

The role of ancient quotations in humanist practices of reading and text creation

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Abstract | This paper presents some of the results of the critical edition of Galeotto Marzio's *De doctrina promiscua*. This fifteenth-century Italian humanist completed his medical-astrological treatise around 1490, dedicating it to Lorenzo de' Medici. While identifying the many references Galeotto made to authors from the antiquity, I became interested in humanists' citation techniques and how they use direct quotes from classical texts. In my paper, I show examples of how Galeotto inserted literary texts into his own work and what function these quotes served in his argumentation. In addition, I also discuss this method in the broader context of humanistic education.

Keywords | Galeotto Marzio, Lorenzo de' Medici, humanism, medical astrology, classical reception studies, humanist education in theory

My research often encounters the issue of trying to provide clear descriptions of the concepts of humanism and Neo-Latin literature. The present work explores this issue through analysing one specific problem – what function quotations from ancient literature serve in humanist scientific prose. The work does not focus on the concepts of *imitatio*, *aemulatio*, or intertextuality, which played an influential role in Neo-Latin literature, instead it presents a unique example of the humanist use of sources with the help of one specific text, Galeotto Marzio's *De doctrina promiscua* (1490).¹

The study begins with a brief presentation of Galeotto Marzio's biography and oeuvre, using some of Galeotto's textual locations to demonstrate how quotations from ancient authors fit in with the reasoning of *De doctrina promiscua*. The paper then looks at how the author might have selected the quotations, and how this quotation technique might have functioned in the reading and composition practice of the humanists.

Galeotto Marzio was born in Narni, Umbria around 1424, to an aristocratic family.² From 1445, he studied at Guarino Guarini's humanist school in Ferrara, where he developed a close friendship with Janus Pannonius. Having completed his studies in Ferrara, he settled in Montagnana, close to Padua, where he first purchased a house and later land, thus also securing his financial stability. He completed his university studies in Padua, where he studied medicine and received a degree *in artibus et in medicina* (liberal arts and medicine). The textual knowledge of ancient literature he acquired in Guarino's humanist school, the Aristotelian natural philosophy he studied at university, and medicine (which partly had ancient Greco-Roman roots but was also largely based on Arabic commentaries and texts) all played a seminal role in Galeotto's oeuvre.³ Galeotto first visited Hungary in 1461, at the invitation of Janus Pannonius, where he first became a member of the learned society endorsed by John Vitéz, archbishop of Esztergom and was later also under the patronage of the ruler Matthias Hunyadi. He later returned to the Buda court on several occasions. Galeotto dedicated his work *De homine* to John Vitéz, in which he frequently makes his typical detours in linguistics, astrology, and physiognomy while presenting the external parts and internal organs of the human body.⁴ In the meantime, he lectured at the university of Bologna

1 The author is currently working on the critical edition of this work.

2 On his life and works in general see: Gabriella MIGGIANO, "Galeotto Marzio da Narni. Profilo biobibliografico (I)," *Il Bibliotecario* 32 (1992): 45–96; MIGGIANO, "Galeotto Marzio da Narni. Profilo biobibliografico (II)," *Il Bibliotecario* 33–34 (1992): 67–156; MIGGIANO, "Galeotto Marzio da Narni. Profilo biobibliografico (III)," *Il Bibliotecario* 35 (1993): 61–108; MIGGIANO, "Galeotto Marzio da Narni. Profilo biobibliografico (IV)," *Il Bibliotecario* 36–37 (1993): 83–191; MIGGIANO, "Galeotto Marzio da Narni. Profilo biobibliografico (V)," *Il Bibliotecario* 38 (1993): 27–122.

3 For more on this see: BÉKÉS Enikő, *Asztrológia, orvoslás és fiziognómia Galeotto Marzio műveiben* [Astrology, medicine, and physiognomy in Galeotto Marzio's works], *Humanizmus és Reformáció* 35 (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2014), 29–57. On the characteristics of Galeotto's use of sources see also: László SZÖRÉNYI "Le fonti antiche dei trattati filosofici di Galeotto," in *Galeotto Marzio e l'Umanesimo italiano ed Europeo. Atti del III. convegno di studio*, ed. Umberto CORRADI, 153–163 (Narni: Centro di Studi Storici Narni, 1983).

4 Gian Mario ANSELMINI and Elisa BOLDRINI, "Galeotto Marzio ed il *De homine* fra Umanesimo bolognese ed europeo," *Quaderno degli Annali dell'Istituto Gramsci*, 3 (1995–1996): 3–83.

in the fields of poetics, rhetoric, and *studia humanitatis* during the 1460s. However, his career suffered a serious setback due to his treatise *De incognitis vulgo*, since the Venice inquisition incarcerated him in 1477 for the ideas he put forward in this treatise, which were deemed heretic.⁵ He was released after six months, presumably due to intervention from King Matthias and others.

Galeotto dedicated a revised version of the work to the Hungarian ruler. In 1485, he dedicated *De egregie, sapienter, iocose dictis ac factis regis Mathiae* (*On the outstanding, wise, and humorous sayings and deeds of King Matthias*), an anecdotal mirror for princes to Matthias' illegitimate son, John Corvinus.⁶ Although Galeotto himself also mentions that the Hungarian king quite liked him for his brilliant sense of humour and encyclopaedic knowledge, his bold views, confrontational character, the way intellectual life in Buda evolved (for example, the fact that Galeotto's friends, Janus Pannonius and John Vitéz died in 1472 as a consequence of the foiled conspiracy against the king), and the political situation in the country did not benefit Galeotto's Hungarian connections and his remaining there any longer. In 1490 he therefore dedicated his next opus, *De doctrina promiscua*⁷ (*On various sciences*) to Lorenzo de' Medici, who he hoped would become his patron, no doubt expecting some university position or other benefit in exchange.

The 39 chapters of *De doctrina promiscua* primarily discuss topics in the domain of astrological medicine, covering issues of astronomy, pharmacy, and physiognomy in this context, but it also goes into poisons, various herbs, and talismanic magic. The treatise is mostly based on Aristotle's natural philosophy, Galen's physiology, and the Arabic and Paduan reception of these, which are usually linked to the work of the Persian Avicenna and professor Pietro d'Abano, a thirteenth-century physician, philosopher, and astrologer.⁸ The treatise also plays an important role in the medieval and early modern debates on astrology, since the author joins the tradition according to which astrology plays an indispensable role both in healing as well as diagnosing the outcome of an illness. Galeotto states in several locations that without a knowledge of astrology, a physician can only be called a charlatan, thus extending Galen's thesis according to which a good physician is also a philosopher. For this reason, a knowledge of astronomy, to use a modern term, is also primarily necessary for a physician because to be able to heal, he needs to know the movement of the planets; the number and name of the spheres; the different classifications of the celestial constellations; and the favourable or unfavourable influences resulting from the respective positioning of the various planets. He also describes the pairing of planets and various humours, as well as planets and metals, and which illnesses and parts of the body belong to which planet.

In the following, a few examples are used to illustrate what role quotations from classical authors play in Galeotto's argumentation. The first of these is linked to the tra-

5 Its selected Latin-Italian-language edition: *Quel che i più non sanno*, ed. Mario FREZZA (Naples: Pironti, 1948).

6 Enikő BÉKÉS "Galeotto Marzio and the Court of King Matthias Corvinus (*De egregie, sapienter, iocose dictis ac factis regis Mathiae*)," *Studi Umanistici Piceni* 29 (2009): 287–296.

7 Its selected Latin-Italian-language edition: *Varia dottrina*, ed. Mario FREZZA (Napoli: Pironti, 1949).

8 For more on this see: BÉKÉS, *Asztrológia, orvoslás és fizionómia...*, 61–95.

dition of myth interpretation, which also happened to be one of the preliminary exercises in rhetoric in Guarino's school.⁹ Galeotto, following the tradition of mythography and sometimes even paradoxography, often attributes what he considers scientific medical or astrological, i.e. rationalizing meaning to ancient myths. On these occasions, as we will see, he also comments on the textual locations that are quoted from ancient authors who discuss the myths. Thus, instead of creating intertextuality with the help of the technique of allusion, which was typically employed in Neo-Latin poetry, Galeotto uses direct quotations and indicates the source in most cases. These enter into a dialogue with the context of *De doctrina* as if they were humanist seals, authenticating the discourses on medicine and astrology. In the first example, the author argues for the celestial origin of proper names in the first chapter of the work: according to him, we name our children based on celestial inspiration, and our names contain our entire fate. He cites the etymology of famous peoples' names as examples, such as Galen, whose name comes from the Greek word γαληνός, meaning 'calm,' which suits him because as the prince of physicians, he brought serenity to humanity through his healing.

De nominibus propriis hominum ab astris impositis.

Melampus vates ille et medicus, nigra planta¹⁰ aut pes siderali influenza dictus, quoniam filias Proeti atra bile percitas ita insanientes, ut se vaccas putarent, de quibus poeta: *Proetides implerunt falsis mugitibus agros*, hellebori nigri planta sanaturus erat, et ita testimonio Plinii fecit.¹¹ Sed nemo admiretur huiusmodi insaniam rationem plerumque turbare, nam melancholiae vis tanta est, ut saepe acciderit, testimonio Galeni et Avicennae, homines hac atra bile percitos putasse se esse vasa fictilia, et ideo hominum tactum reformidarunt, et quidam cum hoc eodem incommodo agitati, se esse aves arbitrantur, ita ut non se moveant, nisi motis brachiis ad alarum similitudinem volare credant, insaniarum enim numerus est pene infinitus dicente Avicenna, et Satyrico non tante: *Non unus mentes agitat furor*.¹²

On the celestial origin of people's proper names.

Melampus, a fortune-teller and physician, was named the one with the black foot due to the influence of the stars, since he used hellebore to heal Proetus' daughters, who had been driven so mad by black bile that they thought they were cows, and about whom the poet says: "Proetus' daughters filled the fields with fake bellowing" – he cured them with hellebore, which Pliny also recounts. But nobody should be surprised that such a senseless state often confuses the mind, the power of melancholy is namely so great that

9 JANKOVITS László, *Accessus ad Janum. A műértelmezés hagyományai Janus Pannonius költészetében* [Accessus ad Janum. Traditions of literary interpretation in the poetry of Janus Pannonius], Humanizmus és Reformáció 27 (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2002), 45–69.

10 Galeotto may have used the word *planta* to mean 'plant', which is suggested by the fact that he mentions the hellebore plant, although the etymology of the Greek name (Melampus) only seems to refer to its meaning of 'foot'.

11 Verg. *Ecl.* 6, 48.

12 Iuv. *Sat.* 14, 284.

it often happened, as Galen and Avicenna also testify, that people, driven by black bile, thought they were clay pots, and for this reason they were terrified of human touch, while others suffering from the same malady believed they were birds, and so they could only move by trying to fly by flapping their arms as if they were wings, the forms of madness are namely infinite, as Avicenna claims, and the satirist does not stay silent about it, either: “It is not one form of frenzy that disturbs the mind.”

(Marzio 1548, cap. I. 13.)

In this section, the author explains the meaning of Melampus’ name (i.e. ‘blackfooted’), who cured Proetus’ daughters, gone mad from melancholy. Galeotto weaves medical knowledge into the etymological discussion, quoting such authorities of the topic as Pliny the Elder, Galen, and Avicenna, as customary. Melancholy is caused by the excess of black bile, which Melampus cured with the help of hellebore. He weaves a quotation from Virgil’s Eclogue VI into this context, illustrating the mad state the Proetides were in, and one from a satire by Juvenal, where he writes about the mistakes and poor examples a parent can hurt his own child with. Galeotto tries to provide a medical explanation for the myth of Proetus’ daughters through the etymology of Melampus’ name. However, a typical characteristic of the text is that the literary quotations from ancient authors are just as important as those from medical authorities.

De humoribus corporis nostri similibus elementis et planetis et de insania et gallis leones terrentibus.

Unde si strictus ensis bilioso ostenditur, accendit eum audentiorque reddit, sanguineum quoque in furorem concitat, nam exclusis vaporibus propter levitatem terror nullus adest, sed idem ensis strictus, ubi paucitas spirituum est et calor aegestas nigris vaporibus adauctus, terribilis visis animi apparet. Et hinc nascitur, quod signa in proeliis diversos inducunt effectus, nam aliquibus cornua ardorem pugnandi, Vergilius: *Aere ciere uiros Martemque accendere cantu*,¹³ aliis vero tantum timoris incutiunt, ut statim ventrem purgare exoptent, Iuvenalis: *Solvunt tibi cornua ventrem*.¹⁴

On our humours, which are similar to the elements and planets, on madness, and the cocks that intimidate lions.

Thus, if a drawn sword is shown to someone who is suffering from gallstones, it will fire them up and make them braver, and it will also anger a sanguine person. Namely as a result of the lightness that comes from releasing heat, they do not experience fear, but the same drawn sword will be a terrifying sight when this lack of heat is combined with black vapours. Thus, the call to battle will have different effects, since in some the sound of the bugle will prompt the passion to fight (Virgil: “To waken heroes by the clarion’s call”), while in others it will cause panic, to the extent that they want to relieve their stomach (Juvenal: “the sound of cornets and trumpets loosen your anxious bowels”).

(Marzio 1548, cap. XIII. 114–115.)

13 Verg. *Aen.* VI. 165.

14 Iuv. *Sat.* 14, 199.

In this chapter, Galeotto discusses how the proportions of humours influence human behaviour and character. He illustrates this through the example of someone seeing a drawn sword and hearing the sound of a war horn, which have a different effect depending on the individual's constitution. In this case, he once again strengthens his train of thought with the help of quotations from Virgil and Juvenal. Galeotto takes the ancient authors' textual locations out of their original context, namely the line quoted from Virgil is uttered when Misenus, Aeneas' trumpeter, is found dead on the shore, while the quote from Juvenal comes from the same satire on education (Satire XIV) as the quotation in the previous excerpt.

De mulieribus in uiros conuersis et maris an feminae in coitu sit maior uoluptas.

Nihil enim tam monstruosum apparet, quam sexus mutatio, quamobrem ea, quae de Iphide tradita sunt, mentibus hominum fixum est fabulose narrari, ut *potiturque sua puer Iphis Ianthe*, ut Ouidius scribit, et ut hoc uerum fuisse ostendamus, quaedam prius in medium proponentur.¹⁵ Poetarum et in religione quoque mos est uti modis dicendi metaphoricis et allegoricis, ita tamen, ut a ueritate non discedant, teste Lactantio, unde Ouidius tertio *Metamorphoseos*: *forte Iovem memorant, diffusum nectare, curas seposuisse graves vacuaque agitasse remissos cum Iunone iocos et „maior uestra profecto est, quam quae contingit maribus” dixisse „uoluptas.”*¹⁶ Ex quibus uerbis moti ad ea, quae indicare intendimus, sermonem dirigemus. Intendimus autem ostendere et sexus mutationem esse facilem, et in coitu mulierum uoluptatem longe maiorem esse, quam uirorum. Iupiter enim et Iuno huius rei iudicem fecerunt Tiresiam, qui utrumque sexum expertus facile diiudicaret, nos uero ad huius rei probationem Avicennam et Nicolaum Peripateticum uiros excellentissimos attestabimus, nam quae oculis uidimus inter anatomicos, cum eorum sententiis concordant.

On men who have become women, and whether during intercourse it is men or women who experience greater pleasure.

Nothing seems so unnatural as the metamorphosis of biological sexes, so people believe that the story of Iphis is a fable, since “Iphis, a new man, gained his Ianthe,” as Ovid puts it, and before we prove this to be true, we have to interject some particular issues. In both poetry and religious texts, it is customary to use metaphors and allegories, in a way that they should not completely depart from reality, as Lactantius also shows, and as for instance Ovid puts it in the third book of *Metamorphoses*: ‘Tis told that Jupiter, a careless hour, indulged too freely in the nectar cup; and having laid aside all weighty cares, jested with Juno as she idled by. Freely the god began; “Who doubts the truth? The female’s pleasure is a great delight, much greater than the pleasure of a male.” Encouraged by these words, we direct our message to what we want to elaborate. Namely we want to prove that the transformation of sexes is simple, and that during intercourse women experience far greater pleasure than men. Namely Jupiter and Juno made Tires-

15 Ovid. *Met.* IX. 797.

16 Ovid. *Met.* III. 316–319.

sias the judge of this question, who could decide it easily once he had experienced both sexes, and we call upon Avicenna and Nicolaus Peripateticus, these most illustrious men, to help prove this case, since what we have seen with our own eyes at the anatomists' matches their opinion.

(Marzio 1548, cap. XVIII. 159–160.)

Galeotto discusses the history of sexuality in chapters XVIII and XIX.¹⁷ He wants to prove that the phenomenon many considered unnatural, i.e. a gender transformation, is in fact possible in reality. Once again, he brings a myth as an example, in this case the story of Iphis, quoting from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. According to him, the myth of Iphis is in fact about switching biological sexes, since Iphis was born as a girl, but her mother raised her as a boy, hiding her true gender from her husband. Iphis eventually fell in love with another woman, Ianthe, so Isis changed her into a man before the wedding. Before going into the medical basis of the myth, Galeotto refers to the fact that although poets often use metaphors and allegories, they never fully distance themselves from reality. This reminds him of another similar story from Ovid, that of Tiresias (gr. Teiresias), which leads him to his next topic, the issue of sexual pleasure. Then he moves on to the medical explanation of the discussed phenomena. Galeotto claims that it is indeed possible to change gender in real life, and, answering the question he posed in the subtitle, he claims that it is women who experience greater pleasure during sexual intercourse. Tiresias' story corroborates this claim, who could experience it thanks to his metamorphosis from man to woman. In the following, Galeotto refers to Avicenna and his own studies in anatomy and provides a detailed description of the structure of the male and female genitalia, the relationship between the two of which, according to contemporary thinking, proved that a metamorphosis between the sexes was possible. (See the theory of isomorphism, developed by Galen.)¹⁸

The other topic indicated in the title of the chapter paves the way for a physiological explanation of sexual pleasure. The analysis of the role, nature, and extent of pleasure occupied an important role in the medical literature of sexuality, with several medieval authors discussing the issue. They mostly approached the issue of pleasure as a problem related to procreation, although the topic of sexual appetite also provided an opportunity to discuss the weaknesses that was said to characterize women, which could be partly explained with the help of humours. There were several different explanations for why women typically experience greater pleasure, also known from the Tiresias story. Sexual pleasure and its medical aspects were still discussed in various medical treatises in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The title of these treatises is often an almost word-for-word repetition of Galeotto's chapter title, in the form of a question.¹⁹

17 *De coitu, et eius vocabulo suppresso ab antiquis.*

18 For more on this see: BÉKÉS, *Asztrológia, orvoslás és fiziognómia...*, 123–125.

19 BÉKÉS, *Asztrológia, orvoslás és fiziognómia...*, 126–127; BÉKÉS, "Scientia sexualis and Ducal Cultural Politics: The Lessons of a Text Publication," *Camoenae Hungaricae* 7 (2010): 29–44.

Since the scientific chapters of *De doctrina promiscua* often contain quotations from Virgil, it is important to examine how these textual locations were interpreted in Servius' commentary, which also defined the reception of Virgil's works in Galeotto's time.²⁰

De mixtura aut compositione medicinarum, ubi exploditur ridicula Plinii sententia.

Sed mentio scamoneae, nam in tertia datur, cum calida sit, admonet, ut videamus, si calida aliquando refrigerant, et si frigida exurunt, nam testimonia non deerunt. Vergilius namque in *Bucolico: Thestylis et rapido fessis messoribus aestu allia serpyllumque herbas contundit olentes*.²¹ Cum haec omnia calida sint, et idem poeta in *Georgicon* libro: *penetrabile frigus adurat*.²² Et Lucanus: *Urebant montana nives*.²³

On the various mixtures and compositions of medicines, where we reject Pliny's ridiculous opinion.

But the mention of scammony, which they give for three-day fever, since it is of a hot nature, advises us to observe that hot things are sometimes cooling, while cold things are scorching, since examples exist for it. Virgil namely states it in the eclogue: "now for tired mowers, with the fierce heat spent, pounds Thestylis her mess of savoury herbs, wild thyme and garlic," since these have a hot quality. In *Georgics* Virgil also states: "searching blast of the keen north should sear them." And Lucan: "Snow scorched the mountains."

(Marzio 1548, cap. III. 41–42.)

In this chapter, the author discusses the ingredients of various medicines and their characteristics. He makes the point in connection with scammony that sometimes it is plants of a hot nature that have the capacity to relieve fever, or those with cold properties may create heat. He brings two locations from Virgil and one from Lucan to illustrate this phenomenon. The first quotation from Virgil comes from the second eclogue (on the topic of love), in which Thestylis mixes scammony, also mentioned by Galeotto, and garlic, i.e. two plants with hot characteristics, for the harvesters who are parched from the heat. Servius also explains this phenomenon with the *simile* principle, which is also the basis of the homeopathic healing practices widely used today:

Alia serpyllumque herbas calidas, quae aestum repellunt: nam, ut etiam Plinius dicit in *Naturali Historia*: „omnis medicina aut a contrario aut a simili quaeritur”, unde etiam calor potest aut frigore aut alio calore depelli. Hinc est, quod in ultima ecloga, cum amator remedium quaerat ardori, dicit se iturum aut ad Scythiam aut ad Aethiopiam, ut „Aethiopum versemus oves sub sidere Cancri”.²⁴ Sane serpyllus herba est, quam Graeci her-

20 JANKOVITS, *Accessus ad Janum...*, 17–20; David Scott WILSON-OKAMURA, *Virgil in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

21 Verg. *Ecl.* 2, 10–11.

22 Verg. *Georg.* I. 93.

23 Luc. *BC IV.* 52.

24 Verg. *Ecl.* 10. 68.

pyllon dicunt: in multis enim nominibus, quae in Graeco aspirationem habent, nos pro aspiratione 's' ponimus: inde est pro herpyllo 'serpyllum'...

Garlic and thyme, hot plants, which banish heat, as Pliny also puts it in *Naturalis Historia*: "all medicines are taken from either the opposite or the similar (i.e. kind of ingredient)", so heat can be chased away through cold or another kind of heat. That is why in the last eclogue, when the lover is looking for a balm to cool his passion, he says he is going to either Scythia or Ethiopia, to "under Cancer's Sign, in Aethiopian deserts drive our flocks." Thyme must be the plant that the Greek call *herpyllon*: namely in the case of many names that have a breathing mark, we pronounce an 's' instead of an 'h' sound, which is where *serpyllum* comes from instead of *herpyllon*...

In another case, Galeotto quotes Servius' explanation of the given location as well, alongside Virgil:

De cicuta herba, ubi mors Socratis est. De hyoscyamo et de herba Sardoniam et risu Sardonico.

Graecitas namque docuisset et natura in linguam Punicam traducta declarassent risum Sardonicum, ex quo percepisset herbam illam, quam Sardoniam vocamus. Vergilius: *Ergo ego Sardonii videar tibi amarior herbis.*²⁵ Quam quidam apium risus, quidam vero apiastrum dixere, de qua sic Servius: »In Sardinia nascitur quaedam herba, ut Sallustius dicit,²⁶ quae Sardo dicitur, apiastri similis, quae ora hominum tristi dolore contrahit, et quasi ridentes interimit« hic est, o Avicenna, tensio labii et tetanus, et hinc est risus Sardonicus in Graecorum proverbio, ut Cicero testatur in *Familiaribus*,²⁷ et Statius de Tydeo ait: *et formidabile ridens.*²⁸ Nam sicut mors ex Sardo herba non sine risu contingit, ita irati hominis risus ad inferendam necem parati hac similitudine Sardonicus dicitur.

On water hemlock and the death of Socrates. On St. John's wort, Sardinian plant, and the sardonic smile.

Namely also the Greek could have taught him (i.e. Avicenna), and the sardonic smile also could have been translated into the Punic language, from which he could have understood that it is the plant we call Sardinian. Virgil: "Now may I seem more bitter to your taste than herb Sardinian." Some link this to celery, others to lemon balm, on which Servius states: "A certain plant grows in Sardinia, as Sallust says, which is said to be Sardinian, and it is similar to lemon balm, which constricts people's mouth with bitter pain, and they die as if they were laughing." Oh, Avicenna, this is the tightening of lips and tetanus, and this is where the sardonic smile originates in the Greek proverb, as Cicero also attests in *Familiares*, and as Statius also says about Tydeus: "and with a terrible

25 Verg. *Ecl.* 7. 41.

26 Sall. *Hist. Fr.* II. 12.

27 Cic. *ad Fam.* VII. 25.

28 Stat. *Theb.* VIII. 581.

laugh.” Since Sardinian grass makes people die with a smile, the smile of furious people who are planning to commit murder is also similarly said to be sardonic.
(Marzio 1548, cap. X. 93–94.)

In this excerpt, it is again a plant that makes Galeotto think of the Virgilian text corpus. *De doctrina* discusses the poisonous “*herba Sardonica*” (Sardinian plant), which functions as a simile in the seventh eclogue, on the topic of *certamen poeticum*: “Now may I seem more bitter to your taste than herb Sardinian,” says Thyrsis teasingly to his competitor, Corydon. Galeotto elaborates on the effect of the poisonous plant, i.e. death accompanied by a grimace similar to a convulsive smile, by quoting from Servius, then invoking Cicero and Statius to describe the figurative meaning of “*risus Sardonicus*” (sardonic smile). It is clear even from these few lines how the layers of the author’s factual and textual knowledge unfold. He goes from etymologizing, which characterized humanists, to a complete, encyclopaedic treatment and presentation of the given topic. Literary texts and the knowledge they transmit form an integral part of this. At the same time, what is unique about Galeotto’s method is, to my knowledge, relatively rare in the contemporary medical, astrological, and scientific works, i.e. he treats the ancient “literary” works and what we would today call “scholarly” sources almost as equal.

The last part of the study presents what we know about the way humanists, including Galeotto, typically read and used ancient authors. Since they did not acquire Latin as their mother tongue any more, they also used the corpus of ancient literature primarily as a basis for the correct acquisition of the language. Furthermore, the historical, mythological, and cultural historical knowledge, and what would today be called natural science transmitted by the texts was systematized as teaching material, since a critical interpretation of these texts only developed gradually. *De doctrina* also contains locations where the author does not agree with Pliny the Elder for instance, although it was much more typical to refer to the authors as authorities. In other words, the knowledge acquired about humankind and the world was still primarily kept in books, and the authority of canonical texts remained uninterrupted for a long time even in the age of the new world, scientific discoveries, and the beginning of evidence-based science, or it was at least considered part of literacy.²⁹ The uninterrupted afterlife and publication history of ancient scientific texts defined scientific thinking for a long time. Referring to them did not necessarily mean an uncritical adoption, and the rediscovery of particular works, preparing commentaries on them, or in the case of Greek and Arabic texts, their new translation brought about a gradual re-examination of their content. This philological, text-centred approach also contributed to the progress and development of the given discipline. Just to mention some data in connection with the reception of scientific texts: Galen’s works were published 660 times before the end of the

29 Anthony GRAFTON, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Cambridge, MA–London: Harvard University Press, 1995).

sixteenth century, while *Naturalis Historia* by Pliny the Elder was published 46 times before 1550, as was Euclid's *Elementa*.³⁰

Several treatises on humanist pedagogy have survived from the fifteenth century, which are not only relevant in terms of humanist ideas and the history of education but also regarding the history of reading, and humanist composition practice and compilation techniques. Fortunately, the pedagogical principles and curriculum of the *contubernium* (private boarding school) run by Galeotto's master, Guarino da Verona, were documented by his son, Battista Guarino in his book *De modo et ordine docendi ac studendi* (*On the mode and order of teaching and learning*) (1459).³¹

Guarino's system comprised three tiers: at the elementary level, students learned how to read in Latin and acquired the rules of proper pronunciation, primarily through the use of *Donatus minor*. This was followed by the second level, which was based on teaching grammar, using *Regulae*, compiled by Guarino. In *Regulae*, the grammar rules are also often illustrated with quotations from classical authors, which were meant to be learned by heart, so students already met the original texts while learning the language. The quotations were introduced by the phrase "*unde versus*" (i.e. "see this poem as an example"). Galeotto also frequently uses this segue. Historical, mythological knowledge was acquired at this level, which Guarino also accompanied with classical authors, indicating in what order they should be read. The sequence is of course opened by Virgil, whose oeuvre was known to be one of the main points of reference for the imitation and self-formation of Neo-Latin poets.³² Virgil was read together with Servius' commentary, but Guarino also provided interpretations for the individual authors, and the explanations added to each line or even word of the text formed an integral part of the so-called *accessus ad auctores*. (What is more, according to Guarino's monographer, Sabbadini, based on one of Guarino's letters, it seems that Guarino also compiled a Virgil dictionary based on Servius. Unfortunately, this dictionary has not survived.)³³ Additional fundamental readings included Ovid for myths and Valerius Maximus for history. Recommended readings also included Pliny the Elder, Gellius' *Attic Nights* and Macrobius' *Saturnalia* for the miscellanea-type encyclopaedic knowledge they transmitted. (In fact, Galeotto's treatise is similar to these, also in terms of the diversity indicated in the title.) The third level was rhetorical training, where Quintil-

30 Gerhard OESTREICH, *Neostoicism and the Early Modern State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 1–5. On the afterlife of *Naturalis Historia* see also: Gerhard WINKLER, "Naturalis Historia," in C. Plinius Secundus der Ä., *Naturkunde I*, eds. Roderich KÖNIG and Gerhard WINKLER, *Sammlung Tusculum* (München–Zürich: Artemis & Winkler, 1997), 353–384; Aude DOODY, *Pliny's Encyclopedia: The Reception of the Natural History* (Cambridge–New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

31 Its modern edition in English translation: Craig KALLENDORF, *Humanist Educational Treatises*, The I Tatti Renaissance Library 5 (Cambridge, MA–London: Harvard University Press, 2002), 260–310. For the most influential analysis of Guarino's method to this day see: Remigio SABBADINI, *La scuola e gli studi di Guarino Guarini Veronese: con 44 documenti* (reprint, Torino: Bottega d'Erasmus, 1964); HUSZTI József, *Janus Pannonius* (Pécs: Janus Pannoius-Társaság, 1931), 14–31; JANKOVITS, *Accessus ad Janum...*

32 JANKOVITS, *Accessus ad Janum...*, 21–29. On Virgil's afterlife see also: Craig KALLENDORF, *The Virgilian Tradition. Book History and the History of Reading in Early Modern Europe* (Routledge, 2019).

33 SABBADINI, *La scuola e gli studi...*, 54.

ian and Cicero were the main required readings, basically already preparing students for their subsequent studies and career. It is important to note that Guarino had students read Lucan, whom Galeotto also quotes several times, after Quintilian because he considered the linguistic formulation and composition of *Pharsalia* a sort of rhetorical model text based on Quintilian.³⁴ As his son Battista puts it: “According to Quintilian, Lucan should be imitated by rhetors rather than poets, and whoever reads him will count as a learned person...”³⁵ Lucan is also a good example for how ancient poetry was analysed to obtain astrological and astronomical knowledge. Great emphasis was also placed on this field in Guarino’s school, just like on teaching Greek language and philosophy towards the end of students’ education.

However, Battista Guarino’s book on educational theory does not only show which authors the students read, it also reveals how they systematized lexical and factual knowledge. They undoubtedly had enormous textual knowledge, they could recite a lot from memory, since memorizing texts was also part of the school’s practice, especially to practice the meters. However, I do not think it likely that for instance Galeotto only relied on his memory when he quoted several different authors on each page of *De doctrina*, and not only from ancient authors but also from the church fathers, Saint Thomas Aquinas, Avicenna, Averroës, the Bible, and sometimes even from his own contemporaries. How could this type of text creation work, that he could think of several textual locations simultaneously, no matter if the text was about the name of a plant, a celestial constellation, or an illness? Immersion in ancient texts and systematizing encyclopaedic knowledge also included taking notes of excerpts related to particular topics, which was called “excerpere”. In other words, the quotations and excerpts on a particular topic taken from various sources were organized into collections of “*loci communes*”, prepared for individual use.³⁶ Battista Guarino details the benefits of the method at length, which both serves educational purposes and also makes it possible to remember a relevant *locus* even during a conversation or while writing a speech.³⁷ Guarino recalls the example of Pliny the Elder, who was one of the most cited ancient forerunners of *ars excerpendi*, which can be considered part of the compilation process.³⁸ (It could be seen as the predecessor of “copy-paste”.) Pliny the Younger recalls in one of his letters that according to his uncle, “there never was a book so bad that it was not good in some passage or another.” This letter reveals that he also used this method to compose *Naturalis Historia*, and that his commentaries were considered so valuable that someone of

34 In the age of the Renaissance, this title was quoted rather than *De bello civili*. The *Pharsalia* version refers to the phrase “*Pharsalia nostra*” in Book IX, line 985. On this see: Claudia Wick, *M. Annaeus Lucanus: “Bellum civile,” Liber IX. Kommentar* (München–Leipzig: Saur, 2004), 419–420.

35 KALLENDORF, *Humanist Educational Treatises...*, 286.

36 Ann BLAIR, “The Rise of Note-Taking in Early Modern Europe,” *Intellectual History Review* 20. no. 3 (2010): 303–316; Ann MOSS, “Commonplace Books: Major Items in Print,” in *Brill’s Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World*, eds. Philipp FORD, Jan BLOEMENDAL, and Charles E. FANTAZZI, II. vol., 948–953 (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

37 KALLENDORF, *Humanist Educational Treatises...*, 286.

38 *Ibidem*, 294.

ferred him 400,000 sesterces for them. The commentaries, i.e. notes, comprised approximately 160 scrolls and had been collected for his own personal use.³⁹ Aulus Gellius also claimed to have compiled *Attic Nights* using a similar method.

The space limitations of the present study unfortunately make it impossible to provide more detail about the long tradition of collections of commonplaces and quotations. These span a period from the antiquity, through medieval collections of *florilegia* to the methodological literature of excerpting, such as Erasmus' treatise *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum* (*Foundations of the Abundant Style*). It must also be mentioned that the origins of the use of quotations presented here in connection with Galeotto Marzio are also described in works on the theory of rhetoric.⁴⁰ Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian all recommended that orators should support their argument with relevant *topoi* and wise sayings, quoting Quintilian: "Authority also may be drawn from external sources to support a case."⁴¹ In my opinion, Galeotto's otherwise typically humanist citation method also aims to help develop the given topic and present and expand the philosophical, medical, or astrological convictions it represents by quoting lines of poetry or thoughts that are relevant to the given topic by authors who were considered authorities. In other words, within the scientific context of *De doctrina*, ancient literary quotations constitute an equally valuable point of reference to medical texts, and like the footnotes that accompany a study today, they legitimize the author's text creation process, which aims to be encyclopaedic and synthesizing in nature. The fact that in this fifteenth-century work the concepts of scientific literature and fiction are not really separated serves as a good illustration for the pre-Romantic concept of *litterae*,⁴² which was perfectly in line with the philosophical and scientific thinking and epistemology of the time. The large number of ancient quotations in *De doctrina* also shows how humanism, astrology, and medicine converged towards each other, illustrating the state of cultural history at the end of the fifteenth century. It was clearly important for Galeotto to show off this aspect of his erudition whenever he could, which was also likely in line with the expectations of the time.

Finally, some examples for other authors who use ancient quotations for a similar purpose are described below. These works include encyclopaedias, commentaries, and dictionaries, which supports my impression that in some cases Galeotto synthe-

39 Plin. *Ep.* III. 5.

40 See also: Ann BLAIR, "Humanist Methods in Natural Philosophy: The Commonplace Book," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 53, no. 4 (1992): 541–551; Ann BLAIR, *Too Much to Know. Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven–London: Yale University Press, 2010).

41 Quint. *Inst. or.* V. 11, 36.

42 See more on this concept: BENE Sándor and KECSKEMÉTI Gábor, "Javaslatok egy új irodalomtörténet elvi alapvetéséhez és régi magyar irodalomtörténeti részének felépítéséhez" [Recommendations for the theoretical basis of a new literary history and developing its old Hungarian literature section], *Helikon* 55. no. 1–2 (2009): 201–225; KECSKEMÉTI Gábor, "A régiséget értelmező irodalomtörténeti gyakorlat reflektált és reflektálatlan szemléleti alapjairól" [On the reflected and unreflected bases of literary historians' practice in interpreting antiquity], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 119, no. 5 (2015): 577–584.

sizes the information available on particular medications or plants as if he was writing a dictionary entry. This method also attests to humanists' lexicographic proficiency.

- St. Isidore of Sevilla, *Etymologiae* (7th century A.D.), Lib. XIII. 4: *De caelo*. Following a quotation from the Bible, he publishes his interpretation of Lucretius in the form of a quotation.
- Sextus Pompeius Festus, *De verborum significatione* (2nd century A.D.): publishing historical, religious etc. information related to the glossary, using ancient quotations to illustrate which ancient author also used the given word.
- Nonius Marcellus, *De compendiosa doctrina* (4th century A.D.): most of this work also discusses linguistic issues. (Galeotto quotes these last two authors when they are relevant for the explanation or etymology of a given word. He compares their points of view, e.g. when he discusses the etymology and philosophical layers of meaning of the word "nihil."⁴³)
- Giovanni Tortelli, *De orthographia dictionum e Graecis tractarum* (Venice, 1471): this work discusses words of Greek origin in a more-or-less alphabetical order, also providing the textual locations of the authors.
- Niccolò Perotti, *Cornu copiae* (Venice, 1489): this is a monumental Martialis commentary, although it blends the genres of commentary, thesaurus, and *miscellanea* together. Perotti provides an explanation for virtually every word, quoting which other author also uses the given word.

It is a commonplace to say that we are living in the age of information revolution today, and for us it is only natural that during the analysis of a topic or the preparation of a critical edition we use the internet, various databases, and digitized editions to trace sources. However, this revolution began with the humanists, due to the works that they newly discovered, the change of canons, the invention of the printing press, and the increasingly widespread availability of paper. This study set out to show an example of how humanists related to the textual relics they had inherited from antiquity, and how they tried to harness the rich sources of knowledge and information these texts represented for them, beyond considering the classical works a standard to achieve for their own linguistic, aesthetic, and stylistic values.

43 Galeottus MARTIUS NARNIENSIS, *Liber de doctrina promiscua* (Florentiae: Torrentinus, 1548), cap. XXIII. 217.