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CICERO IN THE CURRICULUM OF ITALIAN
RENAISSANCE GRAMMAR SCHOOLS *

It is well known that Cicero had a place in the curriculum of fifteenth-century Italian grammar schools: his treatises, *De officiis*, *De senectute* and *De amicitia* were recommended by Aeneas Sylvius in his *De liberorum educatione*(1); Cicero's letters were used by Guarino Veronese, so suggests his son Battista, to teach Latin(2); schoolmasters in communes such as Pistoia were enjoined to lecture on Ciceronian texts including *De officiis*(3). Nevertheless, this didactic interest was not unprecedented in the long and complex history of Cicero's post-antique transmission. There is evidence to show the important place which Cicero occupied in the medieval grammar curriculum as well. Thus, in Aimeric of Gâtinaux's *Ars lectoria* of 1086, Cicero was one of the recommended authors, albeit placed in the second or silver rank alongside Donatus, Priscian or Boethius(4). In the following century he received higher status at the hands of Conrad of Hirsau, who placed him firmly among the *auctores maiores*(5) of the grammar curriculum, recommending in particular *De amicitia* and *De senectute*(6). Even more Ciceronian texts were endorsed at the end of the twelfth century by Alexander Neckham, who added *De oratore*, the *Tusculan Disputations*, the *Paradoxa stoicorum* and *De officiis* to Conrad's more modest suggestions(7).

(*) The following abbreviations will be used: BLF = Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence; BNF = Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence; BRF = Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence; BAV = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; ASF = Archivio di Stato, Florence.

(1) *Tractatus de liberorum educatione*, in *Il pensiero pedagogico dell'Umanesimo*, ed. E. Garin, Florence 1958, 270, 294.

(2) Battista Guarino, *De ordine docendi et discendi*, *ibid.* 452; he claimed this treatise was based on the pedagogical practices of his father, Guarino: *ibid.* 434-436.

(3) A. Zanelli, *Del pubblico insegnamento in Pistoia dal XIV al XVI secolo*, Rome 1900, 147.

(4) E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, tr. W. R. Trask, New York 1953, 464-65; B. Munk Olsen, *I classici nel canone scolastico altomedievale*, Spoleto 1991, 5-6.

(5) *Ibid.* 5.

(6) Curtius, *European Literature*, 49.

(7) *Ibid.* 50.

With Alexander's *Sacerdos ad altare*, one has obviously left the real classroom and entered into the realm of an ideal curriculum, but it is clear that, as far as Cicero is concerned, these early curricular lists corresponded to some extent with actual educational practice. Summarizing the findings of recent codicological research, including his own monumental catalogue(8), Birger Munk Olsen has gone a long way to disclosing the realities which lay behind ideals of an Aimeric, Conrad or Alexander. While in the ninth and tenth centuries, this research offers little evidence of Cicero as a grammar school author(9), by the eleventh century the situation is beginning to change: there is now a significant if still modest presence of the shorter moral treatises (*De amicitia*, *De senectute* and *De officiis*) among surviving manuscript copies(10); contemporary library catalogues reveal almost as many references to his moral treatises as to Juvenal or Lucan, and more than to Ovid or Statius(11); and there are a significant number of glossed Cicero manuscripts(12). By the twelfth century, Cicero had become a staple of the medieval grammar schools, second as a prose writer only to Sallust: surviving manuscript copies include 41 of *De officiis*, 38 of *De amicitia* and 23 of *De senectute*(13); there are some citations of glossed Ciceronian texts in contemporary inventories(14); and there are a notable number of commentaries on the moral treatises(15). Particularly indicative of Cicero's role as a grammar school author in the twelfth century are the number of different *accessus* now accompanying the moral treatises, including nine to *De amicitia*, six to *De officiis* and five to *De senectute*(16).

In *I classici nel canone scolastico altomedievale* the findings are presented without geographical distinction; nevertheless, it is clear, even so, that much of this educational use of Cicero, insofar as it is documented by Munk Olsen, took place in Northern Europe: for example, all the citations of glossed Ciceronian texts in contemporary catalogues are German(17). More geographical precision would be useful here, especially since it has sometimes been argued that there was a significant divergence in educa-

(8) B. Munk Olsen, *L'étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XI^e et XII^e siècles*, 3 vols., Paris 1982-1989.

(9) Munk Olsen, *I classici*, 23-32.

(10) *Ibid.* 32.

(11) *Ibid.* 33.

(12) *Ibid.* 34.

(13) *Ibid.* 38.

(14) *Ibid.* 42.

(15) *Ibid.* 47.

(16) *Ibid.* 48-49.

(17) *Ibid.* 42.

tion during the twelfth century between Northern Europe, on the one hand, and Italy, on the other: "con riferimento alle scuole – in particolare alle preuniversitarie – del XII secolo [...] può assumersi [...] che, mentre nelle scuole preuniversitarie francesi [...] ha notevole rilevanza una formazione culturale a carattere generale, in Italia [...] è quella giuridica *in utroque* – quindi immediatamente utilitaristica – che tende ad assorbire tutti gli spazi. Sicché lo 'scolaris' s'adopera per acquisire con rapidità la 'latinitas' [...] per concentrarsi poi sugli studi pratici [...] la partita che si gioca negli ultimi decenni dell'XI secolo pare grossa: da un lato la chiosa all' 'auctor' [...]; dall'altro il nuovo modello messo innanzi dalla scuola bolognese [...] Nei tempi nuovi d'Italia le ragioni della 'lectura' stavano per riuscire 'aspre' e 'spinose'" (18).

Although it would be distorted to suggest that there was no contrast between grammatical study in Italy and France in the twelfth century, nevertheless the decline of the authors resulting from the rise of the law schools and the *ars dictaminis* in the twelfth century can be exaggerated. In this connection, the moral philosophical treatises of Cicero, for example, suggest the *longue-durée* of traditional *lectura* in Italian grammar schools up to the turn of the thirteenth century. One example is a well-glossed Italian manuscript of *De amicitia* (19), dating from the later twelfth century, with many of the typical features of a grammar school text: letters written over words to show word order (20); a contemporary simple *accessus* outlining the work's *intentio*, *utilitas* and philosophical classification (21); elementary glosses ("Anibal rex cartaginensis" (22), "Themistode inperator grecus fuit" (23)). There is even a direct reference here to school experience, with the comment that ecclesiastical grandees tend to forget their school friends: "sicut fit de episcopis qui [...] spernunt veteres amicitias [et] scholarres quos habuere" (24). Another Italian glossed copy of the moral treatises dating from the twelfth century contains *De officiis* and a fragment of the *Paradoxa stoicorum* (25); although there are some

(18) G. C. Alessio, *Le istituzioni scolastiche e l'insegnamento*, in *Aspetti della letteratura latina nel secolo XIII*, ed. C. Leonardi and G. Orlandi, Perugia and Florence 1986, 4-9.

(19) BLF, 76, 23.

(20) Ibid. fol. 1r, 2r, 3r, 3v, 4r, 6r, 7r, 8v, 9v, 13r, 14v, 16v.

(21) Ibid. fol. 20r: Est ergo Ciceronis in hoc opere materia amicitia [...] Intentio est auctoris de amicitia tractare, precepta quidem de ea dare de quibus veram a non ['a non' repeated] vera possimus [sic for possimus] agnoscere et honestis modis excolere. Utilitas est quod per huius operis doctrinam sciemus amicitiam congruis modis excolere. Utilitas est nobis [amicitiam] parare et falsam et inhonestam evitare. Subponitur ethicae. Ostendit enim mores qui digni sunt [...]

(22) Ibid. fol. 3r.

(23) Ibid. fol. 8r.

(24) Ibid. fol. 10v.

(25) BLF, 76, 13.

word-order markers here(26), there is relatively little simple interlinear paraphrase glossing, and the more sophisticated contents of some of the glosses, as well as citations of other authors (Lucan[27], Seneca[28], Juvenal[29], Ovid[30]) may suggest a post-school reader. Another Italian annotated manuscript dating from the same period contains *De officiis* and *De amicitia*(31); there are not really enough contemporary glosses here to comment on the academic level of the reader, but there can be little question that the text of *De amicitia* contained in an Italian manuscript dating from the turn of the thirteenth century emanated from a grammar school(32). The copyist, who was also the principal glossator, appears to have been a relatively inexpert reader, who frequently, for example, used word order markers(33) and gave very simple philological marginal glosses to the text (e.g. the biography of Cato[34] or the fable of Orestes[35]) typical of school manuscripts. He also included a great deal of vernacular interlinear glossing: (fol. 15v) *scomonecata, presentanza, adunatrice*; (fol. 16r) *ordinaremo, addemandare, iudicamenti*; (fol. 18v) *confortante*; (fol. 21v) *indigeant = abesonge*; (fol. 22v) *intolerabilius = non sostenebele, sperni = refudare*; (fol. 24r) *comunova, tracta*; (fol. 24v) *constringere*; (fol. 25v) *losengando*; (fol. 28v) *selvatebre*; (fol. 29r) *dissonore*; (fol. 31v) *contumelie = disunuri*; (fol. 35v) *desertu*; (fol. 36r) *comitas = cortesia, losengamentu* (also on fol. 37r, 38v, 39r); (fol. 37v) *contio = aringo*.

As far as Cicero is concerned, therefore, the shorter moral treatises remained the subject of traditional *lectura* in Italian grammar schools up to the beginning of the thirteenth century. It is problematic to assess whether Cicero continued to be read in twelfth-century Italian grammar schools with the same intensity as had taken place earlier at Montecassino, but it is clear that during the thirteenth century the shorter moral treatises dropped out of the Italian grammar school curriculum. In fact, it is very difficult to find any Italian manuscripts at all containing *De amicitia*, *De senectute*, *Paradoxa stoicorum* or *De officiis* which are clearly datable to the thirteenth century: this seems to hold true not only for Florentine li-

(26) Ibid. fol. 1v, 29r, 54r.

(27) Ibid. fol. 5r, 7r.

(28) Ibid. fol. 8v, 16v.

(29) Ibid. fol. 15r.

(30) Ibid. fol. 21v.

(31) BLF, 76, 20.

(32) BLF, Edili, 214. The dating of this manuscript and of the vernacular glosses has been confirmed by Prof. A. de la Mare.

(33) Ibid. fol. 15r, 19v, 21v, 24v, 29r, 30r, 30v, 33v, 40r.

(34) Ibid. fol. 2r.

(35) Ibid. fol. 10r.

braries but also for manuscripts so far described in *Les manuscrits classiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane* (36). These texts began again to be copied in Italy during the fourteenth century, but they seem not yet to have re-entered the schoolroom (37). Whatever academic use they had in the fourteenth century seems to have been at the university level, to judge from one Florentine manuscript of *De officiis*, with the following colophon: "Marci Tullii Ciceronis liber tertius et ultimus ad Marcum eius filium feliciter explicit per me Michaellem filium Domini Johannis de Mutina die iovis XII mensis decembris 1392" (38). This was apparently a university-level textbook, originally a large volume ruled in the customary fashion with double lines round a small central text and surrounded by a dense, all-embracing commentary. In this case, unfortunately, it is impossible to discover how *De officiis* was studied, since the comment was scrubbed off the margins and is only faintly visible now under ultraviolet light (39); but more can be said about another university-level text of *Paradoxa stoicorum*, dating from the turn of the fourteenth century (40). Here

(36) Paris, 1975-. One manuscript datable to the thirteenth century from this selection is BAV, Borg. Lat. 326, containing on fol. 100r-159r *De senectute*, *De amicitia*, *Paradoxa stoicorum* and *De officiis*, which despite this catalogue (vol. I, p. 232: "origine: italienne") is clearly French, for example using Z = et. L. D. Reynolds, *The Medieval Tradition of Seneca's Letters*, Oxford 1965, 72 and 109, gives a French provenance. BFL, Ashb. 250 (*De inventione*, *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, *Paradoxa stoicorum*) is datable to saec. XIII/XIV, but the glosses are from the fourteenth century.

(37) The fourteenth-century Italian manuscripts of the shorter moral treatises listed in this note have all been examined and eliminated as schoolbooks. Florentine libraries: BLF, 76, 25 (*De amicitia*, *Paradoxa*); BLF, 76, 32 (*De senectute*, *Paradoxa*, *Brutus*, *Somnium Scipionis*); BLF, 89, inf. 41 (*De senectute*, *Orations*, *De officiis*, *Paradoxa*); BLF, Strozzi, 35 (*De officiis*); BLF, Strozzi, 36 (*De officiis*, *De amicitia*, *Paradoxa*, *De senectute*); BRF, 516 (*De amicitia*, *De senectute*); BRF, 566 (*De officiis*). Fourteenth-century Italian manuscripts of the shorter moral treatises in BAV: Arch. S. Pietro, H22 (*De officiis*, *Somnium*, *De amicitia*, *De senectute*); Vat. Lat. 1739 (*De officiis* [fragmentary], *De amicitia*, *Paradoxa*); Chigi, H. V. 151 (*De officiis*). Catalogued as saec. XIV but eliminated as actually saec. XV and in any case not apparently schoolbooks: Vat. Lat. 1736 (*De officiis*, *De amicitia*, *De senectute*, *Paradoxa*: humanist script, saec. XV); Ottob. Lat. 1494 (*De officiis*: humanist script, saec. XV); Vat. Lat. 2880 (*De officiis*, *Paradoxa*: heavy late gothic script, saec. XV); Vat. Lat. 1747 (*Orations*, *De amicitia*: late gothic script, saec. XV); Ottob. Lat. 2034 (*De officiis*: heavy, late gothic script, saec. XV); Chigi H. IV. 106 (*Paradoxa*, *De amicitia*, *De senectute*, *De officiis*: widely spaced, late gothic hands, saec. XV); Arch. S. Pietro H. 21 (*Tusculanae*, *De officiis*: late gothic script, saec. XV); Barb. Lat. 116 (*De officiis*, *De amicitia*, *De senectute*, *Paradoxa*: humanist script, saec. XV in.); Pal. Lat. 1526 (*De officiis*: late gothic script, saec. XV); Vat. Lat. 1737 (*De officiis*: late gothic script, saec. XV)

(38) BLF, Edili, 213, fol. 79v. The ms. was written on reused notarial parchment, dated (fol. 27v) "Millesimo trecentesimo trigessimio quinto".

(39) The university-level commentary has been erased from the following folios: 2r-19r, 33r, 34r, 55r, 56v, 57r, 59r, 61r. The manuscript passed into the ownership of Giorgio Antonio Vespucci in the later fifteenth-century: see fol. 84v for his *ex libris* and fol. IIIv for his motto.

(40) BLF, Ashb. 250.

the text forms the third part of an anthology with the Ciceronian rhetorical works, *De inventione* and *Rhetorica ad Herennium*; it seems that the numerous fourteenth-century students of rhetoric who left their copious glosses on this manuscript went on to read the *Paradoxa*, making grammatical (e.g. fol. 65r, 70r), philological (e.g. fol. 70r), rhetorical(41) and moral philosophical(42) comments on the text, suggesting they were possibly following a course on rhetoric and moral philosophy, often studied in the early stages of the notarial or legal university curriculum(43).

It is one of the achievements of the Italian Renaissance to have restored the shorter moral treatises to the grammar school curriculum, after two centuries of disuse. Now in the fifteenth century one again finds copies of the shorter moral treatises with typical school features such as alphabets at the conclusion or on the final folios(44); *probationes pennae* in the vernacular, sometimes with childish contents ("Francesco mio fratello, io vorei che tu mi mandasi una scarsella"(45), "Detur pro pena scriptori pulcra puella"(46), or "scolares"(47), or in illiterate Latin ("Deus in none tuo salum me fac")(48); references to the glossator's teacher ("quod tum magister meus non sensit")(49); childish ownership notes ("questo libro è di Baroncino Baroncini; chi lo truova si lo renda")(50); puerile and illiterate verses ("Ad risum multum potes cognoscere stultum./ Si prestabis non reabebis./ Si reabebis non tam bonum./ Se tam bonum non tam cito./ Se

(41) Ibid. fol. 65r, where the glossator provides an *accessus*, emphasizing the power of rhetoric to render true statements probable, which otherwise would remain improbable and obscure.

(42) Ibid. fol. 66v: In hac seconda paradoxa est intentio Ciceronis quemdam errorem vulgarem attenuare et funditus extinguere. Dicebat enim vulgus solos divites esse beatos et virtutem penitus alienam a beatitudine, quod iste improbat, ostendendo solam virtutem sufficere ad beatitudinem, quod habetur in titulis paradoxe, cum dicitur in quo virtus sit ei nichil deesse ad beate vivendum [...]; fol. 68r: non enim actendum est in quot peccetur, qui enim delinquit in uno reus est omnium.

(43) This was the kind of course offered, for example, by Giovanni Travesio da Cremona in the later fourteenth century at Pavia: see V. Rossi, *Dal Rinascimento al Risorgimento*, Florence 1930, 3-30; Barzizza was appointed to teach moral philosophy and rhetoric at Padua in 1407: L. A. Panizza, *Gasparino Barzizza's commentaries on Seneca's letters*, "Traditio" 33, 1977, 298-99; R. G. Mercer, *The Teaching of Gasparino Barzizza*, London 1979, 39 ff., 91 ff.

(44) ASF, Carte Cerchi, 740 (*De officiis, De amicitia, De senectute, Orations, Tusculanae* [fragmentary]), fol. [1]43v, [1]44v; BRF, 555 (*De senectute, De amicitia, Paradoxa, Somnium*), fol. 80v (alphabet written by 16th c. hand).

(45) ASF, Carte Cerchi, 740, fol. [1]37v.

(46) BRF, 555, fol. 80v; cf. also ibid. fol. 29v: detur pro pena scriptori pulcra puella.

(47) BNF, Panciat. 166 fol. 98v (*Paradoxa, De amicitia, De senectute, Litterae familiares*, dated 1474 [fol. 35v] and 1460 [fol. 66r]).

(48) ASF, Carte Cerchi, 740, fol. [1]43v.

(49) BNF, Panciat. 166, fol. 37r.

(50) BRF, 579 (*De senectute, De amicitia, Paradoxa*), fol. 84v.

tam cito perdis amicus [sic]/ Omnia mea mecum porto.”)(51); vernacular notes or glosses (“imperio = signoria”(52), “itaque = per la qual cosa, ex quo = per la qual cosa”(53), “manza, la rason, la possanza, le zanze”(54)); glosses and notes referring to other standard works in the grammar school curriculum(55) (fol. 78v: “Catholicon id est liber quidam ita dictus quia universalis in tota gramatica”, fol. 81v: “Secundum Uguzonem” and “Secundum Papiam”, fol. 82r: “Secundum K<a>tholicon et Magistrum Bene [da Firenze]”); schoolboyish colophons (“Finito libro isto frangamus ossa magistro”)(56); simple Latin-vernacular vocabulary lists(57); basic one-word equivalents of elementary vocabulary (“videtur = manifestum est, adiumentum = auxilium, non modo = non solum, dissidentia = discordantia”)(58).

In the fifteenth century, such copies of the shorter moral-philosophical treatises now abound(59), demonstrating the secure place which Cicero had regained in the grammar school curriculum. In this way Renaissance grammar masters were deviating from the path of their thirteenth and fourteenth-century predecessors, but this important curricular innovation did not in practice herald the emergence of a new distinctive humanist pedagogy, directed towards human moral improvement and the formation of the whole man. Humanist educational theorists such as Aeneas Sylvius may have suggested that the study of Cicero’s moral treatises would lead schoolboys to philosophical knowledge and wisdom(60), but in practice the scope of lessons on these texts in fifteenth-century grammar schools was more modest. Occasionally one finds in these manuscripts brief moral comments (e.g. “Molesta veritas est, si quidem ex ea nascitur odium quod

(51) Ibid. fol. 83v.

(52) BRF, 580 (*De amicitia, De senectute, Paradoxa*), fol. 5r.

(53) BRF, 575 (*De amicitia, De senectute, Paradoxa, Rhetorica ad Herennium* [fragmentary]), fol. 5v.

(54) BLF, Ashb. 1886 (*De amicitia, De senectute, Somnium, Paradoxa*), fol. 83v; see also BRF, 555: arillus, -li est lo vinaciuolo del’uva (fol. 18v); talus, -li: el dato grosso, inde taxillus, -li: el dato piccolo (fol. 20v); vulgare dictus parisitorum: e ghiotoncelli (fol. 59r).

(55) BLF, Ashb. 1886.

(56) BRF, 575, fol. 20v.

(57) BLF, Ashb. 920 (*De amicitia, Paradoxa*), fol. IIv: e.g. discedo, -dis, -ssi, -ssum: per partirsi [...] hec mors, -tis: la morte.

(58) BRF, 3600 (*De officiis*), fol. 1r.

(59) E.g., BLF, Ashb. 976 (*De officiis*); BLF, Ashb. 1082 (*De senectute, De amicitia, Paradoxa*); BRF, 3600; BRF, 582 (*De officiis*); BRF, 517 (*De amicitia*); BRF, 569 (*De senectute, De amicitia, Paradoxa*); BRF, 577 (*De officiis, Paradoxa, De senectute, De amicitia*); BLF, 76, 29 (*De amicitia*); BNF, II, III, 222 (*De officiis*); BRF, 579; BLF, Ashb. 1886; BRF, 580; BRF, 575; BNF, Panciat. 166; BRF, 555; ASF, Carte Cerchi, 740; BLF, Edili, 213 (glosses saec. XV; text dated 1392: see above p. 109); BLF, Ashb. 920.

(60) *De liberorum educatione*, ed. Garin, 292-294.

est venenum amicitie, sed obsequium multum maius [ms: maior]"(61), or "Quid est honestas? Est vite finis. In quot partibus dividitur? In quatuor partes: iustitiam, temperantiam, fortitudinem, prudentiam"(62) or "Sapientia tres habet partes, scilicet, memoriam, intelligentiam et providentiam"(63); but the overwhelming fare in teaching the shorter Ciceronian moral treatises in the fifteenth century was the simple philology typical of the grammar school: figures, etymology, mythology, geography, history, institutions, simple rhetorical analysis, Roman customs, vocabulary definitions, simple literary history, parts of speech and elementary grammatical analysis(64).

There may sometimes have been an intention to provide instruction in moral philosophy, but manuscript evidence suggests that this was seldom realized in fifteenth-century grammar schools. The traditional *accessus* to one fifteenth-century text of *De amicitia* may have pointed to the moralizing intentions of the teacher: "Est ergo Ciceronis in hoc opere materia amicitia, res utique honesta et clara et in rebus pluribus valde necessaria. Interest auctoris de amicitia tractare, precepta quidem de ea dando quibus veram amicitiam possimus cognoscere et honestis moribus excolere. Utilitas est quod huius operis doctrina [ms.: doctrinam] sciemus amicitiam congruis moribus parare et falsam et inhonestam devitare. Supponitur ethice, quia tractatur de moribus"(65). But this teacher's moral intentions soon were overtaken by the need to provide a detailed philological analysis, so making the text comprehensible to his pupils and fulfilling the more basic purpose of teaching Latin. Thus, a dense interlinear commentary is given, providing one-word Latin equivalents to the vocabulary of the text; and as far marginal glossing is concerned, this consists of the simple philology typical of the grammar school: for example, "Nota quod in tabella tunc temporis scribebantur leges et constitutiones civitatis a comuni ordine imposite sed tabella est nomen diminutivum in qua solebant scribi capitula noviter extracta ab aliquo novo officiali"(66). Besides texts of *De senectute*, *De amicitia* and *Paradoxa stoicorum*, all glossed in this manner, this manuscript also contains some verses attributed to Guarino(67), possibly

(61) BRF, 569, fol. 32r.

(62) BRF, 3600, fol. 1r.

(63) BRF, 517, fol. 41v.

(64) E.g. see BRF, 555, fol. 3v, 4v, 5v, 7r, 7v, 11r, 12r, 13v, 18v, 20v, 21r, 21v, 23r, 23v, 24r, 24v, 26r, 28r, 29r, 30r, 30v, 31v, 33v, 34r, 34v, 35v, 36r, 37v, 41r, 41v, 42r, 43r, 44r, 44v, 45r, 46r, 46v, 47r, 47v, 49v, 50v, 51r, 51v, 53r, 54r, 56v, 59r, 60r, 60v, 61r, 62r, 63v, 64v, 65r, 66r, 66v; BRF, 569, fol. 17r, 17v, 18r, 18v, 19r, 29v, 32r, 34v.

(65) BLF, Ashb. 1082, fol. 26v.

(66) Ibid. fol. 38r.

(67) Ibid. fol. 54v: Versus Guarini Veronensis ad Antonium Panormitam: Musarum de-

suggesting some connection with a humanist school, but as such its traditional character is all the more striking.

Indeed, this gap between the moralizing intentions of the teacher, as announced in the *accessus*, and the ensuing philological character of the glosses, is typical of earlier medieval grammar school manuscripts of Cicero. Thus, in one of the twelfth-century Florentine manuscripts of *De amicitia* mentioned above, there was almost no moral philosophy after the *accessus*; instead, the fare was the usual simple philology such as: "consuetudo Romanorum erat ut per novem dies [ms.: novem diem] unum quemque mortuum custodirent cum diversis instrumentis musicae" (68).

There is a small amount of evidence that occasionally other Ciceronian texts such as *De oratore* (69), *Orator* (70) or *Disputationes Tusculanae* (71) were read at grammar school in the fifteenth century, but this constituted no more than a fraction of the interest devoted to the shorter moral treatises. As far as *lectura Ciceronis* is concerned, therefore, the fifteenth-century saw an important innovation in the reintroduction of the shorter moral philosophical treatises into the grammar school classroom, although the teaching methods applied to these texts appear to have remained entirely traditional, concentrating on skills in comprehending Latin prose rather than on moral philosophy. In this sector of education, Cicero at school in the Renaissance was not an entirely novel departure from medieval practice, but there was another aspect of Ciceronian pre-university pedagogy which was entirely without medieval precedent. This was introduction of Cicero's letters into the grammar schoolroom. With regard to Latin composition, as distinct from reading Latin texts ("lactinare" as opposed to "auctores audire"), the grammar school curriculum involved a graduated progress from the composition of short phrases or passages up to the composition of an entire letter. Thus, the grammar courses laid out by Francesco da Buti (72) in the fourteenth century (and still widely used throughout Quattrocento) (73), as well as that constructed by Niccolò Pe-

cus Antoni per secula salve = L. Bertalot, *Initia humanistica latina*, ed. U. Jaitner-Hahner, Tübingen 1985, n. 3462, where they are not attributed to Guarino.

(68) BLF, 76, 23, fol. 3v.

(69) BRF, 506, 561.

(70) BRF, 506, 2127.

(71) BRF, 508, 510.

(72) E.g. BRF, 674; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. Misc. e. 52.

(73) E.g. see BLF, Medic. Palat., 64, fol. IIIr: *Iste liber est mei Iovannis Petri de Vulterris in scola Magistri Taddei de Pescia*. Taddeo da Pescia taught in Volterra from 1426 to 1427, and from 1434 to 1437: see M. Battistini, *Taddeo da Pescia maestro di grammatica del sec. XV*, "Bullettino storico pistoiese" 31, 1929, 86-93. For many fifteenth-century manuscripts of Francesco da Buti's *Regule*, see G. C. Alessio, "Hec Franciscus de Buti", "Italia medievale e umanistica" 24, 1981, 86-87, as well as W. K. Percival, *Renaissance grammar: rebellion or evolution?*, in *Interrogativi dell'Umanesimo*, ed. G. Tarugi, Florence 1976, II,

rotti in the second half of the fifteenth century (74), both ended with extensive treatments of epistolography. It seems to have been at this final stage of the grammar curriculum that Cicero's letters, almost completely unknown in the middle ages and rediscovered by Petrarch and Salutati in the fourteenth century, were used in the fifteenth-century schoolroom.

Their place at the end of the grammar curriculum is suggested by an interesting series of Florentine grammatical compilations, preserved in five Florentine manuscripts (75) and five others outside Florence (76), all dating from the second half of the fifteenth century. The compilation in the five Florentine manuscripts seems relatively uniform for a grammatical anthology. In general, they seem to constitute a full school-level grammatical course of study, beginning with morphology of the parts of speech (77) (= the contents of *Ianua*); continuing with syntax especially of the verb but also of nouns, comparatives, participles, relatives etc. (78) (= the contents of Guarino's or Francesco da Buti's *Regule*); going on to Guarino's orthography (79) and his *Carmina differentialia* (80); and ending with a brief section on verbal conjugations (81). Although this is the end of the strictly grammatical section of the manuscript, it goes on to give the text of twenty-seven very short familiar letters of Cicero (82), and a couple by Pliny (83). The compilation ends with a series of *sententiae* drawn from the Bible, the Church Fathers and various Latin classical authors (84). Other grammar courses sometimes included *sententiae*: e.g. that by Filippo Casali (85), grammar master in Florence, Pistoia, Bologna and

73, n. 1 and his *Textual problems in the Latin grammar of Guarino Veronese*, "Res publica litterarum" 1, 1978, 252, n. 13.

(74) See e.g. N. Perotti, *Rudimenta grammatices*, Naples 1479 (BRF, Edizioni rare, 546). The statement of W. K. Percival, *The place of the Rudimenta grammatices in the history of Latin grammar*, "Res publica litterarum" 4, 1981, 233 ("Perotti, however, broke new ground by adding to his grammar a manual of epistolary style, which comprises the final third of his work.") is therefore incorrect.

(75) BNF, I, 37; BRF, 675, 999, 1236; BNF, Conv. Soppr. J.II.22.

(76) Columbia University, Plimpton, 136; British Library, Burney, 316; British Library, Add. 10351; Biblioteca Marciana, Lat. 4479; Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, Cod. Boz. 35. I have not yet seen the last two manuscripts, whose location and shelf-marks I have taken from G. Bursill-Hall, *A Census of Medieval Latin Grammatical Manuscripts*, Stuttgart 1981.

(77) E.g., BRF, 999, fol. 1r-20r.

(78) *Ibid.* fol. 20r-73v.

(79) *Ibid.* fol. 73v-74r. Cfr. Bodleian, Canon. Misc. 102, fol. 53r-v.

(80) BRF, 999, 74r-79r. Cfr. Bodleian, Canon. Misc. 102, fol. 53v-59v.

(81) BRF, 999, 79v-84r.

(82) *Ibid.* fol. 84r-89r.

(83) *Ibid.* fol. 89r-v.

(84) *Ibid.* fol. 89v-94r.

(85) BLF, Ashb. 1658, fol. 1r-117r.

Volterra in the third quarter of the fifteenth-century (86). This constitutes the kind of syllabus becoming fashionable in the second half of the fifteenth century, in that, like Perotti but unlike Guarino or Francesco da Buti, it comprises both elementary morphology and intermediate syntax. It seems that the Ciceronian letters are placed at the end of the treatise for stylistic inspiration in epistolography, which, as has been seen above, was the traditional end of the school grammar course; because of their brevity and their proximity to the *Carmina differentialia* (87) as well as to the *sententiae*, these Cicero letters may have been intended for memorization by the pupil. Memorization of his letters for stylistic improvement, indeed, was recommended by Battista Guarino: "In Ciceronis epistulis declamabunt, ex quibus stili tum elegantiam tum facilitatem et sermonis puritatem ac scientiarum gravitatem adipiscentur; quas si memoriae mandaverint mirificos postea fructus in scribendi promptitudine percipient" (88). This grammar course seems to have a strong Florentine affiliation, given that five manuscripts are now in Florence. Albinia de la Mare informs me that two further manuscripts are associated with Giorgio Antonio Vespucci (one written mainly in his hand (89) and the other corrected by him (90)), a fact which would obviously strengthen this Florentine connection; his copying and annotation, of course, might indicate authorship, or, at least, use in teaching his grammar pupils.

This group of Ciceronian letters can be related to the model letters traditionally associated with the *ars dictaminis*, a custom continued in the fifteenth century with such compilations as Barzizza's *Litterae ad exercitationem accommodatae* or Gian Mario Filelfo's *Novum Epistolarium seu ars scribendi epistulas* (91). It is well known indeed that various florilegia from Cicero's letters were compiled, probably for school use, including Giorgio Valagussa's *In flosculis epistolarum Ciceronis vernacula interpre-*

(86) M. Battistini, *Filippo da Bologna maestro di grammatica a Volterra nel secolo XV*, Bologna 1917.

(87) Verse was regarded as particularly suitable for memorization; see for example the following comment on Alexander de Villa Dei: "sermo metricus ... ad plura se habet, quam prosaicus, quem sequitur Priscianus, et hoc ita probatur: sermo metricus utilis factus est ad faciliorem acceptionem, ad venustam et utilem breviter et ad memoriam firmiorem". (Cited by G. Manacorda, *Storia della scuola in Italia*, vol. I. Il medio evo, Milan, Palermo and Naples 1914, Parte II, 231), a view reiterated by Battista Guarino, *De ordine docendi et discendi*, ed. Garin, p. 446: "non inutilis erit is liber qui sub Alexandri nomine versibus habetur, ... nam praeterquam quod omnia sumit a Prisciano, facilius etiam quae carminibus scripta sunt memoriae commendantur conservanturque".

(88) *Ibid.* 452.

(89) Columbia University, Plimpton, 136.

(90) British Library, Burney, 316.

(91) W. Bracke, *Fare la epistola nella Roma del Quattrocento*, Rome 1992, 35-36.

tatio and Giovanni Gabriele's *Ciceronis clausulae ex epistolis familiaribus excerptis* (92).

But Cicero's letters also provided another kind of stylistic exercise in the fifteenth-century grammar schoolroom. Fourteenth and fifteenth-century teachers illustrated various syntactical points by reference to vernacular sentences which are then provided with Latin translations. This reflects the schoolroom practice of *themata*, which were vernacular passages assigned to pupils for Latin translation. This type of exercise was established by the early fourteenth century and is explicitly mentioned by two early fourteenth-century Florentine grammar teachers, Filippo di Naddo (93) and Guglielmo da Veruscola (94). Indeed, many of the grammatical points in their treatises were specifically mentioned in order to solve problems of translation from vernacular to Latin and were accordingly introduced by the phrase "si detur thema".

The use of *themata* to teach Latin syntax can be amply illustrated in the most important intermediate Latin grammar of the fourteenth century, the *Regule grammaticales* by the Pisan grammarian, Francesco da Buti (d. 1406). Francesco's textbook is particularly rich in the vernacular, including copious lists of Latin verbs with vernacular translations, but it is especially notable for its detailed treatment of problems in translating vernacular sentences into Latin. For example, he gives four modes for thematic translation of deponent verbs: when there is no personal object:

"Io ingiurio" debemus dicere "ego iniurior";

when there is a subject but not an object:

"Io sono ingiuriato" debemus dicere "aliquis iniuriatur";

when there is a subject and an object:

"Io ingiurio Piero" - "ego iniurior Petro";

and when there is neither subject no object:

"In questa terra si ingiuria" debemus dicere "in hac terra fit iniuriato [sic]" (95).

(92) Ibid. 36.

(93) In his widely diffused treatise on syntax, inc. Constructio est unio constructibilium, e.g. BLF, Gaddi, 203; Ashb. 243; or BRF, 2795. For his biography, see S. Debenedetti, *Sui più antichi "doctores puerorum"*, "Studi medievali" 2, 1906-7, 341 n. 2.

(94) BNF, Nuove accessioni, 398 ("Regule mediocres Magistri Guillelmi de Verruscola Bosorum", preserved in a manuscript with a Florentine watermark dating 1341, which accords well with the *scriptura cancellaresca* used by the copyist), fol. 6v: "si detur thema".

(95) BRF, 674, f. 10r.

Another point at which he illustrates thematic translation concerns impersonal verbs:

"A me piace lo leggere" – "legere placet mihi"(96).

A typical thematic problem comes when explaining how to translate the past tense of certain verbs lacking a preterite:

Et nota quod quando datur thema in preterito tempore ... debemus recurrere ad sum/es/est et capere tertiam personam singularis numeri in eo tempore per quod datur thema et ad infinitum verbi per quod datur thema et dare sibi suppositum et appositum ... ut in hoc exemplo: "Io sono stato studiato dal maestro" debemus dicere "michi fuit studeri a magistro" et "tu se' stato medicato da uno buono medico" "quemdam bonum medicum fuit mederi tibi" et "le virtù sono ... state ricordate da me" "me fuit reminisci virtutum" (97).

Francesco not only treats thematic problems in translating vernacular verbs; thus for nouns lacking Latin plurals he explains:

Et nota quod quando datur thema per ... nomina in plurali numero quo charent debemus recurrere ad hoc nomen maneries et ponere in eo casu que<m> vult verbum et predicta nomina in genitivo vel ad nomina adiectiva ponderalia et ponere ista in singulari numero cum predictis nominibus in eo casu quem requirit verbum ut in hoc exemplo: "due fummi escuveno di chasa tua" debemus dicere "due maneries fummi exhibant domum tuam" vel "duplex fumus exhibat domum tuam"(98);

or similarly:

"Io abbo due seti" debemus dicere "ego <h>abeo duas maneries sitis" vel "duplicem sitim"(99).

Francesco similarly deals with thematic translation problems for comparatives, superlatives, verbal nouns and especially participles, but he was of course not the only early school grammarian to help his pupils with such translation difficulties. Even earlier, there is an intermediate probably Tuscan schoolbook written in notarial script of the first half of the fourteenth century which has substantial sections devoted to problems of translating vernacular words such as the definite article, prepositions, or "che"(100).

It is possible that the use of *themata*, that is, translation from the vernacular into Latin, in the schoolroom was of Bolognese origin. In the let-

(96) Ibid. f. 13v.

(97) Ibid. f. 16r-v.

(98) Ibid. f. 17r-v.

(99) Ibid. f. 18r.

(100) BNF, II. VIII. 121, not foliated.

ters of Pietro de' Boattieri found in BNF II. IV. 312, a school anthology, as Zaccagnini has shown(101), dating from 1314(102), there are various vernacular letters followed by Latin translations and on one occasion even introduced by the phrase "Tema istarum IIII epistolarum"(103). Moreover, in the list of 1321 giving all Boattieri's works, mention is made of "formando themata quelibet dicendorum"(104). It seems therefore that the *thema* was a teaching method well-established at Bologna by the turn of the fourteenth century, and one might conjecture that it was from Bologna, the "caput exercitii litteralis" (Buoncompagno da Signa)(105), that *thematata* arrived in Tuscany during the first half of the Trecento. When Perotti devoted the last section of his *Rudimenta grammatices* to turning an entire vernacular letter into Latin, he was probably repeating a not infrequent pedagogic practice in the fifteenth century; indeed, Wouter Bracke has recently published a short collection of such dual-language letters, with the Latin text following the vernacular version(106). A similar dual-language work was Francesco Filelfo's *Exercitatiunculae*, consisting of 214 of his letters preceded by vernacular translations and published in at least four incunables(107).

What is significant for the history of Cicero's use in the Renaissance classroom is that one can find manuscripts of his familiar letters preceded by such vernacular translations. One manuscript contains twelve such letters by Cicero, as well five by Leonardo Bruni, similarly preceded by vernacular translations(108). This manuscript seems to have belonged to Battista, the twenty-one year-old son of the papal secretary, Pietro Lunense, during the former's enforced residence in Viterbo during an outbreak of plague in Rome during the summer of 1451(109); it is clearly a schoolbook associated with the *studia humanitatis*, which, so Battista declares, he himself was pursuing at the time(110). Not only does it contain mis-

(101) G. Zaccagnini, *Le epistole in latino et in volgare di Pietro de' Boattieri*, "Studi e memorie per la storia dell'Università di Bologna" 8, 1924, 213-248.

(102) *Ibid.* 221.

(103) *Ibid.* 243, 246.

(104) *Ibid.* 245.

(105) *Ibid.* 237.

(106) Bracke, *Fare la epistola*, 59-117.

(107) L. Quacquarelli, *Felice Feliciano nel suo epistolario*, "Lettere italiane" 46, 1994, p. 118.

(108) BLF, 90, sup. 65, fol. 61r-72r.

(109) Piergiorgio Parroni, *Il cod. Oliv. 23 di Marziale e il suo copista Battista Lunense*, "Studia Oliveriana" 11, 1963, 3-10.

(110) *Ibid.* 5: "Cum humanitatis studia quibus omnem operam praestare decreveram Romae aeris intemperie interrupta essent, meque Viterbii nullis impeditum negociis haberem [...]".

cellaneous philological information useful to a beginning classicist(111), as well as a text of Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, glossed in the usual schoolish elementary philological manner(112), but also metrical analyses of verses by Boethius(113), whose poems in *De consolatione philosophiae* were frequently studied in this way in fifteenth-century schools(114). This manuscript bears various signatures or *probationes* typical of a school-book, including one with a reference to the gratuity ("lo vanto")(115) normally given to schoolmasters on various religious holidays. It is to be presumed that a pupil such as Battista Lunense practised his Latin prose composition by translating the vernacular text given first in the manuscript, and then comparing the results with Cicero's original. Other manuscripts make it clear that this practice of using dual language Ciceronian letters continued into the sixteenth century(116). The stylistic use of Cicero's letters in fifteenth-century schools is also suggested by their distinctive appearance in manuscripts; unlike his shorter moral treatises, they are rarely glossed(117), and this contrast is all the more telling when the unglossed letters appear in the same manuscript(118) together with texts traditionally subject to *lectura*, such as Horace's satires(119), heavily glossed for example in a version copied by Francesco de' Medici in 1515(120), who, as a

(111) BLF, 90, sup. 65, fol. 1r: Significatio litterarum antiquarum et abbreviature antiquae que reperiuntur in aepistolis prescriptis. fol. 2r: Debent omnia poni in eo casu et proferri in quo posite sunt dictiones ad quas referuntur ut M. Cicero Marcus Cicero, ut M. Ciceroni Imp. Marco Ciceroni imperatori [...].

(112) Ibid. fol. 100r: legio a legendo quia meliores legebantur milites; tribunus dicitur a tribu quia populus romanus in tribus partibus dividebat[ur]; migrare cum tota familia ire [...]; fol. 100v: legatus quem hodie dicimus commissarius [sic], sine quo nec bellum nec pacem dux tractare quibat.

(113) Ibid. fol. 121r-122r.

(114) E.g. BLF, 78, 21, fol. 9v, 11v, 27r, 28r, 29r, 30r; BNF, II, VI, 12, fol. 2v, 5r, 9r; BLF, Conv. Soppr. 258, fol. 1r, 2r, 2v, 3v, 5v and *passim*.

(115) BLF, 90 sup. 65, fol. 189r. This meaning of "vanto" does not appear in N. Tommaseo and B. Bellini, *Dizionario della lingua italiana*, IV, pt. 2, Turin 1879, p. 1728. "Vanto" was a standard educational term in the Quattrocento meaning the "mancia" given by pupils at various religious holidays (Easter, Christmas, Santa Maria Candelaia, Ognisanti) to teachers. For example, according to the *ricordi* kept for the heirs of Francesco Pecori, on 27 January 1474 reference was made to "S. cinque ... dati a Dino Francesco per dare il vanto al m^o dell'abacho per lla chandellaia": ASF, Dono Panciatichi, Patrimonio Pecori, 51, fol. 45 right.

(116) BNF, Magl. VI, 88 (*Epistolae familiares*).

(117) BNF, Magl. VI, 165, compiled for "pueris" in 1462 (fol. 1v); BLF, 90, inf. 52: 2 readers, one learned, the other school-level, the latter of whom hardly glosses, while the former's glosses are too sophisticated and learned for a school (e.g. fol. 20r); BLF, 49, 16, fol. 80r-100v; BRF, 421: a few school-type interlinear glosses only on fol. 2r-3r, 5r (see puerile *probationes* on fol. 41r-v, 42v-43r).

(118) BRF, 594, fol. 144r-185r.

(119) Ibid. fol. 1r-34v.

(120) Ibid. fol. 144r: Hec sunt quedam epistole Ciceronis ex toto volumine electe et scripte fuere a Francisco Medice in anno MCXV tertio nonas octobris.

pupil, begs the forbearance of his readers: "Que cernis lector scripsit discipulus ipse Franciscus; parcas barbara signa [que] leges"(121).

Thus, in Italian Renaissance grammar schools Cicero represented various levels of innovation: in respect to what had been taught over the previous two hundred years, his shorter moral treatises constituted novel reading material; moreover, his letters had never been stylistic models in the medieval schoolroom. Nevertheless, these innovations can be related to important medieval precedents: the use of the shorter moral treatises as textbooks in twelfth-century Italian grammar schools; the continued absence of moral philosophical *lectura* in the fifteenth century, despite the lofty claims of humanist educators; and the resemblance between medieval *themata* and dual-language letter collections by *dictatores* such as Pietro Boattieri and the dual-language Ciceronian letter anthologies of the fifteenth century.

(121) *Ibid.*