

## NEO-LATIN NEWS

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◆ *Oswaldi de corda opus pacis*. Ed. by Belinda A. Egan. Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, 179. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2001. 154 + 97 pp. 110 Euros hardback, 97 Euros paper. In 1417 Oswald de Corda published his *Opus pacis*, a manual for Carthusian copyists and correctors of Latin manuscripts. Oswald was born in Bavaria and took a degree in arts at Vienna. Sometime after 1404 he joined the Carthusians and, after some years in charterhouses in Germany, he was transferred to the motherhouse of the order, the Grande Chartreuse, in 1414; in the 1420s he served as vicar of the house. He corresponded with the leading theologian of the day, Jean Gerson, and translated several of the latter's French works into Latin. He died in Scotland in 1435. The *Opus pacis* is an attempt to formulate principles of textual emendation. In the manual, Oswald discusses matters of orthography, etymologies of Latin words, and occasionally grammar; he focuses on the practical dilemmas of scribes faced with the varying orthography, accentuation, and pronunciation of Latin in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Today twelve manuscripts of the text survive, dating from 1417 to 1514. Two of these are autographs by Oswald. The

manuscript tradition shows that the *Opus pacis* has been most widely used by charterhouses in Switzerland, Germany, and the Netherlands. Its circulation was not restricted to charterhouses, though: four of the twelve surviving manuscripts come from sources outside the Carthusian Order. What is more, the *Opus pacis* inspired the compilation of similar scribal handbooks in other religious orders.

Ever since Paul Lehmann drew attention to the treatise in 1924, excerpts from the *Opus pacis* have occasionally appeared in print. The present volume, however, contains the first complete critical edition of this interesting text. The first part of the long and well-researched introductory study examines the historical context of the *Opus pacis*: the Carthusian tradition of textual uniformity, the biography of Oswald de Corda, the *Opus pacis* itself with special focus on its sources and structure, the use and influence of the work within and outside the Carthusian Order, and the way in which Carthusian piety fundamentally inspired and encouraged the copyists' concern for textual accuracy. The second part of the introduction deals with the transmission of the text and contains a very thorough description of the manuscript.

The two surviving autographs of the *Opus pacis* offer a rare look at the process of composition. One of these is a working draft of the treatise that contains extensive additions, deletions, and emendations, while the other is Oswald's fair copy of the final state of the text. Egan shows how changes made to the text in the draft reveal deliberate attempts to simplify complex grammatical principles and to soften judgments by eliminating references to specific people in connection with orthographical errors.

The aim of the *Opus pacis* was to enable scribes to determine when emendation of Latin texts was necessary, and whether in copying a Latin text they should retain antiquated or corrupted spellings or spellings apparently altered by the influence of vernacular languages. Oswald warns against copying outdated word forms from exemplars, but recommends that scribes use common sense and emend old manuscripts only when necessary—that is, when the meaning of the word is affected. To provide the guidelines that would enable copyists to make the right textual choices, Oswald relies on several grammars and lexica common in the Middle Ages, such as Priscian, Papias's *Vocabulista*, the *Doctrinale* by Alexander of Ville-Dieu, and Balbi's *Catholicon*. He also quotes guides to accentuation.

According to Egan, the *Opus pacis* is the earliest known example of an

attempt to formulate principles of textual emendation (p. 1\*) and marks a turning point in the medieval attitude toward authority. The practical focus of the treatise brings the *Opus pacis* close to the genre of textual criticism, traditionally held to begin with Italian humanist scholarship later in the fifteenth century (10\* and 12\*). Here Egan to some degree exaggerates the novelty of Oswald's approach to his subject. The important medieval scholar Nicholas Maniacutia (d. 1150) formulated principles for the textual emendation of the Bible in his *Suffraganeus bibliothecae* and in the *Libellus de corruptione et correptione psalmodorum et aliarum quarundam scripturarum*. The *Suffraganeus*, the earlier of the two treatises, was admired by Cardinal Bessarion in the fifteenth century (for Nicholas, see V. Peri, *Aevum* 41 (1967): 67-90; and L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. (Oxford, 1991), 278). And a bit closer to Oswald's time we find numerous examples of an awareness of textual problems in Petrarch's *Familiares*, in the letters of Coluccio Salutati, and especially in Salutati's *De fato et fortuna* (written 1396 / 1397), as pointed out by Silvia Rizzo in her *Il lessico filologico degli umanisti* (Rome, 1973; rpt. 1984), *passim*.

The edition of the *Opus pacis* is generally well produced, but it would have been interesting if the editor had stated her own editorial principles more explicitly, e.g., in relation to the rendering of Oswald's orthography. The edition itself is accompanied by two appendices. One is a treatise on spelling and pronunciation entitled *Rubrica de cautelis notandis pro emendatore et correctore librorum*, probably of German origin. It has survived in two manuscripts of German provenance, one of them bound after the *Opus pacis*. The other is the fragmentary *Notabilia quaedam de correctione librorum*, a summation of the first part of the *Opus pacis* itself. The *Rubrica* reflects the disputes about textual uniformity within the Carthusian order that also inspired the *Opus pacis*, and both appendices are highly relevant in the context of this edition. It is, however, rather confusing for the reader that there are no indications in the actual edition about the provenance of these two treatises, nor are we told about their textual histories. This information has to be gleaned from various passages in the introductory study (27, 56, and 72). This leads me to a serious *desideratum*. The edition is furnished with an *Index locorum S. Scripturae* and an *Index auctorum* for Oswald's non-Biblical sources, but there is no index of any kind to the long and extraordinarily rich introductory study of 154 pages. I am convinced that readers would have appreciated both an index of names and of the many, primarily medieval, works quoted in it.

These minor flaws should not detract from the fact that Belinda Egan's introduction to the *Opus paxis* and her edition of the text itself will be of great use to students of the Carthusian order and of the history of textual scholarship. (Marianne Pade, University of Aarhus, Denmark)

◆ Tito Livio Frulovisi (Titus Livius de Foro-Julienis). *Travel Abroad: Frulovisi's Peregrinatio*. Trans. with intro. by Grady Smith. Medieval & Renaissance Texts and Studies, 251; Neo-Latin Texts and Translations, 2. Tempe, Ariz.: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2003. viii + 166 pp. \$30. Cultural historians have for a long time attended to the circle of Humfrey, duke of Gloucester as one of the main sources through which Italian humanism first came into England. Among the more interesting humanists Gloucester employed is Tito Livio Frulovisi, and we are indebted to Grady Smith and the MRTS series for now giving us his *Peregrinatio*, one of the more intriguing texts Frulovisi produced during the few years he spent in England.

Born ca. 1400 in Ferrara, Frulovisi studied Latin and Greek under Guarino da Verona before moving to Venice, where he set up a school. During his time there he wrote three Latin comedies that were produced by the boys on festival days. Always a prickly man, Frulovisi became embroiled in charges of plagiarism and excessive paganism in his plays, however, and in 1435 he resigned his position and undertook an Italian journey, during which he began his *De republica*, historically important as the first Italian humanist description of a Renaissance state. An unsuccessful bid for employment in the court at Ferrara preceded an offer from Gloucester in 1436 for him to come to England, where it was expected that Frulovisi would draft his correspondence in the best humanist style, satisfy his interest in translating Greek works into Latin, and, of course, compose encomia and other items meant to advance Gloucester's status. Frulovisi's most successful work in England was a biography of Humfrey's brother, Henry V, which Holinshed used as a source in his chronicles. No translations from Greek exist, Frulovisi's mastery of the language being, in Smith's judgment, too superficial. Perhaps, Smith suspects, to compensate, Frulovisi composed two further Latin comedies for Gloucester. But unlike his plays written in Italy, neither of these comedies was produced, and soon after writing them Frulovisi left Gloucester's employ, returning to Italy in 1440, where he established a successful medical

practice and ended his days ca. 1465 in Venice.

*Peregrinatio*, the second of Frulovisi's two English plays, is, like his earlier comedies, modeled on Plautus and Terence, using the characters, plots, and diction established in ancient Roman drama. In brief, the play recounts the adventures of Clerus and his slave Aristopistes as the young man leaves England to search in Rhodes and Crete for his long-lost father Rhystes. The usual complications arise, including an encounter with a prostitute in which the sexual double entendres of Latin are put on full display. All ends happily, of course, Aristopistes being freed and Clerus reunited with his father and married off to his stepdaughter. Within these predictable twists and turnings, however, Smith points out that Frulovisi has introduced some interesting variations. Foremost among them is an expansion of women's roles in the play well beyond the conventions of Roman comedy. Respectable women seldom appear prominently in Terence and Plautus, but Clerus's mother, Epiichis, is a complicated character in *Peregrinatio* who is given a major role in two of the scenes. More striking is the role of Elpis, an *ancilla* in Frulovisi's play who is given the role of the clever slave conventionally reserved for male characters in Plautine comedy. For all this, Smith notes that Frulovisi was no feminist, a statement about women's frailty towards the end of the play betraying typical fifteenth-century assumptions.

Anyone foolish enough to try translating Terence or Plautus literally knows how difficult rendering the language of Roman comedy can be. Smith in this regard seems to have steered a largely successful middle course. On the one hand, he has sought out a colloquial idiom appropriate to contemporary readers. Thus, Epiichis sweet-talks her husband with "pretty please," Elpis is urged to "bring off" a scheme, and Rhystes resigns himself to living with a certain amount of "foofaraw." On the other hand, Smith has on the whole resisted paraphrase and adaptation. In places he adds useful stage directions to clarify the action. His boldest addition, however, is a page-long interpolation of dialogue to fill a lacuna in the unique manuscript copy of the play. Here Smith's background in the theater serves him well. His interpolation reads (and, I suspect, plays) well, and it fits in seamlessly with the dialogue that precedes and follows it.

What makes Frulovisi's *Peregrinatio* especially intriguing to historians of the theatre is its problematic place in the history of English drama. In the prologue to his play Frulovisi calls attention to his conscious violation of unity of

place, observing that “the custom is the same in Britain” (*similis in Britannico mos est*). This remark would seem to indicate that Frulovisi knew, and perhaps had even seen, the Corpus Christi plays current in pre-Reformation England. Conversely, the deeply humanist interest in Roman drama evident in *Peregrinatio* appears at first glance to connect the play with Latin comedies produced at Oxford and Cambridge. But there is no trace of these classically-inspired university plays in England before the sixteenth century. And the fact that Frulovisi’s play was never produced and survives in a single manuscript that went unprinted until the twentieth century suggests how little it fit in with the religious interludes and medieval ceremonial representations (e.g., the Feast of Fools, the Lord of Misrule) that dominated in the English universities during the latter half of the fifteenth century.

But Smith’s edition of *Peregrinatio* should also be of interest to other groups of readers. Despite his limited assumptions about gender, Frulovisi’s play should figure in the future into feminist discussions of representations of women in early modern European drama. And, of course, the play, like most of Frulovisi’s work, recommends itself to cultural historians working on the development and dissemination of Italian humanism during the fifteenth century. In terms of theatre history it seems safe to say that Shakespeare is in little danger of being dethroned by Frulovisi (though as Smith notes, an exchange between Anapausis and her attendant calls to mind a similar scene between Juliet and her nurse). All in all, however, it is useful to have his *Peregrinatio* available in the text and translation with introductory material in English that MRTS has made available in this attractive, reasonably priced edition. (Lee Piepho, Sweet Briar College)

◆ “*Melancholia christiana*”: *Studi sulle fonti di Leon Battista Alberti*. By Rinaldo Rinaldi. Biblioteca di “Lettere Italiane,” Studi e testi, 58. Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2002. 244 pp. The eight essays in this volume present interesting interpretive studies of Alberti’s works, ranging from his early Italian dialogue *Deifira* to the late *De ieiarchia*, with particular emphasis on the Latin works *Vita S. Potiti*, *Apologi*, and *Momus*. Rather than offering detailed summaries of each chapter, which by themselves would exhaust the space awarded to the reviewer (and can be found in David Marsh’s review in *Renaissance Quarterly* 57 (2004): 171-73), I will only discuss the “melancholic methodology” adopted by the author.

Most of the links between sources and texts provided by Rinaldi strike an attentive reader as more fascinating than convincing. The author has a distinctly “modern” approach to books and libraries of the early Renaissance. One does not want to underestimate the power of memory, especially in authors like Alberti, whose encyclopedic wits are legendary. However, when the “vertiginosa complessità delle citazioni” and the “vortice di corrispondenze” (6) carries the critic’s good historical sense away, it is necessary to question his approach altogether. Literary history is not just a pseudo-diachronic game of anticipations of a mystic, unchanging synchronicity. The individuality of an author and the circumstances under which he produced his works always have to be taken into careful consideration. The availability of texts in fifteenth-century Italy, even for avid humanists like Alberti, was extraordinarily limited by our ‘academic’ standards. Accessing a manuscript was not as easy as clicking a mouse on a screen or going to the circulation desk across campus. The acceleration of the access to information, even erudition, tends to give us the illusion of ubiquity. The wandering life of Leon Battista, although he could visit the largest libraries of his time, such as Nicholas V’s and Federico da Montefeltro’s, hardly allowed him to spend all of his busy days consulting books in them. Even if we accept this remote possibility, Rinaldi does not ask himself the question. Moreover, his source-mania is not nearly as poignant as it should be. A ‘source,’ by definition, is not just a topos or a hint. Either quotations are ‘philologically’ correct and precise verbatim, or not. If any generic echo and ‘philosophical’ similarity is good enough to infer an influence or a hidden pun, then everything goes. Intertextuality is not a melancholic, combinatory puzzle. It needs to establish with rigor the possibility of the actual access to, and positive use of, a text, classical or humanistic. The ‘tone’ of a work is too subjective a criterion to become scientific proof of stylistic overlapping. One can easily fall for the temptation of finding a ‘universal key,’ an exoteric code which explains all of the contradictions and complexities of an author, particularly one as prolific as Alberti. But we must resist this trend, to avoid becoming the unwitting celebrators of Platonic or Christian platitudes, which indeed can be found anywhere in Western culture. The fact that Alberti plays with them, and systematically reverses them, does not seem to bother Rinaldi. It is also striking that a book that is so keen on seeing the ‘negative’ in Alberti is so optimistic about recognizing intellectual genealogies and analogies.

In conclusion, Rinaldi is an extremely knowledgeable, sympathetic, and clever reader of Alberti, and every line he writes is deeply thought through and personally felt. So much so, that sometimes he gives the impression of having slipped inside Leon Battista's head in the shape of a *libripeta*, a book-worm devouring his brain. (Marcello Simonetta, Wesleyan University)

◆ *Biblioteca y epistolario de Hernán Núñez de Guzmán (El Pinciano): Una aproximación al humanismo español del siglo XVI.* By Juan Signes Codoñer, Carmen Codoñer Merino, and Arantxa Domingo Malvadi. Nueva Roma, 14. Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas, 2001. xix + 558 pp. \$72.20. Hernán Núñez de Guzmán (1473-1553), known as "El Pinciano" from the ancient name of his birthplace, Valladolid, became the first Spanish Hellenist to hold the chair of Greek at the University of Alcalá de Henares, and a translator of the Greek text of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible. Political embarrassment drove him to Salamanca, where he taught Greek and rhetoric from 1522 to 1548. He had command of Hebrew, Arabic, and 'Chaldean' (Syriac or Aramaic). His students included Juan de Vergara, Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas, and other humanist luminaries. He commented on Pliny, Pomponius Mela, and Seneca and is credited with continuing Nebrija's interest in scientific lexicography, particularly the vocabulary of plants, animals, and minerals with curative properties. Otis Green calls him simply "the most eminent humanist of his time."

*Biblioteca y epistolario*, obviously the product of meticulous dedication, consists of three parts, covering, respectively, Pinciano's library, donated to Salamanca at the end of his career; the marginal notes in his books; and finally, a seventy-two-item corpus of his letters, sixteen of them edited here for the first time. The book ends with multiple indices, an inventory of Pinciano's library, and twenty-four fine-quality, full-page plates, illustrating Pinciano's hand and the bindings of relevant volumes. This material, here systematically exploited for the first time, reveals El Pinciano "in constant dialogue with his books" as "a painstaking person, an indefatigable and voracious reader, a severe critic, an unrepentant polemicist" (xvii). In the Preface and Part I, Juan Signes Codoñer tells how this volume originated in a more modest project: to determine the relationship of a group of Greek manuscripts at Salamanca catalogued as having Pinciano's annotations. Signes Codoñer came to realize, after concluding that these manuscripts had been Pinciano's own, that additional Salamanca

manuscripts, incunabula, and other early imprints could be traced to Pinciano's bequest of books to the University. Pinciano's glosses in these volumes number in the tens of thousands. Signes Codoñer adds arguments against the existence of a Greek collection at Salamanca prior to Pinciano's arrival.

The academic authorities are known to have directed that the books given by Pinciano be marked as University property. And indeed, the legend "Es de la Universidad de Salamanca" appears "not only on all those Greek manuscripts annotated by Pinciano, as well as on all the Latin manuscripts and the imprints containing his notes [with rare exceptions], while on the contrary [the legend] is entirely absent from those manuscripts and imprints which lack Pinciano's annotations or which cannot be linked to him" (29).

Juan Signes Codoñer surveys Pinciano's books found at other locations, documents Pinciano's legacy to Salamanca's library (and argues for a fixed death date of 1553), discusses the bindings and gatherings of the Salamanca volumes, and provides evidence that the books Pinciano donated had actually been originally procured by the University for his use (105-15). Pinciano's flyleaf markings on any and every topic are as good as diary entries.

Carmen Codoñer Merino covers Part II, the marginalia: the annotations are treated as a "virtual library." By studying them Codoñer Merino aims at a reconstruction of Pinciano's actual library. Technical discussions follow: e.g., distinguishing Pinciano's various hands, cases of uncertainty about whether a given citation of an author is direct or indirect, and instances where one may infer ownership of a volume from the way Pinciano alludes to it. Codoñer Merino lists authors cited (160-63) and discusses Pinciano's remarks on them. The only noteworthy surprises, to me, are the absence of Sallust (although he shows up in the list of Pinciano's holdings), popular elsewhere in rhetorical contexts, and the inclusion among grammarians and rhetoricians of the Lutheran Philipp Melanchthon (193).

In Part III, Arantxa Domingo Malvadi prefaces the edition of the correspondence with a biographical conspectus. She seconds Helen Nader's view that Pinciano's political involvements belie his image as a scholarly hermit. There are seventy-two letters, fifty-two of them to his student Jerónimo Zurita. Sixty-four, including all the Zurita letters, are in Spanish, the other eight in Latin. Only one of the Latin letters is by Pinciano himself. Letter Nr. 2, to Juan Vergara, in fluid and direct Latin, invites interest for the comments on Pinciano's removal to Salamanca and for the earnestness of his plea for a

codex of Archimedes' geometry. Letters from Vergara, Lucio Marineo Siculo, and five by Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, all previously edited, round out the Latin items. Scholarly discussions, allusions to personal relations, grumbling over widespread contemporary ignorance, frequent thanks for receipt of books, and pervasive evidence for Pinciano's immersion in ancient philosophical, agricultural, and scientific sources mark the collection as a whole.

*Biblioteca y epistolario* will be of value to Neo-Latinists and to Renaissance scholars generally, both for the rich new conspectus of Pinciano's career and scholarly habits, and for its discussions of the technical side of ferreting out and organizing the documentary material on which the book is based. (Edward V. George, Texas Tech University)

◆ Olympia Morata. *The Complete Writings of an Italian Heretic*. Ed. and trans. by Holt N. Parker. *The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003. 275 + xiii pp. Holt Parker's first English translation of the complete works of the mid-sixteenth-century Italian intellectual Olympia Morata (1526/27-1555) fills a major gap in the history of women's writing. One of the most important women writers of her time, Morata has projected a wraith-like presence in women's history. Morata, the woman, has been constantly cited, but her works—the majority of them untranslated letters and poems in classical Greek and Latin—have not. In the mid-nineteenth century, interest in Morata briefly surged in England and France: E.A.B. Southey's biography *Olympia Morata* (London, 1834) presented her *Dialogue of Theophila and Philotima* and sixteen of her fifty-two letters in English translation; Robert Turnbull's *Olympia Morata* (Boston, 1846) reprinted Southey's translation of the *Dialogue*, and Jules Bonnet's *Vie d'Olympia Morata* included French translations of selected letters (Paris, 1856).

The last of the prominent Latin-writing women humanists in Italy, Morata differs in every possible way from her fifteenth-century humanist predecessors, whose writings Margaret King and Albert Rabil first published in English translation in their groundbreaking anthology *Her Immaculate Hand* (Binghamton, NY, 1983). She diverges also from her sixteenth-century Italian contemporaries, Vittoria Colonna, Laura Terracina, Gaspara Stampa, Tullia d'Aragona (an earlier habitué of the Este court), and the numerous other women poets who, in the middle of the sixteenth century, placed collections of their poetry, letters, and dialogues with Venetian presses, in Italian. As with

the previous volumes in Chicago's "Other Voice" series, Parker's translation of Morata demonstrates that the more we come to know early modern women thinkers through their own writings, the more we realize not only how varied they are, but that facile theorizing about their lives and writings will not work.

All theory begins, of course, with translation, and Parker's translation of Morata's previously unknown works from classical Greek and Latin represents a breakthrough in itself. But his edition offers much more than an elegant and accurate translation. His deeply researched introduction and his scholarly annotation of the classical and biblical references in Morata's letters make the volume essential reading for anyone studying women intellectuals in early modern Europe.

Parker compares Morata to the quattrocento Latin-writing women who were her predecessors—Isotta Nogarola, Cassandra Fedele, and Laura Cereta. But unlike those women humanists, Morata never worked in isolation. By the time Morata arrived at the Ferrarese court in 1539, Renée de France, the reigning duchess, had established a salon that was a known center for reform thinkers—a court within the Este court. In 1536 Calvin had visited the court, and the following year, the reform leaders Vittoria Colonna and Bernardino Ochino spent several months in Ferrara. Like so many literary women in the sixteenth century, Morata was very much part of a vibrant group, in this case the one that studied and discussed doctrine in the ambience of Renée's circle. Among these young scholars, mostly in their early to late twenties, were the duchess's daughter Anna d'Este, Renée's lady-in-waiting Françoise Boussiron, and Lavina della Rovere, all of whom became Olympia's intimates. Three Lutheran students from Heidelberg, who had come to study medicine at the University of Ferrara, joined the group in 1541: Andreas Grunthler and the two Senf brothers, Johannes and Chilean, the former Senf serving as Renée's personal physician and the latter as Anna's tutor in Greek (90-98).

These were the personalities in Ferrara who shaped Olympia Morata's highly unusual career. Far from being principally the product of her humanist father, Fulvio Morato, Olympia's religious and literary formation emanated from her young peers in Renée's salon as well as from longtime friends of her family such as Celio Calcagnini and Celio Curione. Duchess Renée herself acted as Morata's most powerful patron and mentor, even as she struggled to sustain her circle of reform thinkers in the face of her husband Duke Ercole's

opposition. Beginning in 1541, under pressure from the Duke, Renée's salon slowly began to unravel. When the Protestant Johannes Senf fell in love with Françoise Boussiron, both were dismissed from court (111). Morata's confidant and lifelong correspondent, Lavinia della Rovere, left the court in 1541 to marry a client of Pope Paul III in Rome (105-6, 112-13, 117-18). Anne de Pathenay, daughter of Renée's exiled Protestant guardian Françoise Soubise, was dismissed from court in 1544. And when Morata's father died in 1548 and the duchess's daughter Anna left court to marry the Duke of Guise, Olympia, too, was let go. By 1549, though, Morata had fallen in love with Grunthler and would leave Ferrara to join him in Germany at the end of that year. For Morata, the final blow came in 1550, with the public execution in Ferrara of the alleged heretic Fanio Fanini (115).

Once in Germany, Morata reestablished her correspondence with the Italian Protestant converts she had known through her father in Ferrara: Celio Curione (113-16, 139, 159, 162, 173, 176-77), a professor at Basel and the editor of her collected works, published posthumously in 1558; the former friar Bernardino Ochino in Geneva, to whom Morata repeatedly sent greetings through Curione (173, 175); and the exiled Bishop of Capodistria Pietro Paolo Vergerio, then at Tübingen (167-68).

Among her writings are fifty-two letters to friends, all in Latin with the exception of three letters in Italian and one in classical Greek. There are nine poems, five in Greek and the rest in Latin; and two dialogues, both between women. The most vivid letters in the collection are those in which Morata describes the siege and burning of Schweinfurt (137-48). When she and Grunthler attempt to get out of the city after the men of Nuremburg set fire to it, she describes her clothes being ripped off her back in the middle of the city square and her arrival in a neighboring village dressed in rags. "Among the refugees," she wrote, "I looked like the queen of the beggars. I entered [Hammelburg] with bare feet, unkempt hair, torn clothes which weren't even mine but had been loaned me by some woman. I was so exhausted that I developed a fever, which I could not get rid of in all my wanderings" (140)—a haunting note, since in a little over a year she would be dead.

Morata's writings before 1552 had been showpieces of classical learning studded with references to Homer, Aristotle, Xenophon, Diogenes Laertius, Isocrates, Plato, Plutarch, and Lucian; and among the Latins, Terence, Lucretius, Cicero, Vergil, Horace, Ovid, Propertius, Pliny the Elder, Gellius, and Seneca.

But after 1552, her letters almost solely reflect her readings in scripture. Filled with piety and prayers, they little resemble the letters of her female humanist forerunners Nogarola, Fedele, and Cereta. Differing also from the irenical texts of Valdés and his reform circle in Naples, Morata's letters after she settled in Germany turned fiercely condemnatory. She repeated the charges in a number of letters that the mass represented idolatry and the pope the Antichrist (115, 127, 146, 149). Only the reading of scripture, she wrote, would lead to proper faith in God, and hence salvation (129, 133, 137, 145, 150).

Parker's new English edition of Olympia Morata is a must for scholars of women in the Renaissance and the Italian Reformation, representing a forgotten but key chapter in these fields. (Diana Robin, Newberry Library)

◆ *La Plume et la tribune. Michel de L'Hospital et ses discours (1559-1562). Suivi de l'édition du De initiatione sermo (1559) et des Discours de Michel de L'Hospital (1560-1562).* By Loris Petris. Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2002. xxvii + 610 pp. Michel de l'Hospital played an important, yet controversial, role in French history. Designated chancellor of France in April, 1560, he exercised considerable influence over governmental policy for close to nine years and has been recognized—perhaps unjustly, as Loris Petris's lengthy study suggests—as a major promoter of religious tolerance prior to the Edict of Nantes. Placed at the helm of a nation embroiled in religious controversy and on the verge of civil war, his primary objectives were to avoid internal strife and reinforce through judicial and financial reforms a weakened monarchy. Observers and critics have portrayed him diversely as an atheist, a crypto-Protestant, a founder of the *Politique* movement, a liberal thinker, and a proponent of religious pluralism—characterizations Petris rejects as unfounded.

Petris focuses our attention on the years immediately prior to the first religious war, between L'Hospital's election to the chancellery in April, 1560 and the massacre of Protestants at Wassy in March, 1562. Having spread to as much as ten per cent of the population by then, Protestantism became a divisive political issue that placed not only Catholics and Protestants, but also Catholic militants and Catholic moderates, in opposition to one another. Whereas militant Catholics favored a more radical solution, moderates such as L'Hospital preferred dialogue to force. In his first major speech before the Parliament of Paris on 5 July 1560, L'Hospital endorsed the edict of

Romorantin, which in essence suspended capital punishment for crimes of heresy by placing such matters within the exclusive purview of ecclesiastical courts. At the Estates General held in Orleans later that year, he called for the release of religious prisoners, the suspension of heresy cases, and the application of the edict of Romorantin. However, opposition at various levels, including the local parliaments, rendered much of the government's legislation ineffectual. The following year, the edict of Fontainebleau (19 April 1561) was sent directly to regional governors and law enforcement officers in an effort to circumvent the conservative elements in Parliament, but again without much success.

According to Petris, L'Hospital's speech of 3 January 1562 marked a clear transition from the government's insistence on religious unity to the adoption of provisional civil tolerance, but it did not signify that L'Hospital or his entourage had abandoned the ultimate goal of religious unity. L'Hospital, he argues, did not embrace religious tolerance as a goal in itself, but as a temporary solution to a pressing political problem. More a tactical maneuver than an historic change of cap, Petris feels the chancellor's expression of tolerance does not make him a founder of the *Politique* movement (*Père des Politiques*), as some have claimed, and less still a champion of religious pluralism. The *Politique* movement, writes Petris, did not come into existence until 1575, well after L'Hospital had left office. Its members were "modérés à qui l'on reproche de préférer la paix à l'éradication de l'hérésie" (moderates accused of preferring peace over the eradication of heresy). To speak of *Politiques* in 1560-1562 would, in Petris's view, be a misuse of the term. The term 'political moderate' may perhaps be more appropriate, but one question remains unanswered: What fundamental differences—if any—lie between the Catholic Moderates of 1560-1562, also known as 'moyenneurs' or 'mediatores,' and the *Politiques* of 1575-1585?

Alongside Paul de Foix and Arnaud Du Ferrier, L'Hospital expressed support for the royal edict of 17 January 1562 which offered Protestants the right to openly assemble and practice their religious beliefs, as long as this was done outside city walls. Modern historians have considered this edict one of the earliest official recognitions of French Protestantism, yet Petris cautions his readers against excessive enthusiasm, noting that intolerance was so deeply engrained in the thought of sixteenth-century society that the liberalism contained in that edict was more a recipe for tragedy than a sign of nascent

modernity.

In addition to the historical and political analysis discussed above, Petris offers readers valuable insight into the rhetoric of political discourse in the sixteenth century. He discusses in great detail the classical structure of L'Hospital's political speeches, the logic of his arguments, his use of citation, and his recourse to pathos. Recurrent themes in the chancellor's thought—obedience to the crown, maintenance of law, and unity of religion—suggest that as a conservative politician, he adhered to the proverbial stance of 'one religion, one law, one king.' In the final pages of his book, Petris assembles, for the first time, detailed minutes of the chancellor's political speeches and a representative sample of his personal correspondence, poetry, and various memoirs, along with modern French translations of texts written in Latin.

Debate over L'Hospital's role in the French Religious Wars will undoubtedly continue, and scholars interested in the crucial years 1560-1562 will inevitably turn to Petris's authoritative study for guidance. (Jan Pendergrass, University of Georgia)

◆ *Erasmus in the Twentieth Century: Interpretations c 1920-2000*. By Bruce Mansfield. Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2003. xiv + 324 pp. \$70. Bruce Mansfield's *Erasmus in the Twentieth Century* completes a three-volume series which discusses interpretations of Erasmus from the year of his death to the end of the twentieth century: *Phoenix of his Age* (1979, reviewed by Lawrence Ryan in *Neo-Latin News* 28.4 (1980): 94-95) covered the period from the first memorials to Burigny's biography of 1757, and *Man on his Own* (1992) ran from the *Encyclopédie* and Voltaire to the biographies by Preserved Smith and Huizinga. The subject is vast, and although Mansfield's treatment is, naturally, decreasingly comprehensive as the centuries go by, the three books read together comprise a mighty triptych, comprising more than nine hundred pages of text, with a couple of hundred pages more of endnotes and bibliographies.

*Erasmus in the Twentieth Century* is, more than its predecessors, an account of the work of professional scholars, communicating with each other not only through their published writings but in the conferences which marked the centennial and sesquicentennial commemorations of 1936, 1967-70, and 1986. Accounts of the topics which were discussed on these occasions help to give the book its chronological structure. A "prologue" on the 1936

celebrations is followed by a chapter on studies of Erasmus's political thought (and not least the strain in it which can be compared to recent liberation theology) and one on studies of his audiences, with special attention to Marcel Bataillon's *Erasmus et l'Espagne* and Silvana Seidel Menchi's *Erasmus in Italia*. Then an "interlude" on the celebrations of the quinqucentenary—or indeed all the possible quinqucentenaries, from 1967 to 1970—of Erasmus's birth is followed by a chapter on the reception of his theological thought in the age of the Second Vatican Council, and one on his writings as studied with reference to language and rhetoric. An "epilogue" on the 1986 celebrations and an overview of Erasmus studies at the end of the century bring the volume to a close. The whole book is magisterial. Mansfield has read enormously in English, French, German, Spanish, Italian, and Dutch sources, and presents his reading not as a catalogue (he acknowledges his debt to the great annotated bibliographies of Jean-Claude Margolin, and announces that he will not compete with them), but as a coherent, thematically ordered account. Indeed, its thematic ordering and its selectivity make the book more approachable than either of its predecessors: there are really no *longeurs* here as there were in the exhaustive treatment of the confessional approaches of certain minor thinkers in *Man on his Onn*. Mansfield is consistently fair to the authors whose work he discusses, so that his words of adverse criticism carry all the more weight when they are ventured. His own opinions, for instance on Erasmus's personal complexity and attractiveness and on the value of ecumenically oriented approaches to him, are tactfully expressed.

The degree to which Mansfield's three volumes really comprise a unified whole is a question raised in the first sentences of the present volume, which states that it is and is not a sequel to the first two. The writings it documents are on the whole less strongly marked by confessional prejudice than those of previous centuries, and they are less idiosyncratic; this makes for differences of approach. *Phoenix of his Age* and, to a lesser extent, *Man on his Onn* could combine accounts of interpretations of Erasmus with remarks on the life and thought of each interpreter: we learn in the former, for instance, about Jean Le Clerc's Calvinist background, his developing Arminianism, his early theological works, his journalism, and his friendship with John Locke. Both earlier books are appropriately illustrated with portraits, some of them (notably a dramatic image of Mark Pattison and an attractive sketch of Huizinga as Erasmus) vivid counterparts to Mansfield's text. There are no portraits in

*Erasmus in the Twentieth Century*, and much less interest in the biographies of the scholars whose work it discusses. Perhaps this was inevitable, though a reader might be legitimately interested in questions such as the confessional background (and, in a number of cases, ordained ministry) of recent Erasmus scholars, or the disciplinary perspectives from which they have approached their subject. Like its predecessors, the present volume devotes less space than it might to editorial projects, and practically none to translations of the works of Erasmus, and this is a pity. Editions and translations are, after all, interpretations. The stories of the Toronto *Collected Works* and the Amsterdam *Opera omnia* would no doubt have been as interesting as the projects are important, and, to take one other example, it seems a pity to identify Clarence Miller as having given a single lecture on Erasmus without so much as mentioning his translation of the *Praise of Folly*, though this is consistent with the decision taken in *Man on his Own* to discuss J. B. Kan's writings on Erasmus without mentioning his edition of the same work. Like its predecessors again, *Erasmus in the Twentieth Century* does not deal with fictional interpretations of Erasmus: his appearance in, for instance, Geoffrey Trease's novel *Shadow of the Hawk* (1946) goes unrecorded, just as his appearances in Thomas Nashe's *Unfortunate Traveller* (1594) and the collaborative play *The Booke of Sir Thomas More* (ca. 1593) are not mentioned in *Phoenix of his Age*, and Charles Reade's very popular romance *The Cloister and the Hearth* (1861), whose protagonist is Erasmus's father, is only noticed in two of the endnotes of *Man on his Own*.

These are, however, understandable and even necessary choices. The project which Bruce Mansfield has brought to a close was conceived on a grand scale; if it had been extended, it might well have become unfinishable, and as it is, it has been definitively and admirably executed. The volume under review, like its predecessors, will be read from end to end by anyone seriously interested in the study of Erasmus, and it will be an important reference work for many others. (John Considine, University of Alberta, Canada).

◆ Marsilio Ficino. *Platonic Theology*, vol. 4: Books 12-14. Trans. by Michael J. B. Allen, text ed. by James Hankins, with William Bowen. The I Tatti Renaissance Library, 13. viii + 371 pp. Angelo Poliziano. *Silvae*. Ed. and trans. by Charles Fantazzi. The I Tatti Renaissance Library, 14. xx + 215 pp. Maffeo Vegio. *Short Epics*. Ed. and trans. by Michael J. C. Putnam, with James Hankins. The I Tatti Renaissance Library, 15. lviii + 184 pp. Leonardo Bruni.

*History of the Florentine People*, vol. 2: Books 5-8. Ed. and trans. by James Hankins. The I Tatti Renaissance Library, 16. xiv + 584 pp. Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 2004. \$29.95. It is a pleasure to record the four latest appearances in The I Tatti Renaissance Library, which has quickly established itself as a major new publication outlet for Neo-Latin literature that, unlike most new series, is putting out volumes more quickly than was originally projected. It is appropriate now, I believe, to single out the work of the General Editor, James Hankins, whose inexhaustible appetite for plain old hard work is the driving force behind the success of the series. The press is certainly to be commended for committing resources to an area whose commercial success was not a given, but I know from my own experience that Hankins not only manages the timely appearance of the volumes, but oversees details to a degree that far exceeds normal editing. Bravo!

The Ficino and Bruni books are the fourth of six and the second of three projected volumes, respectively, that will bring into print a reliable Latin text and readable English translation of two fundamental works in Italian Renaissance humanism. The first volume of each series was reviewed in an earlier issue of *NLN* (60,1-2 (2002): 182-84), where information about the works can be found. I have reviewed the Vegio volume at greater length than is possible here in *Vergilius* 50 (2004): 216-22, to which I refer the reader interested in this text. For the remainder of this review, I shall concentrate on Poliziano's *Silvae*, which is an important work that merits at least a quick reading by every serious Neo-Latinist. Angelo Poliziano (1454-1494) is one of the key figures in quattrocento humanism, a courtier of Lorenzo de' Medici and a professor at the Florentine *Studio*. It was in the latter capacity that he composed the *Silvae*, which serve as introductions, in verse, to his lectures at the university. The poems are available in a series of early printed editions, beginning with the *editiones principes* from Florence and extending through the reprints by the Bolognese printer Francesco Platone de' Benedetti to the Aldine *opera omnia*, and in a critical edition published nine years ago by Francesco Bausi, but the modern edition is difficult to find outside of Italy and the early printed editions are even harder to obtain, so Fantazzi has done a real service in (essentially) reprinting Bausi's text and adding the translation and explanatory notes that will make the *Silvae* accessible to the wider audience they deserve.

When Poliziano took up his chair in poetry and rhetoric in the fall of 1480, he based his inaugural lecture on Quintilian's *Institutiones oratoriae* and

Stadius's *Silvae*. It is perhaps difficult for us today to appreciate the risk he took with this choice of authors at a time when humanism had just succeeded in establishing Cicero and Virgil as stylistic models in the effort to reform education on the model of antiquity, more accurately understood. Poliziano acknowledges that he is heading down new, untrodden paths, but he argues that it is easier for students to imitate more accessible authors than to try immediately to scale the heights. Besides, he argues, Stadius offers plenty of inventive richness and stylistic accomplishment, and Quintilian's description of the education of the orator is actually fuller than Cicero's. Behind these arguments is a challenge to what was already becoming the orthodoxy of the new humanism: writers other than Cicero and Virgil should be evaluated on their own merits and appreciated for what they do well, with authors from every period of antiquity, even from modern times, providing material with which each student can develop an individual style that suits his own temperament and goals. This principle will guide Poliziano as he composes his own poems in imitation of Stadius, which served in turn as *praelectiones*, or introductions to a series of lectures, in later academic years.

As Poliziano explains, *silva* means *indigesta materia*, a sort of confused mass of raw material rather than a polished finished product, but this is disingenuous, for Poliziano's poems, like Stadius's, are both learned and exquisitely refined. The first, *Manto*, is a sustained encomium of Virgil and a careful analysis of his works, including the *Appendix Virgiliana*, as a way to encourage his students as they return to poems they undoubtedly knew well from their school days. The *Rusticus* is an introduction to Hesiod's *Works and Days* and Virgil's *Georgics*, which blends vignettes of country life from ancient sources with observations about the Florentine countryside of his own day, all with appropriate references to Cato, Varro, Columella, Lucretius, Claudian, Aratus, and Pliny. *Ambra* in turn praises Homer, the font of all eloquence, underscoring the fact that unlike his teacher and predecessor, Cristoforo Landino, Poliziano was an accomplished Hellenist, able both to appreciate the stylistic challenges of Homer and to compose his own verses in Greek. The last and longest of the *Silvae*, the *Nutritia*, celebrates poetry in general, beginning with the role of poetry in civilizing society and the nature of the *furor poeticus*, then moving to a catalogue of poets that begins in ancient Greece and ends with Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Cavalcanti, and Lorenzo himself. The *Nutritia* is therefore a fitting conclusion to a volume that should bring renewed attention to one of the

most rewarding sets of poems in all of Neo-Latin literature. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ W. Keith Percival. *Studies in Renaissance Grammar*. Variorum Collected Studies Series. Aldershot, Hampshire and Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing, 2004. xii + 342 pp. \$105.95. As with the other volumes in this series, this book consists solely of previously published essays, photographically reproduced from their original venues with original pagination retained. Here, however, there is unusually good reason to republish, given that the author is the acknowledged authority in his field and that the essays group themselves around several major figures, producing a volume that is more unified than most such collections.

The first four essays, grouped under the rubric “General Topics,” offer four overviews of the field, two reflecting the state of scholarship in the seventies and two in the eighties: “The Grammatical Tradition and the Rise of the Vernaculars,” “Grammar and Rhetoric in the Renaissance,” “Renaissance Grammar,” and “Renaissance Grammar, Rebellion or Evolution?” The next three essays focus on Guarino of Verona (1374-1460), whose work marked one of the earliest efforts to move away from medieval speculative grammar toward a usage based on the classics: “The Historical Sources of Guarino’s *Regulae Grammaticales*: A Reconsideration of Sabbadini’s Evidence,” “Textual Problems in the Latin Grammar of Guarino Veronese,” and “A Working Edition of the *Carmina Differentialia* by Guarino Veronese.” The next three articles from the eighties are on Niccolò Perotti (1429 or 1430-1480), the guiding light for the annual Congresso Internazionale degli Studi Umanistici in Sassoferrato, on whose *comitato scientifico* Percival has served for many years: “The Place of the *Rudimenta Grammatices* in the History of Latin Grammar,” “Early Editions of Niccolò Perotti’s *Rudimenta Grammatices*,” and “The Influence of Perotti’s ‘Rudimenta’ in the Cinquecento.” Four essays from the nineties are on Antonio de Nebrija (1444-1522), whose work dominated the teaching of grammar in the humanistic schools of his native Spain but was also given international diffusion through the Jesuit order: “Nebrija and the Medieval Grammatical Tradition,” “Italian Affiliations of Nebrija’s Latin Grammar,” “Nebrija’s Syntactic Theory in Its Historical Setting,” and “Nebrija’s Linguistic Oeuvre as a Model for Missionary Linguistics.” Finally, three essays extend the inquiry to other figures: “The *Artis Grammaticae Opusculum*

of Bartolomeo Sulmonese: A Newly Discovered Latin Grammar of the Quattrocento,” “The *Orthographia* of Gasparino Barzizza,” and “Lorenzo Valla and the Criterion of Exemplary Usage.” The book concludes with an index of manuscripts and a thorough general index.

Collections like these serve several useful purposes. For one, when they print together four magisterial overviews of the same subject by the same person, they remind us of how a field can come to be dominated for a generation or more by the work of one scholar. Also, by paying attention to the dates of original publication, the reader can follow the trajectory of intellectual interests in an important person’s career. And when the subject is grammar, a field which is not only interesting in itself but serves as the basis for all further work in Neo-Latin studies, the decision to republish is even easier to justify. I am happy to have these essays collected together in one place on my bookshelf, and I am confident that many other readers of this journal will feel the same way. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ John Monfasani. *Greeks and Latins in Renaissance Italy: Studies on Humanism and Philosophy in the Fifteenth Century*. Variorum Collected Studies Series. Aldershot, Hampshire and Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing, 2004. xii + 334 pp. \$111.95. John Monfasani, the distinguished scholar who is currently the executive director of the Renaissance Society of America, is the only person I know to have had not one, not two, but three groups of his essays collected and reprinted in Ashgate’s Variorum Collected Studies Series. The volume under review here joins *Language and Learning in Renaissance Italy: Selected Articles* (1994) and *Byzantine Scholars in Renaissance Italy: Cardinal Bessarion and Other Emigrés* (1995), this time gathering together essays originally published between 1993 and 2002.

The essays collected here represent some new topics for Monfasani (e.g., Marsilio Ficino, Nicholas of Cusa, Giovanni Gatti, and Italian scholasticism) and some new observations on topics of longstanding interest to him (e.g., Lorenzo Valla, Theodore Gaza, the Plato-Aristotle controversy, and Greek émigrés to Renaissance Italy). Their titles give a good indication of the range of Monfasani’s interests: “Greek Renaissance Migrations,” “The Averroism of John Argyropoulos and His *Quaestio utrum intellectus humanus sit perpetuus*,” “L’insegnamento de Teodoro Gaza a Ferrara,” “Theodore Gaza as a Philosopher: A Preliminary Survey,” “Greek and Latin Learning in Theodore

Gaza's *Antirrheticon*," "The Pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata* and Aristotle's *De Animalibus* in the Renaissance," "Giovanni Gatti of Messina: A Profile and an Unedited Text," "Nicholas of Cusa, the Byzantines, and the Greek Language," "Marsilio Ficino and the Plato-Aristotle Controversy," "Aristotelians, Platonists, and the Missing Ockhamists: Philosophical Liberty in Pre-Reformation Italy," "The Theology of Lorenzo Valla," and "*Disputationes Vallianae*." As Monfasani notes in the short preface to the volume, all but two of these essays result from an invitation from a conference organizer or volume editor. On the one hand, this is eloquent testimony to the esteem in which the author is held in the international scholarly community. But it also means that the essays were originally published in collections from Florence, Ferrara, Naples, and Padua in Italy, and from Leiden, Berlin, Copenhagen, and Lille in the rest of Europe. Even a bad university library will have the article originally published in *Renaissance Quarterly*, and a good one should have the ones published in *Italian History and Culture* and *I Tatti Studies*, but when we move to volumes of conference proceedings from Lille and Copenhagen, we quickly get to the point where even a scholar at one of the best universities in North America will be driven repeatedly to Interlibrary Loan. It is therefore well worth the effort (and the rather hefty price) to have these essays collected together in an accessible format, since their author represents, in the spirit of his mentor, the late Paul Oskar Kristeller, a kind of scholarship that is rapidly disappearing (at least in the U.S.), one that is equally at home among intellectual historians and philosophers and that rests on a facility in both Greek and Latin that surpasses that of many professional classicists. Since this is a book review rather than a eulogy—indeed, we have every reason to believe that the author will give us a fourth volume in the series a few years from now—I shall leave this last line of reasoning behind and simply recommend that you order this book, at least for your university if not for your personal library. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Silva: Estudios de humanismo y tradición clásica*. Vol. 2 (2003). 426 pp. This is the second volume of a new annual devoted to humanistic studies and the classical tradition, published by the University of León. This issue contains eleven articles, along with seventy-five pages of book reviews, and unlike many publications from southern Europe, it concludes with a thorough, twenty-page index.

The volume opens with “Los libros y las lecturas del humanista,” in which Vicente Bécara Botas draws on a quantitative analysis of library and bookstore inventories to show that for humanists in Spain, Greek authors like Aristotle, Josephus, Plutarch, Ptolemy, and Aesop (in that order) and modern authors like Erasmus, Valla, Nebrija, Budé, Vives, Politian, and Petrarch were the most popular reading choices. In “*De varia republica*. política y Biblia en Arias Montano,” Natalio Fernández Marcos provides an imaginative analysis of Arias Montano’s commentary to the book of Judges (1592), which is used to support his role as adviser to Philip the Second in the Netherlands. José Manuel Floristán Imízcoz presents new data in “Intérpretes de lenguas orientales en la Corte de los Austrias: tres notas prosopográficas” on the life and activity of three men, Diego de Urrea, Francisco de Gurmendi, and David Colville, who served kings Philip II, III, and IV as interpreters of eastern languages. In “Literatura y filosofía. De la inspiración entusiástica de Descartes en Plauto,” Benjamín García Hernández continues to develop the implications of his unexpected, but convincing, argument that the philosophical system of Descartes is built on the plot of Plautus’s *Amphitruo*. Francisco Garrote Pérez, in turn, uses “El «ascenso platónico» o el poder transformador de la belleza. Un proyecto humanista de realización personal,” to show how the Petrarchist ‘platonic ascent’ through beauty to perfection plays itself out in Spanish humanism. “Tras las huellas de don Juan de Persia y otras persas,” by Luis Gil Fernández, is a fascinating account of how a sizeable number of the retinue of Persian ambassadors from Shah Abbas I of Persia to Philip III, the best-known being Don Juan of Persia, converted to Christianity and remained in the service of the Spanish court. In “*La Vida de Boecio* de Francisco de Moncada y el Conde de Rebolledo,” Rafael González Cañal sorts out the circumstances of the publication of the life of Boethius and takes note of how the author uses this work to comment on concerns about the power and training of the prince that are tied to his own, later culture. The interests of Felipe González Vega are evident in his title, “Indicios de una determinación del lector implícito en el comentario literario de Antonio de Nebrija y otros humanistas de su tiempo,” which turns into an imaginative application of reader-response theory to Nebrija’s dedicatory prologues and inaugural lectures, along with the *Flores rhetorici* of Fernando Manzanares, his disciple at Salamanca. Juan Antonio López Férrez, in “Notas sobre la historia de los estudios clásicos en España, con atención especial al Griego: desde el siglo

XIII hasta 1936,” provides a detailed overview of a subject at the core of humanistic studies, concluding that the history of Greek teaching and scholarship is better documented than Latin, but that both reveal a long attitude of careless neglect on the part of the state. Rosa Navarro Durán’s “El «Lazarillo» como palimpsesto de las lecturas de Alfonso de Valdés” traces the imprint of the author’s reading through several of his works. And finally, “Los manuscritos griegos copiados por el Pinciano” of Juan Signes Codoñer is a painstaking, and successful, attempt to trace the development of the handwriting of Hernán Núñez de Guzmán, called ‘el Pinciano,’ a Spanish humanist of the sixteenth century who left his library to the University of Salamanca in 1548 (see the review of *Biblioteca y epistolario de Hernán Núñez de Guzmán (El Pinciano)* earlier in this issue of NLN).

The essays in this volume are of notably high quality, especially for a new journal, and reflect well the range of activity at present among Spanish Neo-Latinists. Some of the essays are on figures who are discussed regularly in studies of Spanish humanism, like Nebrija, Arias Montano, and el Pinciano, while others, like the essays of Floristán Imízcoz and Gil Fernández, explore relatively untrodden paths. Traditional one-author studies appear, as do essays like that of López Férez, which offers instructive reading to non-Spanish as well as Spanish Neo-Latinists. It is also worth noting that this issue contains good examples of the prosopographical and paleographical studies that are done so well in Spain, as well as an effort by González Vega to bring a theoretical perspective to humanism that would look avant-garde in the U.S. as well as Spain. Finally, it is worth noting that the essays of Floristán Imízcoz and Gil Fernández demonstrate very clearly the connections with the east that give Spanish humanism its distinctive flavor. All in all, this is a journal that should be taken by every library that aims to support serious research in Neo-Latin studies. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Jacob Burckhardt’s Social and Political Thought*. By Richard Sigurdson. Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2004. xii + 279 pp. \$55. Much has been written over the last hundred years about Jacob Burckhardt (1818-1897), the great Swiss historian who remains important enough now to justify the preparation of a complete, critical edition of his writings, projected for twenty-seven volumes. His most influential book is certainly *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (1860), which remains a seminal

document in the modern understanding of early modern culture. Sigurdson develops a new perspective on Burckhardt in this book by virtue of his training as a political scientist, which leads him to explore such major themes in Burckhardt's political writings as the relationship between the individual and society, the tensions between equality and excellence, the quality and nature of culture in an age of mass participation, and the role of the intellectual in the modern world. As Sigurdson shows, Burckhardt self-consciously looked at the past with an eye on the present—that is, “[i]t is indeed because he can orient himself to the past that he is able to criticize the present with such acumen and realism” (223). Burckhardt, in other words, used his historical perspective to argue that the foundation for a sense of collective identity lies not in our place as citizens of an artificial nation-state, but in our participation in a common culture. Culture, in turn, makes us free—free from political coercion and from religious dogmatism. The only meaningful justification for life in the modern world is an aesthetic one, which can produce the autonomous, self-fashioned individual whose model Burckhardt sought in the past. This approach is difficult to pigeonhole. On the one hand, a thinker who distrusts human nature, values order, believes in a natural inequality of individuals, and looks to tradition and custom to provide guidance for the future looks like a conservative. Yet Burckhardt's analysis of freedom and the emphasis on the individual resembles classic liberalism, and his stress on genius, the preemptive power of creativity, the uniqueness of the individual, and the pre-eminence of culture led directly to the development of these themes in the work of Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900), who regarded Burckhardt as his mentor. This explains, partly at least but in a new way, why Burckhardt remains so controversial: it is easy to lament the levelling effects of modern mass democratic culture, but less easy to accept the alternative, that society should be organized to train a cultural elite, even a solitary genius, at the expense of a broadly educated and refined citizenry. Separating aesthetics from politics in turn seems reasonable, indeed laudatory, to some and ideologically naive to others.

As a specialist in contemporary politics, Sigurdson analyzes Burckhardt's historical writing for what it can tell us about his views on the society of his own day. Readers of this journal might want to perform the opposite exercise, asking themselves how Burckhardt's political thought helped shape the history he wrote, then the way we see the Renaissance as heirs of Burckhardt.

The humanist education on which the achievements of Neo-Latin literary culture were constructed was never designed for the masses, and now and again it is probably good for us to think about how the material we study fits more broadly into the culture from which it emerged. It is also probably good for us to interrogate ourselves in the same way as Sigurdson interrogated Burckhardt, asking how our own ideas about politics and the arts in our society affect the way we see these things in the past. The value of this book for a Neo-Latinist is therefore not direct, but as a stimulus for broader thinking about what we do and why we do it. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Nova de veteribus. Mittel- und neulateinische Studien für Paul Gerhard Schmidt.* Ed. by Andreas Bihrer and Elisabeth Stein. Munich and Leipzig: K. G. Saur, 2004. xxx + 1121 pp. 224 Euros. The essays published in this volume constitute a *Festschrift* for P. G. Schmidt, designed to reflect the breadth of his interests in postclassical Latin. It is a humbling experience to look through the sixteen pages that list Professor Schmidt's published work over the last forty years; given this level of activity, it should not surprise us to find a good many scholars, from Germany and abroad, who wanted to contribute to the volume. A list of their contributions gives an adequate idea of the riches contained in this book: Bernhard Zimmerman, "Et vidi et perii. Zu Ovids Medea-Epistel (Heroides XII)"; Peter Stotz, "Bilder des Bösewichts: Judas Ischariot in lateinischen Texten der Spätantike und des Mittelalters. Eine Skizze"; Dieter Schaller, "Schicksale des Asclepiadeus im Übergang zum Mittelalter"; Marie-Luise Weber, "Die Merovingerkönigin Brunichilde in den Quellen des lateinischen Mittelalters"; Rolf Heine, "Zu einer Schnalleninschrift aus Andernach"; Michael W. Herren, "The 'Cosmography' of Aethicus Ister: Speculations about its date, provenance, and audience"; Michael Lapidge, "Bede and the 'Versus de die iudicii'"; I Deug-Su, "Ut merear te in fratris locum accipere. un appello di fratellanza di Leoba a Bonifacio Vinfrido"; Ulrich Schindel, "De septem artibus liberalibus—ein unedierter anonymer Traktat aus dem 8. Jahrhundert"; Walter Bershin, "De moribus perfectionis. Beitrag zur Lokalisierung und Datierung der 'Althochdeutschen Benediktinerregel' St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 916"; Francesco Stella, "Autor und Zuschreibungen des 'Karolus magnus et Leo Papa'"; Michael D. Reeve, "Boethius, Cassiodorus, and Vegetius"; Thomas Zotz, "Ludwig der Fromme oder Ludwig der

Gnädige? Zur Herrschertugend der *pietas* im frühen und hohen Mittelalter?; Hildegard L. C. Tristram, “Bede’s ‘Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum’ in Old English and Old Irish: a comparison”; Peter Dronke, “The Latin and French Eulalia sequences”; Birger Munk Olsen, “Le réception de Stace au moyen âge (du IX<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle)”; Luc Deitz, “Ein Boethius-Fund und seine Bedeutung. Bnl, Ms. 770, und die Echternacher Klosterschule um das Jahr 1000”; Michael Borgolte, “Zwischen Erfindung und Kanon. Zur Konstruktion der Fakten im europäischen Hochmittelalter”; François Dolbeau, “Deux catalogues inédits de bibliothèques médiévales”; Giovanni Orlandi, “Dall’Italia del nord alla Lotaringia (e ritorno?). Un capitolo nella storia delle *laudes civitatum*”; Elisabeth van Houts, “The epitaph of Gundrada of Warenne”; Ulrich Mölk, “Eine neue Datierung und andere Präzisierungen zur Überlieferung der ‘Historia de preliis’”; Pascale Bourgain, “La honte du héros”; Thomas Haye, “Das ‘Antidotum’ des Magister Wilhelm: Eine rhythmische Werbeschrift für den jungen Grammontenserorden (ca. 1130 / 1140)”; Fritz Lošek, “Antikes, Biblisches und Christliches in der ‘Vita Altmanni’”; Jürgen Petersohn, “Spirituelle Dimensionen der Prüfeningener Vita Bischof Ottos I. von Bamberg”; Felix Heinzer, “Imaginierte Passion – Vision im Spannungsfeld zwischen liturgischer Matrix und religiöser Erfahrung bei Elisabeth von Schönau”; Christel Meier, “*Per visibilia ad invisibilia*? Mittelalterliche Visionsikonographie zwischen analoger, negativer und ‘analytischer’ Ästhetik”; Stefano Pittaluga, “Boezio, Goffredo da Viterbo e la ruota della Fortuna”; Kurt Smolak, “*Semivir arma tulit*. Zu den mittellateinischen ‘Causae Aiakis et Ulixis’”; Alois Wolf, “Metamorphosen des Schauens: Narziß, Troubadours und die drei Blutstropfen im Schnee”; Fritz Wagner, “Der entrückte Mönch”; Ruth Schmidt-Wiegand, “*Qui prior est tempore potior est iure*. Eine lateinische Rechtsregel und ihre Entsprechungen im ‘Sachsenspiegel’ Eikes von Repgow”; Arthur G. Rigg, “‘Descriptio Northfolchie’: A critical edition”; Michele C. Ferrari, “Johannes Damascenus in Franken. Zur Rekontextualisierung arabo-griechischer Erzählstoffe bei Vinzenz von Beauvais, Hugo von Trimberg und anderen Autoren”; Monika Rener, “*Ne fragmanta pereant*. Zwei bisher nicht beachtete Viten der heiligen Elisabeth”; Francesco Santi, “La trasmissione delle ‘Quaestiones quas quaesivit quidem frater minor Raimundo’”; Agostino Sottili, “Albertino Mussato, Erasmo, l’Epistolario di Seneca con San Paolo”; C. H. Kneepkens, “The Reception of Boethius’ ‘Consolatio’ in the Later Middle Ages: Trevet, Whetely and the Question-Commentary, Oxford, Exeter C., 28”; Dieter Mertens,

“Mont Ventoux, Mons Alvernae, Kapitol und Parnass. Zur Interpretation von Petrarca's Brief Fam. IV, 1 ‘De curis propriis’”; Christian Heitzmann, “Giannozzo Manetti und das Erdbeben von 1456. Christlicher Humanismus und empirische Naturwissenschaft”; Heinz Erich Stiene, “Daphnis und Daphne: Vergilisches und Ovidisches in der ersten Ekloge Naldo Naldis’”; Peter Walthert, “Rudolf Agricolas Rektoratsrede für Johannes von Dalberg’”; Christian Berger, “Die *animata*, oder: Wie Johannes Tinctoris Halbtontschritte zu beschreiben versucht’”; Dieter Wuttke, “Film vor dem Film’: Zur lateinischen Buchanzeige von Hartmann Schedels ‘Liber chronicarum’”; Peter Orth, “Rom an der Regnitz, Babylon an der Pegnitz. Beobachtungen zur ‘Norimberga’ des Konrad Celtis’”; Hartmut Broszinski, “Spuren klösterlicher Alchemie in Kasseler Handschriften des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts’”; Reinhard Düchting, “Helius Eobanus Hessus *Baccho debacchatus*’”; Eckart Schäfer, “Renatus Henerus: ‘Bucolica’ (Paris 1551). Hirtenlieder im Exil’”; Marc Laureys, “Das osmanische Reich aus der Sicht des Genueser Historikers Uberto Foglietta’”; José Manuel Díaz de Bustamante, “About the *visio Ezechielis*, the Fathers of the Church, the emblematic tradition and the Latin *praefatio* to the ‘Biblia del Oso’ (1569) of Casiodoro Reyna’”; Walter Jarecki, “Die Verdener Bischofsgeschichte des Elard von der Hude’”; Fidel Rädle, “Keuschheit und Abenteuer. Hieronymus’ ‘Vita Malchi’ und ihre Wiederkehr auf der Jesuitenbühne’”; Gerlinde Huber-Rebenich, “Visuelle *argumenta* zu den ‘Metamorphosen’ Ovids. Die Illustrationen des Giacomo Franco und ihre Tradition’”; Eckard Lefèvre, “Zeisig und Dichter (Jakob Balde, Lyr. 3. 43)’”; Ludwig Braun, “Warum ist der Acinaces krumm?’”; Pierre Petitmengin, “Notes de dom Calmet sur des manuscrits conservés en Lorraine et dans les pays voisins (avec le premier catalogue de Sélestat)’”; Helga Schmidt, “Vor uns lag das stolze Rom ...’ Arnold Hermann Ludwig Heeren als Reisender in Rom 1786’”; Volker Schupp, “Ekkehard von St. Gallen und ‘Konrad von Alzey’. Zwei mittelalterliche Dichterfiguren im 19. Jahrhundert’”; Haijo Jan Westra, “The centaur in the garden: Anne Payne on Menippean satire’”; Ewald Könsgen, “‘Der Nordstern scheint auf den Pol.’ Baudolinos Liebesbriefe an Beatrix, die Kaiserin – oder ‘Ex epistolis duorum amantium.’”

This volume does an admirable job of reminding us, as Professor Schmidt did in his own work, that the dividing line between medieval Latin and Neo-Latin is not a rigid one. The result, however, is that not all of the essays here will interest readers of this journal. That would not necessarily be

a problem, except for the price, which is almost \$300 at the current rate of exchange. I would definitely recommend purchase, but by university libraries, not individuals. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)

◆ *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library Yale University*, vol. 4: MSS 481-485. By Robert G. Babcock, Lisa Fagin Davis, and Philip G. Rusche. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 176. Tempe, Ariz.: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, and Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2004. xxviii + 459 pp. 150 plates. \$55. This book is the fourth in the series of manuscript catalogues from the Beinecke Library, but it is also considerably more than that. Beinecke shelf numbers MS 481, 482, 483, 484, and 485 denote five discrete collections of manuscript fragments, the first two originally compiled by the Rev. Franz-Josef Zinniker of Lucerne, Switzerland to serve as a paleographical collection documenting the Latin bookhands used during the Middle Ages. These fragment collections are indeed useful for this purpose, providing, *inter alia*, a seventh-century leaf with part of the Gospel of Luke written *per cola et commata* (481.1), several leaves of Notker Balbulus's sequences, with musical notation written in the margins instead of above the text (481.39), and an apparently unique Pilgrim's Guide to Jerusalem, which may have been used as an amulet (181.77). These fragment collections are also, as the cataloguers eloquently note, "the battered remnants of otherwise lost books from the Middle Ages" (11). With luck and hard work, volumes like the early commonplace book of Boccaccio's studied by Virginia Brown ("Boccaccio in Naples: The Beneventan Liturgical Palimpsest of the Laurentian Autographs (MSS. 29.8 and 33.31)," *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 34 (1991): 41-126) can be recovered by analyzing their dismembered leaves. The Beinecke collections contain their own rarities, like a leaf from a pre-Vulgate Latin translation of Judges (482.1), another leaf from a portion of Dynus de Mugello's *Super Infortiatio* that is not attested elsewhere (483.20), and one of the earliest surviving witnesses to Leonardo Bruni's Latin translation of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* (481.123). Yet despite the research potential that fragments offer, few catalogues devoted exclusively to them have been published.

Because there are so few models, pioneer cataloguers like the Beinecke team have to work out matters of procedure and format that do not trouble those working with larger units. Their guiding principle is clearly stated: "to

present the researcher with as much information as possible that might help in identifying other surviving fragments from the same original manuscript” (xiv). This in turn might provide more information about the origin or provenance of the Beinecke fragments, and in general about the lost medieval books from which the fragments come. As a result the descriptions here are not shorter than the ones of the complete, or almost complete, manuscripts in the preceding volume, but longer, written to a template specially designed with the advice of Richard Rouse. In line with this goal, the catalogue also contains a picture of every single fragment in the five collections, printed clearly on glossy paper at the end of the volume. (In contrast to the *Festschrift* just reviewed, this catalogue is a bargain!)

It would be difficult to overstate what has been achieved here. Given that the work from which almost every fragment comes has been identified, one can only guess at how many hours of painstaking labor have gone into this project. The template developed for this catalogue should be transferable with few, if any modifications. One can hope that this will lead to other catalogues of similar collections, but also to renewed attention to the many manuscript fragments that were recycled as flyleaves, pastedowns, or covers in early printed books. Surely such fragments will no longer be removed, as the ones in these collections were, but descriptions of them can be incorporated into catalogues of the books in which they are now found or into separate publications and databases. From this, we should be able to add considerably to our knowledge of the literary cultures of the ages before us. (Craig Kallendorf, Texas A&M University)