Plato in Theæteto...

Amice, aduerbium, Benevolè, cum amore et benevolentia. ... Gallic. En amy, amiablement. [...] Cic. in Lælio [9 var.], Qui mihi tantum tribui dicis, quantum ego nec agnosco, nec postulo, facis amicè. Idem de Fin. I [1,34], Quos tu paulò antè, cum memoriter, tum etiam erga nos amicè, et benevolè collegisti.

Amiciter, aduer. pro Amicè. Plaut. Pers. [255-256] Quia meo amico amiciter hanc commoditatis copiam Danunt. &c.

Amicabilis, le. [...] Gallicè, D'amy, amiablement fait. [...] Plaut. Mil. [ex 1144 var.]⁸ Vos modò porrò vt ocepistis, operam dare amicabilem. Hoc est, quam dare debet amicus.

Amico, as, are, Concilio, propitium reddo. [...] Gal. Faire amy. [...] Stat. 3 Theb. [3,470 var.] Ac prior Æclides solita prece numen amicat.

Amicitia, Familiaritas, necessitudo, benevolentia coniunctio. [...] Gal. Amitié. [...] ab Amicus, *est studiorum omnium voluntatumque consensus*. Cicer. in Læl. [20] Est autem amicitia nihil aliud, nisi omnium diuinarum, humanarumque rerum cum benevolentia et charitate summa consensio. *Cuius contrarium est inimicitia. Ennius, Amicitiam atque inimicitiam in fronte promptam gero*. Sed in frequentiore vsu inimicitia dicuntur *plurali tantum numero*.

Ici encore, Calepino ajoute une série de proverbes qui ne concernent pas notre propos:

⁶ Le texte de Cicéron dit : *Et de Docimo amiculo meo*.

⁷ Le texte de Cicéron ne donne pas de *nec* devant *amicior*.

⁸ *Amicabilem* doit être une correction humaniste. Les éditions modernes donnent, avec A, *date operam adiutabilem* (atiuitabilem CD uitabilem B)

Ollæ amicitia...

Amicitia personam detrahere...

Amicitia stabilium, felicitas temperantium...

Amicitias immortales esse inimicitias mortales esse oportet...

Multas amicitias silentium diremit...

La première définition d'*amicus* chez Perotti, qui met en avant le lien indissoluble qui unit presque juridiquement les amis, est reprise dans le Calepino de 1578 pour la définition du substantif et semble librement inspirée de la définition du juriste Paulus dans le *Digeste*, qui apparaît juste après les équivalents modernes dans cette édition (*Dig.* 50,16,223,1).⁹ Or Perotti connaît très bien ce chapitre 16 du livre 50 du *Digeste* sur la signification des mots et le met très souvent à contribution, explicitement (avec le nom du juriste) ou non, dans le *Cornu copiae*. La source de Perotti a pu être facilement identifiée, puis explicitement reprise après consultation du texte originel.

Quant à la distinction entre la véritable amitié qu'implique le substantif masculin *amicus*, et la "chose déshonnête" que désigne la féminin *amica* quand il se réfère à la liaison d'une concubine avec son amant,¹⁰ avec la différence entre *amicus* et *amator* pour distinguer l'ami de l'amant, elle est empruntée, sans le dire, aux *Élégances* de Lorenzo Valla (*Eleg.* 5,37):¹¹

Amicus tamen honesta res est. *Amica*, quando ad virum refertur, inhonesta; ut, *haec amica mea est*, id est, *concupina*. Ego vero suus non *amicus*, sed *amator* sum. Ideoque apud Terentium dicitur: Herae putabam hunc Pamphilum amicum, amatorem, uirum [*Andr.* 717-718 var. ms. D]. Ne putares *amicum* in malam partem accipi, adiecit *amatorem*...

Valla, Perotti et le Calepino opposent donc la valeur honnête, honorable et pudique de l'amitié durable à une liaison purement sexuelle (*ueneree*) et temporaire (le sens de l'expression *ad tempus* est bien clair dans la rédaction du Calepino). Cette conception très négative de l'amour sexuel, dont on ne voit pas pourquoi il ne pourrait pas durer ni pourquoi, comme l'explique le Calepino à partir d'une citation exacte de Donat commentant le passage de Térence cité plus haut (ad *Andr.* 718), à laquelle s'ajoute une autre, très légèrement abrégée (*te ipse omis*) de Cicéron (*Verr.* II 3,158), il ne serait que physique et exclurait l'affectivité. On sent ici la conjonction d'une conception antique traditionnelle qui se méfie de l'amour passion, voire l'exclut, et

⁹ Le Calepino donne le texte des principaux manuscrits sans le *in* devant *iura* que transmet le manuscrit F.

¹⁰ En CC 2, 771, *amica* est mis en parallèle avec *pellex*, *pallax* et *concupina*.

¹¹ Dans l'attente de l'édition scientifique que prépare M. Regoliosi avec son équipe, je cite Valla 1999, t. II, p. 600.

conçoit la sexualité comme la satisfaction temporaire d'un besoin purement physique, et de la doctrine chrétienne qui condamne comme un péché la sexualité en dehors du mariage : l'amitié est donc magnifiée par contraste avec des aventures sexuelles illicites. Ainsi Isidore (*Étymologies* 10, 4-5) oppose *amicus* et *amator*:

Amicus [...] quasi animi custos [...] amator turpitudinis, quia amore torquetur libidinis : amicus ab hamo, id est a catena caritatis; unde et hami quod teneant.

On notera chez Perotti la parenthèse (ajout marginal postérieur sur le manuscrit) introduite dans cette thématique par l'insertion des termes *amatio* (liaison, aventure érotique), illustré, d'après Nonius (p. 70 M.), par une citation de Plaute (*Rudens* 104), puis du diminutif *amatorculus* (petit ami), illustré par une autre citation de Plaute (*Poenulus* 235-236), sur la suggestion d'Hugutio (*amo*) et avec une variante (*aegre*) qui dénote une influence conjointe de Nonius (p. 510 M. ; cf. aussi Prisc. 1, 105 ?).

Puis nous retrouvons la suite du propos de Perotti: à la pudeur et à l'honnêteté, l'amitié joint la durée (*perpetuo*). Le thème est lui aussi classique, et même proverbial, aussi bien chez Cicéron (*Lael.* 32 *verae amicitiae sempiternae sunt*) que chez Tite Live (40,46,12 *in proverbum uenit amicitias immortales, <mortales> inimicitias debere esse*) ou saint Jérôme (*Epist.* 3, 6 : *amicitia quae desinere potest, uera numquam fuit*).

Après l'illustration par des exemples (apparemment originaux) du sens de l'adjectif *amicus* quand il qualifie une chose inanimée (utile, agréable), Perotti, suivi par le Calepino, illustre le diminutif *amicula* (petite amie) par une citation exacte de Pline le Jeune (*Epist.* 3,9,13), à laquelle le Calepino ajoute une citation non moins exacte de Suétone (*Caligula* 33). Nos Calepino tardifs présentent ensuite une série de 19 proverbes latins, et souvent grecs aussi, à partir du mot *amicus*.

Les paragraphes 16 et 17 étudient les sens du verbe *amo*, avec une très longue citation, globalement fidèle, de Sénèque (*epist.* 116,5), puis les valeurs positive et négative de l'*amor*, toujours négative quand le terme est au pluriel ("in plurali uero numero amores semper pro turpibus atque ueneris accipimus"). Perotti, comme d'autres grammairiens (le ThLL cite le Comm. Einsidl. gramm. suppl. 244,23), suit l'avis de Servius : "nunc 'amorum', qui pluraliter non nisi turpitudinem significant" (*Aen.* 5,334; cf. 1,350 "amores autem plurali numero ad uoluptatem pertinent, ut *securus amorum* qui iuuenum tibi semper erant, singulari etiam ad religionem"). Et le début du paragraphe 18 s'attache aux termes *amans* et *amabilis* avant d'en venir à *amicitia*.

La définition de Perotti est manifestement inspirée de Cicéron (*Lael.* 15), avec la substitution synonymique de *consensus* à *consentio*, la suppression de

sententiarum et l’adjonction d’*omnium* qui compense la suppression de *summa*: “id in quo est omnis uis amicitiae uoluntatum, studiorum, sententiarum summa consensio”. Le Calepino a préféré une autre définition de Cicéron dans le même traité (*Lael.* 20 ; pour une troisième définition de l’amitié chez Cicéron, voir *Inu.* 2,166). Pour le contraire *inimicitia*, Perotti, suivi de façon abrégée par le Calepino, se fonde sur un passage d’Aulu-Gelle (19,8,6) qui critique l’affirmation de César dans son traité perdu *De analogia*, mais il donne plutôt raison à César, en considérant que le mot s’emploie au pluriel (ce qui est de fait l’usage majoritaire du latin classique), même s’il reconnaît, en reprenant la citation d’Aulu Gelle (*Enn. scaen.* 12) que Nonius se contentait de relever sans la commenter (p. 129 M.), qu’un ancien célèbre, Ennius, a usé du singulier. Comme pour *amicus*, le Calepino donne une série (en l’occurrence, 5) d’expressions proverbiales avec *amicitia*.

Nous passons le paragraphe 19, qui étudie les dérivés *amatorius*, *amatorium* et *amatorie* (qui est aussi un nom propre), ainsi qu’*amita* et même *amites*, rattachés à ce champ lexical, car il n’intéresse pas directement notre propos.

Le début du paragraphe 20 déroule, comme Huguccione, les dérivations d’*amans*, considérant comme des formes spécifiques, selon la tradition lexicographique, les formes de comparatif et de superlatif et de l’adjectif et de l’adverbe. Un ajout dans la marge inférieure introduit les formes dérivées de l’antonyme *inimicus* et, à partir d’Aulu Gelle (3,8,5-8), l’adverbe *inimiciter* avec une longue citation fidèle (avec quelques variantes) de Quadrigarius recueillie par Aulu Gelle (3,8,8). Le Calepino, plus complet, inclut aussi *amiciter* avec une citation de Plaute (*Pers.* 255) et d’autres dérivés comme *amico*, avec une citation de Stace (*Theb.* 3,470) ou *amicabilis*, avec une citation de Plaute corrigée:¹² le terme *amicabilis* ne se lit pas chez Plaute.

Quant aux formes archaïques d’*amicus* et *amica* au début du paragraphe 21, elles viennent de l’abrégé de Festus par Paul Diacre (P. Fest. 15),¹³ tout comme l’équivalence *amasso / amauero* (P. Fest. 28), alors que l’adjectif *amatabundus* est emprunté à une citation de Labérius (*Mim.* 57) transmise par Aulu Gelle (11,15,1).

Au total, on voit que le Calepino, comme bien souvent, s’est ici fondé sur le *Cornu copiae*, mais il en a développé le contenu, en ajoutant des traductions dans les principales langues vernaculaires européennes, de nouvelles citations d’auteurs antiques, avec des références plus précises, et parfois en remontant à la source identifiée de Perotti ; en outre, le champ lexical s’est élargi avec

¹² Voir n. 8.

¹³ En CC 100,2, en référence au même passage de P. Fest., Perotti donne les formes *amecus* et *ameca*.

de nouvelles entrées (*amicabilis, amiciter, amico, amicus*) et surtout on a cherché à nourrir la réflexion du lecteur en dressant la liste des proverbes qui relèvent de ce champ lexical. Mais, globalement, le Calepino reprend le contenu du *Cornu copiae*. Dans une conception romaine traditionnelle, s'appuyant ici sur Cicéron, Donat et l'humaniste Valla, et s'intégrant à une interprétation largement répandue du christianisme, on voit que dans le Calepino comme dans le *Cornu copiae* l'amitié, sentiment noble et pérenne, est fortement valorisée par rapport à l'amour, ou plus exactement par rapport à l'amour physique, considéré en soi comme un acte honteux et qui ne saurait durer. Pourtant *amor* et *amicitia* appartiennent au même champ lexical : deux faces opposées d'une même médaille ? En tout cas, on sent nettement chez Perotti un complexe moral par rapport à l'activité sexuelle qui dénote peut-être, sinon un trouble, du moins des difficultés à assumer sa sexualité, parfois contestée de façon polémique par certains de ses contemporains.¹⁴

¹⁴ Voir Giuseppe Perotti 1999, 54-55.

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ALLA RICERCA DI UN LESSICO LATINO DELLA MATEMATICA:



la traduzione archimedeica di Iacopo da San Cassiano

Di Paolo d'Alessandro

In his translations of Archimedes' mathematical works, Iacopo da San Cassiano cannot use a Latin text belonging to the same literary genre as a model, but he can at least avoid Greek borrowings, amongst other things by resorting to semantic expansion and new derivations. As a result, his mathematical lexicon differs significantly from that of his predecessor, William of Moerbeke.

The humanists' interest in linguistic and stylistic imitation is linked to what I believe is a very important characteristic of humanist translation, namely the skilful transformation not only of words and phrases but also of style and literary form into the idioms of the target culture. During the fifteenth century we increasingly see that in his attempt to render the style of the Greek originals the translator would not only use classical Latin idioms and syntax but also imitate a Latin text written in the same genre as the Greek original.¹

Quando, a cavallo tra il quinto e il sesto decennio del Quattrocento, il canonico cremonese Iacopo da San Cassiano si accinse alla traduzione degli scritti di Archimede, di cui — primo tra gli umanisti — era venuto fortunatamente in possesso,² si trovò ad affrontare un duplice problema: non soltanto mancava un'analogia opera latina a cui conformarsi nella lingua e nello stile, ma per di più i pochi Romani che si erano cimentati con la geometria avevano utilizzato un lessico largamente influenzato dai modelli greci. La situazione appariva più grave che negli altri campi della letteratura tecnica e scientifica, pure debitori verso i precursori ellenici,³ perché, come ammetteva Cicerone, la speculazione matematica era fiorita precocemente in Grecia, ma assai più lentamente e tardivamente sull'altra sponda del

¹ Pade 2007, I, 99 sg.

² Vd. d'Alessandro & Napolitani 2012 e 2021. Sulla sua versione latina dei libri XI-XV di Diodoro Siculo: Monfasani 2016, 105-115; sulla possibilità di attribuirgli altre traduzioni matematiche: Ciocci 2020.

³ Per una breve panoramica sulla lingua della scienza e della tecnica, ma senza riferimenti alla matematica, vd. Poccetti & Poli & Santini 1999, 350-368.

Mediterraneo, dove più che altro era stata indirizzata a soddisfare esigenze pratiche (*Tusc.* 1, 5):

In summo apud illos [*scil.* Graecos] honore geometria fuit, itaque nihil mathematicis inlustrius; at nos metiendi ratiocinandique utilitate huius artis terminauimus modum.

(Presso di loro fu in sommo onore la geometria, e pertanto nulla più illustre delle scienze matematiche; noi invece le abbiamo limitate all’uso pratico delle misurazioni e dei calcoli).⁴

Ancora più esplicita la Geometria di Marziano Capella che, brandendo nella destra una bacchetta per operare calcoli e nella sinistra una sfera,⁵ inaugura il proprio discorso con queste parole (*Mart. Cap.* 6, 587):

Licet Archimedem meum inter philosophos conspicata Euclidemque doctissimum in astruendae praeceptionis excursus potuerim subrogare, ne impolitum quicum subsisteret assertorum aut profunditas caligaret, tamen congruentius ipsa uobiscum [...] quae etiam ipsos edocui, quod numquam fere accidit, Romuleis ut potero uocibus intimabo.

(Anche se, avendo visto tra i filosofi Archimede e il dottissimo Euclide, potrei chiedere a loro di svolgere completamente la trattazione della materia, perché non rimanga alcunché di confuso nelle affermazioni e perché la profondità [degli argomenti] non sia tenebrosa, tuttavia più opportunamente io stessa al vostro cospetto [...] spiegherò come potrò, con espressioni tipiche dei discendenti di Romolo, cosa che non è accaduta pressoché mai, quello che ho insegnato pure a loro stessi).⁶

Che *in mathematicis* i latini abbiano per lo più parlato greco non è un’esagerazione: il prestito *trigonus*, *-a*, *-um* (e *trigonum*, *-i*) ricorre in Varrone, Columella, Manilio e Vitruvio;⁷ *hemicyclium* in Vitruvio, Plinio il

⁴ Traduzione italiana: Marinone 1976, 461.

⁵ Bacchetta e sfera alludono rispettivamente a Euclide e Archimede; ciononostante l’esposizione di Geometria è essenzialmente geografica: Bovey 2003, 245 sg. e 254 sg. La presentazione della dottrina dei numeri è invece affidata nel libro successivo alla sorella Aritmetica.

⁶ Traduzione italiana: Ramelli 2001, 407. La preminenza riconosciuta a Euclide e Archimede è tale che, pur proponendosi di parlare *Romuleis uocibus*, Geometria non può fare a meno di ricorrere alle denominazioni greche delle figure piane e solide brevemente illustrate al termine del discorso (*Mart. Cap.* 6, 708-723). Analogo comportamento terrà Armonia nel libro IX.

⁷ OLD², 2176, s.vv. Per i derivati neolatini *trigonometria* e *trigonometricus* vd. Ramminger 2003-, www.neulatein.de/words/1/012969.htm e www.neulatein.de/words/1/012973.htm.

giovane e Sidonio.⁸ Marziano Capella mette in bocca il grecismo *peripheria* non solo a Geometria,⁹ ma anche ad Astronomia.¹⁰ Nei gromatici, negli artigiani e negli enciclopedisti, e più in generale nella tarda antichità, *tetragonus*,¹¹ *embadon* (*embadum*) e *embadius*,¹² *isopleurus*¹³ si alternano a *quadratus*, *area* e *arealis*,¹⁴ *aequilaterus*.¹⁵ L'autore della *Geometria* attribuita a Boezio fornisce l'unica attestazione tardoantica di *acutiangulum* per spiegare il ben più diffuso *oxygonium*.¹⁶ Per *pentagonus* (agg. e sost.),¹⁷ *hexagonum* (fin da Varrone e Columella)¹⁸ e *heptagonon*,¹⁹ *parallelepipedus* e *parallelogrammus* (agg. e sost. n.)²⁰ non si disponeva di sostituti.

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Condensate nel terzo libro delle *Origines* di Isidoro di Siviglia, le conoscenze matematiche ereditate dai Greci e con esse la relativa nomenclatura erano

⁸ *ThlL* VI 3, 2601, 72-2602, 7 (Paul-Max Groth & Heinz Haffter).

⁹ Mart. Cap. 6, 711 “Circulus est figura planaris, quae una linea continetur. haec linea περιφέρεια appellatur [...] hemicyclium est figura, quae diametro et peripheria media, quae eadem diametros distinguit, continetur” (il cerchio è una figura piana che è delimitata da una sola linea. Questa linea si chiama ‘periphérea’ [...] il semicerchio è la figura che è contenuta tra il diametro e la mezza circonferenza che il diametro stesso individua. Traduzione italiana: Ramelli 2001, 483).

¹⁰ Mart. Cap. 8, 827 “duo primo signa composui ad circulum perducendum, id est unum quod centron, aliud quod peripherian demonstraret” (ho posto in primo luogo due contrassegni al fine di tracciare un circolo, ossia l'uno che indicasse il centro, l'altro che indicasse la circonferenza. Traduzione italiana: Ramelli 2001, 589). Vd. *ThlL* X 1, 1489, 51-57 (Heinrich Breimeier) e, per la sopravvivenza medievale del vocabolo nel significato di *circumferentia*, *ambitus*, Du Cange 1883-1887, VI, 276a (<http://ducange.enc.sorbonne.fr/PERIPHERIA>). Per il calco *circumferentia* vd. *ThlL* III, 1140, 13-31 (K.E. Goetz).

¹¹ Forcellini 1864-1887, IV, 716. Il derivato *tetragonalis* è registrato da Ramminger 2003-, www.neulatein.de/words/2/018902.htm.

¹² *ThlL* V 2, 449, 39-49 (Ida Kapp e Gustav Meyer). Per il derivato *embadometria* vd. Ramminger 2003-, www.neulatein.de/words/3/012983.htm.

¹³ *ThlL* VII 2, 493, 19-28 (Rupert Ruhstaller).

¹⁴ Per *area* e *arealis* in senso geometrico: *ThlL* II, 499, 35-52 e 76-80 (Carl Ausfeld).

¹⁵ L'aggettivo *aequilateralis* ricorre in Censorino; vd. *ThlL* I, 1008, 24-26 e 27-40 (Friedrich Vollmer).

¹⁶ *ThlL* I, 470, 64-66 (Friedrich Vollmer) e IX 2, 1209, 23-38 (Renate Teßmer).

¹⁷ *ThlL* X 1, 1114, 20-48 (Paolo Gatti).

¹⁸ In Firmico Materno anche l'agg. *hexagonus*; vd. *ThlL* VI 3, 2677, 5-55 (Heinz Haffter). Per il derivato *hexagoneus* vd. Ramminger 2003-, www.neulatein.de/words/2/014438.htm.

¹⁹ *ThlL* VI 3, 2611, 64-73 (Paul-Max Groth & Heinz Haffter).

²⁰ *ThlL* X 1, 306, 58-307, 12 (Eva Baer).

rimaste sostanzialmente immutate fino alla Rinascita del sec. XII,²¹ quando la traduzione in latino di opere greche in precedenza sconosciute e dei più recenti scritti di matematici e commentatori arabi, insieme alla ripresa dei commerci e delle relazioni internazionali, aveva prodotto una vera e propria rivoluzione, non priva di conseguenze anche sul versante linguistico. Il risultato, però, non poteva certo piacere a un umanista come Iacopo da San Cassiano, allievo di Vittorino da Feltre e collaboratore di Giovanni Tortelli. Il *Liber abbaci* e la *Pratica geometrie* di Leonardo Pisano alternano parole di origine greca già entrate nel latino tardoantico (ma talora variamente storpiate²²) a nuovi termini tecnici, ancora una volta greci oppure arabi,²³ come *algebra*, *almuchabala* o *cata*.²⁴ In *ab.* 12, 265²⁵ compare per esempio la prima delle 54 occorrenze dell'arabo *elchataym*,²⁶ mentre in *ab.* 5, 53 sono

²¹ Il concetto di 'rinascita del sec. XII' risale, come è noto, a Haskins 1927, che tratta della scienza nel cap. X; in particolare sulla matematica vd. pp. 310-312 = pp. 263-265 della trad. it.

²² Per esempio, *ampligonius* per *amblygonius* e *ysochelus* per *isosceles* (*geom.* 3, 1 p. 30 Boncompagni): la variante *ampligonius* è del resto frequentemente attestata nella tradizione manoscritta delle fonti tardoantiche: vd. *ThL I*, 1863, 20-30 (Friedrich Vollmer). Si aggiunga che, in luogo di *arithmetica*, Leonardo usa costantemente la variante medievale *arismetica* (p.es. *ab.* 1, 3), attestata anche in volgare nella *Rettorica* di Brunetto Latini, nel *Convivio* di Dante e nel Sacchetti: Battaglia & Bàrberi Squarotti 1961-2002, I, 660, s.v. *Aritmètica*. Il *Liber abbaci* (*ab.*) è citato secondo l'edizione Giusti & d'Alessandro 2020; la traduzione italiana è ripresa da Catastini & Ghione *et alii*. Per una panoramica sul latino di Leonardo vd. d'Alessandro 2022. Le forme *abbacus* (non *abacus*) e *pratica* (non *practica*) sono attestate dalla tradizione manoscritta.

²³ Si può ammettere che una certa conoscenza della tradizione araba rientrasse nel personale patrimonio culturale di Leonardo, in giovane età chiamato in Algeria dal padre e colà formatosi allo studio dell'abaco (*ab.* 1, 7).

²⁴ Per quest'ultimo termine, equivalente al latino *sector* e usato nella locuzione *figura cata*, si veda Leonardo Pisano, *ab.* 9, 11 "est enim hec talis compositio proportionum ea que ostenditur in figura cata, scilicet sectoris, per quam Tholomeus docuit in *Almagesti* reperire remotiones circulorum a circulo recto et multa alia; et Ametus filius Yoseph posuit decem et octo combinationes ex ea in libro quem de proportionibus composuit" (infatti tale formulazione delle proporzioni è quella che si mostra nella figura *cata*, quella con la quale Tolomeo ha insegnato nell'*Almagesto* a trovare la dimostrazione e molte altre cose, e Ameto [Aḥmad ibn Yusuf] pose 18 combinazioni riguardo ad essa nel libro che scrisse sulle proporzioni).

²⁵ "Cum uero primus petat [*scil.* denarios] secundo, secundus tertio, et tertius primo, inuenies modum solutionis in quarta parte huius capituli, etiam et in secunda parte *elchataym*" (E quando invece il terzo li chiede al secondo [*scil.* i denari], il secondo al terzo e il terzo al primo, troverai il modo della soluzione nella quarta parte di questo capitolo e anche nella seconda parte dell'*elchataym*).

²⁶ Se ne fornisce la spiegazione all'inizio del capitolo 13: "Incipit capitulum tertium decimum de regula *elchataym*, qualiter per ipsam fere omnes questiones *abbaci* soluuntur. *Elchataym* quidem Arabice, Latine duarum falsarum positionum regula interpretatur, per quas fere omnium questionum solutio inuenitur" (Comincia il capitolo 13 sul metodo di *elchataym* con cui si risolvono quasi tutti i problemi dell'abaco. Certamente l'arabo

indicati l’equivalente greco (χωρίς κανόνος) e quello latino (*sine regulis*) dell’espressione araba *hasam*.²⁷

C’è di più. A pochi decenni di distanza da Leonardo Pisano, nella vicina Viterbo, Guglielmo di Moerbeke s’era cimentato a sua volta con la versione latina di alcuni scritti archimedei.²⁸ Se Iacopo lo avesse saputo, non gli sarebbe stato di aiuto. La *ratio uertendi* adottata dal traduttore fiammingo è infatti ispirata alla massima fedeltà alla lettera del testo, fino al punto di ricorrere al pronome relativo *qui qu(a)e quod* per riprodurre l’articolo greco premesso a una grandezza geometrica al fine di precisarne il caso:

thus Moerbeke (20vL) translated ἀ δὲ ΒΔ παρὰ τὸν διάμετρον literally as ‘que autem *BD* apud diametrum’ when what is meant is that line *BD* is parallel to the diameter. Or in the same passage *παρά* (again being the conventional way to represent parallelity) is translated by *penes* instead of *apud*, and indeed *penes* is Moerbeke’s preferred rendering for this use of *παρά*.²⁹

Archimede, come del resto anche Euclide, usa *περιφέρεια* non solo in alternativa a *περίμετρος*, per indicare la circonferenza del cerchio,³⁰ ma anche nel significato di *arcus*:³¹ in entrambi i casi Guglielmo di Moerbeke traduce invariabilmente *periferia* (23vC e 23vQ). Anzi, ai grecismi già da tempo entrati in latino egli ne affianca di nuovi:

some of the transcriptions seem to have originated with this translator, such as those related to conic sections: *asymptota*, *ellipsis*, *parabola*, *yperbola*, *conchoydalis* [...], *conoidalis* [...], *speroydalis*. Other almost certainly did: *apotmama*, *colus*, *cylundriculum*, *diabeta*, *elix*, *epiplates*, *kamarica*, *peramikea*, *poteousa* [sic, ma *paramikea*, *poteusa*], *scema*, *tomos*, *tragodicus*.³²

elchataym significa in latino metodo della doppia falsa posizione, con il quale si trova la soluzione di quasi tutti i problemi).

²⁷ “Numerorum quidam sunt incompositi, et sunt illi qui in arismetica et in geometria primi appellantur, ideo quia a nullis numeris minoribus existentibus ipsis preter quam ab unitate metiuntur uel numerantur. Arabes ipsos *hasam* appellant, Greci *coris canon<os>* [*immo* *coris canon<on>*, *χωρίς κανόνων*], nos autem *sine regulis* eos appellamus” (Alcuni numeri sono non composti, e sono quelli che in aritmetica e in geometria si chiamano primi. Questo perché non possono essere misurati o numerati da nessun numero esistente minore ad essi all’infuori dell’unità. Gli Arabi li chiamano *hasam*. I Greci *coris canon<os>*, noi invece li chiamiamo senza regole).

²⁸ L’edizione in Clagett 1976; per il testo greco di Archimede vd. Heiberg 1910-1915.

²⁹ Clagett 1976, 43.

³⁰ Per esempio nella lettera prefatoria del primo libro del *De sphaera et cylindro*: Archim. I p. 2, 14 Heiberg².

³¹ Per esempio nella prima proposizione del medesimo libro: I p. 10, 15 Heiberg². Cf. Liddell & Scott & Jones 1940, 1392, s.v.

³² Clagett 1976, 35.

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A differenza del predecessore duecentesco Iacopo da San Cassiano aderiva ai canoni stilisti dell’età umanistica e si prefiggeva in primo luogo di fornire al lettore un testo conforme ai canoni linguistici del suo tempo. Se non poteva disporre di un’opera antica da prendere a modello della traduzione, almeno sintassi e lessico dovevano essere genuinamente latini. Certo, non era facile rinunciare a termini tecnici come *sphaera* (*spaera*) e *conus* (*konus*),³³ *pyramis* e *diametros* (*diametrus*), ma di altri prestiti — quand’anche parimenti attestati in età repubblicana o nella prima età imperiale — si poteva senz’altro fare a meno. Così, banditi *trigonum* e *tetragonum*, *perimeter* e *periphēria*, *cathetus* e *parallelus*, come pure *parallelogrammum* e *polygonum* (*polygonium* o *poligonium* in Guglielmo di Moerbeke), Iacopo utilizza *triangulus*, *quadratus*, *circumferentia* e *arcus*, *perpendicularis* (*recta*), *aequidistans* e, in mancanza di meglio, ricorre a perifrasi come *figura aequidistantium laterum* e *figura multorum angulorum*.³⁴ Per farsi un’idea della sua prassi linguistica, basterà riportarne qualche passo confrontandolo con la corrispondente versione fornita da Guglielmo di Moerbeke. Partiamo dalla *Quadratura parabolae*.

Prop. 1 (Archim. II, 266, 6-11 Heiberg²)

Εἶ κα ἡ ὀρθογωνίου κώνου τομά, ἐφ’ ἧς ἄ ABΓ, ἄ δὲ ΒΔ παρὰ τὰν διάμετρον ἢ αὐτὰ διάμετρος, ἄ δὲ ΑΓ παρὰ τὰν κατὰ τὸ Β ἐπιψάουσαν τᾶς τοῦ κώνου τομᾶς, ἴσα ἐσσεῖται ἄ ΑΔ τῷ ΔΓ· κἂν ἴσα ἢ ἄ ΑΔ τῷ ΔΓ, παράλληλοι ἐσσοῦνται ἄ τε ΑΓ καὶ ἄ κατὰ τὸ Β ἐπιψάουσα τᾶς τοῦ κώνου τομᾶς

(Se è [data] una sezione di cono rettangolo, nella quale [sia] il [segmento] ABC, e se inoltre la BD è parallela al diametro o è essa

³³ Gellio dedica un capitolo delle *Noctes Atticae* (1, 20) a spiegare sulla scia di Varrone “quid geometrae dicant ἐπίπεδον, quid στερεόν, quid κύβον, quid γραμμὴν; quibusque ista omnia Latinis uocabulis appellentur” (definizione di piano, solido, cubo, linea secondo i geometri greci. I vocaboli latini che corrispondono a tutti questi termini. Traduzione italiana: Bernardi Perini 1996, I, 211). Senonché, mentre dei due *figurarum genera* (*planum* e *solidum*) e della *linea* individua effettivamente gli equivalenti latini, del *cubus* può fornire soltanto la definizione.

³⁴ Il greco ἑξῆγωνος nella terza proposizione della *Dimensio circuli* (I pp. 240, 4 e 242, 16 Heiberg²), che nei codici figura nella forma ἑξ πολύγωνος ed è tradotto da Guglielmo di Moerbeke con *poligonium* 96 (23rC e I), corrisponde in Iacopo a *figura sex et nonaginta laterum* o a *figura sex et nonaginta lateribus conclusa* (*dim.* 24 e 36). La traduzione umanistica della *Dimensio circuli* (*dim.*) e della *Quadratura parabolae* (*quadr.*) è citata secondo l’edizione d’Alessandro & Napolitani 2012, 263-327.

stessa diametro, e la [retta] AC è parallela alla tangente in B alla sezione del cono, sarà AD uguale a DC; e se AD è uguale a DC la retta AC e la tangente in B alla sezione del cono saranno parallele);³⁵

Iac. Cass. *quadr.* 9: Si koni rectanguli sectio sit, in qua *abc*, et linea *bd* recta sit aut aequidistans diametro aut ipsa diametro et *ac* sit aequidistans lineae contingenti in puncto *b* sectionem rectanguli koni, aequalis erit *ad* ipsi *ac*. Quod si *ad* est ipsi *ae* aequalis, aequidistantes erunt *ac* et contingens sectionem koni in puncto *b*;

Guill. 20vL p. 143 Clagett: Si sit rectanguli conii portio, in qua que ABG, que autem BD apud diametrum uel ipsa diameter, que autem AG penes eam que secundum B contingentem sectionem conii, equalis erit que AD ipsi DG; et si equalis sit que AD ipsi DG, parallele erunt que AG et que secundum B contingens sectionem conii.

Prop. 16 (Archim. II pp. 296, 26-298, 8 Heiberg²)

Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ ΒΓΕ τρίγωνον ἔλασσον τᾶς ὑπεροχᾶς, ἧ ὑπερέχει τὸ Ζ χωρίον τοῦ ΒΘΓ τμήματος, τὸ ΒΕΓ τρίγωνον καὶ τὸ ΒΘΓ τμήμα ἀμφοτέρω ἐλάσσονά ἐστὶ τοῦ Ζ. Ἔστιν δὲ καὶ τὸ Ζ χωρίον ἔλασσον τῶν τετραπλεύρων τῶν ΕΜ, ΦΝ, ΨΞ, ΠΤ καὶ τοῦ ΓΠΣ τριγώνου· ἔστιν γὰρ τὸ ΒΔΓ τοῦ μὲν Ζ τριπλάσιον, τῶν δὲ εἰρημένων χωρίων ἔλασσον ἢ τριπλάσιον, ὡς ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου ἐδείχθη· ἔλασσον ἄρα τὸ ΒΓΕ τρίγωνον καὶ τὸ ΒΘΓ τμήμα τῶν τετραπλεύρων τῶν ΕΜ, ΦΝ, ΨΞ, ΠΤ καὶ τοῦ ΓΠΣ τριγώνου

(Poiché dunque il triangolo BCE è minore dell'eccesso di cui l'area F supera il segmento [parabolico] BHC, [la somma del] triangolo BEC e [del] segmento [parabolico] BHC è minore della [area] F. È poi l'area F minore dell'insieme dei quadrilateri EM, VN, XO, QT e del triangolo CQS: infatti la [area] BCD è tripla della [area] F ed è minore del triplo delle aree suddette, come è stato dimostrato precedentemente: dunque [la somma del] triangolo BCE e [del] segmento parabolico BHC è minore [della somma] dei quadrilateri EM, VN, OX, QT e del triangolo CQS);³⁶

Iac. Cass. *quadr.* 48 sg.: Quoniam igitur triangulus *bce* minor est excessu quo spacium *f* superat portionem *bhc*, triangulus *bce* et portio *bhc* utraque simul sunt minora spacio *f*. Est autem et ipsum *f* spacium minus quadrilateris *em un zx pt* et triangulo *cps*: nam *bcd* triangulus spacii *f* est triplus, spaciorum autem praedictorum minor quam triplus, ut in praemisso est ostensum. Igitur triangulus *bce* et portio *bhc* simul sunt minora quadrilateris *em un xz pt* et triangulo *cps*;

³⁵ Traduzione italiana: Frajese 1974, 484.

³⁶ Traduzione italiana: Frajese 1974, 503 sg.

Guill. 21vS p. 151 Clagett: Quoniam igitur est trigonum BGE minus excessu quo excedit spatium Z portionem BTG, trigonum BEG et portio BTG ambo minora sunt spatium Z. Est autem et spatium Z minus quadrilateribus³⁷ EM, FN, ΨX, PC et trigono GPS; est enim trigonum BDG ipsius quidem Z triplum; dictorum autem spatiorum minus quam triplum, ut in precedenti demonstratum est. Minus ergo est trigonum BGE et portio BTG quadrilateribus EM, FN, XΨ, PC et trigono GPS.

Ancora più efficace risulta il confronto tra le scelte dei due autori all'inizio della prima proposizione della *Dimensio circuli* (Archim. I pp. 232, 2-234, 4 Heiberg²):

Πᾶς κύκλος ἴσος ἐστὶ τριγώνῳ ὀρθογωνίῳ, οὗ ἢ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ κέντρου ἴση μᾶ τῶν περὶ τὴν ὀρθήν, ἢ δὲ περίμετρος τῆς βάσει. Ἐχέτω ὁ ΑΒΓΔ κύκλος τριγώνῳ τῷ Ε, ὡς ὑπόκειται· λέγω ὅτι ἴσος ἐστίν.

Εἰ γὰρ δυνατόν, ἔστω μείζων ὁ κύκλος, καὶ ἐγγεγράφθω τὸ ΑΓ τετράγωνον, καὶ τετμήσθωσαν αἱ περιφέρειαι δίχα, καὶ ἔστω τὰ τμήματα ἤδη ἐλάσσονα τῆς ὑπεροχῆς, ἣ ὑπερέχει ὁ κύκλος τοῦ τριγώνου· τὸ εὐθύγραμμον ἄρα ἔτι τοῦ τριγώνου ἐστὶ μείζων. Εἰλήφθω κέντρον τὸ Ν καὶ κάθετος ἡ ΝΞ· ἐλάσσων ἄρα ἡ ΝΞ τῆς τοῦ τριγώνου πλευρᾶς. Ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ἡ περίμετρος τοῦ εὐθυγράμμου τῆς λοιπῆς ἐλάττων, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῆς τοῦ κύκλου περιμέτρου· ἔλαττον ἄρα τὸ εὐθύγραμμον τοῦ Ε τριγώνου· ὅπερ ἄτοπον.

(Ogni cerchio è uguale ad un triangolo rettangolo se ha il raggio uguale ad un cateto [del triangolo] e la circonferenza uguale alla base. Si abbia il cerchio ABCD [che] rispetto al triangolo E [sia] come s'è supposto: dico che esso è uguale [al triangolo]. Infatti sia, se possibile, maggiore il cerchio, e si inscriva in esso il quadrato AC, e si dividano [successivamente] gli archi della circonferenza per metà, e siano i segmenti [circolari] già minori dell'eccesso di cui il cerchio supera il triangolo; il poligono [AMDCBF così ottenuto] sarà dunque pure maggiore del triangolo. Si prenda il

³⁷ Secondo il Clagett (1976, 36; cf. *Index of Latin Terms*, 686) la scelta del sostantivo *quadrilatus* a scapito del più comune *quadrilaterum* (OLD², 1685; Forcellini 1864-1887, III, 988) sarebbe determinata dalla volontà di ricalcare ancora più da vicino il greco τετράπλευρον. Tuttavia la tradizione manoscritta di Fibonacci, all'inizio della quarta *distinctio* della *Pratica geometrie*, attesta *multilateres* (oltre al testo edito da Boncompagni 1862, 110, vd. i mss. Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II. III. 22, f. 131^v, l. 5, e II. III. 24, f. 72^r, l. 27, nonché Princeton, Scheide 32, f. 113^v, l. 15, che, come si dimostrerà in altra sede, risultano all'origine dell'intera tradizione dell'opera). Il genitivo plurale *quadrilaterum* ricorre inoltre nell'*appendix* alle *Institutiones* di Cassiodoro (p. 170, 21 sg. Mynors, cit. *infra*, n. 51), anche se non è da escludere l'emendamento *quadrilaterae*; cf. p. 170, 14 sg. Mynors "quadrilaterarum uero figurarum quadratum uocatur quod est aequilaterum atque rectiangulum".

centro N e la perpendicolare NO [al lato AF]; dunque la NO è minore del lato [VU] del triangolo. Ed è anche il perimetro del poligono [AMDCBF] minore dell'altro lato [UZ del triangolo E], poiché è [minore] anche del perimetro del cerchio: dunque il poligono è minore del triangolo E, ciò che è impossibile);³⁸

Iac. Cass. *dim.* 1-4: Quilibet circulus triangulo rectangulo aequalis est, illi uidelicet cuius latus alterum eorum quae rectum angulum ambeunt sit dicti circuli semidiametro aequalis, alterum eiusdem circuli circumferentiae.

Esto *abcd* circulus, sic habeat sicut proponitur: dico quod aequalis est *e* triangulo.

Quod si fieri potest, esto circulus dicto triangulo maior et inscribatur circulo quadratum *ac* et diuidantur arcus per aequalia. Ducanturque ad puncta diuisionum lineae rectae fiantque hoc modo figurae intra circulum rectilineae, donec inciderimus in aliquam figuram rectilineam quae sit maior dicto triangulo, et ponatur centrum *n* et sit super unum latus figurae *nx* perpendicularis. Igitur *nx* est minor latere trianguli. Est etiam linea claudens figuram minor reliqua trianguli linea, cum sit minor circuli limbo. Dicta igitur figura minor est dicto triangulo: quod quidem absurdum est;

Guill. 22vI-K p. 158 Clagett: Omnis circulus est equalis trigono rectangulo cuius que quidem ex centro est equalis uni earum que circa rectum angulum, perimeter autem basi.

Habitudinetur circulus ABGD trigono E, ut supponitur. Dico quod equalis est.

Si enim est possibile, sit maior circulus, et inscribatur tetragonum AG, et secentur periferie in duo equa, et sint portiones iam minores excessu quo excedit circulus trigonum. Rectilineum ergo adhuc est magis trigono. Accipiatur centrum N et cathetus que NX. Minor ergo que NX latere trigoni. Est autem et perimeter rectilinei minor reliquo latere, quoniam et perimetro circuli. Est ergo rectilineum minus trigono E; quod quidem est inconueniens.

Quello di Iacopo è però un *work in progress* e nel primo libro del *De sphaera et cylindro*, con cui principia il manoscritto autografo di Iacopo (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Nouv. acq. Lat. 1538 = Na), alcune scelte non sono maturate o comunque non risultano pienamente assimilate: accanto alle numerose occorrenze di *aequidistans*, in due fogli (12^r-13^r) sorprendiamo tre casi di *parallelus*, a cui si aggiunge l'unica apparizione di *parallelogrammus*, *-a*, *-um* (f. 13^r, l. 12); nelle proposizioni 13 e 14 la formula *figura multorum angulorum* (2 occorrenze ai ff. 12^v e 15^v di Na) subisce

³⁸ Traduzione italiana: Frajese 1974, 225 sg.

ancora la concorrenza di *figura poligonia* (13 occorrenze, nei ff. 14^r-15^v di Na) o *poligona* (9 occorrenze al f. 16^r), mentre in seguito assume l’esclusiva.³⁹

Anche le neoformazioni sono ammesse, ma partendo da materiale latino. Per tradurre ἑλιξ Guglielmo s’era servito di (*h*)*elix* o, all’infuori del *De lineis spiralibus*, dell’aggettivo sostantivato *elicus*.⁴⁰ Dal canto suo, Iacopo tradisce qualche esitazione: la prima volta che incontra il vocabolo, nell’epistola prefatoria di *sphaer. et cyl.* 2 (I p. 170, 1sq. Heiberg² τὰ τε περὶ ἐλικῶν καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν κωνοειδῶν), sceglie la soluzione più semplice (*quae de elicis et conoidibus*);⁴¹ quando ritrova il termine nella seconda proposizione del *De conoidibus et sphaeroidibus* (I pp. 270, 2 Heiberg²) si domanda come rendere il vocabolo in buon latino,⁴² pensa al guscio della chiocciola — la *cochlea*, che già aveva dato il nome a un “instrumentum domesticum escarium notissimum”, il cucchiaino, detto appunto *cochleare*⁴³ — e adotta l’aggettivo *coclearis*.⁴⁴ La soluzione non è però definitiva e forse neppure troppo meditata, perché più avanti nella stessa opera (I p. 400, 19 Heiberg²) il traduttore torna a servirsi del neologismo grecizzante *elica*.⁴⁵ Finalmente si arriva al Περὶ ἐλικῶν, dove, come è ovvio, la parola ricorre molteplici volte, 159 per la precisione, sicché una scelta definitiva diventa improrogabile: l’umanista ha un colpo di genio, gli sovengono alla mente le *spirae* del serpente,⁴⁶ ed ecco la locuzione *spiralis linea*, all’origine del sostantivo, oggi universalmente usato, ‘spirale’ (fr. *spirale*, ingl. *spiral*, sp. *espiral*, ted. *Spirale*).⁴⁷ L’innovazione è messa in risalto sin dal titolo dell’opera:

³⁹ Trenta occorrenze nella sola parte restante del primo libro dell’opera.

⁴⁰ Cf. Clagett 1976, 670, s.vv.

⁴¹ Na, f. 39^v, ll. 1 sg.

⁴² Poco importa, come è ovvio, che *helix*, nel senso di *linea flessuosa*, “gyrus”, ricorra occasionalmente in Balbo gromatico e che oggi sia restituito in Apul. *Socr.* 8 p. 139 e con più incertezza in Cic. *Tim.* 31; tutt’al più Iacopo poteva aver letto *helix* in Vitruvio, dove indica un “ornamentum in capitulo Corinthio scalptum”, e in Plinio, dove designa una “species hederæ”, un “genus salicis” e un “concharum genus”: *ThlL* VI 3, 2596, 40-69 (Paul-Max Groth & Heinz Haffter).

⁴³ *ThlL* III, 1398, 15-1399, 4 (Wilhelm Bannier).

⁴⁴ Na, f. 62^r, l. 11 *quae circa lineas cocleares*.

⁴⁵ Na, f. 90^r, l. 17 *quae circa elicis*.

⁴⁶ Ma *spira* assume vari altri significati: da orbita (Manilio) a nodo del legno (Plinio *senior*); vd. *OLD*², 1990, s.v.

⁴⁷ L’aggettivo *spiralis*, -e ricorre occasionalmente in testi medievali certamente ignoti a Iacopo: Lex. Monac. S 12 (ed. Lunardini 2009) e Ioh. Duns Scotus, *quaest metaph. Aristot.* 6, q. 15, 31 sg. (ed. Andrews *et alii* 1997). Non c’è tuttavia alcun dubbio che l’affermazione del termine “spirale” sia stata determinata dall’uso fattone da Iacopo, approvato dal Regiomontano e assunto a modello con l’*editio princeps* bilingue di Archimede del 1544. Il principio della derivazione giustifica anche l’uso di *konoidalis* (o più raramente *konoidis*;

*Archimedis inventa circa elicis, hoc est spirales lineas et spacia dictis lineis contenta.*⁴⁸ Qualche volta tuttavia Iacopo si distrae: nella proposizione 14^a del *De lineis spiralibus*, nel rendere il greco αἰ ποτὶ τὰν ἔλικα ποτιπίπτουσαι (II p. 50, 13 Heiberg²), scrive *illae quae in elic-*, ma subito si ferma, depenna *elic-* e continua: *lineam spiralem inciderunt.*⁴⁹

Pressato dall'*egestas linguae* di lucreziana memoria,⁵⁰ pur di evitare i grecismi il traduttore risemantizza vocaboli del latino d'età classica: dopo qualche tentennamento τραπέζιον (i.e. *trapezium*) sarà reso con *mensula*, di cui si registrano 62 occorrenze nella sola *Quadratura parabolae*.⁵¹ Si legga per esempio l'enunciato della proposizione 10:

Ἔστω πάλιν τὸ μὲν ABΓ ζύγιον καὶ μέσον αὐτοῦ τὸ Β, τὸ δὲ ΒΔΗΚ τραπέζιον τὰς μὲν ποτὶ τοῖς Β, Η σαμείους γωνίας ὀρθὰς ἔχον, τὰν δὲ ΚΔ πλευρὰν ἐπὶ τὸ Γ νεύουσαν, καὶ ὄν ἔχει λόγον ἄ AB ποτὶ τὰν ΒΗ, τοῦτον ἐχέτω τὸ ΒΔΚΗ τραπέζιον ποτὶ τὸ Λ, κρεμάσθω δὲ τὸ ΒΔΗΚ τραπέζιον ἐκ τοῦ ζυγοῦ κατὰ τὰ Β, Η σαμεία, κρεμάσθω δὲ καὶ τὸ Ζ χωρίον κατὰ τὸ Α καὶ ἰσορροπεῖτω τῷ ΒΔΚΗ τραπέζιῳ οὕτως ἔχοντι, ὡς νῦν ὑπόκειται. Φαμὶ τὸ Ζ χωρίον ἔλασσον εἶμεν τοῦ Λ

(Di nuovo si abbia la leva ABC e il suo [punto di] mezzo sia B, e sia BDGK un trapezio avente retti gli angoli [con vertice] in B, G, e il lato DK inclinato su C, e si abbia: $AB : BG = BDGK : L$. Si sospenda il trapezio BDGK alla leva nei punti B, G, si sospenda anche l'area F in

conoidis in sphaer. et cyl. 2 cit. supra e n. 41), da *konus*, e la fortunata formazione *spaeroidis* (non *sp(h)æroidalis*), da *spaera*.

⁴⁸ Na, f. 101^r, ll. 1 sg. Nella tradizione greca: Ἀρχιμήδους περὶ ἐλίκων (Heiberg 1910-1915, II, 3 *ad loc.*); Guglielmo di Moerbeke traduce (11vA p. 82 Clagett): *Incipit liber Archimedis de quam pluribus theorematibus*, che la terza mano (Andreas Coner) corregge scrivendo nell'interlinea *uolutibus* sopra *quam pluribus* (Clagett 1976, 387 *ad loc.*). L'*inscriptio* elaborata da Iacopo si può confrontare con quella della *Quadratura parabolae* (Na, f. 147^r, ll. 1-3): *Archimedis Quadratura parabolae id est portionis contentae a linea recta et sectione rectanguli koni*, a fronte di Ἀρχιμήδους τετραγωνισμός (Heiberg 1910-1915, II, 262, 1 *ad loc.*; Guglielmo, 20vE p. 142 Clagett: *Liber Archimedis qui dicitur quadratura parabolae*). Troviamo qui l'unica occorrenza di *parabola*, giacchè altrimenti la sezione conica è designata con la locuzione *koni rectanguli sectio*. In questo caso, però, l'umanista non fa che esplicitare la contraddizione già presente nella tradizione greca: nel testo Archimede usa costantemente l'espressione ὀρθογωνίου κώνου τομὰ (Guglielmo: *rectanguli conii portio* o *sectio*), sicché il titolo trådito è certamente recenziore; cf. anche Clagett 1976, 682, s.v. *parabola*.

⁴⁹ Na, f. 113^r, l. 4 sg.

⁵⁰ Lucr. 1,136-139 "Nec me animi fallit Graiorum obscura reperta / difficile inlustrare Latinis uersibus esse, / multa nouis uerbis praesertim cum sit agendum / propter egestatem linguae et rerum nouitatem". Cf. Sen. *epist.* 58,1.

⁵¹ Cf. Cassiod. *inst. app.* p. 170, 21 sg. Mynors "Praeter haec autem omnes quadrilaterum figurae trapezia, id est mensulae, nominantur".

A, e faccia equilibrio al trapezio BDKG così come ora sta. Dico che l'area F è minore di quella L);

Esto item *abc* libra, eius medium *b*; mensula uero *bdgk* habeat angulos ad puncta *b g* rectos, latus uero *kd* inclinatum in *c*; et quam habet proportionem *ba* ad *bg*, eam habeat *bdkg* mensula ad *l* spacium. Suspensa autem sit mensula *bdkg* ex libra in *b g* punctis, suspensum quoque sit *f* spacium in *a* et aequponderato ipsi *bdkg* mensulae sic se habenti sicut nunc iacet. Dico iam *f* spacium ipso *l* minus esse.⁵²

La scelta è però travagliata: nel *De sphaera et cylindro* *τραπέζιον* è reso con *quadrangula superficies* (1, 10),⁵³ o con *quadrangulus planus* (1, 12),⁵⁴ nel *De conoidibus et sphaeroidibus* (prop. 4) con *spacium tabulare*,⁵⁵ nel *De planorum aequilibriis* due volte con *mensalis figura* e una volta con *mensa* (1, 15),⁵⁶ per poi optare definitivamente per *mensula* (tre occorrenze ancora in 1, 15; sei nel secondo libro).

In qualche caso il cammino è anche più lungo e non privo di ripensamenti. Problematica è la traduzione di *περίμετρος*, almeno quando non corrisponda a *circumferentia*.⁵⁷ nel *De sphaera et cylindro* è dapprima reso con una perifrasi (*lineae figuram* o *superficiem claudentes*, *lineae simul iunctae*, *lineae trianguli*, ecc.), poi con il prestito *perimeter*,⁵⁸ infine sostituendo al perimetro i *latera figurarum*;⁵⁹ nella *Dimensio circuli*, una volta con la

⁵² Archim. II p. 278, 24-279, 6 Heiberg² (traduzione italiana: Frajese 1974, 492 sg.) ~ Iac. Cass. *quadr.* 26. Cf. Guill. 21rI-J p. 146 Clagett “Sit rursus ABG libra et medium ipsius sit B. Quod autem BDHK trapezale eos quidem qui apud signa B, H angulos habens rectos, latus autem KD uergens ad G, et quam habet proportionem que AB ad lineam BH hanc habeat trapezale BDHK ad spatium L. Suspendatur autem trapezale BDHK ex libra secundum signa B, H. Suspendatur autem et spatium Z secundum A et equaliter repat cum trapezali BDKH sic se habenti ut nunc supponitur. Dico spatium Z esse minus quam L”.

⁵³ Archim. I p. 36, 15 Heiberg² ~ Na, f. 7^r, l. 9.

⁵⁴ Archim. I p. 48, 25 Heiberg² ~ Na, f. 10^r, l. 23.

⁵⁵ Archim. I p. 278, 7 e 9 sg. Heiberg² ~ Na, f. 64^r, ll. 15 e 17.

⁵⁶ *Mensalis figura*: Archim. II pp. 158, 23 e 160, 1 ~ Na, ff. 136^r, l. 23 e 136^v, l. 6; *mensa*: Archim. II p. 160, 4 ~ Na, f. 136^v, l. 9.

⁵⁷ Con *circumferentia* è tradotto quattro volte nel *De sphaera et cylindro* e due nella *Dimensio circuli*.

⁵⁸ Archim. I p. 54, 20 e 24; 58, 27; 60, 2 e 8; 64, 9 ~ Na, ff. 12^v, l. 24; 13^r, l. 5; 14^r, ll. 9, 12, 17; 15^r, l. 17, a cui si aggiunge Archim. I p. 54, 28 sg. Heiberg² ~ Na, f. 13^r, l. 9, dove ricorre la forma aggettivale: τῆ περιμέτρῳ τῆς βάσεως ~ *basi perimeterae*. Altre due occorrenze di *perimeter* a f. 15^r, ll. 19 e 21, non trovano corrispondenza nel testo greco.

⁵⁹ Archim. I p. 116, 14-16 Heiberg² περιεγεθεισῶν τῶν περιμέτρων τῶν πολυγώνων περὶ τὴν τοῦ κύκλου περιφέρειαν ~ Na, f. 27^v, l. 20 “circa eam lateribus figurarum circumuolutis”. Iacopo aggiunge *et circulis ipsis*, parole di cui lo Heiberg (1910-1915, I, 117 n. 2) lamenta la mancanza nella tradizione greca superstite.

perifrasi *linea claudens figuram* e sei volte con *limbus*,⁶⁰ risemantizzazione che ritorna anche nell'unica occorrenza del *De planorum aequilibriis*.⁶¹ Nel *De lineis spiralibus* (prop. 3) l'ostacolo è aggirato: ἀ ἐκ πασῶν συγκειμένα τῶν περιμέτρων [scil. dei poligoni] εὐθεῖα diventa: “linea recta ex omnibus earum [figurarum] lateribus composita”.⁶² La scelta definitiva arriva infine nell'ultima opera tradotta da Iacopo, l'*Arenarius*, dove a περίμετρος (riferito ai poligoni o alla Terra) corrisponde sistematicamente *ambitus* (nove occorrenze).

Anche in altre occasioni possiamo seguire passo passo l'evolversi delle scelte lessicali del traduttore: nel primo libro del *De sphaera et cylindro* troviamo cinque occorrenze di (*h*)*emisp(h)erium* (quattro volte nella prop. 23 e una nella 26), ma all'inizio della prop. 42, dopo aver cominciato a scrivere *emisp-*, Iacopo ci ripensa e corregge *dimidia spaera*,⁶³ locuzione che userà sistematicamente nel prosieguo della traduzione.

*

L'aspirazione tutta umanistica di creare un lessico genuinamente latino della geometria era destinato a spegnersi insieme con Iacopo o poco dopo. Se l'aggettivo *spiralis*, *-e* si affermò e vive tuttora, sostantivato, non solo nel linguaggio tecnico degli scienziati, altre soluzioni da lui adottate ebbero poco o punto fortuna e furono dimenticate insieme con l'autore della traduzione di Archimede.⁶⁴ Sei o sette decenni dopo la sua morte, il più geniale matematico dell'epoca, il messinese Francesco Maurolico,⁶⁵ nel rielaborare e sviluppare gli *inuenta* dell'antico predecessore siracusano non ebbe il tempo e forse neppure la voglia di occuparsi di questioni terminologiche:⁶⁶ negli scritti

⁶⁰ Vd. Archim. I p. 234, 1-3 Heiberg² Ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ἡ περίμετρος τοῦ εὐθύγραμμου τῆς λοιπῆς ἐλάττων, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῆς τοῦ κύκλου περιμέτρου ~ Iac. Cass. *dim.* 4 (Na, f. 53^r, ll. 14 sg.) “Est etiam linea claudens figuram minor reliqua trianguli linea, cum sit minor circuli limbo”; e inoltre: Archim. I pp. 234, 16 (τοῦ πολυγώνου); 240, 4 sg. (τοῦ ἑξάγώνου) e 10 (τοῦ κύκλου); 242, 12 (τοῦ πολυγώνου) e 15 (τοῦ ἑξάγώνου) ~ Iac. Cass. *dim.* 7 (Na, f. 53^v, l. 6), 24 (Na f. 54^v, l. 17), 26 (Na, f. 55^r, l. 4), 35 sg. (Na, f. 55^v, ll. 14 e 19). Per *limbus* usato “per similitudinem de uariis zonis” vd. *ThL* VII 2, 1403, 13-33 (Wolfgang Buchwald); in età cristiana il vocabolo indica soprattutto il “locus in quo SS. Patrum ac piorum animae ante Christi mortem consistebant”: Du Cange 1883-1887, V, 112a (<http://ducange.enc.sorbonne.fr/LIMBUS1>) e Ramminger 2003-, www.neulatein.de/words/3/007791.htm.

⁶¹ Archim. II p. 126, 1 Heiberg² ~ Na, f. 130^v, l. 3.

⁶² Archim. II p. 16, 24 sg. Heiberg² ~ Na, f. 105^r, 15 sg.

⁶³ Cf. d'Alessandro & Napolitani 2012, 98 (dove si corregga “emispaera” in “emispaerio”).

⁶⁴ Cf. d'Alessandro & Napolitani 2012, 95.

⁶⁵ Vd. <http://www.maurolico.it/Maurolico/index.html>.

⁶⁶ Bellé & Napolitani & Sisana 2022, A, 12.

geometrici, con l'ecllettismo formale dello scienziato tutt'intento ai concetti, lasciandosi influenzare dalle letture e dalle fonti di volta in volta messe a frutto, adoperò *spiralis linea*, *figura multiangulorum* e l'aggettivo *aequidistans*, ma del pari si servì di *polygonium* e *parallelus* come pure di *hemisphaera*; declinò variamente *parallelus*, a due o a tre uscite, e usò tanto *parabola* alla latina quanto *paraboles* alla greca.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ Ringrazio Argante Ciocci per aver liberato il mio dattiloscritto da parecchi refusi; Pier Daniele Napolitani per aver discusso con me dell'argomento fornendomi suggerimenti preziosi; Beatrice Sisana per avermi messo a disposizione la sua trascrizione di Na.

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LEXICAL PRODUCTIVITY IN EARLY MODERN LATIN ACCORDING TO THE *NEULATEINSCHER* *WORTLISTE*:



A quantitative study

By Šime Demo

In the present paper, the list of dictionary entries of the Neulateinische Wortliste is used as a corpus for an examination of early modern trends in Latin word formation. Only words first attested after the Middle Ages were included in the analysis. The frequency of various groups of lexemes (word classes, morphological types, noun genders) and morphemes (derivational suffixes, prefixes, compound components) is displayed and occasionally compared to the entries in the Lewis & Short dictionary of Ancient Latin. The analysis has revealed which elements were favoured by Renaissance authors and to what extent.

Vocabulary is by a wide margin the most interesting, the most innovative, and the most researched aspect of Early Modern Latin (EML).¹ If an article, an introduction to an edition, or a commentary on an EML text discusses language in any way, it normally deals for the most – or significant – part with the lexicon. Vocabulary is also the only segment of EML that has been studied synthetically, systematically, and comparatively. While a grammar of EML has not been written, quite a few lexica are partly or completely dedicated to it.² Additionally, many editions of texts have glossaries attached

¹ In the article, the following abbreviations are used: AL – Ancient Latin, *DMLBS* – Latham et al. eds. 1975–2013, *DMLCS* – Harvey ed. 1997–2019, EML – Early Modern Latin, *LS* – Lewis & Short 1879, ML – Medieval Latin, *NLW* – *Neulateinische Wortliste*, *TLL* – *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*.

² See, e.g. Du Cange 1883–1887 (and other editions), Diefenbach 1857, Maigne d'Arnis 1858, and, especially, Ramminger 2003–, Hoven & Grailet 2006, and Nikitinski 2015. Comprehensive listings of dictionaries that include EML are found in IJsewijn & Sacré 1998, 392–399.

to them. Finally, general introductions to linguistic properties of EML are predominantly dedicated to lexicon.³

Although researchers have already reached certain conclusions about the overall character of neology in EML, quantitative studies are rare and limited in scope.⁴ However, the amount of the material collected and described up to date leads one to believe that preliminary explorations on a larger scale are now viable. While it is possible (and, in due course, desirable) to work directly on textual corpora, some tentative results can be obtained by observing the existing lexicographical work, taking advantage of the fact that the material contained therein has been curated by the experts.⁵

At this moment, the best tool for such undertaking is the *Neulateinische Wortliste (NLW)*, which is – although modestly entitled – the most comprehensive dictionary of EML available.⁶ The fact that it is entirely digital and freely available enables a convenient application of quantity-based methods in the investigation. In the present study, we attempt to use the *NLW* as a mine of data for outlining the trends of word formation in EML.

Inspecting the *NLW*

The *NLW* contains Latin words in which something lexicographically interesting happened in the Early Modern Period. At the time of writing (late 2021), I was able to access **21139** lemmas.⁷

Of the total number of lemmas, **449** articles – mostly placed towards the end in the alphabetical order – lack the “Lexicographica” section, where the details of the pre-Renaissance attestations of the words are normally specified. This is probably related to the fact that *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae (TLL)* has not yet covered the final part of the alphabet. These articles either have not yet been checked by the author or contain only references to other articles. They were excluded from the present analysis.

³ See e.g., Sabbadini 1885, IJsewijn & Sacré 1998, 377–419, Helander et al. 2001, 27–39, Helander 2014, Ramminger 2014.

⁴ Quantitative methods are not unfamiliar to the researchers of EML: e.g., Graillet 2010 analyses vocabulary of an author, while Luque Moreno 1983 and (in a more advanced, properly statistical manner) Tunberg 1992 use such methods in the investigation of metrical *clausulae*; however, they do not focus on neologisms. The same applies to stylometric studies such as Eder 2016, Deneire 2018, and Ramminger 2019. Marginally relevant is quantitative research of hybrid vocabulary in macaronic Latin, which is novel, but confined to a specific literary style (e.g., Demo & Tassotti 2019).

⁵ A recent example of metalexicographical analysis of an early modern concept (ingenuity) is Marr et al. 2018.

⁶ Ramminger 2003–.

⁷ The detailed description of the criteria for word inclusion and related problems can be found in Ramminger 2003–> Grundlagen – Übersicht.

Among the **20690** lemmas that had been checked, **4685** words are found in one of the main dictionaries of Ancient Latin (AL) – Ramminger used in the first place *TLL*, *Forcellini*, *Georges*, *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, and *Lewis & Short (LS)*.⁸ In early modern usage, these words obtained novel meanings, spellings or syntactic structures, or are interesting for any other reason (e.g. rarity, confinement to a genre, uneven distribution, being shunned by the Renaissance humanists, importance for the intellectual history or development of Romance languages, having morphological ties to the neologisms etc.). Words attested only in some marginal areas such as glossaries or inscriptions, those showing morphological peculiarities (active variants of originally deponent verbs, comparison of words not having it in AL), and common nouns appearing in the antiquity only as proper names, are found in this group. The words attested in AL are placed out of scope of the present study because they do not display derivational, but morphological, semantic, syntactical, and other types of innovation, which cannot be either qualified or quantified in the same manner as it was done here.

The remaining **16005** words are marked by Ramminger with “TLL 0” or “GEORGES 0” (for the parts not covered by the *TLL*) because they do not appear in those dictionaries. We do not know if they existed – and likely never will – but what we know is that the humanists could not have encountered them in AL.

Of these words, **2115** have been located by Ramminger in Medieval Latin (ML) dictionaries and texts.⁹ Although some of these dictionaries (e.g., *DMLBS*, *DMLCS*, *Du Cange*) do not exclude the Early Modern Period, most of the material in them is medieval. As the topic of this paper is lexical productivity in EML, it focusses on words that the EML writers were more likely to create themselves than to encounter in ML texts. Therefore, the words listed in those dictionaries are excluded, except for the cases where Ramminger indicated the year after the beginning of the 15th century as the time of the earliest occurrence. Of course, in the future, many of the supposedly original EML words might be proven to have first appeared in ML.¹⁰

⁸ The full list is here: Ramminger 2003– [> any word] > Literaturverzeichnis.

⁹ I performed some additional checks through ML and AL dictionaries. Seventy-three words – mostly those not yet covered by the *TLL* – have the label “GEORGES 0” without a further note, but are found in the *LS* or in the dictionaries of ML. They were excluded from the present analysis. Homonyms are checked manually and treated as separate entries; e.g. *inaccommodatus* ‘appropriate’ and *inaccommodatus* ‘inappropriate’, *inuitabilis* ‘attractive’ and *inuitabilis* ‘inevitable’, *mensatim* ‘by table’ and *mensatim* ‘by month’).

¹⁰ To which extent the distinction between ML and EML is uncharted, is implied by the decision of Helander 2014, 38 to regard as neologisms in EML all non-ancient words, “regardless of origin, whether they were coined during the Renaissance or after, or whether they had already been introduced in the Middle Ages”. There is an obvious problem with

Of the **13890** lemmas not found in AL and ML dictionaries or texts, **47** words are in some way problematic: they were thought or suspected to having been attested due to some textual problem or peculiarity (e.g., appearing only as a *varia lectio*, being a conjecture, or shown to be erroneous).

This leaves us with **13843** lemmas not found by the authors of the dictionaries in the texts written before the Early Modern Period. For pre-existing cognate words, the new words are considered neologisms if their generation involves a derivational suffix (e.g., including common nouns derived from names), change of word class (e.g., substantivation of adjectives, adjectives derived from nouns, adverbs derived from adjectives), back-formation (e.g., verbs whose participles were attested earlier, such as *intarsio* vs. *intarsiatus*), stronger spelling and morphological variants (*pac(c)amentum* vs. *pagamentum*, *pastoricus* vs. *pastoriceus*, *inolio* vs. *inoleo*, *prophetisso* vs. *prophetizo*, *retrogardia* vs. *retroguardia*, *metaplasticos* vs. *metaplasticus*, *cussimus* vs. *coxinus*).¹¹ Ramminger includes non-derived proper nouns only exceptionally (e.g., *Osmannus*). Of course, had he done it systematically, they would have outnumbered the rest of the dictionary and complicated quantitative research. Nevertheless, we include them here among the EML words because they are few and display typical endings in a specific group of lexemes.

In the *NLW*, morphological variants, as well as heteroclita, heterogenea, and words belonging to various classes, are frequently put under the same lemma (e.g., *tulipan*, *-an(t)is*, *m.*; *tulipanus*, *-i*, *m.*; *tulipantum*, *-i*, *n.*). When we separate them and apply some additional adjustments, we get **14013** items selected for the analysis.

It shows up that about two-thirds of the lemmas contained in the *NLW* have not been attested in either AL or ML (Figure 1). These are analysed in the following sections.

treating as “Neo-Latin neologisms” words first attested in the, for example, ninth century, but, at the present state of research, it perhaps makes less damage than trying to distinguish the two periods, like the author of the present paper does. The sixth book of Stotz’s *Handbuch* (2000, 231–482) deals with Latin neologisms in medieval texts: it covers suffixation (2000, 270–396), prefixation (2000, 400–431), and compounding (2000, 396–400, 431–458, 462–464).

¹¹ As Latin examples are mainly illustrative, in this paper their meanings are, as a rule, not provided in longer lists, especially when the focus is on their form, not meaning. The meanings and the examples can be found in the *NLW* under the respective headings.

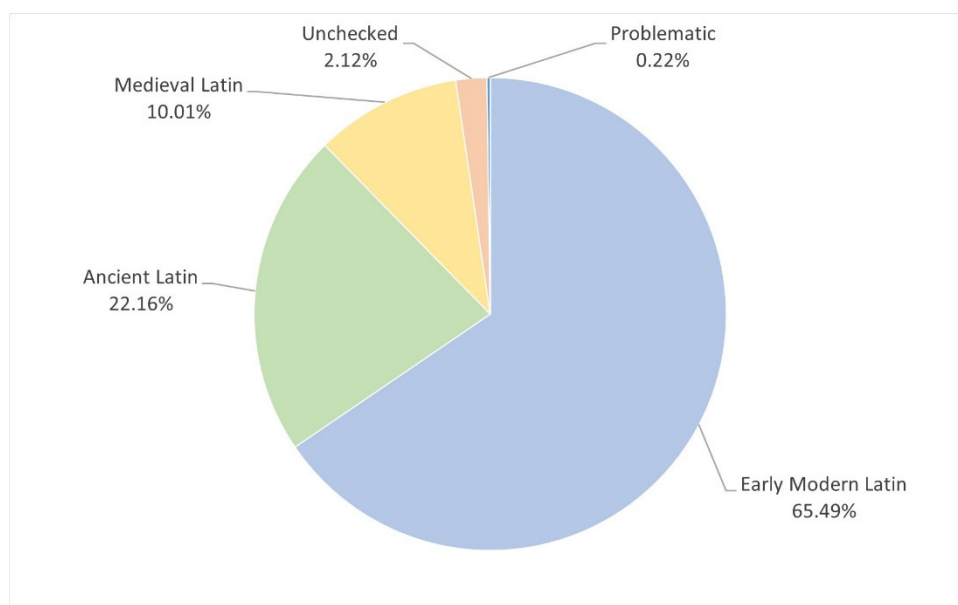


Figure 1. Main groups of entries in the NLW

Object of the study and methodology

In this study, we observe the overall trends in the morphology of Early Modern Latin neologisms. First, the distribution of neologisms among and within the parts of speech are examined. We explore how many of them belong to each word class. Then we check how the words are allotted individual morphological types (e.g., declension and verb class). Furthermore, preferences in derivational suffixes and prefixes are studied. Also, elements readily entering compounds are looked at. Apart from that, we pay a special attention to proper names with their derivatives. On the other hand, orthography-related phenomena – such as words written (entirely or partly) in Greek alphabet or with alternative spellings – are not discussed here.¹²

Some of these analyses are accompanied, when convenient, by comparisons with the words comprised in the *LS*. I used its XML-annotated version, created within the Tufts University's Perseus Project and available online. The dictionary, albeit somewhat outdated, still contains most of representative AL – and even later – words. Thus, it serves as a reference

¹² Where there are spelling variants – some words have many, e.g., Muhammad's name – I selected only one (usually the longest one, or the one consistent with other similar words) to avoid distortion of the number of lexemes. Their inclusion might have slightly altered the results. Although I did quite a detailed check, occasional slips in coding of the underlying sources have certainly caused some inaccuracies.

corpus here. In the Perseus version, word classes are marked, as well as some additional morphological information.¹³

The *LS* contains **51641** entries. Excluding references, notes about errors, and the like, but separating sublemmas from lemmas, and after a lot of extra clean-up and corrections, we reach the number of **52249** items containing the XML element for word class (in the case of nouns, the element defines gender), which is around 3.73 times larger than lemmas we analyse from the *NLW*.¹⁴

Provisos

Three main problems for anyone approaching the *NLW* as a corpus for a quantitative study have been described by Ramminger himself in his *Grundlagen*.¹⁵

Firstly, the notion of EML itself is hard to pin down. It is impossible to say when EML starts and ends, or what texts it comprises. It is a fluid and fuzzy concept, emerging gradually and in an uneven, complex manner from ML. As a result, sometimes it is not clear whether a word should be classified as belonging to EML or ML. However, dictionary check-ups bring us at least a little closer to an accurate picture.

Secondly, the *NLW* is incomplete. Since its inception, it has been continuously growing at a remarkable pace. Naturally, the growth was steadier during the first years, but never stopped (Figure 2), and might even accelerate now that the creator is retired from his main job.

¹³ Crane ed. 1995– > Open Source > Download.

¹⁴ This number contains proper names and their derivatives, which can hardly be separated from each other automatically, especially since many derivatives are sublemmas. Although most of such words in the *NLW* are derivatives (see above), it was not practical to exclude names here. Therefore, I include proper names and their derivatives, although keeping information about them belonging to the group. In both sets, *nomina communia* are counted as both masculine and feminine, and adjectives used in a specific gender as both adjectives and nouns. The version of the *LS* used is very inconsistently tagged; I did my best to correct as much as possible, but many of the faults have remained.

¹⁵ Ramminger 2003– > Grundlagen – Übersicht.

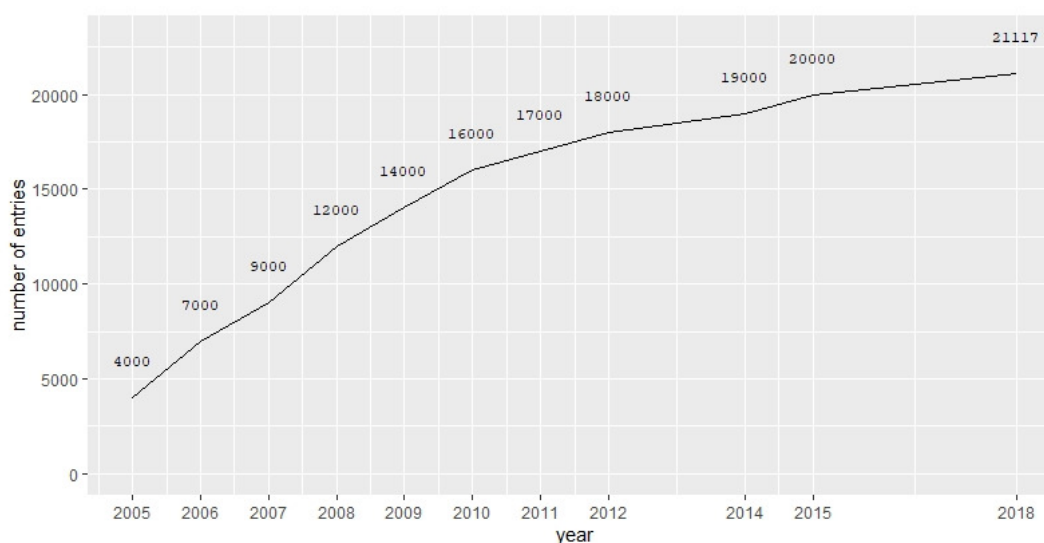


Figure 2. The growth of the *NLW*¹⁶

The colossal quantity of EML texts and the still comparatively modest level of their exploration makes it certain that putting together a complete dictionary will not be possible for a long time to come. Among the unprocessed (e.g., still unpublished) texts there are many that potentially contain plenty of neologisms not included in the *NLW* (e.g. bureaucratic and macaronic Latinity). It should be repeated that one of the control dictionaries, the *TLL*, is also unfinished.

Finally, the *NLW* is openly subjective:

Die *NLW* (...) reflektiert nicht nur die hier entwickelten methodischen Leitlinien, sondern auch (und vor allem) meine persönlichen Vorlieben (und Wissenslücken).¹⁷

The *NLW* (...) does not only reflect methodical guidelines developed here, but also (and in the first place) my personal preferences (and knowledge gaps).

One could be tempted to make a joke that it is not completely out of place in a *Festschrift* to peek into the honoree's inner man. On the other hand, no lexicographical work can avoid a certain degree of subjectivity. Again, this is alleviated by the author's applying consistent criteria in verifying the origin of the words.

¹⁶ Source: Ramminger 2003– [Homepage].

¹⁷ Ramminger 2003– > Grundlagen – Übersicht.

All these circumstances preclude the possibility of far-reaching frequency-based conclusions about EML vocabulary. But, the outline of some trends can hopefully emerge, no matter how cautiously they are to be expressed.

Distribution among the word classes

Novel words from the *NLW* are distributed among the word classes in a manner consistent with what we would expect from neologisms: substantives (7059) form by far the most numerous group, followed by adjectives (4496); verbs (1428) and adverbs (1017) are fewer, but not negligible; finally, new EML numerals (9),¹⁸ pronouns (2),¹⁹ and interjections (2)²⁰ are exceptional. As AL is always the standard against which all later Latin is measured, it seems sound to check how our corpus relates to it. How are the word classes and their subtypes distributed in AL and how do they compare with the words in the *NLW*? Is EML a balanced extension of AL, or did it take idiosyncratic paths? If the latter, was the change moderate or radical? In either case, is there a plausible explanation?

As minor word types (numerals, interjections, and prepositions) are extremely rare in the observed part of the *NLW* and morphologically less productive, we include only four major word classes. We use percentages to normalise the frequencies between the two corpora. Here is first a tabular view (Table 1):

<i>word class</i>	<i>LS</i>			<i>NLW</i>		
	common	proper	total	common	proper	total
<i>sub</i>	20429 (39.50%)	8450 (16.34%)	28879 (55.84%)	6555 (46.82%)	504 (3.60%)	7059 (50.42%)
<i>adi</i>	10288 (19.89%)	2597 (5.02%)	12885 (24.91%)	4211 (30.08%)	285 (2.04%)	4496 (32.11%)
<i>ver</i>	7083 (13.70%)	3 (0.01%)	7086 (13.70%)	1382 (9.68%)	46 (0.32%)	1428 (10.17%)
<i>adv</i>	2826 (5.46%)	40 (0.08%)	2866 (5.54%)	979 (6.99%)	37 (0.26%)	1016 (7.26%)

Table 1. Distribution of the four major word classes in the *LS* and the *NLW*

¹⁸ Playful (*h*)*arenaginta* ‘as many as sand’, probably only orthographic *otto* ‘eight’, variant *undeuigesies* ‘nineteen’, extensions of *sesqui-*: *sesquiquattuor* ‘three (!) and a half’ and *sesquimille* ‘one thousand and five hundred’, and *semi-*: *semiduo* ‘one and a half’, *semitres* ‘two and a half’, *semicentum* ‘fifty’.

¹⁹ *Aliquidam* ‘some’ and *aliquisdam* ‘someone’ (reducible to the same root).

²⁰ *Haha* (a variation of an AL interjection) and *uhe*.

A visualisation enables a more intuitive comparison (Figure 3):

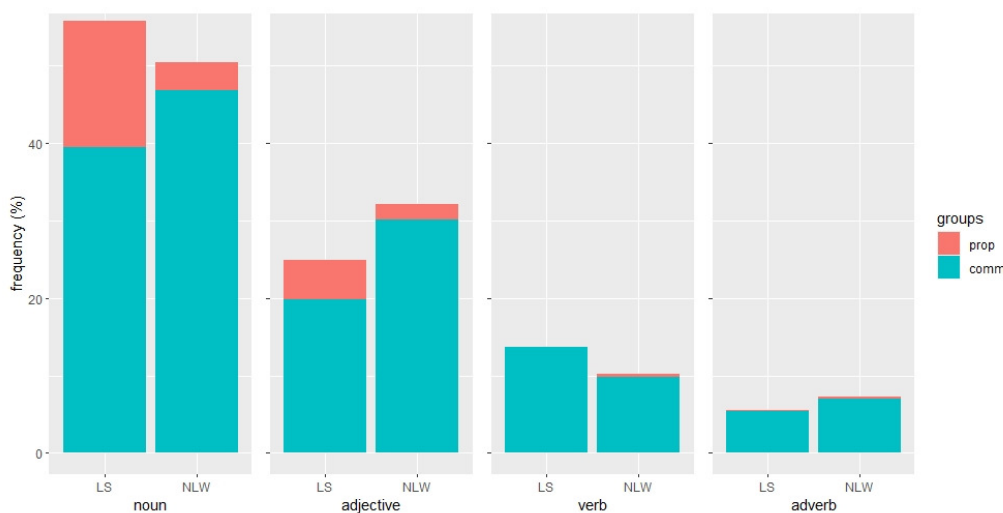


Figure 3. Distribution of the four major word classes in the LS and the NLW

A significant increase in the number of common nouns and adjectives is unsurprising. It is balanced by a smaller number of proper nouns, resulting from the *NLW*'s restricted approach to their inclusion. These EML proper nouns are mostly derivatives. Verbs and adverbs overall are less readily added to the vocabulary, but humanists extensively used the possibilities to make them out of proper names, a strategy sparingly used in AL: while *LS* has only *Christianizo* 'to profess Christianity', *Galaticor* 'to act (religiously) as Galatians', and *Iudaizo* 'to live in a Jewish manner', in the *NLW* there are 43 such verbs, using the mere two endings offered by AL: *-is(s)ol/-iz(z)o* and – in one case – *-or*).

The chart shows that the mutual proportions of word classes preserve the ancient distribution. This means that the linguistic development continued at an even pace across the word classes. An invisible hand of linguistic development did not let any group notably stick out, so that the early modern writers expanded the vocabulary to the extent that was defined by the ratios of ancient vocabulary.

The increase in the number of items in each individual word class is remarkable. EML nouns, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs listed in the *NLW* increased vocabulary inherited from AL by 24.44%, 34.89%, 20.15%, and 35.45%, respectively. This is another indication of the vitality of humanist Latin and an argument against the claims about it being sterile and petrified.²¹

²¹ On the birth of EML as marking the death of Latin see, e.g., Norden 1898, 767, Febvre & Martin 1976, 320, Blumenthal & Kahane 1979, and Burke 2004, 58. One of the many rebuffals: Briesemeister 1996, 118.

And these are only data from a single (incomplete) dictionary, concerning only morphology, without considering semantics, stylistics, phraseology, pragmatics, or the influence of medieval Latin.

Now let us zoom in to individual word classes.

Noun gender

Noun gender distribution can be seen in Figure 4.²²

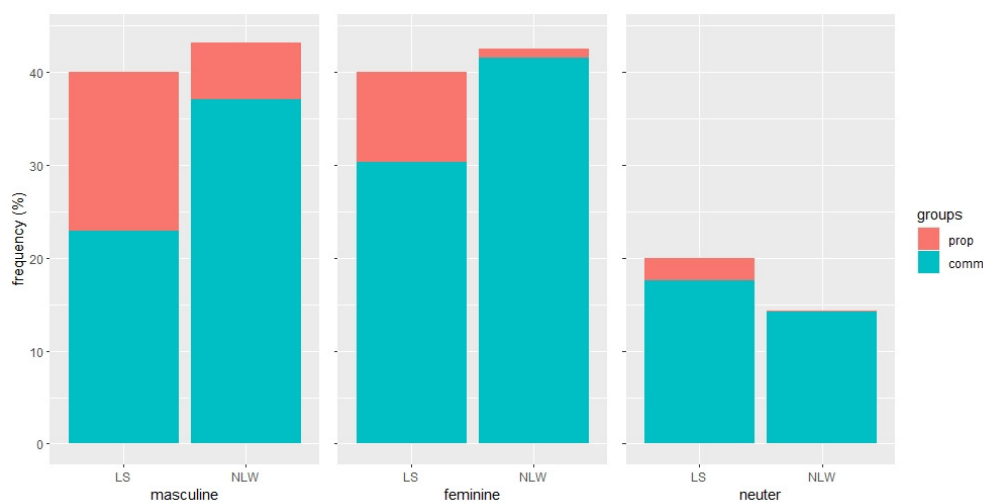


Figure 4. Distribution of noun genders in the LS and the NLW

The overall proportions of nouns have remained almost the same across genders. In both corpora, feminine and masculine nouns are in a perfect mutual balance. However, the increase is not that smooth if common and proper nouns are viewed separately. Among proper nouns, early modern writers needed masculine neologisms more than feminine or neuter. This tendency is also noticed in the ancient corpus but is much more pronounced in the Early Modern Period – while masculine proper nouns make 58.31% of proper nouns in the LS, they cover no less than 85.91% of the NLW's proper nouns. On the other hand, the proportion of female proper nouns drops from 33.21% to mere 12.50%. Proper neuter nouns are so scarce that they can all be listed here: *Asclepianum* 'shrine of Asclepius', *Buccentaurilia* (a Venetian festivity), *Christicidium* 'killing of Christ', *Europalia* 'festivity dedicated to Europe', *Lipsiomnema* 'memory of Lipsius', *Vitaulium* (name of an estate), *Vrbanalìa* 'feast of St Urban'.²³

²² The sum of the individual groups does not correspond to the total because of some *nomina communia* and *incerti generis*.

²³ A large percentage of such words, four out of seven, are *pluralia tantum*. In AL, where these are mainly geographical names, *pluralia tantum* make only 19.66% (81 out of 412).

The share of the most represented gender among common nouns, female, increased from 42.76% to 44.77%, while masculine common nouns grew from 32.49% to 39.89%. This happened at the cost of neuter gender nouns, which went from 24.84% down to 15.34%. As the criteria of the inclusion of proper names differ greatly between the two dictionaries, the increase in the number of common nouns represents a more reliable ground for any conclusions. The bottom line is that EML writers needed a larger number of new masculine and feminine nouns, while neuter nouns – which occupied almost one-fourth of the common noun vocabulary in AL – were much less frequently created.

Morphological types

Within each word class, words are distributed among several morphological types. We observe this distribution in our *NLW* corpus. Due to the frequently unclear border between nouns and adjectives, the fact that dictionary compilers have various approaches to interpreting and representing their mutual relations, as well as the version of the *LS* employed here being inconsistently annotated in this respect, the quantitative comparisons with the *LS* were conducted only on subsets of data which could be checked manually. One such group are verbs, because there were no difficulties in weighing the two dictionaries against each other in the analysis of conjugation types.

Figure 5 displays various morphological groups of new nouns in the *NLW*.

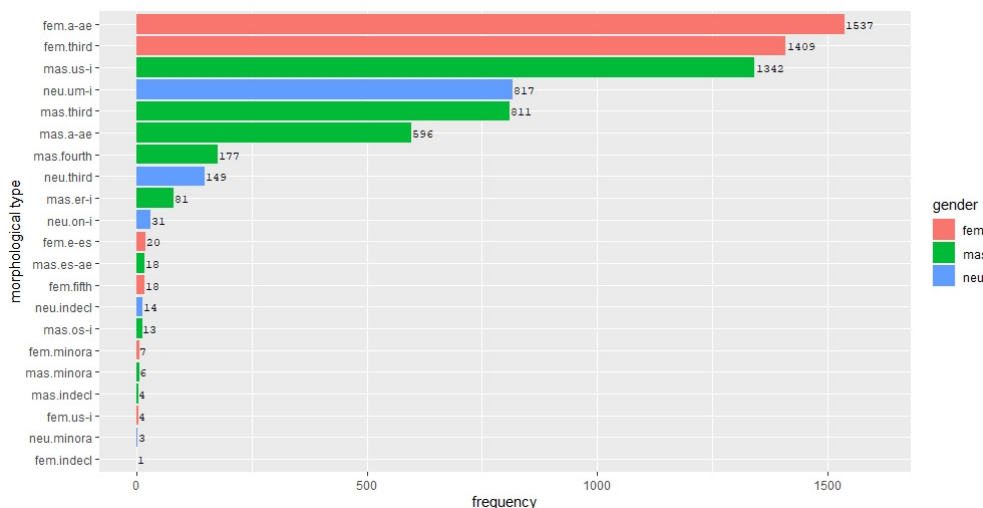


Figure 5. Morphological types of novel nouns in the *NLW*

Predictably, new nouns of the first and second declensions dominate in each of the genders. However, some results stick out as somewhat curious. First, feminine third declension nouns substantially outnumber their masculine counterparts. It turns out that more than half of this number (706) are *nomina*

actionis in *-io*, *-ionis*. Summed up together with derivations in *-tas* (453) and *-trix* (117), they make up for 90.56% of nouns in this group.²⁴ The comparison with the *LS*, where their combined percentage is 69.23%, points to the increased morphological uniformity as a result of a preference for a narrowed range of suffixes.

Another suspiciously numerous group consists of masculine nouns of the first declension. While the *LS* has 431 of them, in the *NLW* there are 596. Proportionally to the total number of nouns, that is more than a 5x increase. A closer look reveals that almost half of these nouns (267) are derivatives in *-ista*. *LS* has no more than 32 such nouns. Moreover, 81 in the *NLW* and mere 4 in *LS* (*Cybelista*, *Ennianista*, *Homerista*, *Papinianista*) are derived from proper names. This is an indication of humanist fondness for polemical labelling, especially ideological and often playful (for example, here is the list of derivatives with the element *-papista*: *Anglopapista*, *antipapista*, *archipapista*, *Caluinopapista*, *secundopapista*, *semipapista*). Further 90 nouns are compounds with *-cola* or *-gena*, against only 68 in the *LS*.²⁵

On the low-frequency end of the list, we can see that the early modern writers occasionally created novel words in more exotic categories: 20 feminine nouns in *-e*, *-es* are of Greek origin (most notably names of professions and disciplines: *botanice* ‘botany’, *collybistice* ‘banking’, *semiotice* ‘symptomatology’, *sycophantice* ‘art of flattering’, *typographice* ‘printing art’), as are 18 masculine nouns in *-es*, *-ae*. *Indeclinabilia* are mostly neologisms of non-European origin such as *cacao* ‘cocoa’, *eslam* ‘Islam’, *ramadan* ‘Ramadan’, *rob* ‘concentrated juice’, and *zibit* ‘coin’, but there are also a few extensions of ancient words (*antigamma* ‘non-gamma’, *archinequam* ‘arch-rascal’, *seruisolis* ‘servant of sun’). The *minora* group consists for the largest part of various combinations of Greek endings (e.g., *Christotis*, *-tetos*, *f.* ‘Christhood’, *archihaeresis*, *-eos*, *f.* ‘arch-heresy’, *canonomastix*, *-igae*, *m.* ‘enemy of canons’), *pereclixion*, *-i*, *f.* (a kind of tree), *tetractys*, *-yos*, *f.* ‘fourness’).

Among the adjectives (Figure 6), the top of the list (*us-a-um*, *is-e*) is unremarkable. The *er-ra-rum* group shows clear signs of uniformisation: 90.40% are compounds with *-fer* or *-ger*, which are, like nouns with *-cola* and *-gena*, capable to couple with all kinds of culturally charged lexemes. Less represented groups are either adjectives with Greek endings, or derivations from ancient words (*ferriuent* ‘iron-stomached’, *subcampester* ‘placed

²⁴ See Helander 2014, 43–45 for the importance of nouns in *-io* and *-tas* for expressing qualities and processes in scientific prose.

²⁵ A detailed analysis of the use of *-ista* in Renaissance literature (with focus on *humanista*) is Ramminger 2007. I thank one of the anonymous reviewers for this reference.

under a plane’), or humorous designs (*pedesterrimus* ‘the most pedestrian’, as if coming from *pedester* ‘pedestrian’).

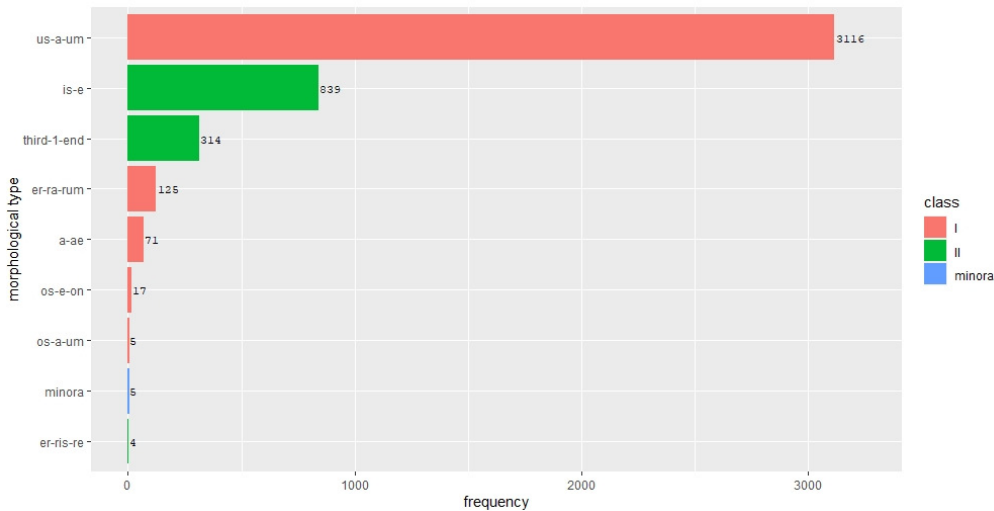


Figure 6. Morphological types of novel adjectives in the NLW

We divide the verbs (Figure 7) in four basic classes and compare them to the verbs in the *LS*:²⁶

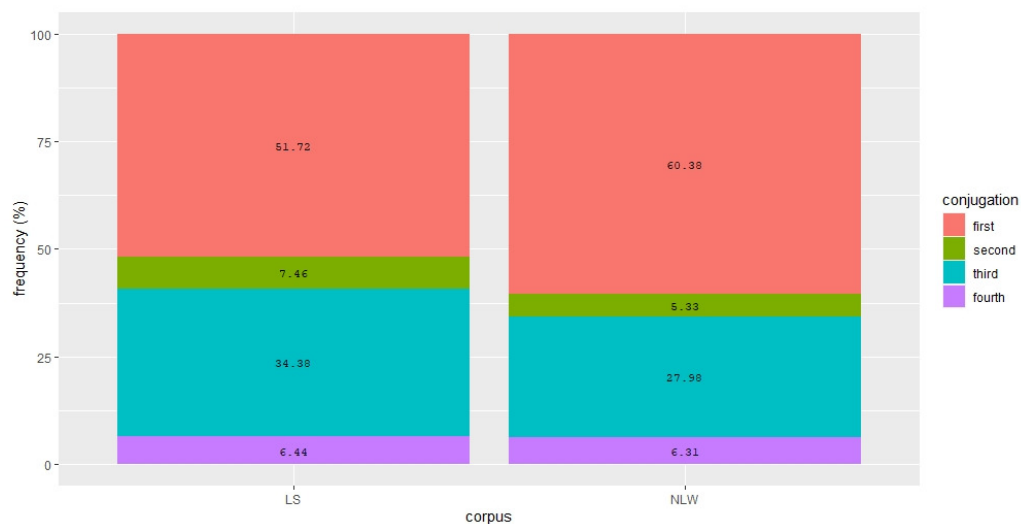


Figure 7. Morphological types of novel verbs in the NLW compared to those in the LS

A considerable increase in the proportion of the first conjugation verbs is not surprising. It is evident from the graph that it mostly happens at the cost of the third conjugation, and somewhat less, second. The share of the fourth

²⁶ We discard the irregular verb *circumadsum* ‘to be around’.

conjugation remained the least affected one. Looking inside each of the groups, we discover that, naturally, most verbs are only extensions of AL verbs by means of innovative prefixing or suffixing.

The second and fourth conjugation EML verbs are exclusively extensions of ancient verbs: most of them are formed by means of prepositional prefixes or compounding. But, while all second conjugation verbs are such, a non-negligible number of the fourth conjugation verbs (17) is produced with the suffix *-urio*. This suffix accounts for the relative consistency of the fourth conjugation percentage: without these verbs, the fourth conjugation fraction would drop to 5.18%, which would make it the least numerous of the conjugations.

In the third conjugation, the extraordinarily productive suffix *-sco* is responsible for about 1/3 of the items (in the *LS*, it takes up less than 1/4 of the third conjugation verbs). The rest – except for *lap(e)o* ‘to lap up’ (which may be second or third conjugation), *mucuo* ‘to be mucuous’, *stampo* ‘print’, and *traulizo* ‘to lisp’ – are compounds and prefixed verbs. Note that not all prefixed verbs are derived from ancient roots (e.g., *desbatto* ‘to beat (oneself mourning at a funeral)’, *interklaffo* ‘to butt in’).

It is in the first conjugation that a vast bulk of the novel verbal roots and non-prefixed verbs are found. The most frequent suffixes – making 1/4 of the entire group – are *-is(s)o/-iz(z)o* (162 – for derivations from proper names this is almost the exclusive way; in *LS* there are only 40 such verbs) and *-ito* (77). In contrast to all other conjugations, there are dozens of verbs formed from non-ancient roots here; they are derived from both proper names (e.g., *Alueldisso* ‘to argue like Alveld’, *Zwinglianizo* ‘to follow Zwingli’s teachings’) and common nouns (e.g., *archibugio* ‘to shoot’, *badalucco* ‘to gaze(?)’, *dagesso* ‘to ramp up’, *galopo* ‘to canter’, *hemmo* ‘to say *hem*’, *lastrico* ‘to pave’, *musulmanisso* ‘to become a Muslim’, *poloniso* ‘to favour Polish things’, *trufo* ‘to make fun of’).

Preference for the first conjugation is also obvious from the comparison of the individual conjugations with their ancient precedents. The increase in the number of verbs from the *LS* to the *NLW* is 23.88% in the first conjugation, 14.20% in the second, 16.65% in the third, and 20.04% in the fourth.

Derivational suffixes

The *NLW* offers the *Index inversus*, a very handy tool for spotting popular word endings. As it only mechanically lists items, without distinguishing between words of various types and origins, a more fine-grained analysis is needed. The *Index*, as well as the alphabetical list of lemmas, can help us identify popular suffixes, prefixes, and compound elements in the corpus. Examination of selected elements shows how and to what extent the early

modern authors build upon ancient precedents. This in turn indicates the directions in which Latin vocabulary was expanded in the Early Modern Period.

We count some of the recurring EML derivative suffixes and compare their frequencies in the *NLW* and the *LS*. The result is shown in Figure 8.²⁷

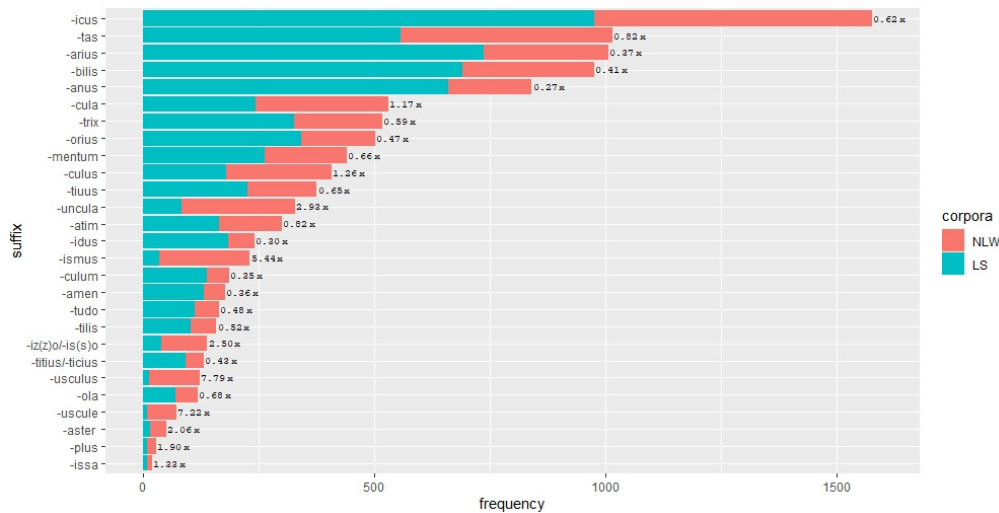


Figure 8. Some recurring derivative suffixes in the *LS* and the *NLW*

The numbers in the figure represent the factors of increase, corresponding to the ratio between the *NLW* and the *LS* words carrying individual suffixes. Factor “1” would mean that the quantities are equal, i.e., that the number of new EML words is the same as the number of the words confirmed in AL (e.g., to 200 AL words 200 EML words are added) – in such case, the total count of words would double from AL to EML (i.e., in this case it would be 400). The non-negligible general contribution of the early modern writers to Latin vocabulary is obvious at first glance. However, some prefixes proved to be especially productive. For example, it is a known fact that ML and EML readily produced new diminutives. Our data confirm this: words with suffixes such as *-cula* (287 new items against 245 ancient ones) or *-culus* (228/181), and especially their subsets in *-uncula* (246/84) or *-usculus* (109/14, with adverbial extension *-uscule*, 65/9), were produced in much larger number than they were inherited from the classical antiquity. Another group prominent in this respect are words with Greek suffixes, e.g., *-ismus* (196/36), *-iz(z)o/-is(s)o* (100/40), *-aster* (35/17), and *-issa* (12/9). It is not difficult to imagine why Renaissance writers needed a lot of new words such as *Benedictiniaster*, *Erasmiso*, *Franciscanismus*, *grammatheologaster*,

²⁷ Nominal and adjectival suffixes are viewed together because they frequently overlap, and words can easily switch between the two categories in real-life usage.

haereticismus, hebraicaster, Hussitismus, Iesuitissa, islamismus, Lipsianizo, Machiavellaster, Mahometizo, marggrauissa, palatinissa, pseudo-politicismus, rabbinizo, repapizo, or saecularizo.

Prefixes

Another method of creating new lexemes is prefixing. In Figure 9, the words with several prepositional prefixes in the *LS* and the *NLW* are compared with each other by appearance.

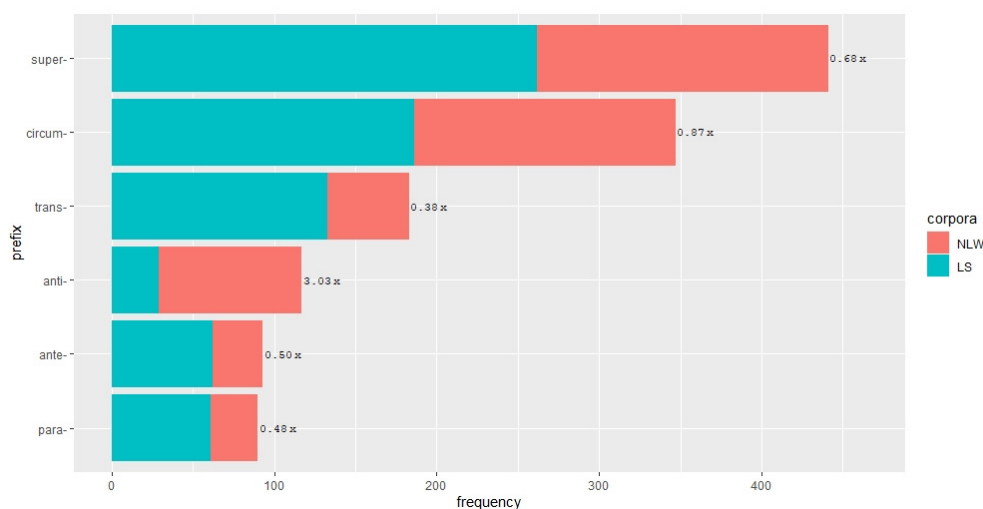


Figure 9. Some recurring prefixes in the *LS* and the *NLW*

Both Latin and Greek prefixes proved to be very useful to early modern writers, as they account for an increase on the scale from one-third (*trans-*) to three (Greek *anti-*, which helped generate 88 new words against 29 found in *AL*). In an environment saturated with talk about anticardinals, antidogmaticists, antilutherans, antipopes, and antiturkish sentiments, this is not surprising. Words with more frequent prefixes (*a(b)-*, *ad-*, *con-*, *de-*, *e(x)-*, *in-*, *inter-*, *ob-*, *per-*, *prae-*, *pro-*, *sub-*) or their combinations are extremely numerous and found in an enormous number of neologisms, but as their presence is also extremely strong in *AL*, they can constitute a whole large separate topic of research (and one not apt for a quantitative investigation at this level of our knowledge).

Compounds

Compounding is an additional rich strategy of neology, enabling users to combine meanings from two semantic fields within one word. The prominent ancient Roman theory of the *patrii sermonis egestas* in compounding (as

opposed to more abundant Greek) had long been contradicted.²⁸ However, although early modern writers were very versatile in upgrading Latin by compounding, the early modern stage of the language has not yet been investigated in this respect.²⁹

For the sake of convenience, we divide the compound elements into four groups: Latin front element, Greek front element, Latin back element, and Greek back element.³⁰

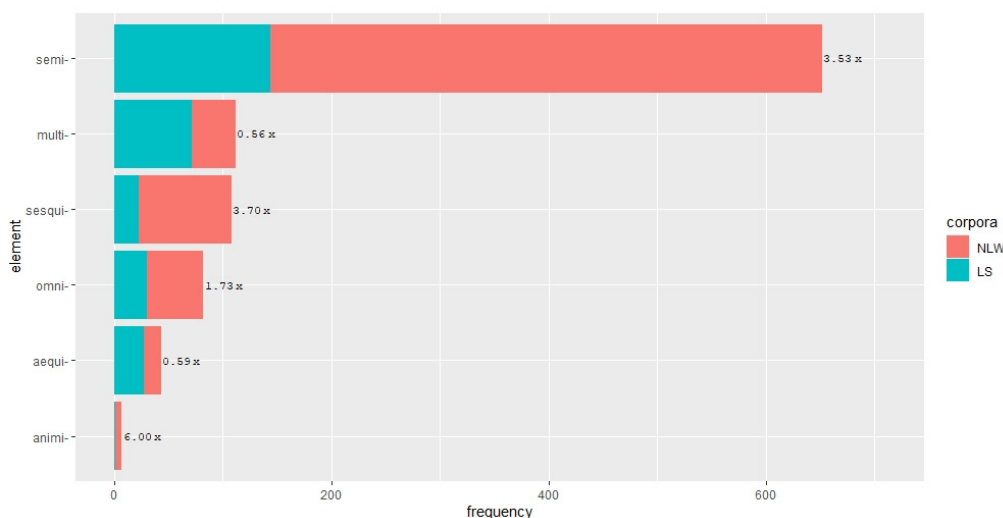


Figure 10. Some recurring front compound elements of Latin origin in the LS and the NLW

Among the very productive Latin elements as front parts (Figure 10), *semi-* ‘half’ is especially salient (508 new words against 144 ancient), but a considerable expansion is observable also in the case of *sesqui-* ‘one-and-a-half’ (85/23), *omni-* ‘all’ (52/30), and *animi-* ‘soul’ (in the LS only *animicida* ‘soul-killer’, in the NLW 6 additional words: *animicidium* ‘soul-killing’, *animiclepa* ‘soul-stealer’, *animimistio* ‘soul-linkage’, *animipendo* ‘to reflect’, *animirapa* ‘mind-grabber’, *animitraha* ‘mind-drawer’). The element *perquam-* ‘very’ has an infinite growth because it is found in 43 new words, while none such is attested in the antiquity. The reason is that after the

²⁸ One of the anonymous reviewers drew my attention to the humanist discussions about the richness of Latin and Greek languages. The likes of Petrarch, Bruni, and Valla lost no opportunity to stress the equality (and ever superiority) of Latin in comparison to Greek.

²⁹ See, e.g., Lindner’s thorough study, where a (brief) section about the history of post-ancient *Komposita* mainly discusses transition from Latin to Romance (Lindner 2002, 312–321) and conflates the Middle Ages with the Early Modern Period.

³⁰ Although compounds can consist of more than two lexical elements, we make distinction only between front and back ones. Proper names as front parts are observed separately below.

Antiquity it started to be attached to the word it refers to; thus, new lexemes were formed.³¹

The colours in Figure 11 make it obvious that, when it comes to Greek elements on the left-hand side of compounds, early modern creativity explodes.

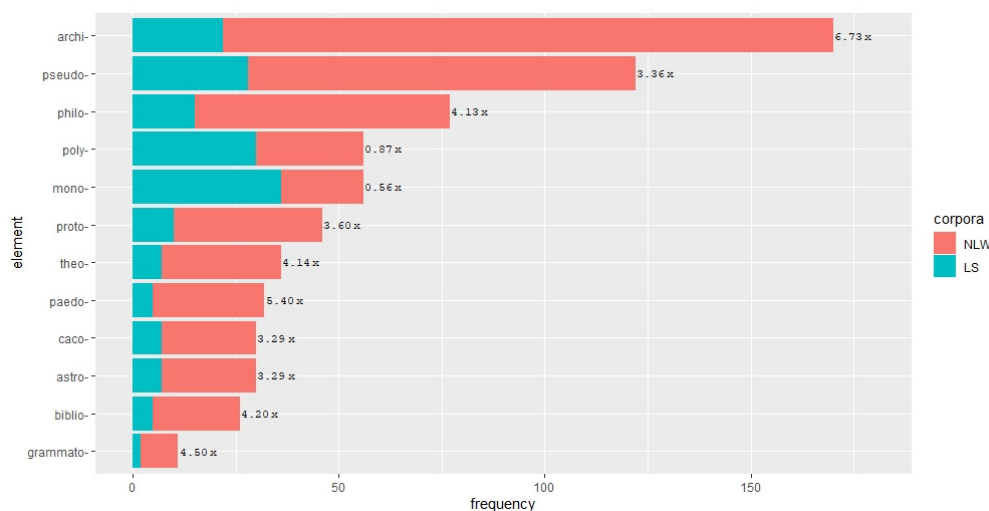


Figure 11. Some recurring front compound elements of Greek origin in the *LS* and the *NLW*

The words with which these elements combine multiplied in almost every case. Thus *archi-* ‘arch’ grew from 22 to 148, *pseudo-* ‘false’ from 28 to 64, *philo-* ‘love’ from 6 to 62, and *astro-* ‘star’ from 7 to 23. The change is also significant within individual roots: for example, in AL *paed-* ‘child’ appeared exclusively in the word family *paedagogus*, while in EML we find words and families *paedobaptismus*, *paedodidascalus*, *paedogonia*, *paedologia*, *paedomachia*, *paedomantia*, *paedomastix*, *paedonomarcha*, *paedonomia*, *paedonothia*, *paedopater*, *paedophagus*, *paedophlebotomia*, *paedophonascus*, *paedotribia*, as well as extensions like *paedagogiarcha* and *paedogerontagogus*.

Components of Latin origin were also used as a strategy for vocabulary enlargement as back elements (Figure 12).

³¹ It is excluded from the graph, as well as the Greek *botano-* ‘plant’ below, which had not existed as a compound element in AL, and therefore grew from 0 to 13.

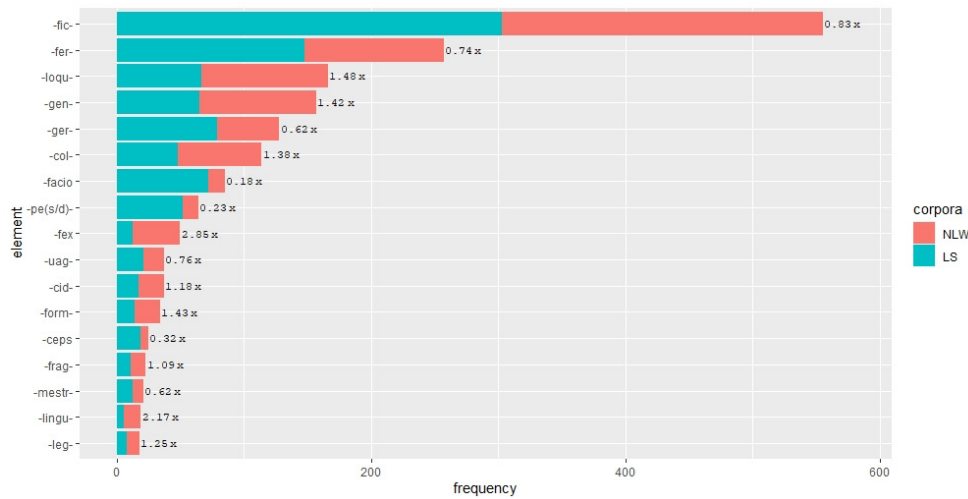


Figure 12. Some recurring back compound elements of Latin origin in the *LS* and the *NLW*

Those standing out by absolute growth are *-fic-* ‘make’ (303 new items), *-fer-* ‘bring’ (109), and *-loqu-* ‘talk’ (99), while relative increase is the highest in the case of *-fex* ‘maker’ (37 versus 13) and *-lingu-* ‘tongue’ (13/6).

Greek front compound elements preannounced that on the right-hand side we could also expect high numbers of new words.

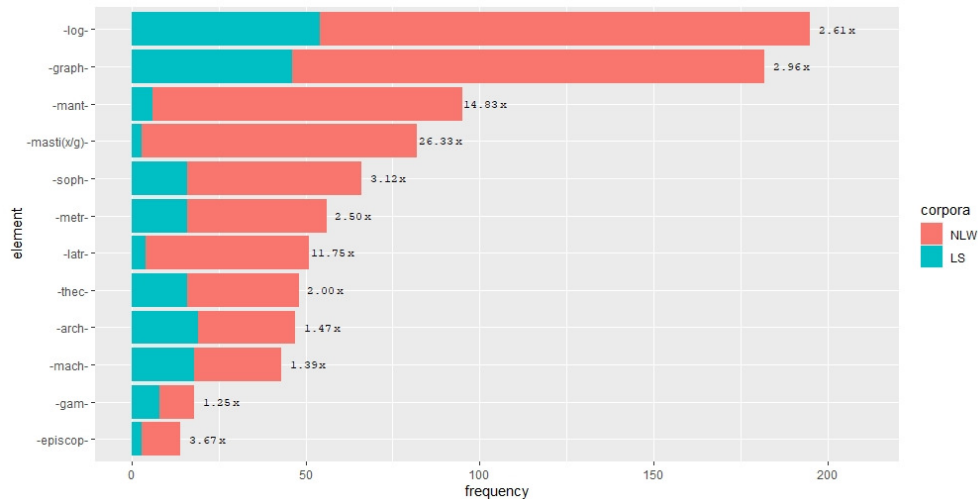


Figure 13. Some recurring back compound elements of Greek origin in the *LS* and the *NLW*

The data confirm the prediction (Figure 13), but we could have hardly been prepared for increases by two-digit ratios such as those found in the case of *-mastix-/mastig-* ‘scourge’ (79 NL versus 3 AL), *-mant-* ‘prophesy’ (89/6), and *-latr-* ‘worship’ (47/4). This is, of course, not to say that the scope of

innovations in other cases – e.g., *-log-* ‘word’ (141/54), *-graph-* ‘write’ (136/46), *-soph-* ‘wisdom’ (50/16), *-metr-* ‘measure’ (40/16) – is unimpressive, though being less extreme.

Departing from a modest ancient set, which comprises three words – *Ciceromastix*, *grammaticomastix*, and *Homeromastix* – the early modern world created the environment where everybody and everything of any pertinence could deserve to have its own scourge (to name only a few: *antilutheromastix*, *(a)theomastix*, *Capniomastix* (but also *Reuchlinomastix*), *exorcismomastix*, *gamomastix*, *Mariaemastix*, *mystomastix*, *Picinomastix*).³² Similarly, *-latr-* is found only in late ancient Christian texts, in *anthropolatra* and three words related to *idololatria*, while in the Renaissance the lexical field swelled up by addition of words such as *angelolatra*, *artolatra*, *Calvinolatra*, *daemonilatra*, *gastrolatra*, *lipsanolatra*, *Mariolatra*, *moscholatra*, *necrolatra*, *ossilatra*, *papolatra*, *parthenolatra*, *phthartolatra*, *pornolatra*, *prosopolatra*, *sceletolatra*, *vitulolatra*, *xylolatra*, and their derivatives.

Proper names and their derivatives

Proper names are the lexemes most exposed to biases in corpus design. Their appearance and frequency heavily depend on the topic of the writing; thus, the selection of the texts on which a dictionary is based defines the outcome of their analysis. Here, rather than going into a deep analysis of names, we are concerned with general trends of their inclusion into novel words.

About two-thirds of derivatives from proper names in the *NLW* (561 out of 873) have one of the following endings: *-icus* (111x), *-ismus* (84x), *-ista* (84x), *-anus* (75x), *-gena* (49x), *iz(z)o/-is(s)o* (43x), *-mastix* (43x), *-itas* (28x), *-cola* (22x), and *-ita* (22x). Of the remaining 300+ words, perhaps the most interesting are examples of superlatives and adverbs derived from proper names. In the former group, we encounter *Mauortissimus*, *Sorbonnissimus*, *Thomisticissimus*; in the latter, *Aegyptie*, *Aristarchice*, *Bressanice*, *Christianice*, *France*, *Ismaelitice*, *Lombardice*, *Lucianice*, *Lutherane*, *Lutheristice*, *Machiauellistice*, *Plotinice*, *Reginice*, *Xenophilice*. Many such creations are superlative adverbs: *Bariesuitissime*, *Henricissime*, *Lipsissime*, *Thomacissime*, *Thomisticissime*, *Wittenbergissime*.

The early modern writers were especially fond of creating new words from familiar names. Here are some of the most popular ones, with the number of derivatives and compounds in which they are found: *Lut(h)er-* (28), *Caluin-*

³² See Helander, 2014, 49.

(22), *Mahomet*-³³ (26), *Christ*-³⁴ (20), *Mac(c)hiauell*- (16), *Gall*- (11), *Iesuit*- (11), *Cicero*- (9), *Erasm*- (9), *Zwingli*- (9), *Capnio*- (7), *Gonzag*- (7), *Melanc(h)t(h)on*- (7). Three names – Luther, Calvin, and Muhammad – top the list, occupying positions above Jesus Christ. It is, therefore, obvious who were the Beatles of the 1520s.

Conclusions

A majority of the early modern Latin authors were not ready to give up a fitting coinage because it had not been attested in AL. As long as the formation rules were respected, the word was perfectly acceptable. This does not only apply to the technical writers, but also (though to a lesser extent) to belletrists.³⁵ The present study does not try to prove this familiar point. Instead, it outlines the preferred directions of the development based on the most comprehensive dictionary of EML. The data indicate which morphological patterns the authors felt most comfortable with and what strategies they accepted as the most natural ones.

A wider-reaching empirical investigation, with precise counts, is needed to verify H. Helander’s suggestion that words formed with Latin elements that just did not happen to be combined in that way in extant AL texts form the most numerous group of neologisms.³⁶ However, some tentative conclusions emerge from our analysis. Firstly, all major word classes were significantly expanded from AL to EML; in addition to that, some of them are exceptionally productive in the latter (e.g., verbs created from proper names). Furthermore, among nouns, derivatives from masculine proper nouns stand out as unexpectedly numerous, while all kinds of new neuter nouns appear less readily. The study of suffixes suggests an increased uniformity in derivational models, since several morphological types cover a disproportionately large number of words in every word class. Many of the affixes gained special popularity in the Early Modern Period (e.g., diminutive suffixes, *anti*-, *-ismus*, and *-iz(z)o/-is(s)o*). Finally, the most remarkable quantitative change from AL to EML is observed in compounding: both Greek and Latin elements – especially the former ones – were used to build compounds much more readily than earlier.

³³ Variations are: *Mahumed*-, *Mahumet*-, *Maomet*-, *Maumett*-.

³⁴ Excluding words with *Christian*-. There are also three compounds with *Iesu*- referring directly to Jesus (not to Jesuits).

³⁵ IJsewijn & Sacré 1998, 382–390.

³⁶ Helander 2014, 41. Compare IJsewijn & Sacré 1998, 389, who put them on the last place in their survey, probably because they are the least remarkable formations: “Purely Latin neologisms are not lacking either.”

Further work on Early Modern Latin vocabulary can proceed in at least two general directions. The first one is quantitative. Naturally, the presence of a word in a dictionary tells nothing about its real popularity: it only shows that in a certain moment it was acceptable to a person as an extension of the language they knew. It is corpus explorations of the original texts that can give a more complete sociolinguistic picture. The second course comprises all kinds of qualitative research. Distinguishing usage among authors, periods, regions, genres, and topics (e.g., building upon analyses like Helander 2014, 47–54), as well as integration of quantitative and qualitative data, certainly has a fruit-bearing potential.³⁷ The *NLW* offers an excellent starting point for such inquiry.

What we know about the development of Latin vocabulary makes one fact certain: without neologisms, Early Modern Latin would not only be deficient – it would also be deeply flawed and untenable.

³⁷ For example, one could wish to scrutinise the relationship between the value-neutral *scholaster* ‘headmaster’ (or *sororaster* ‘stepsister’ (?), like the ancient *filiaster* ‘stepson’) against the pejorative *chymiaster* ‘quack’ (like the ancient *philosophaster* ‘bad philosopher’). Quantitative research of AL is abundant (e.g., Kircher-Durand ed. 2002).

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THE MEANING OF EUANGELIUM IN THE WRITINGS OF GEORGE OF TREBIZOND (1396-1472/3)



By Annet den Haan

The Byzantine scholar George of Trebizond (1396-1472/3) commented several times on the dangers of tampering with the Gospel (euangelium). However, it is not immediately clear what George meant when he used this word – the original text or its translation, and of which part of the Bible? This article explores how George used the word euangelium, by comparing three texts in which he commented on textual problems in the Bible, as well as a treatise by Cardinal Bessarion (1403-1472) on the same topic. Both authors wrote in Latin, while their native language was Greek.

Introduction

In his *Adversus Theodorum Gazam in perversionem problematum Aristotelis* (henceforth *Protectio*), George of Trebizond attacked the translation of Aristotle's *Problemata* by his rival Theodore Gaza (c. 1410-1475). George objected to this translation for many reasons; not least because he himself had made a translation of the *Problemata* shortly before.¹ Interestingly, George's critique of Gaza's translation includes a passage about biblical translation:

[N]on sunt labefactanda fundamenta, non remouendi fines, non quassandi termini, qui a patribus nostris iacti, constituti firmitaque sunt. Unus apex aut unus iota si remotum ex euangelio fuerit, facile data licentia cetera diripientur. [...] Minimum aliquid ex euangelio remotum parua primum, deinde paulatim serpens maxima secum trahet. [...] Quas ob res nihil, o patres, remouendum, nihil addendum, nihil mutandum in euangelio Christi catholicis est.²

We must not weaken the foundations, remove the boundaries, or shatter the borders that were laid down, established and fixed by our fathers. If

¹ On George of Trebizond, see, e.g., Monfasani 1976 and 1984; and Viti 2000. George's *Protectio* is edited in Mohler 1967, 3, 274–342.

² Mohler 1967, 3, 274–342. The passage referred to is on page 330.

one apex or one iota were to be removed from the Gospel, everything else will be torn to pieces once this license is granted. [...] Once the smallest element is removed from the Gospel, creeping along it first drags along smaller matters, and little by little the most important ones. [...] Which is why, O Fathers, nothing ought to be removed, nothing added, nothing changed in the Gospel of Christ by true Christians.

Of course, Gaza had translated Aristotle's *Problemata*, not the Gospel, and this passage seems rather out of place. George probably meant to attack Gaza's protector, Cardinal Bessarion (1403-1472).³ He had engaged in discussions about the text of the New Testament, and specifically, he had suggested a change in the biblical text at John 21:22 – a change to which George felt strong objections.⁴ Bessarion had once been George's friend and protector, but by 1452, they were no longer on friendly terms.

Apart from the broader context of the polemics between George and his Byzantine rivals, the passage quoted above is interesting for the way it refers to 'the Gospel' (*euangelium*). For one thing, it remains unclear whether George refers to the Gospel in Greek or in Latin – a question relevant for the context, because he is writing about a translation problem. Furthermore, it is difficult to tell to what part of the Bible George is referring here: does he mean the Gospel of John, in which this passage occurs, or something else? The immediate context suggests that *euangelium* has a broader meaning.

The terminology used to refer to the different versions of scripture was by no means unproblematic in the medieval and early modern period.⁵ Clarifying George's use of the word *euangelium* will contribute to our understanding of his views regarding biblical scholarship. In what follows, I will explore its meaning by comparing two texts written by George on John 21:22, and a text by Bessarion on the same topic. I argue that *euangelium*, although not clear-cut in its meaning, has particular connotations in George's texts, and that he used it discriminately from alternatives such as *sacra scriptura*.

The debate

As stated above, George's comment in the *Protectio* was part of a debate with Cardinal Bessarion on a textual problem in the New Testament.⁶ This problem is briefly as follows. In John 21, a dialogue takes place between Christ and the Apostle Peter, about the fate of John the Evangelist. Having

³ On Bessarion, see, e.g., Mohler 1967; Monfasani 1995; Märkl, Kaiser, & Ricklin 2013; and Monfasani 2021. For Bessarion's library, see Labowsky 1979 and Monfasani 2011.

⁴ For this debate, see below, footnote 6.

⁵ Linde 2012, 7–26.

⁶ For a detailed description of this debate, see Monfasani 1976, 90–102 and Bianca 1999, 740.

just been told about his own future, Peter asks “What will happen to him?” Christ gives an ambiguous reply: “If I want him to stay until I come, what is that to you? You follow me.”⁷ This answer leaves it unclear if John would die or not before Christ’s Second Coming. In the next verse, this ambiguity is highlighted by the Gospel text itself, where the other disciples misinterpret Christ’s words.⁸

The Latin translation of the Bible, the Vulgate, clears up the confusion — or adds to it — by choosing an interpretative translation of the Greek conditional *ἐάν*.⁹ Instead of “Si eum uolo manere” (If I want him to stay), it reads “Sic eum uolo manere” (Yes, I want him to stay). The difference between the literal and the interpretative translation of the Greek is only one letter: *si* (if) as opposed to *sic* (yes). In the fifteenth century, Cardinal Bessarion argued that the Latin translation had originally been *si*, and that *sic* was a later corruption. George of Trebizond, on the other hand, claimed that *sic* was the authentic reading, as well as a correct interpretation of the Greek text. Lorenzo Valla (1407-1457) incorporated Bessarion’s suggestion in his *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum*, at the suggestion of Bessarion himself:

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.¹⁰

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.

George and Bessarion both wrote multiple texts on this textual problem between 1440 and 1470.¹¹ George put his view in writing three times. He first wrote a letter to Pietro Del Monte (1400/1404-1457), the bishop of Brescia,

⁷ Ἐὰν αὐτὸν θέλω μένειν ἕως ἔρχομαι, τί πρὸς σέ; (If I want him to remain till I come, what is it to thee?).

⁸ John 21:23: “This saying therefore went abroad among the brethren, that that disciple should not die. And Jesus did not say to him: He should not die; but, So I will have him to remain till I come, what is it to thee?” (Douay-Rheims Bible).

⁹ I use the name Vulgate here to refer to Jerome’s Latin translation and revision of the Bible. For the medieval and Renaissance use of the proper name *Vulgata*, see Linde 2012, 13–23.

¹⁰ Valla made this comment in his *Secundum Antidotum in Poggium* (1453). The *Secundum Antidotum* is printed as *Antidotum IIII* in the *Opera omnia* edition of Valla’s works: Valla 1962, 1, 325–66. The quoted passage is on 340.

¹¹ Monfasani 1976, 90–102. For the dating, see also Monfasani 1984, 311–12 (Text CIV).

who had apparently asked George for a discussion of this textual problem.¹² After that, he wrote his *Protectio* against Gaza, in which the letter to Del Monte is largely incorporated.¹³ The *Protectio* was probably written in the second half of 1456;¹⁴ the letter to Del Monte must have been written before the *Protectio*, but it is unclear when.¹⁵ Finally, George discussed the problem again in 1464 or 1465, in a treatise that he dedicated to Paul II.¹⁶

George's letter to Del Monte and his *Protectio* against Gaza

Since the letter to Del Monte and the relevant passage in the *Protectio* largely overlap, I will discuss them together in what follows. George's overall argument in these texts is that the Latin translation of John 21: 22 should not be changed, because it reflects what the Greek really means; wiser men than us, George wrote, interpreted the text for the benefit of later generations.¹⁷ The word *euangelium* appears frequently in George's discussion. It is sometimes used in a technical sense, to refer to the Gospel of John in particular:

Testis est ipse Augustinus, qui cum super euangelium Iohannis scriberet, non *si eum uolo manere*, sed *sic eum uolo manere* saepius repetit.¹⁸

Augustine himself confirms this, because he, when commenting on the Gospel of John, repeatedly wrote not *si eum uolo manere*, but *sic eum uolo manere*.

However, it is also used in a more problematic way. For this, we return to the passage quoted in the introduction, in shortened form:

[...] Unus apex aut unus iota si remotum ex euangelio fuerit, facile data licentia cetera diripientur. [...] Minimum aliquid ex euangelio remotum parua primum, deinde paulatim serpens maxima secum trahet. [...] Quas

¹² Monfasani 1976, 90–91. On Pietro Del Monte, see Ricciardi 1990.

¹³ On George's *Protectio*, see Monfasani 1976, 152–56 and 1984, 411–421 (Text CXXVIII). The text of George's *Protectio* in Mohler 1967, 3, 274–342. The passage that corresponds to the letter to Del Monte is on 330–337. Those parts of the letter to Del Monte that were not included in the *Protectio* were edited by Monfasani: Monfasani 1984, 311–312 (Text CIV).

¹⁴ Monfasani 1976, 162–65.

¹⁵ Monfasani dates the letter to Del Monte to 1450–1451, while others have proposed a much earlier date (Monfasani 1984, 311).

¹⁶ This treatise is edited in the *Patrologia Graeca* (PG 161, 867–882), which mentions Sixtus IV as the dedicatee. However, the manuscripts do not mention the Pope by name. See Monfasani 1984, 574–76 (Text CXLVI). On this treatise, see also Monfasani 1976, 97–102.

¹⁷ Mohler 1967, 3, 336.

¹⁸ Mohler 1967, 3, 331.

ob res nihil, o patres, remouendum, nihil addendum, nihil mutandum in euangelio Christi catholicis est.¹⁹

If one apex or one iota were to be removed from the Gospel, everything else will be torn to pieces once this license is granted. [...] Once the smallest element is removed from the Gospel, creeping along it first drags along smaller matters, and little by little the most important ones. [...] Which is why, O Fathers, nothing ought to be removed, nothing added, nothing changed in the Gospel of Christ by catholic Christians.

In this passage, it remains unclear if George referred to the Greek or the Latin text of the Gospel. It is unlikely that George would warn against changing the Greek text, because there is no question of that: the discussion is about the accuracy of the Latin reading *sic*. On the other hand, if George referred to the Latin text, this passage would imply that the Latin translation itself is authoritative, whether it reflects the Greek adequately or not. In that case, George would oppose any change whatsoever to the Latin text, even to correct it. He would ascribe a sacred status to the translation, and for him, no new Latin translation of the biblical text would ever be possible.

There are other possibilities. Perhaps George used *euangelium* in a general sense, including both the Greek and the Latin version. If he did, this would not be unique. A parallel for such usage would be the medieval use of the proper name *Septuaginta*, which referred both to the Greek version of the Old Testament produced in the Hellenistic period, and to its early Latin translation, the *Vetus Latina*, as opposed to Jerome's later version. In medieval discussions of the biblical text, it is often unclear if the text referred to is the Greek or the Latin.²⁰ On the other hand, in the case of George's discussion of John 21:22, the difference between the Greek and Latin text is relevant for the author's argument. This makes it less likely that he would use *euangelium* in this inclusive sense.

For this reason, I do not believe that George referred to either the Greek or Latin text of the Gospel, or both; but rather, that he referred to the Gospel's content or meaning, independent from its linguistic form. In George's view, if a wrong translation of the text were accepted – or in this case, a correct interpretation rejected – this underlying meaning would be compromised. Such an understanding of *euangelium* – as something that goes beyond the text in its Greek or Latin form – is in line with the use of the word elsewhere in the same text. In other passages, George also used *euangelium* without specifying if he referred to the Greek or the Latin text, even though one would expect this:

¹⁹ See above, note 2.

²⁰ Linde 2012, 8–13.

Hoc enim simplicitati, dilucidationi certissimaque consuetudini euangelicorum uerborum apprime congruit.²¹

For this corresponds perfectly with the simplicity, the clarity and the established usage of the words of the Gospels.

Here, George refers to the *language* of the Gospel, without indicating if he means the Greek or the Latin; rather, he refers to the Gospel in general, as something that precedes both versions.

Aut quomodo catholicus orthodoxusque dici uere poterit, qui nullo periculo imminente uerba euangelii commutanda esse praedicet?²²

Or how could someone justly be called a catholic and true-believing Christian, if he claims that the words of the Gospel can be changed without any danger?

In this passage, George writes about changing the *words* of the Gospel, but again, it remains unclear in which language.

Interestingly, when George referred to the Greek text specifically, he used *scriptura*, not *euangelium*:

Sed graecam scripturam unde traducta haec sunt, sequendam multi asserunt.²³

But many claim that the Greek text (*scriptura*), from which this is translated, should be followed.

Cumque [Hieronymus] esset diligentissimus, doctissimus et gratia spiritus sancti plenus, qua maxime usus est tum in transferendis denuo scripturis, tum in emendandis iam translatis, hunc locum ita reliquit, sicut inuenit.²⁴

And because [Jerome] was very diligent, learned, and filled with the grace of the Holy Spirit, which he used in the highest degree both for translating the scriptures (*scripturae*) anew, and for correcting what had already been translated, he left this passage as he found it.

Si ergo illi utriusque linguae nobis longe doctiores differentiam esse inter *si uolo* et *sic uolo* sciissent, et graecae scripturae *si uolo* congruere adhaerereque, *sic uolo* autem alienum ab ea putassent, *si uolo* certe, non *sic uolo* traduxissent.²⁵

²¹ Mohler 1967, 3, 335.

²² Mohler 1967, 3, 337.

²³ Mohler 1967, 3, 330.

²⁴ Mohler 1967, 3, 331.

²⁵ Mohler 1967, 3, 331.

For if those who were much more learned in either language than ourselves had known that there was a difference between *si uolo* and *sic uolo*, and if they had believed that *si uolo* corresponded and matched with the Greek text (*scriptura*), while *sic uolo* differed from it, they would certainly have translated *si uolo*, not *sic uolo*.

These instances are perhaps not frequent enough to draw definite conclusions about George's use of *euangelium* and *scriptura*, but they are at least suggestive; it seems that while *euangelium* refers to the content of the biblical message, *scriptura* refers to its concrete textual form.

George typically used the word *euangelium* when he discussed its defense: he believed that the true meaning of the text was in danger, and he warned against tampering with it. In these cases, he always used the word *euangelium*:

Quas ob res summa mihi euangelio uidetur fieri iniuria, si quis non modo dixerit, uerum etiam cogitauerit emendandum esse hunc euangelii locum, et tanta, ut moriendum potius sit quam patiendum. Nec dubito, si quis defendendo id euangelicum mortem oppetat, eum martyria habiturum coronam.²⁶

For these reasons, it seems to me that the greatest injustice is done to the Gospel, if someone does not only say, but even think, that this passage of the Gospel should be corrected; an injury of such magnitude that is it better to die than to suffer it. And I do not doubt that, if someone dies by defending this Gospel passage, he will receive the martyr's crown.

And again, in a passage we have already seen:

Aut quomodo catholicus orthodoxusque dici uere poterit, qui nullo periculo imminente uerba euangelii commutanda esse praedicet?²⁷

Or how could someone justly be called a catholic and true-believing Christian, if he claims that the words of the Gospel can be changed without any danger?²⁸

At this point, we can tentatively conclude that George used *euangelium* to refer to the biblical message, independent from its linguistic form; and, moreover, that he used it when he believed that the integrity of that message was at stake.

²⁶ Mohler 1967, 3, 336.

²⁷ See above, footnote 22.

²⁸ Similar instances of *euangelium*: “zelo integritatis euangelii Christi” (Mohler 1967, 3, 330); “summa mihi euangelio uidetur fieri iniuria” (336); “propter integritatem euangelii mortem oppeterent” (337).

Another question we can ask about George's use of *euangelium* is which part of the Bible is covered by this name. Although in many cases it is clear from the context that George refers to the Gospel of John specifically, in other cases he seems to indicate more than that. Is *euangelium* the four Gospels put together; the New Testament; or the entire Bible?

In one suggestive passage, George contrasts *euangelium* with the Mosaic Law, by drawing a comparison between the protection of the Gospel and the martyrdom of the Maccabees, who were executed because they refused to eat pork:

Quid enim est maius legem Moysi semel in non comedendis suum carnibus non seruasse, an locum euangelii hunc commutare? Hoc profecto tanto maius atque periculosius est, quanto euangelium legi Moysaicae praestat, quanto veritas figuram excedit, quanto qui venturus erat, praesignificante ipsum umbra excellentior. [...] Levior enim uideri possem parumque catholicus, si rem legis Moysaicae multo maiorem, quam suillinis uti carnibus, uni euangelico apici conferrem.²⁹

For what is more important: to once disobey the law of Moses, on the point of not eating the meat of pigs, or to change this passage of the Gospel? The latter is surely a much greater and dangerous matter, to the degree that the Gospel surpasses the Mosaic Law, that the truth exceeds the prefiguration, that He who was to come, is more excellent than the shadow that announced him. [...] I could seem flighty and hardly a Catholic, if I compared something of the law of Moses that is much more important than the use of pork meat, with one apex of the Gospel.

The point here is that the integrity of the Gospel message is more important than the commandment to abstain from eating pork. However, the comparison also throws light on George's view on the Gospel as opposed to other parts of the Bible. By contrasting *euangelium* with the law of Moses, he calls to mind the distinction between the Old and the New Testament: it is much more dangerous to compromise the Gospel than to break the commands of the Old Covenant, "quanto veritas figuram excedit, quanto qui venturus erat, praesignificante ipsum umbra excellentior." The Gospel here functions as a *pars pro toto* for the New Testament. Furthermore, George's warning against changing one apex of the Gospel is similar to the passage quoted in the introduction, where he writes about "changing one apex or one iota of the Gospel".³⁰ Both passages allude to the Sermon of the Mount, where Christ

²⁹ Mohler 1967, 3, 336.

³⁰ "Unus apex aut unus iota si remotum ex euangelio fuerit, facile data licentia cetera diripientur." See above, footnote 2.

states that not one iota or tittle will be changed to the law.³¹ While Christ spoke about the integrity of the Mosaic Law, George applied the same wording to the Gospel. This repeated juxtaposition of the Gospel and the law suggests that to George's mind, the Gospel had a more general meaning, representing the New Covenant, as opposed to the law of Moses, which represents the Old Covenant.

George's second Johannine treatise

In George's second discussion of John 21:22, which was written about a decade later, the argument is quite different from that of his earlier texts. The later treatise dwells much more on the role of Peter, for example, and on the prophetic implications of George's interpretation of the passage. The word *euangelium* is used mostly to refer to the Gospel of John, for example here:

Demum secundum Joannis Euangelium apparuit Jesus in littore illis piscantibus, interrogavitque si quidquam pulmentarii haberent.³²

Finally, according to the Gospel of John, Jesus appeared to them on the coast, while they were fishing, and he asked them if they had anything to eat.

Interestingly, the second treatise does not include comments on the dangers of tampering with the text. Apparently, such comments were fitting in the context of the *Protectio* against Gaza, but not in this treatise addressed to the pope.

There are other differences. In the second treatise, George admitted explicitly that the literal translation of the passage would be *si*:

Graece, si uerbum de uerbo exprimitur, non *Sic eum uolo manere*, sed, *Si eum uolo manere*, scriptum est.³³

In the Greek, if it is expressed word by word, is written not *Sic eum uolo manere*, but *Si eum uolo manere*.

This made no difference for his overall position, however: he was still convinced that the Vulgate translation *sic* was a correct interpretation of the Greek, and not a corruption.

Furthermore, in this text George addressed the difference in status between the Greek original and the Latin translation. He did this in the context of an argument about the fate of John the Evangelist.³⁴ To determine whether John

³¹ "For amen I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass, one jot, or one tittle shall not pass of the law, till all be fulfilled." Matthew 5: 18, Douay-Rheims Bible.

³² PG 161, 870.

³³ PG 161, 871.

³⁴ PG 161, 880–81.

had died or continued to live on earth, George raised the point that in the Book of Revelation, it was foretold that John would “prophesy again to many nations, and peoples, and tongues, and kings” (Revelation 10:11, Douay-Rheims Bible).³⁵ If he had not already done this in the past, this must happen at some future time; and in that case, John must still be alive somewhere. We do not know of any instances of John prophesying, George mused; but what about his biblical writings, the Gospel and the Book of Revelation? These had been translated into Latin centuries ago – so in a sense, John had already spoken in multiple languages. Would this mean that the prophecy had been fulfilled? George concluded that this was not the case:

Nam nec Euangelium prophetiam ullus unquam appellabit nec multis scriptum est linguis, sed Graece solum. Nec refert si per traductionem ad multas peruenerit linguas. Traductiones enim non sunt auctorum, sed translatorum.³⁶

For no one would ever call the Gospel a prophecy, and it is not written in multiple languages, but only in Greek. And it makes no difference if it has reached multiple languages through translation. For translations are not [the work of] authors, but of translators.

Since George used this point as an argument for John’s continued life on earth, it is risky to take this comment out of the context of this argument, and to draw any conclusions from it about George’s view on biblical translation – e.g., on the inspiration of the translator, or the infallibility of the Vulgate translation. However, it is also difficult not to be reminded of Jerome’s famous words that “it is one thing to be a prophet, and another thing to be a translator.”³⁷

Bessarion’s Latin treatise

George’s texts were written in dialogue with Cardinal Bessarion, who also wrote a treatise on the topic. This was first written in Greek, and then translated into Latin.³⁸ Bessarion’s Latin treatise *In illud Euangelii secundum Joannem*³⁹ uses the word *euangelium* in ways that are similar to

³⁵ “Oportet te iterum prophetare populis, gentibus, linguis et multis regibus.” PG 161, 880.

³⁶ PG 161, 880.

³⁷ “Aliud est enim uatem, aliud esse interpretem: ibi spiritus uentura praedicat, hic eruditio et uerborum copia ea quae intellegit transfert.” Jerome, *Praefatio in Pentateuchum*. Quoted from Weber & Gryson 1994, 1, 3.

³⁸ The Greek text is in Mohler 1967, 3, 70–87; the Latin text is in PG 161, 623–640.

³⁹ The full title is *In illud Euangelii secundum Joannem: Ἐὰν αὐτὸν θέλω μένειν ἕως ἔρχομαι, τί πρὸς σέ; Si uolo eum manere donec ueniam, quid ad te?*

what we have seen in George's texts. First, Bessarion used *euangelium* to refer to the meaning of the text, separate from its linguistic form:

Apud Graecos manifestus est sensus euangelii, neque aliqua uerborum ambiguitate inuolutus.⁴⁰

With the Greeks the meaning of the Gospel is crystal clear, and not shrouded in any ambiguity of words.

Quomodo igitur se apud Graecos habeat hic, de quo loquimur, Euangelii locus, et quomodo Latinus sermo in hoc a Graeco dissentiat, satis ex his quae diximus apparet.⁴¹

Therefore, what this passage of the Gospel of which we speak looks like in the Greek, and how the Latin reading differs here from the Greek, appears clearly enough from what we have said.

In these passages, the sense of the Gospel is distinguished from the Greek and Latin text; it manifests itself in a specific way in the Greek text, as opposed to the Latin.

Second, it seems that for Bessarion, as for George, the word *euangelium* did not only refer to the Gospel of John, but more broadly to a part of the Bible with a special status:

Post haec asserunt, nihil in sacra scriptura innouandum esse, praecipueque in Euangelio, ubi uel unum apicem, aut unum iota immutare nefas est – daretur enim hoc modo facultas uolentibus scripturam sacram corrumpere, quod nullo modo est permittendum; cum igitur apud Latinos euangelium sic habeat, asseri aliter mutariue sine crimine non posse.⁴²

After this they say that nothing new should be introduced in sacred scripture, especially in the Gospel, where it is a sin to change one apex, or one iota – for that way, an opportunity would be given to those who intend to corrupt sacred scripture, which should not be permitted in any way – and that therefore, because this is what the Gospel is like in the Latin version, it cannot be claimed to be otherwise, or changed with impunity.

Here, the Gospel is distinguished from the rest of the Bible: while it is always dangerous to make changes to the biblical text, this applies even more strongly to the Gospel. We should keep in mind, however, that Bessarion wrote his treatise in reaction to George's. George is mentioned by name in

⁴⁰ PG 161, 630.

⁴¹ PG 161, 631.

⁴² PG 161, 625.

the Greek version.⁴³ The Latin version may have been written many years later,⁴⁴ but it is clear that Bessarion must have had George's text close at hand. The above passage is a paraphrase of George's own argument, which accounts for the similarity in wording. Note that while Bessarion's use of *euangelium* is similar to George's, he was less consistent in his terminology: he used *sacra scriptura* more or less as a synonym for *euangelium*. In other words, Bessarion's use of *euangelium* echoed George's mainly because his treatise was a reply to George's text, not because he understood the meaning of the word in the same way.

Another possible explanation for the similarities between the two authors is that they were both native speakers of Greek. When discussing the Latin version of the New Testament, they must have been more keenly aware of its status as a translation than authors who had been raised with the Latin Bible. As it happens, the meaning of *euangelium* as discussed above seems to have been restricted to the writings of George and Bessarion. Although Valla, in his *Annotationes*, addressed the textual problem at John 21:22, he did not discuss the topic at length, and he did not reply to George's arguments. Valla's prefaces to the *Annotationes* mention *euangelium* only once, in the technical sense, as opposed to the other parts of the New Testament.⁴⁵ It is possible that Valla used *euangelium* in a specific way in the text of the *Annotationes* itself, but this would require further research. Other writings from the period that touch on textual problems in the Bible mostly focus on the Old Testament. Giannozzo Manetti (1396-1459), who translated the New Testament into Latin, left no preface or other paratextual material in which he problematized changing the text of the Gospel.⁴⁶ His *Apologeticus*, a treatise on the biblical text and issues of biblical translation, focuses entirely on the Old Testament, and so does the preface to his new Latin translation of the Psalter.⁴⁷ Lampugnino Birago (1390-1472), in the preface to his translation of Basil's *Hexaemeron*, discussed the conflicting textual traditions of the Bible, but his discussion also focuses on the Old Testament. The Gospels are not mentioned at all.⁴⁸

⁴³ Mohler 1967, 3, 70–87. I have not studied the Greek terminology that Bessarion used to refer to the Bible, but limit myself here to the Latin.

⁴⁴ For the dating of Bessarion's treatise, see Monfasani 1976, 94, n. 112.

⁴⁵ For Valla's prefaces, see Valla 1970, 3–10, and also Celenza 2012.

⁴⁶ On Manetti's translation of the New Testament, see den Haan 2016.

⁴⁷ Manetti's *Apologeticus* was written in 1458 in defense of his Psalter translation, which had been published a year earlier. For *Apologeticus*, see Manetti 1981 and Manetti 2016. Manetti's preface to the Psalter is available in Botley 2004, 179–81.

⁴⁸ Birago's translation, as well as the preface, remains in manuscript: MS Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat.lat.302, fols. 6r–103v (fols. 1r–5r for the preface). For a discussion of Birago's preface, see den Haan 2022. On Birago, see also Miglio 1968.

Conclusions

In this brief survey of the meaning of *euangelium* in the writings of George of Trebizond, and to a lesser degree Cardinal Bessarion, we have seen that George used *euangelium* in a special sense, distinct from alternatives such as *sacra scriptura*. He referred to *euangelium* as the message, or content, of the Gospel, as opposed to its linguistic form – Greek or Latin. When George warned against changing the Gospel, he did not object to correcting the Latin translation absolutely, but rather to changing the Latin text in such a way that the meaning of the text would be affected. While it often remains unclear to which part of the Bible *euangelium* refers, it is certainly distinct from the law of Moses.

We can further conclude that George's use of *euangelium* seems quite idiosyncratic; it is echoed in the writings of Bessarion, but this is not surprising, since Bessarion wrote with George's text in mind, often paraphrasing him quite closely. Other humanists who comment on textual problems in the Bible do not use *euangelium* in the way George did, if at all. As a consequence, this exploration is less relevant for the general use of the word *euangelium* in the middle of the fifteenth century. However, it does illustrate how fruitful it can be to carefully compare instances of terminology in the work of one author, to clarify his argument and position.

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PHILOLOGY AND POETRY IN THE *CASTIGATIONES* *VIRGILIANAE* OF PIERIO VALERIANO



By Julia Haig Gaiser

Pierio Valeriano (1477-1558) was a prominent figure in the intellectual and social world of sixteenth-century Roman humanism. In June 1521 he published a textual study on the whole of Virgil, Castigationes et varietates virgilianae lectionis, the first work of its kind and a landmark in the history of Virgilian scholarship. Its criteria are both philological and aesthetic, reflecting Valeriano's own interests as a scholar and a poet. This paper looks at the Castigationes in the context of Valeriano's intellectual biography and life in humanist Rome and considers connections between his textual studies and other contemporary projects, especially the lectures on Catullus at the Studium Urbis that he began just a few months after the publication of the Castigationes.

Pierio Valeriano was a prominent figure in sixteenth-century Italian humanism and an active participant in the several convivial sodalities that thrived in Rome during the papacy of Leo X (1513-1521). Although Valeriano is best known today for his great iconographical work, the *Hieroglyphica*, he was also a serious philologist and student of manuscripts, a prolific Latin poet, a writer of dialogues, and a reflective observer of humanist life.¹ In June 1521 he published his study of Virgil, *Castigationes et varietates virgilianae lectionis*.

The *Castigationes* is a textual commentary on the whole of Virgil — the first of its kind, and the first to be based on the complete collation of a major ancient manuscript.² Method is at the very heart of the work, as Valeriano explains in the dedication to Cardinal Giulio de' Medici that he uses as a preface.³ He has carefully corrected his text of Virgil—"my Virgil," he calls

¹ For a brief biography, see Gaiser 1999, 1-23, with earlier references.

² For important general discussions, see Savarese 1993; Fera 2001; Campanelli 2008, 484-493. On Valeriano's philology, see Funaioli 1948, 289-290; Zabughin 1921-23, vol. 2, 71-75. For its many editions, see Pellegrini 2002, 61-66.

³ *Castigationes*, fol. aa2 r. The fact that the volume uses three numbering systems strongly suggests that its parts were printed separately; Campanelli 2008, 487 n.48. Roman numerals are used as page numbers for the notes on the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, Arabic page

it—by comparing its readings with those both in his primary manuscript and in several others—the oldest ones he could find—weighing the readings in these manuscripts with those in many others, and with the further evidence of inscriptions, ancient commentators, and the usage of Virgil and other classical poets. This clearly stated philological method, meticulously followed through almost three hundred densely packed pages, distinguishes the *Castigationes* from all previous textual studies, making it a landmark in the history of Virgilian scholarship. But it is not Valeriano’s only method of evaluating readings; he has a second standard of judgment, not mentioned in the preface, but constantly invoked in tandem with his philological evidence and fundamental to the work as a whole.⁴ This second standard is aesthetic. Italian scholars have sometimes called it *gusto* (taste), but its criteria, although personal, are less subjective than that term suggests. His judgment of the artistic merit of particular readings is that of an expert, based both on his extensive study of poetry and poetic criticism and on his own experience as a poet.

In what follows I will look at the ways in which Valeriano uses both of his methods. I will suggest that his work is both philological and poetic—or rather, that it is an inextricable amalgam of the two approaches—and that it is a very specific product both of its historical context and of Valeriano’s own intellectual biography. It reflects his place in the world of the Roman humanists and his lifelong interest in ancient texts and monuments and provides tantalizing glimpses of his work on several projects. I will end by looking at one such project, the lectures on Catullus that he began at the Studium Urbis in the autumn of 1521, just a few months after the publication of the *Castigationes*.

Philological Method and the World of the Roman Humanists

Like a modern philologist, Valeriano begins with an account of his *sigla*, the names by which he will cite his most important manuscripts. He lists four, all of which are extant and have been identified.⁵ Here is how he describes them:

numbers for those on the *Aeneid*. The whole volume is numbered by fascicles, but only the numbering by fascicles is used for the prefatory material (title page, dedication, indices, etc.). The fascicles of both the prefatory material and the notes on the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* are numbered with double lowercase letters (aa, bb, etc.), those of the notes on the *Aeneid* with single capitals (A, B, C, etc.)

⁴ See Savarese 1993, 64-65; Fera 2001, 130-31; Campanelli 2008, 490-91.

⁵ The manuscripts named by Valeriano are Romanus (Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 3867, 6th c.), Oblongus (Vat. lat. 1574, 12th c.), Longobardicus (Vat. lat. 1573, 12th c.?), and Mediceus (Florence, Biblioteca laurenziana Plut. 39.23, 12th c.). They were identified by Zabughin 1921-23, vol. 2, 71-75, 97-98. Valeriano’s names for them will be used throughout the discussion.

The Codex Romanus [is] undoubtedly the most ancient. I call it Romanus because its letters are very close to Roman ones, to those, in fact, that we read everywhere written in ancient inscriptions on marble or tablets of bronze and on the more elegant coins of those ages. It is kept with great care in the inner recesses of the Vatican Library. It is written in letters almost as high as a finger's breadth.

The second, which is in smaller letters and itself very old, will be called Oblongus because of its shape.

There is also the Lombardic manuscript, which one would not regret reading. There are also several others not to be despised that are available for general use in the same library.

The Mediceus too is among the corrected ones.⁶

The Codex Romanus is Valeriano's principal source and the subject of his detailed collation. It is luxurious and lavishly illustrated, but its text is inferior to that of the other most ancient manuscripts.⁷ Valeriano treats it with appropriate caution. After noting that it is corrupt in many places, he continues, "But, as Virgil used to say about Ennius, 'gold is often gathered from that dung.'" ⁸ The Oblongus he frequently calls Pomponio Leto's "pet manuscript," but I have not found references to it in Pomponio's commentary.⁹ The somewhat dismissive designation "Lombardic" for his third manuscript refers to its difficult Beneventan script. These three (Romanus, Oblongus, and Longobardicus) were kept in the reserved section of the Vatican. Valeriano could have consulted his fourth manuscript, the

⁶ "Antea quam rem ipsam aggrediamur, nomina, quibus insigniores quosdam codices citamus, praedocere visum est. Ea sunt, Codex Romanus, ille quidem dubioprocul antiquissimus; eum vero ideo Romanum appellamus, quod eius characteres Romanis propiores sunt, iis quippe, quos in antiquis marmorum; aut ex aere tabularum inscriptionibus, et in nummis saeculis illis elegantioribus notatos ubique legimus. Custoditur is in interioribus Vaticanae Bibliothecae penetralibus magna diligentia, digitalibus pene litteris perscriptus. Alter, qui minoribus est litteris et ipse admodum vetus, a paginarum facie Oblongus nuncupabitur. Est et Longobardicus, quem non omnino pigeat evoluisse. Sunt et usui omnium expositi eadem in Bibliotheca codices alii atque alii non contemnendi. Est et Mediceus inter emendatos," *Castigationes I*, on *Eclogue 1*.

⁷ For the illustrations see Wright 2001. The text is characterized by Geymonat 1995, 306: "Of our late-antique mss., **R** is perhaps the least accurate, with errors, even trivial ones, that disfigure almost every page, omissions, repetitions, glosses that have slipped into the text, all clear proofs that the showy wealth of the man who ordered **R** was certainly not matched by an adequate cultural level."

⁸ "In litteris vero nonnunquam corruptissimus est. Sed ut de Ennio Virgilius profiteri solitus, 'ex eo stercore aurum plerunque colligitur,'" *Castigationes LIII*, on *Georgic 3.190*. The anecdote appears in Aelius Donatus' life of Virgil: "Cum Ennium in manu haberet, rogareturque quidnam faceret, respondit se aurum colligere de stercore Ennii" (*Vita quae Donati Aucti dicitur* 71, quoted from Brugnoli and Stok 1997, 113).

⁹ I have checked only selectively in Leto 1544, that is, for passages where Valeriano mentions the Oblongus, or in the passages I have discussed.

Mediceus, in either Florence or Rome. (It is not to be confused with the important fifth-century manuscript called Mediceus by modern editors.¹⁰) His use of it testifies to his status as a client of the Medici, whom he served in several positions, including those of papal notary and secretary to his dedicatee, Giulio de' Medici.¹¹ Although Valeriano perhaps had access in his own right to the inner reaches of the Vatican for his other three manuscripts, it is possible that his Medici connections played a role there too, and that they were obtained for him by the pope, who borrowed all three of them from the library in 1516.¹²

But Valeriano did not limit his researches to these four manuscripts. He notes that there are others “not to be despised” (*non contemnendi*) in the public area of the Vatican, and in the commentary itself he draws on both his own manuscripts and those of many friends, whose names constitute almost a “*Who's Who*” of the Roman humanists. He wants to survey as many texts as possible, refusing to rely too much on any one testimony:

Although if you look closely, every single manuscript is riddled with distortions and errors, nevertheless from the comparison and agreement of a greater number, we arrive at the truer readings, or at least those more like the true ones.¹³

Scholars usually call Valeriano's work the *Castigationes* (Corrections), but its full title matters: *Castigationes et varietates virgilianae lectionis*, “Corrections and Variants of the text of Virgil.” Vincenzo Fera has pointed out that the title introduces a concept foreign to earlier philology—the full and systematic comparison of readings in a text across a number of manuscripts.¹⁴ Such a project would have been unthinkable a generation earlier, he notes, simply because so few manuscripts of a given author were available at one time. He is right, of course, but I think that the essential point for Valeriano is that his title is descriptive: it openly allows for the existence of multiple readings and suggests that certainty is not always possible. He usually says which reading he prefers, but he is no A. E. Housman. He often either reserves judgment or leaves the choice up to the reader, whom he assumes to be a cultivated and expert student of Virgil like himself and like the friends and fellow Roman humanists who made up his first audience,

¹⁰ Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana Plut. 39.1.

¹¹ Giulio's stemma is prominently displayed on *Castigationes* fol. bb7v.

¹² For Vat. lat. 1573 and Vat. lat. 1574 (Longobardicus and Oblongus), see Pellegrin et al., 1991, 137 and 141. For Vat. lat. 3867 (Romanus), see Pellegrin et al. 2010, 339.

¹³ “Quamvis vero omnes, si diligentius inspicias, perversionibus, erroribusque ad unum scateant, ex plurium tamen collatione consensuque, aut veriora, aut certe veris similia deprehendimus,” *Castigationes* I.

¹⁴ Fera 2001, 120.

The work contains many examples of his flexibility and deference to his readers. Here is one in a note in *Aeneid* 6, where Aeneas prays for divine aid in finding the golden bough: *et sic forte precatur* (and so by chance he prayed; *Aeneid* 6.186). The reading in question is *forte*. Valeriano reports that the codex Romanus reads *voce* (with his voice); the Longobardicus *ore* (with his mouth), and that *forte* appears in many ancient manuscripts.¹⁵ Servius knew *forte*, he says, but rejected it as otiose, considering it a metrical place-holder.¹⁶ He concludes:

After these variants I had carefully collected began circulating, I see that either *ore* or *voce* finds more approval [than *forte*] in the opinion of experts. But we leave the matter open.¹⁷

And another example: *interea medium Aeneas* (Aeneas now in mid-course; *Aeneid* 5.1). The question is the correct order of *medium* and *Aeneas*. Valeriano notes that some very ancient manuscripts reverse them: not *medium Aeneas*, but *Aeneas medium*.¹⁸ The order *Aeneas medium* seems more artistic or skillful (*artifiosior*), he thinks, because it produces an exact alternation of dactyls and spondees. But *medium Aeneas* might be considered weightier from its clashing or elision of several letters.¹⁹ The conclusion? “Let each one consult his own ears, for we will leave it open.”²⁰ Please note the instructions to consult one’s ears; sound is an essential esthetic element in Valeriano’s arsenal of textual criticism, and he will invoke it again and again.

But he is not always so tolerant, as we can see from a long note in *Aeneid* 4, where Dido appears dressed for the hunt.

¹⁵ Valeriano does not say so, but *forte* appears in both the Oblongus and the Mediceus. But at least one reader of the Oblongus had some doubts; see next note.

¹⁶ “Addit vero Servius versum hunc ex eo genere esse, qui tibicines appellantur, quibus aliquid additur ad solam metri sustentationem. Vacare enim adverbium FORTE putat,” *Castigationes* 99. Valeriano’s paraphrase closely follows Servius’ language, but omits his reason for considering *forte* otiose: “Vacat ‘forte’ . . . nec enim possumus intellegere eum fortuitu rogasse,” Servius *ad loc.* A second hand in the Oblongus glosses *forte* with a paraphrase of Servius: “Vacatur. nec possumus intelligere forte rogasse” (Vat. lat. 1574, fol. 72r).

¹⁷ “Sed enim intelligo, posteaquam hae variae lectiones, nostra cura collectae per manus hominum circumferri coeptae sunt, aut ORE, aut VOCE peritorum iudicio magis approbari. Nos vero hoc in medio ponimus,” *Castigationes* 99.

¹⁸ *Castigationes* 67. Valeriano does not say which manuscripts read *Aeneas medium*. The relevant folio is lacking in the Codex Romanus, but Oblongus, Longobardicus, and Mediceus all read *medium Aeneas*. (A second hand in Longobardicus reverses the order.)

¹⁹ The last two letters of *medium* are elided: *medi(um) Aeneas*.

²⁰ “Sed enim suas quisque aures consulat, nos enim id in medio relinquimus,” *Castigationes* 67.

Cui pharetra ex auro, crines nodantur in aurum,
aurea purpuream subnectit fibula vestem. (*Aeneid* 4. 138-9)

(She had a quiver of gold, her hair was knotted into a golden clasp,
A golden brooch fastened her purple garment.)

This is how both the ancient Romanus and modern editions read the passage, and it is what Valeriano prefers. But the vulgate text, which he was glossing, had a different idea about her quiver—not that it was gold (*ex auro*), but that it hung from her shoulder (*ex humero*).

Valeriano supports *ex auro* with aesthetic, stylistic, and philological arguments. He begins with the literary observation that it is appropriate to Dido’s motivation at this point in the poem:

Ex auro is pleasing because Dido was eager at that moment to be attractive to Aeneas; and so she came forth elaborately dressed and furnished with the most splendid possible accoutrements. And this all-golden extravagance [*lascivia*] marvelously suited her feminine elegance.²¹

Still arguing in aesthetic terms, he turns, now polemically, to the subject of poetic style and Virgilian usage:

And yet some people insist that this extravagance [*lascivia*] does not suit Virgil’s grandeur, more because they want to make objections than because they know what constitutes grandeur in poetry or extravagance in style.²²

He claims that these critics are too ignorant to see that the repetition of the word “gold” (*ex auro, in aurum, aurea . . . fibula*) is completely Virgilian and that the poet uses it in other lavish descriptions.²³ Finally, he invokes his decisive argument: the philological evidence of the manuscripts.

But away with those pathetic little critics, with their keen discernment and sophisticated tastes. We support the reading *cui pharetra ex auro* on the testimony of almost all the ancient manuscripts.²⁴

²¹ “[Ex auro] ideo placet, quia Dido tunc pulcherrima esse studuit, ut Aeneae placeret; ideoque ornatissima, et quam maxime divite habitu instructa processit. Congruitque mirifice cultui muliebri lascivia haec prorsus aurea,” *Castigationes* 56.

²² “Et tamen sunt, qui lasciviam hanc Virgilianae maiestati non convenire clamitent, contradicendi potius studio, quam quod sciant, quid sit in carmine maiestas, aut quid in scribendo lascivia,” *Castigationes* 56.

²³ E.g. at *Aeneid* 8.659-61, 11.774-76, 7.278-79.

²⁴ “Sed valeant cum suo tam acri iudicio, tamque emunctis naribus pulchelli isti Critici. Nos lectionem hanc CUI PHARETRA EX AURO antiquorum pene omnium codicum testimonio corroboramus,” *Castigationes* 56.

He had begun his note by saying that *ex auro* was the reading “in that undoubtedly very ancient codex Romanus” (*in Romano illo codice dubio procul antiquissimo*). Now he brings in many others: the Longobardic manuscript, as well as that of his friend Camillo Porcari, an old manuscript in his home city of Belluno, and some of his own manuscripts.²⁵ He also notes that it appeared in another very ancient manuscript in the Vatican Library (unidentified), where it had been changed to *ex humero*.²⁶ He also points out that the reading appears in quotations of the verse by both Tiberius Donatus and Probus.²⁷ He concludes with the polemical comment that he has heaped up all this evidence because some people are so wrong-headed that they dislike being instructed about fine literature and try to deter others from learning what they still don’t know themselves.²⁸

But he is still not finished. He comes back to the matter with a final piece of evidence in a note on *Aeneid* 5.817.²⁹ Petrarca had quoted the verse from book 4 with *ex auro* in his letters (*Seniles* 6.8).

When these notes had already begun to circulate, Camillo Porcari ... reminded me that the reading *cui pharetra ex auro*, which I had discussed at length in the previous book, was also known to Francesco Petrarca ... It was appropriate to insert the point here, since I had not yet read this when I was writing those things, and there are still people who try to refute all the arguments I brought up there.³⁰

Valeriano’s whole discussion of *ex auro* is polemical, and its hostility extends even to the index, which describes his note in book 4 as “a defense against some people’s slanders”³¹ Such polemics are not surprising, for the Roman

²⁵ For Camillo Porcari, see Gaisser 1999. 319-20; Jones 1990.

²⁶ “In alio vero perveteri eiusdem Vaticanae bibliothecae, dicta tota AURO improbe, ac imperite admodum abrasa est, non ita tamen, ut singularum litterarum vestigia non extent, et manifeste AURO prius scriptum fuisse discernatur,” *Castigationes* 56.

²⁷ Tiberius Donatus 1969, 372; Pseudo-Probus 1848, 9-10. Both are quoted in *Castigationes* 56-7.

²⁸ “Haec ut forte plus nimio coacervarem, id in causa fuit, quod nonnulli sunt ita pravo ingenio praediti, ut meliores se doceri litteras aegre ferant, proindeque alios ab eorum cognitione, quae ipsi hactenus ignorarunt, avertere conentur,” *Castigationes* 57.

²⁹ Here again the question is the vulgate substitution of another word for “gold,” the reading of the manuscripts. “Nulla non exemplaria vulgata CURRU legunt. Sed enim vetera omnia manu scripta IUNGIT EQUOS AURO GENITOR uno exemplo legunt,” *Castigationes* 94.

³⁰ “Dum vero haec vulgari iam coepta essent, admonuit me Camillus Porcius ... lectionem eam, *cui pharetra ex auro*, qua de superiore libro multa retuleramus, agnitam etiam Fr. Petrarcae ... Quod loco hoc inserere non fuit importunum, quando, quum illa scriberemus, nondum hoc legeramus, et adhuc sunt, qui tot a me rationes eo loco allatas conentur oppugnare,” *Castigationes* 94.

³¹ “Defensa lectio. Cui pharetra ex auro. contra nonnullorum Calumnias,” *Castigationes* aa 5v. See also his note in the index on *Aeneid* 5.817: “Iungit equos curru. Lectionem in IIII, cui Pharetra ex auro etiam aliis agnitam,” *Castigationes* aa 6r.

Academy, like its counterparts elsewhere, was full of dissension and rivalry. But this is the only place where I've seen such animosity in the *Castigationes*.³² Valeriano's antagonist is unknown. All we can say is that his animus clearly has a contemporary target, someone (or several someones) with whom he has an ongoing and acrimonious dispute.³³ In his polemical enthusiasm he even shades the truth. He gives the definite impression that *ex humero* is not only incorrect but without manuscript authority, but fails to mention that it appears in two of his principal sources: the Oblongus and the Mediceus.³⁴ He is so interested in making his case for the right reading that he papers over some of the evidence for what is obviously the wrong one.

His discussion also raises two general questions. The first is the composition and publication of his work. He often tells us that his notes circulated among his friends before publication; an early version of them, as he says in his preface, consisted of readings alone, unaccompanied by explanations. Many notes show him taking his readers' comments into account, giving us glimpses of exchanges and discussions with his fellow humanists. But the notes on Dido's quiver show something more. The citation of Petrarca in book 5, fifteen hundred lines and almost forty pages after the original note in book 4, suggests that the *Castigationes* was published piecemeal, perhaps even one book at a time, and that Valeriano was revising even after parts of it had already been printed.³⁵ The second question concerns his method and the texts he was using. He identifies his principal manuscripts and names the owners of several others, but he never tells us what text he is correcting. Although any modern editor would identify it, Valeriano is less concerned with a particular text than with the vulgate tradition as a whole. Sometimes he does attribute the reading in his lemma to the vulgate, but ordinarily, as in the present case, its source in the vulgate is simply assumed.³⁶

³² The note on the spelling Virgilius (not Vergilius) at *Georgic* 3.573 is long but not hostile in tone; *Castigationes* lxix-lxxi. He is disdainful but not angrily so in several brief notes that seem to reflect contemporary disputes about the text, e.g., those on *Aeneid* 1.409; 3.43; 6.447; 7.808-11.

³³ A similar line is taken by Savarese 1993, 60.

³⁴ Oblongus (Vat. Lat. 1574, fol. 56r); Mediceus (Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana Plut. 39.23, fol. 77v). The reading *ex humero* thus goes back at least to the twelfth century.

³⁵ For a similar suggestion, see Savarese 1993, 61. See also Campanelli 2008, 487 n.48, who makes a slightly different argument. On the basis of the different numbering of the several parts of the work, he suggests that the printing took place in two phases, beginning with the *Aeneid*. Some of Valeriano's notes support the idea that the *Aeneid* was done first, e.g. those on *Georgic* 3.189 and 4.479; *Castigationes* liii and lxxviii.

³⁶ He often refers to the vulgate text. For example: he attributes a reading to *vulgata fere omnia exemplaria* (*Aeneid* 12.464), adds one very close to his lemma that he calls characteristic of the *divulgatorum exemplarium* (*Aeneid* 10.186), quotes a whole verse as it

He probably did have one text that he used as a reference and perhaps annotated with various readings, but he was aware of a wide range of editions and manuscripts. He often refers in general terms to incunables, and he clearly knew at least three sixteenth-century editions.³⁷ The fact that he is correcting the vulgate, however, makes it difficult to identify a given representative of it as his text. Our present reading, *ex humero*, appears in three sixteenth-century editions that he could have seen.³⁸

Valeriano's fellow humanists are a constant presence in the *Castigationes*, lending manuscripts, agreeing (or disagreeing) with his ideas, and even influencing his choice of readings, as we have seen. But the interests of the Roman humanists, and of Valeriano himself, were not limited to texts, even those of Virgil. The sixteenth-century Roman Academy, like that of Pomponio Leto a generation earlier, had an insatiable interest in ancient Roman material culture—coins, monuments, sculptures, inscriptions—and Valeriano invokes such evidence on nearly every page.

He almost always cites inscriptions to illustrate ancient orthography, rarely discussing the inscriptions themselves.³⁹ They were everywhere in Rome, and Valeriano likes to name friends who pointed them out. He was shown one in the gardens of the Colonna by Mariangelo Accursio, a noted collector and student of inscriptions.⁴⁰ The prominent humanist Antonio Lelio braved his gout to take him to the bank of the Tiber to see another, soon after its discovery.⁴¹ Valeriano also refers to inscriptions in the houses—and especially the gardens—of hosts of humanist sodalities. These include Iacopo Sadoletto, Angelo Colocci, and Johann Goritz, whose sodality was the largest

appears in the *vulgata exemplaria* (*Eclogue* 2.73), and identifies a reading *as passim . . . in impressis codicibus* (*Eclogue* 5.30) and another as found *in impressis omnibus codicibus* (*Aeneid*. 10.377).

³⁷ He refers specifically to the third Aldine (Aldine 1514) on *Aeneid* 3.43, *Castigationes* 38; and indirectly more than once to Venice 1507 (edited by his friend Giovanni Battista Egnazio), and either Florence 1510 or 1517 (edited by Benedetto Riccardini). For references to Egnazio and Riccardini, see Venier 2001, 74-75, 122-25.

³⁸ Aldine 1501, Aldine 1514, Riccardini 1517. I have not been able to see Egnazio 1507. The other readings discussed in this paper also appear in all three editions, except *forte* (*Aeneid* 6.186) and *divom* (*Aeneid* 6.792), both only in Aldine 1501.

³⁹ He emends and interprets two inscriptions in *Castigationes* 200-201.

⁴⁰ “Vir bene litteratus Mariangelus Accursius Aquilanus, opportune mihi in Hortis Columnensium ad DD Apostolos hanc inscriptionem in vetusto lapide notatum ostendit,” *Castigationes* 200. For Accursio see Campana 1960.

⁴¹ “Antonius Laelius civis meus antiquam indicavit inscriptionem in ipsa Tyberis Ripa pulchris characteribus ita notatam ... Quo vero maiorem Laelio gratiam debeo, non gravatus est vir ingenii et eruditionis elegantissimae podagra etiam eum miserabiliter affligente ad recenter erutum lapidum visendum me deducere,” *Castigationes* 200. For Lelio see Jossa 2005.

and most famous of all.⁴² Valeriano’s introduction to Goritz’s inscription invokes the sodality itself and its festive gatherings: “and on a very ancient stone in the garden of Johann Goritz in the Forum of Trajan that he has dedicated to the genius of the Roman Academy, one can read ...”.⁴³

He also cites ancient coins to confirm readings or spellings.⁴⁴ There is a nice example in his note on Anchises’ description of Augustus in the “parade of heroes” at *Aeneid* 6.792. Modern texts read: *Augustus Caesar, divi genus* (Augustus Caesar, son of a god). But the vulgate Valeriano was using had *divom genus* (descendant of gods). Here is what he says:

In the Romanus and Mediceus and several others we read *divi genus*, which you may find also inscribed on coins, as on a very fine coin on which one side has the head of Caius Caesar with the legend *divos Iulius*, the other the head of Augustus Octavianus, with the legend *Augustus divi f<ilius>*; I think Virgil is alluding to that title here. I pass over the inscriptions on stone, on the Capitoline and elsewhere, in which I have noticed *divi f<ilius>*.⁴⁵

The coin Valeriano describes is unusual: my numismatist friends tell me that few coins have a portrait head on both sides. But I have found one that almost fits his description: a denarius struck in 17 BC.⁴⁶ Augustus appears on the obverse with the legend “DIVI F<ilius> AUGUSTUS.” Julius Caesar is on the reverse, with the comet above his head that marks his divinity. The legend,

⁴² Sadoletto, at *Aeneid* 1.247; Colocci, on *Georgic* 1.2, 4.563, *Aeneid* 12.348; Goritz, at *Aeneid* 7.648. Valeriano would list all three among the hosts of sodalities in the lectures on Catullus. See Gaisser 1993, 136. For Sadoletto see Douglas 1959; for Colocci, Anonymous 1982; for Goritz, Ceresa 2002. Valeriano also mentions inscriptions in the houses or gardens of the humanists Mario Mellini (*Aeneid* 8.105) and Mario Maffei (*Aeneid* 6.1, 7.648). For Mellini, see Modigliani 2009; for Maffei, Benedetti 2006.

⁴³ “Et in hortis Ioannis Coritii, quos in Fo[ro]. Traiani Academiae Ro[manae] Genio consecravit, antiquissimo lapide legere est ...,” *Castigationes* 124.

⁴⁴ E.g. at *Aeneid* 4.263, 6.792, 8.201, 8.664.

⁴⁵ “AUGUSTUS Caesar DIVOM Genus. In Ro. codice, in Mediceo, et plerisque aliis legere est DIVI GENUS, id quod in numismatum etiam inscriptionibus invenias ut in nummo pulcherrimo, a cuius altera parte C. Caesaris caput habetur, titulus est DIVOS IULIUS. ab altero vero parte Augusti Octaviani caput, cum inscriptione AUGUSTUS DIVI F. ad quem titulum crediderim hoc loco Virgilium adlusisse. Praetereo vero lapidum inscriptiones, quae sunt et in Capitolio, et alibi, in quibus DIVI F. scriptum observavi,” *Castigationes* 108. Valeriano goes on to note that *Divi genus* was the original reading in the manuscript of Camillo Porcari, and that it is undoubtedly the reading in the manuscript of Janus Vitalis. The Oblongus reads *divi genus*, the Lombardic *divum genus*.

⁴⁶ RIC 1.338 (= Carson and Sutherland, eds. 1984, 66). The coin is illustrated on plate 3.1 in Mattingly 1923, 13 (item 71).

however, does not read “Divos Iulius,” but rather the name of the moneyer, M. Sanquinius.⁴⁷

Sculptures, like inscriptions and coins, were everywhere, but they were less relevant to Valeriano’s textual project and he seldom mentions them. His note on a passage in the ecphrasis of Aeneas’ shield is a notable exception.

Fecerat et viridi fetam Mavortis in antro
procubuisse lupam, geminos huic ubera circum
ludere pendentis pueros et lambere matrem
impavidos, illam tereti cervice reflexa
mulcere alternos et corpora fingere lingua. (*Aeneid* 8.630-34)

(And Vulcan had made the mother-wolf lying
in Mars’ green grotto, the twin boys playing,
tugging around her dugs and sucking the mother unafraid;
she, bending her slender neck, caressed them in turn
and licked them into shape with her tongue.)

Valeriano comments: “It is worth looking at a figure like this in several places in Rome, in both marble and bronze. You would be in doubt whether Virgil took the model of the image from the sculptors, or the sculptors from Virgil.”⁴⁸ The she-wolf was often depicted in antiquity, and Valeriano suggests that images were easy to find although he does not name a particular example.⁴⁹ His appreciative comment on Virgil’s description, however, seems not only vague, but inaccurate, since Virgil’s nursing wolf is lying down (*procubuisse*), while most visual images have her standing. Virgil was not following the sculptors or the sculptors Virgil. It seems, rather, that Valeriano was reading the passage through his knowledge of the visual images—that he knew the canonical pose of the wolf and read it into Virgil’s description.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Valerianus perhaps was remembering the legend “Divus Iulius” from coins showing not a portrait, but a star or comet on the reverse (e.g. Mattingly 1923, plates 6.7, 6.8, 6.9, 51.5). These show the head of Augustus on the obverse with the legend “Caesar Augustus.”

⁴⁸ “Operaepretium vero est huiusmodi figuram plerisque in locis, tum ex marmore tum et ex aere, Romae spectare. Ambigas enim utrum Virgilius a sculptoribus, an sculptores a Virgilio huius imaginis desumpserint exemplar,” *Castigationes* 145.

⁴⁹ He probably was not thinking of what might seem the most obvious candidate, the famous bronze wolf placed on the Capitoline in 1471 and still to be seen in the Capitoline Museum, for it must have been common knowledge that the nursing twins were added to the sculpture only around the time it entered the museum. For a survey of the images see Weigel 1992.

⁵⁰ In this he perhaps followed Servius. He does not gloss the all-important word *procubuisse*, “lying,” but Servius did—also reading Virgil’s words through the familiar images. “PROCUBUISSE: id est prima parte se inclinasse, quod Graeci προκύπτειν dicunt, ut inclinatione corporis ubera praeberet infantibus: nam si ‘procubuisse’ iacuisse accipias, contrarium est quod dicit ‘ludere pendentis pueros’. quod si ‘procubuisse’ ut ‘cum fetu

A Poet's Perspective

Valeriano wrote the *Castigationes* in Rome and could have done so nowhere else; for only Rome provided the necessary opportunities and materials: plentiful manuscripts, inscriptions, and artifacts, to be sure, but also the essential support of many fellow humanists and highly-placed patrons. The intellectual foundation of his work, however, had been laid in his early studies in Venice and Padua, long before his arrival in Rome. In Venice he began to develop an interest in inscriptions and to study coins and images, embarking on the study of signs and symbols that would culminate in the publication of the *Hieroglyphica* fifty years later.⁵¹ He edited texts for the Venetian printer Tacuino and probably did some correcting for Aldo Manuzio.⁵² Above all, however, he devoted himself in these early years to Latin poetry—so fervently that one of his teachers, the famous humanist Marcantonio Sabellico, changed his name from Pietro to Pierio after the Pierian Muses.⁵³ The young Valeriano studied both ancient and contemporary poets, but he also wrote poetry himself. His first collection, *Praeludia*, printed in 1509, included epigrams, Horatian odes and satires, Catullan hendecasyllables, an epyllion, and even two epigrams in Greek.⁵⁴ Contemporary Latin poetry is a frequent theme. Valeriano writes about the status of modern poetry and about himself as a poet, treats the history and modern use of different meters, and both praises and criticizes other contemporary poets.⁵⁵ He especially admires Giovanni Pontano, whose poetry had recently been printed in Venice.⁵⁶ He

concolor albo procubuit' [*Aeneid* 8.82-83] accipiamus, intellegere debemus 'pendentes' desiderio alimoniae suspensos vel intentos ... sciendum tamen, voluisse eum gestum proprie exprimere, quem in ipsius lupae cernimus status,' Servius on *Aeneid* 8.631.

⁵¹ He discusses these early studies in Valeriano 1602, chapter 46, preface.

⁵² For his editions of Lactantius and of Lorenzo Valla's translation of Homer for Tacuino, see Pellegrini 2002, 39-44.

⁵³ Gaisser 1999, 4, 281-282.

⁵⁴ Valeriano, 1509. The Greek epigrams appear on fol. F4v. The work contains several books that probably circulated separately in manuscript. For the volume, see Pellegrini 2002, 44-45, 115; the frontispiece is shown in *tavola* VIII.

⁵⁵ Here are some examples. Status of modern poetry: "De studiorum conditio sermo" (Valeriano 1509, A2r-B4v). Valeriano as a poet: "Ad Bernardum Camusium" (D1v); "Ad Io. Ant. Marosticanum" (D3r); "In Priscum" (E4r-v); "Ad Virg. Zavarisium" (F2r). Uses of meter: "Prolixitatem non incongruam hendecasyll. (E1r-v); "Ad Hieronymum Bononium Tarvisinum iambum unicuique materiae iam aptum esse" (I4r-v); "De decore iambici carminis ad Paulum Dandulum P. V." (K2v-3r); "De scazonte ad Annib. Phaethonta disc." (K3v); "In Plinianum 'duriusculum se fecit' ad Petr. Aleandrum ex Corneliano" (K4r). Praise or criticism of contemporary poets: "De ix lyricis in laudem Ioan. Aur. Augurelli (C4r-v); "Pontani tumulus" (C4v); "Ad Egnatium Bapt." (D2r-v); "De Andr. Maronis extemporalitate ad Dantem III Alig." (D4r-v); "Ad Marcum" (E4v).

⁵⁶ Pontano's poetry was printed twice in 1505, in Venice by Aldo Manuzio and in Naples by Sigismondo Mayr. But perhaps Valeriano saw Pontano's work in manuscript (in

defends Pontano's use of hendecasyllables for long poems and laments his death in a poem called "Tumulus," which recalls the title of Pontano's own verse epitaphs.⁵⁷ In these years he probably also studied Pontano's philological study of language in *De aspiratione* (1481); soon afterwards he would have worked through Pontano's treatment of the hexameter in *Actius* (printed in 1507). He was to draw deeply on both works in the *Castigationes*.

Valeriano came to Rome in 1509, and within a few years had begun his intensive study of Virgil's text. He approached his task using the hard evidence of manuscripts, inscriptions, and ancient critics, weighing that evidence on the scale of literary quality. This literary scale is omnipresent in the *Castigationes*, but its use in each case depends on the quality of the philological evidence. If the hard evidence is unclear or ambiguous, Valeriano either leaves a reading open or exercises his own aesthetic judgment. If a reading seems irrefutable or highly probable on philological grounds, he generally defends it on aesthetic grounds. But the aesthetic never trumps the philological; he will never put a near certain reading aside in favor of one he finds aesthetically appealing.

Valeriano's aesthetic judgments are personal and subjective and sometimes overly vague, but they are nonetheless worth our attention—not because modern scholars agree with them (often they do not), but for their value to the history of reception. His verdicts are those of a sixteenth-century reader steeped in Latin poetry and in both ancient and contemporary poetic theory. But the essential point is that they are also the verdicts of a practicing poet. In evaluating the readings of his manuscripts Valeriano looked not only for the qualities he saw in the best ancient poetry, but also for those he sought to achieve in his own.

His aesthetic observations are usually brief, simply noting the stylistic or emotive quality of a particular reading, but occasionally he engages in a fuller discussion. In a note on a passage in the *Fourth Georgic*, he expatiates on the motivation and force conveyed in a single phrase in the description of Orpheus' laments for his lost Eurydice.

Septem illum totos perhibent ex ordine mensis
rupe sub aeria deserti ad Strymonis undam
flesse sibi. (*Georgic* 4.507-509)

Manuzio's printing shop?), since there was so little time between Pontano's appearance in print and the composition of Valeriano's poems on him. The colophon in the Aldine edition of Pontano is dated August 1505; Valeriano's dedication to Girolamo Donà of the book of the *Praeludia* with the poems on Pontano is dated 13 August 1505. (The date appears only in the 1550 edition reprinted in Valeriano's *Hexametri*, fol. 122v; see Pellegrini 2002, 45.)

⁵⁷ Valeriano 1509, E1r-v and C4v.

(They say that for seven whole months, month after month,
under a lofty cliff by the wave of the lonely Strymon,
he wept to himself.)

The reading in question is *flesse sibi* (he wept to himself). But the vulgate Valeriano was glossing read *flevisse* (he wept). Valeriano says:

In the codex Romanus the reading is *flesse sibi*. That is, he wept all alone ... no longer to the Shades, or to persuade the gods of the underworld, not to assemble the wild beasts and the birds flying overhead, not to soften the fierce hearts and calm and improve the behavior of savages—but to himself—to lament his terrible loss, to blame the harshness of the underworld gods. He wept to himself to find some ease for his grief by the kindness of the Muses, with whom, as Hesiod says, arose “forgetfulness of evils and rest from cares.”⁵⁸

Valeriano’s note is a miniature literary essay. He begins with the manuscript evidence, moves to interpret the phrase “wept to himself” as suggesting the whole range of emotions and motivations of Virgil’s Orpheus, and neatly concludes with a quotation from Hesiod. The reading *flesse sibi*, which he so admires, is unique to the Romanus among the ancient manuscripts and was often passed over by editors before the twentieth century.⁵⁹ It is now generally found in the major modern editions, however, so that we can say that Valeriano’s judgment has been vindicated.⁶⁰

In another note he discusses the internal structure of the *Aeneid*. Book 7 opens with Aeneas’ landing in Latium at the place later called Caieta:

Tu quoque litoribus nostris, Aeneia nutrix,
aeternam moriens famam, Caieta dedisti. (*Aeneid* 7.1-2)

(You too with your death, Caieta, nurse of Aeneas,
gave eternal fame to our shores.)

⁵⁸ “In Ro. Codice legere est FLESSE SIBI, quippe solitarium deserti ad Strimonis undam, non amplius ad Manis, Deosve inferos exorandos, non ad contrahendas feras, & supervolantes aves, non ad agrestium hominum fera corda mitiganda, moresque componendos, expoliendosque, sed sibi, sed ad calamitatis suae lamentationem, sed ad inferorum duriciem incusandam. Flesse sibi, ut tanti doloris lenimentum aliquot inveniret Musarum beneficio, cum quibus ortas ait Hesiodus, λυσμοσύνην τε κακῶν ἄμπαυμά τε μερμηράων [*Theogony* 55]”. *Castigationes* lxviii.

⁵⁹ But the anonymous referee has pointed out that *flesse sibi* was accepted by Ribbeck 1859. It was also printed by Hirtzel 1900.

⁶⁰ Mynors 1972 and 1990; Thomas 1988; Geymonat 2008; Ottaviano and Conte 2011. Mynors 1990 *ad loc.* comments: “*flesse sibi*: so the Romanus, which is not usually right against our other authorities; but *flesse* is perhaps a more puzzling form to scribes than *flevisse*, and *sibi* helps to emphasize the loneliness which dominates these lines ...” Both Valeriano’s preference for *flesse sibi* and his note are criticized by Fera 2001, 132, who dismisses the reading as “un errore del Virgilio Romano”.

Valeriano starts with the word “shores” (*litoribus*). It is spelled with two t’s in his vulgate, but Valeriano, along with modern editors, prefers one, and he notes that he has found it with a single *t* in older manuscripts as well as in inscriptions, which, as he says, “are not erased or written over, like manuscripts.”⁶¹ He is more interested, however, in something else: the fact that the word appears in three consecutive verses.

Tum se ad Caietae recto fert *litore* portum.
Ancora de prora iacitur; stant *litore* puppes.
Tu quoque *litoribus* nostris, Aeneia nutrix. (*Aeneid* 6.900-901; 7.1)⁶²

(He sailed to the port of Caieta straight along the shore.
The anchor was thrown from the prow; the ships stood on the shore.
You too ... Caieta ... gave fame to our shores.)

Some people might object that the third verse has nothing to do with the others, he says. The first two appear at the end of one book, the third at the beginning of the next. But that is just his point.

Let them see that the whole *Aeneid* is a single body, fashioned with twelve limbs, so to speak. The body is not heterogeneous as in the *Georgics*, which the proems there show, separating distinct themes and different contents ... But the *Aeneid* is held together by just a single subject, the actions of Aeneas, and the books themselves are linked together in such a way that even the verbal structure connects the end of each one with the beginning of the next.⁶³

He goes on to explain, showing how his interpretation is borne out in the first seven books. At the end of book 1, Dido asks Aeneas to tell of the Trojans’ misfortunes; book 2 begins: “They all fell silent, and held their tongues in

⁶¹ “Non enim abraduntur, aut transcribuntur marmora veluti codices,” *Castigationes* 111. (On *Aeneid* 1.3 Valeriano also notes that *litus* is spelled with a single *t* in ancient manuscripts and inscriptions.) The spelling at *Aeneid* 7.1 varies in his principal manuscripts: *litoribus* in Romanus and Longobardicus, *littoribus* in the Mediceus. In the Oblongus *litoribus* is written in very dark ink, perhaps over an erasure. (The word is clearly *litore* at *Aeneid* 6.900 and 901); at *Aeneid* 1.3 it is clearly *littora*.)

⁶² The text of *Aeneid* 6.900-901 is disputed. Mynors 1972 and several other modern editors print not *litore* but *limite* in *Aeneid* 6.900; Norden 1957 and Conte 2009 keep *litore*. Norden and others, including Conte 2009, have omitted *Aeneid* 6.901 (identical with *Aeneid* 3.277); for discussion see Norden ad loc.). See also Wills 1997, who defends *Aeneid* 6.901, and Conte 2016, 45-48, who rejects it.

⁶³ “Videant unum esse corpus totam Aeneida, duodecim veluti membris compactum; neque ita ut in Georgicis eterogeneum, quod ibi ostendunt proemia distinctas materias, argumentaque dissimilia dividuntia. . . . At Aeneis uno tantum comprehenditur argumento, de rebus ab Aenea gestis, librique ipsi ita invicem colligati sunt, ut verborum etiam structura uniuscuiusque finem cum alterius principio connectat,” *Castigationes* 111. For an interesting modern study of the formal connections between the books of the *Aeneid*, see Torzi 2015.

close attention.”⁶⁴ Aeneas’ narration in book 2 ends with his taking Anchises on his back and heading for the mountains; it resumes at the beginning of book 3 with Troy in ashes and the survivors preparing to sail into the unknown.⁶⁵ He finishes his tale at the end of book 3; book 4 begins with Dido entranced and burning with love.⁶⁶ Book 4 ends with Dido’s death; book 5 opens with Aeneas on his ship looking back at her city’s walls glowing red with her funeral pyre.⁶⁷ Book 5 ends with Aeneas’ epitaph for the lost Palinurus: “Alas, too trusting in calm sea and sky, Palinurus, you will lie naked on an unknown sand.” Book 6 begins, “So he spoke, weeping, and gave the fleet its head.”⁶⁸ Books 6 and 7 are similarly linked, as we’ve seen. He ends his discussion with the claim: “The remaining books are also joined to each other like this.”⁶⁹

Valeriano’s note, interesting in itself, also suggests two matters for further consideration, both of which are fundamentally literary rather than textual. First, his assertion notwithstanding, books 7-12 are not connected to each other in the same way as books 1-7. They are connected, of course, but not with the same close articulation. We can blame Valeriano for trying to obscure the point, but it might be more interesting from a literary point of view to consider the reasons for the change and to identify the formal connections between books in the second half of the poem.

Second, the formal link between books 6 and 7 is more important structurally than those connecting books 1-6 since it also serves as a hinge between the two halves of the epic. The three occurrences of the word “shore” take Aeneas from Cumae and his visit to the underworld to Caieta and Latium—his destination and the end of his long voyage from Troy. That ending is marked by the last line in book 6 (“the anchor was thrown from the prow; the ships stood on the shore”). At the beginning of book 7 Aeneas pauses at this first stop in Latium for the funeral of his ancient nurse (and a final burial of the Trojan past) before embarking for the short trip up the coast to the mouth of the Tiber and the war that awaits him in Italy.

The notes on Orpheus’ weeping and Virgil’s structuring technique could be those of any close reader with literary instincts. Many others, however, show Valeriano looking at the text like someone appraising the technique and workmanship of a fellow craftsman—that is, with the eye and sensibility of a practicing poet. Once or twice he explicitly refers to what we might call his

⁶⁴ *Aeneid* 1.733-736; *Aeneid* 2.1.

⁶⁵ *Aeneid* 2.801-4; *Aeneid* 3.1-8.

⁶⁶ *Aeneid* 3.716-718; *Aeneid* 4.1-2.

⁶⁷ *Aeneid* 4.704-705.; *Aeneid* 5.1-4.

⁶⁸ *Aeneid* 5.870-71; *Aeneid* 6.1.

⁶⁹ “Atque ita libri reliqui invicem connectuntur,” *Castigationes* 113.

professional interest. At *Aeneid* 7.758, for example, the phrase “sought in the mountains” appears in the vulgate and the Mediceus as *quesitae in montibus*, but “in most other ancient manuscripts” as *quaesitae montibus*.⁷⁰ Valeriano comments: “Perhaps this will seem a small point to many, but to those who enjoy training themselves in style it is not displeasing to think about.”⁷¹ At *Aeneid* 5.284 he thinks about word order and metrics. The verse describes a slave woman given as a prize in the funeral games for Anchises: “He was given a slave skilled in the work of Minerva.” Both Valeriano’s vulgate and modern editors print *Olli serva datur operum haud ignara Minervae*. But he notes that “in certain ancient manuscripts” (he does not say which ones) the line has a different rhythm, in which the words *datur* and *operum* are reversed.⁷² He thinks that the words were later transposed to avoid the artificial lengthening of the last syllable in *datur* before the caesura and has no objection to the original text and the vulgate.⁷³

But in case anyone is annoyed at observations like this as trivial and essentially worthless, let him know that those who make verses generally pay more attention to rhythms of this kind the more knowledgeable they are and the more precise and discerning they want to be considered.⁷⁴

Although comments like these are rare (Valeriano explicitly identifies himself as a poet only a very few times), the *Castigationes* are full of the sort of technical observations that one would expect from someone with long practical experience in composing poetry.⁷⁵ His notes on various readings treat not just their history and pedigree, but their poetic merit: metrics and scansion, the rhythmic effects of different word orders, the sounds of particular words and combinations, appropriateness of readings to particular genres, and the literary and emotional qualities associated with small

⁷⁰ The reading is *quesitae in montibus* in Valeriano’s vulgate and the Mediceus, but *quesite* or *quaesitae montibus* in the Romanus, Oblongus, and Longobardicus.

⁷¹ “Leve hoc fortasse videbitur multis, sed iis, qui sese stilo exercere gaudent pensatione non iniucundum,” *Castigationes* 130.

⁷² Valeriano’s four principal manuscripts all have the order *datur operum*: Oblongus, fol. 64 v; Longobardicus, fol. 74r; Romanus, fol. 119v; Mediceus, fol. 89v.

⁷³ “Puto vero ita transpositas fuisse dictiones, quod aliqui pentimemerim ut brevem Poetae nostro noluerint indulgere. Nam in priori eademque vulgata lectione nihil est quod me offendat,” *Castigationes* 84. For the occasional lengthening of short syllables before the caesura, see Williams 1960, *ad. loc.* with further bibliography.

⁷⁴ “Ne vero quis observationes huiusmodi ut inanes, et nullius pene momenti stomachetur, sciat [*ed. sciant*], eos qui versus faciunt, eo curiosius huiusmodi numeros observare solere, quo peritiores sunt, et elegantiores haberi volunt,” *Castigationes* 84.

⁷⁵ Several notes suggest Valeriano’s professional interest less explicitly: e.g., on *Eclogue* 4.63 (see below), *G* 3.260, *A* 1.270, *A* 2.662, *A* 8.557, *A* 11.728.

differences in diction or inflection.⁷⁶ The observations in particular cases are for the most part the product of his own experience and sensibility, but his general approach is traditional, ultimately derived from the ideas of ancient critics like Quintilian and Aulus Gellius, but more immediately based on his reading of Pontano, especially *De aspiratione* and *De numeris poeticis*, Pontano’s technical study of the aesthetic qualities of the Virgilian hexameter in the *Actius*.

Pontano is unquestionably Valeriano’s most important modern source.⁷⁷ He is mentioned by name at least fifteen times, usually in notes invoking specific passages in either *De aspiratione* or *De numeris poeticis*.⁷⁸ Valeriano calls him “the most learned man of the previous generation,” and “easily the most eminent in every kind of learning in that generation.”⁷⁹ Even on the one occasion when he has to reject one of Pontano’s ideas (it is contradicted by the evidence of all the manuscripts and ancient commentators), he calls him “a man of the highest ability and incomparable erudition, as is clear to all.”⁸⁰ But Pontano’s influence is more pervasive than even this large number of citations suggests; both his philological methods and his aesthetic principles are reflected in much of Valeriano’s analysis.

In every page and nearly every note of the *Castigationes* Valeriano demonstrates his focus on the aesthetic qualities of Virgil’s hexameter, Pontano’s principal subject in *De numeris poeticis*. Valeriano is no slavish imitator, and his work has a different purpose—not to explain the rhythmical

⁷⁶ For example (the list is by no means exhaustive): word order and rhythm *G.3.260*, *A.1.271*, *A.2.662*; importance of variety of vowel sounds *E.1.37*, *A.8.164*, *A.8.545*; quality of vowel sounds *E.4.1*; beginning with a spondee more *gravis* than with a dactyl *A.8.502*; force of a hypermetric verse *A.5.422*; appropriateness to generic register *E.4.63*, *E.5.37*, *E.10.76*; emotional effects and pathos *A.1.99*, *A.6.869*, *A.9.491*; emotional force of mood and tense *A.4.479*, *A.5.628*.

⁷⁷ Valeriano names no other humanist more than four or five times, except for Camillo Porcari and Pomponio Leto, almost always in connection with readings in their manuscripts. For Pontano’s importance to Valeriano, see also Savarese 1993, 53; Fera 2001, 135-136.

⁷⁸ Some examples. On *A.3.606* (*Castigationes* 51) he cites *Actius* 50 (Pontano 2020, 170) on the sound effect of juxtaposed identical unelided vowels. On *A.1.444* (*Castigationes* 15) he quotes *Actius* 38 (Pontano 2020, 116) on the rhythmic quality of two monosyllables placed after a dactyl. On *E.6.46* (*Castigationes* xxiii) he invokes Pontano’s *De aspiratione* indirectly (Pontano 1481, fols. 31v-32r) on the scansion of the name Pasiphae.

⁷⁹ “Iovianum Pontanum litteratissimum priori aetate virum” (*Castigationes* lviii, on *G.4.15*); “Pontanum in omni doctinarum genere ea aetate facile principem” (*Castigationes* 162, on *A.10.6*). See also “Iovianus Pontanus vir litteratissimus” (*Castigationes* 162, on *A.10.1*); “clarissimi aetate superiore viri Iovianus Pontanus et Hermolaus Barbarus” (*Castigationes* 125, on *A.7.648*).

⁸⁰ “Iovianus Pontanus summo vir ingenio, eruditioneque, ut omnibus palam est, incomparabili” (*Castigationes* 67, on *A.5.13*); cf. Pontano, *Actius* 30 (Pontano, 2020, 82-85). For discussion, see Savarese 1993, 65-66.

basis of Virgil's artistry like Pontano, but to decide which reading in a given line is both supported by the manuscripts and lives up to the Virgilian standard. The standard, of course, is really Valeriano's, perceived through his own sensibility and identified through long study of Virgil, but in Pontano he found several points to look for, including the importance of variety in rhythm and vowel quality and the effects achieved by different word orders and by long syllables at particular points in the line. The essential point in all these criteria was sound. Was the rhythm of a reading pleasing? Did it produce an emotional effect? Was the succession of vowels or consonants rough or dissonant?

Valeriano's emphasis on sound, like that of Pontano before him, reminds us—and we need reminding, since as moderns we read our poetry silently—that Latin poetry was oral by nature. In antiquity both poetry and prose were written to be heard; correct and expressive oral reading was an essential part of elite education.⁸¹ Both were read aloud at home, sometimes by slaves trained for the purpose, sometimes by their masters. Poetry especially was read aloud both at private parties and in large gatherings either by the poets or by professional readers. Virgil's *Eclogues* were frequently performed on stage, and the poet himself is said to have read portions of his works to Augustus, his recitation "sweet and strangely seductive."⁸² The oral component was almost equally important in the Renaissance. The humanists not only worked to recover classical Latin; they tried (and largely succeeded) to use it as a spoken language. Like their classical forbears, they gave Latin orations and Latin lectures, and poets read their works aloud to groups of friends. To note just one example, Pontano himself read his long didactic poem *Urania* over a period of several days to members of his academy.⁸³

The sound of poetry is best evaluated by hearing it. For Valeriano, as for Pontano, the ears, whether of poet or listener, are its ultimate judge, and Valeriano frequently appeals to them to assess the merits of a particular

⁸¹ For a very brief account of oral reading with earlier bibliography, see Gaisser 2009, 41-44.

⁸² See Donatus 1996, 27-32. For performances of Virgil's works on stage, see also Tacitus, *Dialogus* 13.

⁸³ The story is told by Girolamo Borgia in his annotated manuscript of *Urania* (Vat. lat. 5175, fol. 4r): "Cal. februarii 1501 Pontanus legere coepit suam Uraniam in sua achademia, cui lectioni fere semper quindecim generosi et eruditissimi viri affuere; nec vero ipse ego Hieronymus ullum unquam praeterii diem, quin adessem, et quae potui in margine anotanda curaverim, quae quidem sunt ab eiusdem auctoris oraculo exprompta." Quoted from Soldati 1902, I.xxxv.

reading.⁸⁴ “Let each one consult his own ears,” he says.⁸⁵ And: “[this] better fills the ears and seems far sweeter,” and “[this] better fills the ears and is more affecting, since it seems to put everything before our eyes.”⁸⁶ Occasionally the ears or their possessors are qualified as “cultivated” or “trained” (*eruditus*).⁸⁷ Sometimes the ears belong to those with philological knowledge, as in the discussion at *Georgic* 2.341. There Valeriano’s vulgate (and the manuscripts) read *ferrea progenies* (“race of iron”), while Lactantius preserves the reading *terrea progenies* (“progeny of earth”).⁸⁸ Valeriano, usually deferential to his early sources, rejects the evidence of Lactantius, whose text he knew well. He had edited it in 1503 for the Venetian printer Tacuino; its third edition was printed in April 1521, just two months before the *Castigationes*.⁸⁹ He concludes: “That reading *terrea* does not satisfy the cultivated ears of those who think the manuscript of Lactantius is corrupt, since *ferrea* does not change the meaning.”⁹⁰ More often, however, the ears belong to those with expertise in poetic technique, as in his note on the last verse of Virgil’s famous *Fourth Eclogue*. There Virgil says that the newborn child who does not smile at his mother cannot share the pleasures of the gods.

Nec deus hunc mensa, dea non dignata cubili est. (Eclogue 4.63)

(No god deems him worthy of his table, no goddess of her bed.)

The reading in question is *cubili est*. The codex Romanus reads *cubilest*, all one word, “Plautus style” (*Plautino more*), as Valeriano says. Another old manuscript (unnamed) omits *est* altogether. He comments:

But the synalepha (elision) that occurs in *cubili est* appears the most suitable to the humble bucolic genre and seems to leave a certain

⁸⁴ For Gellius as the ultimate source for the importance of the judging ear of poet and critic, see Campanelli 2008, 491–493.

⁸⁵ He uses this formula in two cases where he leaves the choice of word order open: “Sed enim suas quisque aures consulat” (on *Aeneid* 5.1); “unusquisque autem aures consulat suas” (on *Aeneid* 5.281); *Castigationes* 67 and 84.

⁸⁶ On word order: “Sed enim vulgata lectio magis aures implet et longe suavior videtur” (on *Georgic* 1.54; *Castigationes* xxxi); on his choice of *laetantur* over *laetentur* in *Eclogue* 4.52 (*Castigationes* xviii): “In Ro. codice LAETANTUR est, indicandi specie, quod magis implet aures, et longe magis movet, dum cuncta oculis subiicere videtur” (modern editions print *laetentur*).

⁸⁷ *Eruditus auribus*: at *Georgic* 2.341; *Aeneid* 1.270; 2.129; 8.531 (*Castigationes* xlv; 9; 24). *Eruditorum auribus*: at *Georgic* 3.348; *Aeneid* 1.156 (*Castigationes* lvi; 6).

⁸⁸ Lactantius, *Institutiones divinae* II.10.16. For a defence of *ferrea* see Conington 1881, vol. I, *ad loc.* Mynors 1972 and 1990 and Thomas print *terrea*, but Thomas in his commentary *ad loc.* says, “the choice of reading here must remain uncertain.”

⁸⁹ See Pellegrini 2002, 39–41, 110–12.

⁹⁰ “Illud autem TERREA eruditus <eorum> auribus non satis facit qui putant Lactantii codicem depravatum, quum *ferrea* sententiam nihil immutat”; *Castigationes* xlv.

sweetness in the ears of those accustomed to the musical rhythms of poets.⁹¹

Valeriano's *Castigationes* is a remarkable philological achievement—a full textual commentary on almost every contested reading in the whole of Virgil. It is based on the full collation of one manuscript, the nearly full comparison of three others, the irregular consultation of a dozen more, and an expert knowledge of the vulgate tradition and its printed representatives. It draws on evidence from inscriptions, ancient scholars, and the usage of other ancient poets. But it is not only philological, and therein lies its interest. It is a work deeply imbedded in its time and place, the lively social and intellectual world of Roman humanism in the short papacy of Leo X; and on every page it reflects the interests and sensibility—above all, the literary sensibility—of its author. The purely textual research involved in the project might well require the entire effort of a modern scholar, but in the years of its composition Valeriano was first trying to support himself with tutoring jobs and looking for patronage (1509-1513) and later heavily burdened with duties to his Medici masters (1513-1521).⁹² He was also constantly engaged in various other intellectual projects. He was writing long poems, treatises, and encomia for patrons, composing masses of occasional poetry, and collecting material for the *Hieroglyphica*.⁹³ He was also surely working on Catullus in preparation for the literary and textual commentary that he would present in his lectures at the Studium Urbis, for Catullus is mentioned almost twenty times in the *Castigationes*.⁹⁴

⁹¹ “Sed ea synalepha quae fit in CUBILI EST huic humili genere maxime convenire videtur, et nescio quid suavitatis in eorum auribus relinquere, qui musicis poetarum numeris insuerint,” *Castigationes* xvii. Modern editions print *cubili est*.

⁹² For Valeriano's life in these years and his lack of leisure as a Medici courtier see Gaisser 1999, 8-15. He expresses some of his frustration in a letter to Giano Parrasio at the end of his commentary; *Castigationes* 213 (for partial translation see Gaisser, 14-15).

⁹³ For Valeriano's works printed between 1509 and 1521, see Pellegrini 2002, 40-58. Much of his occasional poetry was collected many years later in the volumes *Amorum libri V* (1549) and *Hexametri, odae et epigrammata* (1550), both printed in Venice: Pellegrini 2002, 156-157. The *Castigationes* contain a handful of references to the *Hieroglyphica*, most prominently at A.1.636 on *vitem* (vine) and A.8.698 on the dog-headed Egyptian god Anubis. In the first case he promises to say more “in the sacred writings of the Egyptians” (“de hoc latius in sacris Aegyptiorum litteris”; *Castigationes* 19). In the second, he postpones discussion for another work (“Quae vero multa de huiusmodi pictura dici possent, alterius esse negotii existimamus”; *Castigationes* 148). See also on A.5.775 and A.7.171 (*Castigationes* 93 and 114).

⁹⁴ Catullus 3.9, 6.5, 50.5 (A.5.441); 4.10 (A.1.198); 7.7 (A. 6.265); 39.2, 4. 6. 7 (G. 2.282); 53.3 (A.2.65); 61.16, 215 (A.8.652); 61.228 (A.5.398); 64.18 (G.3.53); 64.62 (A.4.564); 64.91 (A.4.185); 64.156 (A.7.302); 64.224 (A.10.844); 64.255 (A.7.389); 64.291 (A.4.54); 64.336 (G.4.545); 66.48 (A 1.30); 69.3 (A. 8.390); 69.5-8 (E. 3.8); 100.2 (A.3.578). For a mistaken reference to Catullus (A.11.178), see note 114 below. Di Stefano 2001 147

How to Write Poetry

Valeriano's lectures began in the autumn of 1521, in the last halcyon days of Leo's papacy.⁹⁵ In addition to the usual students, his audience contained a number of the friends and associates who had been the first readers of his notes on Virgil. Indeed, as I have suggested elsewhere, the lectures seem to have been perceived not only as a course at the Studium, but as a kind of humanist event.⁹⁶ Given the subject and the lecturer, students and humanists alike would have had a good idea of what to expect: a virtuoso performance on the poetry and text of Catullus by an accomplished contemporary poet who had just published a textual commentary on the most famous poet of all.

Valeriano did not disappoint them. His commentary conforms to the conventions of its genre, summarizing poems, explaining meters, treating textual problems, and glossing geographical, mythological, and historical references. Its overriding theme is the old formulation *prodesse et delectare* (to be useful and to please), a purpose that Valeriano attributes both to Catullus and to himself as the poet's interpreter. He states this purpose in the inaugural lectures and plays with it throughout the commentary, his argument sometimes credible, often clearly tongue-in-cheek. The poet is pleasing, he says, for his delightful subjects: love, praises of the gods, and epithalamia; he is useful as a teacher of style, but also (much less plausibly) for celebrating virtue, condemning vice, and generally promoting good conduct. Valeriano as the poet's interpreter has a complementary purpose: to benefit his students with instruction in literature and character (*litteris et moribus*) and to entertain them in the process. Here is one example of his method, the end of his discussion of the death of Lesbia's sparrow (Catullus 3).

Now I will add one thing as a corollary, which we can apply to these rites of a dead sparrow. For they can both amuse you in the listening and benefit you greatly by their example. The life of a sparrow is very short. For, as those who write of these matters tell us, the males can live no more than a year, and they say that the reason is unrestrained lust—which also wears out so many men before their time and hands them over to old age. The crow, on the other hand, is very long-lived, since

does not list the references, but also notes that Valeriano was working on Virgil and Catullus at the same time.

⁹⁵ The lectures are preserved in Vatican Library, Vat. lat 5215, whose contents were identified by Alpagò-Novello 1926, and apparently first studied by Gaisser 1988. For a detailed discussion, see Gaisser 1993, 109-145. See also Di Stefano 2001.

⁹⁶ See Gaisser 2011. In addition to their annual events like the festival of Pasquino, the Palilia, and St. Anne's day, the humanists staged or took advantage of irregular occurrences to interest and amuse each other. Some examples: the discovery of the Laocoon (1506), the awarding of Roman citizenship to Leo's brother and nephew (1513), the trial of Longolius for having written a speech arguing for the inferiority of Italy to France (1519).

it copulates most seldom. Wherefore, young men, if the sweetness of life delights you, nothing will be more useful to you than to reject Venus and the goads of blind passion.⁹⁷

Digressions like this were designed to please, and evidently did. Valeriano's audience for this lecture was twice as large as that for its predecessor on Catullus 2, which he had enlivened with an extravagant attack on Poliziano's obscene interpretation of the sparrow and witty references to his own work on the *Hieroglyphica*.⁹⁸

Valeriano's theme is well suited to his principal subject: poetry and how to write it. As he says in his first inaugural lecture, he intends not only to help the students understand what authors have written, but to encourage them to try to produce similar results.⁹⁹ Catullus is the perfect model: most of his poems are short, their meters and subjects various. In the next lecture Valeriano makes the same point in grandiose terms by playing with a theme that would have been recognized and enjoyed by many in his audience. He invokes the familiar discussion of Plato's magnet and poetic inspiration (by now almost a commentary cliché) and brings it together with an entertaining revision of Marsilio Ficino's discussion of the Muses and the harmony of the spheres.¹⁰⁰ Calliope, the greatest of the Muses since she echoes the music of all the spheres, inspires those who delight in every subject and poetic rhythm. Catullus is her obvious protégé.¹⁰¹ Inspired by her, Catullus too shares in the music of the spheres and provides the same varied inspiration to his devotees. The lecture concludes with a flourish.

Come, let it be Catullus first who is set before students about to make their way into poetry, so that when each has fallen upon that rhythm which is well suited to his spirit, by which he feels himself moved and attracted as iron by a magnet or chaff by amber, he will gird himself up

⁹⁷ "Nunc unum addam pro corollario, quod ad has extincti passeris inferias conferamus. Nam et vos delectare possunt audiendo et exemplo plurimum iuvare. Passeribus vitae brevitatis angustissima. Eorum enim mares anno diutius durare non posse tradunt, qui rerum huiusmodi historias conscribere; cuius rei causam esse aiunt, incontinentissimam salacitatem; quae tot hominum etiam ante diem effoetos tradit senectuti. Contra vero corvinum genus, quia rarissime coit vivacissimum. Quare si vos vitae dulcedo capit adolescentes nihil vobis magis praestiterit quam venerem et caeci stimulos avertere amoris ...". Vat. lat. 5215, fol. 63r. Compare the similar treatment of the sparrow in the *Hieroglyphica* (Valeriano 1602, 150).

⁹⁸ Gaisser 1993, 134-136.

⁹⁹ "Meum non in eo tantum se studium continebit, ut quae auctores scripserint intelligatis, sed id etiam pro viribus adnitemur, ut vos quoque similia facere, et cum auctoribus ipsi gressum conferre parem contendatis," Vat. lat. 5215, fol. 14r.

¹⁰⁰ For Plato's magnet as a commonplace in commentaries, see Gaisser 2016, especially 284-94. For the inaugural lectures, see Gaisser 1993, 114-20.

¹⁰¹ Orpheus is Calliope's protégé in Ficino. See references in previous note.

to imitate it and begin to practise with that type of poetry which he sees is proper to his ideal.¹⁰²

Valeriano begins his instruction in the next lecture with a detailed technical lesson on meter.¹⁰³ Following the treatment of the ancient grammarian Terentianus Maurus, he shows that the hendecasyllabic verses of Catullus 1 can be divided into dactylic and iambic segments, which may be rearranged to produce meters ranging from hexameters to galliambics. The lesson is well suited to the prospective poets in his audience, teaching them not just how to scan, but how to create the different meters. Valeriano emphasizes, however, that meters are not just successions of long and short syllables; they are suited to different genres and convey different emotions.¹⁰⁴ Sound matters as much as rhythm—indeed it is essential. As in the *Castigationes*, the ear is what matters. Here too he invokes the ears as judges, but now more to train the aesthetic faculties of his budding poets than to defend the merits of a contested reading.¹⁰⁵

One example must suffice, his treatment of the famous rewriting by Pliny the Elder of one of Catullus' hendecasyllables: *meas esse aliquid putare nugas* (to consider my trifles something; Cat. 1.4).¹⁰⁶ Since Pliny considered Catullus too harsh (*duriusculum*) in this verse because he placed an iamb (*meas*, u -) in the first position instead of the traditional spondee (- -), he reordered the words to achieve an initial spondee and “to soften” (*ut molliam*) the poet, producing: *nugas (- -) esse aliquid meas putare* (Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, *praef.* 1). But Valeriano objects, arguing that Catullus' iambic substitution is not harsh but smooth and pleasant, since short syllables are lighter and softer than long ones. “I would not have believed,” he says, “that anyone was so foreign to the Muses, so tone-deaf, that he could not tell the

¹⁰² “Age esto Catullus primus, qui profecturis in poetice discipulis proponatur, ut quum unusquisque in eum ex numeris inciderit, qui genio suo sit accomodator, quo scilicet se non aliter moveri atque attrahi sentiat quam ferrum a magnete, paleam a succino, se ad eius imitationem accingat, eoque carminis genere sese exercere incipiat, quod magis ideae suae proprium esse animadverterit”. Vat. lat. 5215, fol. 25r.

¹⁰³ See Gaisser 1993, 121-130.

¹⁰⁴ Some examples. The pure iambs in Catullus 4 convey the speed of the swift yacht (*phasellus*) they describe. The scazons or limping iambs of Catullus 8 have a halting effect matched to its melancholy subject. For discussion, see Gaisser 1993, 123-125. For a literary analysis and transcription of the lecture on Catullus 8, see Di Stefano 2001, 155-160, 165-76.

¹⁰⁵ E.g., *consulite aures* (consult your ears), on the dragging effect of the scazon in Catullus 8.9.1; *offendat aures* (offends the ears) on Guarino's emendation at Catullus 3.16; see Gaisser 1993, 124 and 127. Also, see below on Pliny's rewriting of Catullus 1.4.

¹⁰⁶ Valeriano had criticized Pliny's rewriting as early as the *Praeludia*; Valeriano 1509, fol. K4r, and see note 55 above.

difference.”¹⁰⁷ He then offers an ugly but “correct” rewriting of his own (*nostras esse aliquid putare nugas*), inviting everyone in his audience to “consult his ears” to see why Catullus’ line is lighter and more pleasing.¹⁰⁸ Reverting to Pliny’s verse, he makes his final point: “Here you see that the same verse, and constructed with the same words, still sounds rougher somehow.”¹⁰⁹ The lesson? Meaning and metrical accuracy by themselves do not constitute poetry.

Instructive and entertaining as they are, however, Valeriano’s lectures were ill fated almost from the start. They would be rudely interrupted at least twice, first in December by the pope’s death, then in the spring of 1522 by the summer holidays. They resumed the following autumn in the shadow of the arrival of the instantly unpopular new pope, Adrian VI; but it is not clear how long they continued, for the manuscript is incomplete. It breaks off after the discussion of Catullus 22, with the note, “The rest was lost in the Sack of Rome”.¹¹⁰

The many references to Catullus in the *Castigationes* offer only a few hints as to the contents of any subsequent lectures, for most treat Virgil’s use of Catullus rather than points of interest in Catullus himself.¹¹¹ I find one clear overlap with the existing lectures.¹¹² One citation could well have had a counterpart in a lecture on Catullus 64.¹¹³ There are three other possibilities.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁷ “Profecto neminem ego tam a Musis alienum, tam obturatis auribus esse crediderim qui rationem hanc non internoscat,” Vat. lat. 5215, fol. 32r.

¹⁰⁸ “Age exemplum proponamus, ex quo aures unusquisque suas consulere poterit,” Vat. lat. 5215, fol. 32r.

¹⁰⁹ “Videtis hic idem carmen, iisdem quoque verbis concinnatum, sonare tamen nescio quid vastius,” Vat. lat. 5215, fol. 32v.

¹¹⁰ “Reliquum in direptione Romae desideratum”; Vat. lat. 5215, fol. 249v. This account of the history of the lectures is reconstructed both from their contents and the physical evidence of the manuscript. See Gaisser 1993, especially 109-114, 136-145.

¹¹¹ Di Stefano 2001, 147 discusses Valeriano’s references of this kind to Catullus 7.7, 64.62, 64. 91, and 69.3.

¹¹² At A.1.198 (*ante malorum*), where Valeriano says some want to read the phrase as one word, “ut apud Catullum postphasellus. et in Pandectis”; *Castigationes* 7. There is a corresponding note in the lectures on Catullus 4.10: “POSTFASELLUS unica dictio est, veluti in Pandectis emendationibus, quae Florentiae magna asservantur religione, Postdomus et antedomus invenias si de area loquantur in qua post, vel ante domus fuerit excitata, ita postfasellus materies quae postea in fasellum fabricata est, fuit antea comata silva in ea ora pontica”; Vat. lat. 5215, fol. 75r.

¹¹³ At G.3.53 (*crurum tenus*: down to the shins). Valeriano cites as a parallel Catullus 64.18, where Catullus says that the Nereids were standing out of the water down to their breasts (*nutricum tenus extantes*), adding that instead of *nutricum*, “certain people read both foolishly and shamelessly *iam crurum tenus extantes*”, *Castigationes* 1.

¹¹⁴ Two mention readings of Catullus proposed in earlier editions and commentaries. Catullus 64.336, *Pelei*, on G.4.545 (*Orphei*; *Castigationes* lxix) and Catullus 66.48,

Conclusion

Valeriano's works on Virgil and Catullus were literary and scholarly highpoints of the last halcyon days of Leo's papacy, the printing of the one and the public performance of the other separated by only a few months. Both were products of many years of study and interest on the part of their author, and there was considerable cross fertilization between them since he was occupied with them at the same time. They belonged to different genres and were presented in different forms, the textual commentary designed for private study, the lectures for a group of listeners. But in a sense their subjects and audiences were the same. The subject in both cases was Latin poetry, the audience its devotees. There are also important differences between them. In the *Castigationes* Valeriano is correcting an existing text, a critic arguing the philological and aesthetic merits of almost every contested reading. In the lectures he is interpreting whole poems as well as scrutinizing particular words; he is a teacher showing both what poetry is and how to write it. Both works were of great originality and importance. The *Castigationes* was the first work of its kind and was cited by scholars for nearly four hundred years.¹¹⁵ The lectures were not only entertaining, but also the best textual and literary treatment of Catullus until the commentary of Marc Antoine de Muret (1554), over a generation later. Their importance, however, was not realized until late in the twentieth century, for like Catullus himself, they remained too long undiscovered, hidden away in a neglected manuscript.¹¹⁶

Chalybum, on A.1.30 (*Danaum*; *Castigationes* 3). The third, on A.11.178 (*Castigationes* 181), discusses the verb *tetuli* in an anonymous fragment that Valeriano wrongly attributes to Catullus (*concitum tetuli gradum*; Warmington 1967, fr. 116) as an example of *prothesis* (the addition of a letter or syllable at the beginning of a word). He notes that the word *tetulit* is found "so often (*toties*) in Catullus." Forms of it appear four times in Catullus 63, as well as at 64.172 and 66.35. Valeriano perhaps would have discussed it, especially in his notes on Catullus 63.

¹¹⁵ To give just one example: Valeriano (referred to as "Pierius") was still being cited as late as the edition and commentary of Conington 1881.

¹¹⁶ See note 95.

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THE MAP AND THE TERRITORY



- a digital stylistic index to the funeral oration for Pietro Riario by Nicholas, bishop of Modruš (1474)

By Neven Jovanović

I present a stylistic exploration of the Oratio in funere Petri cardinalis S. Sixti by Nicholas, bishop of Modruš, held and printed in Rome in 1474 (and printed six more times until 1484). The digital text of the oration was divided into stylistically notable segments from which a digital index was compiled, to be explored sequentially, reordered, and analyzed quantitatively. In that way, a running stylistic commentary provides a description of the most frequent stylistic features (devices of ordering and repetition, of creating tension through word order and imagery), of especially expressive passages, and of recurring configurations.

```
110 <phr ana="#incrementum">
111   <phr ana="#hyperbaton">
112     illud ego prius consolationis genus
113   </phr>
114   ita prorsus in omne tempus perdidit ut
115   <phr ana="#hyperbaton">
116     magis ipse solacio egeam
117   </phr>
118   quam ut illud cuique
119   <phr ana="#parallelismus #bimembre #anaphora">
120     uel praestare possim uel polliceri
121   </phr>
122 </phr>
```

Figure 1: An excerpt of the TEI XML file with the clean text of the Oratio in funere Petri segmented into stylistically notable sections (phr elements), holding annotations in @ana attributes. Note the nesting of three phr elements in the first segment (marked incrementum) and a combination of three annotations in the last phr segment. The number sign (#) signals that annotation is described elsewhere. Simplified and indented for clarity. Opened in oXygen XML Editor.

1. The Oratio in funere Petri cardinalis Sancti Sixti

On January 18, 1474, in the basilica of Santi Apostoli in Rome, a funeral oration for a cardinal was held. The deceased was Pietro Riario, cardinal of San Sisto. Born in 1445 and twenty-nine years old at the time of death, he was the powerful and notorious nephew of Pope Sixtus IV (Francesco della Rovere, pope 1471–1484). The difficult task of presenting Riario's life and achievements in a favorable way fell to Nicholas, bishop of Modruš (he was one of the Illyrians in Rome, born at the eastern coast of the Adriatic, in the city of Kotor, today in Montenegro),¹ probably as a member of Riario's household and author of a treatise *De consolatione*. Nicholas must have performed the task well; his oration was printed shortly afterwards, as *Oratio in funere Petri cardinalis Sancti Sixti* (Romae: in domo Antonii et Raphaelis de Vulterris, 1474; ISTC in00048800), to be reprinted six more times in the next decade and copied in at least six manuscripts.² The funeral oration for Riario is traditionally considered the first printed book by an author of Croatian origin.

After a sophisticated exordium built around the notions of the duty of the orator, the grief of the speaker and the audience, and a lament for the deceased, Nicholas tells the brief story of Riario's life roughly chronologically, highlighting all the time Riario's virtues: his *pietas*, *magnitudo animi*, *munificentia*, *prudentia*, *modestia*, *iustitia*.³ The oration outlines Riario's background, childhood, education and arrival in Rome, to present then his activity as cardinal and paragon of *divinitas* (prophetic gift), *munificentia*, *perseverantia*, *clementia*, *sinceritas*. Riario's vast household (500 people, about one percent of the population of Rome under Sixtus IV) is described, and the cardinal is defended against the charges of corruption and simony. The defense prompts an excursus, a passionate, biblically styled attack on Riario's envious disparagers. Then the oration praises Riario's politics, attesting his *prudentia*, *moderatio*, *iustitia*, his devotion to the pope

¹ Nicholas seems to have belonged to Majin family, which enjoyed a citizen (non-noble) status in Kotor, Špoljarić 2014.

² Three editions appeared many years after the funeral, around 1482, when the author himself was already dead (Nicholas died before May 29, 1480); Jovanović 2018; Cook & De Silva 2018.

³ Cook & De Silva 2018, 104 note that “the theological virtues of faith, hope, and charity”, as well as “the cardinal virtues of classical antiquity” actually find little place in the oration: “Riario is hailed for *iustitia* (justice) only twice, and never for *temperantia* and *fortitudo* (temperance and fortitude) (...) Only wisdom is frequently attributed to him, and it is invariably *prudentia* (...) and never *sapientia* (...) Nikolaus emphasises his subject's *munificentia*, *liberalitas*, and *beneficentia* (...) as well as his cultivation of friendship, *amicitia*. Above all, the oration returns repeatedly to the theme of *cura*, a term better translated as ‘responsibility’ (...)”

and care for various church buildings as proofs of *pietas*. There follows a description of Riario's courage and patience in sickness, his Last Rites, the last speech to the members of his household, and death. The peroration consists of another brief praise of the deceased and consolation for the audience.

I have prepared a first modern edition of *Oratio in funere Petri* (Modrusiensis 2005, as part of the digital collection *Croatiae auctores Latini*) and Cook and De Silva published an English translation (Cook & De Silva 2018); currently I am preparing a digital scholarly edition of Nicholas' oration. Beside a full collation of witnesses and a lexical and grammatical commentary, the edition includes a running commentary on style of the *Oratio*. It takes the form of a set of annotations (currently at the level of phrases) from which a stylistic index is obtained, to serve as a kind of map to the territory of Nicholas' oration.⁴ Here I will provide an introduction to that index, explain its methodology and the technology used, and demonstrate some analytical approaches the index enables. It will be shown that the index makes possible a comprehensive description of style of the *Oratio in funere Petri*; it also shows which stylistic features are present in a successful Renaissance Latin oration (stylistic competence must have been at least prerequisite for the success of Nicholas' rhetoric).⁵

2. The edition and its stylistic annotations

Based on a collation of all extant witnesses of the *Oratio in funere Petri* (each witness, its variants and their typology are also documented in another section of the digital edition), I have prepared a 'clean text' presenting a readable synthesis of the text tradition. The final text and all transcriptions of witnesses

⁴ Cook & De Silva 2018: 106 assess the style of the *Oratio* thus: "while it is hardly brilliant or inspired, [it] is fairly competent, and therefore a reasonably representative example of late-Quattrocento oratory. Nikolaus' classicizing diction (...) exemplifies the anachronistic Latinity made fashionable by humanists. If his prose lacks the casual elegance and clear forward momentum (...) he still succeeds in capturing the characteristic feeling of humanist Latin on a sentence-by-sentence basis. Nikolaus organizes his various clauses effectively, sometimes with reasonable sophistication. (...) he commands the copia, the treasury of words and idioms, considered essential to the Renaissance orator."

⁵ Recently Luka Špoljarić published an important testimony on the perceived quality of the oration from a witness of Nicholas' performance. Leonello Chiericati, bishop of Rab (on the eponymous island in Croatia) and *familiaris* of cardinal Marco Barbo, wrote in a letter to his patron: "Quantum ad d. S. Syxti attinet, hodie celebrate sunt eius exequie in ecclesia S. Apostolorum magnificentissimo apparatu: missam cantavit reverendissimus dominus Mediolanensis, orationem haud admodum contemnendam habuit episcopus Modrusiensis. Concursus omnis hominum generis, aetatis et sexus is fuit quales non facile quisquam in morte pontificum meminit." Špoljarić 2022 (in print), citing MS Vat. lat. 5641, fol. 29r.

were encoded using the TEI XML schema.⁶ For this study, I added annotations of stylistic devices to a version of the clean text file, dividing its sentences into phrases.⁷ These phrases are units which I, as editor and reader, found stylistically noticeable. The boundaries of the units follow the *per cola et commata* system of ancient rhetoricians, a subdivision of sentence into clauses and phrases, grammatical constructions which can acquire the rhetorical weight of clauses.⁸ Each phrase is annotated by one or more words which serve as a local, project-specific controlled vocabulary.⁹

I allowed stylistic terminology for the *Oratio* to develop inductively, as a result of (repeated) reading and annotating; at the same time, to ensure comprehensibility, wherever possible I have used terms described in Lausberg's *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik* (Lausberg 1960). Lausberg's categories were not always sufficient. For example, my observations led to a distinction between the category *bimembre*, pairs of shorter units which are parts of clause, and the category *dicolon*, pairs of clauses.¹⁰ This distinction is not made by Lausberg and his sources – for them

⁶ For an overview of TEI XML in literary studies, see Cummings 2013. To ensure long-term preservation and reproducibility, this paper is accompanied by a version-controlled repository containing the encoded file of the *Oratio*, code used to perform analyses discussed here, and documentation: Jovanović 2022. “Reproducibility is obtaining consistent results using the same input data; computational steps, methods, and code; and conditions of analysis,” National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine et al. 2019. The preservation system used is Zenodo; European Organization For Nuclear Research and OpenAIRE 2013. For the TEI XML, see TEI Consortium, eds. 2021.

⁷ In my edition of the *Oratio*, the main body of the text was segmented into paragraphs (*p*); they were further divided into sentences (*s*), and each sentence was tokenized into words (*w*) and interpunction (*pc*). Words followed by enclitics, such as *uirtutumque*, were tokenized as one *w* structure with two nested *w* elements (for an explanation of nesting in XML, see below). According to the TEI XML P5 scheme, the element *phr* “(phrase) represents a grammatical phrase”; it belongs to the TEI group of Linguistic Segment Categories. I used that element for subdividing sentences into stylistic units. The attribute *ana* “(analysis) indicates one or more elements containing interpretations of the element on which the *ana* attribute appears”; TEI Consortium, eds. 2021. I used the attribute to hold stylistic annotations.

⁸ For cola and commata as modern interpretative devices, see Habinek 1985 and Harrison 2007.

⁹ In library and information science “a controlled vocabulary is an established list of standardized terminology for use in indexing and retrieval of information;” it “ensures that a subject will be described using the same preferred term each time it is indexed”, Government of Canada 2004.

¹⁰ Segments marked as *bimembre* often contain accumulation of synonyms (Synonymenhäufung, Leumann 1965 § 37). E. g. “luctum ac maerorem”; “uel a parentibus uel a patria ipsius”; “toto in orbe extremisque terrarum finibus”; “aut liberalium artium aut sacrarum litterarum”; “pro quibus laboribus et pro tam diligenti nauata opera”. A certain consistence in my annotating process is proven by the observation that segments marked with *dicolon* never occur as children of segments marked with *bimembre*.

both are cases of *isocolon* – and an interpretation could be imagined in which both sets would be marked as realizations of the same stylistic device.

Figure 1 shows an example of encoding in the text, with sentences marked *s*, phrases *phr*, words *w*. The terms which appear as annotations in the example (contents of the *ana* attribute of the element *phr*) are in the annotated file defined and documented as follows (the terms and their descriptions are in Latin, the formulations are mine):

- *incrementum* gradus gradu fortiore superatur (a minore ad maius; cf. Lausberg 1960 § 403)
- *hyperbaton* cf. Lausberg 1960 § 716
- *parallelismus* sive *isocolon*, cf. Lausberg 1960 § 719
- *bimembre* phrasis bimembris, duo commata, id est membra sententiae colis minora continens, cf. Lausberg 1960 § 734
- *anaphora* initium coli sive commatis in initio sequentis membri repetitur, cf. Lausberg 1960 § 629

The stylistic annotation procedure added to the file 566 *phr* segments which enclose 3129 of the total 4128 words in the clean text (the 999 words remaining outside *phr* segments include also the title and the accompanying four epigrams in praise of the oration). The annotated segments are described by 870 stylistic notes, in which 59 different terms occur.

Figure 1 also illustrates two kinds of complex stylistic annotations: *combinations* and *nesting*. In combinations, several terms appear in the same attribute (that is why 566 segments are annotated by 870 notes). *Nesting* is a key XML technical notion which means that elements are contained within other elements ('parents' have 'children' and 'ancestors' have 'descendants').¹¹ In this paper the notion is understood in a limited way; it refers only to *phr* elements contained within other *phr* elements (which means that I do not consider *phr* elements parents or children of different elements, of *w* or *s*, for example).

The segmented and consistently annotated hierarchical structure described above lends itself to two ways of exploring. We can (by reading the annotated file of the *Oratio*) follow the discourse, that is, study the list of stylistic segments as they come in the sequence of the oration, noticing that, for example, the segments shown in Figure 1 start with an *incrementum* which contains two *hyperbata* (and an unannotated phrase between them), and that

¹¹ All elements in an XML file have to be nested; file structure must be a hierarchy beginning with the root element. Among other parameters and rules, the TEI XML guidelines define very strictly which elements can be nested inside which; Burnard 2014, TEI Consortium, eds. 2021.

they end (again after an unannotated phrase) in a combination of parallelism, *bimembre* and *anaphora*. If we keep to the analogy of the stylistic annotation structure with a map, we use the map to ‘travel’ from point A to point B.

Alternatively, we can (by querying the XML database)¹² select and regroup the annotated segments of the *Oratio* – choosing, for example, to extract only the set of segments marked *incrementum* and reorder the set according to number of words, number of nested segments etc. This approach – similar to the use of a map not for navigation, but for getting to know and understand the landscape – helps us understand from which components the stylistic annotation structure of the *Oratio in funere Petri* grew and how the components combined.

Of course, a map is not the territory. The annotations are subjective and not exhaustive. They do not cover all stylistic effects and not everyone would agree with what I have marked and how. Here, also, it helps that the annotated file, accessed and queried through a database, enables me to move easily between the more abstract level of annotations and the concrete level of Latin words which the bishop of Modruš published in Rome in 1474. The back-and-forth tests validity and consistence of annotations; where necessary, I correct the encoding, then recreate the database and rerun queries.

3. A quantitative analysis of stylistic annotations

Initial exploration of stylistic annotations in the edition of the *Oratio in funere Petri* produced the following quantitative results.

In the set of 59 different stylistic terms, those appearing most frequently in annotations have 40 or more occurrences.¹³ There are seven (11.8%) of them:

bimembre, a phrase of two parts, occurring in 104 annotations

metaphora, 85 occurrences

anaphora, 62 occurrences

dicolon, 58 occurrences

hyperbaton, 53 occurrences

alliteratio, 52 occurrences

incrementum, gradual intensifying of qualifications, 40 occurrences

¹² The XML database in which I explored the annotated file was BaseX, where collections are queried by writing XQuery scripts; BaseX GmbH 2022. More about using XQuery to explore XML annotation in linguistic corpora: Rühlemann, Bagoutdinov and O’Donnell 2015.

¹³ See the full list at the URL <https://croala.ffzg.unizg.hr/basex/nm-stil/index-stilisticus>.

If we regard as characteristic the stylistic devices which appear most often, the seven features listed above reveal the *norm* of the *Oratio in funere Petri*. They represent the favoured strategies of the oration as regards *ordering and repetition* at the level of sound and words (*alliteration*, as repetition of shorter units, and *anaphora*, repetition of longer units), of syntactic units (*bimembre*, *dicolon*), of thought (*incrementum*, where repetition is joined with intensifying); and favoured strategies of creating tension through word order (*hyperbaton*)¹⁴ and through imagery (*metaphora*).

Quantitative information allows some comparisons to be made. The *Oratio* strongly prefers the simplest, binary repetition. Tricolon, in the *Oratio* always with increasing members (*tricolon crescens*), is annotated less frequently, in 14 cases; tetracolon is marked just once. While metaphor (*metaphora*, *metaphora-Christiana*) is the most frequently annotated trope, there are 20 occurrences of *litotes*, 14 of *synecdoche*, with eight further specific cases of *synecdoche* where species stands for genus (*synecdoche-specie-genus*, cf. Lausberg 1960 § 556.2). *Metonymia* is marked 12 times, *hyperbole* four times. I did not detect in the text the rest of tropes described by Lausberg – emphasis, antonomasia, irony.¹⁵

At the other end of the quantitative range, there are twelve devices marked only once in the whole oration:

1. *divisio*, subdivision of a notion into kinds (Lausberg 1960 § 393), ID 72690¹⁶
2. *paronomasia*, use of words similar in sound; in the *Oratio*: *qua oratione aut quibus rationibus*, ID 73373
3. *hendiadyoin*, in the *Oratio*: *se caputque suum*, ID 88068

¹⁴ Hyperbaton in clausula may also have been caused by Nicholas's wish to achieve prose rhythm. An initial exploration finds in the *Oratio* a non-random presence of rhythmical patterns *cursus trispondaicus*, *planus*, *velox*, *tardus*, *dispondaicus* and *dispondeus-dactylicus*. The patterns were analyzed with the online tool *Cursus in clausula*; see Spinazzè 2014.

¹⁵ Some of the nine cases of *abstractum pro concreto* marked in the *Oratio* have affective value and enter into Lausberg's category of emphasis (*abstractum pro concreto* in Latin style is discussed by Leumann 1965, § 23; Lausberg does not use the term); other instances are closer to Lausberg's metonymy or periphrasis.

¹⁶ Here and later the ID marks the node identification number in the database of stylistically annotated *Oratio in funere Petri* that is accessible online, URL: <https://croala.ffzg.unizg.hr/basex/nm-stil/terminus/divisio> (the last part of the URL is the stylistic term; it can be replaced with any other from the repertoire of 59 terms, for example, *tricolon-crescens* or *litotes*). Individual nodes can be accessed at URL of type <https://croala.ffzg.unizg.hr/basex/nm-stil/nidificium/72690> – the last part is the node ID number.

4. *apostrophe*, address to a person who is not present or to a personified object,¹⁷ ID 89109
5. *geminatio*, a word is repeated immediately afterwards (Lausberg 1960 § 616), ID 89112
6. *refutatio*, part of argumentation, a claim that the accusations are false (similar to *animi coniectura*, mental disposition in Lausberg 1960 § 154), ID 91770
7. *refutatio-testes*, *refutatio per testes*, a special case of *refutatio*, rejection of a charge by referring to witnesses (Lausberg 1960 § 354), ID 91994
8. *tetracolon*, ID 92184
9. *epistrophe*, repetition of a word at the end of a phrase or clause (*epiphora* in Lausberg 1960 § 631); in the *Oratio* it is part of a quotation from Psalm 26, 8, ID 97209
10. *deminutiva*, diminutive used expressively; in the *Oratio*: *ne unum quidem uasculum*, ID 98184
11. *antitheton bina binis*, a marked kind of antithesis where pairs of notions are opposed (Lausberg 1960 § 787); in the *Oratio*: *in paucis annis maximam aetatem compleuit*¹⁸
12. *distinctio*, change of meaning in repeated occurrence of the word (Lausberg 1960 § 660); in the *Oratio*: *Quicquid superuixisset, doloribus superuixisset et laboribus*, ID 105070

The unique annotations pose an interpretative challenge. Because they are never repeated, they cannot be understood as ‘style’ in the sense of ‘something characteristic of the author’ or ‘a norm of author’s linguistic expression’. And yet, these observations are not mistakes; after reading and examining the passages repeatedly, the impression remains, and my choice of terms still seems justified. So, the unique annotations are not indicative of

¹⁷ In the *Oratio in funere*, both person and object are addressed at the same time in the attack at Riario’s detractors: *Caue, caue tibi, lingua dolosa...*

¹⁸ The antithesis *paucis – maximam* seems modeled on Cicero, cf. Cic. de or. 2, 269 (47) “te paucis annis ad maximas pecunias esse venturum”; Cic. Cat. 14 (50) “his paucis diebus pontifex maximus factus est”. One of the reviewers of this paper, however, pointed out that the antithesis is frequent in humanist Latin, appearing e. g. in Filelfo (*Invectiva in Galeottum Martium*, Keyser 2021, 78: “Non enim bella maxima ac plurima paucis versibus complecti poteramus, satis fuerat meminisse”; Guarino 1915-1919 ep. 620 (*epistola Leonello Estensi*, a. 1433), p. 165: “Eius potestatem poeta maximus paucis verbis exprimens”; A. Traversari, ep. ed. Mercati p. 96: “Intra paucos enim dies et maxime ieiunio dedicatos”, ed. Castelli 1982, p. 53 and Perotti. I am grateful for this observation which opens up another perspective on Nicholas’ *Oratio*.

the style of *Oratio in funere Petri* in general, but they point to something else. They are best understood as circumstantial evidence: something in the content must have made the author reach for stylistic features he does not regularly use.

The hypothesis is supported by the observation that the unique annotations occur in clusters or in proximity to one another. Two examples: first, the unique *geminatio* segment *Caue, caue tibi, lingua dolosa* (ID 89112) is nested into the larger segment marked as *apostrophe* (ID 89109); second, *refutatio* (ID 91770), *refutatio per testes* (ID 91994) and *tetracolon* (ID 92184) appear in two adjacent sentences.¹⁹

An examination of contexts shows that *divisio* and *paronomasia* appear in the rhetorically magnificent exordium; *hendiadyoin*, *apostrophe* and *geminatio* all belong to the passage where Nicholas refutes the allegations of simony made against cardinal Riario; *refutatio*, *refutatio* by referring to witnesses (*refutatio-testes*), and *tetracolon* occur as Riario is defended against further charges of haughtiness and negligence. *Epistrophe* and *deminutiva* are found in the passage on Riario's care for various churches (church buildings). Finally, the *antitheton bina binis* and *distinctio* belong to the peroration.

4. Pleonasmus

Combinations of stylistic annotations, in which several terms appear together as value of the same *ana* attribute, indicate a complex stylistic configuration, with several devices noticeable simultaneously in the text. The terms joined in combinations signify either cognate stylistic devices (so the combination is actually a refinement of the annotator's observations) or devices functioning on different levels of language. I will illustrate this by an example.

A comparison of segments marked with *pleonasmus* shows that the term (11 occurrences, of which two times it is the sole value of *ana*) occurs in combination with *synonymia* and *bimembre* (four times; once with additional *anaphora*), in combination with *dicolon* (twice, once with additional *epistrophe*,²⁰ once with *chiasmus*), once with *tricolon crescens* and once with *metaphora* and *poetice* (poetic expression). Pleonasm is a device semantically

¹⁹ The sequence from the *Oratio in funere Petri* (annotations in brackets refer to whole sentences, a *tetracolon* is indicated by italics, other annotations omitted): (*refutatio*) "Omnium saluti die noctuque inseruiebat, et tamen a nonnullis negligentiae accusabatur; quin tamquam superbum difficilemque ingrati criminabantur, cum tamen et mitissimus esset et facillimus. (*refutatio-testes*) Nouit hoc tantus domesticorum eius numerus, norunt amici et alii omnes, qui eius familiaritate usi fuerunt, quibus semper, cum per publicas licuisset curas, placidum sese exhibebat, affabilem, comem, benignum, ut socium crederes, non dominum".

²⁰ *Epistrophe* is defined as cola or commata ending with the same word.

close to synonymy (understood in the edition as accumulation of synonyms, presence of two semantically similar words).²¹ Both convey the same meaning in different forms; this is a case of cognate stylistic devices mentioned in the previous paragraph. On the other hand, the terms *bimembre*, *dicolon*, *tricolon crescens*, *epistrophe*, *chiasmus* describe devices on the level of word order, and indicate how the synonyms are organized.

This is a reasonable basis for a description. I can confidently claim that the majority of cases of pleonasm in the *Oratio in funere Petri* includes use of contact synonyms; they mostly occur in binary structures, as cola or commata. The more expressive occurrences organize the binary structure as a chiasmus, or replace it with a ternary one, or rise to the level of poetry, by choice of words and use of metaphor.

The description is further enhanced if we take into account the context, that is, the location of segments in the *Oratio*, just as we did with unique stylistic terms. It turns out that the first three cases (node IDs 75993–76090 in the table) are in direct contact in the same sentence, which claims that Riario’s achievements are more important than his origin:

uerum quod ipse illis tanto *decori ac ornamento* fuerit ut *toto in orbe extremisque terrarum finibus amplissimis laudibus summaque gloria* et celebrantur nunc et omnibus futuris seculis non desinent celebrari.

Similarly, the next two occurrences (node IDs 96503–96606) appear in the paragraph which is a *praeteritio* of Riario’s many other virtues, with only one more highlighted – the cardinal’s dedication to the pope.

The remaining six occurrences (node IDs 97209–103792) all belong to the description of Riario’s death. The combination of pleonasm with epistrophe (node ID 97209), unusual for the *Oratio*, comes from a biblical quotation (Ps 26, 8); nodes 102052 and 102161 appear in the same sentence, which is part of Riario’s deathbed speech; nodes 102052 to 103792 are in the passage in which Riario dies.²²

As this contextualized analysis shows, in the *Oratio in funere Petri* the annotated pleonasms are clustered, they appear in groups; they are clearly the product of a need to intensify, to heighten the tone, rather than a sign of linguistic carelessness and routine.

²¹ Lausberg 1960 § 655: die ‘geminierende Synonymie’; Leumann 1965 785, § 37: Synonymenhäufung.

²² The segment annotated as poetic, node 103545, “nox intempesta medium cursum peregisset” is modeled on Vergil Aen. 3, 587: “et lunam in nimbo nox intempesta tenebat” (Servius ad loc: “nox intempesta media, hoc est nimium obscura”); Aen. 5, 738: “Iamque vale: torquet medios Nox humida cursus”; Macrobian 6, 1, 14: “Et lunam in nimbo nox intempesta tenebat. Ennius in primo: Cum superum lumen nox intempesta teneret”.

Node ID	ana value	Text
75993	bimembre pleonasmus synonymia	decori ac ornamento
76031	bimembre pleonasmus synonymia	toto in orbe extremisque terrarum finibus
76090	bimembre pleonasmus synonymia	amplissimis laudibus summaque gloria
96503	pleonasmus	ultimum uitae exitum
96606	pleonasmus tricolon-crescens	laborantem, aegrotantem, peregrinantem nunquam deseruit, nunquam ab officio decessit, semperque, ut datus a Domino Tobiae angelus, lateri haesit
97209	dicolon epistrophe pleonasmus	Domine, dilexi decorem domus tuae et gloriam habitationis tuae
102052	anaphora bimembre pleonasmus synonymia	nihil corruptibile, nihil caducum
102161	chiasmus dicolon pleonasmus	date operam probitati et uirtuti totis uiribus incumbite
103249	bimembre pleonasmus	His atque aliis huiusmodi plerisque
103545	pleonasmus poetice metaphora	nox intempesta medium cursum peregisset
103792	pleonasmus	religiose ueneratus est

Table 1: All segments of the *Oratio* annotated as pleonasmus (ID refers to the node in the XML database)

5. Nesting

The nesting of *phr* XML elements into other *phr* elements enables me to be more precise, to mark off more limited stylistic effects contained by a larger stylistic unit. At the same time, nesting was not always necessary; as mentioned above, in the annotated *Oratio in funere Petri* there are 566 *phr* elements, 397 (70%) of which are without *phr* children (171 of them, 30% of the total, also do not have a *phr* parent). There are 169 (29.8%) *phr* segments which are parents, and 271 (47.9%) children (in the case of deep nesting a segment can be both a parent and a child at the same time).

Beside enhanced precision, what does nesting mean for a stylistic analysis? It is reasonable to expect that nesting, like combinations, reveals regions of more complexity, of an expressive style. How does that complexity look like, does it differ from the complexity of combinations?

To answer that, let us look at Table 2, which lists the five segments with deepest (four-level) nesting; the table also shows node IDs and annotations of segments at each level.

Top level	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4
84040 dicolon	84042 argumentum auctoritas 84125 hyperbaton	84072 synecdoche synecdoche-specie- genus	84095 metaphora
89109 apostrophe	89112 geminatio 89144 synecdoche 89164 tricolon-crescens	89173 alliteratio 89214 metaphora	89262 alliteratio
90030 argumentum enthymema	90033 metaphora 90091 litotes synecdoche synecdoche-specie-genus 90160 dicolon	90222 dicolon epanalepsis	90298 bimembre synonymia
92929 incrementum	92938 comparatio	92982 poetice	93012 alliteratio
102352 enthymema	102407 bimembre synonymia 102437 metaphora 102506 dicolon	102543 hyperbaton	102552 alliteratio

Table 2: All segments of the *Oratio* with four levels of nesting, with annotations of segments at each level. The numbers, which belong to an increasing sequence, indicate which nodes are nested into which parents (84042 is parent of 84072). Node ID numbers refer to the version accessible on the internet, <https://croala.ffzg.unizg.hr/basex/nm-stil/index-nidorum-arbor/4>

First, we note that combinations and nestings appear together (compare the nesting 84042 – 84072). Then we look at the actual words and their contexts. The node 84040 is added to the text “prophetici tamen documenti memor minime ad ea cor apponebat neque illis auaro deuinciebatur affectu”. The words describe Riario’s attitude to riches, *opes* (referred to as *ea* in the segment; beginning of the sentence tells how Riario, as soon as he became cardinal, started receiving resources continuously from all Christian rulers). Node 89109 is the highly pathetic segment “Caue, caue tibi, lingua dolosa...” which has already been discussed (see Section 3). Node 90030 presents a proof of Riario’s popularity in an intellectually challenging form:

Lex quippe amicitiae ita habet ut amicos inimicorum minime diligamus; hic tamen sua prudentia consecutus est ut aequae carus omnibus haberetur, nec ullus esset qui eius amicitiam ultro non expeteret, et adeptam studiis omnibus non coleret atque foueret.

Note that, while the two preceding nested nodes have been expressive and emotional in tone (and used the biblical language), the node 90030 is expressive and intellectual – philosophical even.

Node 92929 expresses the merit of Riario’s frequent political meditations (“grauiores reipublicae cogitationes”) through a poetically colored

comparison: “quae tales menti eius assidue obuersabantur quales mortalium animis uix illabi posse putares”.

Finally, the node 102352, from the peroratio, discusses the consequences of a notion – somewhat provocative for a funeral oration held by a bishop in a church – that the Lord’s reward in the next world (“proposita a Domino laborum merces”) may not exist:

etiam si nulla esset, hoc tamen ipsum pie et sancte uixisse maxima uiro bono merces esse debet, quippe cuius beneficio homines a brutis secernuntur et nomen suum sempiternae consecrant immortalitati.

The philosophical discussion in the first part of the sentence becomes emotional at the end.

Complexity revealed by these nested segments involves primarily, I believe, a *contact* of different voices, tones or registers. In nodes 84040 and 89109 the author achieves his point by mixing his usual mode of expression with a biblical voice, in node 92929 with a poetic one. In nodes 90030 and 102352 a challenging idea is shaped into an aesthetically pleasing flourish. In four of five nodes – 89109, 90030, 92929, 102352 – the deepest nesting appears at the *end* of the parent segment, indicating that ends of periods are stylistically important in the *Oratio*.

These features of nested annotations help us to recognize the node 84040 as an outlier, both by its configuration – nesting appears in the second segment (84042), not in the last one – and by the fact that the parent node is marked as a figure of speech (*dicolon*), while in the other four the parent nodes are annotated as figures of thought or modes of proof (*apostrophe*, *argumentum / enthymema*, *incrementum*, *enthymema*). A possible connection to the other deeply nested segments is the fact that the node 84040 *leads towards* an unusual idea (towards an awkward confession that Riario did not care much for keeping account of his vast fortune):

Affluebant quotidie opes et ab omnibus ferme Christianis principibus magni prouentus ultro offerebantur; quos licet ipse in illos, quos diximus, acceptaret usus, prophetici tamen documenti memor minime ad ea cor apponebat, neque illis auaro deincebatur affectu. Hinc est quod nec sciebat numerum nec omnino quid haberet aut quid impenderet nosse uolebat; nullas a ministris impensarum exigebat rationes, nulla computa exigere uolebat. Iactura rerum ea dumtaxat mouebatur quae negligentia contigisset, culpam magis dolens quam damnum.

6. Conclusion

When we say “the style of a text is such and such,” it is always a simplification and an approximation. Imperfect assessments can be controlled

and refined by a complete and manipulable set of stylistic annotations to a text. One such set is presented here, as a digital commentary of all stylistically notable phrases (not words, sounds, or rhythms) in the *Oratio in funere Petri*. It is simultaneously a running commentary and a stylistic catalogue, because it can be approached and analyzed both sequentially and through reordering of its units. Moreover, the reorderings can be explored quantitatively (by frequency of categories) and qualitatively (by close examination of contents and contexts).

Style is a subjective matter, dependent – especially in the case of Latin and Neo-Latin, which lack living speech communities – on sensitivity and alertness of the reader. The commentary presented here is subjective too. It is shaped and limited by my knowledge of Latin and of stylistics. A certain objectivity is lent to it, first, by the nature of notes (I have used traditional rhetorical terms); second, by the extent of annotation (it covers the whole oration); third, by the accessibility and reproducibility of the commentary. This is a personal map of the *Oratio in funere Petri*; but this is also a publicly accessible map, and a map on which we can easily jump from one feature to all similar features, and from the map back to the territory itself.

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INDEX VERBORUM, SYNONYMA, DICTIONARIUM:



writing Virgil in the early modern period

By Craig Kallendorf

Among the early modern interpretive aids to Virgil's poetry, there is not a single freestanding dictionary, nor can one be found appended to any of the school editions. Instead, there are word indexes and books of synonyms and Virgilian expressions. These works attest to Virgil's place in early modern education, where the principal need was not for basic translation aids but for lists of Virgilian words and expressions to be used in compositions designed to increase the control of Latin as a living language, to be spoken and written at school and beyond.

Introduction

One of the most tangible ways to demonstrate Virgil's ubiquitous presence within the culture of early modern Europe is to survey the printed editions of his works during this period. New books continue to surface as more bibliographical resources come on line, but at this point over three thousand five hundred different editions of one or more of Virgil's poems are known to have been in print by the year 1800.¹ Yet curiously, not a single one of the Latin editions contains a vocabulary list or dictionary like the ones found, for example, in the recently published volumes of the *Focus Vergil Aeneid Commentaries* or in Pharr's *Aeneid*, which by now has served several generations of Latin students in the Anglophone world.² Without going down the philosophical rabbit hole of Heidegger, Derrida, and Deleuze, I would like to use the concept of absence and presence to explore what we find as well as what we do not find when we look for Virgilian dictionaries in the early modern period. I think that this project is worth pursuing in itself, but especially here, as one of a group of essays in honor of Johann Ramminger, who has established himself as the leading Neo-Latin lexicographer at the turn of the twenty-first century.

¹ Kallendorf 2012. The present article updates and builds from the "Dictionaries" section, 325-326.

² Virgil 1998; e.g., Virgil 2008.

Absence

The absence of a dedicated Virgilian dictionary is all the more striking given the importance that the early humanists gave to lexicography. John Considine, who is the recognized expert in the field, has noted that while the dictionary as a genre had precursors, it took shape as we know it in the Neo-Latin world.³ The *Elegantiae* of Lorenzo Valla (1407-1457) and the *De orthographia* of Giovanni Tortelli (1400-1466) applied some of the principles that guided the humanists' efforts to reform Latin language use, and a dictionary prepared according to these principles, the *De priscorum proprietate verborum* of Giuniano Maio (ca. 1430-1493), was printed as early as 1475. The *Cornu copiae* of Niccolò Perotti (1430-1480) was ostensibly a commentary on Martial but was recognized early on as a general dictionary of the Latin language, to be joined by the *Dictionarium* (1502) of Ambrogio Calepio (1440-1510/11) and the *Dictionarium, seu Latinae linguae thesaurus* (1531) of Robert Estienne (1503-1559) as the best sellers in the genre during the sixteenth century.⁴ But there was plenty of competition, with some 150 dictionaries in print between 1450 and 1650, many of them in multiple editions.⁵

Clearly, then, the lexicographical resources were there to allow an enterprising scholar, teacher, or publisher to prepare a glossary that would define only the words used in Virgil's poetry, to save the reader time and effort. Yet to the best of my knowledge, no one did so. In order to answer why, we might begin by asking who Virgil's readers were in the early modern period. The existence of translations shows that there was a significant group of readers who had either never learned Latin or had forgotten much of what they had once known,⁶ but the largest number of early printed editions were in Latin, with most designed for school use, either by students or teachers. This is because education for the elites in early modern Europe was focused around the Latin language and the literature that was written in it.⁷ This was true for the early student years in medieval Europe as well, but work that had been undertaken then as a propaedeutic to further studies in religion was made an end in itself and extended into the higher educational levels in the early modern schools. In theory the canon was expanded as new classical works

³ Considine 2016

⁴ Considine 2008; and Considine 2018. The bibliography on the major Renaissance dictionaries is substantial, with an orientation to be found in Strada & Spini 1994; and Mencaroni Zoppetti & Gennaro 2005 (for Calepio); Della Corte 1986; Furno 1995; Stok 2002; Charlet 2005; and Pade 2013 (on Perotti); and Starnes 1963; and Furno 2019 (on Estienne).

⁵ Blair 2010, 121-124.

⁶ Kallendorf 2018a.

⁷ Waquet 2001; see also Chartier, Julia, & Compère 1976; and Black 2015, 217, 221, 224.

were discovered and printed, so that Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (1405-1464), for example, gave a list of authors in his *De liberorum educatione* that should be read by students: Virgil, Lucan, Statius, and Ovid among the epic poets; the satirists Horace, Juvenal, and Persius; Plautus and Terence for comedy and Seneca for tragedy; Cicero in oratory; and the historians Livy, Sallust, Justin, Quintus Curtius, Arrian (in Latin translation), and Valerius Maximus.⁸ This is an ambitious list, however, and in practice many masters and students who could not handle such a curriculum devoted a disproportionate effort to Cicero in prose and Virgil in Latin.

The language of instruction in early modern Europe was not English or French or German, but Latin, from the beginning. Over the years this should have produced a high degree of proficiency, and with the best students it did, but for those of limited ability or motivation, help was necessary to construe difficult texts like these. When help came, it was also in Latin.⁹ Initially this might have been orally in the classroom, where the master typically went over the text slowly, word by word; written help was available as well, but in the form of a commentary, not a glossary. As an example, let us look at the speech that Dido gave when she learned that Aeneas had been making secret preparations to leave her. The speech begins like this:

Tandem his Aenean compellat vocibus ultro:
 ‘Dissimulare etiam sperasti, perfide, tantum 305
 Posse nefas? tacitusque mea decedere terra?
 Nec te noster amor nec te data dextera quondam
 Nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido?’ (*Aen.* 4.304-308)

And at last

Dido attacks Aeneas with these words:
 ‘Deceiver, did you ever hope to hide
 So harsh a crime, to leave this land of mine
 Without a word? Can nothing hold you back –
 Neither your love, the hand you pledged, nor even
 The cruel death that lies in wait for Dido?’¹⁰

In his popular commentary to the works of Virgil, Jodocus Badius (1462-1535) offered a paraphrase of these lines:

Ordo autem est. Dido compellat id est alloquitur tandem aeneam id est
 post longam cogitationem ultro idest non exigentem eius

⁸ Piccolomini 2002, 220-225.

⁹ This means that the definitions in the major Latin dictionaries were also in Latin, as noted in Stein 2017, vii-viii, with even Estienne’s *Dictionnaire françois-latin* (1539) being designed to help the French student write good classical Latin (Hanks 2013, 512; and Kibbee 1986, 137).

¹⁰ Translation from Mandelbaum 1972, 91.

compellationem his vocibus id est subsequentibus verbis. O perfide, eccam constantiam muliebrem, quae dixerat. Credo equidem (nec vana fides) genus esse deorum. Nunc dicit. O perfide, sperasti id est sperasti ne etiam posse dissimulare id est per dissimulationem celare tantum nephas? Quantum scilicet est amantem & bene meritam sic deserere. Quod pro idest sperasti ne discedere tacitus id est tacens & secretus discedere, scilicet posse mea terra. Nec noster amor tenet te nec dextera id est fides data id est promissa quondam nec Dido moritura si discesseris super crudeli funere quia morte quam sibi illatura est, unde videtur ex tunc decrevisse sese interimere si discesserit.

Dido addresses, that is speaks, finally, that is after thinking for a long time, to Aeneas spontaneously, that is without his demanding an address from her, with these words, that is with the following words: O deceiver, there is even constancy in women, which she had said: Indeed I believe (nor is my trust in vain) that his race is of the gods. Now she says, O deceiver, did you hope, that is did you hope not even to be able to conceal, that is through concealing to hide so harsh a crime? To be sure, how great a thing it is to desert like this someone who loves you and deserves to be treated well. And instead, that is, did you hope to be able to depart without a word, that is in silence and in secret to be sure, from my land? Can neither our love hold you back nor the hand you pledged, that is the trust you gave, that was promised once, nor Dido's imminent death, if you should depart, with a cruel funeral afterward, since with the death that she intends to bring upon herself, it is seen how from that point she had decided to kill herself if he should leave.

Badius worked through the entire poem in a similar way, signaling the beginning of the paraphrase with *ordo est* and introducing the paraphrases of each section with *id est*.¹¹ For a student with a basic control of the language acquired over many years, this was supposed to obviate the need for a dictionary, which during this period was seen as closely associated with the commentary: the prefaces to dictionaries like those of Calepio and Estienne referred to them as “a kind of commentary,” and Conrad Gessner (1516-1565) said that his *Onomasticon* was like a commentary as well. Indeed, the dictionary of Perotti, as noted above, began as a commentary, and in the end the main difference was in extent rather than in kind, with the dictionary covering all the words in a language and the commentary only those words from a given text that were chosen for discussion.¹²

¹¹ Virgil 1507, f. 310r. I have included both the Latin original and an English translation for Virgil's text and Badius's paraphrase so that Badius's procedure might be as clear as possible.

¹² Blair 2010, 129-130.

There were, to be sure, ways in the early modern period to get help with Virgil's poetry that approach what might be done today. Dictionaries like those of Calepio, Perotti, and Estienne were best sellers in early modern Europe, and one could envision a schoolboy struggling through one of them instead of a specialized glossary at the back of his Virgil text. Both manuscripts from the period and early printed books survive in which a student has made his own glossary by writing Latin synonyms or vernacular translations above the lines of the text or in the margins—indeed schoolmasters preferred that their students compile their own monolingual vocabulary lists for the canonical authors they were studying. In general, however, the absence of a dedicated Virgilian dictionary, either as a freestanding volume or as a glossary at the end of an early printed edition, is explained by the nature of the early modern schoolroom, where the student was proficient enough to get the help he needed through other means. It is also worth noting that although many dictionaries were produced in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the genre as we know it was not a clear conceptual category for educated people even a century later: Gabriel Naudé (1600-1653), for example, referred to a master at the University of Paris who was constantly studying in his collection of fifty 'dictionaries,' which must have been a general term for alphabetically arranged reference books.¹³ This terminological elasticity invites us to extend our search to other kinds of dictionary-like books that might have served similar functions but would not be seen as dictionaries today, when the generic boundaries are more fixed than they were in the early modern period.

Presence

Much time in the early modern classroom was devoted to reading and understanding the classical authors, but this is not all that went on there. In his *Ludus Literarius: Or, the Grammar Schoole* (1612), John Brinsley (fl. 1581-1624) discusses how to prepare one's students to "make verses," with the suggestion that it should be easy: "For the making of a verse, is nothing but the turning of words forth of the Grammaticall order, into the Rhetoricall, in some kinde of metre; which we call verses," with the goal for the students to "be made very cunning in the rules of versifying."¹⁴ Notwithstanding the fulminations of the humanists against all things medieval, the *Poetria nova* of Geoffrey of Vinsauf (fl. 1200) continued to circulate widely through the fifteenth century as a vehicle for doing this, but the *Elegantiolae (Isogogicus libellus)* of Agostino Dati (1420-1478) followed the same general

¹³ Moss 2003, 27.

¹⁴ Knight 2017, 57.

principles,¹⁵ and soon a host of Renaissance manuals appeared to teach prosody and versification: *De ratione syllabarum brevis isagoge* (1516) of Henricus Glareanus (1488-1563), *Rudimenta poetices* (1523) of Ulrich von Hutten (1488-1523), *In artis componendorum versuum rudimenta* (1530) of Johannes Murmellius (1480-1513), and above all *Ars versificatoria* (ca. 1511) of Johannes Despauterius (1480-1520). In part verse composition served as a teaching aid to improve the pronunciation of Latin, which had fallen away from classical standards when the rules of prosody were gradually forgotten. But it was also seen as an important tool for solidifying the broader control of the language that the schoolboy had to speak, write, and think in to take his place in the speech community that extended from Cicero and Virgil into the educated elite of his own day.¹⁶

Verse composition was practiced wherever Latin was taught in the early modern period, but it flourished especially in England, as M. L. Clarke pointed out more than half a century ago. It was largely an exercise in *copia*: the Westminster statutes directed the master to set a theme, on which variations were to be written in prose in the fifth form and in verse for the sixth and seventh, and in his *Progymnasma scholasticum* (1597), John Stockwood (d. 1610) demonstrated 450 ways to express the same sentiment in an elegiac couplet and 104 ways to vary one hexameter line using the same words. Verse composition flourished especially at Westminster and Eton, in both cases well into the eighteenth century, with the last edition of the collected verses from the former, the *Lusus Westmonasterienses*, published in 1750 and the *Musae Etonenses* still being disseminated five years later. Even in the 1840s, an Eton master could write “If you do not write good longs and shorts, how can you ever be a man of taste? If you are not a man of taste, how can you ever be of use in the world?” Those who enjoyed it, like Isaac Williams (1802-1865) at Harrow, considered it the highlight of their school years, but those who did not—perhaps the majority—recycled verses that had been written for the death of George II when they were asked to commemorate the death of George III. At Winchester many turned to “small but bulky quartos, the accretion of I know not how many generations of boys; in which almost every possible subject had been made the theme of a verse-task or *vulgus* (Latin epigram),” volumes that were called “Old Copies” at Eton. John Milton (1608-1674) lamented the time he felt he had wasted on Latin verse composition at school, and in *Thoughts on Education*, John Locke (1632-1704) argued that the boy without ability is tormented by the practice,

¹⁵ Black 2015, 222-223; see also Woods 2010.

¹⁶ Ford 2014, 67-73; and Moss 2003, 5.

which should still be suppressed even for those who could do it, but these were isolated voices that did not prevail.¹⁷

This being the case, it would be reasonable to ask what sort of dictionary-like books might aid in verse composition. There are two genres, neither of which has received the attention it deserves because neither has been examined within the cultural environment for which it was produced. The first of these genres is the *index verborum*, an alphabetized list of words found in the text.¹⁸ Many of these lists were relatively short, but two were extensive enough to show that they aimed at a certain measure of completeness. Both were among the most often printed items of Virgiliana from the early modern period, as Table 1 shows:

Index of Nicolaus Erythraeus

Virgil. *Opera*. Venice: Giovanni Antonio Nicolini da Sabbio, 1538-1539.

Virgil. *Opera*. Venice: Francesco Rampazetto and Melchiorre Sessa, 1555-1556.

Virgil. *Opera*. Venice: Heirs of Francesco Rampazetto, and heirs of Melchiorre Sessa, 1565.

Virgil. *Opera*. Venice: Francesco Lorenzini, 1566.

Virgil. *Opera*. Venice: Heirs of Francesco Rampazetto, and heirs of Melchiorre Sessa, 1582-1583.

Virgil. *Opera*. 2 pts. in 1 vol. Frankfurt/Main: Heirs of Andreas Wechel, 1583.

Virgil. *Opera*. Venice: Heirs of Melchiorre Sessa, 1586.

Erythraeus, Nicolaus. *Operum Virgilio index*. Venice: Damiano Zenaro, 1586.

Virgil. *Opera*. Venice: Heirs of Melchiorre Sessa, 1586.

Virgil. *Opera*. Venice: Damiano Zenaro, 1587.

Virgil. *Opera*. Frankfurt/Main: Heirs of Andreas Wechel, Claude Marne, and Johann Aubry, 1596.

Virgil. *Opera*. Venice: Heirs of Melchiorre Sessa, Giovanni Battista and Giovanni Bernardo Sessa, 1597.

Virgil. *Opera*. Heidelberg: Heirs of Hieronymus Commelinus, 1599.

Virgil. *Opera*. Venice: Heirs of Melchiorre Sessa, 1601-1602.

Virgil. *Opera*. Venice: Giulio Burchioni, 1602.

Virgil. *Opera*. Venice: Alessandro Vecchi, 1602.

Virgil. *Opera*. Venice: Paolo Martinelli, 1602.

Virgil. *Opera*. Heidelberg: Bibliopolium Commelinianum, 1603.

¹⁷ Clarke 1959.

¹⁸ Abbamonte and Kallendorf under review examines the *index verborum* in relation to the general indexing practices of the early modern period.

- Virgil. *Opera*. 2 pts. in 1 vol. Hanau: Claude de Marne and the heirs of Johann Aubry, 1603.
Virgil. *Opera*. Venice: Sessa, 1605.
Virgil. *Opera*. Hanau: Claude de Marne and the heirs of Johann Aubry, 1608.
Virgil. *Opera*. Lyon: Jean Antoine Huguetan, 1608.
Virgil. *Opera*. Venice: I Sessa, 1609.
Virgil. *Opera*. Venice: I Sessa, 1610.
Virgil. *Opera*. Venice: I Sessa, 1611.
Virgil. *Opera*. 3 vols. Lyon: Horace Cardon, 1612-1619.
Virgil. *Opera*. Hanau: Heirs of Johann Aubry, 1613.
Virgil. *Opera*. Venice: I Sessa, 1613.
Virgil. *Opera*. Frankfurt/Main: Widow of Matthäus Becker, heirs of Claude de Marne, Johann de Marne, and Andreas de Marne, 1613.
Virgil. *Opera*. Venice: Giovanni Alberti, 1616.
Virgil. *Opera*. Venice: Giovanni Alberti, 1621-1622.
Virgil. *Opera*. Venice: Giovanni Antonio Giuliani, 1626-1627.
Virgil. *Opera*. 3 vols. Cologne: Bernhard Wolter, 1628.
Virgil. *Opera*. Venice: Paolo and Gaspare Guerigli, 1638.
Virgil. *Opera*. 3 vols. Cologne: Johann Kinckius, 1642-1647.
Virgil. *Opera*. 3 vols. Leiden and Amsterdam: Abraham Wolfgang and Jacobus Hackius, 1680.
Virgil. *Opera*. Rouen: Richard Lallemand, 1710.
Virgil. *Opera*. 2 vols. Leeuwarden: François Halma, 1717.
Virgil. *Opera*. 2 vols. Venice: Giovanni Battista Pasquali, 1736.
Virgil. *Opera*. Rouen: Nicolas and Richard Lallemand, 1739.
Virgil. *Opera*. 4 vols. Amsterdam: Jacob Wetstein, 1746.
Virgil. *Opera*. Rouen: Richard Lallemand, 1770.

Novus Index Verborum

- Virgil. *Opera*. London: Thomas Dring, George Wells, and Abel Swalle, 1687.
Virgil. *Opera*. London: Widow and heirs of Thomas Dring and George Wells, 1695.
Virgil. *Opera*. London: Abel Swalle and Timothy Childe, 1696.
Virgil. *Opera*. London: John Nicholson, John Sprint, and Benjamin Tooke, 1707.
Virgil. *Opera*. London: Samuel Smith et al., 1707.
Virgil. *Opera*. London: Jacob Tonson et al., 1712.
Virgil. *Opera*. Venice: Natale Feltrini, 1713.
Virgil. *Opera*. London: Jacob Tonson et al., 1718.

- Virgil. *Opera*. The Hague: Frères Vaillant and Nicolas Prevost, 1723.
Virgil. *Opera*. London: James Knapton et al., 1727.
Virgil. *Opera*. London: James, John, and Paul Knapton et al., 1735.
Virgil. *Opera*. London: H. Knaplock et al., 1740.
Virgil. *Opera*. London: James Hodges, 1741.
Virgil. *Opera*. 2 vols. Naples: Tipografia abbaziana, 1745.
Virgil. *Opera*. London: William Innys et al., 1746.
Virgil. *Opera*. Dublin: Joseph Leathley et al., 1752.
Virgil. *Opera*. London: William Innys et al., 1753.
Virgil. *Opera*. 2 vols. Naples: Stamperia abbaziana, 1754-1755.
Virgil. *Opera*. London: Charles Hitch et al., 1759.
Virgil. *Opera*. 2 pts. in 1 vol. Venice: Sebastiano Coleti, 1764.
Virgil. *Opera*. London: Charles Bathurst et al., 1765.
Virgil. *Opera*. 2 vols. Naples: Giuseppe Antonio Elia, 1768.
Virgil. *Opera*. London: Charles Bathurst et al., 1769.
Virgil. *Opera*. Dublin: William Smith et al., 1771.
Virgil. *Opera*. London: Charles Bathurst et al., 1773.
Virgil. *Opera*. 2 vols. Venice: La società, 1776.
Virgil. *Opera*. London: Charles Bathurst et al., 1777.
Virgil. *Opera*. 2 vols. Venice: Sebastiano Coleti, 1779.
Virgil. *Opera*. London: Charles Bathurst et al., 1781.
Virgil. *Opera*. 2 vols. Naples: Paolo Severini, 1787.
Virgil. *Opera*. London: Matthew Brown et al., 1787.
Virgil. *Opera*. Dublin: John Exshaw and Patrick Wogan, 1790.
Virgil. *Opera*. London: Matthew Brown, Francis and Charles Rivington,
et al., 1794.
Virgil. *Opera*. 2 vols. Bassano and Venice: Giuseppe Remondini, 1796.
Virgil. *Opera*. London: Matthew Brown, G. and G. Ginger, et al., 1798.
Virgil. *Opera*. 2 vols. Naples: Gaetano Raimondi, 1799.

Table 1: Major Virgilian *Indices Verborum*

The first *index verborum*, that of Nicolaus Erythraeus (Niccolò Rossi, 16th cent.),¹⁹ was printed forty-two times between its *editio princeps* in 1538-1539 and its last appearance in 1770. Generally published as a long addendum to the text of Virgil's poetry, Erythraeus's word list was accompanied by a manual that explained the rules of prosody and the various kinds of verses. Our suspicion that the *index verborum* and the accompanying prosody manual were included as an aid for verse composition in the schools is confirmed in Erythraeus's introduction:

¹⁹ Wilson-Okamura 2010, 25, 240, 256; and Kallendorf 2019, 20, 31.

Perhaps with these indexes (let there be no envy attached to the word) they could attain eloquence with no less gain (if only they might turn with zeal and skill, as a sort of scout) than if (as we wish) they had read our commentaries, arranged and written in the most precise way for the purpose of invention ... As a result things that the most diligent and learned reader could scarcely be able to see before can now be discerned by even the less educated boys with no effort at all or with some helpful reading.²⁰

Erythraeus's word list gave way toward the end of the seventeenth century to a successor whose popularity was centered in the British Isles, although there were also several Neapolitan editions and a couple of others from elsewhere. This work is anonymous, but it was entitled *Novus Index Verborum* in several of the early editions to distinguish it from Erythraeus's.²¹

In his *A New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching Schoole* (1660), Charles Hoole (1610-1667), the master of several grammar schools in Rotherham and London, gave detailed instructions on how to teach verse composition. Vocabulary lists were among the teaching aids he recommended, but so were books with titles like *Phrases poeticae* and *Encheiridion poeticum* that contain words and expressions from approved classical authors, often also with epithets (i.e., adjectives that could accompany nouns within a relevant meter), synonyms, similes, etc., all of which could be recycled into 'original' verse compositions.²² Anne-Pascale Pouey-Mounou has studied this genre and identified twenty-two works in it that were originally published between 1487 and 1654 and reprinted well into the eighteenth century. Many of them, like the *Epitome epithetorum ... cum eiusdem synonymis poeticis* (1623) of Johannes Ravisius Textor (1470-1542) and the popular *Novus synonymorum epithetorum et phrasium, seu elegantiarum poeticarum thesaurus, sive Gradus ad Parnassum* (1766), drew from several canonical authors, but included in her list is the *Opus epithetorum, phrasium et synonymorum ex Virgilio collectorum* (1593) of Leonhartus Schroterus (1532-1601) that was devoted exclusively to Virgilian expressions.²³ As Table 2 shows, Schroterus's is not the only such work that was focused on Virgil alone:

Schott, Johann. *Encheiridion poeticum*. Strasbourg: s.n., 1513/1514.

²⁰ Virgil 1566, f. A3r-v.

²¹ While these two examples dominated, the anonymous referee for this article added another Virgilian word list for consideration: Giovanni Biffi (?), *Servii Honorati vocabula brevi compendio cum auctoritatibus ipsius Vergilii* (Milan: [Leonhard Pachel and Ulrich Scinzenzeler, ca. 1480]).

²² Clarke 1959, 38-40.

²³ Pouey-Mounou 2013; see also Chevalier 2006, which also contains a list of relevant primary sources (37-42).

- Dieterich, Balthasar. *Res Virgiliana, hoc est: phrases, epitheta, descriptiones et similitudines*. Görlitz: Ambrosius Fritsch, 1585.
- Dieterich, Balthasar. *Res Virgiliana, hoc est: phrases, epitheta, descriptiones et similitudines*. Görlitz: Ambrosius Fritsch, 1589.
- Schroterus, Leonhartus. *Opus epithetorum, phrasium et synonymorum ex Virgilio collectorum*. Zerbst: Bonaventura Schmidt and Ambrosius Kirchner, 1593.
- Dieterich, Balthasar. *Res Virgiliana, hoc est: phrases, epitheta, descriptiones et similitudines*. Görlitz: Heirs of Ambrosius Fritsch, 1594.
- Schroterus, Leonhartus. *Opus epithetorum, phrasium, et synonymorum ex Virgilio collectorum*. Zerbst: Ambrosius Kirchner and heirs of Bonaventura Schmidt, 1598.
- Dieterich, Balthasar. *Res Virgiliana, hoc est: phrases, epitheta, descriptiones et similitudines*. Görlitz: Hans Rambau, 1601.
- Dieterich, Balthasar. *Res Virgiliana, hoc est: phrases, epitheta, descriptiones et similitudines*. Görlitz: Hans Rambau, 1607.
- Dieterich, Balthasar. *Res Virgiliana, hoc est: phrases, epitheta, descriptiones et similitudines*. Görlitz: s.n., 1630.
- Ragazio, Dominico Francisco. *Synonima poetica ex solo Virgilio collecta*. Venice: Francesco Barezzi, 1646.
- Ragazio, Dominico Francisco. *Synonima poetica ex solo Virgilio collecta*. Venice: Miloco, 1652.
- Ragazio, Dominico Francisco. *Synonima poetica ex solo Virgilio collecta*. Venice: Francesco Barezzi, 1652.
- Ragazio, Dominico Francisco. *Synonima poetica ex solo Virgilio collecta*. Venice: Apud Ioannem Baptistam Cestarii, 1660.
- Ragazio, Dominico Francisco. *Synonima poetica ex solo Virgilio collecta*. Venice: Giovanni Battista Cestari, 1665.
- Le Brun, Laurent. *Novus apparatus Virgilii poeticus*. Paris: s.n., 1666.
- Le Brun, Laurent. *Novus apparatus Virgilii poeticus*. Paris: Simon Benard, 1667.
- Ragazio, Dominico Francisco. *Synonima poetica ex solo Virgilio collecta*. Venice: Miloco, 1668.
- Ragazio, Dominico Francisco. *Synonima poetica ex solo Virgilio collecta*. Venice: Prodotti, 1671.
- Ragazio, Dominico Francisco. *Synonima poetica ex solo Virgilio collecta*. Venice: Brigonci, 1675.
- Le Brun, Laurent. *Novus apparatus Virgilii poeticus*. Paris: Simon Bénard, 1683.

- Ragazio, Dominico Francisco. *Synonima poetica ex solo Virgilio collecta*. Venice: Antonio Tiواني, 1690.
- Le Brun, Laurent. *Novus apparatus Virgilii poeticus*. Cologne: Wilhelm Metternich, 1703.
- Le Brun, Laurent. *Novus apparatus Virgilii poeticus*. Cologne: Metternich, 1709.
- Le Brun, Laurent. *Novus apparatus Virgilii poeticus*. 2 pts. in 1 vol. Paris: Frères Barbou, 1722.
- Le Brun, Laurent. *Novus apparatus Virgilii poeticus*. Paris: Frères Barbou, 1727.
- Le Brun, Laurent. *Novus apparatus Virgilii poeticus*. Cologne: Wilhelm Metternich, 1730.
- Clavis Virgiliana*. London: Thomas Astley, 1742.
- Le Brun, Laurent. *Novus apparatus Virgilii poeticus*. Cologne: Heirs of Wilhelm Metternich, 1747.
- Clavis Virgiliana*. London: Thomas Astley and R. Baldwin, Jun., 1749.
- Le Brun, Laurent. *Novus apparatus Virgilii poeticus*. Cologne: Franz Wilhelm Joseph Metternich, 1756.
- Le Brun, Laurent. *Novus apparatus Virgilii poeticus*. Cologne: Heirs of Wilhelm Metternich, 1767.
- Le Brun, Laurent. *Novus apparatus Virgilii poeticus*. Cologne: Widow of Franz Wilhelm Joseph Metternich, 1793.
- Le Brun, Laurent. *Novus apparatus Virgilii poeticus*. Cologne and Frankfurt: Heinrich Rommerskirchen, 1804.
- Clavis Virgiliana*. Oxford and London: W. Baxter, and Law and Whittaker, 1815.

Table 2: Virgilian Phrase Books

As we can see, this genre, which we might call the *synonyma* after several representative examples of it, is not restricted to one or two works as the *index verborum* was, but Laurent Le Brun (1608-1663), the author of what became the most popular eighteenth-century example, confirmed that it too was designed to be “useful and necessary for studious youth ... to make and fashion poems.”²⁴

How this worked out in practice is explained in the *Experimenta Publii Virgilii Maronis* (1550) of Iodocus Willichius (1501-1552).²⁵ Seen in isolation, this is an odd little book, but Willichius explained that “after the foundations of the art of speaking had been set out, the students were soon

²⁴ Le Brun 1767, f. π1r.

²⁵ Willichius 1550. References to this book, which is discussed further in Kallendorf forthcoming, will be placed in the text in the following.

turning their attention to style, and they were striving to master it through daily and assiduous practice” (f. A2r). Their practice should focus around Virgil:

Further in order that the treatment of our principles might better succeed, I have added exercises from Virgil, the most excellent of poets (as it is believed), as examples from one who was still a youth when he wrote them. Students will perceive them as a most pleasant and agreeable reward in their own time. This has been done in order that from the examples of that poet, the young might be more drawn to this kind of study. (f. A3(bis)r)

To aid the student in his stylistic *experimenta*, Willichius included a *Commentariolus de verborum copia*, which was divided into *verba*, *construiones*, and *figurae*, showing once again how the boundary between commentary and dictionary blurred (3). Then he moved from theory to practice, “so that in these Virgilian exercises we might offer an example of these kinds of precepts for the pleasure and use of studious youths” (26). To encourage his readers, Willichius went to a group of epigrams that circulated as youthful works of Virgil within the *opuscula* that were attributed to him in the early modern period.²⁶ For each epigram, he offered synonyms for the Virgilian words, then paraphrases, declensions, and epithets, with a prose explanation that made the book into a tool for verse composition (27-68). By following this model, the diligent student could complete his assignments and write verse that was Virgilian in vocabulary, syntax, and ornament.

Conclusion

This study shows that in order to understand what went on in early modern culture, we have to immerse ourselves in the artifacts of that culture, especially its books. When we do so, we often encounter things that do not make sense at first. Why were Virgilian word lists and books of synonyms and epithets printed and reprinted in dozens of copies over hundreds of years? And what function could volumes like Willichius’s *Experimenta* possibly have served? In isolation the artifacts remain puzzling, but once we place them into their cultural context, we can recover their meaning. Latin verse composition is seldom taught today, but it was a key element in the educational system of its time. Without books like these, it would be difficult to understand how that system worked and why it was so important.

Artifact-based studies like this one can also reveal the profound gulf that exists between past and present. As we have seen, the dictionary as a conceptual category is firmly established today but was not then, when the

²⁶ Kallendorf 2018b.

index verborum and *synonyma* served some of its functions and met the educational needs of the day. This in turn drives home the point that at all levels, the control of Latin was far greater in the early modern period than it is today. Not only must we remind ourselves that schoolchildren in the sixteenth century spoke and wrote Latin all day, every day, but the language held sway outside class as well to an extent that we might not anticipate. In describing the household of the scholar-printer Henri Estienne (1460 or 1470-1520), Jean Dorat (1508-1588) asked what else we should expect to hear but

... Latini puritas
 Sermonis & castus décor
 Nempe uxor, ancillae clientes, liberi
 (Non segnis examen domus)!
 Quo Plautus ore, quo Terentius solent
 Quotidiane colloqui.

... the purity of Latin speech
 In rev'rend elegance pronounced by each?
 His wife, his handmaids, and his clients too,
 His children (lively band) hold speeches with you
 Habitually in no other way
 Than Terence or than Plautus in a play.²⁷

In this environment, it now becomes easier to make sense of the many collections of *Iuvenilia* like those of Théodore de Bèze (1519-1605), Marc-Antoine Muret (1526-1585), and John Milton (1608-1674) and to understand how when Elizabeth I visited Oxford in 1566, she could be presented with manuscript volumes of celebratory Latin verse by those destined for later fame but could also find Latin poems pasted to the college walls by those who would remain forever anonymous.²⁸

In the end, then, the discussion of dictionaries in this essay is probably not what Johann Ramminger might have anticipated. But I hope that he will accept my expansion of the term and will continue his lexicographical work for many years to come.

²⁷ Considine 2008, 57. The translation of the poem is by Elizabeth Armstrong. We must be careful not to idealize the results of the traditional Latin education: Waquet 2001, 151-171, for example argues eloquently that even after years of instruction, many people remained far below the Estienne household in their ability to speak and understand Latin. Farrell 2001, 84-112, however, warns us not to go too far in the other direction either, for even today it is difficult to speak of Latin as really being a 'dead' language.

²⁸ Knight 2017, 55, 64.

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QUESTIONI IMBARAZZANTI:



La lessicografia latina a confronto con le parole oscene¹

Di Roberta Marchionni

As in any language, so too in Latin obscene words are inextricably linked to the psychology of the individual. In this article, the focus is shifted from those who simply use the words to those who study their characteristics, the lexicographers. Using obscene words as litmus test, a number of works by ancient, medieval, humanistic and modern lexicographers have been examined to identify any differences over the centuries in approaches and strategies in the treatment of words that force especially scholars to acknowledge their attitudes to certain areas of life.

“I want to check to see how *cunt* was defined for the Dictionary”. “Esme Lizzie looked desperate “You can’t say that word out loud!” “So you know it?” “No. Well, I know *of* it. I know it’s not a word for polite society. You mustn’t say it, Essymay”. “All right”, I said, delighted at the effect the word had. “Let’s just call it the *C-word*.” “Let’s not call it anything. There is no reason it ever needs to be used”.

Pip Williams, *The Dictionary of Lost Words*, 2020

A dissipare ogni dubbio sul fatto che i latini considerassero alcune parole della loro lingua estremamente oscene² e come tali non pronunciabili in

¹ Idea e ispirazione di questa ricerca è stato l’articolo di Coker 2019 in cui si affronta l’approccio alle parole oscene nei lessici di greco antico, in particolare nel Liddell-Scott.

² E con ‘oscene’ intendo parole che indicano pratiche ed organi sessuali o legati alla sfera della scatology, ma che non fanno parte del lessico medico o biologico (con un’interessante eccezione, la traduzione latina di Sorano v. p. 126). Per l’aggettivo latino *obscenus*, parola antica ed usata già da Ennio e Lucilio, e la cui etimologia dava del filo da torcere già a Varrone (ling. 7, 96 sq.), mi limito a rimandare al ThIL vol. IX, 2, 158, 46 sqq. (Kuhlmann 1968), ed a Dutsch-Suter 2015, questi ultimi con abbondante bibliografia sul tema. Contrariamente all’*usus*, indico per gli articoli del ThIL autore ed anno di pubblicazione; soprattutto il secondo mi sembra abbia una certa rilevanza per il modo in cui venne trattato nel tempo l’argomento di cui ci stiamo occupando (non dimendichiamo che, per esempio, l’articolo *cunnus* è del 1909, *pedico* nel 1992).

pubblico, ci pensa Cicerone, con questa graziosa, quanto citatissima, testimonianza tratta dal suo *orator* (154):

Quid, illud non olet unde sit, quod dicitur cum illis, cum autem nobis non dicitur, sed nobiscum? Quia si ita diceretur, obscenius concurrerent litterae, ut etiam modo, nisi autem interposuissem, concurrissent.

E che, non è perfettamente chiaro perché diciamo *cum illis*, ma *nobiscum* piuttosto che *cum nobis*? Che se si dicesse così, le lettere si incontrerebbero in modo osceno, come sarebbe accaduto ora, se non avessi inserito *autem* tra *cum* e *nobis*.

A quanto pare l'idea di pronunciare, anche solo per sbaglio, per svista, la parola *cunnus* (fica),³ o qualcosa che le somigliasse, una 'parolaccia' insomma, era motivo di preoccupazione per l'oratore, per il quale provocare una risata nell'auditorio, magari nel momento più drammatico, al culmine della suspense costruita ad arte durante l'arringa, doveva apparire come il peggiore degli incubi.⁴ Cicerone sapeva dunque che il pubblico era più che pronto a cogliere l'imbroglione linguistico, non diversamente da una classe di adolescenti (e non solo) in una qualsiasi aula dei nostri giorni. E questo la dice lunga sul fatto che la parola *cunnus* fosse ben nota in ogni strato sociale.⁵ Ma un conto è conoscerla, un altro usarla;⁶ e se agli anonimi autori di graffiti, che del vocabolario osceno in generale sono i nostri fedeli testimoni,⁷ e che ne fecero un uso generoso, si affiancarono autori raffinatissimi come Catullo

³ E' questa la parola italiana che, a mio avviso, si avvicina di più al latino *cunnus*. Dall'*Enciclopedia Treccani* s. v. "lat. tardo *fica* per *ficus* 'fico'; il sign. fig. era già nel gr. *σῦκον* 'fico'". Sulla traduzione dei termini osceni latini nei vocabolari in lingua moderna v. sotto, pp. 147 sqq.

⁴ Il fenomeno del *kakemphaton* (v. HWRh s. v.) è ovviamente legato alla lettura a voce alta o alla declamazione di un testo, come appunto accade per le orazioni ciceroniane. Sui tabù linguistici come fenomeno che riguarda soprattutto l'oralità e sull'uso dell'eufemismo come reazione ad essi rimando a Galli de' Paratesi 1964 (un'analisi teorica "non legata in particolare a una lingua"). Più recente e dedicato al latino Uría Varela 1997 (in particolare p. 3 El tabú lingüístico e p. 55 Reflexiones antiguas sobre la interdicción lingüística: el *cacemphaton*). Sui tabù linguistici in generale si veda anche Köhnlein 2001. Un'analisi dal punto di vista psicoanalitico di questo fenomeno è offerta da Appiani 2006.

⁵ Cicerone stesso la parola l'aveva ben presente, come dimostra un'altra testimonianza, questa volta tratta dalle lettere (fam. 9, 22, 4): "Socraten fidibus docuit nobilissimus fidicen; is 'Connus' vocitatus est: num id obscenum putas?" (Un grande suonatore di lira insegnò a Socrate a suonare questo strumento; si chiamava Connos: trovi *che suoni* osceno?).

⁶ "To know of it", come si legge nel brano di Pip Williams, che ho scelto per introdurre questa ricerca, e che mi sembra sintetizzare benissimo quanto sto cercando di dire.

⁷ *Cunnus* (insieme al suo derivato *cunnilinguus*) compare nei graffiti almeno 70 volte, come *pedico*; *futuo* conta fino ad ora un'ottantina di attestazioni, *mentula* poco più di 30 ed *irrumo* 14. Resto volutamente vaga su questi numeri dato che un nuovo ritrovamento o anche solo una nuova lettura possono rendere questi dati obsoleti. Per l'uso delle parole oscene nei graffiti rinvio a Rocchi-Marchionni 2021 ed alla bibliografia ivi raccolta.

e Orazio,⁸ ma soprattutto Marziale, la maggior parte della letteratura e tutta la prosa latina⁹ (eccezion fatta, appunto, per i graffiti) rimasero fedeli all'imperativo ciceroniano di non scrivere *cunnus* nemmeno per sbaglio.

Fin qui, nulla che possa stupirci: la poesia è sempre più innovativa ed audace della prosa, tesa a creare immagini potenti e per questo anche pronta a rompere tabù linguistici ed a pescare nel gergo volgare, popolare appunto.

Interessante è invece che la 'censura' della prosa latina sia stata recepita attivamente dagli studiosi di questa lingua, trasformandosi in un atteggiamento permeato di imbarazzi e reticenze da parte di chi, queste parole, deve spiegarle, commentarle o tradurle.¹⁰ I lessicografi, tra i latinisti, hanno un rapporto privilegiato con le parole, scavano nella loro storia, ne indagano i significati, gli usi, i registri linguistici, ne svelano tutte quelle preziose sfaccettature che arricchiscono il sapere, la comprensione e, con questi, la capacità di trarre piacere dal testo. Da loro ci aspetteremmo un approccio scevro da tabù e imbarazzi.

Ma è davvero così? Per scoprirlo, ho analizzato alcune testimonianze lessicografiche, partendo da quelle antiche per arrivare, attraverso i vocabolari medievali e umanistici, da un lato ai dizionari in lingua moderna, dall'altro al *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*. Al centro di questa analisi si trova l'approccio della lessicografia ad un piccolo gruppo di parole oscene, un campione da me scelto in base alle conclusioni di Adams nel fondamentale lavoro *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*, uscito per la prima volta a Londra nel 1982.¹¹ Le parole sono *ceveo* (sbatto, agito il culo), *criso* (agito, sbatto i fianchi), *culus* (culo), *futuo* (scopo), *irrumo* (infilo in bocca [sc. il pene]), *mentula* (verga) e *pedico* (inculo) e, naturalmente, *cunnus*.¹²

⁸ Anche se il caso di Orazio va trattato diversamente a se, v. sotto pp. 152 sq.

⁹ Mi muovo nei confini temporali posti dal *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*, dunque dall'inizio, da Livio Andronico, per intenderci, ad Isidoro.

¹⁰ Alcuni di noi ricordano ancora i puntini di sospensione nelle traduzioni di Catullo, tra quelle che hanno subito di più i devastanti effetti della pruderie. Cito un esempio particolarmente ameno, la prefazione dell'edizione di C. J. Fordyce del 1961: „a few poems which do not lend themselves to comment in English have been omitted”.

¹¹ Adams usa un criterio tanto semplice quanto indiscutibile per definire quelle parole latine che vanno considerate oscene (p. 2): “Those words (sc. *mentula*, *uerpa*, *cunnus*, *coleus*, *futuo*, *pedico*, *irrumo*, *fello*, *ceueo*, *criso*) ... have a distinctive distribution: they are common in graffiti and epigrams (?) (Catullus, Martial, the *Corpus Priapeorum*, but almost entirely absent from other varieties of literature (including satire, if one excludes the first book of Horace's *Sermones*) ... There are signs that *mentula*, *cunnus*, *culus*, *futuo*, *pedico* and *irrumo* were more offensive than *coleus*, *fello*, *ceueo* and *criso*”.

¹² Tutte le parole oscene latine sono state tradotte con il termine italiano considerato più rispondente, anche tenendo conto del registro linguistico (v. sopra nota 3). Alcune precisazioni: *ceveo* e *criso* sembrano indicare il movimento dell'uomo o della donna che, in un rapporto sessuale, svolge il ruolo ricettivo, da qui la somiglianza nella traduzione. Per *futuo* preferisco la traduzione 'scopare' a 'fottere' dato che il secondo in italiano è meno

Lessicografia antica

I lessicografi antichi o gli autori in generale che son soliti fornirci informazioni lessicografiche sulle parole,¹³ non si pronunciano mai sui lemmi che ci interessano.¹⁴ Bisogna aspettare il V sec. ed un testo medico, la traduzione latina di Sorano di Efeso,¹⁵ per trovare una testimonianza su *cunnus* ed il suo significato (p. 9,4):

sinus muliebris est ... membranum nervosum ..., in quo coitus virorum et usus venerius efficitur; quem vulgo cunnum appellant

la vagina ... è una membrana fibrosa ... in cui si compie il coito con gli uomini e l'atto sessuale; viene volgarmente detta *cunnus*.¹⁶

È il verbo *futuo* l'unico lemma della nostra lista a guadagnarsi l'attenzione di Prisciano (siamo nella prima metà del VI sec.), che ce ne parla più di una volta. La testimonianza più interessante del grammatico è la seguente (II 556, 10):

nec nos moveat, quod sunt quaedam verba, quae naturaliter ad mares pertinent vel ad feminas, quae videntur exigere, ut participia vel masculina sint solum vel feminina, ut 'futuo, nubo', 'futuens, nubens' – nam illud ad mares, hoc ad feminas pertinet solum.

non ci sorprenda che ci sono verbi che per natura si riferiscono o agli uomini o alle donne, che dunque sembrano aver bisogno di participi

volgare del verbo corrispondente latino. Per *mentula* preferisco 'verga' ad altre possibilità per rimanere nell'ambito delle 'metafore botaniche'.

La ricerca non ha alcuna pretesa di essere esaustiva, non tutte le parole che possono essere considerate oscene sono state prese in considerazione, così come non ho consultato tutti i testi che potrebbero contenere informazioni al proposito (ad esempio, i commenti medievali agli autori, così prodighi di materiale lessicografico). Spero ugualmente che gli esempi presentati siano sufficienti ad individuare perlomeno delle tendenze sul modo di approcciare questi termini nel corso dei secoli.

¹³ Intendo in primo luogo Festo, Nonio, Isidoro, ma anche i grandi commentatori del Tardo Antico. Sulla lessicografia latina antica si veda Bertini 1981.

¹⁴ Nonio ha due volte *p(a)edicare*, ma solo all'interno dei frammenti da lui citati (POMPON. Atell. 148 e LABER. mim. 21).

¹⁵ Per Sorano v. Hanson- Green 1994; per la traduzione in latino Prenner 2012.

¹⁶ Il testo greco è τὸ δὲ γυναικεῖον αἰδοῖον καὶ κόλπος ὀνόμασται γυναικεῖος. (p. 11, 7 Illberg). La presenza di *cunnus* in simile contesto desta sorpresa, trattandosi di una parola, come sottolinea Prenner p. 48: "presentata dall'autore semplicemente come volgare, popolare, ma che in realtà si configura quale vera e propria *vox obscaena* ... contravvenendo così a quella prassi per cui il lessico relativo a determinate parti anatomiche è caratterizzato in genere da un richiamo a sentimenti di pudore e rispetto".

solo maschili o solo femminili, come *futuo*, *nubo*, *futuens*, *nubens* – infatti quello si riferisce solo agli uomini, questo solo alle donne.¹⁷

Il grammatico ritiene dunque che *futuo* venga usato per definire l'atto sessuale dell'uomo, che il participio, dunque, possa essere solo maschile, a meno che, continua, non ci si trovi in un contesto ironico o figurato,¹⁸ cosa che non viene del tutto smentita dagli studi recenti.¹⁹

I pochi altri sporadici tentativi di spiegare in qualche modo i lemmi vengono dai commentatori tardo antichi o dalle glosse. Quest'ultime si limitano per lo più ad affiancare al lemma il suo corrispondente greco, con pochissime eccezioni riguardanti solo *ceveo*, *criso* e *culus*. Eccole:²⁰

ceveo est clunes agito. *cevet*: inclinatur. inclinatur se vel insidiat. *ceve*: inclina te, GLOSS. II 357, 6 (*ceveo* significa agito le natiche. *cevet*: piegarsi. si piega o si siede. *ceve*: piegati).

ceventem: inclinatum ad stuprum et sustinentem, SCHOL. Iuv. 2, 21 (*ceventem*: piegato in avanti per l'atto sessuale.).

cevet: crisat crisat, SCHOL. Iuv. 9, 40 (*cevet*: agita, agita).

ceves: molles et obscaenos clunium motus significant, SCHOL. Pers. 1, 87 (*ceves*: indica il movimento flessibile ed osceno delle natiche).

culus: naticas. anus, GLOSS. II 576, 3 (*culus*: natiche, ano).

Riassumendo: la lessicografia latina antica ci dà solo pochissimi dati sui lemmi osceni: 1) *cunnus* è parola volgare (Sorano) 2) *futuo* esprime l'azione compiuta dall'uomo durante l'atto sessuale (Prisciano). 3) *ceveo* significa inclinarsi per l'atto sessuale ed in almeno un caso viene glossato con *criso*. Ritroveremo alcune di queste informazioni nei lessicografi medievali.

¹⁷ Le altre due testimonianze sono simili: II 473, 11 “*futuo*, cuius participium ... ad mares solos pertinent” (*futuo*, il cui participio si riferisce solo agli uomini) e 486, 32 “*futuo* devirgino” (*futuo* svergino).

¹⁸ Prisciano stesso ce ne dà un esempio (ancora II 556, 10): “bona anima futuit illam feminam” (quella buon'anima si è scopata quella donna).

¹⁹ Su circa 80 attestazioni di *futuo*, ne conosco solo tre – e si tratta sempre di graffiti – in cui l'oggetto è un uomo, CIL IV 2188, IV 4977 e CIL XIV 5291, 3c; almeno nel secondo caso, dove leggiamo “hic ad callinicum futui orem anum amicum” (qui da Callinico ho chiavato la bocca e il culo, l'amico) si può pensare ad una battuta. Il graffito è ambiguo, anche per l'eccentrico uso di *futuo orem* (per *os*) al posto di *irrumo*. Per la discussione al proposito rimando a Rocchi - Marchionni 2021, 72 e 86.

²⁰ Per le glosse greche rimando ai rispettivi articoli del ThL. Nell'articolo *ceveo* sono raccolte anche le testimonianze dei grammatici relative alla morfologia del verbo.

Lessicografia medievale²¹

I compilatori medievali di lessici si rivelano più generosi di informazioni sui lemmi osceni, o almeno su alcuni di essi.²² Il più antico di loro, Papia, nel suo *Elementarium doctrinae rudimentum*²³ ha queste voci:

Ceueo es **turpiter** agere. Ceuens crissans clunem agitans, 40v (*ceueo* è agire in modo turpe. *Ceuens crissans* muovendo le natiche).

Crissare ceueo clunem movere, 52r (*Crissare ceueo* muovere le natiche).

Culus dictus quasi currus, quod per eum interiora discurrant, 53v (Si dice *culus* come (se fosse) *currus*, dato che, attraversandolo, le viscere si svuotano).

Cunus est foramen, 53v (*Cunus* significa foro).

Non menziona *futuo*, *irrumo*, *mentula* e *pedico*.

Un secolo dopo, nelle *Derivationes* del monaco benedettino inglese Osberno da Gloucester,²⁴ troveremo solo *ceueo* e *cris(s)o*:

Ceueo, cullum movere sicut faciunt incumbendo. Iuuenalis ‘ego te ceuentem Sexte verebor’, c 150 (*Ceueo* è muovere il sedere come fa chi si curva. Giovenale [2, 21]: ‘Dovrei aver riguardo di te, Sesto, che muovi il sedere?’).

Ceueo, clunes movere. Persius ‘bellum hoc an Romule ceues?’ c 425 (*Ceueo* è muovere le natiche. Persio [1, 87]: ‘bello? ma sbatti anche le natiche, Romolo?’).

Crissare, fricare, ceueo. Iuuenalis: ‘numen crissantis adorat’, c 428 (*Crissare*, strofinare, *ceueo*. Giovenale [6, 322]: ‘adora la divinità di chi muove i fianchi’).²⁵

²¹ Non si sottolineerà mai abbastanza quanto sia lenta e penosa la consultazione su manoscritti o stampe di testi di cui non esistono edizioni moderne (v. ad es. Papia o Tortelli), soprattutto se si pensa che in queste opere l’ordine alfabetico, quando c’è, riguarda spesso solo la prima o le prime lettere di una parola, e viene a volte sospeso a favore del metodo delle *derivationes*, tipico della lessicografia medievale, secondo il quale si elencano, dopo una parola, tutti i suoi composti e derivati (veri o ritenuti tali).

²² Una visione d’insieme sulla lessicografia medievale in Weijers 1989.

²³ Datato da Weijers 1989, 141 al 1041. Solo la lettera A dell’*Elementarium* è accessibile in un’edizione moderna (Papia 1977–1980); per il resto ho consultato la stampa di Milano del 1476, stampatore Dominicus de Vespolate ISTC ip00077500 (online).

²⁴ Accessibile nell’edizione in due volumi di Busdraghi (Osberno 1996).

²⁵ Nel testo di Giovenale leggiamo oggi *fluctum* (*frictum*, *fructum* var. 1.).

Al passo (F lix 1-8) “futuo ... quod etiam dicitur fututo, as” alcuni manoscritti aggiungono *et futuo as invenitur*. Su *futio* v. DMLBS s. v. (‘backformed from effutire’). Segnalo la presenza di *cunire*, (c558) *Cunire*, *stercus facere*, che Osberno mutua da Festo (p. 50), e su cui tornerò.

Siamo così giunti a Uguccone da Pisa, che verso la metà del XII sec. compose le *Magnae Derivationes*, il vocabolario di maggior diffusione nel Medio Evo.²⁶ Uguccone ci offre molte più informazioni dei suoi predecessori:

[1] CEVEO -ves -vi, verbum neutrum et caret supino, idest culum movere, sicut faciunt in concumbendo, et est proprie cevere quod homines faciunt superius, sicut crissari quod faciunt mulieres inferius; [2] vel cevere est virorum inter se, crissari mulierum inter se. Iuvenalis (2, 21) ‘ego te ceventem, Sexte, verebor’, c 156

CEVEO -ves -vi, verbo neutro, non ha il supino, significa muovere il culo, come si fa quando ci si corica, e propriamente *cevere* è ciò che fanno gli uomini stando sopra, come *crissari* ciò che fanno le donne stando sotto; oppure *cevere* indica quello che fanno gli uomini tra loro e *crissari* quello che tra loro fanno le donne. Giovenale (2, 21) ‘dovrei aver riguardo di te, Sesto, che muovi il culo?’.

[8] item a colo hic culus -li quia per ipsum colantur que deponuntur, c219 (e così da *colo culus -li*, perchè attraverso questo vengono eliminati gli escrementi).

[1] CUNUS -ni, idest foramen, occulta via et subterranea, unde hic cuniculus -li ... [4] Item a cunus hic cunnus -ni, quia foratus est et occultus; vel, quod melius est, cunio -nis cunivi cunire, verbum neutrum, idest putrescere vel stercus facere, et hinc hic cunnus ... [5] Item a cunio per compositionem inquino -as, idest maculare c 271

[1] CUNUS -ni, cioè foro, via nascosta e sotterranea, da cui *cuniculus -li* ... Da *cunus* viene anche *cunnus -ni*, perchè è forato e nascosto; oppure, anzi meglio, da *cunio -nis cunivi cunire*, verbo neutro, che significa marcire o produrre sterco, e da qui deriva *cunnus* ... [5] Da *cunio* il composto *inquino -as*, cioè sporcare ...

CRISSOR -aris, idest fricare, cevere; sed crissari est quod mulier subtus facit, cevere quod vir desuper, vel crissari est mulierum inter se sicut virorum cevere est inter se; Iuvenalis ‘ipsa Medulline factum crissantis adorat’ c 307

CRISSOR -aris, cioè strofinare, *cevere*; ma *crissari* è ciò che la donna fa (stando) sotto, *cevere* ciò che l’uomo fa (stando) sopra, oppure *crissari* è proprio delle donne (che si accoppiano) tra loro come *cevere* è degli uomini (che si accoppiano) tra loro; Giovenale (6, 322): ‘adora quanto fa Medullina che muove sinuosamente i fianchi’.

²⁶ Usato anche da Dante, che lo cita nel Convivio (4, 6, 5). Di Uguccone esiste un’edizione moderna (Uguccone 2004). Anche su di lui v. Weijers.

Item a futis descendit illud verbum satis commune, per quod iactura humani generis restauratur, scilicet futuo -is -tui -tutum vel -tuitum: qui enim talem actum exercet aliquid fundit, f 64

Da *futis* viene anche quel verbo assai volgare, (che descrive l'azione) tramite la quale si compensa la perdita del genere umano, vale a dire *futuo -is -tui -tutum* o *-tuitum*: chi compie tale atto, infatti, versa qualcosa.²⁷

Riassumendo: *ceveo* e *cris(s)o* sono le parole presenti in tutti i testi consultati. Queste due parole, oltre ad essere rare e dunque particolarmente bisognose di spiegazioni,²⁸ sono anche, e forse proprio per questo, le uniche che troviamo nelle glosse o nei commentatori antichi giunti fino a noi, esistevano insomma nelle fonti di Papia e Uguccone. Alle informazioni che ricava da Papia (corrispondenti grosso modo ai significati oggi riconosciuti per queste parole), Uguccone aggiunge la notizia che *ceveo* sarebbe proprio dell'uomo, *crisso* della donna; oppure *ceveo* descriverebbe l'atto sessuale tra uomini e *crisso* quello tra donne.²⁹ L'idea che il vocabolario sessuale, in particolare che i verbi latini usati per descrivere atti sessuali, fossero in qualche modo 'specializzati' o esclusivi di un sesso rispetto ad un altro³⁰ era dunque già presente nel medioevo.³¹ Di *culus* Papia ci offre un'azzardata etimologia, non accettata da Uguccone, ripresa solo dal Balbi e di cui, non ci stupisce, non si troverà più traccia.

Su *cunnus* Papia è lapidario (*est foramen*), ma forse non sta commentando la parola incubo di Cicerone: Uguccone, che senza ombra di dubbio si basa su questo passo di Papia, ha un lemma *cunus, foramen*, da cui, come ci dice,

²⁷ Ho consultato anche il *Catholicon* di Giovanni Balbi (anche noto come Giovanni da Genova), portato a termine nel 1286, nell'edizione di Magonza del 1460. Gran parte del materiale che troviamo in Giovanni dipende dai suoi predecessori, ed anche nel caso dei nostri lemmi non aggiunge niente che non sia già in Papia o Uguccone. E' per esempio l'unico a riprendere la bizzarra etimologia di *culus* che leggiamo in Papia. Per *cunnus* unisce le informazioni da entrambi. Come in Papia e Uguccone, Giovanni non ha *irrumo, mentula* e *pedico*.

Annoto qui una curiosità: alla voce *ceveo* (f. 109r) Giovanni scrive: "Servius: 'Est cevere viri sed crissari mulierum'" (*cevere* si dice dell'uomo, *crissari* delle donne). Di una simile affermazione di Servio non c'è traccia; mi chiedo dunque se l'autore del *Catholicon* abbia semplicemente travisato un'abbreviazione per *vel* o *unde*, presente nella copia di Uguccone che stava consultando. In effetti, più avanti, parlando di *cri(s)so* (f. 128 v), ripete quasi con le stesse parole la citazione, questa volta introducendola: *unde quidam*.

²⁸ *ceveo* è attestata una volta in Plauto, una in Marziale, 2 in Giovenale ed una in Persio, una sola volta nei graffiti (CIL IV 4977). *cris(s)o* vien usato una volta da Lucilio, due da Marziale, una in Giovenale ed una nei Priapea; nei graffiti compare una sola volta (pubblicata in Gregori - Massaro 2015, 134 cf. Rocchi - Marchionni 2021, scheda 13).

²⁹ Tutte informazioni riprese più o meno fedelmente da Giovanni Balbi.

³⁰ Vedi quanto detto sopra (pp. 136 sq. e nota 19) a proposito di *futuo*.

³¹ E già in Prisciano, come abbiamo visto.

deriverebbe *cunus*, *quia foratus est et occultus*. Ne propone inoltre un'altra possibile etimologia, questa volta da *cunio* ... *stercus facere*. *Cunire* è presente con queste precise parole in Festo, da lui passato nella Glossa V 495, 67, una glossa che compare anche in Osberno, ma senza alcun riferimento a *cunus*.³² Mancando altre testimonianze, sembrerebbe Ugucione il primo a mettere in relazione questo lemma con *cunio*. I moderni etimologisti non escludono un rapporto tra i due, ma nella direzione opposta (de Vaan 2008 s. v.): “For all we know, *cuniō* is a derivative of (the stem of) *cunus*”.

Per il resto, il tono resta generalmente essenziale e non compaiono i giudizi di valore con cui avremo a che fare più avanti. Solo Papia, a proposito di *ceveo*, annota *turpiter agere*, mentre Ugucione, parlando di *futuo*, lo definisce *communis*, ‘volgare’ per poi sottolineare l'importanza ai fini della riproduzione.³³

Sull'assenza di *irrumo mentula* e *pedico* dai vocabolari medievali si può solo speculare: non credo che questi lemmi apparissero più osceni degli altri, e dunque indegni di venir accettati nelle raccolte; probabilmente l'assenza di questi lemmi dalle fonti avrà influenzato la scelta di Papia e degli altri lessicografi medievali.

Lessicografia umanistica³⁴

Arrivati agli umanisti dobbiamo constatare una certa riservatezza rispetto alle parole oscene. Giovanni Tortelli, l'autore dell' *Orthographia*³⁵ commenta solo *pedico*, limitandosi ad informazioni sull'ortografia e sull'etimologia³⁶:

³² P. 50 “*cunire est stercus facere, unde et inquinare*” (*cunire* significa produrre sterco, da cui *inquinare*).

³³ Servendosi di un'espressione ovidiana (met. 1, 246): “*est tamen humani generis iactura dolori omnibus*” (pure addolora tutti [gli dei] la perdita del genere umano).

³⁴ Sul tema rimando a Abbamonte 2012. Nel volume si trovano informazioni su tutti gli autori ed i lessici qui esaminati. A parte il *Cornu Copiae* di Perotti (v. pp. 142 sqq.), nessuno di questi è accessibile in un'edizione critica.

³⁵ Per il quale rinvio a Manfredi, Marsico et alii 2016, in particolare al contributo di Gemma Donati, 135-169. Come lamentava la stessa Donati 2006 (premessa) “uno dei fondamentali strumenti grammaticali prodotti dall'umanesimo, è un documento di grande interesse per indagare le conoscenze ortografiche etimologiche e lessicali del tempo grazie ai complessi intrecci fra persistenza della tradizione medievale, volontà di restauro del latino classico e rinnovata apertura al mondo greco, eppure non solo manca di un'edizione ma perfino di studi sistematici e approfonditi”. Ho consultato l'opera nel Vat. lat. 1478, accessibile online.

³⁶ Del resto l' *Orthographia* di Tortelli nasce, in primo luogo, come lessico che intende spiegare l'ortografia traslitterata in latino e il significato di termini greci.

paedico cum ae diphthongo et in latino atque c exili scribitur et similiter a ΠΑΙC qui est puer deducitur atque apud nos puerarius interpretatur. Is est qui pueros ob libidinem affectatur, f. 257r³⁷

paedico con il dittongo *ae* e si scrive con la *c* semplice e deriva da *pais*, che significa *puer* (ragazzo), così come da noi da *puer* deriva *puerarius*, colui che va dietro ai ragazzini per libidine.

Lorenzo Valla, forse anche per restar fedele al titolo della sua opera, le *Elegantie*,³⁸ evita in questa ogni parola del gruppo, eccezion fatta per *mentula*, regalandocene la bizzarra etimologia da *mens* che, per quanto sono riuscita a vedere, compare qui per la prima volta (siamo nel capitolo *de nominibus diminutivis*):

auricula vero rite formatur, sed significatione dissentit: namque cartilago illa est circum aurium concavitatem, non autem parva auris. mentula quoque quae non parvam mentem significat, sed virilia, 1, 5

La parola *auricula* segue le regole per la forma, ma per quanto riguarda il significato no: infatti indica la cartilagine e non un ‘orecchio piccolo’. *Mentula* si comporta allo stesso modo, dato che non significa ‘piccola mente’, ma il membro maschile.

Giuniano Maio, nel *De priscorum proprietate verborum*,³⁹ ritenne invece degno di menzione solo *futuo*. Come lui stesso afferma, la sua fonte è Prisciano:

Nubo mulieris est proprium futuo uero uiri, sed figurate uel **perverso naturae ordine** praepostere dicuntur. Pris(cianus),

Nubo è proprio della donna, *futuo* invece dell’uomo, ma si possono invertire in senso figurato, o rovesciando l’ordine naturale. Prisciano.

Le testimonianze sin qua raccolte tramandateci dalla lessicografia umanistica non costituiscono affatto un passo avanti rispetto ai risultati di quella medievale, e si possono senz’altro definire deludenti. È con il *Cornu copiae*

³⁷ L’etimologia si trova ancora in Walde-Hofmann II 233 (*a gr. παιδικά*), ma v. ThL s. v.

³⁸ Valla 1540, accessibile nella ristampa di Eugenio Garin, su cui si basano anche le *Concordantiae* che hanno reso più agevole la mia ricerca (Garcia Pinilla, Ignacio J. –Herraiz Pareja, Marcos J. 1997), e nell’edizione di S. López Moreda del 1999. Come dice Abbamonte (p. 21) le *Elegantie* “non sono *strictu sensu* un’opera lessicografica, ma forniscono la spiegazione di centinaia di termini”. Per far un esempio, Valla riporta l’etimologia di *meretrix* da *mereor*, ed il paragrafo (4, 110) continua in questo modo: “e scorta mascula pueri meritorii vocantur ...; quidam aiunt hos pueros, dici catamitos, quod mihi non videtur, sed potius concubinos”.

³⁹ Che cito da una stampa del 1490. Su Maio, il suo metodo ed il suo rapporto con i lessicografi del suo tempo, v. Abbamonte, 95 sqq.

di Niccoló Perotti che incontriamo un'opera lessicografica ricca di materiale anche per quanto riguarda i lemmi che ci interessano:⁴⁰

culus: Item **colus**, qui postea **culus** dictus, et alio nomine **podex**, quod foedo libidinis pruritu colitur, hoc est: foditur, exercetur, seminatur ... Vnde fit **inquinor** passivum ... Item **clunes**, hoc est nates, quod culo propinquaes sint ... 83 Quidam inquino ... á **cunio** deductum putant. Cunire enim est stercus facere, tractum á cunis infantium, quae frequenter stercore fedantur ... 84 Et **coleus**, qui et **testis** et per diminutionem **testiculus** uocitatur, quod colat mulieris pubem quasi agrum serat que. Et **coles**, uirile membrum, á quo colei pendent, cuius suprema pars **glans** appellatur; et pellicula quae glandem tegit, **praeputium**, 3, 82-84

culus: colus, poi detto *culus* e, con un'altra parola, *podex*, perché viene 'coltivato' dallo spregevole impulso della libidine, e cioè scavato, trattato, seminato ... Da cui viene il verbo passivo *inquinor* ... Anche *clunes*, cioè natiche, perché sono vicine al culo...Alcuni ritengono che *inquino* ... venga da *cunio*. *Cunire* significa infatti produrre sterco, e deriva dalle *cunae* (culle) dei neonati, che spesso si sporcano di feci. ...E *coleus* (scroto), detto anche *testis* e, nel diminutivo, *testiculus*, perché coltiva il pube della donna e lo semina come se fosse un campo. E *coles*, il membro virile, da cui pendono i *colei*, la cui parte superiore è detta *glans* (glande); e la pelle che copre il glande è il *praeputium*.

cunnilingus: Et **lingo**, quod proprie est lingua aliquid lambo, á quo foedissimum hominum genus **cunnilingi** dicuntur, 3, 520

cunnilingus: lingo, significa propriamente leccare qualcosa con la lingua, e da qui certi uomini assai spregevoli vengono detti *cunnilingi*.

futuo: Et **futire**, effluere; á quo **effutire** ... **Futuere** quoque obscenum uerbum hinc declinatum est, qum nihil aliud sit quam semen, hoc est genituram, effundere, 2, 660

futuo: futire, sgorgare, da cui *effutire* (versar fuori) Da esso deriva anche *futuere*, verbo osceno, dato che non significa altro che versare il seme, cioè il principio della vita.

irrumo: (MART. epigr. 1) **Rumam** ueteres uocabant mammam, a qua **rumare** pro lactare dictum est, quasi mammam in rumen immittere,

⁴⁰ Il *Cornu copiae*, concepito come commento a Marziale, finì per diventare una vera e propria summa del sapere umanistico. L'opera del grande umanista è accessibile nella monumentale edizione curata tra gli altri da J.-L. Charlet, Marianne Pade e Johann Ramminger, in 8 volumi, uscita a Sassoferrato, sua città natale, dal 1989 al 2001. Perotti non portò a termine il suo intento, riuscendo a commentare solo il *De spectaculis* di Marziale e parte del primo libro (147 epigrammi). V. anche Abbamonte, 76 sqq.

Vnde et **irrumare** deductum, foedae significationis uerbum, quod penis in os quasi sugendus immittatur, 1, 140

irrumo Gli antichi chiamavano **ruma** la mammella, per questo si dice **rumare** per allattare, quasi mettere la mammella in gola, e da qui deriva anche **irrumare**, verbo dal significato spregevole, perché il pene viene messo in bocca come per farlo succhiare.

Felare enim sugere est ... Huius contrarium est **irrumare**, de quo supra diximus, quasi penem in rumen immittere. Felant cinaedi, drauci irrumant. Item alii, qui hoc genere turpissimi coitus delectantur, quod ferè senibus et iam eff<o>etis solet accidere. Á felare et irrumare **felari** et **irrumari** passiva sint et **felatio** et **irrumatio**. Mulieribus etiam hoc vitium accidit, à quo **felatrices** dicuntur, 32, 50

Felare significa succhiare ... Il suo contrario è *irrumare*, di cui abbiamo parlato sopra, quasi ‘mettere il pene in bocca’. I passivi succhiano, gli attivi mettono in bocca (il pene)]. Il trarre piacere da questo spregevolissimo tipo di rapporto sessuale succede anche ad altri, per esempio a chi è già vecchio e debole. Da *felare* e *irrumare* si costruiscono i passivi *felari* e *irrumari* e *felatio* e *irrumatio*. Questo vizio ce l’hanno anche le donne che, per questo, vengono dette *felatrices*.

mentula: Item á mente **mentula** hoc est genitale membrum, quod matres sive nutrices infantium virilia blandiendo tangentes mentulam hoc est parvam mentem appellare consueverunt, quemadmodum ora dissuauantes **animulam** hoc est parvam animam et **corculum** hoc est paruum cor uocitare solitae sunt. Item ab eadem **menta**, quoniam eius odore mens hoc est animus excitatur, sicut sapore ciborum audivitas: herba est uulgo nota,⁴¹ 44, 12

mentula da *mens* (mente) **mentula**, cioè il membro fecondatore, perché le madri o le nutrici coccolando i bambini e toccandone il pene son solite chiamarlo *mentula*, cioè piccola mente, nello stesso modo in cui, baciandone il viso, son solite chiamarlo *animula*, cioè piccola anima, o *corculum*, cioè cuoricino. Dalla stessa parola viene *menta*, dal momento che la mente, cioè l’anima, si eccita al suo odore, proprio come l’appetito viene risvegliato dal sapore dei cibi. È un’erba comunemente nota.

Praeterea **paedico** uerbum, quod proprie significat puerum comprimo, sed inter clunes et femina. Nam intra podicem non paedicare, sed **praecidere** dicitur, quamuis aliquando confundantur. Ab hoc

⁴¹ A 64, 3 e 64, 7 Perotti commenta *mentula* usato da Marziale per *verborum lascivia*.

paedicones dicuntur, qui puerorum amores sectantur, et dici latine puerarii possunt, 28, 34

E poi il verbo *paedico*, che propriamente significa stuprare un ragazzo, ma tra le natiche, (cosa che si può fare) anche con una donna. Infatti penetrare l'ano non si dice *paedicare*, ma *praecidere*, anche se ogni tanto i due verbi vengono confusi. Da qui vengono chiamati *paedicones* coloro che bramano l'amore dei ragazzi, e che in latino possono venir chiamati anche *puerarii*.

Riassumendo: tra i testi presi in considerazione, solo il *Cornu copiae* di Niccolò Perotti offre informazioni sui lemmi osceni. La sua dipendenza dai lessicografi medievali, per queste parole, se c'è è minima; del resto le uniche parole che ha in comune con questi sono *culus* e *futuo*,⁴² mentre si attarda sui lemmi che non comparivano in Papia e negli altri. Sicuramente, nel commentare la parola *mentula*, Perotti aveva presente l'etimologia da *mens* proposta da Valla nelle *Elegantiae*:⁴³ nel *Cornu copiae* ne troviamo una versione ampliata, la parola viene vista come un diminutivo del tipo 'voce infantile', un eufemismo metaforico. Secondo Perotti le mamme lo usano come vezzeggiativo per il proprio bebè mentre l'accudiscono, insomma, per intenderci, si tratterebbe di qualcosa di simile all'italiano 'pisellino'. Di questa etimologia non si trova traccia nei vocabolari etimologici moderni e l'uso che gli antichi fecero di *mentula*, in contesti appunto volgari, osceni, tutt'altro che affettuosi, mi sembra evocare scenari opposti a quello dipinto per noi da Perotti.⁴⁴ Per il momento, l'etimologia resta un'invenzione del Valla o del suo tempo.⁴⁵

Passiamo a *irrumo*: tra i testi consultati fino ad ora, è il *Cornu copiae* quello in cui il lemma viene spiegato per la prima volta. Perotti non si imbarazza e va al punto, si tratta di *quasi penem in rumen immittere*, e per

⁴² Solo l'etimologia di *futuo* da *futio* ricorda quanto afferma Uguccione e, sulla sua scia, Balbi.

⁴³ Come riconosce F. Stock, l'editore del VI vol. del *Cornu copiae*, v. apparato dei *loci paralleli*. Per i rapporti tra i due umanisti v. Pade 2000.

⁴⁴ Ma sul fatto che un diminutivo possa esprimere affetto e/o disprezzo, rimando a Jurafsky 1996 ed al suo modello radiale universale, basato sui concetti di "child" e "small", con tutte gli sviluppi, anche negativi, della seconda categoria.

⁴⁵ Solo Leo Spitzer 1939 ipotizzerà un'etimologia di *mentula* da *mens* (senno), a quanto pare ignorando che l'etimologia era già presente in Valla e Perotti. Partendo da un gioco di parole in Rabelais, che, nel prologo del quarto libro, rivolgendosi a Priapo, dice: *habet tua mentula mentem*, Spitzer, tra le altre cose, scrive: "Bien entendu, le rapprochement de *mens* et *mentula* dans ce texte peut n'être qu'un jeu de mots récent — mais quelquefois les jeux de mots resserrent aussi d'anciens liens étymologiques qui s'étaient relâchés" (Naturalmente, l'accostamento di *mens* e *mentula* in questo testo potrebbe essere solo un gioco di parole recente - ma a volte i giochi di parole riallacciano vecchi legami etimologici che si erano allentati). Ringrazio Jaime Curbera che mi ha segnalato l'articolo.

non lasciar margine al dubbio cita il suo contrario, *fe(l)lare*. Per quanto riguarda *pedico*, ne sottolinea l'uso come non esclusivo del sesso omoerotico (*inter clunes et femina*), una banalità che, come vedremo, a volte è sfuggita, dando luogo a effetti anche grotteschi (v. p. 155).

Per quanto riguarda i giudizi di valore, Giuniano Maio si dimostra abbastanza scandalizzato dal fatto che *nubo* e *futuo*, possano venire riferiti il primo agli uomini, il secondo alle donne, sconvolgendo, anche solo a parole, l'ordine naturale. In Perotti, l'uso qua e là degli aggettivi *foedus* e *turpis* è una traccia di giudizio morale, l'altra arriva quando parla del sesso tra donne (v. nota 47): “contra naturam est mulierem cum muliere concumbere” (È contro natura che una donna si accoppi con una donna).

Trattandosi di un commento a Marziale, l'autore che ha più usato il lemma *cunnus*,⁴⁶ stupisce l'assenza di un commento anche minimo, di una qualche spiegazione relativa a questa parola. Certo, Perotti riuscì a commentare solo il *de spectaculis* e parte del primo libro, ed in questi abbiamo solo due attestazioni per *cunnus* e cioè al v. 1, 77, 6 “cunnum Charinus lingit” (Carino lecca la fica), ed al verso 1, 90,7 “geminos ... committere cunnos” (accoppiare due fiche gemelle).⁴⁷ Affrontando questi versi, Perotti non è a disagio nel parlare di *genitalia* ... *lingere* e delle *fricatrices*, donne che *portentoso coitus genere* sfogano tra loro la propria libidine. Allo stesso modo, nel capitoleto dedicato a *culus*, Perotti sfoggia tutte la parole che conosce per definire l'organo sessuale maschile e le sue parti: *coleus*, *testis*, *testiculus*, *coles*, *glans*, *praeputium*.⁴⁸ Insomma, non sarà stato il pudore a trattenerlo dal trattare la parola *cunnus*.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ 27 volte; *cunnilinguus* 4 volte.

⁴⁷ Ecco quanto dice Perotti al v. 1, 77, 6 (*cunnum Charinus lingit*): “PULCHRE VALET CHARINUS ... Sensus est: omnia experiri uoluit Charinus et genitalia et muliebria lingere, ne palleret, tamen pallet” (CARINO STA BENE ... Il senso è: Carino vuol provare tutto, anche leccare le parti genitali delle donne, pur di perdere il suo pallore, tuttavia è pallido). Per il resto tutto il commento verge su *pulcher* ed i suoi derivati; ed a 1, 90, 7 (“geminos ... committere cunnos”): “In Bassam invehitur, quae portentoso coitus genere in sexum suum libidinem exercebat. Huiusmodi mulieres ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίβειν, quod fricare est, tribades dicuntur, hoc est fricatrices” (inveisce contro Bassa, che sfogava la sua libidine verso il proprio sesso in un coito contro natura. Donne di questo genere da ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίβειν, che significa strofinare, vengono dette *tribades*, cioè ‘che si strofinano’). Più sotto, al verso 7: “inter se geminos audes committere cunnos”, Perotti annota: “COMMITTERE. Coniungere. PRODIGIOSA. Contra naturam. Quippe contra naturam est mulierem cum muliere concumbere” (*COMMITTERE*, unire, *PRODIGIOSA*, contro natura. Perché è contro natura che una donna si corichi con un'altra donna’).

⁴⁸ Anche il verbo *cunio*, messo da Ugucione in relazione a *cunnus*, compare in questo capitolo.

⁴⁹ A questo proposito va ricordato un passo della prefazione (c. 3) in cui Perotti, tra i motivi che lo trattennero dal pubblicare il suo lavoro, elenca la possibilità di eventuali critiche perché: “tum multa esse apud hunc poetam uulgi iudicio obscena quae interpretari Pontificem

Semplicemente, essa non destava l'interesse del grande umanista di Sassoferrato.

Lessicografia moderna

Per quanto riguarda i vocabolari moderni e contemporanei, mi limito a pochi esempi, distinguendo tra quelli in lingua moderna, quelli che insomma vedono nel fornire una traduzione del lemma il proprio punto di forza, ed il *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*.

Cominciamo con l'*Oxford Latin Dictionary*, di cui nel 2012 è uscita una seconda edizione,⁵⁰ e che è sicuramente uno dei vocabolari di lingua latina più usati al mondo, e non solo nelle aree di lingua inglese.

Le voci relative ai nostri lemmi si limitano per lo più alla citazione di pochi passi ed alle traduzioni, che vado ad elencare, citando dalla ristampa con correzione della seconda edizione (2015):

culus -i m. [cf. OIr. *cul* 'back'] The fundament, anus.

cunnus -i m. [dub.] ... The female pudenda.

Il passo di MART. 6,45, 1 viene inteso come esempio di *pars pro toto*.

futuo To have sexual relations with (a woman)

irrumatio [irrumō + tiō] Oral sex, fellatio.

irrumator ... A person who receives fellatio.

irrumo ... to practise fellatio on.

mentula ... [dub.] The male sexual organ.

paedico ... To commit sodomy with.

Molto è rimasto immutato dall'edizione del 1982, tranne i lemmi seguenti:

irrumatio [irrumō + tiō] The action of an *irrumator*.

Irrumator ... One who submits to *fellatio*.

irrumo ... to practise *irrumatio* on.

indecens putaretur" (ci sono molte espressioni in questo poeta comunemente ritenute oscene e si potrebbe considerare inappropriato che un vescovo le spieghi).

⁵⁰ Peter G.W. Glare, Oxford University Press 2012. La prima edizione fu portata a termine nel 1982. Per capire la genesi del progetto è consigliabile la lettura di *A Historical Introduction* di Christopher Stray (p. x sqq. della nuova edizione), che ha il merito anche di chiarire il ruolo nell'impresa di grandi nomi della filologia latina come A. E. Housman, John Chadwick o Charles Brink. L'OLD ha 40.000 parole latine e 400.000 passi; il limite cronologico è il II sec. d. C.

Per la lingua tedesca ho consultato il *Neue Georges*:⁵¹

culus ... die Mündung des Mastdarms, der Hintere, als obszöner Ausdruck, das Loch (l'uscita del retto, il posteriore, come espressione oscena, il buco).

cunnus ... die weibliche Scham, - meton., die feile Dirne, die Metze" (il pube femminile nell'uso metonimico la prostituta, la meretrice).

futuo ... eine Frau beschlafen, ihr beiwohnen (andare a letto con una donna, 'frequentarla').

irrumo = *insero fascinum in os alterius* ..., *irrumatio* = *actio irrumandi*
irrumator = *qui irrumat*.

mentula das männliche Glied (il membro virile.)

pedico ... unnatürliche Inzucht treiben, bes. mit Knaben = Knabenschänderei treiben (Praticare fornicazione contro natura, soprattutto con fanciulli, stuprare fanciulli).

Infine, per la lingua italiana, riporto quanto scrive il Castiglioni Mariotti:⁵²

culus ano

cunnus vulva

futuo avere rapporti carnali con una donna, fottere

irrumare irrumare (irrumazione e irrumatore)

mentula membro virile

pedico praticare la pederastia, sodomizzare.

È evidente che è proprio in questi vocabolari che l'imbarazzo nell'approcciare le parole oscene si manifesta nella maniera più eclatante. Gli stratagemmi utilizzati per evitare di chiamare le cose con il proprio nome, di 'parlare latino', per dirla con Marziale (praef. 1 *latine loqui*), vanno dal tradurre o spiegare frettolosamente, all'usare eufemismi e, a volte, proprio la lingua latina. Nei casi più gravi, trapelano giudizi di valore. Ma andiamo per ordine: in generale, nessuno di questi vocabolari ritiene necessario avvisare il lettore che il registro linguistico è quello infimo, che si tratta di parole oscene (cosa che, per esempio, faceva già il Perotti v. p. 143). Tradurre *mentula* solo con *the male sexual organ* o *membro virile*, mette il lemma sullo stesso piano di *penis*, non spiega la differenza tra due parole che indicano la stessa cosa. Lo stesso vale per *cunnus*. Tra gli eufemismi cito la spiegazione

⁵¹ Si tratta di una revisione uscita nel 2013 dell'edizione del 1913/18 del vocabolario latino tedesco compilato da Karl Ernst Georges (1806-1895).

⁵² Ristampa 4. edizione del 2007.

per *futuo* proposta dal Georges: *eine Frau beschlafen, ihr beiwohnen*. Anche in questo caso, nulla avvisa il lettore che non abbiamo a che fare con un'espressione gentile o poetica.

Tra la prima e la seconda edizione dell'OLD avvengono alcune stranezze per quanto riguarda il lemma *irrumator*, sicuramente una delle parole più difficili da spiegare, anche per la totale assenza di un suo corrispettivo nelle lingue moderne rappresentate dai dizionari qui citati. Non c'è in italiano, ma nemmeno in inglese o in tedesco un verbo transitivo che significhi 'inserire il pene in bocca a qualcuno'. Nell'edizione del 1982 l'OLD ricorre all'aiuto del latino, ed il lettore viene rimandato dal verbo *irrumo* al sostantivo *irrumatio* spiegando il primo con il secondo e viceversa, senza lasciar trapelare il misterioso significato di queste parole, in una brevissima quanto frustrante caccia al tesoro che lascia il lettore insoddisfatto al punto di partenza:

irrumatio [irrumō + tiō] The action of an *irrumator*

irrumo ... to practise *irrumatio* on

Un solo aiuto arriva da

irrumator ... One who submits to *fellatio*

Ogni conoscitore della lingua inglese sa cosa significa *fellatio*, perché la parola è identica, appunto, nella lingua inglese; scrivendola in corsivo la si 'latinizza' e questo riporta l'OLD nel porto sicuro e casto garantito, a quanto pare, dall'uso del latino. Peccato che la parola *fellatio* in latino non esista (e, per quanto ho visto fino ad ora, nemmeno nel medio latino).

La nuova edizione dell'OLD non chiarisce queste ambiguità, ma anzi peggiora la situazione. Ecco quanto leggiamo:

irrumatio [irrumō + tiō] Oral sex, *fellatio*

irrumo ... to practise *fellatio* on

Queste due traduzioni o spiegazioni sono semplicemente sbagliate: come aveva già chiarito qualche secolo fa il Perotti (v. sopra p. 144) *fellare* e *irrumare* non sono sinonimi ma azioni opposte. Per quanto riguarda *irrumator*, costui, da colui che 'submits to *fellatio*', diviene colui che 'receives *fellatio*'. Entrambe le traduzioni, se così si può chiamarle, continuano a focalizzarsi sulla *fellatio*. Questa, almeno, nella seconda edizione, non viene più travestita con criteri grafici da parola latina.

Oltre a questi casi di traduzioni ambigue, fuorvianti o semplicemente sbagliate, abbiamo anche ingombranti giudizi di valore. Espressi in Papia e

Perotti dall'uso di *turpis* o *foedus*,⁵³ essi raggiungono nei vocabolari moderni nuove dimensioni.

Il verbo *pedico* è il lemma che scatena più di ogni altro gli strali della morale: per il Georges è “unnatürliche Hinzucht treiben” (praticare la fornicazione contro natura)! Peccato che la nuova edizione del 2013 non abbia pensato di modificare tale interpretazione moralistica - e per di più sbagliata, se con essa si vuol alludere al sesso omoerotico: e pensare che già Perotti aveva puntualizzato *inter clunes et feminas*. Il pesante *to commit pederasty* dell'OLD del 1982 è rimasto al suo posto nell'edizione del 2012.⁵⁴

Riassumendo: nel confronto con le parole oscene, i vocabolari con traduzione in una lingua moderna mostrano più imbarazzi e reticenze dei loro predecessori medievali e umanistici.⁵⁵ Questo sarà dovuto anche all'uso, da parte di chi compila tali lessici, della propria lingua madre, particolarmente esposta ai tabù linguistici, dato che essa veicola anche le memorie degli anni in cui il bambino sviluppa il senso del pudore ed i tabù relativi.⁵⁶ Si ricorre dunque a diversi stratagemmi, spesso all'eufemismo, e come eufemistico va visto l'uso del latino, assurdamente chiamato a recitar il ruolo di ‘contrario’ rispetto alla lingua madre, e dunque come quanto di più artificiale, edulcorato nobile e casto, immune da nefandezze, ci si possa immaginare⁵⁷. Bizzarra tendenza per i cultori di questa lingua, nel segno di una tradizione che in passato è arrivata anche a censurare i testi dei grandi autori che non

⁵³ A ben vedere, pare che solo il sesso lesbico fosse in grado di fare arrabbiare davvero gli umanisti v. n. 47.

Ecco quanto dice l'OED a proposito di *commit*: II. To do something wrong; to perpetrate. **a. transitive.** To carry out (a reprehensible act); to perpetrate (a crime, sin, offence, etc.)

b. transitive. To make (an error, mistake, etc.); to do (something foolish or careless).

⁵⁵ Trattasi di fenomeno non limitato alla lessicografia, come dimostra quanto segue. A proposito dell'uso osceno di *singultio* in Persio (6, 72) e dell'interpretazione sbagliata di Casaubon, Beikircher 1969, scrive (p. 115): „Diese Deutung wiederholen viele Gelehrte, die ebenso wie er das peinliche dieser unverblühten Ausdrucksweise unseres Dichters mildern wollten. Aber auch hier hat FONTIUS [Bartolomeo della Fonte 1446-1513, commentatore di Persio] unzweifelhaft besser interpretiert: ‘nam ut singultiunt fauces, ita quoque genitura fluente singultire videtur penis’. Freilich konnten Humanisten über solche Dinge wohl leichter debattieren als spätere Gelehrte (Quest'interpretazione viene ripresa da molti studiosi che, come lui, volevano attenuare l'imbarazzo causato da un'espressione così schietta del nostro poeta. Ma anche qui FONTIUS offre indubbiamente l'interpretazione migliore: ‘come singhiozza la bocca, così il pene sembra singhiozzare quando ne esce il seme’. Sembra davvero che gli umanisti potessero discutere di queste cose più facilmente dei loro successori.)

⁵⁶ Sul tema v. Appiani 2006, 124.

⁵⁷ Qualche anno fa ho scritto un playdoyer sull'uso della lingua latina nel Thesaurus (Marchionni 2015), dimenticando di elencare anche questo vantaggio dell'uso di una lingua ‘pudica’, mai *foeda* o *turpis*, per servirci del vocabolario di Perotti, e quindi capace di dire l'indicibile. Sull'uso del latino nei lessici di greco antico v. Coker 2019, 62.

supportavano questa idea della castità del latino. Dimenticando, tra l'altro, che il latino di Cicerone, su cui abbiamo fondato la nostra conoscenza di tale lingua, non era sicuramente lo standard a Roma, ma prerogativa di una limitata minoranza colta.

Oltre alle traduzioni, questi vocabolari offrono poche informazioni lessicografiche; una che troviamo sia nel Georges sia nell'OLD (qui riferita ad un solo passo di Marziale), è quella relativa al presunto uso metonimico (*pars pro toto*) di *cunnus*. Tornerò su questo punto.

Il *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*

Siamo così giunti al *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*, il vocabolario che prende in considerazione tutte le parole di tutti i testi latini giunti fino a noi,⁵⁸ a partire dalle origini a Isidoro (VI sec.).⁵⁹ Basato su criteri altamente scientifici, il suo scopo è analizzare la parola nel contesto, e sulla base di questa ricerca delineare una specie di albero genealogico dei vari significati e degli sviluppi di questi, fornendo uno strumento in grado di interpretare qualsiasi passo. Come nel caso dei vocabolari in lingua moderna presi in esame, si tratta di un'impresa concepita alla fine del diciannovesimo secolo ed all'inizio del ventesimo, un periodo in cui sono nati anche il Georges e l'OLD, nei quali il puritanesimo, come abbiamo visto, si è rivelato un forte ostacolo alle esigenze di scientificità della lessicografia. Ma il *Thesaurus*, essendo in latino, non offre una traduzione, bensì un *Interpretament*, una spiegazione del significato. Basta questo ad annullare gli effetti nefasti del tabù linguistico?

Gli articoli *ceveo*, *criso*, *culus* e *cunnus*, vennero pubblicati nel 1909, opera il primo di Bertold Maurenbrecher, gli altri dell'allora Generalredaktor Ernst Otto Franz Lommatzsch. I primi tre, brevissimi, non presentano una vera e propria struttura, solo in *ceveo* si distinguono due significati: “de motu inclinandi (cacandi causa?)” (movimento di chi si piega, per defecare?)⁶⁰ e “de motu obscaeno” (movimento osceno), mentre di *criso* e *culus* ci vien detto anche meno, manca l'*Interpretament*, nel caso di *culus* ne fa le veci una glossa (*naticas. anus*).⁶¹ Ma si tratta di un periodo in cui tutti gli articoli sono ancora poco strutturati.

⁵⁸ Particolare questo importantissimo, dato che nessuna testimonianza è esclusa, che sia epigrafica o proveniente da testi medici o giuridici, per fare degli esempi.

⁵⁹ Difficile racchiudere in una nota la storia di questo progetto e di coloro che ne hanno fatto parte. Per i suoi primi cent'anni rimando a Krömer 1995 e a Krömer – Flieger 1996. Più recente Flow 2019.

⁶⁰ Basato su un solo passo, Plauto Pseud. 864.

⁶¹ Nel caso di *criso* si conta sul fatto che alcuni passi tra le poche attestazioni sono glosse o commenti antichi che spiegano la parola.

Cunnus, pur non rispecchiando gli standard del *Thesaurus* degli ultimi anni,⁶² contiene più informazioni. Come gli altri appena citati non ha l'asterisco iniziale, il cui scopo è informare il lettore sul fatto che non tutte le attestazioni sono state citate: contiene dunque tutti i passi conosciuti all'epoca della redazione dell'articolo.⁶³ *Cunnus* viene definito “*vox obscaena* ... i. q. *membrum muliebre*, metonymice de ipsa muliere” (voce oscena, indica l'organo femminile, per metonimia la donna). La definizione *vox obscaena* è importante: avverte il lettore del registro linguistico cui appartiene il lemma; chiarito questo punto, la spiegazione *membrum muliebre* è accettabile.⁶⁴ Purtroppo però anche in questo caso manca una vera e propria disposizione. E sì che non sarebbero mancati i punti: per esempio si sarebbe potuto aggiungere l'uso *per prosopopeiam* (personificazione), dato che non sono pochi i passi in cui *cunnus* appare al vocativo, gli ci si rivolge dunque direttamente, o lo si descrive mentre parla o addirittura piange.⁶⁵

Riappare poi l'indicazione dell'uso metonimico, da noi già incontrata in Georges e nell'OLD.

Mi attardo su questo punto, anticipando il fatto che non credo all'uso *pars pro toto* di *cunnus* o perlomeno non lo vedo ancora provato, ritengo anzi questa interpretazione un ulteriore tentativo di 'intiepidire' la lingua latina. Cominciamo col dire che non ne troviamo traccia nei vocabolari medievali (in quelli umanistici *cunnus* non compare affatto). Il *Thesaurus* la fa risalire a Porfirione, nel suo commento al famoso verso di Orazio, sat. 1, 2, 36 *mirator cunni Cupiennius albi*.⁶⁶ In realtà, in Porphyrio leggiamo solo la definizione dell'aggettivo *albus*, come 'appartenente a, tipico di una matrona'.⁶⁷ È probabile che Lommatzsch si sia basato sul *Totius latinitatis lexicon*, anche noto come 'il Forcellini', dal nome del suo autore che lo pubblicò per la prima volta nel 1771. Questo lessico è riconosciuto come il predecessore ufficiale del *Thesaurus*, e, alla voce *cunnus*, leggiamo: “Per

⁶² Anche per questo offro in appendice una revisione dell'articolo *cunnus*, strutturato secondo i criteri del *Thesaurus* di oggi, v. pp. 158 sq.

⁶³ Nella revisione ho inserito l'asterisco, dato che dal 1909 sono stati scoperti non pochi graffiti contenenti il lemma.

⁶⁴ Nella mia revisione a *muliebre* ho preferito *femineum* dato che abbiamo almeno due passi in cui si tratta del *cunnus animalis*.

⁶⁵ Ma per questo si veda l'appendice, con la mia revisione dell'articolo *cunnus*, più precisamente il punto della disposizione IB2.

⁶⁶ V. ThIL IV 1410, 7 sq.: “de matronis alba veste indutis interpretantur PORPH. Hor. dat. 1,2,36 et SCHOL. ad l.”

⁶⁷ “Albi autem non pro candidi videtur mihi dixisse, cum utique possint et vulgares mulieres etiam meretrices candidae esse, sed ad vestem albam, qua matronae maxime utuntur, putò relatum esse” (Non credo che abbia usato *albus* per *candidus* (bello?) dal momento che anche donne volgari o prostitute possono essere belle, ma credo che sia riferito alla veste bianca che portano le matrone.)

synecdochen ‘cunnus’ accipitur pro ipsa muliere” (per sineddoche indica la donna stessa) - segue la citazione del passo di Orazio in questione. Questa idea di un uso metonimico di *cunnus* si è mantenuta fino ai nostri giorni; l’abbiamo vista nel Georges e nell’OLD e si può trovare in molti vocabolari scolastici moderni, ed anche in alcune traduzioni dei tre passi in cui Orazio usa la parola. Ma in ciascuno di essi la traduzione di *cunnus* con ‘donna’, stravolge la potenza dei versi di Orazio.

Cupiennio, infatti, non è ammiratore di una dama vestita di bianco, bensì di una ‘fica bianca’ (o perchè depilata, v. l’interpretazione di Engelbrecht citata dal ThLL, o perchè *matronalis*, secondo l’interpretazione di Porfirione), e quando il *mutto* (un’altra parola, probabilmente volgare, per ‘pene’, v. ThLL s. v.) dice (sat. 1, 2, 70) che non desidera „magno prognatum ... consule cunnum velatumque stola” (una fica nata da un console o velata di stola) è ovvio che ciò che ’gli interessa è la parte e non il tutto. Concludiamo con il potentissimo verso delle satire 1, 3, 107 “nam fuit ante Helenam cunnus taeterrima belli causa”: proviamo a confrontare una traduzione di questo verso dove *cunnus*, la parola che Orazio scrisse tra due cesure per renderla ancora più forte nell’architettura del verso, viene reso con ‘donna’ e pensiamo invece all’effetto che doveva avere sul pubblico qualcosa come “e già prima di Elena la fica è stata orrendo motivo di guerra”. Glosso le mie considerazioni con le parole di Curran 1970:⁶⁸ “by virtue of its violent obscenity, prevents us from taking it simply as ‘a woman dressed in a white stola’. The phrase forces us to entertain simultaneously in our minds the fact of nature and the artificial institution of society”.⁶⁹

Per capire l’idea di un uso *pars pro toto* di *cunnus* bisognerebbe forse indagare quando le lingue moderne abbiano iniziato ad usare in questo modo il corrispettivo inglese ‘cunt’, il tedesco ‘Fotze’ (entrambi usati come offesa sia per donne, sia per uomini), e l’italiano ‘fica’ (che vorrebbe invece essere positivo).⁷⁰ Credo che non sia troppo azzardato vedere anche in questo un problema dell’approccio moderno al lessico latino: il proiettare sul mondo antico le proprie abitudini linguistiche, soprattutto quando esse servono ad edulcorare il testo, a renderlo meno violento. Sembra quasi che, se si può accettare di veder Catullo e Marziale usare parole violentemente oscene, non si possa far lo stesso con Orazio.

⁶⁸ Sempre in Currant l’osservazione: “The phrases *cunni albi* and *cunnum velatum stola* state the thematic antithesis of the satire in a nutshell; in each the first element represents the reality of nature, the second the illusions of convention”.

⁶⁹ Lo stesso vale per tutti i 27 versi di Marziale, in cui la parola compare: solo in 6, 45, 1 *lascivi nubite cunni* l’uso *pars pro toto* è pensabile, ma non necessario; per il terzo libro, in cui la parola ricorre sei volte, rimando al commento di Fusi 2006.

⁷⁰ Anche Adams crede all’uso metonimico di *cunnus*, ma non porta, a mio avviso, prove forti, v. quanto dico in Rocchi – Marchionni 2021, 74 (scheda 6).

Futuo è del 1924, fu Vollmer a compilarlo. Nell'*Interpretament*, al posto di *vox obscaena* e con la stessa funzione di chiarire il registro linguistico, troviamo *verbum volgare*.⁷¹ Segue “i. q. coitum facere, aut absolute aut cum acc. etiam passive” (aver un rapporto sessuale, uso assoluto o con l'accusativo, usato anche al passivo). L'incarico di informare che *futuo* è proprio degli uomini viene delegato a Prisciano, il cui passaggio a noi noto (v. pp. 136 sq.) apre l'articolo.

Ruhestaller, secondo gli archivi del Thesaurus, fu un monaco benedettino svizzero ed a lui venne affidato l'incarico di scrivere *irrumo*, cosa che il monaco eseguì in maniera ‘quasi’ irreprensibile. Ecco il suo *Interpretament*: “*vox obscaena*: i. q. penem in os alterius inserere semenque effundere” (voce oscena, significa inserire il pene nella bocca di un altro ed eiaculare). Il ‘quasi’ si riferisce alla seconda parte: *semen effundere* non credo rientri nei significati della parola. Anche il dir troppo è una reazione all'imbarazzo, come vedremo nel caso di *pedico*. Per il resto, si avverte che siamo arrivati agli anni '60 (1962 è la data di pubblicazione): c'è una vera e propria struttura che soddisfa ampiamente chiunque si voglia informare sul verbo. Indicati vengono il suo uso proprio e quello figurato, quest'ultimo consiste nel carattere di minaccia non destinata necessariamente a tradursi nell'azione descritta dal verbo ma in un qualcosa di estremamente spiacevole per chi la subisce.

Con *mentula* facciamo un passo indietro: il lemma, scritto da Hofmann, venne pubblicato nel 1944. L'*Interpretament* recita: “i. q. membrum virile, penis”. Manca dunque la definizione *vox obscaena*, sulla cui importanza mi sono già soffermata. Di nuovo non abbiamo una disposizione e, come già per *cunnus*, non viene registrato l'uso *per prosopopeiam* (personificazione) per il passo in cui Marziale ci racconta (1, 58, 3): “queritur de me mea mentula secum” (la mia verga si lamenta di me tra se).

Pedico venne scritto da Kruse nel 1992, e redatto da Peter Flury. Nell'*Interpretament*, dove compare la dicitura *vox obscaena*, ormai standard per queste parole, leggiamo anche “i. q. in anum penetrare, more masculorum coire”. Quanto segue è un moderno articolo del Thesaurus, con una disposizione eccellente e con tutti i dati di cui abbiamo bisogno: *pedicare* è transitivo (ma può venire usato anche *absolute*), ha dunque spesso un oggetto, e questo può essere sia uomo, sia donna; come *irrumo* può venir usato come semplice minaccia e, in un caso, può essere una gonna a *pedicare* Lesbia, perchè è tanto corta da infilarsi tra le sue natiche (MART. 11, 99, 2).

⁷¹ Che ci ricorda un po' Sorano.

Tornando all’*Interpretament*, la seconda parte, “more masculorum coire”, ricorda quanto detto a proposito di *irrumare*: ‘too much information’! Lo zelo dell’autore dell’articolo – forse anche il suo imbarazzo - lo ha fatto cadere nella trappola ed esagerare con i dettagli, portandolo a dire che *pedicare* è ‘far sesso come fanno gli uomini’. Il risultato? Un atto sessuale più o meno frequente a seconda dei gusti, finisce per diventare l’unico modo di far sesso praticato dagli uomini.

Conclusioni

A meno di non voler interpretare l’assenza di alcuni lemmi come censura, non c’è imbarazzo nell’approccio alle parole oscene latine da parte dei lessicografi medievali e umanistici, il giudizio morale si avverte solo nell’uso dell’avverbio *turpiter* e degli aggettivi *foedus* e *turpis*, nei passi che abbiamo visto insieme; solo quelli in cui si parla di omosessualità femminile attirano gli strali di Maio e Perotti. Nei vocabolari moderni le cose stanno diversamente.⁷² Non si tratta qui di un’innocua nota di costume: l’imbarazzo porta a concepire spiegazioni o traduzioni sbagliate; di conseguenza versi di grande potenza come quelli di Orazio o Marziale vengono ‘disinnescati’,⁷³ tradendo la volontà dell’autore e compromettendo il piacere del testo.

Una scappatoia, per alcuni vocabolari che solitamente traducono in una lingua moderna, è abbandonarla e ricorrere al latino, lingua a cui viene negata ogni volgarità, tanto che dire *culus* non sarà mai così imbarazzante come dire ‘culo’; in altri casi, per salvare la forma, basterà scrivere la parola inglese ‘fellatio’ corsiva: si avrà così un’espressione latina, come tale educata ed elegante. Questo approccio ‘idealista’ nega al latino la sua verità, la sua ‘vita’ di lingua, ne fa un prodotto artificiale, e non aiuta sicuramente a trasmettere la passione per essa.

Certo, il tabù linguistico che riguarda le parole oscene, è forte come pochi altri fenomeni antropologici. Nel suo saggio del 1911 chiamato appunto *Le parole oscene*, Ferenczi avverte che usare questo genere di parole costringe l’interlocutore ad immaginarsi ciò di cui si sta parlando; in qualche modo, dunque, viola l’intimità di chi ascolta, rompe il patto sociale che si crea quando si inizia un dialogo.⁷⁴ Il pudore stesso, del resto, non va sempre visto come ‘falso’ o come pruderie: è un codice sociale, il cui compito è regolare e

⁷² Si potrà eccepire che la maggior parte dei dizionari analizzati è stata concepita tanti anni fa, in periodi in cui il senso del pudore era ancora più forte che ai giorni nostri; purtroppo però le riedizioni in tempi recenti non hanno apportato miglioramenti.

⁷³ Si è tentati di usare il verbo ‘castrare’ ripensando al verso di Marziale 1, 35, 5 “libelli ... non possunt sine mentula placere” (le mie poesie senza la verga [= licenziosità] non posson piacere).

⁷⁴ Il pensiero di Ferenczi è ovviamente più complesso di quanto riassunto in queste righe.

salvaguardare i rapporti umani.⁷⁵ Non stupisce dunque che una ‘macchina’ come Google translate, a chi, dopo aver scelto l’opzione di traduzione dal latino all’italiano, digiti la parola *cunnus* nel campo a sinistra, offra candidamente nel campo a destra la soluzione ‘fica’. Ma il lessicografo non è una macchina, è stato bambino, e compila uno strumento implicitamente considerato ‘ad usum delphini’; comprensibili sono dunque le sue inibizioni nel confrontare i lettori con parole che evocano la cruda sessualità. Detto questo, la lessicografia resta una scienza, dedita alla ricerca della verità ed alla trasmissione di essa. Come superare l’impasse? Forse cominciando a prendere sul serio anche questa parte del vocabolario latino e, se proprio si deve ricorrere ad espedienti, facendolo senza abdicare ai doveri e falsare i risultati. L’uso del latino ha sicuramente i suoi vantaggi, ma solo se usata non come eufemismo, bensì come lingua capace di esprimere anche oscenità, una lingua che è stata lingua madre, una lingua ‘vera’.

Chiudo con questa citazione da Köhnlein (p. 97):

Keller (1987, S. 9) schreibt: “Wer ‘fikken’ sagt, oder ‘Möse’, bezeichnet nicht nur eine Tätigkeit beziehungsweise ein Körperteil. Er bezeichnet dies mit dem Aspekt des sexuellen Interesses, mit dem Ausdruck sexueller Begierde” und meint weiter, daß das Verbot möglicherweise nicht in den Sprachformen liege, sondern darin, daß es verboten ist, sexuelle Begierde zu zeigen. In der abendländischen Gesellschaft sei das Verhältnis zum Sex und das Sprechen darüber kompliziert und keinesfalls eindeutig. Trotz aller Bemühungen um Objektivität: Jeder Wissenschaftler forscht in seiner Zeit, mit einem bestimmten sozialen Hintergrund und auf der Basis seiner ganz eigenen Erfahrungen. Die Befangenheit und mögliche persönliche Interessen der Forscher sind beim Thema Sexualität vermutlich bedeutender als bei anderen, neutraleren Themen. Das ist natürlich und verständlich, sollte aber als mögliche Störvariable zumindest erwähnt werden.

Keller (1987, p. 9) scrive: “Chi dice *fikken* (‘scopare’) o *Möse* (‘fica’) non designa solo un’attività o una parte del corpo, ma scegliendo questa espressione evidenzia l’aspetto dell’interesse, del desiderio sessuale” e continua suggerendo che il divieto di pronunciare queste parole sia collegato al divieto di mostrare il desiderio sessuale. Nella società occidentale, il rapporto con il sesso, il parlarne, è una faccenda complicata, per nulla chiara. Nonostante tutti gli sforzi per essere obiettivi, ogni studioso fa ricerca nel suo tempo, con il suo background sociale e sulla base delle proprie esperienze. I suoi pregiudizi e gli interessi personali hanno verosimilmente maggior peso quando si tratta di sessualità rispetto ad altri argomenti più neutri. Cosa, questa, naturale

⁷⁵ Sul tema v. Appiani 2004.

e comprensibile, ma che dovrebbe almeno essere menzionata come la variabile che può interferire e compromettere i risultati.

Appendix

L'articolo che segue è la proposta di riscrittura del lemma *cunnus* per il Thesaurus, alla luce delle nuove attestazioni rappresentate dai graffiti scoperti dopo il 1909 e di quanto affermato nelle pagine precedenti.

- ⁸**cunnus**, -ī m. □□ [cf. de Vaan s. v.]. □□ *scribitur* conn- CIL IV 1406 LVX. anth. 302, 12. v. et l. 18 (cf. CIC. epist. 9, 22, 3 Connus *quidam* vocitatus est: num id obscenum putas?); **cunus** CIL IV 1261 l. 31. 3902. TAB. devot. Audollent 135 B 6 (*Nomenti*). al. □□ *de notione*: SORAN. p. 9, 4
- 5 *sinus muliebris est* membranum nervosum ..., in quo coitus virorum et usus venerius efficitur; quem vulgo -um appellant (*gr. p. 11, 7 sq. I. τὸ δὲ γυναικεῖον αἰδοῖον καὶ κόλπος ὀνόμασται γυναικεῖος*). GLOSS. *κύσθος. κυσός.* cf. II 193, 8 super -um *ἐφήβιον ἐπακυστίς*. □□ [it. *conno*, francog. *con*, hisp. *coño*. M.-L.] □□ *legitur* in *poesi* inde a CATVLLO (*semel*) et HOR.
- 10 (*ter*), maxime apud MART. (27ies) et PRIAP. (6ies), in *prosa oratione* non nisi in *tit. graphio scriptis* (*alluditur ad vocem ut obscenam* CIC. *orat. 154 fam. 9, 22, 3*).
- vox obscaena, i. q. membrum femineum* (*accedit adi. l. 22. 27 sq. p. 2, 4. sqq. 13 sq. 18, una in contextu c. culus p. 2, 12. 20, mentula p. 2, 9 sq.,*
- 15 *vulva* TAB. devot. Audollent 135 B 6 l. 31 [*si recte legerunt Audollent et alii*]; *tribuitur civibus Romae sc. ironice l. 31*).
- I proprie**: □□ **A animalium** (*mulae l. 18, caballae l. 19*): □ CATVLL. 97, 8 *meientis mulae -us* (cōmis [*pro connus?*] *cod. Oxon.*). ANTH. 148, 7 -umque (*turdumque trad.*), *caballae atterit assiduo pene fututor hebes*.
- 20 **B mulierum** (*civium Romanorum l. 31*): □□ **I usu communi** (*sunt qui cogitent hic illic de usu meton., sed v. quae monui supra p. 152 sqq.;* *accedit gen. poss. l. 31, cf. 2, 19*): □ HOR. sat. 1, 2, 36 *mirator -i Cupiennius albi* (*de cunno matronae interpr.* PORPH. Hor. sat. 1, 2, 36 *albi ... ad uestem albam ... puto relatum esse*. SCHOL. Hor. sat. 1, 2, 36 'albi' ... *matronalis; de*
- 25 *cunno depilato interpr. Engelbrecht, Wien. Stud. 28, 1906, 138, fortasse recte, cf. MART. 3, 74, 6 desine ... miseram traducere calvam: hoc fieri -o, Gargiliane, solet. 10, 90, 1 quid vellis vetulum, Ligeia, -um?*). 1, 2, 70 (*mutto loq.*) *numquid ego a te magno prognatum deposco consule -um velatumque stola, mea cum conferbuit ira?* 1, 3, 107 *nam fuit ante Helenam -us taeterrima belli causa*. TAB.
- 30 devot. Audollent 135 B 6 (*Nomenti; saec. I in.*) *vent(re)m um(b)licu(m) cun(n)u(m) v(u)lva(m) ... de(fi)go*. CIL IV 1261 *futuebatur ciuium Romanorum*

- attractis pedibus -us. 763 Asbestus -um l i n g e s (4264 Iucundus -um lingit Rusticae, et saepe in tit. Pompeianis graphio scriptis. MART. 1, 77, 6. al. cf. cunnilingus vol. IV, 1409, 70 sqq.; cf. etiam CLAVD. carm. min. 44, 8 -um lambere). CE 230 (Pompeis) futuitur -us (pil)osus multo melius (qu)am glaber.
- 5 MART. 1, 90, 7 inter se geminos audes committere -os mentiturque uirum prodigiosa Venus. 2, 34, 3 praestatur c a n o tanta indulgentia -o (9, 37, 7 te nulla movet c. reverentia -i. cf. vetulum p. I, 27). 3, 93, 13 cum ... senemque Cynicum vincat osseus -us. 7, 18, 11 f a t u i ... -i (PRIAP. 39, 8). 10, 90, 7 -us ... , ad quem mentula pertinere desit (in contextu c. mentula v. et PRIAP. 29, 5
- 10 cum -o mihi m. est vocanda. 68, 9 quod nisi Taenario placuisset Troica -o m., quod caneret, non habuisset opus.). PRIAP. 22, 2 femina si furtum faciet mihi ... -um ... praebeat. 11, 46, 5 quid miseros frustra -os culosque lacessis? al. CIL X 4483 (Capuae) -u(m) tibi fricabo. al. LVX. anth. 312, 3 gaudet futui furente -o. □ al.
- 2 per prosopop.: □ MART. 6, 45, 1 lasciui nubite -i: permissa est
- 15 uobis non nisi casta Venus. 7, 18, 6 accessi quotiens ad opus mixtisque mouemur inguinibus, -us non tacet, ipsa taces. 7, 18, 8 offendor -i garrulitate tui. 7, 18, 13 clamoso. 7, 35, 8 secretusque tua, -e, lauaris aqua? 11, 61, 9 gaudete -i; vestra namque res acta est. CIL IV 3932 -e superbe va(le). XIV 5291, 3c Livius me -us lincet Tertulle cunus (cunnu Hopkins 2014). INSCR. Année Epigr. 2008, 1054
- 20 -e, licet plores vel tota nocte mineris, eripuit culus quod tua pr(a)eda fuit.
- II transfertur ad opus pistorium in formam -i factum:
MART. 9, 2, 3 illa siligineis pinguescit adultera -is.
deriv.: cunnio. comp.: cunnilingus.

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THE TWELFTH-CENTURY MANUSCRIPT OF CONSTANTINE THE AFRICAN'S *THEORICA* *PANTEGNI*¹



By Outi Merisalo

A twelfth-century manuscript now at the National Library of Finland, is an early witness of the epoch-making Latin-language medical compendium entitled Pantegni, of which the prolific translator Constantine the African of Monte Cassino (d. c. 1098/9) identified himself as the coadunator ex multorum libris (compiler from books by many authors). This article explores the material characteristics, scripts and history of the Helsinki manuscript, which contains a rare and early version of the Theorica part of Constantine's manual.

The twelfth-century manuscript now at the National Library of Finland, E.ö.II.14, is an early witness of the epoch-making Latin-language medical compendium entitled *Pantegni*, of which the prolific translator Constantine the African (monk at Monte Cassino from the end of the 1070s; died at the latest in 1098/9) identified himself as the *coadunator ex multorum libris* (compiler from books by many authors). In fact, Constantine translated the section on theoretical medicine (*Theorica*), the first first books and part of the ninth book of the section on practical medicine (*Practica*) of the *Kitāb kāmīl as-sinā'a*, authored by the tenth-century Persian scholar Alī ibn al-'Abbās al-Mağūsī, known in the Latin tradition as Haly Abbas. Constantine omitted the

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name of the original author and gave the work a Hellenizing title (*Pantegni ~ Pasa tekhnē*) underlining the ultimately Greek origins of the contents at the expense of the Arabic-language ones of the text. The importance of the *Pantegni* for the history of Western medicine may hardly be overestimated: this compendium, together with other translations of works of Galenic medicine transmitted by Arabic-language authors, completely revolutionized the theory and practice of medicine in the West in the eleventh-twelfth centuries.

The manuscript may be dated, mainly on the basis of the scripts and codicology, to the third quarter of the twelfth century. It forms a single codicological unit, consisting in its present form of 26 parchment gatherings, all but two of which are quaternions, one quinion (gathering XIX) and one (gathering VIII) a quaternion with a double leaf added, altogether 210 folios with a modern numbering in pencil. The codicology shows that there are quires lacking at the beginning of the volume: the first folios of the actual gatherings I-III bear the signatures c, d and e, that of IV shows the top of an f, and those of gatherings VI-XXI the letters h-z, whereas gathering XXII has the sign for (*et*) and gatherings XXIII-XXIV, the Roman numbers xxv-xxvi. The last two quires (XXV-XXVI) do not bear any signatures, but considering the severe trimming that the manuscript has been subjected to, it is probable that the signatures of these quires, just as that of gathering V, have disappeared.

The quires were ruled in plummet on ff. 1-187v, with single left margins, then ff. 188-210v with either framing or simple/double left margins, mostly with single right margins. For the marginal additions, e.g. on f. 52 and 62v, there is independent marginal ruling. The leaf between f. 58 and 59 (see below p. 166) was also ruled in plummet, but with a greater unit of ruling.

The *Prima particula* of the *Theorica* would take up approximately 16 folios, i.e. two quaternions, in the present manuscript.² The preserved text, which starts with the *Secunda particula*, thus corroborates the codicological findings. In case the volume only contained the *Theorica*, it has lost at least one further gathering, since the text abruptly ends in the middle of a sentence of the *Decima particula* (“*et hęc eruginosa aqua*”) at the end of quire XXVI. Chapters XI-XII would fit into one quaternion. Since we do not have any

² E.g. in London, British Library, Harley 1676, from the first half of the thirteenth century, the *prima particula* takes up ff. 2v-12, the *secunda* 12-23, which correspond to ff. 1-16v in our manuscript, the *tertia* ff. 23-36v, corresponding to ff. 17-37v in our manuscript, etc.

indication of the original contents of the volume, the losses might be even more considerable.³

The volume may be divided into three sections on the basis of the decoration. It should be noted that changes in neither textual nor rubricating hands coincide with these sections (see below pp. 165-166).

1) The ff. 1-32v, i.e. quires c to e, have simple initials alternately in bright red and blue, most often graced by dots attached to the inner or outer surface of the letters. The rubrics are in the same red. They are announced in the margin in the textual hand and ink.

2) On ff. 33-192, instead of the alternating bright red and blue initials as well as the rubrics, we have orange initials, every second of which basically seems to bear strokes painted in silver-coloured ink.

3) On ff. 193-201v the initials and rubrics are somewhat less orange than in section 2, but not as red as in section 1. Furthermore, there is no alternation between orange/red and blue, and no large initials right at the end of the volume, ff. 203-210v.

It was Paul Lehmann, while examining the ms. in 1937, who discovered that ff. 196-197 contained writing that had been washed off. He also identified the lower text of these leaves as Ovid, *Met.* 12.225-266. According to Anja Inkeri Lehtinen, a series of further leaves would also be palimpsests.⁴ According to both Lehmann and Lehtinen, the Ovid text dates from the beginning of the twelfth century.⁵

The textual script is a Pre-Gothica characterised by considerable *Doppelbrechung* from the latter half of the twelfth century, more precisely third quarter, as both Lehmann and Lehtinen pointed out.⁶ Two textual hands may be distinguished (for samples, see the digitized manuscript, cf. n.1):

1) ff. 1-193: **H1** has *e caudata*, uncial *d*, and strong *Doppelbrechung* but weak lateral compression. The hand has rounded *r* after *o*, not after other rounded letters, and most often *et* is a double-hunchback variant of the Tironic sign. Minuscule *b*, *d* and *l* have forked and clubbed ascenders, and minuscule *g* is upright, normally with an open lower loop. This hand also wrote the guide rubrics in black ink placed in the margins, of which the last one is on f. 192;

³ As already stated, Constantine translated the *Theorica* followed by most of the first two books of *Practica*, together with a portion of bk. IX. This arrangement is only preserved in a handful of twelfth-century manuscripts, see Jordan 1994, 291. The *Theorica* also circulated separately from early on, Jordan 1994, 293.

⁴ Among these leaves, f. 58rv has certainly been washed, whereas the traces on f. 66r may simply be a reflection of writing on the previous leaf. Re-examination of the volume with an UV lamp is necessary to confirm these findings.

⁵ Lehmann 1938, 155-172 (description on 163-165).

⁶ Lehmann 1938, 160; Lehtinen, personal information.

2) ff. 193-210v: **H2** has basically the same morphology as H1 but it is elongated and with greater lateral compression, though still not fully Gothic. The *e caudata* is almost completely absent, which might point to a generation shift: H2 could be a younger scribe taking over from an older one. This hand also writes the marginal additions on f. 1-193 which contain passages present in the other groups of manuscripts but not in the Paris manuscript.⁷ This hand also seems to write the rubrics on f. 193v-201v;

3) ff. 1-193: **H3**, a laterally even less compressed hand than H1, writes the rubrics. It has *e caudata* and an oblique Tironic sign for *et*.

4) between ff. 58 and 59: **H4** writes the text of a leaf of evidently different origin, showing the epidemic scheme of Hippocrates, which is referred to in the text on f. 58v and which is often placed in the text in other manuscripts of *Pantegni*.⁸ Interestingly, the same sort of orange as in the volume proper characterises this leaf as well. The parchment is much finer than in the volume proper, and the ruling-unit is greater (cf. above p. 164). On the basis of the script, the leaf might have been written somewhat earlier than the rest of the volume, i.e. towards the middle of the eleventh century.⁹ The lower part of the leaf has been cut off, taking most of a drawing representing no doubt the eagle of St John. What remains of the leaf has been integrated into the gathering by means of a stub between ff. 64 and 65.

There are but few marginal hands apart from H2 on ff. 1-193, but they occur in the whole volume, though sporadically:

5) all of the volume: **H5** is a fifteenth-century, obviously German *hybrida* (note the stroke on *u* as on f. 63v), which sets up marginal headings through picking out and repeating words from the text: f. 66 *Apium* (with the German stroke on *u*!), also f. 147 *Epilempsa // est*, f. 188 *Sompnus* f. 190 *Interrogatio* f. 192v *Causa* f. 200v *Exitus-maris* f. 204v *Significaciones*;

6) all of the volume: **H6** is a very fluent fifteenth-century Gothic *hybrida*, e.g. f. 67v *Ypocras*, ff. 76, 96. This hand writes annotations of a certain length. It reminds e.g. of the marginal hands present in mid-fifteenth-century medical working manuscripts, such as the Palatini Latini that maybe once belonged to Konrad Schelling (d. 1513) who studied at Padua and made a brilliant career as physician to the court of the Electors Palatine.¹⁰ H6 is quite obviously well versed in medical literature, probably a medical doctor himself.

According to Outi Kaltio, the Helsinki manuscript represents a text form of its own, related, it would seem, only to the ms. Paris, Bibliothèque

⁷ See Kaltio 2020, 306-307.

⁸ I thank Outi Kaltio for this piece of information.

⁹ I thank MT Gousset for suggesting this date (May 2009).

¹⁰ E.g. Pal. Lat. 1217, 1251, 1295 and 1298. For an analysis of these marginalia, see Merisalo 2006.

nationale de France, lat. 6886, with considerable lacunae compared to the rest of the tradition. While Élisabeth Pellegrin has localized the Paris manuscript to twelfth-century Northern Italy, the Helsinki manuscript is certainly Transalpine. Anja Inkeri Lehtinen and Paul Lehmann proposed a “North-German origin”.¹¹ The script, especially the particular form of *g* and the double-hunchback Tironic sign for *et* in both H1, H2 and H3, the orange initials on ff. 33-193 and even later in the volume, find similarities in manuscripts of the region of Ardennes in North-Eastern France, e.g. in manuscripts now at the Municipal Library of Charleville-Mézières;¹² this late a use of orange is not unknown in the manuscripts of the monastery of Saint-Trond near Liège, either.¹³ The dots of the initials on ff. 1-32v also occur in manuscripts of Saint-Trond.¹⁴ I would thus propose a localization in the old Austrasia, the heartland of the old Empire of Charlemagne where Romance and Germanic meet. As yet I have not come across any of the hands present in this manuscript.

The institution that had this manuscript made might be a Benedictine monastery or another ecclesiastical institution. The penetration of Constantine’s works in the Empire as early as 1100 is shown by e.g. Hildesheim, Dombibliothek 748, which was donated to the Cathedral library by Bruno, Bishop of Hildesheim (r. 1153-1161).¹⁵

In the early nineteenth century the volume was bound in red leather in Russia, considering that the guard leaves are blue paper with the watermark *MOKΦ*. There is no ex-libris, but the records of the National Library of Finland show that the manuscript was donated to the library on 19 June 1832 by Emperor Nicholas I as part of the c. 2800-volume lot of books from the library of Joseph von Rehmann (1779-1831), M.D. and Actual State Councillor.¹⁶ Son to the first physician of the prince of Fürstenberg, Joseph Xaver Rehmann (author of works on rabies and venereal diseases), Joseph

¹¹ Lehmann 1938 and Lehtinen (personal information).

¹² E.g. Charleville-Mézières, Médiathèque Voyelles 1 and 246 B.1 ff. 3, 36.

¹³ I thank MT Gousset for pointing out these similarities (e-mail 28 May 2009), Giovanna Murano for locating orange initials in Eastern French manuscripts (e-mail 3 June 2009) and the Bibliothèque Marie Delcourt of the University of Liège for giving me the permission to photograph manuscripts of Saint-Trond in March-April 2009.

¹⁴ E.g. Université de Liège, Bibliothèque, Salle Marie Delcourt, MS 306.

¹⁵ Giermann, Härtel & Arnold 1993, 81 (description 81-82); see also Jordan 1994, 291-292 and n. 18.

¹⁶ National Library of Finland, Ba.1.1. Rehmann 1832: *Catalogue des livres // de feu Monsieur le Conseiller d’État actuel // Dr. de Rehmann // Arrangé par ordre alphabétique des auteurs & divisé par Sciences // 1832*, no. 516. See Havu & Knapas 1991, 114. I have the pleasure of thanking Ms. Sirkka Havu, librarian emerita of the National Library of Finland, who discovered the document, for pointing it out to me (May-June 2009). For this donation and Rehmann’s library, see also Fabian 2003.

Rehmann was appointed professor at the medico-surgical Josephsakademie in Vienna in 1807. He later made a brilliant Russian career as physician to Emperor Nicholas I and ended up as head of the Russian civil health care system. He had participated at the Golovkin Embassy to China in 1805-6 and subsequently published several works on Oriental medicine, e.g. *Zwey chinesische Abhandlungen über die Geburtshülfe* (St. Petersburg 1810) and *Beschreibung einer Thibetanischen Handapotheke* (St. Petersburg 1811).¹⁷ His mainly medical library of almost 3000 volumes was purchased by Nicholas I in 1832 and the above-mentioned c. 2800 volumes went to Helsinki to refurbish the University Library almost completely destroyed in the 1827 Turku fire.

Conclusion

This remarkable early fragmentary manuscript of Constantine the African's *Theorica Pantegni* may be dated to the latter half of the twelfth century and localized to the Holy Roman Empire, with some probability to the North-Western areas between modern-day Belgium, Germany and France. It lacks two quires containing the *Prima particula* at the beginning and at least one quaternion at the end. The text has been written by two hands, H1 and H2, the relationship of which might be that of an older scribe, maybe the master, to a younger one. H2 is also responsible for the important marginal annotations to the text on ff. 1-193. These annotations contain variants present in a specific group of manuscripts.

H3 is the rubricating hand, whereas H4 writes the text on a leaf of evidently different origin containing the Hippocratic scheme of diseases. The marginal annotations by H5 and H6 show that the manuscript was diligently read in Germanic lands in the fifteenth century. It is only natural that it should have belonged to the remarkable library of the learned Imperial physician Joseph von Rehmann. Through the generosity of Nicholas I the volume found its way to the National Library of Finland in 1832.

¹⁷ Massold & Ordubadi 2007 (2013) (in particular the paper by H. Duchhardt, Mainz).

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POMPONIUS LAETUS, EDITOR OF SALLUST:



corrector vel corruptor?

By Patricia J. Osmond with Robert W. Ulery, Jr.

Johann Ramminger, in his article “Pomponio Leto’s Nachleben: a phantom in need of research?”, observed that, although Pomponio had enjoyed an “outsized reputation” among his contemporaries, his published works were relatively few and his reception followed unexpected and often obscure directions. Our own essay focuses on the reception of only one work, Pomponio’s edition of Sallust’s opera (Rome, 1490), and questions that it raises concerning humanist and modern approaches to the editing of classical texts. It is thus a small contribution to the large task of tracing his fortuna (and sometimes sfortuna) through the centuries, but we are grateful to Johann, editor and webmaster of the Repertorium Pomponianum, for creating a forum in which research on Pomponio’s work and his circle of humanist friends can be shared by many new Pomponiani present and future.

Pomponio’s edition of Sallust’s *opera* (3 April 1490), printed in Rome by Eucharius Silber, ushered in what A. J. Valpy called the second age in the printing history of Sallust’s works (1490-1508): “Nomen habeat a Pomponio Laeto, qui et Sallustium recognovit et ex Codice Vaticano fragmenta aliaque eidem adjudicata protulit” (Let [the age] take its name from Pomponius Laetus, who both revised Sallust and published the fragments [of the Histories] and others judged to be his [i.e., Letters to Caesar] from the Vatican codex).¹ Indeed, well into the first quarter of the sixteenth century, until and even beyond the appearance of Aldo Pio Manuzio’s Venice edition of 1509, Pomponio’s edition remained widely read and respected. Although successive editors and printers claimed to make various improvements, the

¹ Valpy, “Recensus Editionum C. Crispi Sallustii”, Sallust 1820, 2:802-03. Pomponio’s edition of Sallust’s *Opera* (Rome, 1490) contains the *De coniuratione L. Sergi Catilinae*, *Liber de bello Iugurthino*. *Ex libris Historiarum [Orationes et epistolae excerptae]*, *Ad Caesarem senem de republica*, and *Ad C. Caesarem oratio de republica*, as well as [ps.-] M. Porcius Latro’s *Declamatio contra Catilinam* and Pomponio’s *C. Crispi Sallusti Vita*.

presence of Pomponio's dedicatory letter to his patron Agostino Maffei prefacing the texts provided readers with a 'proof' of provenance.

The many new or revised editions and reprints published between 1491 and 1528, listed in the Appendix to this article, attest to the success of Pomponio's recension, especially in Italy and France. Its popularity was in turn enhanced by the addition of other texts on the Catilinarian conspiracy, notably, Cicero's four *Orationes in Catilinam*, often accompanied by a fifth ps-Ciceronian oration, and by the two invectives, the *Oratio in Ciceronem* and the *Oratio in Sallustium*, attributed respectively to Sallust and Cicero. Many editions also contained the first printed commentaries on one or both of Sallust's two monographs, the *De coniuratione Catilinae* and *De bello Iugurthino*, by, or attributed to, the humanist scholars Laurentius Valla (attrib.), Johannes Chrysostomus Soldus, Omnibonus Leonicensis (attrib.), Jodocus Badius Ascensius, and Jacobus Crucius Bononiensis.

Most publishers and printers likely chose Pomponio's edition believing that his name would ensure good sales. The Brescian bookseller and publisher Antonio Moretto not only reproduced the 1490 Rome text, with occasional variations, in his 1491 Venice edition, but publicized his connection (real or fictitious) with Pomponio by substituting his own name for the latter's original publisher, Joannes Rhegiensis (Giovanni da Reggio), in Pomponio's preface.² Others, however, like the Flemish teacher and printer Jodocus Badius Ascensius (Josse Bade), expressed their genuine gratitude to Pomponio, especially for salvaging what he could from the lost *Historiae*. As Bade writes in the dedicatory epistle to his 1504 Paris edition: "multam tamen Pomponio Laeto, homini nimirum doctissimo, agere gratiam, quod eas [reliquias] ex invidiae oblivionis et incultae barbariei faucibus receperit".³ (I give many thanks, nevertheless, to Pomponius Laetus, an extraordinarily learned man, for rescuing these [remains] from the jaws of invidious oblivion and ignorant barbarism.) More than thirty years later the German philologist Johannes Rivius also complimented Pomponio in his preface *Studiosis*, in the 1539 Leipzig edition of his *Castigationes*, noting how carefully he had collated the manuscripts and emended the text:

Quam fuerint depravatae antehac historiae Sallustianae, vel illud inter alia esse indicio potest, quod tot egregii ac praestantes ingenio doctrinaque viri in tollendis harum mendis tantum operae collocarint.

² "Augustino Mafaeo Rerum Ro. Thesauro Pomponius Laetus", see Ramminger 2005. On the 1491 Venice edition of Sallust and Antonio Moretto (or Moretto), see Osmond and Sandal 2007.

³ On the Renaissance and early modern editions and commentaries on Sallust cited in this article see the entries in Osmond and Ulery 2003. In transcribing passages from the humanist texts we have retained the spelling but regularized the use of u/v and modernized punctuation.

Inter quos primas iure suo Pomponius Laetus obtinet, qui, conquisitis undique exemplaribus antiquis, Sallustium est emendare conatus, ut nihil ferme addendo (quemadmodum ipse inquit) sic non pauca detrahendo.⁴

How corrupted until now were Sallust's histories can be adduced *inter alia* even by the fact that so many distinguished and outstanding men of talent and learning have taken such great pains to remove their errors. Among them Pomponius Laetus justly obtains the highest place, who, after ancient exemplars were gathered from every direction, sought to emend Sallust by adding almost nothing (as he himself says), just as by removing not a few things.

The humanists who edited the early editions of the classics recognized the importance of returning to the manuscripts and exercising good judgment, but rarely indicated any criteria other than the antiquity of a codex for preferring a particular witness, and given the still rudimentary knowledge of palaeography, age itself could be difficult to assess.⁵ It is not surprising, therefore, that by the middle of the sixteenth century, especially north of the Alps, after the publication of new editions of Sallust's *opera* by Henricus Glareanus (Basel, 1538) and Rivius (Leipzig, 1539) based on a more rigorous selection and evaluation of old manuscripts, along with what were then deemed the better printed editions, reprints (or revised versions) of Pomponio's edition begin to taper off. By this time as well the first critical comments on Pomponio's editing begin to appear.

One passage in particular in Pomponio's 1490 edition of the *Catilina* raised a red flag:

Nam imperium facile his artibus retinetur quibus in initio partum est. Verum ubi pro labore desidia, pro continentia et aequitate libido invasere, fortuna simul immutatur cum moribus. Ita imperium semper ab optimo quoque ad minus bonum. (*Cat*, 2.5-6)

In fact, the last sentence in this passage had already been noticed earlier in the century. In the preface to his 1509 Venice edition of Sallust's *opera* Aldo Manuzio observed that he had emended the phrase that in other editions read "Ita imperium semper ab optimo quoque ad minus bonum transfertur" (*Cat*. 2.6) on the authority of two manuscripts brought to him from France by

⁴ Ioannes Rivius Studiosis, Rivius 1539. He also cites the editions of Philippus Beroaldus (not after 1478), Benedictus Philologus (1503), Aldus Manutius (1509), and Hieronymus Aleander (Paris, 1513).

⁵ On the humanists' efforts to improve the editing of classical texts during the early decades of printing and the importance of the *editio princeps* as the basis for collations and the development of standard recensions, see Monfasani 1988, especially 4-14, with further bibliography, including Grafton 1983 and Kenney 1974.

Joannes Lascaris and Iocundus Veronensis (Giovanni Giocondo). Although Aldo did not cite Pomponio specifically, it would have been clear to readers familiar with recent editions of the *Catilina* that he was referring to the latter's recension and to the particular reading that had been repeated in subsequent imprints.

Quae (inquis) exemplaria quae sint correcta et emendata, statim in principio de coniuratione Catilinae licet cognoscere. Nam quod fere in aliis legitur – “Nam imperium facile his artibus retinetur, quibus in initio partum est. Verum ubi pro labore desidia, pro continentia et aequitate libido atque superbia invasere, fortuna simul conmutatur cum moribus. Ita imperium semper ab optimo quoque ad minus bonum transfertur” [2.5-6] – in his sic habetur. “Ita imperium semper ad optimum quemque a minus bono transfertur”, quae vera est lectio. Est enim sensus. Imperium in initio virtute ab optimis partum, eadem virtute facile retinetur.⁶

These exemplars (you say) that would be correct and emended one can recognize immediately at the beginning of the Conspiracy of Catiline. For that which is clearly read in some – “For ruling power is easily retained by those qualities by which it was acquired in the first place. Truly, where in place of toil, sloth, in place of continence and equity, lust and pride have taken possession, one's fortune is completely altered at the same time as one's character. So ruling power is always transferred from the best persons to the worse” [2.5-6] – in these [i.e., Aldo's exemplars] is rendered thus: “So ruling power is always transferred to the best men from the worse”, which is the true reading. For this is the sense: a ruling power originally born from the best because of *virtus* is easily retained by the same *virtus*.

Aldo's correction was soon accepted by other scholars thanks to the rapid diffusion of his edition and subsequent reprints and Joachim Vadian(us)'s *Testimonium elimati codicis per Aldum, ex epistola eius praeliminari* prefacing his own emended edition of Aldo's *Sallust* (Vienna, 1511). In his *Castigationes* of 1539 Rivius as well – despite his generally favorable remarks about Pomponio's work (cited above), and without naming him directly – adamantly rejected his version of this passage.

In manuscriptis omnibus est “ad optimum quemque ab minus bono transfertur”. Quomodo et sensus ipse exposcere mihi videtur. Nam fortunam dicit simul cum moribus immutari, ostendens, videlicet,

⁶ Aldo Pius Manutius Bartholomaeo Liviano ... S. P. D., read in Sallustius Crispus 1742, “Dedications”.

imperia alio transferri propter vitia regnantium. Nec secus interpres, quisque is fuit, legisse atque intellexisse hunc locum videtur.⁷

All manuscripts have “[ruling power] is transferred to the best men from the worse”, in which way even the sense itself seems to me to demand. For he says that fortune changes simultaneously with character, showing, that is, that empires are transferred to another on account of the vices of those reigning. Nor does the scribe who interpreted this, whoever he was, seem to have read and understood otherwise this *locus*.

By the early 1600s criticism of this passage was escalating into a full-scale attack on Pomponio’s edition. The charges were brought by Janus Gruterus (Jan Gruter), professor of history and head of the Bibliotheca Palatina at Heidelberg, who consulted several of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century printed editions, in addition to his Palatine manuscripts, in preparing his own edition of Sallust’s *opera* (Frankfurt, 1607). When it came to Pomponio, however, he had nothing at all good to say. What enraged him was the fact that Pomponio had departed from what he considered the unpolluted versions of earlier editions and that his error – indeed all his inept readings – had then been replicated by a host of other editors in the following decades.

Ita antiquitus cusi, ita membranae, uno suffragio omnes, adeo laudem nullam mereatur facinus Pomponii Laeti, a quo nobis primitus obvenit “imperium semper ab optimo quoque ad minus bonum transfertur”. Quod plurium deinde editiones invasit, tanquam auctoris legitimum. Nimirum quicquid ineptiarum saeculo superiori Sallustio invecum, id imputandum illi Laeto, discedenti a castioribus editionibus. Vicentina quidem anni 1475 [*sic*], Mediolanensis vero 1482.⁸

Like the very old printed editions, so the manuscripts are of one voice, so that Pomponius Laetus’s villainy deserves no praise, from whom for the first time “ruling power is always transferred from the best men to the worse” then invaded the editions of many, as if it were the legitimate authorial reading. Surely, whatever absurdity has been introduced into Sallust in the last century must be imputed to that Laetus, departing from more chaste editions, the 1475 Vicentina [*sic*], certainly, and the 1482 Milanese.

If Pomponio’s reputation as one of the most learned men of his age assured the initial success of his 1490 edition (and, as a result, Gruter implied, the

⁷ Rivius, *Castigationes in Sallustium, Liber I. In Catilinam, ad loc.* Rivius 1539.

⁸ Sallustius Crispus 1607 (ed. Gruterus), *ad loc.* The *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* (ISTC) does not list any edition of Sallust printed at Vicenza in the 1470s.

spreading of falsehoods), it was now Gruter's reputation and the success of his 1607 edition of the monographs, which served as the *textus receptus* well into the following century, that marked the eclipse of Pomponio's fame as editor of Sallust. Gruter's charges were repeated in the prefaces or notes of such prominent editors as Antonius Thysius (1654), Joseph Wasse (Cambridge, 1710), and Sigebert Havercamp (Amsterdam, 1742). In the preface to the Reader of his 1710 edition of the *opera*, Wasse, after denouncing the manifold interpolations, omissions, and distortions that ignorant and careless *librarii* and *interpretes* had for centuries introduced into the text, deplored the fact that Pomponio had only made things worse. Moreover, from his time on, he adds, scholars were more intent on expounding and annotating the content of Sallust's histories or illustrating the rules of *ars historica* than purging the text.

Nec tamen his sordibus contentus Pomponius Laetus, castiores Sallustii editiones et ipse talis vir, ex Sanseverina familia, Vallae Discipulus, ulterius contaminasse fertur. Et ab illius temporibus ad nostram usque aetatem plures enarrare notasque Reales in eum conscribere quam purgare malebant. In hoc vulgo eminent Omnibonus, Zanchus, Bononiensis, Philologus; inter eos qui Historice & Politice rem agunt, Castilioneus, Repertus, Graswinckelius, Loccenius, et qui artem sensusque ad regulam scribendi exigit Paulus Benius, quorum labores hac in parte nos illaetabili atque ingrato onere sublevarunt.⁹

And not content, however, with this shabbiness Pomponius Laetus – himself such a [distinguished] man, from the Sanseverino family, disciple of Valla – is said to have further contaminated the purer editions of Sallust. And from his times to our age many have preferred to expound and annotate the factual matter rather than purge [the text]. In this crowd Omnibonus [Leoniceus], [Bartholomaeus] Zanchus, [Jacobus Crucius] Bononiensis, [Benedictus] Philologus stand out; among those who treat of history and politics, Castilioneus, Repertus, Graswinckelius, Loccenius, and he who demanded [that] skill and meaning be measured by the rules of writing, Paulus Benius, men whose labors have relieved us of an unpleasant and thankless burden.

⁹ Joseph Wasse, 'Lectori S. D. J. Wasse', Sallustius Crispus 1710, i-xv (ii). On Pomponio's origins Wasse is following the testimony of such authors as Pietro Marso, Michele Ferno, Marcantonio Sabellico, Giovanni Pontano, and Paolo Giovio who reported that he was born into the noble family of the Sanseverino (the illegitimate son of Giovanni, count of Marsico and baron of Sanseverino). See Osmond 2010b. On the use of *Reales*, see Ramminger 2003, s. v. "realis".

Only after the publication of the Aldine editions (1509, 1521), Wasse continues, and especially from the time of the pioneering work of Glareanus and Rivius, was the way opened to a new, critical recension of the text.¹⁰

One scholar, however, did come to Pomponio's defense: Gottlieb Cortius, who in the preface to his edition of Sallust's *opera* (Leipzig, 1724) made the important point – with which we would agree today – that the textual tradition before Pomponio was by no means as pure as Gruter and Wasse had proclaimed.

Consulit eamdem [editionem Venetam A. MCCCCLXX], ut persuasissimus, exactissimus Gruterus et, quod palam, additis etiam numeris 1470, profitetur V. Cl. Iosephus Wassius; sed, quod, pace tantorum virorum, dixerim remissiore cura. [Continues with examples of his errors.] Ceterum non est illa eius pretii, cuius vulgo principes editiones habentur; immo, si ex illa de omnibus iudicandum foret, aequo animo interitum omnium ferre possemus. *Quo magis admiratus sum ingenium doctissimorum virorum, qui quidquid in Sallustio contra vet. codicum fidem immutatum est, id Pomponii Laeti importunae diligentiae adscribunt. Nam vel ista Veneta docere poterit iam ante Laeti operam, plurima esse immutata, plurima infeliciter intrusa.*¹¹ (emphasis added)

The very exacting Gruter consulted the same edition [Venice, 1470], as we have been persuaded, and which the distinguished Joseph Wasse

¹⁰ The reactions of Gruter and Wasse recall Monfasani's remarks regarding a much earlier episode involving Niccolò Perotti: "Perotti apparently was the first to perceive, or, at least, the first to put in writing the perception that by its very existence the printed text became the standard recension of a work, driving out of circulation even superior manuscript recensions. To a certain extent, especially apropos many classical works, Perotti's fears were exaggerated in the short term. Renaissance humanists vigorously tried to improve each other's classical editions. Indeed, the text which occasioned Perotti's letter to Guarneri, Pliny's *Natural History*, soon became a notorious battleground for humanist philology. But for whole categories of writings Perotti's premonition proved all too true. The number of medieval and early Renaissance texts which still today are to be read in the *editio princeps* or in editions based on the *princeps* is legion. And even in the case of the classical texts to which the humanists gave most of their attention, the *princeps* or other early editions invariably exercised a substantial influence because humanists used these editions as the basis for their collations, and therefore, for better or worse, made them the standard texts". Monfasani 1988, 8.

¹¹ Sallustius Crispus (ed. Cortius) 1724. Glareanus had made a similar statement, criticizing even Aldo's editing, in the preface to his 1538 edition of Sallust: "Aldus Manutius Venetus ante aliquot annos editionem exhibuit, ut tum putabant satis emandatam, laudandam certe si ad prioris seculi exemplaria edita conferatur. Verum si penitius introspexeris, Dii boni, quantum illic reperias errorum". (Aldus Manutius of Venice produced an edition some years before that was then thought sufficiently emended: to be praised, certainly, if it is compared to the exemplars of the preceding century. However, if you look into it more closely, good gods, how many errors you find there.)

openly affirms, adding even the number [of the year], but, I would say, *pace* such great men, rather negligently. [Continues with examples of his errors.] But that edition is not of the same value as first editions are commonly held to be; in fact, if judgment had to be made on all of them from that one (alone), we would be able to bear the destruction of all of them with equanimity. *All the more have I wondered at the inclination of the most learned men who ascribe to the misguided diligence of Pomponius Laetus whatever in Sallust has been changed against the authority of the old codices. For even that Venice edition will be able to teach that already before Laetus's work very many things were changed, very many unhappily interpolated.* (emphasis added)

Furthermore, even if Pomponio's recension of the two monographs had its faults, he deserved credit, Cortius insists, for publishing the set of speeches and letters from the *Historiae* and the two *Epistulae ad Caesarem*, which, he says, preserved more of Sallust's true style – if only because the tradition was not as contaminated as that of the monographs, subject as the latter had been to constant revision, and too (in what one might call a “back-handed compliment”) because Pomponio himself had evidently failed to understand the complexities of Sallust's writing.

Nos certe Pomponio, cuius importunitatis in Catilina et Iugurtha Sallustii patrociniū haud suscipio, plurimum debemus, quod ex codice Vaticano Orationes illas, quae sunt in Fragmentis et reliqua opuscula Sallustio adiudicata in lucem cum reliquis emiserit. [Continues with a list of editions containing the fragments which he has consulted, including (in addition to Pomponio's 1490 edition) those of 1493, [before 1493], 1500, and 1499.] *Has quatuor editiones Venetas non sine magno fructu consulimus ad exornandum et poliendum tabulas illas, quae ex tristissimo Sallustii Historiarum naufragio, salvae evaserunt. Obscura pleraque erant et depravatissima in recentioribus editionibus, non alia de causa, quam quod Pomponius perpetuo fere puram putam Sallustii manum expresserat. Eam nunc demum revocavimus, illustravimus, et pro certo adfirmare possumus, qui genium Sallustii, emendatissimum genus dicendi, praegnantem brevitatem propius nosse cupit, illum prius Orationes illas, quam integra duo Crispi opera legere debere. Hae enim cum non toties librariis obnoxiae fuerint quam Catilina et Iugurtha, non tam foede corrupte per Pomponium ad nos pervenerunt. Hunc tamen, credo, magis, quod non intelligeret omnia, fideliter lectiones exemplaris sui repraesentasse, quam quod consilio praeclare ita meruisset, contra in reliquis male feriati homines intelligendo fecerunt, ut nihil intelligerent, et nos posterī infinito labore sordes illas eluere debeamus.* (emphasis added)

We certainly owe a great deal to Pomponius, the defense of whose unsuitability in Sallust's Catiline and Jugurtha I do not at all undertake,

because from the Vatican codex he published those Orations which are in the fragments along with the other little works judged to be by Sallust. [Continues with a list of editions containing the fragments which he has consulted, including (in addition to Pomponio's 1490 edition) those of 1493, [before 1493], 1500, and 1499.] These four Venetian editions we have consulted, not without great benefit, in order to arrange and polish those planks which have escaped safe from the very sad shipwreck of Sallust's Histories. Many things were obscure and very corrupted in more recent editions, for no other reason than because Pomponius had always expressed the genuine hand of Sallust. This we have now at last recalled, have illustrated, and can affirm for certain that whoever desires to know more closely the genius of Sallust, the most correct way of speaking, the pregnant brevity, should read those Orations before the two complete works of Crispus. *For these (Orations), since they were not so often subjected to scribes as were the Catiline and Jugurtha, have come down to us through Pomponius not so foully corrupt. This man, however, I believe, faithfully represented the readings of his exemplar more because he did not understand everything than because he so plainly deserved to do so by careful consideration;* on the other hand, men, idling away their time by exercising their intelligence on the rest demonstrated their lack of intelligence, and we of a later day must with infinite labor clean up those messes. (emphasis added)

But what would Pomponio himself say in his defense, and what in fact *did* he say? As Marianne Pade has pointed out, his dedicatory letter to Agostino Maffei prefacing his 1490 edition explains the difficulties in which he was working, especially the poor condition of the text, corrupted by scribes no longer conversant with the elegancies of Latin style, the venality of printers, more intent on profit than the quality of their work, and his own reservations about publishing his work (especially, we can infer, after the recent unauthorized printing in Mantua of his commentary on Virgil, which he vigorously disowned).¹² In undertaking the work, he was thus conscious of the need to proceed cautiously, following – in the best humanist tradition – the example of an ancient *grammaticus* and relying on *veteres codices* and *vetera testimonia*. Borrowing the words of Valerius Probus, cited by Suetonius (*De gram.*, 24), he summed up his editorial approach:

M. Valerius Probus unice vetustatis amator cum animaduertisset veteres negligi et gloria fraudari, contracta multa exemplaria emendare, distinguere et annotare curavit in eoque se plurimum exercendo laudem

¹² Pade 2011b, 110-111. Johannes Cuspinianus denounces the venality and unscrupulousness of publishers and printers in his letter to Vadianus prefacing his edition of Florus (Vienna, 1511).

non exiguam est adsecutus. Ego tanti viri exemplo, impar licet doctrina et ingenii dotibus, id ipsum aliqua ex parte facere conatus sum eademque via ingressus et tanta undique asperitate confusus vix tuto pedem figere et e sylva egredi potui.¹³

M. Valerius Probus, rare lover of antiquity, when he had observed that the ancients were being neglected and defrauded of glory, took care to emend, punctuate, and annotate many exemplars that he had collected, and by a great deal of practice in this area gained considerable praise. I, by the example of such a man, though not on a par in learning or talent, have tried to do this very thing in some fashion and, having entered upon the same road and confused by the roughness on all sides, was scarcely able to keep my footing and emerge from the wood.

Later, in a manuscript note on *Cat.* 5.4 in his personally annotated copy of the 1490 edition, BAV, Stamp. Ross. 441, Pomponio also cites Probus's words in Aulus Gellius as his authority for retaining *loquentia* rather than keeping the more common term *eloquentia*.

M. Valerius Probus, referente Aulo Gellio [I.15.18], brevi antequam vita decederet Sallustianum illud sic legere cepit et sic a Sallustio affirmavit "satis loquentiae. sapientiae parum". Quod loquentia novatori verborum Sallustio maxime congrueret. Eloquentia cum insipientia minime conveniret.

Caecilius Plinius Li^o Epistularum V [V.20.5] "Itaque Iulius Candidus non invenuste solet dicere aliud esse eloquentiam, aliud loquentiam".¹⁴

M. Valerius Probus, as Aulus Gellius reports [I.15.18], a short time before he died began to read in this way that sallustianism, "satis loquentiae sapientiae parum" [a sufficiency of ready speech but of wisdom little] and affirmed that Sallust had left it that way, because *loquentia* was eminently suited to an inventor of new words; *eloquentia* would not in the least be compatible with lack of wisdom.

Caecilius Plinius in *Epistles* bk V: And so Julius Candidus is accustomed to say, not inelegantly, that one thing is eloquence, another loquacity.

Although Rivius, Gruter, and Wasse did not refer to Pomponio in their (almost identical) annotations on this passage, it is interesting that they agreed with the choice of *loquentia*, citing the same sources, Gellius and Pliny, while

¹³ Ottob. lat. 2989, f. 1r. (cited in Pade 2011b, 110. For a transcription of the dedicatory letter, based on Pomponio's edition of 1490, see Ramminger 2007. On Agostino Maffei see Osmond 2008.

¹⁴ BAV, Stamp. Ross. 441, fol. VIIIv.

acknowledging that most of the earlier printed editions and manuscripts they had seen had *eloquentia*.¹⁵

Which manuscripts of the *Catilina* and *Jugurtha* Pomponio was collating, we cannot say. None of those seen thus far in the collection of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana contain the incriminating (or, for Pomponio, the exculpatory) version at *Cat.* 2.6 that he had presumably followed. But the manuscript annotations in several copies of his 1490 printed edition, including his own, indicate that he was prepared to emend the text as other witnesses came to his attention. The editing of classical authors, we know, was very much an ongoing, and intensely competitive, activity, constantly open to revision, and often a collective endeavor as well, the product of multiple contributions. There is evidence of such work in progress in Pomponio's continuing revision of texts and rewriting of notes, whether he was working on Sallust or other authors such as Claudian, Lucretius, Martial, Silius Italicus, Varro, or Virgil, often in collaboration (or rivalry) with his humanist friends and fellow (or former) teachers.¹⁶ As Johann Ramminger points out in his entry on Perotti in the *Repertorium Pomponianum*:

Perotti collaborated with Leto on several projects, e.g. the commentary on Martial written by Leto for the young Fabio Mazzatosta (with notes in the hand of Perotti, now British Library, King's 32...) [and] a commentary on Statius' *Silvae* by Perotti (Vat. lat. 6835)... Leto is also credited with encouraging the commentary on Martial, which was to become the *Cornu copiae*.¹⁷

But let us look at the marginal annotations on *Cat.* 2.5-6, which in the printed text (as cited above) reads:

Nam imperium facile his artibus retinetur quibus in initio partum est.
Verum ubi pro labore desidia, pro continentia et aequitate libido

¹⁵ In modern editions the accepted reading is *eloquentia*. However, the reading *loquentia* in Valerius Probus is cited by Kurfess 1957 and Reynolds 1991 in the apparatus criticus of their editions of the *Catilina* and by McGushin 1977 in his commentary

¹⁶ "In recent years scholarship on Pomponio Leto has shown how his annotations of classical authors frequently remained a work in progress and would be adapted to his readers or audience," Pade 2011b, 109. Collaboration, of course, could also turn into substantial borrowing (authorized or unauthorized) of material, including whole sets of annotations, as Giuliano Mori has shown in the case of the "De historia", Mori 2021.

¹⁷ Ramminger 2005, rev. 2008, citing Perotti on his contacts and collaboration with Pomponio. See also the publications cited in the bibliographies of Accame 2008 and the *Repertorium Pomponianum*, including those of Daniela Gionta on Claudianus, Helen Dixon on Lucretius, Marianne Pade on Martial and Statius, Johann Ramminger on Martial and Statius, Paola Farenga, Giuliano Mori, Patricia Osmond, Rasmus Gottschalck, and Robert W. Ulery, on Sallust, Frances Muecke on Silius Italicus, Maria Accame Lanzillotta on Varro, and Giancarlo Abbamonte, Fabio Stok, and Nicola Lanzarone on Virgil, each with further bibliography.

invasere, fortuna simul immutatur cum moribus. Ita imperium semper ab optimo quoque ad minus bonum.

In his personal copy, BAV, Rossiano 441, Pomponio supplies the missing verb *transfertur* (in the left margin), then adds a longer note (inserted vertically along the right, inner margin): “vel, a pessimo quoque ad optimum quenque transfertur”. In the elegant presentation copy for his patron, Agostino Maffei, BAV, ms Ottobonianus lat. 2989, written by the German scribe Giacomo Aurelio Questenberg, the same passage is also glossed, but more accurately, reproducing Sallust’s word order: “alias. ita imperium semper ad optimum quenque á minus bono transfertur”. As Pade has demonstrated, not only is the text of the presentation copy more generally correct than the printed version, but the glosses attest to Pomponio’s efforts to tailor his notes to the interests and uses of his reader, highlighting those aspects of Sallust’s language and style that his scholarly patron would appreciate – and which could also invite an interesting discussion on this particular passage in the poem.¹⁸

The considerable number of annotated incunables that include the same or similar gloss reveal, in turn, the efforts made within Pomponio’s circle to preserve and circulate his textual revisions, along with his (chiefly historical and antiquarian) commentary on the two monographs.¹⁹ The Pierpont Morgan Library exemplar (51414.2) could be described as a ‘fair copy’ of Pomponio’s autograph, carefully written and in places ‘copy-edited’ by someone working directly from the original, again supplying the words missing in the 1490 edition at *Cat.* 2.5, “atque superbia”, and at the end of 2.6 the verb *transfertur*, while adding: “Vel a pessimo quoque ad optimum quemque”.²⁰ In the King’s College, University of Cambridge copy, XV.3.3, which belonged to Aulo Giano Parrasio and Antonio Seripando, Parrasio simply reversed the prepositions *ab* and *ad* and altered the terminations of *optimo* and *bono* to read *ad optimum* and *ab minus bono*.²¹

Whether or not Pomponio intended to publish his annotations on the *Catilina* and *Jugurtha*, he was certainly aware of the problem in this passage and ready to address it by acknowledging the alternative reading. Unfortunately for his reputation, however, later editors, with the exception of

¹⁸ Pade 2011b, 112-15.

¹⁹ See Farenga 2003, Osmond 2003 and 2005, 2007, 2010a and 2011, and Ulery 2003. To the copies cited in these articles, we can now add BAV IV.974, on which see Mori 2021.

²⁰ Morgan Library copy PML 51414.2 (ChL 682H), sig.aiv^v, as transcribed by Robert Ulery. See Osmond 2011, 103. This variant, with the same wording, appears in Angelo Maria Peverati’s edition of the *Annotationes* (Peverati 1731), 36.

²¹ A similar correction is found in the copy of the 1490 edition, Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Inc. 524 and in an older edition (Rome, 1482) with (later) manuscript notes citing Pomponio, London, British Library IA.18813.

Angelo Maria Peverati, knew only the printed edition and Peverati himself, when he published in 1731 the annotations he had discovered in a copy of the 1490 incunable in the Biblioteca Mauritania of Mantua, attributed them not to Pomponio but to Turcius Rufius Apronianus Asterius whose name appears in the subscription to the Medici Virgil, the text of which had been transcribed on a leaf bound, along with other annotated leaves, with the printed text.²²

Today, the names of Pomponio and other humanist editors rarely appear in critical editions of Sallust's works in either the prefaces or apparatus criticus.²³ And when they occasionally do, the choice of a particular reference often seems to be rather casual, recording a word or phrase in the text or in a manuscript note that perhaps happened to come to the editor's attention. In fact, the words of E. J. Kenney regarding the first editions produced by Renaissance printers, namely that "the average classical text first saw print in a state that represented what one might call a more or less random dip into the stream of tradition", could also apply to our modern approach to humanist editions.²⁴ Moreover, as Howard Jones observed in the preface to his *Printing the Classical Text*, the task that modern editors have set for themselves has not been to examine "the critical value of the earliest printed editions" or place them in "the history of the classical text" but rather "to document the survival and transmission of the works of the classical Latin authors with references to those witnesses which enable the scholar to establish the text, and to this end printed versions, with few exceptions, have nothing to contribute".²⁵

But here as well – in addition, that is, to considering Pomponio's work in the context of humanist scholarship – we may be able to reassess his role in the history of Sallust's text, recovering in this way a (small) part of what has

²² Peverati 1731, ad loc. See Mori 2021. The copy seen by Peverati has not yet been identified. On the subscription in BAV, Stamp. Ross. 441, see Buonocore 2012. It is copied on the verso of a leaf pasted onto the sexternion bound with the printed text. For a codicological analysis of the Rossiano incunable see Farenga 2003.

²³ Maurenbrecher mentions Pomponio only once in the apparatus to the speeches/letter: on III.48 (*oratio Maeri*) docendique] docendumque ex Pomponii Laeti *coniectura* Kritz. Reynolds cites him only in the Praefatio, xix, in reference to his 1490 edition containing the orations and letters from the *Historiae*. Ramsey, vol. I, lxi, mentions Laetus's edition of the *Ep. ad Caesarem*, stating that manuscripts of the fifteenth century have no independent value as they were copied from various early printed editions such as those of Leto (Rome, 1490); he cites Reynolds 1991, 349-50. In vol. II he cites readings of Laetus only on I.49.20 audeas] audeat *Laetus*, and III.15.6 ipsi] *Laetus*; ipsis V.

²⁴ As Kenney continues: "and in that state it was, as it were, 'frozen' by the new medium", becoming the *lectio recepta* and basis of subsequent critical study". Kenney 1974, ch. 1, I3, I8-I9, 23-26 (cited in Monfasani 1988, 9).

²⁵ Jones 2004, vii-viii.

been called “the lost Renaissance” or, more specifically in terms of textual traditions, “esegesi dimenticate”.²⁶ Arguably, any attempt to collate Pomponio’s entire text with more than five centuries of new recensions would be an impossible task. What could be useful, however, on a reduced scale, is a careful collation of problematic passages in Sallust’s *opera*, in order to see which, if any, of the now approved readings or principal variants can in fact be traced back not only to *editores veteres* in general but to Pomponio in particular. As Antonio La Penna commented in the Prolegomena to the first volume (Bk I) of the *Historiarum fragmenta*, co-edited with Rodolfo Funari:

Nei medesimi apparati critici, la formula generica *editores vetustiores* (*edd. vet.*) si riferisce per lo più, a scopo di cautela, a correzioni o congetture che compaiono nelle più antiche edizioni delle *orationes et epistulae*, in particolare in quelle stampate fra il Quattro e il Cinquecento. In molti casi, infatti, non risulta con sicurezza a chi si possano attribuire i singoli interventi testuali, spesso ripetuti nelle diverse edizioni (su questa difficoltà si veda anche, e.g., la nota introduttiva alla sezione ‘Composite Editions’ in *Catalogus VIII*, 220). Ad ogni modo, ben s’intenda, tale formula presuppone soltanto una scelta di *editores vetustiores*; non implica una *recensio* né completa né sistematica. Una buona parte dei dati raccolti sotto questa formula è stata tratta da alcune fra le edizioni più antiche che si sono ritenute di speciale rilievo: in particolare, e.g., da quelle a cura di Pomponio LETO (vd. Bibliografia: LAETUS), di Aldo MANUZIO jun. (vd. Bibliografia: MANUTIUS; edizione in cui si considerano ricomprese anche le precedenti edizioni a cura del medesimo, ossia quelle di Venezia, 1563, e di Roma, 1563/64), di Ludwig CARRION (vd. Bibliografia: CARRIO; negli apparati critici, qualche volta menzionato anche distintamente).

In conclusion, we thus offer a few examples, taken from the collations of passages in the speeches and letters of the *Historiae*, which we are preparing at Funari’s suggestion, that illustrate Pomponio’s efforts to improve the text, in respect to the readings in the Vatican manuscript and to a reading in context.

[Maur. = Maurenbrecher 1967; LP-F = La Penna-Funari 2015 (Bk I); L = Laetus’s edition of Rome 1490; V = ms. Vat. lat. 3864; R = ed. Rome 1475; M = ed. Mantua 1475; see Appendix for 16th c. eds. indicated by editors’ names]

First appearances in L of readings adopted by later editions:

²⁶ Celenza 2004 and 2014 and Santini and Stok 2008.

Oratio Lepidi (I 55 M)

(20) sed uostra socordia, qua raptum ire licet et quam audeat tam uideri felicem] Maur.; audeas V R, audias M; audeat L (followed by all the 16th c. eds., and adopted by Maur.); the modern editions (Teubner, OCT, Loeb, De Gruyter) read ‘audeas’;

Oratio Philippi (I 77 Maur.)

(3) uos mussantes et retractantes uerbis et uatum carminibus] carminis V, carminibus L, already in R according to OCT and Teubner [it is abbreviated carīb9], carnibus M; the reading in L is followed by all the later editions;
(9) neu patiamini licentiam scelerum quasi rabiem ad integros contactu procedere] contactu V R L, followed by Fidelis, Putsch, Gruter; contractu M, om. Aldus, Asulanus, Aldus Jr., Ricc., Carrio, Coler;
(15) infidus] invidus L and Aldus Jr.; LP-F cite *Carrio*;
per fidem] V R M, perfidia L, followed by most of the 16th c. editions but not the modern ones; LP-F cite *edd.vet. Carrio*;

Oratio Cottae (II 47 Maur.)

Two small spelling changes:

(2) in his] in hiis R M, corrected by L and all later eds.;
(13) aduorsa] V R M, aduersa L Maur., L followed by Fidelis, Aldus, Riccobonus; but aduorsa/advorsa kept by other 16th c. eds., OCT, Teubner, Loeb;

Epistula Pompei (II 98 Maur.)

(6) vobis] L [anticipated in ms. Aurelianensis 192], followed by all later eds., nobis V R M;
(8) animadvertatis] V L [Aurel.], followed by Fidelis, Aldus, Asulanus, Riccobonus, Aldus Jr.,
animadvertitis R M, animaduortatis/-vortatis Carrio, Putschius, Gruter, OCT, Teubner, Loeb;
here Laetus apparently corrected the earlier editions by restoring the V reading;

Oratio Macri (III 48 Maur.)

(3) quantoque tutius factio noxiorum agat] tutius L, correcting tu tuis R M;
(4) aduersa] L Maur., followed by Fidelis, Aldus, Asulanus, Aldus Jr., Riccobonus; aduorsa V? R M Carrio, Coler, Putschius, Gruter, OCT, Teubner, Loeb;

- (6) quia uobismet ipsi] ipsis V R M, Ursinus in Notis, Ciacconius in Notis, ipsi L and modern eds. (cited in app. crit. by Ramsey in Loeb), vosmetipsi 16th c. eds. (nosmetipsi Aldus Jr.);
- (8) socordesque] L, followed by Carrio, Coler, Gruter and modern eds.; secordesque R M and other 16th c. eds.;
- (13) quiessetis] L, followed by all 16th c. and modern eds. (quiescetis Fidelis); qui essetis R M; word-division corrected, perhaps from V;
- (23) Pompeium . . . malle principem uolentibus uobis esse] vobis L, followed by all other 16th c. and modern eds.; nobis R M; correction perhaps from V;
- (28) illi retinuerint quam uos repetiueritis] retinuerint L, followed by Fidelis, Aldus, Asulanus, Carrio, Coler, Putschius, Gruter; retinuerunt R M Aldus Jr., Riccobonus; correction perhaps from V but easily deduced from following verb.

The number of readings that persist in later editions – whether or not they drew upon Pomponio’s own recension – reaffirm Pomponio’s judgment. Those that are preserved, even if not attributed to Pomponio, in the texts and variant readings of modern editions of the *Historiae*, give evidence of a consensus on significant passages that, we can say, begins to evolve from the time of Pomponio’s own edition.

These results are but part of a work in progress, as Pomponio and the members of his *sodalitas* considered their own. But we hope that contemporary and future *Pomponiani* may continue the work, whether on Sallust or other classical authors, in our *Repertorium Pomponianum*.

Appendix: Editions and reprints of Pomponio Leto's 1490 Rome edition of Sallust's *Opera*²⁷

1491.5, Venetiis: arte et ingenio Philippi Pincii de Caneto. The *opera* of Sallust (ed. Pomponius Laetus) with the *Commentarii* of Laurentius Valla on the *Catilina*. HC 14222 ISTC is00076000.

Contents as in 1491.5:

1492.6, Venetiis: per Nicolaum de Ferraris de Pralormo. HC 14224.

1492.7, Venetiis: per magistrum Theodorum de Regazonibus de Asula. HC(+Add)R 14223 ISTC is00077000.

1493.1, Mediolani: arte et ingenio Ulderici Scinzenzeler. HC 14225 ISTC is00077500.

1493.8, Venetiis: per Ioannem de Cereto de Tridino. HC 14226 ISTC is00078000.

[c.1493], Venetiis: per Bernardinum Benalium. HC 14221 ISTC is00079000.

1494.11, Taurini: per Nicolaum de Benedictis et Iacobinum Suigum. HC 142 ISTC is0008000018.

Imprints similar to 1491.5: [c.1495] Lyons (Copinger 5223; ISTC is00082350), 1496 Lyons (HC 14227; ISTC is00082500), 1496 Venice (HC 14231), [c.1497] Lyons (ISTC is00082700).

1495.1, Brixiae: opera et diligentia Bernardini Misinti Ticinensis, impensa vero Angeli et Jacobi Britan[n]icorum. The *opera* of Sallust (ed. Laetus, rev. Johannes Britan[n]icus), with the *Commentarii* of Laurentius Valla on the *Catilina* and the *Expositio* of Johannes Chrysostomus Soldus on the *Iugurtha*. HC 14230 ISTC is00082000.

[ca. 1496-97, Venetiis: Christophorus de Pensis.] HC 14229 [after 14 Nov. 1495] ISTC is00082300.

Contents as in 1495.1:

[ca. 1497-99, Venetiis: Christophorus de Pensis.] HC 14228 [after 14 Nov. 1495] ISTC is00084000.

1497.1 [or 1498.1], Parrhisiis: opera et diligentia magistri Andree Bocard. Impensa vero Iohannis Alexandri et Iohannis Petit. HC 14232.

Imprint similar to 1495.1: 1510 Milan (Schweiger 2.869; Valpy 2.809).

²⁷ The list is abridged from that published in Osmond and Ulery 2003, 220-225, The note we added at the time remains valid today: "The texts in the Sallustian corpus were continually emended by editors and correctors at the time of printing; thus it has not been possible in all cases to identify the specific editor(s) or to distinguish between second (or later) impressions and new or revised editions. Moreover, although every effort has been made to ascertain the contents of each imprint, either directly or by consulting the principal catalogues and bibliographical works, the present list of composite editions remains a partial and provisional guide, subject to additions and corrections".

1500.7, Venetiis: opera et impensa . . . Ioannis Tacuini de Tridino. The *opera* of Sallust (ed. Pomponius Laetus, rev. Johannes Britannicus) with the *Commentarii* of L. Valla and of Omnibonus on the *Catilina* and the *Expositio* of Soldus on the *Iugurtha*. (Other contents as in 1495.1 above.) HC 14233 ISTC is00085000.

Contents as in 1500.7

1502.7, Venetiis: opera et impensa . . . Ioannis Tacuini de Tridino. Schweiger 2.867.

Imprints similar to 1500.7: 1506 Venice: NUC.

1504, Parrhisiis: Iehan Petit [title page]; Finis reliquiarum C. Crispi Salustii et plusculorum fragmentorum . . . corrasorum et ab Ascensio . . . explicatorum et ab eodem diligenti accuratione coimpressorum [colophon]. The *opera* of Sallust (ed. Pomponius Laetus and rev. Johannes Britannicus; further rev. Jodocus Badius Ascensius) with the *Familiaris explanatio* (or *interpretatio*) of Badius. Ph. Renouard, *Josse Badius Ascensius* 3.227-28; Schweiger 2.867-68.

Contents as in 1504:

1506, Lugduni: a Johanne de Vingle. Schweiger 2.868; Renouard, *Badius* 3.229-30.

1508, Parrhisiis: per Joannem Barbier pro Joanne Parvo. Schweiger 2.868; Renouard, *Badius* 3.230.

1509, Lugduni: per Claudium d'Avost alias de Troys. Schweiger 2.868; Renouard, *Badius* 3.231-32.

1511, [Lugduni]: per Jacobum Mareschal. Schweiger 2.869; Renouard, *Badius* 3.232-33.

Imprints similar to 1504: 1513 Venice (Schweiger 2.869; Renouard, *Badius* 3.234), 1513 Lyons (Schweiger 2.869; Renouard, *Badius* 3.233-34; NUC), 1514 Lyons (Schweiger 2.869; Renouard, *Badius* 3.235-36).

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THE TITLE OF BASINIO DA PARMA'S EPIC POEM ON SIGISMONDO MALATESTA



By Florian Schaffenrath

The humanist poet Basinio da Parma (1425–57) wrote an epic poem in the mid-15th century to celebrate Sigismondo Malatesta of Rimini, and he gave this poem the title Hesperis. In order to clarify the meaning of this title, we will first examine what Basinio means by Hesperia/Hesperius in his pre-Hesperis poetry, and then analyse what it denotes within the epic. It turns out that in the Hesperis, Sigismondo's opponents, the Spaniards, are named with it in most passages. Basinio's choice of title is explained as one of many aspects of his close imitation of Homer.

For some time now, there has been a welcome development, not only in German-speaking countries, that Neo-Latin texts are increasingly being included in the study of Classics. This also means that there are more and more courses on Neo-Latin topics, and in this context the question of reliable dictionaries and lexicons comes up again and again. In this situation, we Neo-Latinists are in the pleasing position of being able to confidently refer our students to 'the Ramminger', i.e. *Neulateinische Wortliste: Ein Wörterbuch des Lateinischen von Petrarca bis 1700*.¹ Although this immensely practical lexicon, for which the dedicatee of this *festschrift* deserves the greatest thanks, includes texts up to the end of the seventeenth century, one can nevertheless discern a focus on fifteenth century Italian humanism. It can therefore be assumed that Johann Ramminger will be pleased with the following remarks, which will revolve around a lexicographical question on an outstanding text of Italian humanism.

The specific subject of this paper will be Basinio da Parma (1425–57)² and his epic poem *Hesperis*, in which he celebrates the deeds of his patron in Rimini, Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta (1417–68), especially his wars against Alfonso and Ferrante of Naples in the years 1448 and 1452. The epic, which consists of 13 books, was for a long time only available in Lorenzo

¹ See <http://www.neulatein.de/>.

² For Basinio da Parma's biography see Mazzucchelli 1911; Ferri 1914; Ferri 1917; Ferri 1924; Fiore 1930; Poesch 1962; Campana 1962; Campana 1965; Ceruti Burgio 1993; Coppini 2009.

Drudi's edition from the end of the eighteenth century.³ Recently, Christian Peters has presented a German translation facing the Latin text.⁴ The poem occupies an important position in the history of Neo-Latin epic poetry,⁵ as it is the first epic poem after Petrarch's *Africa* to attempt to imitate the ancient large-scale epics of Homer or Virgil, even in its macrostructure (13 books, 6948 verses in total).⁶

The lexicographical question to be discussed in the following refers to the title of the epic: What does *Hesperis* actually mean? For this purpose, an important basic question must be clarified first: while with many epics it is not clear whether the title we usually use today was also the title chosen and intended by the author, in the case of the *Hesperis* we can safely assume that Basinio wanted this title. The handwritten autograph has been preserved in Rimini (Biblioteca Gambalunga, MS SC 67), and there one reads already on the first pages “Βασινίου ἑσπερίδος τὸ πρῶτον” (fol. 2r) and “Basinii parmensis hesperidos liber primus” (fol. 3r, in each case: first book of Basinio's *Hesperis*). Corresponding information is found at the end of each book or at the beginning of a new book. It therefore seems certain that this was the title Basinio himself chose for his poem.

In the constantly growing literature on Basinio, one sometimes finds “Italiade”⁷ as a suggested translation for *Hesperis*. This is appropriate inasmuch as the poem is indeed about stylising Sigismondo Malatesta as a leader who succeeds in uniting all the troops of Italy behind him and, fighting at their head, defeats an external enemy, the Spaniard Alfonso V of Aragon (1396–1458) and then his son Ferrante of Naples (1424–94). Considering the historical reality of the Apennine peninsula in the mid-fifteenth century, with its many competing city-states, one immediately recognises the fiction that Basinio creates by focusing on two concrete enemies competing against each other. He takes this to the extreme by having not the two armies but only the two leaders face each other in a duel in the first book.

Basinio is one of those authors who are intent on creating a *gesamtwerk* by referring within their works to earlier works and to planned future works. Already in his early poems,⁸ Basinio referred ahead to his epic poem about

³ Basinio da Parma 1794.

⁴ Basinio da Parma 2021.

⁵ For a general introduction to Neo-Latin epic poetry, see Belloni 1912; Zabughin 1921, 279–345; Lippincott 1989; Kallendorf 2014; Schaffnerath 2015; Gwynne 2017.

⁶ For Petrarch's *Africa* I have used the editions Pétrarque 2006 and Pétrarque 2018.

⁷ Campana 1965, “vale quanto ‘Italiade’”.

⁸ Basinio's early poetry, i.e. the collections *Liber Isottaetus*, *Cyris*, and *carmina varia*, were collected and edited by Ferri 1925. We use the following abbreviations: Isot. (*Liber Isottaetus*), Cyr. (*Cyris*), and *carm. var.* (*carmina varia*).

Sigismondo, and here the *condottiere* often appears in this leader role for a united Italy. In the *Liber Isottaeus*, a poetic epistolary novel in which Sigismondo and his lover Isotta degli Atti exchange letters, in letter 1,2 Isotta worries about her lover, who is not staying with her, but has to wage war; she realises that he is the only support for the wavering Italy (1,2,62–62 “Per si qua Italiae te tangit cura cadentis, / Cuius nunc oneri sola columna subes”, if somehow the worry for the tumbling Italy touches you, whose burden you bear for the moment as the only pillar). She takes a similar view in letter 1,4 (1,4,23–24 “Tu tantam in molem, tu tantos solus in usus, / In tantos lectus solus es ipse duces”, for so big a burden, for so big a task, against so great leaders, you alone are chosen), and in 2,10,7 she addresses him as “princeps Italarum gloria rerum” (leader and glory of Italy). Of particular importance is poem 3,2 from the *Liber Isottaeus*. Here, the poet addresses Sigismondo and delivers a kind of *Hesperis* in nuce: Through his achievements in the war, Sigismondo saves the whole of Italy (3,2,8 “Italiae servas qui pia regna tuae”, you who save the pious rule of your Italy), which asked him to become its leader (3,2,133–34 “Itala gens te / Laudat et Italiae te iubet esse ducem”, the people of Italy praise you and call you to become their leader).

Not only in the *Liber Isottaeus*, but also in a number of other poems, Basinio announces an epic poem about Sigismondo, always emphasising the all-Italian claim to leadership that he will assert. The *Hesperis* itself then fulfils this promise: Sigismondo appears as an outstanding figure chosen by God⁹ to save a united Italy against a foreign enemy. Against this background, it is understandable that the epic is called an ‘Italiade’. As a thematic title this is quite appropriate, but as a translation for *Hesperis* it misses the author’s intention, as will be shown here.

1. Explanation of the term

The word *Hesperis* and all other derivations to be discussed here are based on the word *Hesperus* (evening star),¹⁰ which Varro (*res rusticae* 3,5,17) distinguishes from the morning star as follows: “Stella lucifer interdiu, noctu Hesperus ita circumeunt ad infimum hemisphaerium ac moventur, ut indicent quot sint horae” (During the day the morning star, at night the evening star thus strives towards the lower hemisphere and they move in such a way as to indicate how many hours have passed, cf. Sen., *Med.* 878). Two adjectives are derived from this noun:

The feminine adjective *Hesperis*, *-idis* at first generally meant “occidental” (e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 8,77, see below), but then as a noun in the plural

⁹ Cf. Peters 2016, 133–254.

¹⁰ For the explanation of the word, see OLD 2012, 793.

(*Hesperides*) it became the name of the daughters of the Night who live on an island in the ocean in the far west of the world and have a garden there in which golden apples grow, guarded by a dragon (cf. Ov., Met. 11,114).

Less specific is the adjective *Hesperius*, which also means “situated towards the evening, occidental”. It is often used in connection with geographical expressions, e.g., “fretum Hesperium” (Ov., Met. 11,258, western sea). From the original junction “terra Hesperia” Hesperia has emancipated itself and stands for “the Occident” (Macr., sat. 1,3,15). The word occurs mostly in poetry (e.g., Verg., Aen. 1,530 or Hor., carm. 1,36,4).

Whereas the Greeks used Ἑσπερία specifically to denote Italy throughout (cf. Dion. Hal., Ant. 1,35,3), in Latin *Hesperia* can denote Spain (cf. Isid., etym. 9,2,126) in addition to Italy (cf. Verg., Aen. 1,530–34 and 3,185).¹¹ It is instructive what Servius knows to report on Aen. 1,530:

Hesperiae duae sunt, una quae Hispania dicitur, altera quae est in Italia. quae hac ratione discernuntur: aut enim Hesperiam solam dicis et significas Italiam, aut addis ‘ultimam’ et significas Hispaniam, quae in occidentis est fine, ut Horatius “qui nunc Hesperia sospes ab ultima”. et haec est vera Hesperia, ab Hespero dicta, id est stella occidentali. ceterum Italia Hesperia dicitur a fratre Atlantis, qui pulsus a germano Italiam tenuit eique nomen pristinae regionis inposuit, ut Hyginus docet.

There are two Hesperias, one means Spain, the other is in Italy. You can distinguish them in the following way: Either one says only Hesperia and means Italy, or one adds “the outermost” and means Spain, which lies at the end of the western world, as when Horace [carm. 1,36,5] says: “who is now happily back from the outermost Hesperia”. This is the true Hesperia, named after Hesperus, that is, the star of the West. Furthermore, Italy was then called Hesperia after the brother of Atlas, who ruled over Italy defeated by his brother and imposed on it the name of his ancient homeland, as Hygin teaches us.

This dichotomy of the meaning of *Hesperia*, so clearly formulated here, has borne rich fruit in Neo-Latin literature. One (late) example is representative of many: In his epic poem on Alexander the Great, *Alexandrias* (first Forlì 1773, then Bologna 1776), the Jesuit Francisco Javier Alegre formulates in a speech by the warmonger Ninos of Tyros: “duas / cepimus Hesperias” (Alex. 4,288–89, we took the two Hesperias). For Basinio da Parma, who wanted to turn the wars in Italy in the first half of the fifteenth century into a confrontation between Italy and Spain, the term, which could denote both

¹¹ For the distinction, see Epperlein 1971, 84–85.

Italy and Spain, provided an ideal hook for an erudite game with his readership.

2. Passages from Basinio's poetry before the *Hesperis*

It has already been mentioned that Basinio refers to his great epic in advance in numerous poems written before the *Hesperis*.¹² One striking example is *carm. var. 18*, a poem in which Basinio not only announces an epic to Sigismondo in general and anticipates the *Hesperis* in many points, but also prepares the motif of the temple (*carm. var. 18,119* “Ast hic de Pario ponam tibi marmore templum”, but here I will build you a temple of Parian marble), which will play an overriding role in the *Hesperis*: In the first book, Sigismondo vows to have a church built in Rimini, if he succeeds in his martial enterprises (*Hesp. 1,566–70*), and in the last book he fulfils this promise (*Hesp. 13,343–60*). The motif thus has the function of a cramp here. While in the *carmina varia* it is still the temple known from Virgil's *Georgics* that is promised to Augustus and which can be interpreted poetologically as an epic, in the *Hesperis* it has then become the Tempio Malatestiano in Rimini itself that frames the poem.

The word *Hesperus* and its derivatives are found several times in the works preceding the *Hesperis*. Less relevant here are the passages where the word is generally associated with the area in the far west or with the myth of the Garden of the Hesperides: In *carm. var. 3,40* “fretum Hesperium” denotes the ocean in the west, in *Isot. 3,9,73–74* the area far to the west is called “Hesperidum ad oras”.¹³ All the other passages are more specific, because *Hesperia* refers to either Spain or Italy.

Statistically, the passages where *Hesperia* clearly means Italy are more frequent: in letter 3,2 of the *Liber Isottaeus*, the poet addresses Sigismondo and states that with Alfonso a barbarian and foreign enemy has come into the country, whom Sigismondo must ward off for all of Italy (*Isot. 3,2,19–24*):

Venerat Ausonias etenim rex barbarus oras,
Cui tantos animos septima regna dabant,
Antiquas gentes Ethruscaque moenia tentans
Atque Fluentinas terruit ille domos.
Nec mora longa, iubes fulvis circumdatus armis
Tutari **Hesperiam**, maxima regna, tuam.

¹² There is also the parallel phenomenon that Basinio refers back to the *Hesperis* in later works, e.g. *Astronomica* 1,18–20 with reference back to the *Hesperis*.

¹³ In this context, Filippo Visconti's description as “maximus Hesperidum” (*carm. var. 6,4*) is difficult to understand.

A barbarian king came to the lands of Ausonia, emboldened by his seven kingdoms; he attacked the ancient peoples and the walls of Tuscany, he struck fear into the houses of Florence. But it is not long before you, clad in your gleaming golden weapons, command your Hesperia, the greatest realm, to be protected.

The “rex barbarus” refers to King Alfonso of Naples, who possessed seven crowns (cf. Hesp. 6,221–22) and who initially overran the cities of Tuscany with war. He is contrasted with Sigismondo, who had to protect and preserve “his Hesperia/Italy” (“Hesperiam [...] tuam”) from Alfonso. The opposition Alfonso vs. Sigismondo makes it clear that *Hesperia* must mean Italy here. Similarly, in Isot. 3,10, a letter from the poet to Sigismondo, to whom it is announced that he will be the saviour of Italy (Isot. 3,10,73–76):

Sis Italum potius decus immortale virorum,
Qui serves magnam solus et **Hesperiam**.
Quam, nisi tu fueris, iam barbarus occupet hostis
Et teneat regni maxima iura tui.

Be the immortal glory of the men of Italy, by saving by yourself the great Hesperia! If it were not for thee, a barbarian enemy might seize it and have complete control over thy kingdom.

Again, the opposition “barbarus hostis” vs. *Hesperia* clearly establishes that *Hesperia* is Italy. Similarly unambiguous in Isot. 3,2,52 the “Hesperii duces” are the commanders of Italy fighting together against Alfonso (Isot. 3,2,49–52 “Ethruscaque moenia tentat [scil. Alphonsus] / Et pavor Ausonios occupat usque viros. / Si capit Italiam [omnipotens quod vertat in auras / Iupiter], **Hesperios** non feret ille duces”, he [scil. Alfonso] attacks the cities of Tuscany and fear drives the men of Italy. If he takes Italy [may the almighty Jupiter protect us!], he will not withstand the Hesperian commanders). In *carm. var.* 18, already mentioned several times, Sigismondo repels enemy troops from the coast of Hesperia, i.e. Italy (*carm. var.* 18,22–23 “barbaricas ab littore gentes / **Hesperio**”) and thus saves the realm of Hesperia, i.e. Italy (*carm. var.* 18,136 “Qui regnum **Hesperiae** concussa que moenia servas”).

More rarely, the word *Hesperia* can stand for Spain in Basinio’s poetry before the *Hesperis*. In the epyllion *Diosymposis* there is a detailed description of the temple of Fama. A gallery of statues is concluded by the portraits of two rulers: Emperor Augustus and Sigismondo Malatesta. Of the latter it is said that he will drive the peoples of Hesperia from the Tyrrhenian beach with the help of the gods, which only makes sense if one understands it to mean the Spaniards (Dios. 372–73 “hunc [scil. Sismundum] **Hesperias** ab littore gentes / Tyrrheno auspiciis divum detrudere faustis”, that he [scil.

Sigismondo] drives the peoples of Hesperia from the Tyrrhenian coast by the good omens of the gods).

In sum, in the poetry that Basinio wrote before his *Hesperis*, the word *Hesperus* and its derivatives are found in junctures that were introduced and common since antiquity. In concrete terms, then, *Hesperia* can mean Italy or Spain, although statistically the meaning Italy occurs more frequently. This changes fundamentally in the *Hesperis*:

3. Passages from the *Hesperis*

In the *Hesperis*, in addition to the toponym *Hesperia*,¹⁴ there is also the general adjective *Hesperius*,¹⁵ the plurale tantum *Hesperidae* for a people,¹⁶ and the patronymic *Hesperides* for the name of a man.¹⁷ In the *Hesperis*, too, the word can stand for the West in general, but then specifically for Italy or Spain. Not relevant for our context are the passages that refer to the garden of the Hesperides (Hesp. 8,105 “**Hesperidum**que choro sublimi Atlante satarum”, from the circle of the Hesperides, the daughters of Atlas),¹⁸ to the sinking of the sun into the waves in the far west (Hesp. 6,445 “iam sole **Hesperias** dudum labente sub undas”, already the sun sank into the western waves) or the designation of the west wind Zephyrus as a character of the west (Hesp. 7,525 and 10,281 “**Hesperides** Zephyrus”). At the end of an address to the Pope, Sigismondo refers to the Holy Father as “Maxime Pontificum, clari quem rector Olympi / tradidit Hesperiiis rectorem Iupiter oris” (Hesp. 4,563–64, Pontifex Maximus, whom Jupiter, the ruler of the great heavens, has appointed as ruler of the western shores). Here the “Hesperian shores” in a broader sense means the Western world, i.e. the world of Catholic Christianity.

In contrast to the poems discussed above, which predate the *Hesperis*, the adjective *Hesperius* in the *Hesperis* only rarely—exactly five times—refers to Italy, either as a part of clearly locatable geographical elements or in intertextual reference: in a morning prayer, Sigismondo addresses Apollo and lists among the places sacred to the god also Mount Soracte (Hesp. 1,117–18 “Soractis et arces / **Hesperias**”). The mountain now called Monte Soratte lies about 50km north of Rome, and Virgil attests it as a place of worship of Apollo (Aen. 11,785 “sancti custos Soractis Apollo”). The passage is also linked to another passage in Virgil (Aen. 7,695–97) where the “arces Soractis”, like Basinio’s, are inserted into a small catalogue of (Italic)

¹⁴ *Hesperia*: 1,355; 3,92; 3,373; 7,71; 7,326; 10,351; 10,538.

¹⁵ *Hesperius*: 1,118; 4,564; 5,150; 6,445; 10,305; 11,256; 11,331; 12,229.

¹⁶ *Hesperidae* (people): 1,382; 1,442; 1,580; 1,610; 2,139; 8,105; 10,354; 11,438.

¹⁷ *Hesperides* (man): 7,525; 8,157; 8,173; 10,281.

¹⁸ Cf. *Astron.* 1,224–225.

localities. – Like the Soracte, the Tiber, which has its source in the Apennines, can clearly be assigned to Italy geographically; Basinio refers to it as “**Hesperidum** late rector Tiberinus aquarum” (Hesp. 11,438, the Tiber, which widely rules over the waters of Italy), and again he took this formulation directly from Virgil (Aen. 8,77 “corniger Hesperidum fluvius regnator aquarum”).¹⁹ – At the beginning of the fifth book of the *Hesperis*, Basinio describes how Francesco Sforza besieges the city of Gradara, which Sigismondo rushes to relieve. Sigismondo makes a courageous speech to his soldiers in which he says, among other things, that the gods cannot be favourable to a general who devastates the cities of Italy (Hesp. 5,149–50):

Scilicet Italiae divique deaeque potentes
vastanti **Hesperias** faveant, proh Iupiter, urbes?

Should the mighty gods and goddesses of Italy be favourable to one who ravages the cities of Hesperia, by Iove?

With regard to the current siege of the city of Gradara, “Hesperiae urbes” must have meant Italian cities. Basinio took the formulation from Claudian, who in his *Panegyricus* on the third consulate of Emperor Honorius indignantly stated that Eugenius, his father’s archenemy, had illegally appropriated the cities of Italy and thus caused the Emperor to hurry to the relief (carm. mai. 7,66 “barbarus Hesperias exul possederat urbes”). – The same formulation is used in Book 11 of the *Hesperis* by the malformed Seneucus, who wants to dissuade the Italians from cooperating with Sigismondo; among other things, he accuses Sigismondo of depopulating entire cities in Italy (Hesp. 11,329–32):

si pietas animum, nostra virtute superbus,
inque solens numquam vacuas tot civibus urbes
Hesperias tanta vastasset clade

If decency drove his spirit, he would probably never, relying on our fighting power, have haughtily and intemperately robbed so many Hesperian cities of their citizens and ravaged them with such mischief.

Again, the cities of Italy appear here as “Hesperiae urbes”, which have been invaded by an illegitimate ruler and which are to receive protection and rescue from elsewhere. The passage thus again takes up the formulation familiar from Claudian. – The adjective *Hesperius* appears one last time with clear reference to Italy: in a speech in Book 12 of the *Hesperis*, the goddess Pallas complains that her brother Mars has caused so many soldiers from Italy to perish (Hesp. 12,229–30):

¹⁹ On the unusual linguistic form of Virgil’s line see Fratantuono 2015, 8.

Hesperios quot caede viros Mars ipse cruentis
Celtarum manibus Stygium demisit ad Orcum.

How many Hesperian men has Mars himself sent down to the Styx in death at the bloody hands of the Celts!

The Celts here refer to the Spaniards. The god of war used them to send men from Hesperia, i.e. from Italy, into the underworld. To sum up, the places where *Hesperius* refers to Italy are few in number and clearly determined either by the addition of a geographical unit or by an intertextual reference.

In contrast to these five passages where *Hesperius* denotes Italy, in many more places where it occurs it means Spain. It is striking that without exception all occurrences of the nouns *Hesperia* and *Hesperidae* refer exclusively to Spain:

1,354–55 (“at patriae miserere tuae, miserere labantis / **Hesperiae** extremis terrarum nobilis oris”, but still have mercy on your homeland, have mercy on the wavering Hesperia, the noble land on the farthest shores of the world): Antiphates turns to his king Alfonso and asks him not to go to war against Sigismondo, thus showing mercy to his homeland and to the shattered Hesperia. The expressions “patria tua” and “Hesperia labans” are constructed in parallel as predicate genitives. Therefore, *Hesperia* here means Spain. It is less likely that a contrast between Alfonso’s homeland on the one hand and *Hesperia* on the other is implied here; then *Hesperia* would be understood as Italy. Much depends on the meaning of the words “extremis terrarum nobilis oris”. Peters translates “das geadelt ist bis an die entferntesten Gestade der Welt”²⁰. This rather suggests an understanding of *Hesperia* as Italy. Much more likely it must be understood as “noble on the farthest shores of the world” and thus mean Spain.

1,381–84 (“Non tam arguerim vos, si mora longa fatigat, / **Hesperidae** [...] at patrios tamen hic rediisse penates / turpe sit”, I do not blame you, if you are tired of the long wait, sons of the West, [...] but to return home here and now, that might well be shameful): King Alfonso realises that his men are tired of the long wait, but he tells them that it would be shameful to return home now.

1,442 (“Vos haec, **Hesperidae**, vos haec audite, Latini”, Hear this, ye Hesperides, hear it, ye Latins): A few verses further on, Alfonso’s and

²⁰ Basinio da Parma 2021, 159.

Sigismondo's armies face each other and Sigismondo addresses them directly. It could be that Sigismondo uses two different expressions, *Hesperidae* and *Latini*, to address only his Italians. But it is much more likely that he addresses both the Spaniards (*Hesperidae*) and the Italians (*Latini*) in order to negotiate the terms of the duel with both sides. It is also fitting that Alfonso explicitly addresses both sides in his speech before the duel (Hesp. 453–54 “audite, rogamus, Iberi, / et magni Ausonii”, Listen to me, I beg you, you Spaniards and you great Italians).

1,580 (“in medium **Hesperidum** atque Italum processit uterque”, both stepped into the middle between Spaniards and Italians): As part of the planned duel between Sigismondo and Alfonso, the two opponents step into the middle between Spaniards and Italians.

1,609–10 (“Conclamant Itali laetumque ad sidera tollunt / murmur, at **Hesperidum** solvit genua omnia torpor”, The Italians rejoice and raise a joyful murmur to the stars, but the Spaniards' knees go weak with paralysing shock): When the duel seems to have a favourable outcome for Sigismondo, the Italians rejoice while the Spaniards freeze in terror.

2,139–40 (“haud secus **Hesperidae** atque Itali concurrere telis / omnibus”, not differently, Spaniards and Italians fought each other with all their weapons): The fight between Spaniards and Italians is compared to the fight between two hostile swarms of bees.

3,90–92 (“Itali, fortissima semper / pectora, quos mecum voluit Fortuna superbos / **Hesperiae** populos nostris detrudere terris”, Italians, your hearts are always the bravest, and fate would have you drive the haughty peoples of Hesperia out of our land with me): Sigismondo addresses his soldiers and confirms to them that the goddess of fortune herself has ordained that together they should drive the Spaniards from their land.

3,371–74 (“prospectat latis longe fulgentia campis / agmina, magnanimosque duces, missamque sub armis / **Hesperiam** et duros Tyrrheno in litore Celtas / Ausonidum clausos turmis utrimque refusus”, he contemplates the battle lines gleaming in the vast fields, the lofty leaders and Hesperia in arms, the brutal Celts on the Tyrrhenian shore, enclosed all around by the outflowing troops of the Ausonians): In the third book, Jupiter views the battlefield from an Olympian perspective and sees the Spaniards encircled by the Italians. Again, the question arises whether the above passage is

meant to express a contrast between *Hesperia* (i.e. Italy)²¹ under arms and the Celts (i.e. Spain) fighting on the Tyrrhenian coast, or whether *Hesperia* and Celts stand as two expressions for one content, namely the Spaniards, who are further said to have been surrounded by the troops of the Italians. The latter solution seems more appropriate.

7,70–72 (“*mente movens tacita, Libycas an naviget oras, / anne per **Hesperiae** populos ignotus ut hospes / Cimmerios petat arte locos*”, In silence, he ponders whether he should sail to the Libyan coast or go incognito through the peoples of Hesperia to seek out the Cimmerians as a guest): After his father appeared to him in a dream, Sigismondo ponders how he should go to the island far to the west, via the African coast or incognito through Spain.

7,325–26 (“*tum magni Pandulphi Marte superbos / **Hesperiae** populos duris cecidisse sub armis*”, that the haughty peoples of Hesperia had fallen under his hard weapons in the war with the great Sigismondo): In Spain, Sigismondo arrives incognito at the home of the old woman into whom Minerva has been transformed. She tells him that the Spaniards have suffered defeat in the war against Sigismondo.

10,304–05 (“*Iam terras, mediumque fretum, Maurusiaque arva / **Hesperiasque** domos, montes camposque videbat*”, He already saw the countries, the Mediterranean, the Moorish shores, the houses of Hesperia, its mountains and fields): On his return journey from the islands of the blessed far to the west, Sigismondo first sees the houses of Spain.

10,349–51 (“*eventum belli talem fore, qualia circum / moenia gesta diu Populonia bella superbis / **Hesperiae** populis*”, the outcome of the war would be like the war long fought by the haughty peoples of Hesperia around the walls of Populonia): At the siege of Faiano by the troops of Ferrante, the besieged cry out to their oppressors that it will be as surrendered to them as it was to the Spaniards who had once besieged Populonia.

10,354 (“*Talibus **Hesperidae** atque Itali contendere dictis*”, Spaniards and Italians fought with such invective): This is how the war of words that

²¹ The fact that Basinio takes up a passage from Virgil here (Aen. 7,43-44 “*totamque sub arma coactam / Hesperiam*”) nevertheless does not help with the explanation.

broke out between the Spaniards and the Italians besieged by them in Foiano is concluded.

10,537–38 (“Quod superest Latii facile est domuisse tyrannis / **Hesperiae** antiquis”, What is left of Latium is easily subjugated by the ancient rulers of Hesperia): In a speech to his troops, Ferrante prophesies that the Spaniards will soon succeed in taking the rest of Latium as well.

11,255–59 (“Igitur Tarracona petemus, / **Hesperiasque** domos, et prodigiosa priorum / litora Geryonasque alios armentaque prisca, / Amphitryoniades nostris quae vexerit oris / fatalem praedam”, So let us strive towards Tarragona, and the Hesperian homesteads, the mighty shores of the ancients, figures like Geryon and their ancient flocks, brought to our part of the world by the hero from the lineage of Amphitryon, a fateful prey): In a speech to his men, Sigismondo wonders how many times he will have to defeat the troops of the Spaniards and plans to attack them in their own land.

Apart from the purely numerical preponderance of passages where *Hesperia* means Spain, it is particularly striking that Spain is meant in all ten passages where the toponym *Hesperia* occurs. In contrast to Basinio's earlier poetry, there has thus been a clear shift in meaning away from Italy and towards Spain. In view of these findings, how can it be explained that Basinio nevertheless called his epic *Hesperis*?

4. *Imitatio Homeri*

Basinio distinguished himself from his earliest works as a great admirer of Homer. He owes a fierce episode in his intellectual biography to his courageous commitment to his revered role model: his dispute with Porcellio and Seneca, against whom he emphasised the importance of the Greek language and literature, is considered one of the most important humanist disputes about Greek.²²

Already in his early poems, Homer plays a major role: he repeatedly refers to his own reading of Homer (carm. var. 20,171–72 “Dum dederat magni mihi carmen Homeri / Ocia”, when the poem of the great Homer had given me leisure; cf. carm. var. 20,185 “Si legis Iliados divina poemata”, when you read the divine lines of the Iliad; Cyr. 3,41 “Haec manus aeternum solum tractavit Homerum”, this hand has only dealt with Homer for ever), honourably calls him “father” (carm. var. 1,30 “Maeonidesque pater”) and

²² Cf. Ferri 1920.

refers to himself as his son (Cyr. 4,42 “Meque suum natum dulcis Homerus alit”, sweet Homer nourishes me as his son). He knows that the heroes celebrated in Homer’s epics owe all their glory to their poet (e.g. *carm.* var. 3,9–10 “Dic referant grates vati pro laudibus ambo [scil. Achilles et Hector] / Quas subeunt magnas, dulcis Homere, tibi”, say they both [scil. Achilles and Hector] should thank you for the great praise they owe to you, sweet Homer; cf. *carm.* var. 4,17 “Meonides Ithacum fortemque sequatur Achillem”, Homer should follow the strong man from Ithaca and Achilles) and he goes even further: without Homer there will be no Hector (*carm.* var. 7,17 “Homerus abest: nullus et Hector erit”, if there is no Homer, there will be no Hector). To his patrons Basinio promises that a second Homer will one day sing their praises, such as for Leonello d’Este (*carm.* var. 13,12 “Atque tuas laudes alter Homerus aget”, a second Homer will sing your praises; cf. *carm.* var. 16,3–5 “cunctosque canam tua facta per annos. / Me superent quicumque ferant ea, laude minores, / Atque velim magno vix concedatur Homero”, forever I will sing of thy deeds; I may well be surpassed by those who perform such deeds, but in praise they are inferior, and I need hardly give way to the great Homer), or Sigismondo Malatesta, to whom he repeatedly promises in the *Liber Isottaeus* that he will one day sing of him like Homer sings of his heroes, for his deeds are “Maeonia bella canenda tuba” (Isot. 2,10,107–08 cf. 3,10,8). In the poem to Pope Nicholas V, Basinio explains why he does not want to undertake to translate Homer (*carm.* var. 20,44–45 “Forsitan id rogites, quid non ego vertere magnum / Meonium aggrediar”, perhaps you wonder why I do not set out to translate the great Homer), but instead, like Virgil, wants to write his own epic poem in recourse to Homer (*carm.* var. 20,95–96 “Nimirum auctorem divinae mentis Homerum / Sortitus cunctis imitator maximus actis”, as the author of his all too divine spirit he chose Homer, this greatest imitator in all deeds).

In the *Hesperis*, one may then recognise this long-announced epic poem in the succession of Homer. In fact, Basinio strives to imitate Homer on many levels in this text. Numerous episodes and similes are developed after models in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, some characters are adapted from Homeric models. Characters from the Homeric epics are repeatedly present in the *Hesperis*, for example Achilles and Ulysses in the temple of Fama on the Isle of the Blessed (Hesp. 7,50 and 8,215). In the autograph, Basinio has repeatedly noted in the margin the original quotation of the passages from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, which he takes up and reworks in the passage in question; it was thus obviously important to him that it be clear down to the last detail how he is imitating his venerated model.

If we now consider Basinio’s enthusiasm for Homer and bring it together with the findings elaborated above for the analysis of the word *Hesperia* in

the *Hesperis*, a hypothesis can be suggested: Basinio wanted to imitate Homer also in his choice of title for his epic. In this, he deviated considerably from the choices of earlier Neo-Latin epic poets: he did not choose a title aimed at reproducing the content as correctly as possible, like Gerardus Anechinus in his *Carmen heroico metro in tres libros divisum de quibusdam miraculis Virginis Mariae occursis Mutinae* written in Modena in 1399, like Maffeo Vegio in his *Vellus aureum*, or like Gianantonio Pandoni in his *Triumphus Alfonsi devicta Neapoli*. Nor did he put the hero of his epic in the title, as Vegio did in his *Antonias*, Antonio Baratella in his *Polydoreis* or he himself did earlier in his *Meleagris*. The *Hesperis* follows epic conventions insofar as the ending *-is/-idos* places it in the line of tradition of the *Aeneid*. But it is clearly *not* a Sigismondo epic (one could think of a *Pandulphias*). Rather, Basinio follows his great model Homer, for whom the name of the antagonists of his heroes was decisive for the title: the title *Iliad* is derived from the name *Ilion* for Troy. This also explains the title of *Hesperis* from the term *Hesperia*, which is used for the Spanish. In opposition to Homer, the contrast is not so sharp here, because after all, *Hesperia* can in principle designate both countries, Italy and Spain, and the *Hesperidae* already possess a considerable part of the Apennine Peninsula with the Kingdom of Naples.

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ÉTUDE SUR LE MOT *TEMPUS* CHEZ LUTHER ET CHEZ ÉRASME



Par Lene Schøsler & Michael Skovgaard-Hansen

*Earlier (Schøsler & Skovgaard-Hansen 2022) we have investigated texts written by Luther and Calvin with the intent of testing the hypothesis that language, society and conceptualisation are interconnected in such a way that societal and conceptual changes are reflected in the language. This article is meant to compare the use of the word *tempus* in texts by Luther and Erasmus. We ask ourselves the following questions: Do we find significant differences? and if so: are they just due to differences in the context of communication or of text type, or rather to differences in ideological approach?*

Introduction

La présente étude fait suite à une première recherche sur l'évolution du concept TEMPUS ('temps').¹ Dans nos deux recherches, nous avons combiné trois théories. La première concerne le lien entre notre conceptualisation et le langage. Notre approche repose sur une version faible de la relativité linguistique, connue comme *the Sapir & Whorf hypothesis of linguistic relativity*, affirmant une influence réciproque entre la langue, la société et la conceptualisation, influence qui se matérialise concrètement, selon cette hypothèse, de sorte que les changements socioculturels et conceptuels se manifestent dans des changements linguistiques. Cette idée pourrait sembler banale, mais c'est loin d'être le cas. Dans le contexte actuel, il suffit de rappeler brièvement l'opposition entre les théories sur le langage ancrées dans la conception autonome et modulaire du langage, considéré comme une faculté innée de l'enfant – et les conceptions qui attribuent au contraire à l'entourage social une influence importante sur le langage, ou même, dans le cas de Sapir & Whorf, l'idée que la langue et la conceptualisation sont intimement liées à la structure de la société dans laquelle vit le locuteur. Les courants en linguistique moderne qui accepte l'idée de la nature innée du langage, avec les conséquences logiques concernant en particulier

¹ Schøsler & Skovgaard-Hansen 2022.

Écrit en lettre capitales, TEMPUS, renvoie au concept dénoté par les formes du mot lexical latin *tempus* ou ses équivalents dans d'autres langues, soit en français *temps* ou en anglais *time*.

l'autonomie du langage et la distinction entre une structure profonde de nature universelle et la structure de surface, liées par un système de règles et de transformations, sont influencés par la grammaire transformationnelle et générative. Les versions successives de cette grammaire, très importante en linguistique moderne, ont été conçues par Chomsky,² qui s'est référé à la grammaire de Port Royal³ comme précurseur de ses réflexions, vu qu'elle insiste justement sur les points essentiels de sa théorie : l'autonomie du langage, le caractère inné et universel du langage, et les deux niveaux du langage. Observons tout de même que la grammaire de Port Royal s'inspire de pensées sur le langage beaucoup plus anciennes.⁴ Le résultat de notre investigation sur l'usage du mot *tempus* et ses dénotations était qu'en effet, l'usage du mot semble refléter des changements diachroniques d'importance.

La deuxième hypothèse, compatible avec l'idée du relativisme épistémologique, propose une systématisation des réalisations linguistiques de notre conceptualisation. Selon Lakoff & Johnson, cette conception est ancrée dans les expériences du monde physique, et les concepts au moyen desquels nous appréhendons les aspects de l'expérience sont d'emblée métaphoriques. Là encore, nous avons pu démontrer la pertinence de l'analyse métaphorique dans les textes de Calvin et de Luther. Finalement, nous avons voulu examiner la proposition de Weber 1904, concernant le rapprochement souvent fait entre l'éthique protestante et l'esprit du capitalisme, en particulier l'importance du travail. Si nous avons pu relever chez nos réformateurs une insistance sur l'importance de ne pas gaspiller son temps, vu que le temps nous est donné pour bien œuvrer pour Dieu, ce n'est que bien plus tard, notamment chez les Puritains, que nous rencontrons l'attitude exprimée en 1748 avec les paroles de Benjamin Franklin : *time is money*, citées par George Fisher, et qui vont être analysées par Max Weber. Cette attitude ne se retrouve pas directement chez nos deux auteurs.

Vu que l'usage du mot-clé *temps* s'est révélé influencé par les changements sociaux du temps des Réformateurs, il nous a paru important d'explorer l'usage chez un auteur humaniste en dehors des cercles de la Réforme, à savoir Érasme, afin de comparer l'usage de ce mot et de ses dénotations dans deux visions idéologiques qui s'opposent en partie.

Notre texte est articulé de la façon suivante : la section suivante contient nos définitions, d'abord des métaphores dans le sens de Lakoff & Johnson⁵ que nous allons exploiter, ensuite des sens lexicaux du mot *temps*. Nous

² Chomsky 1966.

³ Arnauld & Lancelot 1660.

⁴ Pour plus de détails, voir entre autres Pariente 1975 et Vandeloise 1991.

⁵ Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 1999.

présenterons ensuite nos corpus et notre méthode d’investigation. Après, nous étudierons de près les métaphores impliquant le mot *tempus* chez nos deux auteurs, et l’usage lexical impliquant ce mot, d’abord chez Luther, ensuite chez Érasme. Dans la section finale nous procédons à une comparaison entre les deux auteurs, avant de conclure.

Définitions⁶

Définition des métaphores liés au concept de TEMPUS dans le sens de Lakoff & Johnson

Nous avons choisi d’examiner l’utilisation du mot *tempus* chez Luther et Érasme en nous référant à l’analyse métaphorique élaborée par Lakoff & Johnson, analyse compatible avec notre version du relativisme linguistique de Sapir et de Whorf. L’idée est que les expériences basiques du quotidien s’expriment grâce à des expressions révélant les attitudes et les valeurs fondamentales que partagent les locuteurs d’une communauté linguistique. L’analyse métaphorique du concept de TEMPUS est éclairante pour notre propos. Dans leur étude de 1999, chapitre 10, Lakoff & Johnson présentent la *metaphorization of time*. Il ne faut pas confondre leur terme avec l’usage classique du mot métaphore, qui désigne une figure de style qui consiste à utiliser un mot ou une expression en lui donnant par analogie ou ressemblance un sens qu’on attribuerait normalement à un autre mot. Pour Lakoff & Johnson, la métaphorisation consiste à interpréter un phénomène cognitif (abstrait) à l’aide de termes provenant d’un domaine différent et concret, le but étant de permettre une systématisation des phénomènes cognitifs, qui sont issus de nos expériences quotidiennes et qui s’expriment dans notre langage.⁷

⁶ Une partie de cette section sur les définitions reprend partiellement notre présentation dans notre étude précédente (2022).

⁷ Il est fort intéressant que les mots du philosophe et poète latin Lucrèce (premier siècle avant J.C.) sur le temps soient quasiment identiques à ceux de Lakoff & Johnson. Nous citons la traduction de Lucrèce dans l’édition Bailey 1966 et sa traduction en anglais pour faciliter leur comparaison : “Tempus item per se non est, sed rebus ab ipsis consequitur sensus transactum quid sit in aevo, tum quae res instet, quid porro deinde sequatur. nec per se quemquam tempus sentire fatendumst semotum ab rerum motu placidaque quiete” (Even so time exists not by itself, but from actual things comes a feeling, what was brought to a close in time past, then what is present now, and further what is going to be hereafter. And it must be awowed that no man feels time by itself apart from the motion or quiet rest of things.) Lucr. I,459-63. Cp. “...we have no fully fleshed-out concept of time-in-itself. All of our understandings of time are relative to other concepts such as motion, space, and events. ...This does not mean that we do not have an experience of time. Quite the reverse. What it means is that our real experience of time is always relative to our real experience of events. It also means that our experience of time is dependent of our embodied conceptualization of time in terms of events,” Lakoff & Johnson 1999, 137-39.

Nous allons nous référer à quatre métaphores proposées par Lakoff & Johnson, 1 “the moving time metaphor”, 2 “the moving observer metaphor”, 3 “time as a container” et 4 “time as a resource”.

Les deux premières envisagent le concept TEMPUS par rapport à un mouvement dans l’espace. La première, illustrée par les deux exemples suivants: “The deadline is approaching” (la date butoir s’approche), “time is flying by”⁸ (le temps s’envole), conçoit le temps en tant que mouvement dans l’espace. La deuxième implique la présence d’un observateur suivant un mouvement dans un espace, ponctué d’étapes, voir les deux exemples suivants: “We passed the deadline” (nous avons dépassé la date butoir), “We’ve reached June already” (il est déjà juin).⁹ Si la première métaphore s’associe facilement avec l’image du temps qui s’écoule comme un fleuve, la seconde évoque l’image de l’observateur en mouvement, pour qui le passé est derrière lui, le futur devant lui. La troisième métaphore n’implique pas de mouvement, mais une localisation dans un espace clos, comme l’illustre l’exemple “Harry had a heart attack during the rock concert” (Harry a eu un AVC pendant le concert rock);¹⁰ en d’autres mots: le concert rock est conçu comme un espace clos où se déroule l’action. Selon la quatrième métaphore le temps est interprété comme une ressource, riche ou maigre, illustrée par les exemples suivants: “time ran out” (le temps a expiré), et “you have some time left” (il vous reste encore du temps).¹¹

Définition du mot *tempus*

Afin de définir le mot-clé *tempus*, nous avons d’abord consulté un dictionnaire de référence : Lewis & Short’s *Latin Dictionary* [1879]1969. On y distingue deux utilisations que nous allons désigner comme quantitative ou qualitative. Selon la première, le mot dénote un point ou une période limitée, souvent associé à *spatium*: *tempus et spatium* (temps et espace), éventuellement précisé à l’aide d’une épithète comme *unius horæ tempus* (le temps d’une heure). La deuxième utilisation est qualitative, d’abord référant au terme grec *kairos*, illustré par *nunc occasio est et tempus* (Il est maintenant la chance et le moment propice). En effet, *occasio* va devenir la traduction standard de *kairos* en latin. Il dénote la chance, le moment déterminant, le moment opportun pour agir, sens qui se retrouve fréquemment dans son emploi adverbial *tempore* (au moment opportun).

⁸ Lakoff & Johnson 1999, 143.

⁹ Lakoff & Johnson 1999, 146.

¹⁰ Lakoff & Johnson 1999, 154.

¹¹ Lakoff & Johnson 1999, 161.

S'il est intéressant que Lewis & Short renvoient à *kairos*, leur présentation des sens lexicaux laissent pourtant à désirer. Pour cette raison, nous nous sommes tournés vers *Oxford Latin Dictionary*.¹² Ici le sens est structuré en 14 sections, dont les sections 3-5, avec les mots-clés "period" (respectivement "season (of the year)", "a (particular) period in history", "a period of time (w. respect to duration)"), correspondent en gros à la métaphore 3, "Time as a container". Section 6 : "A sufficiency of time (for particular purpose), time available" correspond à la métaphore 4 : "Time as a resource". Section 7, "The passage of time" correspond à la métaphore 1 : "The moving time". L'irréversibilité du temps est bien illustrée par le passage fameux de Vergile : *fugit irreparabile tempus* G. 3.284 (le temps s'enfuit irrévocablement). Les sections 8 et 9, respectivement "the proper or due time" et "a favourable or convenient time" correspondent *grosso modo* à la notion de *kairos*, donc, selon notre classification, à la métaphore 4. Exemples : "si in ipsa rerum actione tempora ignores nec scias quando quidque... agi debeat" Sen. Ep. 89,15. (Si en pleine action tu ignores les moments propices et ne sais pas quand il faut faire quoi...) et "gratiae gloriaeque cave tempus amittas" Cic., *fam.*10.5.3 (attention de ne pas perdre l'occasion d'influence et d'honneur).

Corpus et méthode d'investigation

Afin de nous assurer une comparaison entre écrits contemporains et comparables d'un point de vue de leur contenu, nous avons choisi d'explorer deux textes par Luther et Érasme sur le même sujet, à savoir sur le libre ou serf arbitre. Ces textes ont été examinés dans leurs versions électroniques, pour faciliter le repérage de l'ensemble des occurrences du mot *tempus*. Concrètement, nous avons consulté le *De Servo Arbitrio* de Luther, dans la version de 1562 (première éd. de 1525) et le *De Libero Arbitrio* d'Érasme de 1524. Dans ces deux textes, nous avons relevé 39 occurrences du mot-clé chez Luther et seulement 11 occurrences chez Érasme. Néanmoins, compte tenu de la taille des deux textes, la fréquence relative reste comparable, dans la mesure où le *De Servo Arbitrio* contient 72.037 mots, soit une occurrence du mot-clé par 1.847 mots, et le *De Libero Arbitrio* contient 20.213 mots, soit une occurrence par 1.838 mots. Pour être certains de bien interpréter ces écrits, nous nous sommes servis de traductions publiées, de Luther¹³ et d'Érasme.¹⁴ Nous nous sommes limités à l'étude du seul texte sur *le serf arbitre* de Luther, puisque nous avons déjà étudié en détail l'usage du mot

¹² *Oxford Latin Dictionary* I-II. [1982] 2012.

¹³ La traduction de Luther se trouve dans *Œuvres*, tome V 1958.

¹⁴ *Essai sur le libre arbitre* par Mesnard 1945.

tempus dans notre étude précédente, à l'aide d'un corpus beaucoup plus grand (voir les références). C'est aussi la raison pour laquelle nous avons inversé la succession prévisible sur les textes des deux auteurs, d'abord Luther, ensuite Érasme, bien que l'ouvrage sur *le libre arbitre* ait été publié d'abord, et qu'il ait provoqué celui de Luther.

Comme nous avons jugé le style entre les deux textes assez différent,¹⁵ celui de Luther étant plus virulent, assez proche de la prédication, et comme nous avons désiré augmenter notre corpus d'Érasme, nous avons ajouté deux écrits de nature pédagogique, en version électronique, dans l'espoir de trouver un style plus engagé, plus proche de la prédication de Luther, d'une part *Institutio principis Christiani saluberrimis resecta praeceptis*, de 1516, et le *De civitate morum puerilium* de 1530.

Pour avoir accès à un style moins formel, nous avons en outre exploré un volume de correspondances d'Érasme des années 1530-33, *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami, Tom. IX*.

Vu que le nombre d'occurrences des formes du mot *tempus* est somme toute assez limité, et nécessitant une étude minutieuse manuelle de chaque cas, nous avons renoncé à une exploration sophistiquée comme le sait faire notre cher collègue et ami Johann Ramminger. Nous avons procédé à un relevé semi-automatique des cas, suivi par un examen de son éventuel emploi métaphorique selon Lakoff & Johnson et des sens lexicaux.

Tempus dans *De Servo Arbitrio* de Luther

Étude des métaphores

Rappelons les quatre types de métaphores identifiés par Lakoff & Johnson : Type 1 “the moving time metaphor”, Type 2 “the moving observer metaphor”, Type 3 “time as a container” et Type 4 “time as a resource”. Cette classification s'est révélée pertinente pour notre étude antérieure de Luther, chez qui – comme chez Calvin - nous avons remarqué l'étonnante absence du Type 2. Dans le *De Servo Arbitrio* nous trouvons exclusivement des exemples illustrant les Types 3 et 4. Un certain nombre de cas n'illustrent aucune métaphore.

Type 3. Sur les 39 occurrences d'une forme du mot *tempus* dans le texte de Luther, sept occurrences indiquent un laps de temps plus ou moins long, qui se laisse analyser comme un espace temporel clos, voir par exemple (1), où le mot *tempore* est rendu dans la version française par *pendant si longtemps* :

¹⁵ Voir plus loin la section sur le style, révélateur d'une différence de vision du monde et nos conclusions.

(1) Vide populum Dei Israël, ubi in **tanto** Regum numero & **tempore**, ne unus quidem Rex numeratur, qui non erret. (trad.¹⁶ page 65: Considère le peuple de Dieu, Israël, qui eut tant de rois et **pendant si longtemps**, et dont on ne cite pas un seul qui n'ait erré.)

Ce sens est trouvé dans l'exemple (2), où il est également question d'une période historique délimitée :

(2) Eratque mihi incredibile ipsi, hanc Troiam nostram, **tanto tempore** tot bellis invictam, posse aliquando capi. (trad. page 57: Moi non plus je ne pouvais pas croire que l'on pût jamais s'emparer de cette Troie invaincue **depuis si longtemps** et au cours de tant de guerres.)

Type 4. Nous avons analysé 11 occurrences de *tempus* exprimant l'idée que le temps est une ressource. Dans tous ces cas, il est question de temps perdu, ou gagné. C'est là un thème cher à Luther, qui revient chaque fois avec véhémence, s'énervant du manque de temps en général ou bien reprochant à Érasme de s'exprimer trop en longueur et ainsi d'usurper le temps du lecteur, *in casu* Luther. Voici quelques exemples typiques. Le premier exemple, dans lequel le verbe *perdo* a comme complément direct *tempus* est adressé à Érasme:

(3) Sed ego longe stultissimus, qui in re clariore quàm sol est, verba & **tempus** perdo (trad. page 24 : Mais je suis bien sot de perdre mon **temps** et mon encre à démontrer une chose plus claire que le jour.)

Dans (4), au contraire, Luther reproche à Érasme qu'il emploie mal son temps à écrire des futilités :

(4) Ut falsum sit, quod dicis, non esse prostituenda promiscuis auribus, si de iis, quae in Scriptura sunt, dicis, Nam de aliis si dixeris, nihil ad nos, nec in loco dixeris, sed verbis chartas & **tempora** perdis. (trad. p. 39: Tu as donc tort de dire qu'elles [= les vérités] ne doivent pas être livrées aux oreilles vulgaires, si du moins il s'agit des choses contenues dans les Ecritures. Car s'il s'agit d'autre chose, cela ne nous intéresse pas, et tu as perdu ton **temps**, ton encre et ton papier.)

Dans (5), il est question de temps 'jeté', synonyme de 'perdu', à s'occuper de sujets sans intérêt :

(5) Licet recusare possim iure hunc Librum, tamen interim recipio, Ne cum iactura **temporis** me involvam disputationi, de receptis libris in Canone Ebraeorum, ... (trad. page 88: Je pourrais à bon droit rejeter ce livre: je l'accepterai cependant, ne voulant pas perdre mon **temps** à des disputes sur les livres admis dans le canon des Juifs...)

¹⁶ Nous reproduisons la traduction (anonyme) de l'édition française afin d'éviter des discussions philologiques.

Nous constatons donc que les métaphores du Type 3 et 4 sont très présentes dans le texte de Luther. Dans la section suivante, nous allons nous pencher sur les sens lexicaux et les connotations du mot *tempus*, dont certaines permettent un classement plus fin des cas étudiés ci-dessus.

Étude lexicale¹⁷

Les spécificités du traité du *Serf Arbitre* nous incitent à aborder l'analyse lexicale du mot *tempus* à partir d'un angle différent par rapport à notre étude précédente. En effet, dans ce traité, nous rencontrons 20 fois sur les 39 occurrences le mot coordonné à une expression signalant la personne, le lieu, et éventuellement la manière. Cette coordination persistante, mais absente dans le corpus utilisé dans notre première étude, nous a obligés à examiner de plus près la structure et le sens attribué par Luther aux dimensions déictiques. Citons l'exemple (6) pour introduire notre propos, citation clé d'ailleurs, pour le fond du message de la *diatribe* :

(6)... deinde sapiens [est], ut falli non possit, Non autem impedita voluntate, opus ipsum impedi non potest, quin fiat, loco, **tempore**, modo, mensura, quibus ipse & praevideat & vult. (trad. page 35: De plus, Dieu sait tout et ne peut être trompé. Mais si sa volonté ne peut être entravée, son œuvre ne peut l'être davantage, et rien ne peut empêcher qu'elle se produise à l'endroit, au **moment** et de la façon que lui-même prévoit et veut.)

Luther se réfère dans cet exemple aux trois dimensions déictiques basiques (et à une dimension supplémentaire qui n'est pas pertinente dans ce contexte). Ces dimensions qui permettent à l'énonciateur de s'orienter dans son univers réel ou fictif et, surtout, dans sa communication orale ou écrite, d'aider son interlocuteur à suivre son propos, dans la mesure où l'énonciateur va désigner un point de référence temporel de ses propos, ancré dans le présent ou bien sur un autre axe, passé, futur ou autre, un lieu de référence et une personne de référence. Cette situation est ainsi étroitement liée à la situation de communication, d'où son importance pour les études pragmatiques. Dans notre exemple (6), Luther se trouve dans une situation de discussion intense avec Érasme, et il tente de convaincre celui-ci de son point de vue. Dans ce passage, il désigne Dieu comme personne de référence, Dieu qui se trouve dans une dimension temporelle et situationnelle séparée de l'homme, et qui est seul maître de ses actions. Une telle dimension ou axe, séparée de l'énonciateur, est désignée de Damourette et Pichon par le terme *allocentrique*, alors que l'axe de la personne qui parle s'envisageant au

¹⁷ Nous utilisons ici le terme « lexical » afin de désigner la dénotation du lexème *tempus*, telle qu'on arrive à la définir à partir du contexte dans lequel il se trouve.

moment même où elle parle est désigné par le terme *nynégocentrique*.¹⁸ Or, dans ce contexte, il est pertinent de distinguer deux niveaux allocentriques : celui où Dieu est le point de référence, et celui où l’homme est le point de référence, car l’homme peut se projeter en dehors du moi-ici-maintenant (l’axe *nynégocentrique*) en se référant au passé ou au futur. Mais les deux niveaux allocentriques, divin ou humain sont nettement séparés chez Luther.

Les deux occurrences de (7) insistent sur l’opposition entre deux axes, celui de l’homme (dans le cas échéant Érasme), axe *nynégocentrique*, opposé à l’axe séparé de l’homme (c’est-à-dire Dieu), l’axe *allocentrique divin*.

(7) Et quis tibi fecit potestatem, aut ius dedit, doctrinae Christianae locis, personis, **temporibus**, causis alligandae, cum Christus eam velit liberrimam in orbe vulgari & regnare? Non est enim verbum Dei alligatum, ait Paulus, & Erasmus verbum alligabit? Nec dedit nobis Deus, verbum, quod locorum, personarum, **temporum** delectum habeat, cum dicat Christus: Ite in universum mundum, non ait: Ite aliquo, & aliquo non, sicut Erasmus. (trad. page 46 : Et qui t’a conféré le droit ou le pouvoir de lier la doctrine chrétienne aux lieux, aux personnes, aux **temps** et aux choses, alors que le Christ a voulu qu’elle se répande librement dans le monde et qu’elle y règne? “La Parole de Dieu n’est pas liée”, dit Paul. Et c’est Érasme qui la liera ? Dieu ne nous a pas donné une Parole qui fait acception de lieux, de personnes et de **temps**. Quand Christ dit: “Allez et enseignez toutes les nations”, il ne dit pas: “Allez dans tel endroit, en non dans tel autre”, ainsi que le fait Érasme.)

Dans ce contexte, l’exemple (8) nous paraît particulièrement intéressant, et cela pour deux raisons. Premièrement, il insiste sur le fait que Dieu se trouve séparé de l’homme. Formulé selon l’idée des dimensions, Dieu se trouve sur un axe à part. Dieu est, pour ainsi dire *absconditus*.¹⁹ Deuxièmement, le passage insiste sur l’omniscience de Dieu et par conséquent sur un déterminisme complet concernant les conditions du salut, le moment et les personnes. Notons que dans cet exemple, Luther cite la Bible dans son argumentation dirigée contre Érasme (voir plus loin l’exemple 14), en

¹⁸ Dans le § 1604 de Damourette & Pichon (1911-1936), il est dit que “[l]e langage est naturellement centré sur le moi-ici-maintenant, c’est-à-dire sur la personne qui parle s’envisageant au moment même où elle parle ; c’est ce qu’on peut appeler le *nynégocentrisme* naturel du langage. Néanmoins, (...) l’esprit fait effort pour s’évader de ce centrage, pour se référer à un autre centre : il tend ainsi à se créer des *allocentrismes*.” Une distinction comparable se retrouve chez Benvéniste, qui se réfère à l’usage des temps verbaux, des adverbes temporels, des pronoms etc., pour illustrer l’opposition entre les deux axes. Voir la section V *L’homme dans la langue* de son ouvrage de 1966.

¹⁹ L’idée théologique du Dieu caché ou les choses / pensées cachées en Dieu, *deus absconditus*, remonte à Duns Scotus (XIII^e siècle).

s'appropriant l'argument exprimé dans la Bible. Il nous semble par conséquent légitime d'interpréter ce passage comme exprimant l'utilisation du mot *tempus* de Luther:

(8) In Deo esse multa abscondita, quae ignoremus, nemo dubitat, sicut ipsemet dicit de die extremo. De die illo nemo scit, nisi Pater. Et Act. 1. Non est vestrum nosse **tempora** & momenta. Et iterum, Ego novi, quos elegerim. (trad. page 27 : Qu'il y ait en Dieu beaucoup de choses cachées que nous ignorons: cela, nul n'en doute. Il dit lui-même à propos du Jugement dernier: "Nul ne connaît le jour, si ce n'est le Père." (Marc 13:32) Et nous lisons dans les Actes (1:7): "Ce n'est pas à vous de connaître les **temps** et les moments". Et encore : "Je connais ceux que j'ai choisis" (Jean 13 :18)).

Dans les exemple ci-dessus, (6)-(8), l'axe allocentrique est celui de Dieu. Ceci est un usage particulier du terme allocentrique, car en général, on associe l'axe allocentrique à une dimension passée ou future par rapport à l'axe nynégocentrique. Nous avons cité deux exemples illustrant le fait que le point de référence est ancré dans un passé (humain), voir (1) "Considère le peuple de Dieu, Israël, qui eut tant de rois et pendant si longtemps, et dont on ne cite pas un seul qui n'ait erré" et (2) "Moi non plus je ne pouvais pas croire que l'on pût jamais s'emparer de cette Troie invaincue depuis si longtemps et au cours de tant de guerres".

Des illustrations claires de l'axe nynégocentrique se trouvent dans (3) cité plus haut, qui est en fait une discussion de la part de Luther avec Érasme et dans l'exemple (9), autre passage clé de la *diatribe*, dans lequel la personne de référence 'l'homme', fait des projets concernant son salut personnel, dans un contexte présent.²⁰

(9) Si quidem, quàm diu persuasus fuerit, sese vel tantulum posse pro salute sua, manet in fiducia sui, nec de se penitus desperat, ideo non humiliatur coram Deo, sed locum, **tempus**, opus aliquod sibi praesumit, vel sperat, vel optat saltem, quo tandem perveniat ad salutem, Qui vero nihil dubitat, totum in voluntate Dei pendere, is prorsus de se desperat, nihil eligit, sed expectat operantem Deum, is proximus est gratiae, ut salvus fiat. (Si en effet un homme est persuadé qu'il peut se sauver lui-même, si peu que ce soit, il se confie en ses propres forces et ne désespère pas de lui-même. Il ne s'humilie donc pas devant Dieu, mais compte sur quelque **occasion**²¹ ou quelque œuvre qui lui permettra de parvenir au salut. Au contraire, celui qui sait que tout dépend de la

²⁰ Il va de soi que Luther condamne une telle attitude chez 'l'homme'.

²¹ La traduction française que nous reproduisons combine dans le mot *occasion* les deux mots latins *locum* et *tempus*.

volonté de Dieu, qui n’espère rien de ses propres forces et qui attend que Dieu agisse, celui-là est proche de la grâce salutaire.)

Les cas cités plus haut illustrant Type 4, sur la perte du temps, se trouvent, bien sûr, sur l’axe du moi-ici-maintenant humain (*in casu* de Luther).

Dans notre étude précédente sur le concept TEMPUS chez Luther et Calvin nous avons constaté que dans les traductions latines du Nouveau Testament grec, c’est le mot *tempus* qui rend le plus souvent le terme grec *kairos*. Le choix de *kairos* dans l’original grec ne s’imposait aucunement, car il existent les alternatives : *chronos*, *hora*, *aion*, qui se rencontrent dans le Nouveau Testament, mais plus rarement. C’est la raison pour laquelle il nous a semblé indispensable d’examiner les motivations de ce choix. Plus précisément, nous nous sommes posé les questions suivantes, qui découlent logiquement de notre position de relativisme linguistique (Sapir & Whorf) : Quelle est la part de continuité ou de rupture par rapport à la tradition grecque ? Comment analyser la réinterprétation chrétienne ? Les Réformateurs, adoptent-ils cette réinterprétation, continuant ainsi les visions de l’Église ancienne, malgré leur opposition au “papisme” ?

La traduction standard du terme grec *kairos* (voir par exemple Berg 1950 et Liddell & Scott 1961) renvoie au moment propice, à une occasion favorable, aux saisons de l’année, ou simplement à ce qui est utile ou avantageux.²² À ceci, Bauer 1971 ajoute les sens suivants: *Gegenwart*, *bestimmte*, *festgesetzte Zeit* et surtout *Endzeit*²³ dans son emploi eschatologique. Bref, *kairos* ne désigne pas un moment quelconque. Ces précisions nous permettent de cerner le terme grec afin de comparer la conception du temps de l’Antiquité gréco-romaine avec celle de la religion chrétienne. Malgré l’idée très répandue, que l’antiquité classique avait principalement une conception cyclique et réversible, donc très déterministe du temps, nous avons montré, que *kairos*, au contraire, irréversible de par sa nature, est associé à *Tyche/Fortuna*, (le hasard) dans la mesure où il exige la

²² Nous résumons ici brièvement nos réflexions sur *kairos* dans Schøsler & Skovgaard-Hansen 2022. Après consultation du *Thesaurus Graecae linguae* d’Henri Estienne, nous relevons comme sens primaire de *kairos occasio* et *opportunitas temporis*. Est signalé comme sens affaibli *tempus*. Sans surprise, il y a donc correspondance entre le *Thesaurus* et les dictionnaires plus récents. Nous remercions sincèrement Marianne Pade, qui a attiré notre attention sur le fait que déjà au moment de la Renaissance, Lorenzo Valla a discuté amplement les sens des termes grecs et latins qui nous intéressent ici. En particulier, il reproche aux traducteurs du texte grec de ne pas distinguer entre les termes *chronos* et *kairos*, mais au contraire, de façon arbitraire, les rendent soit par *tempus*, soit par *momentum*. Pour Valla, la différence entre les deux termes est de nature quantitative Valla (1440 [1970] 47, 109, 146, 156). N’oublions pas qu’Érasme connaissait bien ce texte de Valla, voir plus loin.

²³ Traduction approximative : *Gegenwart* temps présent, *bestimmte*, *festgesetzte Zeit* temps déterminé et fixé, *Endzeit* la fin des temps.

maîtrise de *métis*, la ruse de l'intelligence, devant l'imprévisible et l'irrationnel. Citons les paroles de Jean Pierre Vernant:²⁴ “*Kairos* correspond au moment où l'action humaine vient rencontrer un processus naturel qui se développe au rythme de sa durée propre”. Ajoutons que pour les Grecs anciens, cette durée peut – *ou pas* – être dirigée par une volonté divine. Dans leur recherche de rationalité et donc de prévisibilité, les philosophes classiques et tardifs en général étaient hostiles à l'irrationnel et donc à l'imprévisible (avec les Épicuriens comme exception notoire). C'est au croisement de cette métaphysique rationnelle et plutôt désacralisée des philosophes et, de l'autre côté, l'imprévisibilité de la vie de tous les jours entre *Fortuna* et *kairos*, que se place le Dieu chrétien, créateur du monde, qu'il ne faut pas confondre avec celui de Platon, le démiurge du *Timée*. Le Dieu chrétien n'est pas seulement créateur, mais aussi celui qui soutient sa création, dirige l'histoire et donc le temps. Car après la création et la chute originelle, il envoie d'abord la Loi, ensuite son Fils, c'est-à-dire en terme théologique : la Grâce, pour que les chrétiens vivent dans l'attente du Jugement dernier et de l'Éternité. Pour les chrétiens, le mariage aléatoire entre *kairos* et *Tyche/Fortuna* se fait remplacer par la volonté divine ; *kairos* s'est, pour ainsi dire, séparé de *Tyche* pour s'allier à une partenaire plus stable : *Ekklesia*, l'Église. Dans le Nouveau Testament *kairos* désigne non seulement le moment opportun en général, mais aussi l'intervention divine et par conséquent toute intersection entre les deux axes allocentriques, divin et humain.

Après avoir introduit les dimensions déictiques avec ses axes temporels qui ont été exemplifiés ci-dessus, revenons d'abord à l'exemple (9) qui nous semble illustrer le concept de *kairos*. Il y est question d'un homme, persuadé (à tort) qu'il est capable de se sauver soi-même, grâce à ses œuvres ou à une occasion propice. C'est cette dernière qui correspond à l'idée de *kairos*. Luther insiste tout au long de son traité sur l'impossibilité de l'homme de prévoir et de connaître le moment décisif pour obtenir le salut, tel qu'il a été décidé par Dieu. Selon lui, tel qu'il présente ses visions dans sa *diatribe*, il n'y a aucun lien entre l'axe allocentrique ayant Dieu comme point de référence, et le monde terrestre, avec l'homme comme point de référence. Cela apparaît nettement dans les exemples (8) et (7) cités ci-dessus.

Nous avons relevé dans le *Serf Arbitre* 11 occurrences de ce que nous analysons comme *kairos*, entre lesquelles celles qui avaient été classifiées comme exemples de la métaphore Type 4, exprimant l'idée que le temps est une ressource, voir les exemples (3), (4) et (5). Pourquoi est-ce que nous considérons cette métaphore comme exprimant *kairos* ? Nous avons

²⁴ Vernant 1971, 59.

développé notre analyse dans Schøsler & Skovgaard-Hansen 2022, et nous la résumerons ainsi : le lien entre le temps considéré comme une ressource implique que ce temps est mis à notre disposition par Dieu, et que par conséquent ce bien qu'est le temps, doit être employé correctement (surtout en vue du salut), et nullement gaspillé.

Récapitulons, afin de clore cette section, que – dans le texte de Luther – TEMPUS désigne trois axes différents: l'axe allocentrique divin, avec, comme point de référence Dieu, l'axe allocentrique humain, dont le point de référence est l'homme, projeté hors du moi-ici-maintenant, et finalement l'axe nynégocentrique, dont le point de référence est l'homme, dans son moi-ici-maintenant. En d'autres termes, toute recherche individuelle du Salut présuppose un point d'intersection entre les axes. Sans intersection entre l'axe allocentrique divin, humain et l'axe nynégocentrique, il n'y a pas de *kairos*.

Mais dans la mesure où l'Église est considérée comme médiateur entre l'axe allocentrique humain et l'axe allocentrique divin – créant ainsi pour le fidèle le *kairos* de la Salut – se pose la question permanente de l'autorité ecclésiastique. Cette question reste pertinente non seulement pour Luther, mais aussi pour Érasme, que nous allons étudier dans les sections suivantes, malgré leurs attitudes divergentes vis-à-vis du rôle de l'Église Catholique. Il est bien connu que les Réformateurs nient en bloc son autorité, la remplaçant par l'autorité de l'Écriture. La possibilité du Salut individuel dépend donc, selon eux, de l'autorité de celui qui fait l'interprétation du texte. À l'époque, la condition de toute interprétation de l'Écriture était *la Foi*, le fait de respecter l'autorité divine du texte. En quelle mesure suffit la Foi? Et la Foi de qui ? Qui peut invoquer une révélation du Saint-Esprit dans son interprétation ? Si, comme semble le faire Luther, on ne renie pas seulement le Pape, mais aussi – contrairement à Érasme – le consensus des Pères de l'Église, on renie l'idée même d'une raison commune chez l'être humain dans les questions sur la Foi. Avec la perte définitive de toute harmonie, selon l'optimisme scolastique, entre la Foi et la Raison, la voie du Salut disparaît et il n'y a plus ni d'*arbitre* ni de *kairos* du côté de l'homme. Voilà le point essentiel du débat entre le réformateur et l'humaniste.

Tempus dans De Libero Arbitrio d'Érasme

Étude des métaphores

Dans le *Libre Arbitre*, nous avons relevé 11 cas du mot *tempus*, dont un certain nombre exprime des métaphores dans le sens défini par Lakoff & Johnson. Comme chez Luther, nous avons relevé des exemples illustrant les Types 3 et 4.

Type 3. Cinq passages réfèrent au mot *tempus* pour désigner un laps de temps conçu comme un espace temporel clos, voir les exemples (10) et (11) ; ce dernier est particulièrement clair dans son renvoi à *spatium humanae vitae*, qui désigne un espace-temps clos :

(10) A **temporibus** apostolorum ad hunc usque diem, nullus adhuc scriptor extitit, qui in totum tolleret vim liberi arbitrii, praeter unum Manichaeum & Ioannem Wiiclevum. (trad. page 86 : Depuis **les temps** apostoliques jusqu'à ce jour, aucun écrivain n'a jamais prétendu enlever toute efficacité au libre arbitre, à l'exception du seul Manichaeus et de Jean Wycleff.)

(11) Nam Hieronymus in quaestionibus Hebraicis, hunc locum referri vult non ad **spatium humanae vitae**, sed ad **tempus** diluvii, quod indultum est, ut interim, si vellent, resipiscerent: si nollent, digni viderentur ultione divina, qui lenitatem domini contempsissent. (trad. page 139: Jérôme établit en effet dans ses *Questions sur les Hébreux* que ce passage se rapporte non à la **durée** de la vie humaine, mais à la **date** du déluge. Et le délai en question fut accordé aux hommes de façon à ce que les hommes de bonne volonté aient le temps de se repentir et que les autres apparaissent dignes de la vengeance divine pour avoir méprisé jusqu'au bout la clémence du Seigneur.)

Type 4. Nous n'avons relevé que deux cas qui expriment le temps comme une ressource. Ces cas se distinguent de ceux relevés chez Luther, car il n'y est pas question de perte du temps. Dans (12) le temps est présenté comme une opportunité, un moment unique, pas une date quelconque ; dans (13), avec une citation de la Bible, Deutéronome 30 :15-19, le temps est représenté comme une ressource vitale, prête à expirer, rendue par le verbe *tarder* dans la traduction française:

(12) Multa servantur ei **tempori**, quum iam non videbimus per speculum & in aenigmate, sed revelata facie domini, gloriam contemplabimur. (trad. page 79 : Beaucoup d'objets en effet sont réservés pour le **temps** où nous ne verrons plus seulement les choses comme dans un miroir et en énigmes, mais où la face du Seigneur nous ayant été découverte, nous pourrions contempler sa gloire.)

(13) ... praedico tibi hodie quod pereas, & parvo **tempore** moreris in terra, ad quam Iordane transmisso ingredieris possidendam. (trad. page 105 : ... je te prédis aujourd'hui que tu périras et que tu ne **tarderas** pas à mourir sur cette terre que tu t'apprêtes à conquérir en franchissant le Jourdain.)

Étude lexicale

Chez Érasme, nous retrouvons les trois axes temporels que nous avons étudiés chez Luther : l'axe allocentrique divin (12) et (14) ou humain (11) et l'axe nynégocentrique (15). L'exemple (14) désigne, en citant Saint Marc, l'axe divin comme étant nettement séparé de celui de l'homme. Notons que nous retrouvons ici le passage de la Bible cité plus haut (exemple 8). Il faut comprendre qu'Érasme s'approprie ici le sens exprimé dans la citation, tout en l'interprétant d'une manière qui diffère de celle que fera plus tard Luther :

(14) Non est vestrum nosse **tempora** vel momenta, quae pater posuit in sua potestate, Actorum 1. & Marci 13. De die autem illa vel hora nemo scit, neque angeli in caelo, neque filius, nisi pater. (trad. page 80-81 : Il ne nous appartient pas de connaître **les temps** et les moments que le Père a fixés de sa propre autorité "Quant à ce jour et à cette heure, personne n'en sait rien, ni les anges dans le ciel, ni le Fils, excepté le Père"

L'axe allocentrique humain s'exprime dans l'exemple (11), cité dans la section précédente : Jérôme établit en effet dans ses *Questions sur les Hébreux* que ce passage se rapporte non à **la durée** de la vie humaine, mais à la **date** du déluge.

Le Libre Arbitre contient un nombre relativement important de passages ancrés sur l'axe nynégocentrique, donc dans la vie terrestre. Cela vaut aussi pour l'exemple (15), qui décrit une situation de communication humaine où il est question de savoir s'il faut dire ou non la vérité, dans des circonstances concrètes. Le point de vue exprimé par Érasme va être vivement critiqué à plusieurs reprises dans *Le Serf Arbitre*, par exemple dans (7), qui maintient rigoureusement – selon notre terminologie – la séparation des deux axes allocentriques.

(15) Licet verum dicere, verum non expedit apud quoslibet, nec quovis **tempore**, nec quovis modo. Si mihi constaret in synodo quippiam perperam fuisse constitutum aut definitum, liceret quidem verum profiteri, at non expedit, ne malis praeberetur ansa contemnendi patrum auctoritatem, etiam in his quae pie sancteque statuissent, malleque dicere, sic illis tum pro ratione **temporum** probabiliter visum fuisse, quod tamen praesens utilitas suadeat abrogari. (trad. page 82-83 : Il est permis de dire la vérité, il n'est pas à propos de la dire devant n'importe qui, n'importe **quand** et n'importe comment. Si j'avais la certitude qu'au concile un point a été établi ou défini de façon erronée, j'aurais le droit de proclamer la vérité, mais ce ne serait pas opportun, car je risquerais de donner aux méchants l'occasion de mépriser l'autorité des Pères, même dans les choses qu'ils ont réglées avec piété et religion; je préférerais leur dire que cela leur parut sans

doute utile à leur **époque**, mais qu'à présent les mêmes raisons en proclament l'abrogation.)

L'exemple (10) cité plus haut, signale à l'aide de l'expression *jusqu'à ce jour*, l'ancrage dans le moi-ici-maintenant. En outre, (10) résume parfaitement la conclusion du texte d'Érasme et sa méthode d'argumentation : Il fait confiance à la tradition depuis les Apôtres concernant la question du libre arbitre, tout en respectant les limites de la raison humaine par rapport à Dieu. Il ne s'appuie donc pas sur l'autorité du Pape, ni sur la raison individuelle, mais sur la raison collective de la tradition ecclésiastique. L'exemple (15) nous montre un autre aspect d'importance : son but n'est pas à proprement parler théologique, mais plutôt pédagogique et éthique. Par rapport à Luther, Érasme s'adresse à ses contemporains dans une communication à l'horizontale, avec persuasion par arguments, pas à la verticale en prêchant. Citons à ce propos Boisset (1962 : 36) qui compare les deux antagonistes :

Deux inquiétudes, donc, deux types d'inquiétudes, sur deux plans, dans deux directions, non pas opposées l'une à l'autre, mais perpendiculaires l'une à l'autre, après avoir été, momentanément, confondues l'une à l'autre. La première, celle de l'Humaniste, cherchant, si l'on peut dire, horizontalement, à la fois ce qu'il faut détruire et ce qu'il faut construire ; la seconde, celle du Réformateur, cherchant horizontalement ce qu'il faut détruire, et recevant, verticalement, de Dieu, ce qu'il faut édifier.

C'est là une différence de style remarquable, et qui nous incite à explorer d'autres écrits de la main d'Érasme, tout d'abord ses écrits plus "verticaux", car adressés à un public à instruire, ensuite sa correspondance.

Tempus dans d'autres écrits d'Érasme

Les écrits pédagogiques et moralisateurs

Nous avons exploré deux écrits d'instruction d'Érasme, à savoir *Institutio principis Christiani saluberrimis refecta praeceptis* de 1516, et *De civilitate morum puerilium* de 1530, qui est un manuel de savoir-vivre à l'usage des enfants. Comme nous n'avons pas trouvé de traduction en français du texte de 1516, nous sommes seuls responsables de la traduction des exemples.

L'*Institutio principis Christiani*

Nous avons relevé dans ce texte 20 occurrences d'une forme du mot *tempus* (7 x *tempus*, 2 x *tempora*, 5 x *temporis*, 6 x *tempore*) dont nous allons d'abord examiner les emplois métaphoriques (dans le sens de Lakoff & Johnson), ensuite les valeurs lexicales, suivant le schéma des sections précédentes.

Les occurrences se répartissent sur les Types 1, 3 et 4, à celles-ci s’ajoutent un certain nombre dépourvu de valeur métaphorique. Comme observé précédemment, nous n’avons pas relevé de Type 2 : “Moving observer”.

Type 1.

Nous avons identifié deux occurrences du “moving time”-metaphor, toutes les deux avec la forme du pluriel *tempora*, sujets de verbes signalant le passage du temps, *fluere* et *transire*, citons celle de la page 145, dans lequel le mot *annus* est un synonyme de *tempora* ; il s’agit d’une période peu agréable, en suspens:

(16) Haud aliter cupido sponso tarda ingrataque fluunt **tempora**, sic piger annus Pupillis quos dira premit custodia matrum (trad. Ainsi l’année avance, ennuyeuse, pour les enfants, opprimés sous la sévérité de la tutelle maternelle, tout comme le **temps** passe avec lenteur et de façon désagréable pour le fiancé impatient)

Type 3.

Six occurrences illustrent la métaphore 3 : “time as a container”. Voici quelques exemples typiques ; le premier est une instruction concernant la manière de calculer l’heure du repas en utilisant le cadran solaire, le second est intéressant dans la mesure où il combine le temps et l’espace, mais dans un contexte fort différent de ce que nous avons observé chez Luther (voir exemple 7) :

(17) ... umbram dimetiens, uti cœnæ **tempus** cognoscat (page 251, trad. ... mesurant l’ombre, afin de connaître **l’heure** du repas)

(18) Atque utinam etiam hic tantorum malorum proventus, suis se **temporis** ac loci limitibus continere (page manus I,3, trad. Et encore, même après avoir dépassé tant de malheurs, pourvu qu’il parvienne à se contenter dans ses propres limites **temporelles** et spatiales)

Type 4.

Nous avons relevé trois cas illustrant la métaphore du “time as a resource” ; comme ils présentent un intérêt pour l’étude lexicale, nous y reviendrons plus bas :

(19) non dicit urgere **tempus** (page 275, trad. il dit que le *temps* ne presse pas)

(20) Nunc nunc profecto **tempus** esset, uniuersas rhetorices opes semel explicare (page 219, trad. Décidément, maintenant serait le **moment**, une fois pour toutes, de présenter l’ensemble des points forts de la rhétorique)

(21) Quoties **tempus** hortatur, ut uoluptate, aut ira, aut ferocitate præcipitem coherceas (page 291, trad. Chaque foi que le **temps** t’incite à freiner une personne aveuglée par son désir, sa colère ou fureur)

Dans neuf cas, il s’agit d’emploi non métaphorique, en fonction adverbiale, qui signale un moment dans le temps, le plus souvent dans un passé proche ou éloigné, du type *ad tempus* (temporairement), *eo tempore*, *id temporis*, *ipso tempore*, *quo in tempore* (à ce moment-là).

Étude lexicale

À la différence du *Serf arbitre*, nous ne retrouvons que deux des trois axes temporels que nous avons étudiés chez Luther : l’axe allocentrique divin ou humain et l’axe nynégocentrique, à savoir chez Érasme: l’axe allocentrique humain et l’axe nynégocentrique. Notre premier exemple cité (16) illustre clairement un moment vécu du moi-ici-maintenant, pareil pour les autres exemples cités, voir en particulier (19) et (20). Les occurrences d’emploi adverbial, par contre, fixent fréquemment une activité dans un passé allocentrique humain, voir (22) :

(22) Scite & Diogenes, qui cum in Philippi castra venisset, eo **tempore** quo parabat cum Græcis confligere, adductus est ad regem. (trad. Vous savez également comment Diogène, arrivé à son camp, fut introduit au roi Philippe, **au moment où** celui-ci s’apprêtait à guerroyer contre les Grecs)

Nous avons vu plus haut que la métaphore Type 4, correspond souvent à une valeur que nous avons désignée avec le terme *kairos*. Cela vaut également pour le présent texte, voir les cas cités (19)-(22). Néanmoins (19) est pour ainsi dire un *kairos* “nié” ou “suspendu”, (20) est un *kairos* “rhétorique” et (21) un *kairos* “moral” ou “comportemental”, bref, il signale une occasion appartenant à la vie humaine, sans les implications “dramatiques” que nous avons relevées chez Luther (voir exemple (7)).

De civilitate morum puerilium La Civilité puérile, 1530

Sans surprise, les rares cas de *tempus* identifié dans *La civilité puérile*, ressemblent à ceux de *L’Institutio principis Christiani*, vu que le contexte est comparable : il s’agit d’instructions d’ordre pratique ou comportemental adressées à la jeunesse, ancrées dans leur présent.

Nous n’avons relevé que trois occurrences, dont une illustre la métaphore Type 4 : le temps comme ressource ; la traduction provenant de l’édition de Bonneau omet le mot *tempus*, que nous avons inséré entre parenthèses :

(23) Jussus agere gratias, compone gestus, paratum te significans, donec silentibus convivis dicendi **tempus** adfuerit. (trad. page 92-93) :

Si l'on te commande de dire les grâces, compose ton maintien, pour montrer que tu es tout prêt, et attends [**le moment propice**], avant de commencer, que les convives fassent silence.)

D'un point de vue lexical, cet exemple illustre la valeur de *kairos*, mais une valeur de *kairos* "morale" ou "comportementale", comme nous l'avons identifié plus haut, exemple (6), ce qui est tout à fait naturel dans un contexte d'instruction. Notons que ni ici, ni ailleurs, Érasme ne s'arroge aucune autorité "verticale".

Les deux autres occurrences (24) ne sont pas métaphoriques, elles se réfèrent à des situations comportementales précises, là encore ancrées sur l'axe nynégocentrique de l'enfant. On constate ainsi l'influence du sujet traité sur l'usage langagier.

(24) Reliquo **tempore** aut legatur aliquid e libello, sive preclarum, sive doctrinæ salutaris ; aut mens cœleste quippiam meditetur. Eo **tempore** nugas obgannire ad aurem vicini, eorum est qui non credunt illic adesse Christum. (trad. page 54-57 : Le reste du **temps**, lis quelque chose dans ton livre de messe, soit une prière, soit une pieuse admonestation, ou bien adresse à Dieu une oraison mentale. Murmurer **alors** des riens à l'oreille d'un voisin est le fait de ceux qui ne croient pas à la présence du Christ.)

Opus epistolarum

Nous avons exploré l'ensemble des lettres de la main d'Érasme du volume IX (1530-33) de l'édition Allen numérisée, correspondance destinée à ses proches, illustrant la communication de proximité.²⁵ Nous avons exclu de notre corpus les lettres destinées à Érasme. Le renvoi aux exemples se fait à partir de la numérotation automatique de l'édition. Comme nous n'avons pas trouvé de traduction en français de cette correspondance, nous sommes seuls responsables de la traduction des exemples.

Notre corpus de lettres contient 59 occurrences d'une forme du mot *tempus* : 19 x *tempus* ; 3 x *tempora* ; 12 x *temporis* ; 25 x *tempore*. Nous présenterons d'abord les cas métaphoriques, ensuite, nous nous pencherons sur les valeurs lexicales des formes de ce mot. Les 59 cas se répartissent sur trois emplois métaphoriques – avec l'exclusion du Type 2 – et un nombre relativement important de cas non métaphoriques.

Type 1.

Pour la première fois dans nos études sur TEMPUS, nous rencontrons plusieurs exemples exprimant une attitude optimiste par rapport au temps qui

²⁵ Cf. Koch & Oesterreicher 2001.

passé et qui répare les maux de la vie humaine. C'est là un thème récurrent dans les lettres d'Érasme, et qu'il nous semble appartenir au Type 1 : "the moving time metaphor", voir les exemples (24)-(26) :

(24) Ipsum **tempus** interdum affert remedium immedicabilibus malis (page 47, trad. Occasionnellement, le **temps** en tant que tel porte remède contre des maux autrement incurables)

(25) Spero **tempus** ipsum aliquam medelam allaturum (page 125, trad. J'espère que le **temps** en tant que tel apportera quelque remède)

(26) ... iamdudum si minus ratio, quod arbitror maxime, certe **tempus** ipsum medicamen attulerit, ac cicatricem obduxerit (page 359, trad. ... or maintenant, sinon la raison – ce que je crois fermement – au moins le **temps** en tant que tel apportera remède et cicatrisera la blessure).

Type 3.

Les lettres contiennent quelques métaphores du Type 3 : "time as a container", par exemple le suivant :

(27) Triennium versatus est [i.e. Hieronimus] in euangelico munere, quantum **temporis** putant et Christum praedicasse. (page 362, trad. Hieronymus s'est penché sur l'Évangile pendant trois ans, cette même **période** pendant laquelle l'on prétend que le Christ a prêché.)

Type 4.

Nous relevons dans la correspondance d'Érasme un grand nombre de passages exprimant le temps comme une ressource. Certains cas insistent sur le fait que le temps presse, voir l'exemple (28) :

(28) Quum ille tantum polliceretur, et vrgeret **tempus**, quo viam illi aperirem, cepi quedam annotare paucis ab ipso fusius tractanda (page 485, trad. Puisqu'il promet autant, et que le **temps** presse pour que je lui ouvre la voie, j'ai entrepris de faire quelques remarques brèves, qui auraient dû être traitées par lui plus en profondeur.)

Une autre valeur de temps-ressource se rencontre dans (29), où il est question d'une personne ayant bien employé sa vie malgré la brièveté de son existence, avec l'expression **tempora multa** dans un sens purement qualitatif, et les antonymes *Diu* et *paucis annis* qui soulignent l'opposition entre le sens qualitatif (*tempora multa* et *Diu*) et le sens quantitatif temporel de *in breui* et *paucis annis*:

(29) Quid autem referebat diutius vixisse, posteaquam consummatus in breui expleuit **tempora** multa ? Diu vixit qui, paucis licet annis, multa talenta Christo lucrificet (page 360, trad. Lui qui a **tant** accompli pendant si peu de temps, une fois mort, quelle importance s'il avait vécu

plus longtemps ? Celui qui a fait fructifier ses talents multiples en faveur du Christ, a vécu longtemps, même en peu d'années.)

Il nous semble défendable d'assimiler au Type 4 les exemples classifiés sous Type 1 (24)-(26), pour leur valeur de la générosité du temps. En outre, nous rencontrons assez souvent des exemples pour lesquels la valeur de ressource est plus banale, moins prononcée, nous y reviendrons plus loin. Voir (30)-(32) :

(30) Sed suum quæque **tempus** habent (page 294, trad. Mais chaque chose a son **temps**)

(31) Vtinam Lutherus hoc in **tempore** cogitasset ! (page 44, trad. pourvu que Luther eût pensé à ceci à **temps** !)

(32) Si bellum exoriatur, ego non in **tempore** emi domum. (page 371, trad. Si la guerre éclate, je n'ai pas acheté ma maison au **moment** opportun)

Finalement, nous relevons un nombre important d'emplois adverbiaux, sans valeur métaphorique, par exemple *ad tempus*, dans le sens 'entretemps' ou 'de façon provisoire', *in tempore*, 'alors' et *tempore*, indiquant un moment donné dans le passé ou le présent. Nous notons en particulier la formule *ex tempore* 'dans l'immédiat', 'sans préparation' qui revient à la fin des lettres d'Érasme, voir les exemples (33)-(34) :

(33) Bene vale.

Friburgi 3. die Martii. 1532.

Erasmus Rot. mea manu **ex tempore**. (page 494)

(34) Datum Friburgi Brisgoae 20. die Martii anno 1532.

Erasmus Roterodamus mea manu **ex tempore**. (page 506).

Étude lexicale

S'il est prévisible dans une correspondance que l'axe nynégocentrique domine, avec celui qui écrit ou son lecteur comme point de référence, voir les exemples (24)-(26) et (32)-(34), nous rencontrons aussi des passages où le point de référence se trouve dans un passé humain (allocentrique) ou virtuel, voir les exemples (29) et (31).

En ce qui concerne la valeur de *kairos*, signifiant un moment crucial et déterminant, nous en avons relevé quelques cas significatifs, à savoir les exemples (28)-(29), cités plus haut. Dans d'autres cas, il nous semble que la valeur *kairos* est atténuée, comme (30)-(32). C'est notamment dans son emploi adverbial que cette valeur est relativement faible.

Récapitulation

Rappelons brièvement quelques résultats de nos investigations sur les écrits d'Érasme présentés dans cette section. Nous notons avec intérêt l'occurrence pour la première fois de la métaphore 1 : moving time, exemples (16) et (24-26). Comment interpréter cette présence ? Nous pensons qu'il y a là un effet du genre et du type de communication. Tout d'abord, les exemples expriment des expériences humaines, allocentriques ou nynégocentriques. Et en effet, c'est seulement sur le plan humain, pas sur l'axe divin, que le temps puisse bouger. L'ambition éthique et moralisatrice de l'Humaniste explique sa focalisation sur l'humain et l'ancrage nynégocentrique. Ajoutons que le ton assez optimiste en parlant du temps reflète la confiance d'Érasme dans la capacité de l'homme – à l'aide de la Grâce de Dieu et de la Foi, bien sûr – d'œuvrer lui-même pour son Salut. La visée spécifique du corpus étudié dans cette section explique également l'absence de renvoi à l'axe allocentrique divin.²⁶

Nous notons en outre une différence intéressante dans l'usage du mot *tempus* avec la valeur de *kairos* par rapport à celui de Luther – il en sera question dans la section suivante.

Conclusions

Comparaison entre Luther et Érasme

Les métaphores

Pour ce qui est de la présence des quatre métaphores proposées par Lakoff & Johnson chez nos auteurs, nous avons constaté que tous deux expriment TEMPUS à l'aide des métaphores 3 ("time as a container") et 4 ("time as a resource"). Dans notre corpus, la métaphore 1 ("the moving time metaphor") se rencontre chez Érasme seulement dans un contexte lié à la vie humaine et non pas théologique. Nous ne l'avons pas rencontré dans le *Serf Arbitre*, possiblement à cause de la nature ou la taille de ce texte, car dans Schøsler & Skovgaard-Hansen 2022, nous avons rencontré des cas de cette métaphore chez les Réformateurs. Par contre, l'absence de la métaphore 2 ("the moving observer metaphor") chez les Réformateurs et chez Érasme n'est sans doute pas un hasard. Dans notre étude précédente, nous avons proposé que cette absence est ancrée dans la compréhension des Réformateurs de la relation entre Dieu et TEMPUS : "... pour les Réformateurs, Dieu seul est au-dessus du temps, il en est capable d'observer le cours – et c'est Lui qui en est le moteur." Nous proposons de reprendre le concept des axes en précisant que la distinction entre axes humains, allocentrique et nynégocentrique, et axe

²⁶ Sauf erreur, ce n'est que dans une citation de Saint Marc (exemple (14)) qu'est impliqué par Érasme l'axe allocentrique divin.

divin, correspond en principe à la distinction entre la dimension profane et la dimension sacrée. Néanmoins, dans une civilisation enracinée dans la pratique chrétienne, comme c'est le cas de la période qui nous occupe, la dimension profane et la dimension sacrée se matérialise sous l'autorité de l'Église dans le temps et l'espace, point de vue partagé par nos deux auteurs, vu qu'il existe des moments sacrés (les fêtes religieuses) comme il existe des espaces sacrés (les églises, les terres consacrées), comme il existe des moments et des espaces profanes. Ceci nous mène à affirmer que le temps, à cette époque, ne constitue pour ainsi dire pas une dimension dans laquelle l'homme pourra se déplacer librement en tant que "*moving observer*". Il est intéressant de rappeler à ce propos que l'opposition contre l'usure a été motivée par la réflexion disant que personne ne pourra capitaliser sur le temps en exigeant des intérêts sur un prêt, car le temps n'appartient qu'à Dieu.²⁷ Nous pensons qu'une étude dédiée à l'histoire de l'origine cognitive et de l'utilisation de la métaphore 2 de Lakoff & Johnson serait fort intéressante, mais elle dépasse malheureusement le cadre de la présente investigation.

Concernant la métaphore 4, la comparaison entre Luther et Érasme met en évidence une différence de fond et de forme. Nous avons déjà constaté à quel point Luther est pressé par la carence de temps au point de s'impatienter, même à l'égard d'Érasme (cf. les exemples (3)-(5)). Ce sentiment chez Luther nous semble lié à son opposition à l'autorité de l'Église Catholique. Nous avons constaté que les Réformateurs nient en bloc son autorité, en la remplaçant par l'autorité de l'Écriture et la Foi. Il s'ensuit qu'il n'y a plus consensus sur la place du sacré, avec, comme conséquence, des discussions sur le déroulement du service, des sacrements et des rites – même le temps n'est plus une ressource indiscutable, dans le sens du terme employé ici, suivant Lakoff & Johnson. Luther est donc à court de temps, en fait c'est *kairos* qui lui manque, et sans *kairos*, pas de libre arbitre, comme mentionné plus haut.²⁸

La traduction d'Érasme du Nouveau Testament grec en latin était un chef-d'œuvre – même selon Luther ; se pourrait-il que la présence du terme

²⁷ L'opposition contre l'usure est très ancienne et a tout de même été contournée. Déjà selon le Coran, le temps appartient à Dieu ; l'argent ne peut donc pas fructifier *ex nihilo*, sans qu'il n'y ait de travail et par le seul fait de l'écoulement des jours. On retrouve l'idée thomiste selon laquelle le prêteur ne possède pas le temps et ne peut pas le vendre, voir <https://www.cairn.info/revue-d-economie-financiere-2013-1-page-265.htm>. Notons que Luther écrit quatre traités contre l'usure (1519, 1520, 1524 et 1540), selon qui l'usure est une invention du diable.

²⁸ Curieusement, une forme de "dévotion privée", obsédée par un emploi religieux du temps, respectant le calendrier sacré et les rites religieux s'observe dans les milieux catholiques inspirés par la Contre-Réforme vers 1650, selon les recherches de Bruun 2017.

récurrent de *kairos* au cours de son travail titanesque de traduction,²⁹ alliée à ses connaissances classiques approfondies de ses connotations, ait influencé son attitude différente envers le temps par rapport aux deux Réformateurs ?

Le contexte socioculturel de Luther et d'Érasme

Sans entrer dans les détails de ce vaste sujet, retenons quelques points fondamentaux : Les deux auteurs vivent dans leur jeunesse dans un milieu d'éducation tout à fait comparable : un monastère Augustin, Érasme à Steyn, Luther à Erfurt. Mais leurs attitudes étaient bien différentes. Citons Boisset:³⁰

Sans doute, à Steyn comme à Erfurt, on lisait la Bible, les Pères et les Mystiques. Seulement, alors que l'Augustin d'Erfurt, Luther, s'abîmait dans la recherche de son salut, c'est-à-dire : visait à la sainteté plus qu'à la sagesse, Érasme, l'Augustin de Steyn, recherche la sagesse davantage que la sainteté.

Regardons ensuite la grande différence de leurs parcours de vie et de rapports sociaux. Luther passe sa vie presque exclusivement en Allemagne, dans un milieu plutôt ecclésiastique, quand il n'était pas sous la protection de la noblesse. Érasme, par contre, passait beaucoup de sa vie en voyages, en s'inspirant de tendances spirituelles fort différentes pendant ses séjours prolongés dans plusieurs pays d'Europe. Ces inspirations allaient entre autres de Thomas More en Angleterre (Érasme réside trois ans à Cambridge) à Leuven (à la chaire de rhétorique pendant plusieurs années), où il découvre les écrits de Lorenzo Valla, en particulier les fameuses *Adnotationes* de celui-ci.³¹ À ceci s'ajoute son émerveillement devant Rome, moins la capitale catholique que la capitale de l'antiquité, où résidaient ses amis cardinaux d'orientation humaniste. Ainsi, malgré leur point de départ quasi identique, les deux auteurs évoluent dans deux sens très divergent, le premier, confiné dans les questions de religion et devenu Réformateur véhément, le second Humaniste éclairé et tolérant.

Le style, révélateur d'une différence de vision du monde

Nous avons observé une différence de style entre Luther et Érasme, qui repose moins sur les différences de genre (les deux traités sur l'arbitre) que sur une différence de tempérament. Celui du Réformateur est empreint d'un

²⁹ Voir *Novum Testamentum omne* 1516, <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/PR-C-00002-00009/146>, Markus 1,15.

³⁰ Boisset 1962, 15.

³¹ *Collatio Novi Testamenti* (1447), publié par Érasme comme *Adnotationes in Novum Testamentum* (1505), édité par A. Perosa (1970), voir la note 22.

engagement passionné – souvent ciblé par la critique d’Érasme. Luther revêt le rôle de prédicateur, de porteur d’un message qu’il est pressé de diffuser. Le contraste par rapport à l’Humaniste est saisissant. Son écriture est d’un calme pesé, il considère le cours du temps non comme une source de tension, mais plutôt comme une ressource, un remède. Pareillement, il estime que son prochain est un interlocuteur plutôt qu’un adversaire. Son optimisme fondamental est ancré dans la tradition catholique et dans sa foi en la raison individuelle, venant de Dieu, et à laquelle il fait appel dans ses œuvres d’éthique et de diffusion de ses immenses connaissances, admirées par ses contemporains, y compris Luther. Rappelons la formule de Boisset³² citée plus haut à propos des attitudes contrastées:

La première, celle de l’Humaniste, cherchant, si l’on peut dire, horizontalement, à la fois ce qu’il faut détruire et ce qu’il faut construire ; la seconde, celle du Réformateur, cherchant horizontalement ce qu’il faut détruire, et recevant, verticalement, de Dieu, ce qu’il faut édifier.

Conclusion générale

Dans notre étude sur les occurrences du mot *tempus* chez Luther et Érasme nous avons de nouveau³³ adopté comme toile de fond la théorie de Sapir & Whorf sur l’influence réciproque entre la langue, la société et la conceptualisation, qui s’est vue confirmée. Car malgré un début de formation assez comparable entre Luther et Érasme, les deux auteurs se sont ensuite engagés sur des voies essentiellement différentes, menant à des visions du monde et de la société opposées. Ainsi, ils représentent l’un une société de rupture et l’autre une société de continuation. Il est par conséquent logique et prévisible (cf. notre Introduction) que la conceptualisation du temps et les dénnotations du mot *tempus* diffèrent chez les deux auteurs.

Nous avons intégré dans nos analyses l’approche de Lakoff & Johnson sur la métaphorisation de notre compréhension du monde (cf. les sections sur les métaphores), grâce à laquelle nous avons pu dégager des différences d’attitude fondamentales entre nos deux auteurs. Comme dans notre étude précédente, nous avons jugé utile, en supplément aux métaphores, de reprendre dans la partie lexicale, la notion de *kairos*, même si ce mot grec ne figure pas dans nos textes latins, l’intention étant de clarifier davantage l’emploi de cette notion dans notre contexte. En outre nous avons introduit les notions linguistiques allocentrique et nynéocentrique pour distinguer les

³² Boisset 1962, 36.

³³ Voir Schøsler & Skovgaard-Hansen 2022 et l’Introduction ci-dessus de notre article.

niveaux épistémologiques dans lesquels s’inscrivent les occurrences du mot *tempus*.

L’analyse de nos données numérisées s’est effectuée de manière semi-automatique. Nous aurions aimé pouvoir utiliser des explorations automatiques plus sophistiquées, par exemple sur la dispersion de notre mot-clé, suivant en cela l’exemple de Johann Ramminger. Cela n’a pas été possible, et nous pensons, en total accord avec les réflexions récentes de notre ami et collègue (Ramminger 2022) qu’une investigation plus automatisée sur l’utilisation du mot *tempus* aurait buté sur le problème mis en lumière par Ramminger, à savoir que la forme du mot reste identique, alors que la dénotation se modifie, comme nous avons pu le montrer, notamment à l’aide de l’étude de la métaphore Type 4 : le temps comme une ressource. En effet, l’exploration des valeurs et des usages de ce mot nécessite une approche philologique combinant l’étude non seulement du contexte linguistique, mais aussi du contexte socioculturel.

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THE ANTI-NEOLOGIST NEOLOGISER



Henri Estienne II and his Latin Coinages for Hans Ramminger¹

By Keith Sidwell

The famous 16th century printer-scholar, Henricus Stephanus (Henri Estienne) disapproved of excessive neologising, and satirised Justus Lipsius for this fault. But Estienne did coin new words himself. The principles for his neologisms, however, were in accordance with accepted grammatical formulations. This paper examines a number of these new words or new meanings, taken from works not cited in Johann Ramminger's Neulateinische Wortliste, as well as two instances where solecisms are used. In most cases, Estienne points out his originality of vocabulary or usage by employing an 'excuse' motif. The majority of his neologisms fall in the category of 'the humorous'.

1. Estienne's attitude towards Latinity

Henri Estienne (Henricus Stephanus) grew up – or so he claims - in a Latin-speaking environment, for his father, Robert Estienne, kept a ten-man team of international scholars in his household to act as *correctores* for his publishing-house and their only common language was Latin.² Indeed, Henri claims to have learned the language more or less as a native-speaker, long before he had been introduced to the grammar, which would have been the normal way of approaching Latin and Greek in that period (Preface to his 1566 *Poetae Graeci Principes heroici carminis*). When his heart had been stolen by the mellifluous sound of Greek and he longed liked an ardent lover

¹ Hans will know only too well that I have never been a lexicographer. Still, happy chance has arranged matters to put me at the right moment in a position to offer him a few titbits from the sweetshop that is his stock-in-trade – when we are celebrating his long and fruitful career with the *TLL* and hoping that he will now have more time for his ground-breaking *Neulateinische Wortliste* which is a boon for all those who work on early modern Latin texts.

² *Letter to his Son, Paul Estienne* §17-20, De Keyser, Humble and Sidwell 2022, 452-5. Details of the original editions of Stephanus' works can be found in the bibliography and the USTC provides in most cases a direct link to a digital edition. Since, however, Stephanus gives no line or paragraph numbers either for prose or verse texts, I have thought it more convenient to direct readers to the most recent modern edition of these works, by paragraph, line and page number. Where the work has no modern edition (e.g. *Laudatio equi*) I cite the original edition, and if it is quoted from a secondary source, I refer the reader to Estienne via that.

to learn it, however, he was confronted with the fact that he did not really “know” Latin, as he had not studied it formally:

Then I began to object, fiercely denying that I was ignorant of Latin. My boyish ears rang with the Latin conversations of the household and had gradually become so used to that form of speech that I understood the majority of what was being said (an experience shared also by my mother). Consequently, I was convinced that I was more than sufficiently versed in it and therefore was surprised and not a little indignant that I was being summoned to study the basics of declensions and conjugations.³

He did eventually undergo this formal grammatical education in Latin, but only, he claims, after going through the grammar grind in Greek first. This is especially clear from the *De Plauti Latinitate* of 1576, where he organises his remarks according to the normal grammatical categories, but he shows himself everywhere aware of the formal analytical vocabulary both of grammar and of rhetoric.

From his earliest independent publications, Henri shows himself to be an anti-Ciceronian, though his *Ciceronianum Lexicon Graeco-Latinum* of 1557 is, illogically, a guide to the way in which Cicero had translated Greek words and phrases and purportedly designed to be useful to translators of Greek who wished for truly Ciceronian vocabulary and turns of phrase. In his 1576 treatise *De Latinitate falso suspecta*, however, he makes it very clear (as in many other places) that he regards Latinity as correct if its lexis conforms to a very wide spectrum of usage across the surviving writing of antiquity, from Plautus to Augustine and Jerome.

Late in his life, Estienne criticised Justus Lipsius’ style (*De Iusti Lipsii Latinitate* 1595) for its “unnecessary neologisms and impure” style.⁴ There is, of course, very probably here a nice distinction between “necessary” and “unnecessary” neologisms, since Henri, as we shall see, was not himself averse to creating new Latin words or reusing an existing word to describe something unknown to antiquity. How could he, in fact, have avoided this procedure? For indeed neologism in both these categories was an essential part of the Latinity of the Renaissance and post-Renaissance era, just as it had been of Medieval culture, since its use as an international *lingua franca* demanded that it be able to operate in contexts for which it was not designed. In that sense, it worked in a similar way to a natural language, where new forms of government, new intellectual concepts, new inventions and new

³ Translated in De Keyser, Humble and Sidwell 2022, 11-12.

⁴ Cowling 2012, 82. For the prefatory material to this volume, with comments on Lipsius as *Kaeonophilus* (“lover of neologism”), see Kecskeméti & al. 2003, 694-701.

fashions bring with them new words and phrases to express them, often borrowed from the languages which first thought them up (unless, as for example in France, official attempts are made to regulate non-native terms and keep them out – though this procedure is not especially successful).⁵

As the debates over style and lexis during the 15th and 16th centuries show, Latin was a regulated medium – though quite what the criteria for this regulation should be was always in question. Should one stick to Ciceronian vocabulary or allow a broader net to be cast? Was “barbarism”, the use of words calqued on words from modern languages, ever admissible? And whose style was a better model, that of Cicero, Seneca or Tacitus?

In his chapter in the Brill *Encyclopaedia* and in an interesting follow-up paper published in this journal a few years ago, Hans Helander has articulated some of the basic rules which underlie the creation of neologisms during the early modern period. The progression he tabulates, however, very largely belongs to the period of the explosion of scientific discovery, following especially the invention of the microscope (in the 1590s, though the word itself may be later) and the telescope (1610) and becoming gradually, then exponentially, stronger during the 17th and 18th centuries.⁶

Estienne precedes these developments and in any case was not a scientific thinker, though he did promulgate works of ancient medicine. Consequently, he forms an interesting example of how neologism operated in the largely conservative field of literary studies - and poetic composition - in the 16th century. It must, of course, have made a difference that Estienne was also involved in a relatively new technology, that of printing, which needed to invent new vocabulary (e.g., *typographus* “printer”) or borrow it from antiquity, though investing it with a different physical image (e.g., *prelum* “press”) and also that he had grown up hearing and using this tongue as a natural medium of communication. And it is of the utmost importance that he had seen, as a young man, his father Robert’s great lexicographical project, the *Dictionarium, seu Latinae linguae Thesaurus* (1543), come to completion, had produced a Latin dictionary (the *Ciceronianum Lexicon Graeco-Latinum*) himself in 1557 and, having undertaken to finish the Greek dictionary his father had begun, finally published the *Thesaurus Graecae linguae* in 1572. Estienne had good reason to know very well the rules of word-formation both in Latin and in Greek.

⁵ The attempt in Ireland to produce new terms based on Gaelic roots is nicely satirised by the apocryphal sentence allegedly heard in Connemara from a man pumping up his bicycle in his backyard in answer to the question (in Irish) “What are you doing?”: Tá mé ag pumpáil mo bhicycle in mo bhackyard!”

⁶ Helander 2014 and 2016.

2. Estienne's neologisms

There is nothing to surprise the student of word-formation in the examples of Estienne's neologisms which I shall be dealing with here. And given his lexicographical background, that is not surprising either. Like others, when he has to refer to something specific to his age which needs to be accurate, rather than using a periphrasis, he adheres to the modern convention and calls a spade a spade, or a Landgrave a *Landgravius*.⁷ But he can also use "barbarian" vocabulary to underline a point. For example, in his attack on Lipsius' Latinity, he uses the vernacular-derived word *liga* "League", which had been in common use since at least the 13th century (Latham), more to cast doubt on Lipsius' lexis by sarcasm than to make clear the historical reference-point:

Quod Gallica *liga* adversus hunc quoque, verum et legitimum Galliae regem, Hispanico auxilio freta, idem secta antiquaria, quae tandem (pro dolor!) evasit in gentem magnam, ac quae quotidie magna magisque fit populosa, adversus florentis Romae latinitatem, veram et legitimam Latini eloquii reginam, molitur.

Just as the French League has mobilised against the true and legitimate French king, with Spanish help, so this archaising sect, which has, unfortunately, grown large and grows more popular by the day, is mobilising against the flourishing Latinity of Rome, the true and legitimate queen of Latin eloquence.⁸

But when he is making up his own words, or using words invented by a friend, he always adheres to the cardinal principle that the basic parts should be in the available stock of classical Latin (or Greek) and that the formation should be regular. Consequently, the following notes are organised according to the manner of the neologism's formation or its manner of reuse of the Latin source-word.

a. Words created by using diminutive suffixes:

scyphulus:

in scyphum miserum sitis misella
incidit mea, caeterisque quanto
magis gutturibus meum aestuabat,
sortitum scyphon est eo minorem.
Quid dico scyphon? Imo nominandus

⁷ Helander 2016, 22, quoting Noltenius.

⁸ *De Justi Lipsii latinitate* (quoted by Cowling 2012, 82, from Kecskeméti et al. 2003, 698, with his translation).

est vere scyphulus. Velit Latinis
id verbum dare Posthiana coena.

my wretched little thirst
Chanced on a wretched cup: by how much more
My throat was sweltering than the other throats,
By that much smaller was the cup they chose.
Cup do I call it? No, it should be called
A cupkin: that's the word that Post's great feast
Would like to offer to the Latin tongue.⁹

Given that the root of this word, *scyphus*, had been naturalised from Greek as early as Plautus (e.g. *Asinaria* 444), there is no special reason why the diminutive might not have existed before Estienne. Clearly in the case of *scyphulus*, Estienne did think – or wanted it to be thought – that he was inventing, since he specifically picks out the item as a novelty (“Velit Latinis/id verbum dare Posthiana coena”). In this case, however, he was wrong. Souter lists *scyphulus* as “a small wine-cup” from the 4th-5th century CE Christian poet Paulinus of Nola (19.463). Presumably we must infer that Estienne was unfamiliar with his works. Moreover, the word had been relatively recently used by a Neo-Latin writer, Nicolaus Clenardus. In an account of a journey in Portugal in 1537 (*ep.* 43), he writes: “Forte fortuna scyphulus unus remanserat e prandio”.¹⁰ Estienne *might* have been able to read Clenardus, but his own formulation again makes it more likely that he had not and really thought (or wanted it to be thought) that he had coined the word. New vocabulary could move easily across the Latin-speaking world of the well-travelled humanists, so it must have been almost as difficult for a 16th century Latinist to be genuinely certain that a usage was indeed new and his own as it sometimes is for us, given the relatively undeveloped state of Neo-Latin lexicography and the vast amount of Neo-Latin writing.¹¹

⁹ *Francofordiense Emporium, Coena Posthiana* vv. 310-15 in De Keyser, Humble and Sidwell 2022, 388-9.

¹⁰ Printed in Thomas 1902, 203. I am grateful to the anonymous referee for providing this example.

¹¹ A good example is the word *boarda* “cannon”, a poetic form of *bombarda*, clearly coined to make it easier for writers of Latin hexameters to write about the new artillery. I first encountered it in the Irishman Dermitius Meara’s *Ormonius* (1615), 5.50 (Edwards and Sidwell 2011), but Ramminger s.v. lists four other writers from the 15th and 16th centuries who had used it before him. But exactly how had it reached Ireland and Meara?

b. Words created by using prefixes:

tribibax:

Praesul nomen habens viri bibacis,
nec bibax modo, vulgus ut videmus,
sed vere *tribibax* (Latina nomen
hoc illi dare lingua ne gravetur).

A prelate who was known to like his drink,
And not just like, as we see does the crowd.
Nay, him a triple-bibber we might think
(If in the Latin tongue that word's allowed!).¹²

tritantaleus:

Plus quam Tantaleus premebat ergo,
me *tritantaleus* dolor premebat.

I was oppressed by more than Tantalus' pain,
Tri-Tantalean was the pain I bore.¹³

The words *tribibax* and *tritantaleus* are formed by adding the prefix *tri-* to the simple form, on the model of classical forebears such as *tribrachys* (Quintilian 9.4.97) or *triennium* (e.g., Cicero, *Ad Familiares* 15.16.3). In the case of *tribibax*, Estienne once again points to the word as his own coinage, by adding the rider: “Latina nomen/hoc illi dare lingua ne gravetur”. He does not see fit to do this with *tritantaleus*, however, though in both the coinage is prepared for by using the simple word as a contextual prompt.

postfatio:

Vetus est illa consuetudo utendi praefatione seu antefatione, nunc igitur, novo exemplo, uti *postfatione* volui, aliquando etiam *interfatione* usus, si usus veniat.

That custom of using a preface or foreword is an old one. So now, following a new pattern, I have wanted to use an afterword, and will even occasionally use an interword, should the occasion arise.¹⁴

While *interfatio*, also used here by Estienne, is a classical word (e.g., Quintilian 4.2.50), strangely *postfatio* is not. The word is first found, according to Hans Ramminger (s.v. *postfatio*) in two writers more or less

¹² *Francofordiense Emporium, De quodam praesule* vv. 1-4 in De Keyser, Humble and Sidwell 2022, 404-5.

¹³ *Francofordiense Emporium, Coena Posthiana* vv. 349-50 in De Keyser, Humble and Sidwell 2022, 390-1.

¹⁴ *Francofordiense Emporium, Postscript to Paul Schad* §1 in De Keyser, Humble and Sidwell 2022, 406-7.

contemporary with Estienne. These are Johannes Brenz (1499-1570) and Jakob Andreae Schmidelinus (1528-1590). Brenz must have used the word before Estienne (as he died before the 1574 *Frankfurt Fair* was written), but it is not known whether Estienne would have read, or even been able to read, his works. The work cited in Ramminger by Schmidelinus, on the other hand, belongs to 1583, almost a decade after *Frankfurt Fair*. We may be speaking here of a term which was newly wrought – probably thrown up by the habits of the printing trade, where blank spaces at the ends of volumes were often filled by afterthoughts or additional notes which naturally could only be inserted once it was known there was a space (like nature, 16th century printers appear to have abhorred a vacuum). The coinage may have already been quite well-known, therefore, though of relatively recent origin, and it continued in use in the next generation.¹⁵ Still, Estienne appears, by the way he writes *novo exemplo*, to think he has coined it, or at least invented the institution of the “Afterword”.

c. New compound words following the structure of an existing Latin word or words:

ventipes, plumbipes, saxipes, testudinipes:

Terpsichore:

Non solum alipedis hic apud me nomen habebit
Verum & ventipedis, si lingua Latina probabit.

Terpsichore:

This horse I'll call not merely 'winged of hoof',
But, if the Latin language will approve,
'With hooves of wind', I'll add to that as well.¹⁶

Melpomene:

Aeripedem hunc siquis nolit vocitare caballum,
Plumbipedis dare nomen ei fortasse licebit.

Terpsichore:

Addi *saxipedis* debet me iudice nomen.

Calliope:

Hic *testudinipes* dictus tibi, Plaute, fuisset,
Si tibi consueto libuisset more iocari.

Melpomene:

If one's unwilling to describe this nag

¹⁵ Ramminger also cites Balthasar Meisner (1587-1626) under this word.

¹⁶ *Laudatio equi, Francofordiense Emporium* p. 12.

As ‘brazen-hoofed’, perhaps one might be let
Give it the name of ‘leaden-hoofed’ instead.

Terpsichore:

In my opinion, we should also add the name
‘With hooves that weigh as much as does a rock’.

Calliope:

O Plautus, if you had been fain to jest
In usual fashion, you’d have called this nag
‘A horse with feet that match tortoises’ speed’.¹⁷

The neologisms *ventipes*, *plumbipes*, *saxipes*, and *testudinipes* are based on existing items of poetic vocabulary such as *alipes* (e.g., Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 11.312) and *aeripes* (e.g., Vergil, *Aeneid* 6.802; cf. *sonipes* Vergil, *Aeneid* 4.135), which combine a noun as first element with *pes* (“foot”) to form a compound adjective. As the contexts given above reveal, the new words are formed in direct competition with the old by the Muses, who are represented in the two poems *Laudatio equi* and *Vituperatio equi* as alternately praising a good horse bought at the Frankfurt Fair and criticising a bad one bought at the Zurzach Fair. So *ventipes* is produced by Terpsichore to praise the Frankfurt horse over and above the standard epithet *alipes*, while the other three new adjectives are invented to add further levels of weight (punning on the *aeri-* of *aeripes*) and slowness to the critique of the Zurzach nag. In each instance, Estienne once more points to the fact that these are neologisms. In the case of *ventipes* Terpsichore adds the rider *si lingua Latina probabit* (why not, as the word is properly formed, seems to be the underlying implication?). In this case, however, Estienne’s claim (if indeed he is claiming originality) is false, as the word had already been used by Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus in his *Historiae Deorum Gentilium* of 1548, though as a Latin gloss (*Ventipes nuncia*) for the Greek phrase Ποδήμενος Ἄγγελος.¹⁸ Is this another instance of Estienne’s self-promotion, wherein he deliberately ignores the pre-existence of the word? Or, as the context and the creation of the other neologisms might argue, was he ignorant of Giraldi’s treatise?

In the case of *plumbipes* and *saxipes*, the contrast with the existing term is first established (as in that of *ventipes*) by direct mention of the classical term and then to *plumbipes* is added the rider *fortasse licebit* (permission is still required to innovate in Latin, however well it is done). The zenith is reached a few lines later with the coinage *testudinipes*. In this case Plautus is invoked

¹⁷ *Vituperatio equi*, *Francofordiense Emporium* p. 13.

¹⁸ The text, edited by Karin Zeleny, is available digitally at <https://www.oew.ac.at/kal/mythos/Syn09.pdf>, p. 429. I owe this reference to the anonymous reader.

to justify the jokey but apt neologism. Estienne knew Plautus' works well, admired them, and thought his vocabulary perfectly acceptable for general use. Indeed, only two years after *Frankfurt Fair* he would add an appendix *De Plauti Latinitate* to his treatise *De Latinitate falso Suspecta* (1576).

d. New feminine forms based on existing masculine words with standard feminine suffixes:

grallatrix:

Ut vero a personatis mulieribus abhorremus, ita nec grallatrices amamus; sed easdem et in lecto et in mensa (id est, utrobique vel proceras vel parvas) habere volumus.

Just as we dislike women wearing masks, so we do not have any affection for those on stilts. We would rather have the same women in bed and at table, that is, in both places, whether they be tall or short.¹⁹

As Helander has noted, the *-tor/-trix* agent noun was a great source of new words in early modern Latin.²⁰ Many pairs of *-tor/-trix* agent nouns already existed in ancient texts. For example, the word *assentatrix* (to match masculine *assentator*), is found at Plautus, *Mostellaria* 257 and is used by Estienne at *Apologia pro Herodoto* §107 (as we have seen, Estienne accepted Plautus' vocabulary as classical).²¹ But when he wanted a feminine for *grallator* "stilt-walker", facetiously to describe women wearing the 16th century equivalent of high-heels, he was obliged to invent it, though here notably he does not make any excuse for doing so: he simply assumed, one supposes, that if there was a masculine form, then there must have been a matching feminine one, even though he had never seen it and was in any case using it as a jibe rather than literally.

e. Eponymous comic coinage:

stephanizare:

Superest, mi Melisse, ut mea carmina non ipse solum excusata habeas, sed etiam apud alios eorum sis excusator. Scis enim ea me in itinere scribere consuevisse, quod tu ex eo *stephanizare* appellare soles.

It remains, my dear Schad, for you not only to excuse my poems yourself, but to be their apologist also with others. For you know that it

¹⁹ *Apologia pro Herodoto* §123 in De Keyser, Humble and Sidwell 2022, 240-1.

²⁰ Helander 2016, 12.

²¹ De Keyser, Humble and Sidwell 2022.

has been my habit to write them while on the road, a practice which you are wont from that fact to call “Stephanising”.²²

In using the neologism *stephanizare*, based on his Latinized surname name (Estienne = Stephen, from Greek στέφανος “wreath”, “crown”, “chaplet”), Estienne introduces us to a Latin-speaking circle and reveals that the word was invented by Paul Schad (Melissus) to tease him for his mode of poetic composition, viz. on horseback while travelling. Again, there is nothing odd about the way the verb is formed. As Helander reminds us, the *-izo/-isso* ending, which had been naturalised into Latin as early as Plautus (e.g. *graecisso* and *atticisso* at *Menaechmi* 22), became popular for neologisms related to names during the 16th century - whence *Lutherisso* and others of the same ilk.²³ Its existence suggests, however, that there may have been in the banter exchanged between friends on social occasions a much wider propensity for the humorous neologism which we have glimpsed especially in some of Estienne’s less formal writings (the poems of *Frankfurt Fair*, for instance) than we can see from published Latin of this period.

f. Words borrowed from vernacular:

contextus:

Ac omne quidem magnificentiae genus statim mihi promisit quae apud me est non solum ampla et varia, sed etiam pretiosa supellex typographica (eamque promissis stetisse, omnes, ut spero, fatebuntur), ut autem Graecus *contextus* (sicuti vulgo vocatur) quam fieri posset emendatissimus ederetur, non omnem lapidem, sed omnia bibliothecarum (ad quae aditus patuit) scamna partim ipse movi, partim movenda curavi.

And indeed I was at once promised every kind of magnificence by the typographical equipment which I have at my printing-shop, which is not only large and varied, but also valuable – and I hope that everyone will admit that it has stood by its promises. But in order that the entire Greek text (as it is called in the vernacular) should be published in the most correct form possible, I personally moved – or saw to the moving of – not every stone, but every bookcase in the libraries to which I was allowed access.²⁴

The phrase *sicuti vulgo vocatur*, or something similar, is quite often found indicating reference across to a term in the vernacular. But here Estienne

²² *Francofordiense Emporium, Postscript to Paul Schad* §6 in De Keyser, Humble and Sidwell 2022, 410-11.

²³ Helander 2016, 24.

²⁴ *Lectori φιλοπλάτωνι* §2 in De Keyser, Humble and Sidwell 2022, 430-1.

Latinises the French word he is referring to, *contexte*, since it is in any case derived from the Latin. By this strategy, however, he makes it clear that the meaning to be assigned to the Latin word is not the usual one, viz. “weaving” and so “coherence”, “plan”, “structure”, “continuity”, “complex”.²⁵ Instead, he is thinking of the meaning given to it in the French of his day. The French *contexte* is explained in the *Dictionaire Francoislain* published by Henri’s father Robert Estienne in 1539 [USTC 849832] as: “Par ung contexte, tout d’ung train, sans rien mesler – *uno contextu*”. So it appears that Estienne understood *contexte* as “the entire, full, complete and uninterrupted text”.

But the very appearance of the gloss *uno contextu* in Robert’s *Dictionaire* suggests that Estienne is not claiming paternity of the word here. Indeed, Calvin had already in 1542 – three years after Robert’s lexicon had appeared – used *contextus* in this new sense.²⁶ The purpose of Estienne’s formulation here is rather to focus attention on another issue which he examines elsewhere in his writings. For the care Estienne takes to ensure that he is not being seen to be importing a barbarism into his Latin reflects a general problem with the use of spoken Latin during this period, especially by speakers of Romance languages, largely caused by the insistence on limiting one’s vocabulary – in a narrower or a broader way – to the lexical stock provided by approved ancient Latin writers. Estienne in fact wrote his treatise *De Latinitate falso Suspecta* (1576), as he explains in his prefatory remarks to the work, to help solve this problem, precisely because it was the closeness of French/Italian to Latin which stopped people from expressing themselves fluently in Latin, given that they did not want to make fools of themselves by misusing items of vocabulary:

Spero autem fore ut multos meum istud opusculum ad Latine frequentius et loquendum et scribendum incitet, quum eorum quae suspecta prius habebant (ut certe illam ipsam vocem *strenae*, a qua hanc epistolam inchoavi, apud multos in barbariei suspicionem immerito venire scio), pleraque elegantia etiam esse comperient. Sed caveant interim ne fines a me praescriptos excedant, atque ex nimium timidis audaces, ex superstitiosis irreligiosi circa linguae Latinae usum evadant ita, ut sumpta ex hoc meo libro occasione quicquid in buccam et loqui et scribere audeant ac tandem culinaria (ut nostratem appellationem imiter) uti Latinitate sibi permittant. Ac de his ut ipse quoque

²⁵ These are the main subheadings as given in *OLD* s.v. *contextus*.

²⁶ Calvin 1671-1677, op. VI, 103: “Quoniam abruptus est Graecus contextus, quidam accusativum pro nominandi casu positum esse putant”. I owe this reference to the anonymous reader.

praemoneas illos, in quorum manibus hanc lucubrationem invenies, et omnem a me calumniam propulses, etiam atque etiam rogo.

My hope is, however, that this little piece of mine will prompt many to speak and write Latin more frequently. They will discover that the majority of those words which they previously held suspect (as I know for sure that the very word *strenae* with which I began this letter, is undeservedly suspected by many of being a barbarism) are also within the bounds of good Latin. They should beware, however, of exceeding the limits prescribed by me and turning out in their use of the Latin language to be audacious instead of too timid, and irreligious instead of merely superstitious. If they do that, taking their cue from my book, they may dare to say and write whatever comes into their mouths and end up allowing themselves to use “kitchen Latin” (to imitate the French expression). I ask you, then, repeatedly, to warn those in whose hands you find this little lucubration about these matters yourself and to ward off from me all calumny.²⁷

g. New wine in old bottles: new meanings for an existing word

correctio:

Nanque quod humano mens est in corpore, quod mens
praestare humano corpore clausa potest,
hoc opere in nostro praestat correctio (voci
fas usum veteri sit tribuisse novum).

For since there’s mind inside the human frame,
What mind shut in the human frame can do
This in our work ‘correction’ does (the word
Can rightly bear this newly-minted sense).²⁸

We are by now familiar with the careful way in which Estienne signals neologism. In the case of *correctio*, Estienne’s *Ars Typographica* begs to be allowed to give an old word a new meaning. Here, however, it is by no means completely clear from the context whether Estienne is claiming it as his own coinage, impelled by his particular concerns as a scholar-printer, or whether it had by this time come into general use and he is simply advertising his knowledge that this usage diverges from the ancient.²⁹ Of the classical meanings, “amendment of error”, “correction”, “reproof”, the first two are

²⁷ *De Latinitate falso Suspecta* §14. Text and translation from De Keyser, Humble and Sidwell 2022, 424-7.

²⁸ *Artis Typographicae Querimonia* vv. 131-4 in De Keyser, Humble and Sidwell 2022, 270-1.

²⁹ There is no entry in Ramminger.

certainly included within the new sense. But given that it is the *Ars* herself who is excusing the term, it is more likely that Estienne is signalling the appropriation of the term by the new medium she personifies. Indeed, as the word is quite often used in this sense in other printers' prefaces, this is the likelier reason for the highlight it receives here.

It is, then, the processes involved in the new art of printing itself which require the expansion of the term to include all the operations by which a correct text is established – the collection of data from manuscripts and their collation, together with the collation of evidence from earlier printed editions, and, where neither resource suffices to provide an obviously correct text, the use of conjecture (though Estienne is always careful to insist that conjectures should not be printed in the text itself, but only in notes).³⁰ This activity was the realm of the *corrector*, who must necessarily be (at least in Estienne's opinion) a person highly trained in both Greek and Latin. The complaint made by Estienne's *Ars Typographica* in verse is essentially the same made by Estienne himself in prose in his *Epistola de suae Typographiae Statu* in the same year (1569):

Ego igitur olim quidem veterum scriptorum sortem eo nomine deplorabam, quod "in illotas" (ut proverbiali utar verbo) "manus" multorum vel interpretum vel expositorum inciderent, qui sua somnia illis deliriaque adiungerent; at nunc eorum qui in quorundam typographorum prela incidunt, non minus, sed potius magis deplorandam esse dico. "Quorum vero?" Nimirum qui, quum sint omnino literarum rudes, aut certe illis vix tincti, quaecunque ii quos pro doctis vel ipsi habent, vel ab aliis haberi vident, in castigando quopiam scriptore ausi fuerint (quid autem non audent nonnulli?), ea tanquam oracula in ipsa eius scripta inferunt. Hinc enim factum est ut, quum antea veterum libri iis tantum mendis inquinati esse solerent quae ex antiquis exemplaribus manarant, aut certe typographicis, id est iis quae typographicae committunt operae (cuius generis mendis et prope infinitis et monstrosis plerisque refertae erant Herodoti pariter et Thucydidis interpretationum editiones; quorum exempla etiam etiam quaedam in calce Latini mei Herodoti habes), nunc ad illa duo mala peius illis bonum accedat.

I, then, used to bemoan the fate of the ancient writers at one time on the grounds that they were falling into the (to use the proverbial expression) "unwashed hands" of many translators or commentators, who would attach their own dreams and mad notions to them. As things stand, however, I declare that no less wretched, but rather more so, is the fate

³⁰ He makes this point also in his introductory remarks to the reader in his Plato edition of 1578, §3 in De Keyser, Humble and Sidwell 2022, 432-3.

of the ones who happen upon the presses of certain printers. “Which ones in particular,” you enquire? Well, those who, although they are altogether unacquainted with literature or certainly have scarcely dipped their fingers into it, bring whatever those whom they themselves regard as educated or they see are so regarded by others, have dared to suggest in emending any given writer (and what is there that some have not dared to suggest?) into the texts of that writer, as though they were oracular pronouncements. Previously the books of the ancients were disfigured only by those mistakes which flowed from the ancient manuscripts, or, certainly, by typographical errors – that is, those errors committed by print operatives – of the sort with which the editions of Herodotus and equally of Thucydides had been stuffed full, almost infinite in number and most of them monstrous. Examples of these you have to hand also at the end of my own Latin Herodotus edition. But by the process outlined just now, it has come about that to those two evils an even more pernicious good has been added.³¹

rotula:

Atque ut de quibusdam ingeniosissimis et vel ipso Archimede dignissimis machinis, de variis item quibus variae artes indigent instrumentis taceam et in iis quae supellectilis sunt pergam: quae familia multum se his nundinis vel eo nomine debere non fatebitur, quod instrumentum dederit cuius industria obitur praecipuum in re culinaria ministerium, humana prius manu obiri solitum? Nam quum ad versandum veru famulum famulamve alere necesse foret, *rotulam* nobis protulerunt Francofordienses nundinae quae hoc ipso et non minus gnaviter et magis industrie fungeretur.

I shall say nothing about certain extremely ingenious devices, which would be worthy even of Archimedes himself and likewise about the various tools needed by the various arts. Instead, I shall continue by mentioning the area of equipment for the home. What household will not admit that it owes a great deal to this Fair even under this head, because it has provided them with a tool by using which an important culinary task is managed, which normally before would have required the human hand? For whilst it would be necessary to pay the keep of a serving-man or serving-women to turn the spit, the Frankfurt Fair has produced for us a little wheel to perform this very task no less zealously and more industriously.³²

In his encomium of the Frankfurt Fair, Estienne spends some time listing labour-saving inventions which he has seen for sale there. Among them are

³¹ Text and translation in De Keyser, Humble and Sidwell 2022, 300-3.

³² *Francofordiense Emporium* §30 in De Keyser, Humble and Sidwell 2022, 346-9.

molae brachiales (“arm mills”), which, given the grain-milling vocabulary in this section, presumably were mills equipped with some sort of gearing mechanism which reduced the effort involved in turning the grinding stones so that, instead of an animal’s bulk, the unaided arm of a man could work it. In the next section, Estienne turns to focus on an automatic spit, possibly prompted by the fact that in German and Italian the word for “mill” was used also for “spit”.³³ Estienne uses the word *rotula* (“little wheel”) here for the device as a whole. Given his focus on the fact that it does not need the human hand to work it (the cost of labour and board and lodging is saved by the purchase of the machine), it must have been operated by clockwork, which drove the spit without needing further human agency after it was wound up. Bartolomeo Scappi shows an illustration of such a machine in his *Cuoco secreto di Papa Pio V* (Venice, Michele Tramezzino, 1570, Plate 19 [USTC 855450]), which he calls a *Molinella* (“Little mill”).³⁴ So the device was a real invention of the period.

The question remains, however, what precisely Estienne’s word *rotula* denotes. Perhaps it was a trade name (cf. Hoover)? Or does it rather describe either the *function* of the machine or its *mechanism*. In the first case, it would glance across at French *rôtir* (“to roast”) and would therefore mean “roaster”. In the second, it would be describing either the part of the machine which takes the place of the human agent (not the spit itself, which is nothing like a wheel), and would therefore mean “clockwork” or the machine itself by synecdoche, and would therefore mean “clockwork device”. It is not easy to

³³ See Kammerer 2017, LXXXIII. In Johann Fischart’s German translation of Rabelais, at *Gargantua* 4 (chapter 7 in Fischart’s version: 1582, [Strasbourg, Bernard Jobin], p. 158: USTC 609532), where Rabelais mentions the slaughter of 367,014 oxen for salting, Fischart adds a reference to Solomon’s sacrifice (I *Kings* 8.62-3), involving 22,000 oxen and 120,00 sheep and opines that he must have been the inventor of the “living spit” or the “self moving spit-mill of 72 spits” (“selbs gengig Pratspissmül von 72 Pratspissen”), a clear reference to Estienne’s *Nundinae* (Fischart owned and annotated his own copy of this book). Bartolomeo Scappi (see below) uses an Italian word for “mill” (“Molinella”) to describe an automatic spit. Kammerer, however, appears to think that these “arm mills” are the *model* for the automatic spit. But it seems to me that it was only a similarity of mechanical method (a rotating handle to operate the device) that allowed the borrowing of the term into the vernacular for the two very different types of device. As far as I know, Latin *mola* was not used (and is certainly not used here) to mean “spit”. Moreover, the fact that Estienne uses the word *mola* for “mill” and standard classical terms for “hand mill” (*trusatilis mola*) and “pounding mill” (*pistrinum*) a little earlier (in §29) – items of vocabulary which are never used in connection with spit-roasting - while he uses the specific classical term *veru* for “spit” in §30, indicates that he is here thinking when he speaks of *molae brachiales* only of devices to facilitate grinding. He has moved on to a new subject by §30 and – in his normal “stream-of consciousness” manner - may have thought of the automatic spit only because of the concurrence of the vernacular terms.

³⁴ The plate is reproduced and discussed in Kammerer 2017, C and LXXXIII-V.

decide between these three options, but on balance the third is preferable. We would need more evidence to accept that *rotula* was a brand-name. As to the second option, we have seen above that if Estienne were calquing a French word, he would very likely have pointed it out. On the other hand, it is unclear that enough information is given by the synecdoche of *rotula* to allow it to mean “clockwork device” as a neologism. There is, therefore, a chance that Estienne did not coin the term, especially since he does not point out its novelty, as he usually does when he neologises. But if he did not, then the dictionaries I have consulted, including that of our dedicatee, list no examples of it. This is a conundrum, then, for a more seasoned lexicographer to resolve.³⁵

h. Latin grammar “misused” and excused:

salutes:

Nil, Posthi, superest, nisi ut *salutes*
(si sic per Latium loqui licebit)
tot precer tibi, quot querela versus
effudit mea non satis politos.

Nothing remains, O Post, except to pray
For healths (if it’s permitted so to say
In Latin) just as many on your head,
As hardly polished verses my complaint
Has flooded out.³⁶

vir illa:

Hic mihi huius generis exemplis finem imponere volenti in mentem
venit alia, prae caeteris omnibus mirabilis, Ioannis octavi pontificis
impostura; qui non tantum Pseudopapa verum etiam ψευδοανήρ fuit, id
est sub muliere virum mentitus est, donec *vir illa* (non ille) suo se
tanquam sores indicio prodidit et media in via repente enixa, foeminini,
non masculini generis se gessisse papatum fateri coacta est.

³⁵ I note, however, that the word *rota* continued to be associated with descriptions of clockwork in the 17th century. Cf. Antoine Garrisoles, *Adolphis* (Montauban 1649), 7.354-6: *Hic mirandi operis brevium dentata rotarum / Instrumenta suos lentâ vertigine motûs / Perficiunt* ‘Here instruments betoothed with tiny wheels/ - A wondrous work – complete with sluggish whirls/Their motions’. Just how closely such classicising authors wanted to stick to existing formulations, even when describing inventions unheard of in antiquity is underlined here by the borrowing of the phrase *rotarum vertigo* from Prudentius, *Psychomachia* 414 (but cf. also the vocabulary for firearms and cannon).

³⁶ *Francofordiense Emporium, Coena Posthiana* vv. 432-33 in De Keyser, Humble and Sidwell 2022, 396-7.

As I was wanting to bring my series of examples of this type to an end, another came into my mind, more amazing than all the rest: the imposture of Pope John VIII. This Pope was not just a false Pope, but also a false male, which is to say that beneath a woman's body she pretended to be a man. This fe-man (not "man") kept up the pretence until, like a mouse she betrayed herself on her own evidence. Suddenly giving birth in the middle of the street, she was compelled to admit that she had undertaken a papacy of the feminine, and not the masculine, gender.³⁷

Estienne can innovate grammatically, as well as lexically. Although this does not constitute neologism as such, it is worth looking at a couple of examples of this tendency, to round out the picture of an individual working in complete comfort with Latin in a way very similar to how one might operate in a natural language one has known since childhood.

The first instance, the plural *salutes*, a word used only in the singular in ancient texts, comes with the by now familiar request for permission, indicating that the writer is doing something unusual (*si sic per Latium loqui licebit*). Perhaps it has been suggested simply by the structure *tot...quot*, which would not work with the normal singular *salutem*. If this is not the reason, Estienne may be thinking of Italian *saluti* (though this is normally regarded not as the plural of *salute* "health", but of *saluto*), since in French and German a singular is always used in such expressions (*Santé!* *Gesundheit!*). But the first explanation is more probable, since as we have seen above Estienne would have been likelier to signpost a borrowing from the vernacular in a different way.

The second example, the use of a feminine demonstrative adjective with a masculine noun is a product of the specific context of the passage. For here Estienne is speaking about the famous and apocryphal Pope Joan, the woman who supposedly rose to the throne of Peter despite her gender – which she kept hidden until she was found out upon giving birth in the street. His solecism, however, is explained by the parenthesis *non ille*, which serves to point out (rather too obviously) that this is a joke.

3. Conclusion

Two remarks may be made in conclusion which follow upon this brief examination of some of Estienne's neologisms. The first is that more often than not, he uses new words for humorous effect. This is especially so in his poetry, where, as in conversation with his friends, he felt more relaxed and was aiming to amuse and divert rather than to instruct. That is not to say,

³⁷ *Apologia pro Herodoto* §85 in De Keyser, Humble and Sidwell 2022, 204-7.

however, that instruction was a mode absent from his poetic writings, as his support of the anti-drunkenness crusade by his friends Johannes Post and Paul Schad shows.³⁸

The second is that the “excuse” motif for new words or meanings marks a self-imposed limitation to his neologising. New words are all well and good. But there are limits (overstepped, in his opinion, by Justus Lipsius) and the tendency must be constrained. In a very real way, then, although Estienne is a fine example of the vigour and real-life currency of Latin as a spoken as well as a written medium in the second half of the 16th century, on the other hand he represents, even with his more open attitude to lexis than the Ciceronians whom he despised and reprimanded, one of the reasons why the language was even then gradually giving way to vernacular discourses – even among the intellectual elite - as a medium of viva voce expression. It was simply too difficult for ordinary mortals to evade the linguistic traps laid for them by an imperfect knowledge of the whole lexis of antiquity - knowledge such as only extraordinary individuals like Estienne possessed or could hope to possess. Latin was becoming a victim of its own rigid classicising standards and the Renaissance was beginning to defeat its own manifesto.

Envoi

I am aware, of course, that Henri Estienne’s writings are not unknown to the author of the *Neulateinische Wortliste*. The examples I have looked at above, however, are all from works which are not cited there. This is hardly surprising. Henri was a prolific – and prolix – writer and the comprehensive investigation of his neologisms would take a very long time. It is by pure and (I hope) happy chance that my recent work on an edition of selections for Jeroen de Keyser’s new Lysa Latin text series (LYNX) brought me into close enough contact with works of the great 16th century lexicographer so far unstudied by his modern successor, to whom we are dedicating this volume, to be able to offer him a few humble additions to his Stephanic stock and to suggest that there may well be much more unmined *Wortgeld* (if I may offer a coin from my own lexical treasury) in the mountains of print that emerged from the Estienne *prelum* between 1554 and 1598.

³⁸ For brief accounts of the *Collegium Posthmelisaeum*, see Kammerer 2017, LXXIX-LXXXI and the introduction to De Keyser, Humble and Sidwell 2022.

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ANTI-SWEDISH POLEMICS AND PROTESTANT HISTORY



Echoes of Lucan's *Bellum Civile* in Erasmus Lætus' *Margaretica* (1573)

By Karen Skovgaard-Petersen

Margaretica is the title of a Latin epic poem written by the Danish poet Erasmus Lætus and published in Frankfurt am Main in 1573. Its protagonist is the Danish Queen Margrete (1353-1412), and it tells of a Danish victory over Sweden in 1389. This victory paved the way for the Nordic Union of Kalmar, which lasted from 1397 until 1523 and was ruled by Danish kings. Written in the wake of another Danish-Swedish war, The Nordic Seven Years War in 1563-1570, *Margaretica* is a piece of fierce anti-Swedish polemic, painting Swedes and Danes in black and white and hinting at the inferior position of Sweden in the Union of Kalmar.

While the principal literary model of the *Margaretica* is Virgil's *Aeneid*, Lucan's *Bellum Civile* also has an interesting role to play as hypotext, and these echoes of Lucan form the subject of the article. It is shown that Lætus was able to enroll the *Bellum Civile* as an instrument in his anti-Swedish polemic. Furthermore, it is argued that Lucan's epic with its strong condemnation of civil warfare and its moralizing interpretation of history occupied a place in Philipp Melanchthon's and Joachim Camerarius' historical thought, and that this Protestant reading of the *Bellum Civile* has left its mark on the *Margaretica*.

The *Bellum Civile* and its reception

Since the 1970s Lucan's epic about the civil war between Cesar and Pompey, *Bellum Civile* or *Pharsalia*, has been object of increasing attention in classical scholarship. No longer dismissed as grotesque and mannerist rhetoric, it is now commonly seen as an 'anti-Aeneid', a bitter protest against imperial power, written as it was in the first half of the 60s AD, the late tumultuous years of Nero's rule. In the words of Philip Hardie, Lucan's epic is recognized, as "a major expression of Neronian politics and aesthetics", "whose anticlassical, antirealist mode of narrating is reclaimed as a use of

paradox and hyperbole that is only appropriate for the narration of a world turned upside down by civil war.”¹

Along with this rise of interest, scholars have in recent years also been studying the reception of Lucan’s epic in the early modern period. An important inspiration has been David Quint’s *Epic and Empire* 1993, which discerns two strands of epic narrative in Western tradition, Virgilian and Lucanian, the winner and the loser, as Quint describes it, painting by his own admission with a broad brush. As we shall see, Lucan might also be enrolled in a ‘winner’s’ cause.

In the Middle Ages the *Bellum Civile* enjoyed considerable popularity – Dante famously placed Lucan among the greatest Roman poets in the *Divina Commedia* – and its proper classification as poetry, historiography or both was a recurrent theme in medieval commentaries.² The *editio princeps* appeared as early as 1469, and by the end of the sixteenth century the poem had been printed around 125 times. This figure surely testifies to a stable readership, but as pointed out by Edward Paleit, it is significantly lower than the number of editions of Virgil, Terence, Horace, and Ovid in the same period, and it is probably true to say, again with Paleit, that Lucan occupied a relatively marginal position in humanist education.³ His Latin language was regarded as ‘impure’ and not suitable for imitation; as an example of this disdain Paleit draws attention to an essay on Lucan written by the German Protestant humanist Joachim Camerarius (ca. 1500-1574).⁴ However, as we shall see, Camerarius’ text – critical as it is towards Lucan’s sententious style and personal cowardice – also recognizes its moral and historical value.

In the last half of the sixteenth century the popularity of Lucan’s epic appears to have grown considerably. Indeed, the late sixteenth to early eighteenth century has been termed an *aetas lucanea*.⁵ Scholars have long stressed how the *Bellum Civile* was intensively studied, translated, and imitated in Renaissance England, and in a recent article Yanick Maes has drawn attention to the upsurge of Lucan’s influence on the continent, especially in the Dutch Republic in the early seventeenth century.⁶

¹ Hardie 2013, 225 & Hardie 2011, 491. On the negative attitude towards Lucan in the 19th and early 20th century see also Braund 2013 and Ahl 1976, a monograph that has been one of the key inspirations in the modern reevaluation of Lucan.

² Moos 1976.

³ Paleit 2013, 31-52.

⁴ Camerarius’ essay on Lucan was first published in Bersmannus’ edition of the *Bellum Civile*, Leipzig 1589, p. 359-395.

⁵ Maes 2013, 405.

⁶ Maes 2013. On the English reception, see Paleit 2013 with further references.

Stylistical and political aspects were intertwined in this renewed admiration for Lucan's epic. It seems reasonable, as suggested by Maes, to include it in the contemporary intellectual current known as Tacitism which combined an insistence on moral realism, or even cynicism, with aesthetic appraisal of Roman writers of the first century AD.⁷ Paleit observes that also in England Lucan's stylistic peculiarities were met with growing enthusiasm from around 1600 onwards, the same period in which he was associated with republican oppositional currents.⁸ But the *Bellum Civile* also had a more general appeal as a warning against civil war.⁹ A case in point is the dedicatory letter of the Plantin edition of Lucan of 1564, in which the editor, Theodor Poelman, draws attention to the relevance of Lucan's depiction of the horrors of civil war in the light of contemporary civil conflicts such as the Münster Rebellion of 1535 and the recent outbreak of religious strifes in France.¹⁰

Erasmus Lætus' *Margaretica* – Latin epic as anti-Swedish polemics

It seems, then, that we are gradually gaining a fuller and more nuanced picture of the early modern reception of Lucan's passionate epic. On the following pages I shall just add a small piece to this picture by discussing the role played by *Bellum Civile* as model, or hypotext, of a Danish epic poem, entitled *Margaretica*. It was written by the prolific Danish Latin poet Erasmus Lætus (1526-1582) and published in Frankfurt am Main in 1573.

To be sure, Virgil's *Aeneid* is the dominating model for *Margaretica*, which is full of verbal echoes and other Virgilian loans such as similes and catalogues. The protagonist, Queen Margrete (1352-1412), is portrayed as a female, and Christian, Aeneas, pious and deeply concerned for her people. In a dream whose setting is modelled upon the prophetic dreams of Aeneas, she receives a message about the future status of her realm from her deceased husband – the message itself recalling, also verbally, Anchises' vision of future Rome presented to his son, Aeneas, in the underworld.

⁷ Maes 2013, 411.

⁸ Paleit 2013, 51-52.

⁹ Hardie 2011 495, also underlined by Maes 2013.

¹⁰ "EXITIALE, & execrabile malum Reipublicæ ciuile bellum esse, vir clarissime, omnes omnium sæculorum historiæ palàm testantur. Est enim mare, Ilias, & Lerna malorum ... Quid nostræ etatis recentem Monasteriensium factionem, & motum commemorem ... num florentissimum Galliæ regnum, intestinis odiis, & mutua ciuium cæde flagrare tuti, securique spectauimus? ... hanc meam opellam, quam ... in restituendo Lucano impendi, qui varium & incertum belli euentum eleganti hypotyposi descripsit, tibi vir clarissime, dedico ...", Theodorus Pulmannus' dedicatory letter, Antwerpen January 1st, 1564, to Nicolaus Rococius (Nicolas Rococx), Lucan, Antwerpen: Plantin 1564. Cf. Maes 2013, 412.

The *Aeneid*'s continuous presence in *Margaretica* is not at all surprising. Virgil's epic enjoyed a status as the ultimate expression of imperial power, and it served as model for countless early modern poems written in praise of local and national princes. Lætus himself held a position as court poet to King Frederik II, and he was fond of presenting himself as the Danish Virgil, alluding to Virgil's close bond to the Roman emperor Augustus.¹¹

Which role, then, can the *Bellum Civile* – the 'anti-*Aeneid*', with its angry protest against Caesar and his establishment of Roman imperial power – play in Lætus' eulogy of the Danish monarchy? In order to answer this question, let me first give a brief presentation of the *Margaretica*.

The poem tells of a battle in 1389, the battle of Falköping, when a Swedish army, led by King Albrecht, suffered defeat to the Danes ruled by Queen Margrete. This victory paved the way for the Union of Kalmar between Denmark, Norway, and Sweden which lasted from 1397 until 1523 and was ruled by Danish kings. After 1523 the Swedes were eager to distance themselves from their former dependence in the Union of Kalmar, and relations between Denmark (still united with Norway) and Sweden were tense. The emergence of the three crowns in the Danish king's coat of arms in the 1540s spurred Swedish suspicions that the Danes had ambitions to recreate the Union of Kalmar.¹² The mutual animosity was further stimulated when Johannes Magnus' Latin history of Sweden was published in Rome in 1554, imbued with hatred against the Danish neighbour as it was. Nine years later it came to open war – the Nordic Seven Years' War – which ended without any territorial changes in 1570.

After the war, Frederik II strove to promote the image of the Danish monarchy as an age-old institution firmly placed in the Lutheran world. In 1536 the Protestant Reformation had been carried through by his father Christian III. The entire educational and administrative system was now reorganised, and in the following decades talented young academics were sent to Wittenberg to study with Philipp Melanchthon.

Among these young men was Erasmus Lætus (1526-1582) who was in Wittenberg in 1559. Back in Denmark he became professor of theology in 1560, and nine years later he was ennobled by Frederik II, an honour that seems in effect to have been an engagement as court poet. In the years 1572-1574 he travelled in Europe and published no less than five long Latin poems

¹¹ On Lætus' use of the *Aeneid* in the *Margaretica*, see Skovgaard-Petersen 1988 (and briefly, in English, Skovgaard-Petersen 1991). The basic biography of Lætus is Rørdam 1869-72.

¹² See Norris 2020 with further references.

in which he directly or indirectly praised Denmark under its present monarch and emphasized the close bonds to Wittenberg.

One of these poems was the epic *Margaretica*. It is characterized not only by its close adherence to classical epic norms but also by its aggressive attitude against the Swedish neighbour. The very choice of the battle of Falköping in 1389 as subject of the poem was clearly intended as a provocative reminder of the Swedes' previous subordination to Denmark in the Union of Kalmar. And by depicting this previous Danish victory Lætus managed to allude to the recent Seven Years' War, which was thereby represented as a much clearer Danish triumph than in fact it was.

Moreover, tags from Johannes Magnus' history were put into the mouths of the Swedish king and his men in the epic. It is reasonable to regard Lætus' *Margaretica* as a response in kind to Johannes Magnus' history of Sweden. Interestingly, defamatory writings between Denmark and Sweden had been prohibited in the peace treaty of 1570. Such writings were regarded to have contributed significantly to the growing hostility between the two countries in the years up to the outbreak of the war in 1563. On this background it is noteworthy that Lætus dared to publish the *Margaratica*, a decision, moreover, that must have involved the Danish government. There can be no doubt that the poem was a transgression of the prohibition, but apparently it did not cause the Swedes to react.¹³

Lætus paints the Swedes and Danes in black and white, Swedish aggression, braggery, and stupidity as opposed to Danish piety, courage, justice, and concern for peace. It is a simple dichotomy far from the subtle nuances of the dominant model of the *Margaretica*, Virgil's *Aeneid*. Still, that leaves us with the question as to how Lucan's bitter outburst against autocracy fits in with Lætus' praise of Queen Margrete's wise exercise of princely power.

A Lucanian beginning

Like the *Bellum Civile*, the *Margaretica* is divided into 10 books, not 12 as in the *Aeneid*.¹⁴ This formal indication that the *Bellum Civile* served as a model to the *Margaretica* is matched by their general similarity in terms of content: Both poems are historical epics centered around one battle that took place in a not too distant past (100-200 years earlier), a battle that is claimed to have had decisive influence on the history of the nation, Rome and Denmark, respectively.

¹³ On these aspects of the *Margaretica*, see Skovgaard-Petersen 1987.

¹⁴ Comprising altogether 6666 hexametres, Lætus' poem is a little shorter than the *Bellum Civile* (8060 hexametres) and the *Aeneid* (9896 hexametres)

The first page of the *Margaretica* is remarkably full of echoes from Lucan’s introduction. In the tradition from classical epics the introductory lines resume the entire story to be told in the poem. We learn that the subject will be the Swedish king Albrecht’s empty bragging (*fremitus*) that led to a dramatic war involving a cruel people, a war that had as its result that Denmark managed to put the fierce Goths in chains – the ‘cruel people’ thus to be identified with these Goths, i.e. Swedes.

<p><i>Bellum Civile</i> I, 1-8</p> <p>Bella per Emathios plus quam ciuilia campos iusque datum sceleri canimus, populumque potentem in sua uictrici conuersum uiscera dextra cognatasque acies, et rupto foedere regni certatum totis concussi uiribus orbis in commune nefas, infestisque obuia signis signa, pares aquilas et pila minantia pilis. quis furor, o ciues, quae tanta licentia ferri?¹⁵</p>	<p><i>Margaretica</i> I, 1-7</p> <p>Alberti Sueonum fremitusque ac praelia Regis, Magnanimosque Duces, excitaque gentibus arma Fortunaeeque dolos canimus, populumque ferocem Consertamque manu pugnam, quo Dania bello Imposuit rigidis haud mollia vincula Gothis. Musa mihi causas tantique exordia belli, Fatorumque vices memora ...</p>
<p>Of civil wars and worse waged on Emathian fields, of crime made law we sing, how a powerful people turned on its own heart its conquering hand, of ranks of relatives, and a broken pact of rule that dragged a shaken world with all its strength into contention to win a common guilt, of standards opposite hostile standards, partisan eagles and spears shaking at spears. What <i>fury</i>, citizens, what anarchy of iron?</p>	<p>Of Albrecht, King of the Swedes, his braggery and battles, of noble leaders and weapons raised among nations, of Fortune’s deceit we sing, of an aggressive people and of close combat whereby Denmark put the fierce Goths in hard chains. Muse, tell me the causes and the origins of this huge war and of the vicissitudes of fate ...¹⁶</p>

¹⁵ Quotations from Lucan follow Housmann’s edition (Lucan 1970).

¹⁶ Translations from Lucan are by Matthew Fox (Lucan, transl. Fox 2012), whereas translations from Lætus are my own.

The recapitulation alludes to both the *Aeneid* and the *Bellum Civile*. From the latter we recognize the plural of *canimus* placed in the same position in the hexameter and followed by *populumque* and an adjective describing this people (*potentem* and *ferocem*, respectively). As in the *Bellum Civile*, Lætus' *canimus* takes several objects (nouns with participles) connected with 'and'. But whereas Lucan does not name the persons involved, the first word in *Margaretica* is *Alberti*, 'Albrecht's'. Only indirectly, by naming Roman weapons and standards, does Lucan make clear that this is about Rome, about Romans opposing each other. And where he keeps varying this theme in paratactic syntagms suggesting a sort of frozen stand still, Lætus interrupts the enumeration of objects by a relative clause in which the result of the war is stated: The Danes managed to defeat their Swedish enemies.

In this respect Lætus is closer to the *Aeneid*, whose introduction similarly ends with a relative clause of one and a half hexameter foreseeing the result of the events accounted – the foundation of Rome. And Lætus now takes over Virgil's invocation of the Muse: *Musa, mihi causas memora* (*Aen.* I, 8). However, his questions to her are modelled upon Lucan. Addressing not the Muse but the citizens of Rome, Lucan complains of the *furor* that made them fight each other instead of external enemies – in particular the Parthian empire (*Babylon*) against which the Roman military commander Crassus had suffered defeat in 53 BC. – wars that would have no victor.

Lætus follows suit. What led the strong Nordic people to conduct this war, he asks, a war that would have no rewards, when instead the infernal Turkish enemy should have been conquered? Here Lætus creates an ambiguity. Which war is he talking about? The complaint that the Turks should have been defeated and not fellow Christians was common in his own day, often used to deplore wars between Protestants and Catholics. The Turks played a much more prominent role as a common European enemy in the sixteenth century than back in the time of Albrecht's and Margrete's battle in 1389. Lætus, then, here moves his focus from this war to the recent war between Denmark and Sweden, the Nordic Seven Years' War, 1563-70. This possibility is underpinned by his close verbal allusion to the corresponding verses in the *Bellum Civile*:

<p><i>Bellum Civile</i> I, 8-12 & 68-69</p> <p>quis furor, o ciues, quae tanta licentia ferri? gentibus inuisis Latium praebere cruorem cumque superba foret Babylon spolianda tropaeis</p>	<p><i>Margaretica</i> I, 7-17</p> <p>quid in arma potentem Arctoi lateris, fortissima pectora, gentem Impulit, ac meritis immersit cladibus vrbes?</p>
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<p>Ausoniis umbraque erraret Crassus inulta bella geri placuit nullos habitura triumphos? ... quid in arma furentem inpulerit populum ...</p>	<p>Scilicet audaci cum iam superanda Gradiuo Aut delenda fuit Stygio gens aedita partu, Ottomani soboles: quae circum ditia ponti Littora crudeles populis immittere dextras Certat, et immani cumulare cadauera bello: Bella geri placuit: quae nec sua praemia facto Sint habitura: nec optatos inferre nepotes Imperijsue queant, firmisue adiungere regnis.</p>
<p>What fury, citizens, what anarchy of iron? Did it seem good to display Latin carnage before hateful nations – when proud Babylon should have been spoiled of its Italian trophies and Crassus’ ghost still wandered unavenged – good to wage wars that held no hope for triumphs? ... what drove a people to arms, raving ...</p>	<p>what drove a mighty people of the North to arms, brave men indeed, and affected cities with well-deserved disaster? When Ottoman’s offspring, a people of infernal origin, should have been either conquered or destroyed in bold warfare, striving as they do to inflict cruel attacks on other peoples at the shores of the Black Sea and to heap corpses in savage hostilities – then it seemed good to wage wars that hold no hope for due rewards and cannot bring power to future generations and unite them in strong realms</p>

As it can be seen, the entire syntactical construction – *cum*-clause with gerundive followed by the emphatic statement *Bella geri placuit* and the future participle *habitura* followed by a negation (*nullos, nec*) – is borrowed from Lucan. In addition, Lætus has replaced a number of Lucan’s words with close synonyms, also taking advantage of the geographical similarity between the Roman external enemy, Babylon (the Parthians) and the contemporary arch-enemy of Christian Europe, the Turkish (or Ottoman) empire.

This massive reference to Lucan suggests that the Danish-Swedish war was indeed a civil war – like the Roman war between Caesar and Pompey. By implication Lætus here suggests a parallel between the united Denmark and Sweden and the Roman empire.

Both regret that the outcome of the wars would inevitably be negative, but the difference is significant. Where Lucan complains that there could be no

triumphs (since Rome was at war with herself), Lætus deplors that the war would not have its due results (*sua præmia*) in terms of uniting the following generations. In other words, he speaks of one Nordic people conducting an internal war that did not end as it should, with their reunification. This can only be about the Nordic Seven Years' war seen as a civil war between countries that form part of the same empire, or rather ought to form part of the same empire, the Union of Kalmar.

I think it can be argued that the allusions to Lucan in themselves help to move focus from the late 14th century to Lætus' own time. Among the characteristic narrative features of Lucan's epic is the narrator's distinct and passionate presence, often in the form of direct addresses to the characters of the narrative. One effect of the apostrophes is to blur the chronological distance between the narrator, together with the audience, and the figures of the poem, making them so to speak contemporary.¹⁷ This is apparent from the very beginning. Lucan's first apostrophe is directed towards *cives*, 'citizens', in line 8. It follows upon the introductory setting of the topic, a civil war, Romans fighting against Romans described as a lack of development, a standstill apparently without an end. The ensuing appeal to the citizens, then, asking them to explain this madness (*quis furor, o ciues*) ambiguously refers at one and the same time to Romans at the time of the civil war in the 40s BC and to Lucan's compatriots at the time of Nero around 90 years later. Lucan goes on to point out the decay and misery in his own time caused by the civil war: "such gaping wounds belong to civic hands" ("alta sedent ciuilibus uulnera dextrae"), he gloomily concludes (I, 32).

It is this oscillation between then and now, between the subject of the epic and the narrator's own day, that Lætus has recreated and adjusted to his polemical purpose. Beginning in the past with Albrecht's bragging and the ensuing Danish triumph over the Swedes, he moves from the 14th century to his own day through the references to the Turks and to the rightfully deserved but, alas, now no longer possible reunification of the Nordic realms. The tragedy of the Nordic Seven Years' war was that it did not result in a renewal of the Union of Kalmar.

The moralising historian

Lucan not only provides ideological fuel to the *Margaretica*. The observation that both texts, in the lines following the initial resume, switch from the historical subject to the narrator's present points to a similarity on a narratological level. In both poems, the narrator, the 'I', is a prominent presence, a

¹⁷ This aspect of Lucan's apostrophes is also emphasized in Asso 2008. The most comprehensive discussion of Lucan's apostrophes is Behr 2007.

moral judge supporting its judgments with historical examples. Admittedly, the two epics also differ considerably in this respect. The bitter and disillusioned narrator of Lucan's epic has no counterpart in the *Margaretica*, whose narrator throughout describes a world governed by divine justice. Nevertheless, I would like to suggest that the prominent narrator's voice in the *Margaretica* is influenced by Lucan, and further that this debt has to do with the *Bellum Civile*'s status as historical epic in the German Protestant humanist circles to which Lætus was attached.

After the initial 17 lines discussed above, Lætus switches into reflections on the instability of human affairs and the inevitable and vehement downfall of all great things. This general truth is then demonstrated by the historical examples offered by the four world monarchies in the tradition from Melanchthon's *Carion's Chronicle*, supplemented by other realms of the Greco-Roman world (Troy, Carthage, and others). The narrator then interrupts himself asking: why look for foreign examples in the distant past when I have an almost domestic case at my disposal?¹⁸ This is, of course, a reference to Albrecht, the Swedish king, whose history is now resumed and presented as yet another instance of the general rule that human vanity is bound to be punished. The narrator here poses as a moral interpreter of history in a world governed by divine justice.

Lucan, as mentioned, goes on to deplore the consequences of the civil war culminating in the enigmatic, and possibly ironic, praise of Nero (I, 33-66).¹⁹ Then follows a discussion of the causes of the civil war which may well have inspired Lætus. Lucan here launches the general rule that all great things must fall:

fert animus causas tantarum expromere rerum,
inmensumque aperitur opus, quid in arma furentem
inpulerit populum, quid pacem excusserit orbi.
inuida fatorum series summisque negatum
stare diu nimioque graues sub pondere lapsus
nec se Roma ferens ...
in se magna ruunt: laetis hunc numina rebus
crescendi **posuere** modum.

I've in mind to reveal the causes of great matters,
And the deed is immense: to expose what drove
a people to arms, raving, what struck peace

¹⁸ "Sed quid ego haec tandem calamis externa proculque / Conquisita sequor: mihi pene domestica certas / Suppeditant exempla vices ..." (*Marg.* 1573, p. 4).

¹⁹ "quod si non aliam uenturo fata Neroni / inuenere uiam ... iam nihil, o superi, querimur" (*BC I*, 33-4, 37).

from the globe. Fates' hateful sequence: the mighty
don't stand long. A grave downfall, excessive weight:
Rome couldn't bear herself ...
Great things rush to ruin: the powers that give bounty
Have set this limit on increase (I, 67-72, 81-82)

We have already seen that Lætus re-uses the first indirect question (“quid in arma furem infulerit populum”) as a direct question to the Muse (I, p. 1). Lucan's formulation of the general rule echoes in Lætus' much longer exposition of the theme (I, p. 2-4): “Et **se mole premunt** ...” (And they [*even the most stable of human affairs*] press themselves down, p. 2); and later “Limes enim **positus** celsis est fascibus ... Jupiter omnes Ordinatus ipse gradus” (A limit is set on exalted power ... Jupiter himself governs all steps, p. 4).

Later in the *Margaretica* Lucan's phrases appear in various contexts. Twice we learn that Sweden is bound to fall under its own weight: “**Nec se ferre** potest” (It cannot uphold itself, IV, p. 93), “**Nec se prona capit**” (Leaning downward it cannot contain itself, VIII, p. 220). Before the battle the gods assemble (the only instance of divine machinery in the *Margaretica*), and Jupiter here makes clear that Albrecht is going to suffer defeat. Human affairs, he explains, are prone to “grave downfall, excessive weight” (“**nimioque graues fert pondere lapsus**”, VIII, p. 223).

Thus, Lucan's discussion of the causes of the civil war in the first book (I, 67-97) is present in the *Margaretica*. My point here, however, is that Lucan, as exemplified in these lines, offers a model for Lætus' moralist narrator's voice, a voice that pronounces timeless truths about the fragility of human affairs, and a voice, moreover, that refers to persons and events of other periods. Lucan, for instance, mentions Crassus and Nero in the passages quoted, and later we find him comparing Caesar to Hannibal (VII, 799-800). Lætus, we have seen, refers to the four world monarchies, and later he compares the Swedish king to Hannibal and the Danish general to Scipio – just to mention a few examples. This appeal to a historical reality shared by the reader makes the narrative voice of both epics resemble the narrative voice of prosaic historical writing. Notwithstanding their different attitudes to historical justice, the narrator of both epics may be described as a moralising historian.

Lætus, Lucan and the early Protestants' interpretation of history

Lætus, as we saw, presents Albrecht as an example of the general rule that power when abused inevitably is doomed. He fits this observation into the overall pattern of world history offered by Melanchthon's handbook of universal history, *Carion's Chronicle*: God has arranged that order should be upheld by empires, and the change from one empire to the next (*translatio*

imperii) is caused by moral decline.²⁰ Melanchthon identifies four world monarchies which in the course of history succeed each other according to God's plan: First the Assyrian, then the Persian which is followed by the Macedonian, and finally the Roman (which lived on as the German Habsburg empire). As part of his argument Lætus succinctly formulates this chain:

Assyrio rapuit Moedus diademata: Moedum
Afflixit Perses: Macedum rex moenia Persis
Strauit, & huic rursus frænum imposuere Quirites

From the Assyrians the Medes seized the diadems. The Persians overthrew the Medes. The Macedonian king tore down the Persian walls and he in turn was curbed by the Romans, p. 4.

Lætus in other words interprets Albrecht's downfall – and hence Margrete's victory – as an instance of this divine plan whose basic elements are the four world empires. Interestingly also Lucan appears to have been fitted into this pattern by the early Protestant theologians. Edward Paleit, as we saw, has drawn attention to an essay on Lucan written by the Protestant pedagogue and close friend of Melanchthon, Joachim Camerarius, and published posthumously in an edition of the *Bellum Civile* in 1589. Alluding as it seems to the old discussion on whether Lucan should be regarded as a poet or a historian, Camerarius here insists that the aim, *finis*, of Lucan's poem is historical since he instructs his readers in the general historical laws that cause the downfall of well-ordered societies.²¹ God may allow gradual moral deterioration, Camerarius goes on, only to let his wrath finally fall hard upon an entire society, and this insight may inspire men to greater caution or at least give them comfort in their own miseries; as Christ admonishes his disciples to be attentive to small signs, so all men should take lessons from history.

Lucan's narrative, then, in Camerarius' exegesis, is given its place in an overall Christian frame where the fall of great empires is seen as God's punishment of human sins. Lucan fulfills the didactic purpose of historical

²⁰ "Hic ordo imperiorum et causae mutationis considerandae sunt, quae comprehenduntur in dicto Siracidae, capite decimo: Regnum a gente in gentem transfertur, propter iniusticiam," Melanchthon 1844, col. 740. In its first German version (1532) *Carion's Chronicle* was written in some sort of collaboration between Melanchthon and the mathematician Johann Carion. In 1558-60 Melanchthon's own Latin version covering the period up to Charlemagne was published. Based on Melanchthon's notes, Caspar Peucer wrote the remaining part and had the entire history printed in 1572. I here quote from the edition in *Corpus Reformatorum*, vol. 12 (1844).

²¹ "Itaque plane est historicus quidam finis huius poëseos, quippe cum instruat & doceat, quæ res communitates bene fundatas & stabilitas impellendo concutiant, & dissipando subuertant", Lucan, 1589, p. 363.

writing to provide its readers with moral lessons. Later, in the commentary to Lucan's account of the causes of the civil war ("Hæ ducibus causæ suberant", *BC I*, 158), Camerarius further develops the historical rule that moral corruption and lack of discipline will lead to downfall (p. 378-379).

Camerarius' reading of Lucan fits in with the dominating Protestant understanding of history as set out in Melanchthon's *Carion's Chronicle*. Melanchthon like Camerarius emphasizes the lessons to be learned from history. We should read historical accounts to learn about the divine laws that govern historical development.

Lucan's forceful sentences on the nature of power are also present in Melanchthon's account of the devastating catastrophe of the Roman civil wars. As a comment on the conflicts between Antonius and Octavian Melanchthon re-uses Lucan's bitter statement that power cannot be shared: "nulla fides regni sociis, omnisque potestas / inpatiens consortis erit" (no pledge to reign as peers will hold. All power is impatient of equals, *BC I*, 92-92, *CR 12*, col. 897), a statement that rounds off the passage from Lucan quoted above. Describing the plans conceived at the Egyptian court to murder Pompey Melanchthon quotes from the cynical speech of one of the courtiers in Lucan's narrative: "exeat aula qui uult esse pius" (If being devout is what one wants, let him leave the court, *BC VIII*, 493-94), "nulla fides unquam miseros elegit amicos" (No loyalty ever chooses wretched friends, *BC VIII*, 535). Earlier on, dealing with the Achaean war in 146 BC Melanchthon regrets that the reckless ambitions of the Greek led to their defeat, and quotes Lucan to confirm this moral observation. This reflection is taken from the beginning of Book 7, where Lucan again adopts the point of view of general humanity.²²

The *Bellum Civile*, in short, clearly occupied a place in the early Protestants' historical thought. Melanchthon and Camerarius shared Lucan's profound condemnation of civil warfare and his moralizing interpretation of history. Camerarius' remarks on Lucan suggest that they were able to adapt the *Bellum Civile* to the overall Protestant view of history as set out in *Carion's Chronicle*.

To be sure, there is a fundamental difference in historical outlook. Lucan's epic is pervaded by pessimism: History has ended with the introduction of imperial rule, and no justice is to be expected any more. By contrast, the overall message of the Protestant *Carion's Chronicle* is that history unfolds

²² "hoc placet, o superi, cum uobis uertere cuncta / propositum, nostris erroribus addere crimen? / cladibus inruimus nocituraque poscimus arma" (Does this please you, gods above, when you've determined to topple all things, to add crime to our errors? We rush into disaster, pleading for perilous arms, *BC VII*, 50-60).

according to God's plan and that everything is governed by divine justice. Contrary to Lucan, Melanchthon regarded Caesar's cause as just, as he emphatically states.²³

Interestingly, also Lætus wrote about Caesar. His portrait of Caesar forms part of his collection of biographies of 36 Roman emperors, *Romanorum Cæsares Italici* (Frankfurt am Main 1574). As Trine Hass has recently shown, Lætus here makes use of Lucan while portraying Caesar as a sympathetic hero.²⁴ Like Melanchthon Lætus thus at one and the same time drew inspiration from Lucan and distanced himself from his bitter criticism of Caesar and imperial power.

Summing up

In the *Margaretica*, Lætus fits the history of Albrecht's well-deserved defeat and the pious queen Margrete's victory into the pattern of the Four Monarchies. He shares the fundamentally just outlook of Melanchthon and describes a world governed by divine justice. This was a world view that fitted well with the *Aeneid*. As Quint has emphasized, Virgil's epic celebrating power and empire as it does, was readily adaptable to later triumphalistic epic narratives. Among them is also the *Margaretica*.

But Lucan's *Bellum Civile* has a role to play as well in Lætus' poem. In spite of his distinctly pessimist outlook and severe criticism of Caesar, Lucan with his condemnation of civil war and strong moralising appears to have enjoyed considerable popularity in the Protestant world of Melanchthon to which Lætus – and the entire Danish academic establishment – belonged. Lætus, like Lucan, wrote an historical epic on a decisive battle in the history of the nation, a war that took place in the fairly recent past, and he signalled the relationship to Lucan by dividing his poem into 10 books. In my view, it is likely that the prominent and moralising narrator's voice in Lætus' epic, what we could call his merging of an epic and a historical narrator's voice, was inspired by Lucan.

Drawing, moreover, on the theme of civil war, Lætus was able to enroll the *Bellum Civile* as an instrument in his anti-Swedish polemic. Through the allusions to *Bellum Civile*'s beginning in the first 17 verses of the poem,

²³ "Hic exitus tanti viri inter insignia exempla est, non solum instabilitatis fortunae sed etiam ingratitude humanae et perfidiae ... Etsi fecit quaedam insolentius, tamen multo moderatior fuit Sylla et Mario et aliis, qui antea in civilibus bellis Rempublicam oppresserunt ... iniustum fuit eum interficere. De initio belli etiam iudico, eum in casu legitimae defensionis arma cepisse", Melanchthon 1844, col. 896.

²⁴ "In a passage clearly based on Lucan's text, Lætus takes over one of Lucan's favourite tools for creating pathos, the apostrophe, and uses it in a passage to narrate the same event as Lucan but with a 180-degree shift in the verdict on Caesar", Hass 2020, 121.

Lætus implied that the Danish-Swedish wars – the one in 1389 as well as the recent war in the 1560s – were civil wars and as such to be particularly deplored, and he could express his regret that a union between the two nations was not re-established after the Nordic Seven Years' War in 1570. This was clearly meant as an insult, a provocation of the Swedish neighbour, a reminder of the Union of Kalmar from which the Swedes were eager to distance themselves.

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LA LESSICOGRAFIA DELLA SCUOLA DI GUARINO:



il *De differentiis vocabulorum* di Bartolomeo Facio

Di Fabio Stok

The article examines the set of differentiae verborum included by Bartolomeo Facio in his De verborum proprietate, copied in Valencia, Biblioteca Univversitaria, cod. 839. Facio's lexicography is influenced by Guarino of Verona, with whom Facio had studied, but the set also reveals the knowledge of ancient compilations of differentiae and the plan to develop a vocabulary based on the ancient use.

Bartolomeo Facio¹ (c. 1410-1457) è ben noto per la vivace polemica che lo vide opporsi a Lorenzo Valla, nella corte napoletana di Alfonso d'Aragona in cui ambedue avevano trovato ospitalità. Facio era arrivato a Napoli nel 1443, quale ambasciatore della Repubblica di Genova, accolto amichevolmente da Valla, dal Panormita e dagli altri umanisti attivi nella corte napoletana. I rapporti con Valla si deteriorano fra il 1445 e il 1446 e lo portarono a scrivere le *Invective in Laurentium Vallam*, alle quali nel 1447 Valla replicherà con il suo *Antidotum in Facium*.

In questo contesto si colloca la composizione dell'opera che qui ci interessa, il *De verborum proprietate*, la cui consistenza è stata chiarita solo in epoca recente² grazie all'acquisizione del codice di Valencia, Biblioteca Universitaria 839 (778),³ vergato nel novembre 1450 da Gabriel Altadell, copista della corte napoletana di Alfonso di Aragona (il cui stemma figura nel codice).⁴ L'opera, preceduta dall'epistola di dedica a Gian Giacomo Spinola (cc. 61r-63r), è articolata in due parti, il *De differentiis vocabulorum* (cc. 63r-80v) e i *Synonyma edita per ordine alphabeti* (cc. 81r-104r), come si evince

¹ Sulla variante Fazio / *Fatius* cfr. Viti 1994, 113.

² Cfr. Albanese – Pietragalla 1999, 318-19 (= Albanese 2000, 25-26) e Albanese – Bessi 2000, 16-18.

³ Sul codice cfr. De Marinis 1947, 80; Kristeller 1989, 665a; Cerchi – De Robertis 1990, 182-83 (n. 101); Toscano 1998, 536-37 (n. 11).

https://webliboteca.uv.es/cgi/view.pl?sesion=2022041316351327008&source=uv_ms_0839&div=6

⁴ Su Altadell cfr. Gimeno Blay 1993.

dall'epistola stessa, in cui Facio segnala la complementarità delle due parti: “collegi nonnulla in primis quae licet eadem esse videantur, tamen inter se longe differre existimabuntur [...] Contuli etiam in unum quam multa potui, quae in significato concurrunt, ut eadem pluribus verbis possis exprimere, quae sinonima appellantur” (cc. 61v-62r).⁵

L'opera è stata datata in passato alla seconda metà degli anni '30,⁶ in considerazione della dedica allo Spinola, che testimonia i legami di Facio con la famiglia genovese,⁷ e dell'evocazione conclusiva del magistero di Guarino Veronese, di cui Fazio era stato allievo a Verona, in giovane età,⁸ e che aveva poi frequentato ancora negli anni '30 a Ferrara:

Interea paucula haec suscipies leta fronte, ut soles res meas, quibus supra dignitatem earum solitus es delectari. Eaque interdum leges, quae si tibi probari cognovero, ut spero, laborem meum michi iocundissimum feceris. Pro quo non michi gratias haberi velim, sed Guarino Veronensi preceptorum meo viro sapientissimo, unde haec didici. Cuius potissimum opera atque industria et haec humanitatis studia, quae diu iacuerant, excitata sunt, et graecarum litterarum doctrina, quae iam consueverat, in Italiam revocata est (cc. 62v-63r).

Tuttavia, non può essere esclusa la possibilità che il *De verborum proprietate* sia stato rielaborato o completato alla fine degli anni '40 a Napoli, dove Facio si era stabilito nel 1445, entrando al servizio di Alfonso d'Aragona. Un indizio a favore di questa ipotesi è fornito da una lettera al Panormita testimoniata dal codice di Valladolid, Biblioteca Universitaria, 227 c. 34v, databile al periodo napoletano, in cui Facio accenna ad un'opera lessicografica in due parti che stava correggendo:

Quod scribis placare regi, ut quam primum librum de verborum priscorum significatione corrigam, scito totam partem, quam mihi corrigendam reliquisti, esse correctam meque hodie eam traditurum cui ipsam componendam dederas. Iacobus noster persequitur alteram partem nec die noctuque desinet quoad absolverit, quam ad me

⁵ In precedenza Kristeller 1965, 63 = 1985, 272 considerava *Differentiae* e *Synonyma* quali opere diverse; Viti 1994, 114 accreditava il titolo *De differentiis verborum Latinorum* e considerava i *Synonyma* un'appendice dell'opera.

⁶ Cfr. Viti 1994, 114: “1436, o subito dopo”.

⁷ Pier Giorgio era figlio di Francesco Spinola, esponente dell'aristocrazia genovese legato ai Visconti, ma nel 1436 a capo della rivolta che portò all'allontanamento delle truppe milanesi dalla città. Il legame di Facio con gli Spinola risale probabilmente all'inizio degli anni '30, epoca in cui Facio si trovava a Milano e in parte a Genova (cfr. Viti 1994), ma continuò anche dopo il suo trasferimento a Napoli, come evidenzia la dedica del *De bello Veneto Clodiano*, del 1448.

⁸ Cfr. Sabbadini 1913.

quinterniones singillatim, ut emendentur et transcribantur uno tempore.
Quae omnia regi velim nunties nosque eius maiestati vehementer
commendes (cc. 34v-35r).

Il personaggio citato nella lettera è Jacopo Curlo, anche lui copista entrato al servizio di re Alfonso intorno al 1445.⁹ Restando del tutto improbabile che Facio si riferisca al *De verborum significatione* di Festo, noto all'epoca dall'epitome di Paolo Diacono, si è pensato in passato ad un'opera lessicografica di Facio intitolata *De verborum priscorum significatione*, ma di essa non sarebbe rimasta nessuna altra traccia. Kristeller la dava per perduta,¹⁰ ma questa eventualità appare improbabile, anche in considerazione dell'interesse che l'ambiente napoletano aveva per la lessicografia¹¹ e dell'attenzione che sarebbe stata prestata ad un'opera di questo tipo allestita nella corte aragonese. Il fatto che le *Differentiae* e i *Synonyma* non fossero opere diverse, come si riteneva in passato, e la loro inclusione nel *De verborum proprietate*, attestata dal codice di Valencia, suggerisce¹² che nella lettera al Panormita Facio si riferisse proprio a quest'opera, divisa in due parti come quella a cui fa riferimento la lettera. Quest'ultima è stata datata all'inizio degli anni '50,¹³ ma se Facio in essa fa effettivamente riferimento al *De verborum proprietate* la datazione dovrebbe essere leggermente anticipata, in considerazione della data del novembre 1450 che leggiamo nel codice valenziano.

Certamente l'allestimento del codice di Valencia riflette l'interesse dell'ambiente aragonese per la lessicografia: il codice unisce all'opera di Facio, i cui fogli avevano in origine una numerazione propria, con due opere didattiche di Guarino, le *Regulae grammaticales* (cc. 1r-52v) e i *Carmina differentialia* (cc. 52r-60r): una scelta dettata probabilmente non solo dall'affinità delle opere, ma anche dalla considerazione del legame che Facio aveva con la scuola di Guarino, al cui magistero egli fa del resto esplicito riferimento, come abbiamo visto, nell'epistola prefatoria.

I *Carmina differentialia* di Guarino,¹⁴ pur in versi, rientrano nel genere delle *differentiae verborum* e sono basati in larga parte sul *Graecismus* di Eberardo di Béthune, nel quadro della marcata continuità con la tradizione medievale che caratterizza anche le *Regulae*.¹⁵ Il discepolato guariniano di

⁹ Sul personaggio cfr. Balbo 1985.

¹⁰ Kristeller 1965, 63 = 1985, 272.

¹¹ Cfr. l'introduzione di Germano 1987.

¹² Cfr. Albanese – Pietragalla 1999, 338-39 (= Albanese 2000, 26-27); Dall'Oco 2006, 120n.

¹³ Cfr. Albanese – Bulleri 2000, 190 (n. 45).

¹⁴ Edizione in Percival 1994; sulle caratteristiche dell'opera cfr. Stok 2016.

¹⁵ Cfr. Black 2001, 160-61.

Facio ha suggerito un’analoga collocazione del *De verborum proprietate* nella tradizione medievale,¹⁶ ma un esame più attento dell’opera, limitato in questa sede alla parte relativa alle *differentiae*, suggerisce un giudizio più articolato.

Nelle more di un’auspicabile edizione critica, ho adottato come testo di riferimento quello che si legge nel codice valenziano, che per la sua provenienza dalla corte aragonese può essere considerato vicino alla volontà dell’autore. Numero e successione delle *differentiae*, va precisato, presentano variazioni non solo nei manoscritti che ci restano dell’opera,¹⁷ ma anche nella tradizione a stampa, in passato ignorata:¹⁸ pubblicate per la prima volta a Roma nel 1487 da Silber, a cura di Paolo Alessio Sulpiciano,¹⁹ *differentiae* e *synonyma* di Facio vennero variamente ristampati, anche nel sec. XVI.²⁰

Nella versione testimoniata dal codice di Valencia la raccolta include complessivamente 196 *differentiae*,²¹ ciascuna delle quali è introdotta nei termini caratteristici delle sillogi *differentiarum* antiche, *inter X et Y hoc interest...*;²² i significati dei termini esaminati sono per lo più introdotti da *dicimus*. Nella maggior parte dei casi i termini oggetto della *differentia* sono due, ma in una ventina di casi i termini considerati sono tre, in altri un numero anche maggiore: una *differentia* interessa 7 verbi²³ ed un’altra 11.²⁴ Nella maggior parte dei casi (83) le *differentiae* riguardano sostantivi; in 62 casi verbi (proposti all’infinito o in prima o in terza persona); in 45 aggettivi o participi; in 6 casi parti invariabili. Da notare che in più casi Facio avverte che la *differentia* proposta non trova pieno riscontro nell’uso: *tamen ista saepe confunduntur* (7), *alterum tamen saepissime pro altero ponitur* (10) (c. 64r) ecc.

La sovrapposizione con i *Carmina differentialia*, suggerita anche dall’accostamento delle due opere nel codice di Valencia, appare in realtà piuttosto esigua: una ripresa diretta è sospettabile solo per una decina di

¹⁶ Cfr. Dall’Oco 2006, 129; Magallón García 2015.

¹⁷ Viti 1994 segnalava i codici di Genova, Bibl. Univ. F-VII-37; BAV Vat. lat. 2906 e Valladolid 277 cit. sopra, che però non contiene il *De verborum proprietate*. Altri manoscritti sono stati segnalati da Dall’Oco 2006, 124 e 127-28: BAV, Vat. lat. 9655; Reg. lat. 1808; Venezia, Museo Correr 334; Cicogna 1775; Padova, Bibl. del Seminario 126; Siena, Bibl. Com. H XI 67; Bergamo, Bibl. Civica MA 248; Paris, BNF lat. 7663; Napoli, Bibl. Naz. IV.A.6; Dresden, Landesbibl. B 156.

¹⁸ Ancora da Viti 1994, che riteneva le *Differentiae* inedite.

¹⁹ ISTC: ic00687500.

²⁰ Cfr. Dall’Oco 2006, 125-27.

²¹ Cfr. l’elenco numerato proposto in appendice.

²² Cfr. Stok 1997, 27-28.

²³ 34 (c. 56r): “Inter opinari, putare, existimare, arbitrari, reri, iudicare, censere”.

²⁴ 114 (c. 72v): “Inter aspicere, suspicere, inspicere, prospicere, despicerere, circumspicere, conspicere, intueri, videre, spectare, visere”.

differentiae, concentrate nella prima metà della silloge.²⁵ La seconda metà, invece, rivela la ripresa di tre diverse sillogi note, tardoantiche e medievali.

Una prima silloge utilizzata da Facio appare molto vicina a quella nota come *inter metum*,²⁶ una delle compilazioni *differentiarum* attribuite a Cicerone (attribuzione probabilmente connessa con quella dei cosiddetti *Synonyma ciceroniani*).²⁷ Non sembra casuale il fatto che proprio questa silloge sia stata data alle stampe da Sulpizio Verulano, assieme ai *Synonyma* attribuiti anch'essi a Cicerone, nella citata *editio princeps* dell'opera di Facio. Anche i *Synonyma* di Facio, la seconda parte del *De verborum proprietate*, hanno uno stretto rapporto con i *Synonyma* attribuiti a Cicerone, opera la cui scoperta era attribuita comunemente a Coluccio Salutati²⁸ (che li menziona già in epistole del 1400).²⁹ Le due operette pseudo-ciceroniane sono peraltro copiate assieme al *De proprietate* di Facio nel Vat. lat. 9655.

Nelle more di una ricostruzione della tradizione manoscritta delle sillogi pseudo-ciceroniane,³⁰ appare comunque significativa la notevole convergenza fra le *differentiae* 105-143 (cc. 71v-75r) di Facio e l'*inter metum* pubblicato da Hagen, anche nella successione delle stesse (la serie pseudo-ciceroniana, va precisato, non è alfabetica):³¹ le poche perturbazioni rilevabili vanno probabilmente attribuite all'esemplare utilizzato, in quanto i codici della silloge pseudo-ciceroniana presentano usualmente qualche variazione nella successione dei lemmi.

²⁵ Cfr. 29 (c. 55v): *libertus / libertinus* = Guar. vv. 11-12; 53 (cc. 67v-68r): *ministerum / mysterium* = Guar. v. 116; 57 (c. 68r): *patulus / patens* = Guar. v. 135; 65 (c. 68v): *accusare / incusare* = Guar. v. 231; 67 (c. 69r): *urbs / civitas* = Guar. v. 281; 71 (c. 69r): *continuo / continue* = Guar. v. 85. Parziale la corrispondenza per 60 (c. 68v): *opperior / operior* = Guar. vv. 168-169; 72 (c. 69r-v): *anima / animus* = Guar. v. 222; 82 (c. 70r): *oro / exoro* = Guar. v. 178 e 84 (c. 70r): *posco / flagito* = Guar. v. 270. Magallón García 2015, 364-65 segnala le corrispondenze delle *differentiae* 29 e 71, ma rileva anche un atteggiamento di emulazione che porta in qualche caso Facio ad allontanarsi da Guarino.

²⁶ Pubblicata da Hagen con il titolo *Differentiae sermonum* (Hagen 1870, 275-90).

²⁷ Sul rapporto *synonyma / differentiae* nella tradizione grammaticale cfr. Zetzel 2018, 105-06.

²⁸ Cfr. Brugnoli 1955, 32; Dall'Oco 2006, 125.

²⁹ I *Synonyma* sono menzionati nelle epistole 11.24 e 12.2 (cfr. Novati 1896, 431 e 442).

³⁰ Dopo il lavoro pionieristico di Brugnoli 1966, sono da segnalare (per i *Synonyma*) Mordegli 2016 e Cataldi 2020.

³¹ 105 = 276.23-24 Keil; 106 = 277.9-10; 107 = 277.22-23; 108 = 277.24-25; 109 = 278.3-4; 110 = 278.10-13; 111 = 274.12-14; 112 = 278.13-15; 113 = 278.19-21; 114 = 279.6-12; 115 = 279.13-14; 116 = 279.17-18; 117 = 280.1-2; 118 = 280.3-4; 119 = 280.5-6; 120 = 280.7-10; 121 = 280.18-19; 122 = 281.8-10; 123 = 282.1-2; 124 = 282.14-15; 125 = 283.1; 126 = 282.6-8; 127 = 283.15-17; 128 = 283.23-26; 129 = 284.1-3; 130 = 284.7-8; 131 = 284.15-17; 132 = 284.23-25; 133 = 285.10-12; 134 = 285.16-17; 135 = 286.1-2; 136 = 286.22-24; 137 = 285.3-4; 138 = 285.20-22; 139 = 287.19-20; 140 = 287.26-28; 141 = 288.17-18; 142 = 288.12-13; 143 = 289.5-6.

Le *differentiae* pseudo-ciceroniane sono riprodotte per lo più fedelmente o con qualche modifica formale. In qualche caso scarti fra il testo di Facio e quello dell'*inter metum* potrebbero risalire all'esemplare da lui utilizzato. Così ad es. la difformità dei lemmi 5 anziché 4, nel seguente caso:

126 (c. 73v): Inter animum, animam, spiritum, mentem et vitam hoc interest: anima est qua vivimus, animus autem quo regimur, mens qualitas est aut bona aut mala et potest referri ad cogitationem, vita societas animi et corporis est.

ps.Cic. p. 283.6-8 Keil: Inter animam et animum et spiritum et mentem hoc interest, quod anima qua vivimus, animus quo regimur, spiritus quo spiramur, mens qualitas est aut bona aut mala, quae ad cogitationem potest referri.

Con maggiore sicurezza un intervento attribuibile a Facio è rilevabile nel caso che segue, in cui egli sembra aver contaminato la *differentia* pseudo-ciceroniana con quella che leggiamo in un'altra silloge a lui nota (come vedremo fra poco), il cosiddetto *inter absconditum*.³²

117 (c. 72v): Inter udum, madidum, humidum hoc interest: udum extra fit id est infunditur, madidum ex se dat humorem, humidum est quod penitus maduit.

Ps.Cic. p. 280.1-2 Keil: Inter uvidum et humidum hoc interest, quod uvidum penitus maduit, humidum quod ad medium usque pervenit.

inter absconditum U3 Beck: Inter udum et uvidum et humidum: udum extra fit, id est funditur; uvidum ex se dans humorem quasi ad medium usque pervenit; humidus penitus maduit.

Una seconda fonte sicuramente utilizzata da Facio nella seconda metà dell'opera è la silloge che Parrasio attribuirà (senza fondamento) a Frontone, e Barwick a Carisio,³³ in quanto essa è tramandata assieme all'*Ars grammatica* carisiana dal codice di Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale, IV A 8. L'accesso di Facio a questa silloge appare evidente, in quanto le *differentiae* 145-175 (cc. 75r-78r) trovano precisa rispondenza in essa, con pochissime variazioni rispetto alla successione delle *differentiae* stampata da Barwick.³⁴

³² Compilazione medievale pubblicata da Beck 1883.

³³ Ed. in Barwick 1964, 387-403. Cfr. Zetzel 2018, 236.

³⁴ 145 = 388.19-21 Barwick; 146 = 388.9; 147 = 388.13-18; 148 = 388.28-389.10; 149 = 389.11-12; 150 = 389.15-17; 151 = 389.24; 152 = 389.27-28; 153 = 390.3-5; 154 = 390.22-24; 155 = 392.10-12; 156 = 393.3.11; 157 = 393.22.25; 158 = 395.17-19; 159 = 395.22-24; 160 = 396.14-15; 161 = 396.9; 162 = 397.15-17; 163 = 397.18-21; 164 = 398.4-5; 165 = 398.6-8; 166 = 398.25-26; 167 = 399.6-7; 168 = 400.18-21; 169 = 401.8-10; 170 = 399.15-16; 171 = 402.1-2; 172 = 402.3-4; 173 = 402.5-7; 174 = 402.8-10; 175 = 402.22-23.

Non è chiaro come Facio abbia potuto avere accesso a questa silloge, in quanto l'unico testimone noto di essa è il citato codice napoletano, del sec. VII/VIII, uno dei codici bobbiesi scoperti nella seconda metà del secolo XV e portati dapprima a Milano e poi, ad opera di Parrasio, a Napoli.³⁵ All'epoca in cui Facio componeva il *De verborum proprietate* questo codice era ancora a Bobbio e la sua esistenza sconosciuta. Egli conobbe, comunque, un testo indipendente da questo codice, come evidenziano alcuni casi in cui il testo del codice bobbiese è corrotto, a fronte di lezioni di Facio che appaiono originali. Cfr. per es.:

156 (c. 76v): Inter transfugam et perfugam. Transfuga suos reliquit et ad alios vadit, perfuga simplex est. Itaque transfuga ut adiuvet venit, perfuga ut adiuvetur.

Ps.Fronto p. 392.10-12 B.: Transfugam et perfugam. Transfuga suos reliquit et ad alios venit, perfuga supplex est. Ergo transfuga * ut adiuvetur.

L'errore *simplex* pro *supplex* è presente anche nelle edizioni a stampa. L'asterisco segnala un guasto nel testo del codice pseudo-frontoniano pubblicato da Barwick, ma un testo analogo a quello che si legge in Facio è stato congetturato da Buttmann, citato in apparato da Barwick: "transfuga venit ut adiuvet, perfuga". Non si può escludere del tutto che anche quella di Facio sia frutto di congettura, ma la presenza di altri casi di questo tipo fa pensare che egli disponesse di un esemplare della silloge in cui non erano presenti i guasti testuali dell'attuale codice napoletano:

154 (c. 76r-v): Inter cominus et eminus hoc interest: cominus gladiis, eminus iaculis, quia illud a manibus non recedit, hoc a manibus emittitur.

Ps.Fronto p. 390.22-24 B.: Comminus <et eminus. Comminus gladiis pugnamus, eminus> iaculis, quia illud a minibus non recedit, hoc e minibus emittitur.

162 (c. 77r): Inter corruptelam et corruptionem hoc interest: corruptela ipsa vitiatio est, corruptio corrumpentis amministratio.

Ps.Fronto p. 397.15-17 B.: Corruptelam et corruptionem, Corruptela ipsa <res> est. [corruptionem corruptela ipsa est], corruptio corrumpentis administratio.

Si deve quindi pensare ad una tradizione, non identificata, diversa da quella dell'attuale codice napoletano. L'esistenza di una tradizione indipendente da quella bobbiese è peraltro confermata da Beda, che nella sua *Orthographia*

³⁵ Sulla scoperta dei codici bobbiesi cfr. Ferrari 1970.

mostra di conoscere alcune *differentiae* testimoniate dal codice napoletano.³⁶ Verosimilmente lo stesso tramite utilizzato da Facio sarà all'origine degli stralci carisiani noti a Perotti, anch'essi precedenti alla scoperta del codice bobbiese³⁷.

Alcuni scarti fra il testo di Facio e quello del codice napoletano risalgono con ogni probabilità ad interventi dello stesso Facio, che in alcuni casi riduce, in altri amplia il testo che leggeva nella fonte:

145 (c. 75r): Inter antiquum et vetus hoc interest: antiquum quod excessit memoriam partum, vetus est quod annorum multorum sentit utilitatem. Non enim penitus perit.

Ps.Fronto p. 388.16-17 B.: Anticum et vetus. Anticum est quod excessit partum memoriam, vetus annorum multorum sentit utilitatem. Vinum hoc Melius est, quod fit vetustum.

168 (c. 77v): Inter necessitatem et necessitudinem hoc interest: necessitudo vel sanguinis est vel meriti. Necessitas inevitabilis res est, ut pati, mori et similia.

Ps.Fronto p. 400.18-21 B.: Necessitatem et necessitudinem. Necessitudo vel sanguinis vel meritorum cum praeceptoribus <vel> cum amicis: necessitas inmutabilis res est, ut mori necessitatis est. est vel meriti.

Nel primo caso Facio elimina la notazione pseudo-frontoniana sul vino, ma aggiunge *non penitus perit*, riecheggiando forse Aug. *conf.* 10.67. Nel secondo semplifica, forse anche in conseguenza del guasto del testo, se il *vel* restaurato da Barwick mancava anche nel testo noto a Facio.

La terza silloge utilizzata da Facio nella seconda metà della sua raccolta è il già menzionato *inter absconditum*, da cui derivano le *differentiae* 179-184 e 186-194 (cc. 78r-80r).³⁸ È da osservare che l'*inter absconditum* è una serie alfabetica e che le riprese di Facio riguardano esclusivamente *differentiae* il cui primo termine inizia per "A".

Anche nella ripresa di questa silloge si possono osservare aggiustamenti attribuibili allo stesso Facio:

182 (cc. 78v-79r): Inter accolae et incolae hoc interest. Accolae regionis cuiuslibet proximi vel finitimi vel novi habitatores, incolae vero eandem civitatem incolentes, idest inhabitantes, et in eo loco nati.

³⁶ Cfr. Dionisotti 1982, 115.

³⁷ Cfr. Stok 2000, 65-67.

³⁸ 179 = A4 Beck; 180 = A5; 181 = A9; 182 = A 15; 183 = A16; 184 = A29; 186 = A36; 187 = A40; 188 = A46; 189 = A55; 190 = A55bis; 191 = A64; 192 = A70; 193 = A78; 194 = A85.

inter absconditum A15 Beck: Inter accolae et incolae: accolae regionis cuiuslibet proximi vel finitimi; incolae eandem civitatem incolentes, idest inhabitantes.

184 (c. 79r): Inter attrahat et contrahat, detrahat et obtrahat hoc interest: attrahat aliquis manu semel, contrahat saepius, obtrahat vere, detrahat qui alterius potestati parere non vult.

inter absconditum A29 Beck: Inter adtrahat et contrahat et detrahat et obtrahat: adtrahat aliquis manu semel, contrahat saepius, detrahat iurgiis, obtrahat voce.

190 (cc. 79v-80r): Inter agmen et exercitum hoc interest: agmen inordinata multitudo est ab actu nomen trahens, exercitus convocatio militum est ab exercitatione dictus, quod agmen partem exercitus significat et est proprie inordinata multitudo ab agendo nomen trahens, exercitus vero qui totam castrorum multitudinem complectitur.

inter absconditum A55b Beck: Inter agmen et exercitum: agmen ordinata multitudo est ab actu nomen trahens, exercitus proprie militum ab exercitatione assidua dictus.

Nella 182 sembra aggiunta di *Facio et in eo loco nati*, che rende più limitata l'accezione di *incolae*. Nella 184 *vere* sembra derivare da un guasto o da una cattiva lettura di *voce* (si legge *vere* anche nel Vat. la. 2906; ma il Reg. lat. 1808 f. 94r e le edizioni a stampa correggono: “obtrahat famae aut honori”); la variazione “qui alterius potestati parere non vult” in luogo di *iurgiis* sembra introdotta da *Facio*. Da guasto o cattiva lettura deriva forse anche la variazione *inordinata* in luogo di *ordinata* nella 190; l'amplificazione che si nota in *Facio* sembra suggerita dall'esigenza di chiarire il rapporto *agmen / exercitus* (*ab agendo* forse da *Isid. orig.* 9.3.64).

Nella serie 179-195 l'unica *differentia* che non trova riscontro nell'*inter absconditum* è la 185:

185 (c. 79r): inter adolescere inolescere et exolescere. Adolescere est crescentis, inolescere arrogantis, exolescere evanescentis est.

La lettera iniziale “A”, comune alle altre *differentiae* tratte da questa fonte, fa pensare che anche questa *differentia* fosse presente nell'esemplare dell'*inter absconditum* utilizzato da *Facio*. Diversamente, egli potrebbe averla recuperata dalle *differentiae* di *Agroecio*³⁹ o dalla silloge pubblicata dalla *Uhlfelder*,⁴⁰ nelle quali però si legge: “adolescere augmenti est, inolescere coaugmenti, exolescere evanescenti”.

³⁹ *Agroec. gramm.* VII 118.24 Keil = 52 Pugliarello.

⁴⁰ *Uhlfelder* 1954, 65 (n.127).

La presenza di tre fonti chiaramente individuabili nella seconda metà della silloge di Facio fa pensare che egli abbia avuto accesso a queste fonti dopo aver compilato la prima parte, per la quale non sono riscontrabili convergenze significative con sillogi note, ad eccezione delle *differentiae* probabilmente riprese dai *Carmina* di Guarino.

Un indizio cronologico di un certo interesse è costituito dal fatto che due delle *differentiae* incluse nella prima metà della silloge sono citate da Facio nelle *Invective* contro Valla:

Qui enim fieri potest, ut nescias illud interesse inter pugnare et expugnare, quod inter orare et exorare, cum pugnare sit manus conserere, expugnare vero pugnando vincere, quemadmodum exorare orando impetrare dicimus?⁴¹

Si tratta delle *differentiae* 82 e 84 del codice di Valencia:

82 (c. 70r): Inter orare et exorare hoc interest, quod orare est rogare, exorare vero orando impetrare.

84 (c. 70r): Inter pugnare ed expugnare hoc interest, quod pugnare est manum conferre, expugnare vero pugnando vincere.

La prima delle due *differentiae* trova riscontro nel commento virgiliano di Servio: ‘*orare*’ est *petere*, ‘*exorare*’ *impetrare* (ad *Aen.* 3.370 [p. 408.9-10 Thilo]; cfr. anche Paul. Fest. p. 253.22-23 Lindsay: *impetrare est exorare*), mentre la seconda non è testimoniata nelle sillogi tardoantiche (è diversa la *differentia* fra *pugnare*, *oppugnare* e *impugnare* che si legge nello pseudo-Frontone a p. 388.3-7 B.). La menzione delle due *differentiae* nelle *Invective* fa pensare che la prima parte della silloge fosse già composta all’epoca della composizione di quest’opera.

Che la seconda parte sia più tarda lo si può pensare anche il fatto che Facio abbia utilizzato solo la prima parte dell’*inter absconditum*, probabilmente per non espandere eccessivamente la propria silloge o forse per l’esigenza di concludere in tempi brevi la propria opera. Questa considerazione avvalorava la possibilità che la composizione dell’opera sia avvenuta in più fasi, e che il completamento sia stato effettuato a Napoli, all’epoca in cui Facio allestì l’opera testimoniata dalla citata lettera al Panormita, se effettivamente la lettera si riferisce al *De verborum proprietate*. Il riferimento alle *verborum priscorum significationes* potrebbe peraltro sottintendere proprio l’accesso a fonti antiche, cioè alle sillogi utilizzate nella seconda parte dell’opera.

La dedica a Gian Giacomo Spinola potrebbe risalire alla versione primitiva dell’opera, e all’epoca in cui Facio risiedeva fra Milano e Genova, anche se

⁴¹ Rao 1978, 71.

Facio restò in contatto anche successivamente con questo personaggio e mantenne frequenti contatti epistolari con lui tra gli anni '40 e '50.⁴² Il rinnovato interesse per la lessicografia fu stimolato probabilmente anche dalla competizione di Facio con Valla e con le sue *Elegantiae*,⁴³ della quale qualche traccia è forse rilevabile nell'epistola a Spinola, nel passo in cui afferma che il senso corretto dei vocaboli è centrale per l'oratore: "aliter enim elegans non erit" (c. 61v), e poi ancora nell'explicit: "actum est antehac de differentiis vocabulorum et eorum elegantiss" (c. 80v).⁴⁴

Per quel che riguarda il rapporto di Facio con Guarino, va osservato che l'evoluzione della ricerca lessicografica evidenziata dal *De verborum proprietate*, caratterizzata dalla ricerca di fonti antiche, appare analoga all'evoluzione della lessicografia di Guarino, che dall'impianto medievale dei *Carmina differentialia* era passato negli anni '30, con in suoi *Vocabula*, ad una ricerca basata sul commento serviano e su altre fonti antiche.⁴⁵

Nel complesso delle proprie *differentiae* Facio seleziona un lessico in larga parte classico, con un paio di eccezioni su cui converrà soffermarsi brevemente. La prima è una *differentia* relativa al lessico mantico:

45 (c. 57r): Inter syomantiam piromantiam chyromantiam ydromantiam geomanciam et neciomantiam hoc interest: synomantia divinatio est per dei virtutem, piromantia per ignem, chyromantia per manum, ydromantia per aquam, geomantiam per terram, neciomantia per mortui exsuscitationem.

Il nucleo della *differentia* è in Isid. *orig.* 8.9.13: "Varro dicit divinationis quattuor esse genera, terram, aquam, aerem et ignem. Hinc geomantiam hydromantiam, aeriomantiam, pyromantiam dictam", dove il rinvio a Varrone potrebbe aver sollecitato la ripresa della *differentia* da parte di Facio. Nello stesso contesto Isidoro tratta anche della *necromantia*, di cui dà l'etimologia (8.9.11). L'oscillazione *syomantia* / *synomantia* (*siomantia* nel Vat. lat. 2906 e nell'Urb.lat. 1808 f. 79v) presuppone *sciomantia*,⁴⁶ termine usato da Servio nel commento *ad Aen.* 6.107 e 149, ma come specie di necromanzia, per cui il significato che si legge nella *differentia* di Facio appare problematico.

⁴² Cfr. le lettere censite da Albanese – Bulleri 2000.

⁴³ Cfr. Viti 2007.

⁴⁴ Cfr. Dall'Oco 2006, 118-19; Magallón García 2015, 365.

⁴⁵ Cfr. Stok 2021.

⁴⁶ Occorrenze neolatine in lemma *sciomantia* in Ramminger 2003-, www.neulatein.de/words/0/002368.htm, 24.4.2022.

Un'altra *differentia* in cui Facio propone lemmi non attestati da autori classici è quella che conclude la silloge nel codice di Valencia (ma è omessa dal Vat. lat. 2906):

196 (c. 80v): Inter latria et dulia hoc interest, quod dulia est celebratio vel veneratio quae debetur sanctis et angelis et divinis cultibus, latria est cultio quae soli deo debetur.

La *differentia* sembra derivare dal testo vulgato di Aug. *civ.* 10.1 (citato ad es. da Tommaso nella *Catena aurea* a *Matth.* 4.8-11):

latriam quippe nostri, ubicumque sanctarum scripturarum positum est, interpretati sunt servitatem. Sed ea servitus quae debeatur hominibus, secundum quam praecipit Apostolos servos dominis sui subditos esse debere, grece nuncupari solet dulia.

La sequenza *grece ... dulia* è espunta nelle edizioni moderne. Per quel che riguarda *latria*, non è chiaro se Agostino utilizzasse la forma latina o il gr. *λατρεία*.⁴⁷ L'unica altra occorrenza tardoantica di *latria* registrata dal Th.L.L. è quella di Isidoro in *diff.* 94 Codoñer. Il termine è comunque corrente nel latino medievale ed anche nel neolatino.⁴⁸ Il lat. *dulia* (gr. *δουλεία*) è ben attestato nel Medioevo ed ereditato dal lessico ecclesiastico moderno (anche nella forma 'iperdulia', relativa al culto di Maria Vergine).

Nel complesso quella di Facio costituisce la ripresa umanistica più significativa del genere tardoantico delle *differentiae verborum*, la cui influenza è evidenziata non solo dalla tradizione manoscritta e a stampa, ma anche dall'opera più nota del genere *differentiarum* nella tradizione moderna, il *De differentiis verborum* di Ausonius van Popma, stampato per la prima volta da Plantin ad Amsterdam nel 1606,⁴⁹ ed oggetto poi di svariate edizioni ancora nel sec. XIX.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Sulla grafia dei termini greci in Agostino cfr. Pelttari A. 2011.

⁴⁸ Cfr. lemma *latria*, in Ramminger 2003-, www.neulatein.de/words/2/002002.htm, 24.4.2022.

⁴⁹ L'edizione del 1606 univa alle *differentiae* dello stesso van Popma quelle della silloge pseudo-frontoniana: *Ausoni Popmae Frisii De differentiis verborum libri quatuor et Cornelii Frontonis de vocum differentiis libellus*.

⁵⁰ Una delle ultime fu curata da Tommaso Vallauri, ristampata a Torino nel 1875.

Appendice

1. Elenco delle *differentiae*

(1) ignavus / piger; (2) agnati / cognati / affines; (3) amicitia / familiaritas; (4) moratus / morigeratus; (5) fabula / historiam; (6) curare / sollicitare; (7) labor / difficultas; (8) videre / intueri / aspicere / cernere / contemplari / speculari; (9) opus / opera; (10) agere / facere; (11) perterrere / abstertere; (12) reperire / comperire; (13) satiare / explere; (14) divitiae / opes / copiae; (15) simulare / insimulare; (16) veteranus / tiro; (17) pomarium / pomerium; (18) causa / occasio; (19) fortis / robustus; (20) aequitas / iustitia; (21) percussus / percussus; (22) arrogans / insolens; (23) sceleratus / scelerosus; (24) conciliare / reconciliare; (25) monstrum / portentum; (26) hilaris / laetus; (27) ulciscor re / ulciscor de re; (28) ausculto te - tibi / audio te - tibi; (29) libertus / libertinus; (30) ignis / focus; (31) fidens / confidens; (32) ostium / ianua; (33) noxa / noxia; (34) opinari / putare / existimare / arbitrari / reri / iudicare / censere; (35) grex / armentum; (36) laedere / offendere; (37) audacia / fortitudo; (38) despiciere / negligere; (39) forma / pulchritudo; (40) venustas / dignitas; (41) servare / observare; (42) pauper / inops / mendicus; (43) examinatus / exanimus; (44) omen / augurium / auspiciu; (45) siomantia / geomantia / necromantia / pyromantia / hydromantia; (46) litare / immolare; (47) castigare / punire; (48) hostia / victima; (49) carmen / metrum; (50) innuere / connivere; (51) ludus / iocus; (52) facetia / sales; (53) ministerium / mysterium; (54) dapes / epulae; (55) fatum / fortuna; (56) servitium / beneficium; (57) patulus / patens; (58) hospes / caupo; (59) celerare / maturare; (60) opperior / operior; (61) mirari / stupere; (62) eripere / surripere; (63) tacere / silere; (64) obedire / obsequi; (65) accusare / incusare; (66) cupere / optare; (67) urbs / civitas; (68) sordidus / sordidatus; (69) vanus / mendax; (70) magistratus / privatus; (71) continuo / continue; (72) animus / anima; (73) vesci / potiri; (74) deterior / peior; (75) aegritudo / aegrotatio / morbus; (76) oneratus / honustus; (77) diligere / amare; (78) omittere / praetermittere / intermittere; (79) reperio / invenio; (80) calere / callere; (81) abstinens / continens; (82) oro / exoro; (83) pugnare / expugnare; (84) peto / posco / flagito; (85) habere gratias / agere gratias / referre gratias; (86) fateor / confiteor; (87) oro / rogo / obsecro / obtestor; (88) vereor / timeo; (89) esse / fore; (90) etsi / quamvis; (91) bellum / proelium; (92) confligo / profligo; (93) stultus / insanus; (94) iactari / fatigari; (95) venire / incedere; (96) felix / beatus; (97) gaudere / laetari / gratulari; (98) hortari / consolari; (99) simultas / odium; (100) simulare / dissimulare; (101) inimicus / hostis; (102) bellare / debellare; (103) pirata / latro; (104) properare / festinare; (105) asper / ferox; (106) regius / regalis; (107) palam / coram; (108) albus / candidus; (109) exanimus / inanimus; (110) sanguis / cruor / sanies; (111) auxilium /

subsidium / praesidium; (112) terga / tergora; (113) ira / iracundia; (114) aspicere / suspicere / inspicere / prospicere / despiciere / circumspicere / conspicere / videre / spectare / visere; (115) furor / insania; (116) scelus / facinus; (117) udus / madidum / humidus; (118) vetus / vetustus; (119) terrere / detertere; (120) solus / unus / solitarius / unicus; (121) relictus / desertus; (122) tardus / piger / iners / segnus; (123) reliqui / caeteri; (124) maritimus / marinus; (125) imus / infimus; (126) anima / animus / spiritus / mens / vita; (127) immolare / mactare; (128) liberi / filii; (129) dulcis / suavis; (130) exemplum / similitudo; (131) arma / armamenta / tela; (132) profugus / exul / relegatus / transfuga; (133) genus / gens / natio; (134) moenia / aedificia; (135) pullus / niger; (136) astra / sidera; (137) saevus / crudelis; (138) ulcus / vulnus / plaga; (139) altaria / arae; (140) fiducia / confidentia; (141) fidus / fidelis; (142) tueor / tuor; (143) fors / fortuna; (144) patrius / paternus; (145) antiquus / vetus; (146) decus / decor; (147) obiurgare / monere / submonere / admonere; (148) ostentum / portentum / monstrum / prodigium; (149) turba / frequentia; (150) frater / germanus; (151) causa / ratio; (152) horret / trepidat; (153) temerarius / audax; (154) cominus / eminus; (155) transfuga / perfuga; (156) delubrum / sacellum / templum / lucus / fanum / bidental; (157) facultas / facilitas; (158) omonima / synonyma; (159) parvus / brevis / exiguus; (160) aequalis / aequabilis; (161) aegrotus / aeger; (162) corruptela / corruptio; (163) properare / festinare; (164) superbia / arrogantia; (165) scrutari / quaerere; (166) error / erratio; (167) committere / credere; (168) necessitas / necessitudo; (169) ignominia / infamia; (170) vicinia / vicinitas; (171) bonus / commodus; (172) decens / formosus; (173) decor / species; (174) lis / controversia; (175) agilis / strenuus / fortis / validus; (176) explere / supplere; (177) greges / pecora / armenta; (178) iudicium / opinio; (179) abrogans / arrogans / superbus / gloriosus / insolens; (180) abstinentia / continentia; (181) abducitur / perducitur / deducitur; (182) accolae / incolae; (183) acies / acumen; (184) attrectat / contrectat / obtrectat / detrectat; (185) adolescere / inolescere / exolescere; (186) advena / peregrinus / hospes; (187) advocatus / invocatus / evocatus; (188) aequus / iustus; (189) agitari / moveri; (190) agmen / exercitus; (191) amplius / plus; (192) ambire / rogare; (193) anxius / sollicitus; (194) aptus / utilis / idoneus; (195) duco / traho; (196) latria / dulia.

2. Indice dei lemmi

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LEARNING LATIN

an edition of three sets of Latin exercises
from seventeenth-century Denmark



By Peter Zeeberg

This paper presents an edition of three sets of Latin exercises which are to be found in the account book of the Latin school in Nykøbing Falster, Denmark, now in the Danish National Archives (Rigsarkivet). The exercises, which date from 1633, 1636 and 1640, are all translations from Danish to Latin, and for all three sets the Danish original is included. All three sets seem to encompass the entire final class at the school, the headmaster's class. But as the school only had three, later four, classes the spread in proficiency is rather large.

The following is an edition of three sets of Latin exercises from the seventeenth century.¹ The texts have been preserved in a manuscript from the Latin school in the provincial town of Nykøbing Falster, Denmark, where five sets of exercises are to be found, dating from the years 1633, 1636, 1640, 1652 and 1660 respectively. They all seem to be translations from a Danish original, but only in the first three cases (1633, 1636 and 1640) the Danish text is included. These three are the ones published here.

The manuscript, which is now in the Danish National Archives (Rigsarkivet) in Copenhagen, consists of two volumes, both entitled *Nykøbing School Book* (*Nykøbingß Skole-Bog* and *Nykiøbings Scholebog*, respectively). The first volume covers the period 1628–1654, the second 1655–1688.² Both are basically account books, but they also both include other material pertaining to the school. Both begin with lists of the headmasters, followed by copies of the school's rules (entitled *Officia in schola* and *Articuli legum* respectively, but more or less identical in contents) and the wording for an oath to be sworn by new teachers. Other interesting material follows: Various documents and letters of relevance for the school,

¹ I would like to thank Finn Gredal Jensen for necessary assistance with the Greek passages.

² Danish National Archives: Nykøbing Katedralskole, Regnskabsprotokol 1628-88, pk. 52. The exercises are to be found on the following pages: Vol. 1: pp. 59-73 (1633); pp. 98-108 (1636); pp. 154-164 (1640); fol. 235v-338v (1652); Vol. 2: fol. 21v-23v (1660).

lists of books, lists of stipends for needy pupils – and material from exams, including Latin exercises.

According to the school rules, a general examination of the other teachers (*collegae*, often also called *hypodidascali*) and of the pupils was to be held monthly, on the first day of the month.³ A very similar provision is to be found in a school law for the entire country which was instituted in 1632. Here monthly and annual tests in general proficiency are prescribed for teachers as well as pupils.⁴ Testing the *hypodidascali* was relevant as these would often be older pupils, as opposed to the headmasters, who normally had a university education. In this period, though, the *hypodidascali* in Nykøbing were well-educated men.⁵

The last set of exercises (vol. 1, pp. 154–164) here published may be the result of such a test as it is dated 2 March 1640. If so, the Latin exercises were entered into the schoolbook the day after the examination. But this is not the case with any of the remaining four sets. The occasion for the set from 1636 is stated in the heading. This was “an exercise performed to test the progress of the pupils in the final class on 26 April 1636 when Peder Stub substituted Erik Bredal as headmaster in his absence.”⁶ Presumably the set from 1652 was occasioned by the death of headmaster Peder Horbelev, who died on 14 March that year, as the text is an obituary of him.⁷ The set from 1660 consists of only four exercises and seems to be the final examination before the eldest pupils left for the university. The level is high, including long passages in Greek, and a note in the margin tells us that these pupils could not go to Copenhagen because of the situation (i.e. the constitutional crisis of 1660) and therefore were sent to Sorø instead.⁸ The occasion for the last set is unknown.

The texts in the three sets presented here are all moralizing in tone and concerned with schools and language teaching. The two later sets treat

³ Vol. 1, p. 5: “VII. Itaqve singulis calendis Rector examine generali in Collegarum fidem atqve industriam, et in discipulorum profectum inqvirito, ut discere liceat, qvonam illi studio sint erga gloriam Dei, et hi quid spei Ecclesiæ ac reipublicæ ostendant.”

⁴ Jensen 1982, 62.

⁵ Lollesgaard 1932, 74.

⁶ Vol. 1, p. 98: “Exercitium styli, quô fit periculum quantum in scripturâ profecerint supremæ classis discipuli, cum 1636, die 26 Aprilis Ericus Bredalinus substitueret in suâ absentia Petrum Stubæum Rectorem scholæ.” Erik Bredal (1607–1672) taught at the school 1631–1640, from 1633 as headmaster. He was on leave for three years, 1636–1639, to study abroad (Lollesgaard 1932, 74 sqq.)

⁷ Peder Pedersen Empoleius Horbelev was headmaster from 1646 till his death in 1652 (Lollesgaard 1932, 88).

⁸ Vol 2, fol. 23v, in marg.: “Hi omnes iniquitate temporis Hauniâ exclusi, Soram dimissi sunt, ibiqve benedicente Numine, admissi d. 10 Junji Ai. eiusdem.”

different themes: The exercises from 1652, as mentioned, are obituaries. The set from 1660 treats the Roman goddess Bellona from a moralizing Christian point of view.

Similar themes are found in exercises from the exams at the university in Copenhagen in 1631 and 1632, which have been studied by Kristian Jensen. Of the eight preserved sets three are moralizing discussions of good or bad attitudes towards studies. Three have themes from the classical world, one is about Saint Bernard, and one is about a famine in the year 970.⁹

Apart from the set from 1660 all sets of exercises seem to include all pupils in the headmaster's class¹⁰, which in Nykøbing was third class, from 1636 fourth class.¹¹ The numbers of exercises are: 14 (1633), 16 (1636), 17 (1640) and 10 (1652). The level of proficiency varies greatly. The best pupils translate the entire text and, in some cases, include specimens of Latin verse and Greek phrases, or even at times longer passages in Greek. The less advanced pupils have been given a shorter version of the Danish text.

Such variety within one class is by no means implausible. Theoretically (though not always in practice) a small school with only three classes was expected to reach the same level as the larger schools. On the basis of data from our manuscript Kristian Jensen has shown that it took three years to get through the full curriculum in the headmaster's class at Nykøbing.¹² And even in schools with five or six classes there was no automatic promotion to the next class. The pupils were promoted when they were ready for the next level.¹³ This means that the age composition in each class could be very broad. Records from the Latin school in Malmø around the mid-seventeenth century show that the final class there, which was fifth class, typically had children from 13 to 18 years of age, and at times even older.¹⁴

In all sets the exercises have been entered in the schoolbook by the pupils themselves, presumably from separate drafts. In all cases the texts have been entered in order of proficiency, from the most advanced pupils to the least advanced. The texts have not been corrected by the teacher, neither before nor after they were entered in the manuscript. All corrections seem to be due to the pupils themselves. Likewise, no pupils seem to have been left out. Even

⁹ Jensen 1982, 150.

¹⁰ To prevent any misunderstanding, I use the word *class* for what is in Latin termed *classis*, in seventeenth century Danish *lektie*. Each school had a number of classes, corresponding to the number of teachers, from the beginners' class to the headmaster's class.

¹¹ The school in Nykøbing was upgraded from two to three teachers in 1629 through a grant from queen Sophie, the dowager queen, who resided in Nykøbing (Lollesgaard 1932, 55–57). In 1636 it was upgraded to four teachers (*ibid.*, 78).

¹² Jensen 1982, 137–139.

¹³ Appel & Fink-Jensen 2013, 69.

¹⁴ Appel & Fink-Jensen 2013, 78.

the extremely poor Latin by Petrus Johannis on pp. 104–105 is there for us to read.

The actual procedure for the exam is not known. In the case of the exercises from the university Kristian Jensen suggested that they were translated from oral dictation, perhaps with a pause for translation after each sentence. Several misspellings of Greek words seem to be influenced by the pronunciation.¹⁵ Something similar may be observed in Latin in the Nykøbing material, e. g. *cænatores* for *senatores* (p. 81), *missebat* for *miscebat* (p. 159) and *decistere* for *desistere* (p. 163). On the other hand, such misspellings, especially confusion between c and s before e/i/y abound in e. g. the Latin exercises of king Christian IV, which were not dictated.¹⁶

Besides the translation proper, the most advanced pupils were allowed (or encouraged) to give specimens of Latin verse composition. In verse they present more free elaborations on the theme of the translation. At the end of the first set (1633) is an unsigned verse rendering of the theme. This may be by the headmaster himself.

In the three sets here published, only one pupil has produced more than a few words in Greek (pp. 72–73). This pupil, who signed his exercise Ιοάννης τοῦ Πητροῦ (Jens or Hans Pedersen) made his own variation of the entire exercise. Under the title *Chria* (theme for rhetorical exercise) he wrote short variations on the given theme in Latin prose, Latin verse and Greek.

A special feature is to be found in the first set (1633). Towards the end the Danish original has “Jeg veed well att i som gaar i skole bliffuer icke alle prester ...” (I am well aware that you who attend school will not all become pastors ...). Only in three of the Latin translations (by the least advanced pupils) this sentence has been translated directly. The rest substitute an adage or proverb, either in Greek (three variations on Οὐχ ἅπας μερμαίρων μήκωνα δρέπει) or a Latin version of the same (four variations on “non quivis anxie cogitans papaver decerpit”, i.e. not everybody who thinks solicitously will pick a poppy). Or they find a similar Latin adage, either “non vobis omnibus contingat adire Corinthum” (it is not every man that can go to Corinth, five times) or “ex quovis ligno non fiat Mercurius” (not every piece of wood is fit for a statue of Mercury, once). The teacher must have ordered the pupils to find a fitting adage for this sentence among their notes from the classics or from school books.

Hopefully this material may be of use for further studies of Danish Neolatin and especially how Latin was taught in the seventeenth century.

¹⁵ Jensen 1982, 151.

¹⁶ Zeeberg 2021, 212, cf. Tortzen et. al. 1988, passim.

The edition

The aim of this edition is to present a source that demonstrates the level of Latinity in a provincial Latin school in Denmark in the first half of the seventeenth century. Therefore, no errors in the original have been corrected. Hopefully all errors in the texts – which in some passages abound – are due to the pupils in Nykøbing. Only in a few instances have I felt impelled to use a *sic*.

Corrections and additions made by the pupils are noted in footnotes. No corrections or additions have been made by the editor.

Punctuation and diacritics have been reproduced as precisely as possible. Accents over consonants, however, have been moved to the preceding vowel. Unambiguous abbreviations and ligatures (for *qui*, *quam*, *-que*, *est*, *esse*, *et*, *enim* etc.) have been resolved tacitly. Details of layout such as indentation and the position of signatures have been harmonised.

The manuscript is rather tightly bound, which means that in places letters are hidden. In most cases, though, it has been possible to restore them in angle brackets.

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15 October 1633

[59]

Der Carolus magnus haffde stiftett Academiet til Paris, och med mange beneficiis rigeligen forsørget, holtt hand sig icke forgod till, att hand io selff i da oc da, besøcte sin skole, oc forsøcte huad hands stipendiaten monne haffue forfremmitt sig i lerdoms studering. Hand bad att de skulle vise sig, vers oc anden stiil, att hand derudaff kunde kiende, deris sind oc fliid.¹⁷ Daa hende dett sig att de børn som vare aff fattige dog erlige foreldre, viiste saadanne skriffter, aff huilke kunde letteligen sees, ner verrende fliid, oc gott haab om fremtiden. Men de som vare aff adel och rige foreldre, de vigede hin anden meget her udi, oc neppeligen i nogen maade suarede Keiserens forhaabning, daa satte hand de fattige till den høire side, og talde till dem i denne mening, oc sagde, Eder priser ieg børn lillde, bliff vid i saadan fliid oc dyd, Biskobs dømmer oc store præbender skall høre eder till, eder vill ieg unde denne ære, att i skall annammis i min haaff, att verre mine can-<c>elerrer, oc raadsherrer, oc haffue andre esynderlige bestillninger, dernest vende hand sig till de andre, som vare sett ved den venstre haand, tallede dem hart till, oc sagde, o i for[60]traadne oc haarhalse, som stole på eders rigdom, oc naffn-adellskab, i har foractet Keiserlige Majestett, i dett i haer icke adlyd min mandatt, oc misbrugtt mine vellgieringer, Ieg sver ved hellgens æd, att, vden i omvender eder, oc bevißer bedre att, ville bliffue till nyde, daa skall i intett andett forvente aff mig vden vrede oc straff, oc ieg skall sette paa eder exempell, i huillkett andre skall daa oc kysis fra dovenhed.

En herlig Historie om huilcken ieg nu icke vill sige mere, dette alleniste, legger hinde paa hierte i rige oc fattige, begge dele staar eder for, stor løn om i tracter, stor straff om i foracter.

Cum Carolus Magnus Parisiis academiam fundasset, eamqve variis multisque beneficiis liberalissime prospexisset, non tantum sibi sumsit, qvin Republicam literarum à se institutam subinde inviseret, quantumqve in Artibus liberalibus ejus Alumni profecerint, tentaret. Carmina aliaqve exercitia qvo melius animum, eorumqve diligentiam cognosceret, sibi exhibi jussit. Accidit qvod pueri ex parentibus paupertatis mole, seu pondere pressis, tamen honestis, nati, ejusmodi exercitia, in qvibus præsentem industriam, et studium, spemqve imposterum esse expectandam, obtulerint. Cæteri verò, qvi nobilitate erant, aliis plurimum concesserunt, et vix expectationi Imperatoris

¹⁷ fliid.] a blank space equivalent to 4 or 5 lines follows in which is noted: nil desideratur (nothing is missing).

responderunt. Ad dextræ partem positus in hæc verba erumpens, dixit, Vos pueri summis laudibus ad coelum usque tollo, in tali vestra diligentia et virtute pergite, vobis erit Episcopatus, et in aulam meam recipiamini, vosque mei eritis cancellarij. Denique alios ad sinistram positos verbis sæveris protelavit, inqviens, ô vos contumaces, et pertinaces, vestris opibus et fortunis freti, meis precibus et admonitionibus locum non relinqvendo, beneficiisque abutendo Cæsariam con[61]tempstis Majestatem per sancte juro, nisi conversi fueritis, vosque inposterum frugi futuros ostenderitis, nihil aliud quam poenam, et iram à me expectabitis, in vos exemplum statuam, ut alij tanquam in speculum perspiciant, et à negligentia abterreantur.

Historia egregia, de qua plura non dicam, huic, vos divites et pauperes mentis aciem infigite, hisce duobus nempè præmiis amplissimis, si nihil pietate et diligentia antiqvius habueritis, si verò in contrariam vicissim lancem inclinaveritis, omniaque jam dicta contempseritis, poenâ durissima, vos afficiendos, certò sciatis. Anno. 1633. 15. octobris.

Christophorus Laurentij Nestved.

m. m.

Academia Lutetiæ à Carolo Magno instituta, et copiosis beneficiis ornata, cæsar alienum¹⁸ à se ipso esse noluisse, qvin subinde rempublicam suam literariam inviseret, et alumnorum profectum in literis, experiret. Expostulabat ut sibi versus, aliumque stylum ostenderent, unde animum et industriam eorum cognoscere poterat. Evenit qvòd pueri, ex pauperibus, tamen honestis parentibus, nati, eiusmodi scripta obtulissent, ex quibus præsens diligentia, et eximia spes, de futuro tempore facilè perspectæ essent. A nobilitate vero, et parentibus opibus valentes ortum ducentes, primas partes aliis concesserunt, et vix qvòdam modo expectationi Cæsaris responderunt, inopes à dextris locavit, in hanc sententiam cum illis colloqvens, dixit, vos filioli mei, summis laudibus extollo in eiusmodi virtute et diligentia, pergite. episcopati magniqve redditus vobis tribuentur, et hæc ornamenta à me in vos proficiscentur, ut in aulam meam recipiamini, et agatis cancellarios, et meos à consiliis, aliisque muneribus præcipuis fruamini. Secundo loco, ad locatos à sinistris conversus, illos durissimis verbis protelavit, dicens. O vos contumaces et pertinaces, vestris opibus confidentes, meis mandatis non optemperando cæsaricam Majestatem contempstis, et meis beneficiis abuti estis, iura iuran[62]do vobis polliceor atqve confirmo, nisi vitam in melius transigatis, et re præstetis, vos frugi futuros, non est qvòd aliud, quam poenam

¹⁸ alienum alienum] *ms, sed correxit*

et iram à me expectetis, et exemplum in vos statuam, qvòd alii perspicient et à segnitia absterrebuntur.

Egregiam historiam, de qva plura dicere omittam, hoc tantùm, in mentis aciem intendite, pauperes et divites utraqve vobis adsunt, amplissimum præmium si nitimini pæna gravissima contemptui habemini. 15. octobris.

Epigramma.

Pauperibus, Carolus Cæsar Permagnus, alumnis

A dextris positus, præmia digna dedit.

Nummatos, veros perversa voce reprêndit

Spreverunt eius, munera, intra scholam.

Johannes Petri M.M.

Cum Carolus Magnus academiam Lutetæ fundasset eæqve multis beneficijs prospexisset, alienum à se non putabat, qvin inter visitaret suam scholam, et pertentaret qvid progressi Alumni eius in studijs fecerint. Orabat ut versus aliumqve stylum sibi ostenderent, ex qvibus animum et diligentiam ipsorum cognosceret. Accidit interim ut isti pueri qvorum parentes licet pauperes tamen honesti, tales scripturas cognoscant ex qvibus præsens diligentia et optima spes de successu temporis, facilè videri potest. Nati verò nobili genere et parentibus magnis opibus præditis multum alijs hac in re cedebant et vix ullo modo exspectationi Cæsaris respondebant, parvis opibus valentes, à dextris locabat, et in hanc sententiam cum illis communicabat dicens, vos pueruli laudibus orno, pergite in hac diligentia et pietate, Episcopatos et magna beneficia habebitis, vobis hanc dignitatem relinqvam ut in palatio meo recipiamini, et sitis Cancellarij mei, et alia primaria officia habeatis, deinde ad reliqvos à sinistris locum obtinentes se convertebat et magnopere illos objurgabat, [63] dicens, O vos pertinaces qvi vestris opibus confiditis, Cæsariam Majestatem contempsistis, dum morem mandato mei haud gesistis, et meis beneficijs abusi estis, persancte juro, si antiqvum obtinetis, nec vos meliores futuros promittitis, nihil à me præter poenam et iram exspectabitis, et in vos exemplum statuam, in qvo ceteri perspicient et à segnitia deterritabantur.

Egregia historia, de qva plura non dicam, hæc solum perpendite vos pauperes et divites, utramqve partem accipietis, magnum præmium si consideratis magnam poenam si contemnitis.

Matthias Petri.

Cum Carolus Magnus academiam Parisiis fundasset, et multis beneficiis liberalissimè auxisset, non tantùm sibi sumpsit, quin ipsemet scholam subindè visitaret suam, in experiundo ut esset, quid alumni ipsius in studiis doctrinæ promovissent. Carmina atque alia exercitia sibi monstrare, rogabat, quò animi et diligentia eorum certam cognitionem accipere possit. Accidit, quòd pueri ab hominibus pauperibus tamen honestissimis orti sint, tale exercitium monstraverunt, in quo quotidianam diligentiam et spem facilè de illis imposterùm esse expectandam. Cæteri verò pueri qui ex summis et honestissimis locis orti, plurimum hâc de re aliis cesserunt, et vix expectationi Cæsaris responderunt. Pauperes ad dexteram posuit, dicens, vos charissimi pueri laudo, industria diligentia vestra pergite, episcopatus vobis erit, vobis hanc gloriam impertiam, et in grege meo accipiamini, Cancellarii et senatores mei esse, et alia præcipua beneficium¹⁹ habere. Deindè ad alios conversus est, à sinistris duribus dictis illos objurgabat, dicens ô vos, contumaces, et pertinaces, qui in vestris opibus confiditis, et nomini nobilitati non obeditis, contemnendo Cæsaris Majestatem, meis beneficiis abusi estis, persanctè juro, nisi conversi fueritis et vitam melius transdixeritis, nihil aliud ex me expectabitis quàm iram et poenam, in vos exemplum statuam, quod alii tanquàm in speculum perspicient, et à segnitia deterrebuntur.

Notabilis historia, de qua plura non dicam. Hoc solùm vestri cordi cùm divites tùm pauperes erit, præmium amplissimum, si nitimini, poenam durissim²⁰ si contemnit.

Laurentius Olaj
m. m.

[64]

Cum Carolus Magnus Academiam Parisiij constitueret, et cum multis beneficiis liberaliter ei procurasset, non sumpsit sibi spiritus tam magnus, quin interdum rempublicam literariam suam visitaret, et tentaret, quid alumni sui studio doctrinæ profecerint. Rogabat, illos ostensuros sibi carmina et alios stilos, ut ex illis animum et diligentiam eorum cognosceret. Tunc accidit, quod pueri à parentibus pauperibus nati (tamen honestis) talia scripta monstrarent, in quibus præsens diligentia et optima spes videri posset. Sed qui à nobilitate et divitibus parentibus, hâc in re aliis multum concesserunt, et vix aliquo modo expectationi Cæsaris responderunt. Pauperes constituit ad dextram et locutus est cum illis, hoc sensu, dicens: vos laudo filioli, pergite in tali diligentia et virtute, dioecesis et magna officia erunt vestra, hanc

¹⁹ beneficium] *sic*

²⁰ durissim] *sic*

gloriam vobis dabo, ut palatium meum accipiat vos, et sitis magistri libelorum et senatores mei, et fungamini aliis præcipuis beneficiis. Deinde se vertit ad alios ad sinistram locatos, illosque verbis vehementioribus prosequitur, dicens; O malitiosi et contumaces, qui confiditis opibus et nomine nobilitatis, Majestatem Cæsaris contempsistis, dum mandato meo non paruistis, et beneficiis meis abusi estis, persanctè de juro, nisi vos converteritis, et mentem in melius mutaveritis, nihil à me expectabitis, quam iram et poenam, et exemplum in vos statuam, in quo alii ab ignaviâ detenebuntur. Pulchra historia, de qua plura hoc tempore non dicam, hæc solum, vos pauperes et divites, in animum inducite vestrum, utramque partem accipietis, magnum præmium, si aspiratis: magnam poenam si contemnitis.

Georgius Canuti Rødby

Cum Carolus magnus academiam Parisijs fundasset eamque variis beneficiis liberalissime ornasset, non tantum sibi sumpsit, quin ipsemet scholam a se institutam, subinde inviseret quantumque ejus alumni in artibus liberalibus profecissent. Carmina aliaque exercitia quo melius animum diligentiamque ipsorum cognosceret, [65] sibi exhibi jussit. Accidit, quod pueri ex parentibus paupertatis, honestis tamen, orti ejusmodi scripta, in quibus præsentem studium et industriam spemque in posterum esse expectandum, obtulerunt. Cæteri verò qui nobilitate erant, aliis plurimum tribuerunt et vix expectationi Cæsaris responderunt. Ad dexteræ partem stantibus in hæc erumpens verba dixit vos pueri summis laudibus exorno, in ejusmodi diligentia et virtute pergite, vos in aulam meam recipiam, faciamque meos consulares. Denique alios ad sinistram positos, verbis durioribus allocutus est, inquam O vos contumaces, et pertinaces vestris opibus et fortunis fræti, meis præcibus et admonitionibus²¹ non relinqvendo, beneficiisque meis abutendo, Cæsarem contempsistis majestatem, per sancte juro, nisi conversi fueris, vos qui in posterum frugi futuros, ostenderitis nihil aliud a me expectabitis, quam iram et poenam, in vos exemplum statuam ut alii tanquam in speculum perspiciant, et ea negligentia moneantur. Egregia historia de qua plura hoc tempore non dicam, hunc tantum vos divites et pauperes, in animum inducite vestrum, si vero vicissim tandem inclinaveritis, omnia jam dicta contemseritis, poena durissima vos afficiendos, certo sciatis.

Erasmus Erasmi Nor:

²¹ -tio-] *corr. ex -tib-*

Cum Carolus Magnus Academiam Parisiis fundasset, et multis beneficiis liberalissime prospexisset, et tantum sibi sumsit, quin ipse scholam subinde frequentaret, et probaret quid alumni ejus in studio doctrinae profecerint. Rogabat illos quod ostenderent sibi carmina et alios stylos, ut ex illis animum et diligentiam eorum cognosceret. Tum evenit, quod pueri ex pauperibus parentibus nati, (tamen honestis) talia scripta eum ostenderent, in quibus praesens diligentia, et industria spes in tempore videri potest. Sed illi qui nati erant, ex nobilitate, et divitibus parentibus, et hac in re aliis multum cesserunt, et vix in aliquo modo expectationi Cæsaris respon[66]derunt. Tum pauperes ad dexteram locabat, et dixit ad illos, tali sen²² dicens, Filioli mei, vos laudo, pergite in tali diligentia et virtute, Episcopati et magna officia ad vos pertinere debent. Vobis hanc gloriam dabo, quod accipiant vos in aulam meam, esse magistri libellorum, et senatores, habere alias praecipuas functiones. Deinde se ad alios vertit, qui locati erant ad sinistram, et objurgavit illos, duris verbis, dicens, O, avdaces homines, confidentes in divitiis et nobilitate, contempsistis cæsaris majestatem, dum mandatum meum non obedivistis et beneficiis meis abusi sitis, per nomen altissimum juro, quod nisi animum meliorem accepistis, nihil à me expectare possitis, nisi ira et poena, et vobis exemplum dabo, ut alii id penetrant, et deterrebuntur ab segnitia.

Historia notatu digna, de qua plura non dicam, hæc tantum, animum inducite vestrum, pauperes et dives. Ambæ partes vobis integræ sunt, magnum præmium si consideramini, magna poena si contemnamini.

Ioannes Iohannis, Marie: 15. oct:
M. M.

Cum Carolus Magnus instituisset Accademiã Parisijs, et multis beneficijs abundè providisset, non tantum sibi sumsit, quin ipsemet scholam suam subinde frequentaret, ut experiat qualem progressionem in artibus liberalibus alumni ejus fecerunt. Rogavit illos ut monstrant sibi carmina, et alium stylum, unde potuit cognoscere animum et diligentiam eorum. Tum accidit, quod pueri à pauperibus, tamen honestis parentibus nati, talem ostenderent scripturam, in quibus facilè praesens diligentia magnaue spes in posterum perspecta erat. Illi vero nobiles et divites multum hac in re aliis caedebant, et vix aliquo modo expectationi Cæsaris respondebant, tum pauperes ad dextram locavit, dixitque illis pueri vos laudo, pergite in tali diligentia et virtute, Episcopati et magna beneficia ad vos pertinere debent, et vobis istam honorem dabo, ut ad libellorum magistros, et senatores meos in aula mea accipiemini, et alia praecipua officia habebitis. Deinde reversus est ad alios

²² sen] sic

per si<ni>stram locatos, et objurgavit illis dicens: Ô, contumaces homin<es> in divitijs et nobilitate confidentes, majestatem imperatoris contumelia affecistis, eo quod mandatum meum non obedivistis, et qu<od> beneficijs meis abusi sitis, per sancte juro nisi animum mutaber<itis> et præstaveritis vos ad meliorem utilitatem nihil à me expecta<...> est nisi ira et poena, et in vobis exemplum statuam, ut alij igna<viam> [67] et negligentiam metuant: Historia notabilis de qua,²³ paucis dabo illam et divites et pauperes animum inducite: magnum accipietis præmium si eruditionem sequimini, pœnam vero si contumelia affeceritis!

Æschillus Georgij Die 15 Octobris!
Manu Mea.

Cum Carolus Magnus fundavisset accademiam Parisijs et liberaliter cum multis beneficijs prospexisset, non tantum illi sumpsit, quin subinde suam scholam visitavit, et tentavit quid alumni ejus studijs literarum progressum fecerunt, rogabat, quod ostenderent illum carmina et alium stylum, quod ex eo cognosceret animum et studium eorum. Aliqvando se evenerat, quod pueri isti qvi nati essent ex parentibus tamen honostis,²⁴ talem picturam monstrabant, in qva præsens industria et summa spes facilè videbitur. Sed illi qvi ex nobilissimis parentibus et divitibus nati essent, illi multo in hoc alijs cedebant et vix aliquo modo respondebant expectationi Cæsaris. Mox pauperes ad dextram ponebat²⁵ et loqvebatur ad illos hac sententia, dilecti pueri, vos laudo, pergite in tali studio, dioceces et magna beneficia vos pertinebunt, vos²⁶ hanc laudem faveam quod accipiam vos in meam aulam, esse meos magistros libellorum et senatores et alia præcipua beneficia habere. Deinde reversus est ad alios qvi positi erant ad sinistram, verbis duris illos protelabat: O vos pertinaces qvi gloriamini nomine nobillissimo et rebus vestris, Majestatem Cæsaris contemsistis, dum non obœdivistis mandatam meam et abusi fuistis beneficijs meis, juro per jurationem sanctorum, nisi conversi fueritis et præstaveritis vos melius fore in usum, nihil aliud à me exspectabitis qvam ira et poena, et in vobis exemplum statuam, in qvo alij videbunt, et deterrebuntur signitia.

Historia præstantissima, de qvo hoc tempore non magis dicam, hoc tantum, illam animum inducite vestrum pauperes et divites, ambæ partes

²³ de qua,] *supra lineam add.*

²⁴ honostis] *sic*

²⁵ ponebat] *corr. ex ponebant*

²⁶ vos] *e corr.*

vobis integræ sunt. Magnum præmium si nitamini, magnam poenam si contemnamini.

Petrus Petri. Anno 1633
Die 15 Octobris
Manu mea

[68]

Cum Carolus Magnus fundavisset academiam pariciis cum multis beneficiis liberalissime prospexisset, non tantum sibi sumpsit, quin ipse scholam suam visitaret provideret, quid alumni ejus progressum in studiis literarum fecerunt. Rogavit ut ostenderent ipsum carmina et stylum, ut ille inde nosceret animum et diligentiam eorum. Contingit quod illi pueri quod nati erant honestis parentibus, monstrarent talem scripturam in qua præsens studia et bona spes in posterum. Sed illi qui nati sunt ex nobilissimis et parentibus divitibus, concesserunt aliis hac de re et vix alio modo responderent spem Cæsaris tunc ponebat pauperibus ad dextram et dixit illis in tali opinione mi pueri vos laudo pergite in tali studio et virtute. Diæcesis et magna officia ad vos pertinere debent, hunc honorem vobis dabo, quod accipiat vos in palatio meo, esse magistri libellorum et senatores, et habere alias præcipuas functiones. Deinde vertit se ad alios quo locati erant ad sinistram et objurgavit illos duris verbis. dicens O audaces homines confidentes in divitiis et nobillitate contempstis Majestatem Cæsaris dum mandatum meum non obedivistis, et beneficiis meis abusistis, per sancte juro, quod nisi animum meliorem accipistis, nihil à me expectare possitis, nisi iram et poenam et vobis exemplum dabo, ut alii id penetrant, et terrebuntur a segnitia.

Historia notatu digna, de qua plura non dicam, hæc tantum animum inducite vestrum pauperes et divites ambas res si diligentiam adhibueritis magnam poenam si contempseritis

Christianus Nicolaj. Rinosf:
m. m. Die 15. Octobris.

[69]

Cum Carolus Magnus fundavisset academiam parisijs et cum beneficiis multis liberaliter prospexisset non tantum sumpsit quin subinde visitaret scholam provideret quid alumni fecerunt progressum fecerunt in studiis literarum. Rogavit ut monstrarent carmina et stylum alium ut cognoscat animum et diligentiam eorum. Contigit quod pueri qui nati erant à parentibus

pauperibus tamen honestis monstrarent picturam²⁷ talem in quibus studium præsens et spes bona facile videatur imposterum Sed qui nati erant à nobilissimis et parentibus divitis in his multum cedebant alijs et vix in ullo modo spem imperatoris respondebant. Ita posuit pauperos ad dexteram et communicavit cum illis in hac sententia et dixit: Vos laudo mi pueri pergite in diligentia et virtute tali. Episcati et multa officia ad vos reprehendere debent vobis hunc honorem faveam et accipiam vos inter meos esse magistros libellorum et senatores et habere beneficia alia præcipua. Deinde vertabat se ad alios qui locati erant in sinistram verbis atrocissimis obpugnabat illos et dicebat O vos pertinaces qui gloriami rebus vestris et nomine nobilissimo contempsistis majestatem imperatoris non oboedivistis mandatum abuti fuistis meis beneficijs Juro per nomen altissimum et conversi fueritis et præstavistis melius fore in usum nihil aliud ex me expectabitis nisi iram et poenam in vobis statuam exemplum in quo cæteri videbunt et à signitia deterrebuntur.

Historia laudabilis de qua non dicam plura hoc animum inducite vestrum pauperes et divites partes uterque vobis sunt magnum si consideratis magnam poenam si contemnatis accipietis. Daniel Andreae m. m. 15 Octob.

[70]

Cum Carolus Magnus Academiam Parisijs fundasset, et beneficijs multis liberalissimè perspexisset non tantum sibi sumpsit, quin ipse interdum scholam suam frequentaret, visitaret, qua opera alumni eius in fructibus artium liberalium dederunt. Iussit illos se carmina et stylum alium ostendere, ut ex his animum et diligentiam ipsorum cognoscere posset. Contingit quod pueri illi qui à parentibus pauperibus tamen honestis nati erant, scripturam tantam ostendebant, in qua facile diligentia præsens et spes bona imposterum videri posset. Sed illi qui à hominibus nobilissimis et parentibus divitibus nati erant, cæteros valde in hoc cedebant, et vix non ullo modo spem Cæsaris respondebant, pauperos ad dextram ponebat, et in hac sententia ad illos loquebatur et dicebat, vos laudo pueri dilecti, in talijs studijs et virtutibus instate, episcopati et beneficia multa ad vos pertinebunt, vobis gloriam istam dabo, ut in aula mea debeatis accipi, à libellis magistros et consulares meos esse, et alia officia præcipua habere. Deinde se ad alteros versus est qui ad sinistram positi sunt verbis atracissimis illos apugnabat et dicebat, O vos pertinaces qui in opibus et divitijs vos confiditis, majestatem cæsaris contempseritis, dum mandatum meum non obediveritis et beneficijs meis abusi sitis, sancte juro, quod, nisi conversi sitis et meliorem præstatis ad usum

²⁷ picturam] *corr. ex pictusam* [?]

vivere, nihil ex me exspectabitis, aliud quam iram et pœnam, et in vobis speculum ponam in quo cæteri videbunt et à signitia deterrebuntur.

Historia præstantissima de qua plura non dicam quod illi cordi [71] sunt, vos divites et pauperes, utrumque vobis sunt pro mercede magno si consideratis, pro pœna si contemnitis.

Achilles Andreae Skytt m.m. die 15 octobris.

Cum Carolus Magnus fundaverat Academiam Parisiis et prospexerat liberaliter cum multis beneficiis non tantum sibi sumpsit quin ipse interdum visitaret, scholam suam ut provideret quid alumni ejus profecerant in studio doctrinæ. Rogabat ut demonstrarent sibi carmen et alium stilum quod ex hoc cognosceret animum et studium eorum. Eveniebat quod pueri qui erant à parentibus inopibus tamen honestis monstrabant talem picturam in qua videatur præsens diligentia et imposterum spes summa bona. Sed illi qui a nobilissimis parentibus illi multo aliis cedebant et vix aliquo modo respondebant mox pauperes ad dextram ponebat et loquebatur ad illos in hac sententia dilecti liberi ego vos laudo pergite in tali studio et virtute dioceseres et magna beneficia ad vos pertinebunt hanc laudem favebo ut accipiam meo religio esse meos magistros libellorum et cœnatores et habere alia præcipua beneficia. Deinde vertebat se ad alios qui locati erant ad sinistram verbis atrocissimis oppugnabat illos et dicebat: O vos pertinaces qui gloriamini rebus suis et nobilitate contemni sitis juro per nomen altissimum quod nisi conversi fueritis et præstaveritis melius, fore non aliud à me expectabitis quam ira et pœna et in vobis statuam exemplum in quo alii videbunt et à signitia deterebuntur.

Elegans historia de qua non plura dicam. Hoc solum animum inducite vestrum divites et inopes Ambæ partes vobis integræ sunt magnum præmium si nitamini magna pœna si contemnitis.

Nicolaus Joannis

Die 15 octob:

Anno 1633

[72]

Chria exercitii præcedentis.

Recensent historici quod Carolus Magnus Parisiis fundatam scholam subinde inviserit, atque ut alumnorum indolem atque profectum cognosceret, stylum orationis solutæ et ligatæ exhiberi petierit. Quod dum fit experitur tenui loco natos majorem spem diligentia ostendere quam ditiores, ideo ut singulis sua merces tribueretur, diligentiores et pauperes à dextris, desides verò licet

divites à sinistris constituit, atqve illis veræ laudis præmia, his negligentia²⁸
pœnas proponit ac pollicetur.

Qvæ historia docet diligentioribus virtutis tandem præmia, dissolutis
itidem negligentia contemptum ac pœnas manere.

Eadem chria exercitii
in metris coacta.

Interdum Carolus Magnus qvod visit apertum
Lutetiæ ludum pristina scripta notant,
Discipulos et qvo posset cognoscere, iussit,
Monstrari versus, scripta soluta simul.
Qvod dum fit reperit, tenui de stirpe creatos
Divitibus palmam præripuisse stylo,
Iccirco merces sua iusta ut cuiqve daretur
A dextris inopes, contra alios posuit,
Pauperibus veræ laudis dat præmia, pœnas
Divitibus graves, et mala multa parat,
Attentis, docet historia hæc, bona præmia contra
Contemptum reliqvis usqve manere pigris

Conversio Græca.

Ἱστοριογράφι λέγουσι, ὅτι Καρολὸς Μέγας ἐν λευκετῖα σκολῆν ἀνεωγμένην
ἐ [73] κάστοτε ἐπισκεμμένος ἦ, καὶ ἵνα γώνση φύσιν καὶ προκοπὴν τῶν
εὐτελυμίστον, λέξιν μύτου λελυμένου ἢ δεδεμένου ἀποφαίνεσθαι ἠτήση, ὅς
ὅταν γίνεται δοκιμάτζει λεπτοῦ ὑπὲρ τόπου γενομένουσ μείζωνα ἐλπὶν
ἀκριβείας ποιεῖν, ὅσον πλουσίους, ἵνα οὖν καθ' ἑνοῖς σεαυτοῦ δικαίος μοικὸς
διδῶται, ἐπιμελῆ, καὶ²⁹ πτωχὰς πρὸς δεξιὰν³⁰, ἀμελῆ δὲ κἄν πλουσίους πρὸς
ἀριστερὰν ὄρισαι, καὶ τούτοις ἀληθινοῦ αἴνου βραβεῖα ἐκείνοις ἀμειλύας
δίκας προτείνει καὶ ὑπισχνέοται. Ἡ ἱστορία διδάσκει ἐπιμέλῃσι ἀρετῆς ποτὲ
βραβεῖα, ἀμέλῃσι οὕτως ἀμελείας ὀλιγορίαν καὶ δίκας μένειν.

Ἰωάννης τοῦ Πητροῦ

Qvod Carolus Magnus ludorum fautor, apertam
Parisiis sæpè viserit ipse scholam,
Historici multi concinnâ voce recensent,
Et qvo cum studio nosceret hocce suo,
Discipulorum profectum ingeniumqve suorum,
Monstrari versus atqve soluta stylo

²⁸ negligentia] *syllaba ne- supra lin. add.*

²⁹ καὶ] *supra lin. add.*

³⁰ δεξιὰν] *corr. ex ἀριστερὰν*

Iusserit, Id dum fit inopes offendit alumnos
Divitibus totum præripuisse decus,
Hinc ut quisqve suâ meritâ mercede fruatur
Discipulis miseris loca suprema dedit,
Infima sed, pueris alijs et præmia veræ
Laudis Pauperibus donat³¹, At hisce graves
Poenas prommittit Docet hæc historia tandem
Præmia virtutis justa manere bonis
Segnitia³² sed contemptum rationem ad eandem,
Perversis reliqvis, ipsa, manere monet.

26 April 1636

[98]

A. C. I. Exercitium styli, quô fit periculum quantum in scripturâ profecerint supremæ classis discipuli, cum 1636, die 26 Aprilis Ericus Bredalinus substitueret in suâ absentia Petrum³³ Stubæum Rectorem scholæ.

Nuperrime autem abierant hujus classis discipuli 4, optimæ spei pueri Georgius Canuti. Petrus Petri. Joannes Petri. Joannes Vilhelmi

Scholæ sunt considerandæ non secundum externum contuitum; sed ex usu, qui ex illis provenit.

De som forestaa skoler, betienner eller besøger dennem, kunde well tencke saaledis: (naar de beseer werelsens ringe prydelse og husgiesternis ynkelige tilstand) skulle det were saa stor en gierning som der sigis, att mand tager sig omsorg till for skolen? efterdi skolen er icke andett end een menge børn huilke der seer ilde ud aff skab og skidenhed, saa att mand faar snarere wemelse end lyst till att see dennem.

Men naar skoler anseis icke aff saadanne udwortis ringe ting men meged heller aff den store nytte som kommer aff dennem, er dett icke tuill paa att der jo anderledis dømmis och talis om skoler.

Thi dett arbeide som driffuis aff skolemesterne och dissiplerne i skoler tienner baade till Guds ære till menighedens forbedring saauell som til eett huert privat menniskis nytte: saasom dett kunde beuisis aff kristlige og

³¹ donat] *e corr.*

³² Segnitia] *e corr.*

³³ Petrum] *e corr.*

werslige historier med mange bevisninger og exemplar; aff huilke een eniste historie nu paa denne thid skall gjøre sagen klar noch <h>uorled<is> den gode gamle skolemester Johannes Trozendorphius helsede eengang sine dissipler sigende: Guds fred i adelsmænd kanslere og raadsherrer: Guds fred i aff den geistlige orden, Doctores, Magistri, Predichere, skoletiennere etc: Guds fred i Øffrigheds personer Borgemestere Raadmend Dommere, Byfogeder: Guds fred I krigsøffuerster, Rytter og gemeine soldater: Guds fred i Verkmestere, og hanttwerks folk aff alle slags etc;

som han uille saa meged sige: Jeg weed well att i som gaar i skole bliffuer icke alle prester; men dersom i studerer med Gudfrychtig flittighed, tuiler ieg icke paa att I io bliffuer menigheden till nytte.

Qvi in scholis operam in adolescentibus erudiendis ponunt administrant et eas invisunt, ita animum inducere possunt suum: (quando parvum loci ornamentum suspiciunt et statum hospitem miserabilem). adeo magna esset actio, ut dicitur, quod curam et sollicitationem ædium musarum suscipiant? siquidem ludus literarius nihil aliud est quam cohors puerorum, qvi scabie³⁴ et impuritate sqvalent, ita ut potius fastidium capiunt quam cupidus illos videndi.

Quando verum scholæ ex rebus parvis externis non perspiciuntur, sed potius ab utilitate quæ ab illis originem ducit, non dubium est quin aliter de scholis iudicatur et dicitur.

[99] Labor enim qvi à præceptoribus et discipulis agitur, Deo honori, reipublicæ emolumento, sicut et commodo cuius homini utilis est. sicuti ex Ecclesiasticis et politicis historiis multis cum demonstrationibus atque exemplis probari posset; de quibus unica historia hoc tempore rem satis faciet apertam. Quomodo præstantissimus præceptor Johannes Trozendorphius suis discipulis salutem dixit, dicens: Salvete Nobiles, Libellorum magistri, et Senatores: Salvete ab ordine Ecclesiastico, Doctores, Magistri, Consionatores Ludimagistri etc: Salvete Magistratus, Consules, Senatores, Iudices, Prætores: Salvete imperatores, Equites atque milites: Salvete artifices, et operarij omnium generum etc.

Quasi diceret: Οὐχ ἅπας μερμαίρον μήκωνα δρέπει, sed si pia diligentia literis operam datis, nullus dubito quin reipublicæ emolumento esse possitis.

Joannes Johannis Maripolitanus.

³⁴ scabie] *e corr.*

Scholæ sunt considerandæ, non secundum externum contuitum, sed ex usu qui ex illis provenit.

Qui ludis literariis præsent, administrant sive visitant illos, sic quidem animum inducere possent suum: (cum minimè splendidum mansionis ornamentum, et miserimum hospitem statum considerent) An opus tantum hoc vere sit, quantum esse dicitur, quod curam et sollicitudinem ædium Musarum suscipiamus? siquidem schola nihil aliud est quam puerorum cohors quæ scabie aliisque sordibus est afflicta, ita ut videndi illos tædium potius quam libido incedat.

Scholæ autem quando non secundum externas res parvas considerantur, sed multo magis ex magno usu qui ex illis provenit, aliter de Ludis literariis judicandum ac dicendum esse certi scimus. Opus enim quod et Ludimagistri, et scholæ alumni in ædibus Musarum faciunt, Dei gloriæ, reipublicæ emolumento et cuiusvis hominis commodo inservit. Quemadmodum ut ex sacris ita et prophanis historiis variis exemplis comprobari posset, quorum unicâ hæc historia hoc tempore res clarior erit: Quomodo optimus, natuque grandis Ludimagister Johannes Throendorphius discipulis suis aliquando salutem dixit: Salvete, inquam, Nobiles, Libellorum Magistri et Senatores etc: Salvete ex statu Ecclesiastico Doctores, Magistri, Concionatores, et juvenum informatores. Salvete Magistratus, Consules, Senatores, Judices, Prætores etc: Salvete Imperatores, Equites et milites etc: Salvete artifices, omniumque generum operarii: Ac si diceret: Certus scio quod ex quovis ligno non fiat Mercurius, verum si pia cum diligentia literis operam dederitis, quin reipublicæ usui esse possitis haud dubito.

Æschillus Georgiades

[100]

Qui scholis præsent, administrant, aut invisunt istas, hōc modō meditari quidem potuere: (cū parvum ornatum essentiæ, et domesticorum miserum statum respiciant) num id esset tantum opus, ut dicitur, quod scholarum curam agas? siquidem schola non est aliud quam multitudo puerorum, qui scabie atque immunditie affliguntur³⁵, ita ut citius nauseam quam voluntatem adipiscare.

Sed cū scholæ non considerantur secundum ejusmodi externa contuita parva, sed multo potius ex usu magno, qui ex illis provenit, absque dubio id est, quin aliter de scholis judicetur et dicatur³⁶. Labor enim, qui in scholis à

³⁵ affliguntur] *corr. ex affligunt*

³⁶ dicatur] *corr. ex dicetur*

scholæ moderatoribus et discipulis agitur, et Deo gloriæ, et Reipublicæ emolumento, tam uni cuique homini privato usui servit: veluti Æcclesiasticis et Politicis historiis cum multis demonstrationibus atque exemplis declaratur³⁷; quibus unica historia hoc tempore res clarior erit³⁸. Quomodo bonus ille Præceptor vetus Johannes Trozendorphius aliquando discipulos suos salutavit, dicens: Salvete, vos nobiles viri, Cancellarii, et Senatores: salvete vos ordinis Æcclesiastici, Doctores, Magistri, Concionatores, Informatores etc³⁹ Salvete, vos Magistratus, Consules, Senatores⁴⁰ Judices, Prætores: salvete, vos Imperatores⁴¹ belli moderatores, Equites⁴² et milites vulgares: salvete Artifices⁴³ Operarii⁴⁴ omnium generum⁴⁵. etc.

Perinde diceret: me non latet (quòd vos qui discunt in ædibus Musarum)⁴⁶ Οὐκ ἄπας μερμαίρων μήκιονα δρέπει sed si diligentiam piam operam datis, nullus dubito, quin Reipublicæ emolumento esse possitis⁴⁷.

Jacobus Johannides
sua manu

Qui ædibus Musarum præsent, ipsas administrant ac visitant, ita quidem animum inducere possent suum: (cum ornamentum minimum essentiae considerant ac statum Domesticorum miserrimum) tam magnum debebat esse officium, ut dicitur literarum curam esse cogitationem suscipis? Siquidem Schola aliud non est quam puerorum multitudo qui scabie ac sordibus afflicti sunt, adeò ut magis tædium quam cupiditatem ad istos videndos habeant.

Cum verò Scholæ secundum externum contuitum non considerentur verum magis ex usu isto magno qui ex illis provenit, dubium non est quin de ludo literario aliter judicetur ac dicatur.

[101] Nam labor iste qui ab informatoribus ac discipulis exercetur, in gloriam DEI, emolumentum Reipublicæ et commodum hominis cujusvis plebæi utilis est. Prout ex historiis tam Ecclesiasticis quam politicis probari poterat compluribus exemplis ex quibus historia unica causam satis declarat.

³⁷ declaratur] *corr. ex* declararetur

³⁸ res clarior erit] *postea add.*

³⁹ etc] *supra lin. add.*

⁴⁰ Senatores] *supra lin. add.*

⁴¹ Imperatores] *supra lin. add.*

⁴² Equites] *supra lin. add.*

⁴³ Artifices] *in marg. add.*

⁴⁴ Operarii] *corr. ex* operarii

⁴⁵ omnium generum] *corr. ex* omni generis [?]

⁴⁶ (quòd ... Musarum)] *corr. ex* quòd ... Musarum

⁴⁷ possitis] *corr. ex* positus [?]

Qvâ ratione Præceptor senex optimus Iohannes Trozendorphius aliquando Salutem discipulis suis dixit, Salvete inqviens: Nobiles, à libellis libellorum Magistri, Senatores etc: Salvete ordinis Ecclesiatici Doctores, magistri, Concionatores, Scholæ Moderatores etc: Salvete Magistratus, Consules, Senatores, Iudices, Prætores, etc: Salvete Imperatores, Eqvites, ac Milites gregarij etc: Salvete Operarij, Artifices atqve omnium generum etc: Qvasi diceret Οὐκ ἅπας μερμαίρων μήκιονα δρέπει. Si verò piâ industria animum ad Philosophiam adjungis non est qvodo dubito qvin Reipublicæ emolumento esse possitis. Die 26 Aprilis. ANNO 1636

Achilles Andreae Toxotus.
Suapte Manu

Qvi Scholis præsumunt administrant aut visitant⁴⁸ eas ita qvidem animum inducere possent suum: (qvando consideremus æsentia parvum ornamentum et domesticorum miserum statum) adeò⁴⁹ magnum esset factum qvodo dicatur⁵⁰ cura⁵¹ suscipi de ludo literario? Nam schola non est aliud qvam multitudo discipulorum qvi sivalent⁵² scabie et impuritate adeò ut citiùs fastidium qvam voluntatem videndi illos accipimus. Sed qvando ludi literarij perspiciuntur non ex rebus externis sed⁵³ potius ex commodo magno qvodo advehunt non dubium est qvin aliter dicatur et faciat alius⁵⁴ de illis sermo nam labor qvi agitur à Præceptoribus et discipulis in ludo literario et est in honorem Dei et reipublicæ emolumentum et in vsum cujusvis plebei hominis sicuti poterat probarj exemplis multis historiarum ecclesiasticarum et polliticarum ex qvibus tantum unica hoc tempore iam rem declarabit. Qvomodo senex Præceptor Iohannes Trozendorphius salutem dixit discipulis suis⁵⁵ dicens: Salvete Nobiles, Libellorum magistri et senatores etc. Salvete ab ordine Ecclesiastico Doctores, Magistri, Concionatores Præceptores. [102] Salvete Magistratus Consules Senatores Prætores et Iudices. Salvete Imperatores eqvites et milites; Salvete artifices Mechanici omnium generum etc. Ac si diceret non cujvis homini contigit adire Corinthum. Verò si operam navatis pietatis diligentia, non dubito qvin sitis in vsum reipublicæ.

Daniel Andreae mm.
26 Aprilis Anno 1636

⁴⁸ visitant] *e corr.*

⁴⁹ adeò] *corr. ex tam*

⁵⁰ dicatur] *corr. ex dicitur*

⁵¹ cura] *supra lin. add.*

⁵² sivalent] *e corr.*

⁵³ sed] *corr. ex qvam [?]*

⁵⁴ alius] *in marg. add.*

⁵⁵ salutem dixit discipulis suis] *corr. ex salutabat discipulos suos [?]*

Qui præsunt scholis, eas administrant et invisunt ita animum inducere quidem possent (cum consideremus parvum loci ornamentum et domesticorum miserabilem statum) esset adeo magna actio ut dicitur quòd de scholis curam suscipiamus? Siquidem schola nihil aliud est quam multitudo puerorum qui squalent scabie et impuritate adeo ut citius tædium quam voluptatem illos videndi accipiamus.

Sed cum scholæ sunt considerandæ secundum has externas parvas res sed multo potius ex usu qui ex illis provenit non dubium est quin aliter de scholis iudicetur et dicatur, nam labor qui ab Informatoribus et discipulis agitur, est Deo honori reipublicæ emolumento et unicuique homini utilitati. Sicut ab ecclesiasticis et politicis historiis pluribus exemplis probari potest, quarum unica historia hoc tempore rem declarabit.

Quomodo antiquus et bonus pædagogus Johannes Trozendorphius aliquando dixit discipulis suis salutem, dicens: Salvete nobiles, libellorum Magistri et Senatores etc. Salvete vos ab ordine ecclesiastico Doctores Magistri Concionatores Præceptores, Salvete personæ magistratus Consules Senatores Iudices Prætores etc. Salvete Imperatores equites et milites gregarij, Salvete opifices et operarij omnium generum etc

Ac si diceret quod non vobis omnibus contingat adire Corinthum: sed si operam ponitis pia cum diligentia non est quod dubitem quin sitis reipublicæ utilitati

Nicolaus Joannis 26 Aprilis
Anno 1636

[103]

Illi qui funguntur et administrant scholis aut invisunt eas, ita cogitare poterant: (sed cum conspiciant orationem parvam essentiæ, et conditionem miseram domesticorum) erit actio tanta, uti dicitur quod curam habeamus scholis? siquidem schola non est aliud quam multitudo puerorum qui male se habent ex scabie et impuritate, ita ut accipiamus fastidium majorem quam desiderium ad videndum eos.

Sed cum scholæ non respiciantur ex talibus rebus parvis externis, sed potius ex fructu magno qui venit ex eis, non dubium est quin aliter iudicatur et loquitur de scholis.

Non labor qui urgetur ex præceptoribus et discipulis in scholis, cum ad gloriam Dei servit et ad utilitatem reipublicæ, tam ad utilitatem hominis cujusque: sicut <pro>bari poterat ab ecclesiasticis et mundanis historiis iam hoc tempore rem facit claram satis quomodo præceptor vetus Johannes

Trozendorphius salutabat semel discipulos suos dicens: Viri nobiles salvete cansellarii et senatores: Salvete vos ex ecclesiastico ordine Doctores Magistri consionatores, et informatores etc. Salvete personæ magistrorum consules viri consiliarii iudices et prætores: Salvete imperatores eqvites et milites vulgi: Salvete artifices et operarii ex omnibus generibus etc.

Sicut dicere velit: scio qvod non omnibus vobis contingat adire Chorintum sed si studeatis cum pia diligentia et non dubio qvin republicæ emolumento esse possitis.

Petrus Laurentii M.M.
Anno Dni. 1536: 26 April.

Illi qvi præsumt scholis, administrant vel invisunt eas, jta qvidem cogitent animo suo: cum suspiciant essentiæ ornamentum aliqvantulum et statum miserum hospitem) esset tam magnum factum qvod dicitur, ut curam suscipias de scholis? Siquidem schola non sit aliud qvam multitudo puerorum qvi sqvalent scabie et impuritate, ut citius fastidium accipias qvam voluntatem videndi eos.

Sed cum scholæ suspiciantur ab externis rebus, sed potius à magno commodo quod advehunt, non est dubium qvin aliter judicatur et dicitur de scholis.

[104] Nam iste labor qvi à Præceptoribus et discipulis in scholis agitur, serviens Deo honori, ecclesiæ emolumento, cuique homini privato vtilitati: ut à historiis ecclesiasticis et politicis probari potest, cum multis exemplis; Ex qvibus tantum qvædam historia hoc tempore rem declarabit: Qvomodo bonus Pædagogus Johannes Trozendorphius salutem optabat discipulis suis, dicens, Salvete Nobiles, Magistri libellorum et senatores etc. Salvete vos ex genere ecclesiastico, Doctores, Magistri, Concionatores, Præceptores, Salvete personæ Magistratus, Consules, Senatores Prætores etc. Salvete Imperatores, Eqvites et Milites gregarij, Salvete Artifices et operarij in omnibus generibus, etc.⁵⁶ Perinde diceret: Non qvi vis anxie cogitans papaver decerpit. Sed si operam dant pia diligentia, non dubito qvin fiat reipublicæ vtilitati.

Johannes Johannis Bremer.
26 Aprilis Anno 1636.

Qvi benè præsumt scholis, inserviant aut invitant illos, ita cogitabant (quando respiciunt ornationem essentiæ et domesticorum status) esset tantum beneficium ut dicitur, quod accipiamus curam pro scholis? Siquidem schola

⁵⁶ etc.] *corr. ex perinde*

non est alia quam multi puerj, qui esqualent ex scabijs et impuritatibus, ita ut accipies fastidium quam jucundum ad videndum illos.

Sed quando scholæ respiciuntur non ex externis rebus, sed multum ex magnetudine commodo quod continet ex illis non dubium est quin aliud dicatur et judicetur de scholis.

Nam labor is agitur ex Præceptoribus et discipulis in scholis, servit ad gloriam Dej, ad immolumentum reipublicæ et ad commodum privatum hominis, vt præstetur ex oeconomij et politijs historijs cum multis exemplis ex qua historia jam in hoc tempore facit curam [105] Quando Præceptor bonus Trozendorphius salutaret discipulos suos, dicens: Salvete Nobiles Senatores Magistrj etc: Salvete ex ordinibus ecclesiasticis Doctores Magistrj Concionatores, Salvete Magistratus consules Senatores Judices Prætores, Salvete imperatores Equites Milites, Salvete Artifices Operarij Omnium generum, vt dicet tam multum scio vos qui frequentant scholam non quivis anxie cogitans papaver decrepit. Sed si vos studete cum pietate diligentia non dubito vos fiate rempublicam ad commodum.

Petrus Johannis
26 stpri: Anno 1636

Qui præcedent scholis inserviunt et invisitant illos ita putarent (cum respiciunt ornationem parvam essentiae et statum domestici) debebat esse tantum opus sic dicitur quod accipias dolorem⁵⁷ sibi scholis? siquidem schola non est alia quam multitudines liberi qui vident malè è scabie et impuritate ita ut accipis citius fastidium quam libidinem videndi illos.

Sed quando scholæ respitiuntur eisdem rebus parvis externis sed maximè è magno commodo venit è illis non dubium est quin aliter dicatur et judicetur scholis.

Nam labor qui arcetur Præceptoribus et discipulis in schola servit ad gloriam Dej et emolumentum reipublicæ et commodum unius cujusque hominis. Veluti posset probari ex historiis eccleciasticis et politicis cum multis exemplis quibus unica historia hoc tempore faciet rem jam satis.

Quomodo bonus antiquus Præceptor Johannes Trozendorphius semel salutaret discipulis suis. dicens. salvete Nobiles Magistri libellorum et senatores etc: salvete ex ecclesiasticis ordinibus. Doctores Magistri concianatores⁵⁸ et informatores etc: salvete Magistratus consules Præceptores judexes etc: salvete imperatores Equites et vulgi milites [106] salvete artifices et operarij rebus omnibus.

⁵⁷ dolorem] *corr. ex dololem* [?]

⁵⁸ concianatores] *sic*

Acsi diceret scio equidem non quivis anxie cogitans papaver decerpit; sed si studete cum pia diligentia non dubito quin fiat respublica ad commodum.

Andreas Olaj

Qui funguntur scholis, administrant aut visitant illas, ita quidem cogitent (cum respiciant orationem parvam essentiae et miserum vitae genus oeconomorum) debet esse tam magnum opus ac si dicitur, quod curemus Scholas? Siquidem Schola non est alia res quam multitudo puerorum qui male vident ex psora et impuritate, adeo celerius accipiamus satietatem quam iritamentum ad videndam illam. Sed cum scholae non respiciuntur ex talibus externis rebus parvis, sed maxime potius ex magno fructu qui venit ex illis, non dubium est, quod in illo aliter dicitur et iudicatur de scholis. Nam ille labor qui arcetur ex Praeceptoribus et discipulis in scholis, servit ad gloriam Dei, ad reipublicae emolumentum, et ad fructum unius cuiusque hominis. Ac si posset probari ex historiis ecclesiasticis et politicis multis exemplis; Ex quibus unica historia faciet iam hoc tempore causam satis.

Quomodo bonus antiquus Praeceptor Johannes Trozendorphius semel salutabat suos discipulos, et dicebat: Salvete Nobiles, Magistri libellorum et senatores etc: Salvete qui estis ex ordine ecclesiastico, Doctores, Magistri, concionatores, Praeceptores etc: Salvete personae Magistratus, consules, senatores, iudices, Praetores etc. Salvete Imperatores, Equites et vulgi Milites: salvete artifices et operarii in omnibus generibus etc: ac si vellet dicere, quidem scio non quivis anxie cogitans papaver decepit⁵⁹; sed si studeatis diligentia, non dubito, quin fiat emolumento reipublicae.

Erasmus Mathiae.

Illi qui funguntur scholis, operam locant vel visitant illas sic equidem cogitent: (cum respiciant praesentiae parvam orationem, et vitae genus miserum oeconomorum) tam magnum sit ne officium, sicut dicitur, quod scholas curemus? Siquidem schola non est alia res quam multitudo puerorum qui ex psora et impuritate male vident, adeo citius accipiemus fastidium quam voluptatem illas videndi.

[107] Sed cum scholae à talis rebus externis parvis non⁶⁰ respiciantur sed potius à magna illa utilitate quae ab illis⁶¹ oritur, non dubium est quin aliter dicitur et iudicatur de scholis.

⁵⁹ decepit] *sic*

⁶⁰ non] *supra lin. add.*

⁶¹ illis] *supra lin. add.*

Nam iste labor qui urgitur à discipulis in scholis servit honori Dei, progresso reipublicæ, tam vtilitati unius cujusque hominis privati. Sicut ex Ecclesiasticis et politicis historiis cum multis exemplis probarentur: A quibus vnica historia in hoc tempore causam satisfaciet.

Quomodo priscus bonus Præceptor Iohannes Trozendorphius semel suos discipulos salutavit: dicens: Salvete Nobiles, Magistri libellorum et senatores etc: salvete vos ex ordine Ecclesiastico, Doctores, Magistri, Concionatores, Præceptores etc: salvete Personæ Magistratus, Consules, Senatores, Iudices, etc: salvete Imperatores Equites et vulgi milites: salvete artifices et operarii operæ in omnibus generibus. Perinde acsi tam dicat: Benè scio non omnibus vobis contingit adire Corinthum, sed si student cum magna diligentia non dubio quoniam vtilis fueritis reipublicæ.

Balthazarus Christophori

Si consideramus scholam sicut spectatur externè parvo ædificio et incolis habemus potius fastidium quam voluntatem ad videndam aut advertendam illam. Sed cum cogitamus magnum commodum quod venit à scholis sicut iudicamus recte de illis ad omne genus vitæ ex scholis sicut antiquus præceptor Iohannes Trozendorphius indicabat semel cum salutaret suos discipulos sicut adfuissent omnes homines sine dubio volebat dicere non omnibus vobis contingit adire Corinthum sed tamen habetis Comodum ex illo quod studeatis quamdiu vivitis.

Laurentius Erasmi.

[108]

Si consideramus scholam sicut videtur, externè cum ædificio parvo et incolis tunc habemus potius fastidium quam voluptatem videndam illam. Sed cum cogitemus istum magnum commodum, qui venit ex scholis, tunc iudicamus rectè de illis; quod venit commodum ad vitam quamque specierum ex scholis. Sicut vetus præceptor Iohannes Trozendorphius indicabat cum ille semel salutaret discipulos suos sicut adsit homines omnes specierum: sicut sine dubio dicet; vos omnes fieritis non sacerdotes qui erunt in schola sed tamen habetis commodum quod studetis tam vivitis. Magnus Davidis.

Si curamus scholam sic videtur externa parva cum ædificio et incolis tunc habemus potius fastidium quam voluptatem ad videndi illam.

Sed cum id magnum commodum qui venit ex scholis tunc iudicamus rectius de illis; quod venit commodum ad unam vitam ex scholis. Sic vetus præceptor Iohannes Trozendorphius agnoscebat cum salutaret discipulis suis ac si potuerant esse omnes species homines adessent nisi quemadmodum ille

sine dubio volebat dicere non fitis omnes sacerdotes qvi it in schola, sed tum habetis commodum ex eo qvod studitis qvam diu vivitis.

David Davidis.

Si curamus scholam qvemadmodum videtur externæ parva ædificatio et incolis potius fastidium habemus qvam irritamentum videndi illos sive visitare illam. Sed cum cogitamus frugum magnum qvi venit ex scholis, recte de illis judicamus; qvod commodum venit in qvocunqvæ tandem vitæ sit genere â scholis. Qvemadmodum vetus Præceptor Johannes Trozendorphius indicat cum semel salutaret discipulos suos qvemadmodum esse poterant omnes homines promptu: sicut sine dubio diceret; vos omnes non fieritis sacerdotes qvi fræqventant scholam, sed tamen commodum habebitis qvod studetis tam diu vivitis. Ericus Johannis.

2 March 1640

[154]

Der gud haffde sett et merchelig retfærdigheds⁶² vredis exempel paa den første verden, huilcken hand udslette med syndflod, da forglemde Men<n>isken det snart, oc begynte at indfalde i Guds forsinn og ville <e>rgierrige⁶³ gierninger giøre sig et ærligt naffn. men gud hindrede <d>eris forset og blandede deris tungemaal saa at dend eene <k>unde iche forstaa dend andens tale, at de og nøddis til at <of>fvergiffue saadan bygning. Huor aff Babel oc haffuer sit naffn. Dette skal høris læsis og betenckis aff os, som et synderligt guds vredis exempel at Tungemaals atskillighed ehr kommen i verden til en straff. Tuert mod naar vi hører huorledis gud udøste sin Hellig-Aand offuer Apostlerne, som gjorde dennem <s>aa veltalende at de med atskillige folckjes tungemaal, predickedede guds underlige gierninger. Da maa vi med stor for<u>ndring prise guds naade og barmhiertighed, som vil de med <e>t skieligt tungemaal kalde mennisken tilbage igien til guds <k>undskab og troens enighed. Thi dette er et klart argument hvor af vi kand see at gud vil alle mennisker skulle bliffue <sa>lige og komme til sand guds bekiendelse. Dette allene staa tilbage og aff oss udkreffuies at vi paa det flitteste bruger de mid<le>r som gud haffuer beskichet til vor saligheds forfremmelse, og <ic>he alleniste føre guds ord i vor moders sprog, men och legger vind paa, at vi kunde lære de tre hoffvit sprog Hebræisk Grækisk og

⁶² retfærdigheds] *added over the line*

⁶³ <e>rgierrige] *presumably ment to be med ergerrige*

latinsk i huilket vidnisbyrdet om Jesu⁶⁴ Christo ehr <s>kreffuit og mest fast plantet paa det vi baade selff kunde see med egne øyne, och være vis paa vor tro, och andre thil salighed undervise. Det gjøre Gud ved Jesum Christum
saa langt 2. marts 1640

Positô à Deo in mundo primo iræ et iustitiæ memorabili exemplo, qvem inundatione delevit aqvarum, oblivioni mox tradidit homo, cepitqve in Dei providentiam irruere, volens rebus gestis nomen acquirere divinum, hoc propositum lingvarum mutatione impedivit, ne alter alterum loquentem intelligeret, [155] adeoque coacti desistunt ab hâc ædificatione. Unde Babel nomen est. Hoc erit nobis audiendum, legendum et⁶⁵ animadvertendum, præclarum iræ Dei exemplum, lingvarum discrepantiam in mundum venisse p<oe>nam. Contra, nobis audientibus Deum effudisse Spiritum Sanctum sup<er> Apostolos, reddentem illos tam eloquentes, ut magnalia DEi⁶⁶ variis h<o>minum linguis prædicarent, mirâ deliberatione Dei gratiam et miseri<cor>diam glorificabimus per varias lingvas homines ad notitiam Dei et fide<i> unitatem revocare velle. Hoc enim est perspicuum argumentum, unde vide<ri> est, Deum velle omnes homines salvos fieri, et ad agnitionem veritatis ve<nire.> Hoc unicum restat et à nobis expostulatur, ut summoperè adhibeamus re<me>dia, qvæ ad salutis profectum instituit Deus, neque solùm in lingvâ <ma>ternâ verbum Dei audiemus, sed etiam operam damus ut tres lingv<as> addiscamus: Hebræam, Græcam et latinam, in qvibus testimonium de jesu christo est scriptum maximeqve propagatum, ut ipsimet propriis o<cul>is cernamus et fidem firmam adipiscamur aliosqve ad salutem insti<tua>mus. Qvod donet Deus per Jesum Christum.

Tantum est.

David Andreae

Ubi Deus exemplum egregium iræ et justitiæ in priorem mundum posuerat, qvem diluvio delevit statim oblivioni homo tradidit et in Dei providentiam irruere cepit operibus arrogantibus nomen divinum facere voluit. Deus verò propositum impediē<at> et lingvam mutabat, ne alter alterum intelligeret, ideoqve coact<i> erant ad ædificium omittendum: unde Babel nomen accepit. Hoc audiendum legendum atqve desiderandum à nobis est sicut præclarum exemplum iræ Dej discrepantiam lingvarum in mundu<m> venisse poenam.

⁶⁴ Jesu] *added over the line*

⁶⁵ et] *supra lin. add.*

⁶⁶ post DEi *vox ut deleta*

Contra ubi Deum Spiritum suum Sanctum super Apostolos effudisse audimus, qui eloquentes eos⁶⁷ fecit, ut hominum diversis linguis magnalia Dei prædicarent, mira deliberatione misericordiam et gratiam Dei laudabimus, qui diversis linguis homines ad scientiam Dei et ad unitatem fidei revocare voluit. Hoc enim perspicuum est argumentum unde Deum omnes homines salvos [156] fieri velle vidimus⁶⁸ et ad agnitionem veritatis venire. Hoc unum saltem restat ut à nobis postuletur ut summopere illis medijs utamur, quæ Deus ad nostræ salutis profectum instituit, non tantum verbum Dei in maternâ lingvâ audiemus, sed etiam operam demus ut tria capita Hebræam Græcam et latinam discamus in quibus testimonium scriptum et maximè propagatum extat, ut ipsimet proprijs oculis videamus, et fidem certam habeamus et⁶⁹ alios ad salutem instituamus. Hoc facit Deus per Jesum Christum.

Tantum est.

Petrus Laurentij.

Deo exemplum egregium ponente iræ atque justitiæ in primum mundum, quem diluvio abolevit, homines statim oblivioni tradebant ac incipiebant incidere in providentiâ Dei, et operibus arrogantibus nomen divinum Iesus impetrare volebant. Sed Deus impedivit propositum miscens linguas suas, ita ut alter non posset alterum loquentem intelligere, ut cogentur desistere de eodem ædificiô, unde Babel nomen suum habet. Hoc nobis audiendum, legendum atque cogitandum sicut exemplum egregium iræ Dei, discretionem linguarum in mundum venisse poenam. Contra, quando audiamus quomodo DEUS Spiritum Sanctum in Apostolos effudit, qui linguas eloquentes illis dedit quod illi varijs linguis hominum magnalia Dei conciones haberent, summâ admiratione laudamus gratiam atque misericordiam Dei, qui homines per varias linguas ac notitiam Dei et unitatem fidei revocare volebat. Nam hoc argumentum appertum est ex quo videre possumus DEUM velle omnes homines salvos fieri et ad agnitionem veritatis venire. Hoc solum restat et à nobis expostulatur ut diligentissime utemur remedijs, quæ Deus constituit in promotionem nostræ salutis, et non solum audiamus verbum Dei in lingvâ maternâ, sed demus operam ut tres linguas capitales discamus, Hebræam Græcam atque latinam in quibus testimonium de JESU Christo scriptum est, et maximè propagatum. Quo oculis nostris cernamus et fide

⁶⁷ eos] *supra lin. add.*

⁶⁸ velle vidimus] *supra lin. add.*

⁶⁹ et] *supra lin. add.*

nostra <e>rigamur atqve alios in salutem erudiamus. Id DEUS faciat per
Jesum Christum,

Tantum est.

Petrus Johannis.

[157]

DEO egregium exemplum in primum mundum statuente quem deluvio
levit⁷⁰, citò obliti sunt homines et in providentâ divinâ incidere principium
fecerunt atqve operibus arrogantibus sibi divinum nomen comparare
volue<runt.> Sed Deus eorum propositum impedivit eorum lingvam miscens,
ita ut unu<s> alterum loquentem intelligere non posset ut etiam de eodem
ædificio desistere cogerentur. Vnde Babel ortum est. Hoc nobis audiendum,
legendum at<qve> cogitandum tanqvam præclare iræ divinæ exemplum,
lingvarum discrepation in mundo ad poenam venisse. Econtra cum
audiamus Deum suum Spiritum Sa<n>ctum super Apostolos effudisse, qui
eos eloquentes fecit ut diversis hominum lingvis Dei miralia conciones
haberent, maximâ admiratione Dei gratiam atqve misericordiam glori-
ficemus, qui per diversas lingvas homines retrorsum in divinam notitiam
atqve fidei unitatem vocare volebat. Hoc enim perspicuum argumentum, unde
spectare est, Deum velle omnes homines salvos fieri et ad agnitionem veritatis
pervenire. Hoc enim solum restat et à nobis expostulatur nos diligentissimè
istis remediis uti quæ Deus in promotionem nostræ salutis constituit et non
solùm divinum verbum audire in lingvâ nostrâ maternâ, sed etiam operam
dare ut tres lingvas addiscamus: Hebræam, Græcam, Latinam, in quibus
testimonium de Jesu Christo est scriptum et propagatum ut ipsimet oculis
nostris spectamus et certiolem fidei nostræ faciamus aliosqve ad salutem
instituiamus

Hoc faciat Deus per Jesum Christum.

Tantum est.

Andreas Olai

Cum Deus in primum mundum egregium iræ et justitiæ exe<m>plum
posuisset, quem deluvio debebat, cito rem memoriæ tradebant, et in divina
providentia incidebant, atqve operib<us> arrogantibus sibi sibi⁷¹ nomen
divinum comparare volebat. Sed D<eus> propositum eorum impediabat et
eorum lingvam commiscebat, ut alter alterum non posset intelligere, et talem
ædificationem cogerentur omittere. unde Babel nomen habet. Hæc nobis

⁷⁰ levit] *sic*

⁷¹ sibi sibi] *sic*

audie<n>da, legenda et consideranda sicut egregium iræ Dej exemplum qvòd varietas lingvarum ad poenam in mundo venit. Contra cum audiamus Deum effudisse Spiritum Sanctum super Apostol<os> [158] qvi eos adeò eloquentes faciebat, ut lingvis diversis magnifica Dei annunciebant, magna admiratione glorificabimus gratiam atqve misericordiam Dei, qvi lingvis diversis homines ad notitiam Dei et unitatem fidei revocare volebat. Hoc enim argumentum est purum unde videmus qvòd Deus vult omnes homines salvos fieri, et ad agnitionem veritatis venire. Hoc unicum restat ut a nobis expostulatur, ut diligentissime remedia adhibeamus, qvæ Deus ad salutem nostram instituit, et non solùm in lingua materna verbum Dei audiamus, sed etiam studiis adhibeamus ut discamus 3 lingvas: videlicet Hebræam, Græcam atqve latinam, in qvibus testimonium de Jesu Christo scriptum et maxime propagatum est, ut propriis oculis videamus et firmam possideamus fidem, et alios ad salutem instituamus.

Rem fac Deus per Jesum Christum
tantum est.

Christiernus Jacobj

Cum Deus posuisset memorabile justiciæ atqve iræ exemplum in mundum primum, qvem debebat per diluvium, citò obliti homines sunt, et inceperunt⁷² incidere in providentiam Dei et voluerunt facere sibi operibus arrogantibus nomen immortale. Sed deus propositum eorum impedivit et commiscuit eorum lingvam, ita ut unus non poterat intelligere alterum, qvòd coacti sunt emittere talem ædificationem, unde Babel nomen habet. Hoc à nobis audietur legetur cogitabitur sicut exemplum singulare iræ Dei mutationem lingvarum venisse in mundum ut poenam.

tantum est

Johannes Joannis, skafft.

Cum Deus in primum mundum exemplum egregium iræ et justitiæ posuisset, qvem eluvio debebat, tunc statim oblitus est nobis et in providentia incidebant, atqve cum operibus arrogantibus sibi nomen æternum volebat facere, sed Deus propositum suorum impediabat et lingvam eorum commiscebat ita ut alter non alterum intelligere possit et cogantur remittere talem ædificationem, unde Babel nomen habet. Hæc a nobis audietur⁷³ legetur et cogitabitur sicut

⁷² inceperunt] inciperunt *ms.*, *sed corr.*

⁷³ audietur] *corr. ex audieretur*

egregium exemplum iræ Dæj qvòd varietas lingvarum in mondo ad poenam venit.

Theocarus Olaj.

[159]

Cum deus egregium iræ justitiæqve exemplum in mundum primum posuisset, qvem diluvio abolebat, cujus homines cito obliti sunt, in Deiqve providentiam inciderunt atqve operibus arrogantibus nomen æternum sibi facere voluerunt. Deus vero proposita eorum impediēbat, et illorum lingvas miscebat ita ut alter alterius sermonem intelligere non poterat, ut talem ædificium omittēre cogērentur. Unde Babel etiam ortus sit. Hoc à nobis tanquam præclarum⁷⁴ iræ Dei exemplum audiendum, legendum et cogitandum, lingvarum variationem ad poenam in mundum venisse. Econtra, cum audiamus quomodo DEVS Spiritum suum Sanctum super Apostolos effudit, facientem illos tam eloquentes, ut diversis lingvis magnalia Dei opera prædicaverunt, maximâ admiratione gratiam Dei et misericordiam glorificemus, qvi per diversas lingvas homines ad Dei agnitionem et fidei unitatem revocare volebat. Nam hoc præclarè est argumentum, vnde, Deum omnes homines salvos fieri velle, et ad agnitionem veritatis venire, videamus. Hoc tantum restat et à nobis expostulatur, nos diligentissime medijs uti, qvæ Deus ad salutis nostræ progressum constituit, et non solùm verbum Dei in lingvâ maternâ audire, sed etiam operam dare, ut tres illas lingvas, scilicet Hebraicam, Græcam, et Latinam discamus, in qvibus testimonium CHRISTI scriptum est et propagatum, ut nos ipsimet ad oculum videamus, et de fide nostra confirmemur, aliosqve ad salutem instituamus. Hoc per IESUM CHRISTUM faciat DEUS.

Tantum est

Petrus Nicolaj. Staureby.

Cum Deus in primum mundum insigne exemplum justitiæ et iræ statuisset, qvem diluvio delebat, homines citò ejus obliti sunt, coeperuntqve in divinum providentiam incidere, et arrogantibus operibus nomen æternum impetrare voluerunt. Deus autem propositum eorum impediēbat, et lingvam eorum miscebat, ita ut unus sermonem alterius intelligere non posset, ut coacti ejusmodi ædificium omittunt. Unde Babel nomen habet, hoc nobis audiendum legendum et cogitandum ut præclarum exemplum iræ Dei, varietatem lingvarum in mundum pro poena venisse. Econtra nobis audientibus Deum super Apostolos Spiritum suum sanctum effudisse, qvi eos eloquentes faciebat, qvòd illi variis lingvis populorum magnalia Dei concionarentur,

⁷⁴ præclarum] *corr. ex præclare*

magnâ admiratione glorificemus gratiam et misericordiam Dej, qvi variis lingvis in notitiam Dei et unitatem fidei homines revocare voluit. Hoc enim perspicuum argumentum est, ex quô possumus videre Deum velle omnes homines salvos fieri et ad agnitionem veritatis venire. Hoc unicum restat at à nobis requiritur, ut diligentissimè remediis illis utamur, quæ Deus ad progressum salutis nostræ constituit, et non solum in lingvâ nostrâ Maternâ verbum Dei audiamus, sed operam demus, ut istas tres lingvas Hebræam Græcam et Latinam discamus, in quibus testimonium de Jesu Christo scriptum est, et maximè propagatum quo nosmet propriis oculis possimus videre, et fide firmemur et alios ad salutem instituamus. Hoc det Deus per Jesum Christum.

Tantum est.

David Johannis.

Cum Deus justitiæ atque iræ exemplum egregium in mundum primum statuisset, quem diluvio delevit, homines quàm citissimè oblivioni tradiderunt, ceperuntque in providentiam Dei incidere, et operibus arrogantibus perpetuum voluerunt impetrare voluerunt nomen. Deus autem in propositum illorum moram iniecit, illorumque linguam miscuit, ita ut unus sermonem alterius intelligere non posset, ut etiam coacti sunt talem ædificationemmittere. Unde etiam Babel suum habet nomen. Hoc nobis audiendum, legendum atque animadvertendum est, tanquam perspicuum iræ Dej exemplum, varietatem linguarum in mundum prænam venisse. e contra quando audimus, Deum Spiritum suum Sanctum super Apostolos effudisse qui ipsos tam eloquentes fecit, ut diversis hominum lingvis mirabilia Dei facta prædicarent [161] magnâ admiratione gratiam atque misericordiam glorificemus qui diversis lingvis homines ad notitiam Dei atque unitatem fidei revocare voluit. Hoc enim præclarum est argumentum ex quo cernere possimus Deum omnes homines salvos fieri velle et ad agnitionem veritatem venire. Hoc tantum restat, et à nobis requiritur, ut diligentissime ijs utamur medijs quæ Deus ad progressum⁷⁵ salutis nostræ constituit, et non solum verba Dei audiamus in nostrâ lingvâ Maternâ, verum etiam operam demus, ut istas tres lingvas discere possimus, Hebraicam, Græcam et linguam in quibus testimonium de Jesu Christo scriptum est, maximeque propagatum, ut propriis oculis cernamus, et firmam adispiscamur fidem aliosque ad salutem instituamus. Hoc faxit Deus per Jesum Christum.

Tantum est

Georgius Canutinus Nestvedensis. m. m.

⁷⁵ progressum] ante progressum del. est sal

Cùm Deus statuisset exemplum perspicuum justitiæ et iræ in mundum primum, homo id oblivioni mox tradebat ceperatqve incidere in providentiam Dei, et arrogantibus operibus nomen perpetuum sibi impetrare volens. Sed Deus propositum eorum impedivit, et miscuit lingvas eorum, ut alter sermonem alterius non intelligere posset, ut coacti talem structionem omitterent. Unde Babel suum nomen habet. Hoc audiendum legendum et cogitandum est à nobis, ut exemplum perspicuum iræ Dei, varietatem lingvarum in mundum ad castigationem ortam esse. Contra cum audimus quomodo Deus Spiritum Sanctum supra Apostolos effundebat, reddentem illos tam eloquentes, ut lingvâ hominum diversa mirabilia Dei concionarentur, magnâ deliberatione gratiam Dei et misericordiam laudemus, qui variis lingvis homines revocare vellet ad agnitionem Dei et unitatem fidei. Nam hoc argumentum præclarum est, ex quo videre est, Deum velle omnes homines salvos fieri et ad agnitionem veritatis venire. Hoc unicum restat et à nobis postulatur ut summoperè utamur mediis, quæ Deus in progressum salutis nostræ⁷⁶ instituit, quòd neque solum audiremus verbum Dei in lingvâ maternâ, sed etiam operam daremus ut tres illas lingvas disceremus, Ebræam Græcam et Latinam in quibus testimonium de Jesu Christo scriptum extat, maximè propagatum, quòd nosmet oculis propriis cernamus, et fide firmemur, aliosque ad salutem instituamus. Hoc Deus det per Jesum Christum.

Tantum est.

Theophilus Olai. Snecchius. m. m.

[162]

Cum Deus statuisset exemplum conspicuum justitiæ et iræ in mundum primum quem debebat diluvio, homines obliviscantur alius statim, et inchoabant incidere in providentiam Dei, et volebant facere sibi nomen æternum cum operibus arrogantibus. Sed Deus impediabat propositum et miscebant lingvam illorum, ita ut alter non posset intelligere sermonem alterius, ut etiam coacti omittunt ædificationem talem unde Babel habet nomen. hoc audietur legatur et considerabitur à nobis, ut exemplum præcipuum iræ Dei, varietatem lingvæ venisse in mundum loco poenæ

Thomas Andræ m. m.

Cum Deus posuisset exemplum egregium justitiæ et iræ, in mundum primum quem debebat diluvio, homines cito obliviscebantur, et inchoabant incidere

⁷⁶ nostræ] *supra lin. add.*

providentiam Dei, et cum operibus arrogantibus facere sibi nomen æternum. Sed Deus impediēbat propositum <e>orum, et miscebat lingvam⁷⁷ eorum, itaut unus non poterat intellige<r>e sermonem alterius, qvōd illi cogērentur omittere talem ædificationem, <u>nde Babel habet nomen suum. Hoc audietur, legetur et considerabitur à nos ut exemplum præcipuum iræ Dei, qvōd uarietas lingvarum venit in mundum loco pænæ.

Folgvardus Cornelij
m. m.

Cum deus posuisset perspicuum justitiæ et iræ exemplum in mundum primum, qvem delevit cum deluvio, tunc obliscebantur homines ejus cito et inchoabant incidere in providentiam Dej, et volebant cum arrogantibus operibus facere sibi nomen æternum. Sed Deus impediēbat propositum suum et miscebat lingvam suam, ita ut alter non poterat intelligere sermonem alterius, qvōd cogantur omittere ædificationem talem. Vnde Babylon habet nomen suum. Hoc audi<e>tur legetur et considerabitur a nobis qvōd præcipuum exemplum <i>ræ Dei, qvōd varietas lingvarum venit in mundum loco pænæ.

Fridericus Henricj
M. M.

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Cum Deus posuisset egregium iustitiæ et iræ exemplum in primum mundum, qvem delevit diluvio, obliscebantur homines cito inchoabant incidere in providentiam Dei et volebant cum operibus arrogantibus facere sibi nomen suum æternum, Sed Deus impediēbat propositum eorum et miscebat eorum lingvam, ita ut alter non poterat intelligere sermonem alterius qvōd illi cogērentur omittere talem ædificationem. Vnde Babylon habet nomen suum. Hoc audietur legetur et considerabitur a nobis, ut præcipuum exemplum iræ Dei, qvōd varietas lingvarum venit in mundum loco pænæ.

Andreas Joannis MM.

Cum Deus posuisset egregium justitiæ iræ exemplum⁷⁸ in primo mundo, qvem delevit cum diluvio homini oblitati fuerunt cito, et inciperunt incidere in providentiam Dei, et volebant arrogantibus operibus facere sibi nomen æternum. Sed Deus impediēbat eorum propositum et miscebat illorum

⁷⁷ lingvam] *corr. ex ligvam*

⁷⁸ exemplum] *e corr.*

lingvam ita ut alter non potest intelligere alterius Sermonem, qvod cogantur decistere idem ædificium. Vnde Babel nomen suum habet. Hoc audietur legetur et cogitantur à nobis sicut exemplum singulare iræ Dej qvod discrepatio lingvarum in mundo ad poenam venerit.

Fridericus Johannis.

M. M.

Cum Deus posuisset exemplum notabile justitiæ et iræ Dei in primum mundum, qvem delevit diluvio tunc homines cito obliti fuerunt, et inciperunt incidere in providentiam Dei, et volebant arrogantibus operibus facere sibi nomen æternum. Sed Deus impedivit propositum eorum, ita ut unus non poterat intelligere sermonem alterius, qvod etiam coguntur omittere talem Ædificium. Vnde Babel suum nomen habet. Hoc audietur legetur et cogitabitur à nobis utpote præcipuum exemplum iræ Dei qvod varietas lingvarum in mundum ad poenam venit.

Laurentius Johannis

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Hic fuit periculum profectus in stylo, à Clarissimo et Reverendo Dn. Præposito factum, post agitatum nonnullis diebus examen: ...