

H U M A N I S T I C A
L O V A N I E N S I A

JOURNAL OF NEO-LATIN STUDIES

Vol. LX - 2011

LEUVEN UNIVERSITY PRESS

*Gepubliceerd met de steun
van de Universitaire Stichting van België*



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Presses Universitaires de Louvain,
Minderbroedersstraat 4 - B 3000 Leuven/Louvain, Belgium

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ISBN 978 90 5867 884 3
D/2011/1869/39
ISSN 0774-2908
NUR: 635

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Konrad KOKOSZKIEWICZ

TEXTUAL NOTES ON LORENZO VALLA'S
*DE FALSO CREDITA ET EMENTITA CONSTANTINI DONATIONE**

In the present paper I will discuss several textual issues which can be or have been detected in the treatise. At the outset I have to say that I have not examined all the textual tradition myself; in this respect I am mostly relying on the critical edition made by Wolfram Setz¹, and his detailed report on readings of the MSS as well as on later conjectures. Apart from that, I have consulted the edition made by Christopher Coleman², and two other, more recent editions available to me, one made by Olga Pugliese³ and the other by Glen W. Bowersock⁴. All three books contain the Latin text; two of them reproduce the text of Setz's edition⁵, and accompany it with a translation into Italian or English. I found the translations very informative on how the respective editors understand the Latin text in its problematic places, and this, in turn, is useful to elicit their conjectures,

* I am greatly indebted to my learned colleagues in the Institute of Classical Studies, University of Warsaw, for many useful suggestions and thoughts they had on an early draft of this article.

¹ *Quellen zu Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters: De falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione*, ed. by Wolfram Setz, 10 (Weimar: MGH, 1976). For the sake of clarity and consistency I am deliberately ignoring its spelling of Latin.

² *The Treatise of Lorenzo Valla on the Donation of Constantine*, ed. and trans. by Christopher B. Coleman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1922).

³ *La falsa donazione di Costantino*, trans. by Olga Pugliese, BUR Classici, (Milano: RCS Libri, 2001).

⁴ *On the Donation of Constantine*, trans. by Glen W. Bowersock, I Tatti Renaissance Library (London: Harvard University Press, 2007). I am following the section numbering used in that edition.

⁵ Bowersock writes on p. 185 of the I Tatti edition, that Setz's text is 'reproduced with minor changes' and lists the differences. So does Pugliese on p. 57 of her book. But even without closer scrutiny it can quickly be discovered that the I Tatti text diverges from Setz's in more places, than listed, sometimes getting closer to that of Coleman's. For example, chapter 65, Setz: '*quod credimus*', Coleman: '*quod non credimus*', so Bowersock; chapter 71, Setz: '*unde tamen*', Coleman/Bowersock: '*unde tantum*'; chapter 75, similarly '*honor dicto*' vs '*honore dicto*'; chapter 82, '*mihi tamen*' vs '*mihi tantum*'; chapter 95, '*illa*' vs '*illi*' etc.

which, although not reflected in the Latin texts printed, are anyway necessary to obtain a sense in English or Italian.

Hereafter I will occasionally comment on how the translations render the Latin text, and at places I will use them to demonstrate that the Latin text is not sound. But the main goal of my paper is: a) to comment on the MSS text and its later amendments, b) to point out some problems, which so far have apparently been unnoticed, and, of course, c) propose solutions.

1. Chapter 6

Itaque, quasi in contione regum ac principum orans (ut certe facio, nam mea haec oratio in manus eorum uentura est), libet tamquam praesentes et in conspectu positos alloqui.

Setz leaves this without a comment, both Coleman and Bowersock render this into correct English and do not note on any problem here. But in fact the Latin sentence is ungrammatical: 'libet' requires a dative, therefore, at first glance, 'oranti' is expected instead of 'orans'. I think, however, that this is an intended inconsistency (or, in other words, an anacoluthon): the first part of the sentence, the one containing 'orans', is composed as if the final part — after 'uentura est' — was 'tamquam praesentes et in conspectu positos alloquar'. The treatise is composed as an imitation of an actually delivered speech and the anacoluthon contributes to the illusion, so altering the text here is not absolutely necessary.

2. Chapter 7

Alexander — non contentus deserta Libyae pedibus peragrasse, orientem ad extremum usque Oceanum uicisse, domuisse septentrionem, inter tot uulnera, tot casus, recusantibus iam detestantibusque tam longinquas, tam asperas expeditiones militibus — ipse sibi nihil effecisse uidebatur, nisi et occidentem, et omnes nationes aut ui, aut nominis sui auctoritate sibi tributarias reddidisset.

This is the reading of Setz's MSS BN, whereas the MS A has 'recusantibus iam detestantibus'. The BN reading is an improvement over what is found in A, but on the other hand it is stylistically implausible, because a conjunction is suddenly introduced into the middle of a longer asyndeton. I would like to propose another solution: because we read a paired

'tot (...) tot' before the place in question, and a paired 'tam (...) tam' after it, the internal balance of the phrase probably requires a like pair also in the middle. Thus I suggest 'iam (...) iam': '(...) tot uulnera, tot casus, <iam> recusantibus, iam detestantibus tam longinquas, tam asperas (...)'. An alternative approach, since 'detestari' is stronger than 'recusare', is to read 'immo' instead of 'iam' in A: 'recusantibus immo detestantibus'. This has an advantage of the error being easier to explain palaeographically and the internal symmetry of the sentence is still preserved.

3. Chapter 9

Qui filiis, qui coniunctis sanguine, qui amicitis abundaret?

The oddity here is an abstract noun (yet in plural: 'amicitiae', friendships) attached to two concrete terms: 'filii' 'sons' and 'coniuncti sanguine' 'blood relatives', to form a series. Translators indeed have a problem with this apparent compositional inconsistency: Coleman concretizes 'who had many sons, relatives and associates', so does Pugliese: 'un uomo che aveva molti figli, parenti e amici', and Bowersock goes the opposite way: 'who was rich in progeny, blood relations, and friendships'. I think that this stylistic peculiarity conceals a textual error, therefore we should accept the conjecture of the editio princeps and read: 'Qui filiis, qui coniunctis sanguine, qui amicis abundaret?', as is required by concinnity (we find a similar figure in Quint., *inst.*, 5, 10, 26: 'propinquis, amicis, clientibus abundante') and as it is understood by Coleman and Pugliese. The error must have occurred by diplography: 'amicis' > 'amicicis', and the latter is in turn easily 'amended' into 'amicitiis' (or even 'amiciciis').

4. Chapter 26

Iugum enim meum suaue et pondus meum leue.

This quotation comes from Mt 11, 30; the original runs thus: 'iugum enim meum suaue est et pondus meum leue est'. Valla quotes freely ('he quotes freely from Scripture and always from memory', as Bowersock puts it on p. XI), so greater or lesser variations in this field, or even misquotations, are no surprise. The striking thing here is the lack of any

predicate, and this clashes with the usual style of the Bible, which in this respect even prefers some pedantry (as in Mt 11, 30 quoted above) rather than ellipses. Valla, being a Catholic priest, must have realized this well, so I find it hardly believable that he could, even quoting from memory, drop both predicates from such a short line. This reasoning leads to the conclusion that this may be another textual error and that there is some merit in the conjecture found in the *editio princeps*: ‘Iugum enim meum suaue <est> et pondus meum leue’, which I am inclined to recommend. What probably happened is that an abbreviated ‘est’ has been reduced by haplography: ‘suaue ē et’ > ‘suaue et’ (note that the other ‘est’ may have been omitted the same way).

5. Chapter 31

Non ignoramus, qui reges Persarum, Medorum, Chaldaeorum, Hebraeorum fuerint, aliorumque plurimorum, et quomodo horum quisque aut acceperit regnum, aut tenuerit, aut perdidit, aut recuperauerit. Romanum autem, siue Siluestrianum, imperium, qua ratione inceperit, aut qua desierit, quando, per quos, in ipsa quoque Vrbe nescitur.

The ‘empire’ Valla is speaking about here is not the Roman empire, but the alleged ‘Silvestrian empire’ formed from the western provinces donated by Constantine, and with the pope Silvester as its ruler. The problem is that Valla reserves the term ‘imperium Romanum’ for the real, ‘secular’ Roman empire throughout the treatise (compare the usage just a few sentences back: ‘Imperium Romanum tantis laboribus, tanto cruore partum’ etc., in exactly this meaning), and throughout this passage he is contrasting it with the alleged papal state. Thus in this place ‘imperium Romanum’ must be understood the same way, and this produces nonsense, for two reasons:

- a) the Roman empire is historically well defined, there is no question, ‘how it began, how ended, when, through whom’ (Coleman),
- b) the ‘Silvestrian empire’ is defined in Valla’s treatise as a different (even if only putative) entity than the Roman empire; therefore such phrasing: ‘Romanum siue Siluestrianum imperium’ ‘the Roman or, in other words, Silvestrian empire’, being a logical equivalent of, say, ‘the Britain or in other words India’, cannot stand.

Translators tried variously to escape the difficulty. Coleman resorts to a slip of the tongue and self-correction: ‘the Roman Empire, or rather the

Silvestrian', but such a slip is neither likely at all, nor stylistically justified (we have to keep in mind, that the treatise is only an imitated speech, not a stenotype of a real one, so any such 'slips' are in fact rhetorical devices of the writer). Pugliese writes 'l'impero romano o silvestrino' as if there was no illogicality here. Bowersock ignores 'siue' entirely and translates thus: 'Silvester's Roman empire'.

The required sense is that of Bowersock's translation, that is, not 'the Roman or in other words Silvestrian empire', but rather 'the empire that Silvester is supposed to have ruled from Rome'. There must also be some suggestion for Valla to coin the subsequent nonce-term, the trifling 'Silvestrian empire'. To squeeze all this out of the Latin text, we must supply one word: 'Romanum autem <Siluestri>, siue Siluestrianum, imperium (...)'. A copyist glanced from the first 'si' (in 'Siluestri') to the second (in 'siue'), and missed a word.

Another solution is Bowersock's, that is, to delete 'siue'. This however creates an expression which is stylistically less plausible: one noun would carry two adjectives, whereas one of them — Romanum — is in fact superfluous, as saying 'Siluestrianum autem imperium' would be enough to pick up and balance 'Imperium Romanum' named at the beginning of the passage (on Setz's page 88).

6. Chapter 33

Ita plane dabat, quod minime futurum intellegebat? Dabat, quod tradere non poterat? Dabat, quod non prius uenire in manus eius, cui dabatur, possibile erat, quam esset exstinctum? Dabat donum, quod ante quingentos annos aut numquam ualiturum foret?

The problem comes in the last sentence. Coleman: 'he gave a gift which would not be valid for five hundred years, or never would be valid'. Pugliese: 'dava un dono che non sarebbe stato valido per cinquecento anni o mai?'. Bowersock: 'did he give a gift that would not be valid until five hundred years later or never?'. But the problem is that 'ante quingentos annos' is in no way 'not (...) for five hundred years', or 'non (...) per cinquecento anni', or 'not (...) until five hundred years later' — 'ante quingentos annos' simply means 'before five hundred years' or 'five hundred years ago', and may hardly mean anything else⁶; and this, of

⁶ There are examples of *ante* used in the meaning close to *intra*, such as Verg., *georg.*, 3, 61: 'aetas (...) pati hymenaeos desinit ante decem, post quattuor incipit annos', or *dig.*

course, is meaningless in this context, especially when accompanied by the future participle ‘ualiturum’.

The cause of the difficulty is probably, again, a textual error. I suggest replacing the nonsensical ‘ante’ with ‘aut post’, and read thus: ‘Dabat donum, quod aut post quingentos annos aut numquam ualiturum foret?’ This is a natural construction, as (Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 90): ‘si haec post trecentos et quinquaginta fere annos euentura putaret’, also both parts of the subordinate clause are better balanced if both are introduced by an ‘aut’. Also see Cic. *inv.* 1, 90 for similar usage of ‘post’ and a doubled ‘aut’: ‘leue est quod aut post tempus dicitur (...) aut perspicue turpem rem leui tegere uult defensione’.

The cause of the error, if the text is emended this way, is probably that an abbreviated ‘aut’ (perhaps written as *au* and possibly over the line) has first been misread as ‘ante’ (*an*^t), and then the copyist, understanding it as an amendment, has substituted it for the subsequent ‘post’.

An alternative approach⁷ is to conjecture a ‘non’ before ‘ante’ (what all three translators appear to do silently) and read: ‘Dabat donum, quod <non> ante quingentos annos aut numquam ualiturum foret?’, where the expression is meant as an equivalent of a ‘non ualiturum antequam quingenti anni transissent’. Such usage is attested in classical authors (perhaps the most relevant example is Plin., *nat.*, 2, 198: ‘[tremores] non ante XL dies sistuntur, plerumque et tardius’). The only disadvantage I can see here is that such an expression is quite rare and seems not to belong to the best rhetorical style (see Cic., *Tusc.*, 1, 90 above); which of course does not automatically mean that Valla might not have used it. There is also an advantage: the four consecutive questions being asked are constructed in an alike manner and every one of them has its second predicate negated, and this improves concinnity.

Since the Donation dates itself to 315 or 317 AD (depending on which one of the consuls mentioned at the end is to be taken into account), the expression ‘after five hundred years’ must be an allusion to the Pactum Ludovicianum of 817 AD.

27, 1, 8, 9: ‘si quis in cohortibus urbanis permilitauit, licet ante uiginti annos mittitur’ (= *licet antequam uiginti annos militauerit, mittatur*). But even if we assume such a construction in Valla, the question still only makes sense when it is said that the donation comes into effect ‘after 500 years or never’ (= not within anyone’s life time), and not ‘within 500 years or never’.

⁷ I am indebted here to prof. Dirk Sacré, who has kindly drawn my attention to this possibility.

7. Chapter 39

Et apud Romanos, rusticanos adhuc et agrestes, cum paruae et rariae litterae essent, tamen leges duodecim tabularum in aes fuere incisae, quae ui capta atque incensa a Gallis Vrbe incolumes postea sunt repertae.

So MS A. But the Gauls in 390 BCE did not capture Rome ‘by force’ (‘ui’), they simply marched in, and Valla knew that very well, if he ever read Livy (I am sure he did). This must be the reason, I think, why editors accept and print ‘in’, which is to be found in recent MSS. This reading cures the historical falsehood, but there still remains something to be desired: a) ‘in capta atque incensa (...) Vrbe (...) sunt repertae’ means that the tables were found when the city was still being occupied (which is not true, the Romans recovered them after the enemies were gone, see Liv., 6, 1, 10) and: b) ‘postea’ is pointless. In other words, the recent MSS version does not make much real sense, because it says the tables have been found in the city being occupied by the Gauls, whereas in fact they had been left in the city, when it was being captured, and have been recovered later (which is ‘quae *cum* in capta atque incensa a Gallis Vrbe *essent relictiae*, incolumes postea sunt repertae’). And what really matters here is not the place where the tables were found, but the fact that they survived the destruction inflicted by enemies. Accordingly Coleman (who prints ‘ui capta’) translates thus: ‘and though the city was stormed and burned by the Gauls, they were afterwards found unharmed’. Pugliese and Bowersock, who follow Setz and prefer ‘in capta’, had to ignore the preposition to obtain a sense: ‘e quando la città fu presa e bruciata dai Galli, esse furono più tardi ritrovate intatte’ and ‘after the city was captured and burnt by the Gauls, they were subsequently discovered intact’. Notice that all three render the sentence as if there was an abl. absolutus in it, which only Coleman’s text does contain. Also note that, apart from this one place, an abl. ‘ui’ is never otiose in the treatise, but always signalizes acts of violence (see chapters 18 and 94). And so it is in ancient authors, where ‘ui capio’ is clearly contrasted with a peaceful type of conquest (for example Liv., 6, 3, 10 ‘quod non ui captum, sed per condiciones traditum erat’, or Liv., 8, 13, 6 ‘aut ui capta aut recepta in deditionem’ and so on). It is not that ‘ui’ is required by warlike phraseology either (Cic., *Verr.*, 4, 78 ‘duas urbes (...) captas incensasque uidisset’). Out of the two variants: ‘ui’ (MS A) and ‘in’ (MSS BN), I think the latter is the earlier one, but it must be an interpolation anyway: a copyist

did not understand, that ‘capta atque incensa urbe’ was an abl. absolutus, and not an abl. loci with a missing preposition. At a later stage, this has been corrected to (or misread as) ‘ui’. The word in question should be deleted, read: ‘(...) quae capta atque incensa a Gallis Vrbe incolumes postea sunt repertae’, and translate as a concessive clause (Coleman’s ‘though’).

8. Chapter 52

Inde ab Homero atque Vergilio purpureus dicitur sanguis et marmor porphyricum, cuius color est simillimus amethysto, Graeci enim purpuram “porphyram” uocant.

So the editors, but there is no such adjective as ‘porphyricus’. I do not think Valla would admit a barbarism in a text, that has itself been composed to ridicule someone else’s barbarisms. The actual adjective is ‘porphyreticus’, so the porphyry may only be ‘marmor porphyreticum’ in Latin, or, since it is πορφυριτικός in Greek, it might have been spelled with ‘i’ as ‘marmor porphyriticum’. The source of the error is most probably haplography: ‘porphyriticum’ > ‘porphyricum’, with the reduction of ‘-itic-’ into ‘-ic-’ (c and t are very similar in many minuscule scripts, and, besides, many scribes often write ‘ci’ for ‘ti’ and vice versa, even when no vowel follows, so it might well have been ‘-icic-’ at some stage).

9. Chapter 52 (2)

“Coccineum” pro rubro accipi forte non ignoras, sed cur faciat “coccineum”, cum nos dicamus “coccum”?

Now this sentence is hardly intelligible; let us see how our translators understand it. Coleman stumbles against the subject of ‘faciat’: ‘you know perhaps that scarlet is used for red; but I would swear that you do not know at all why he [?] makes it *coccineum* when we say *coccum*’. Pugliese, apparently coming across the same problem, renders ‘faciat’ as if it was ‘dicas’: ‘Forse non ignori che *coccineum* (scarlatta) si accetta per rosso, ma perché dici *coccineum* quando noi diciamo *coccum*?’. Bowersock follows Coleman, yet only to add his own misunderstanding to Coleman’s mistake: ‘Perhaps you are not unaware that scarlet can be taken to mean “red”, but why would he put *scarlet* when we would say *crimson*?’.

First of all, there is no word in the context, that could form a likely subject for 'faciat'. Grammatically, it may be either Homer or Virgil, which does not make sense. The forger cannot be meant, because in this sentence Valla is addressing him directly in the second person. It cannot be Constantine either, because he is not named a single time in the whole passage, and, besides, Valla's whole argument is that it was *not* Constantine who had written the decree.

Second, notice that, quite differently than the sentence seems to suggest at first glance, the word 'coccum' (being a noun) is not, and may not ever be, any alternative to 'coccineus', as some translators appear to understand, because the latter is an adjective. So it cannot be the point Valla is making, that the author of the Donation wrote 'coccineum' instead of 'coccum'; and he indeed has not done that, as is clear from the quotation at the beginning of chapter 49: the text says 'tunicam coccineam', the form used is undoubtedly adjectival, and as such may not be substituted with a noun.

The real point of the sentence in question, as can be guessed, is that Valla criticizes the adjective 'coccineus' for its barbarous form. Indeed, the classical one is 'coccinus'; and 'coccineus', except for two instances in Petronius and one in Martial (none metrically guaranteed, all either vulgar or more probably corrupt), occurs basically only in the Bible. This guess is confirmed by Setz's note ad locum (p. 119), where he quotes Valla's comment on Mt 27, 28: 'Nescio, cur dicatur coccinea potius quam coccina, ut Graece est κοκίνην et Latine sic dicitur (...) Et ratio postulat, quia coccus Graece granum est Latine, abunde debet fieri coccinus non coccineus'. In other words, the required sense is: 'why you have used the adjective *coccineus* when the one correctly derived from *coccus*, is *coccinus*?'; and so 'faciat' must be intended to mean 'makes a derivative form', just like (Var., *ling.*, 11, 21) 'falcium "falces", non "falceis" facit' or (Gell., 9, 6, 3) "'lego, lectus" facit "lectito"'. Obviously such 'facit' requires an explicit subject which is missing here, so the sentence must be corrupt.

Among possible solutions one may consider reading 'faciat' as either 'facias' or 'fiat', or to read 'quod' instead of 'cum'. Any of these corrections is rather subtle, but the sentence still remains somewhat odd in two former cases: 'facias', for example, does not seem to justify an acc. masc. or neutr., and 'fiat' — any form except nom. sg. masc. It is also hard to guess how 'facias' could be corrupted to 'faciat', when surrounded by two verbs standing in second person. On the other hand,

‘quod’ assumed instead of ‘cum’ casts doubts on the conjunctive ‘dicamus’ — it can only be explained as an instance of the *assimilatio modi* after ‘faciat’. The change is also doubtful palaeographically.

These doubts apart, the expression in any case is still very obscure: to understand the argument one needs to know from another source, that the adjective ‘coccineus’ is a barbarism — and this, in the middle 15th century, when the Vulgate and Christian writers were still in daily circulation, was not immediately obvious to everyone. Is Valla likely to leave such a concise phrase in a treatise, which was intended for popular reading? I do not think so. In my opinion, the obscurity of the place points to a deeper corruption. Therefore I suggest emending it as follows: ‘(...) sed cur faciat <cocccum> “coccineum”, cum nos dicamus “cocc<in>um”?’ The word ‘cocccum’ must have been missed (or even deleted in a mistaken attempt at emendation) before the following ‘coccineum’, later added on the margin, and then inserted in the wrong place, displacing ‘coccinum’ at the end. The subordinate clause is obviously concessive.

10. Chapter 54

plusque est senatorem esse quam patricium, nam senator est unus e delectis consiliariis rei publicae, patricius uero, qui e domo senatoria ortum ducit. Ita, qui senator aut ex patribus conscriptis, non protinus et patricius est.

The last sentence features two peculiarities: ‘ita’ used as ‘therefore’ and ellipsis of ‘est’ in the subordinate clause, apparently forced by the appearance of the same word at the end of the sentence; and this makes the whole expression awkward. I suspect that there should be no subordinate clause here at all, and the problem can be cured with a very subtle textual change and repunctuation: ‘Itaque senator (aut ex patribus conscriptis) non protinus et patricius est’.

11. Chapter 65

Si quis autem, quod credimus, in hoc temerator exstiterit, aeternis condemnationibus subiaceat condemnatus (...)

This is the beginning of a quotation from the Donation, the important bit is ‘quod credimus’. I reproduce the text here as transmitted by all MSS and printed by Setz, to point something out. Namely, the editio princeps

prints 'quod non credimus,' which, indeed, seems more natural and expected in this context; and, besides, 'quod non credimus' is the reading of the Donation in the parallel passage as printed by Zeumer⁸ and Fuhrmann⁹. Hutten, Bonneau, Coleman and Bowersock (but not Setz, who however does not put any note here, whence I guess that he is simply following the MSS tradition, nor Pugliese, who follows Setz) favour the editio princeps in this place, and, in general, many students of the matter, who come across this discrepancy between the Donation itself and this quotation, are probably tempted to think that this must be a minor omission, or even a typographical error, and that it costs nothing to emend it, because Valla does not comment on it anywhere.

This is wrong — he does, but he does not do it near by. Shortly before the end of the chapter 39, however, he writes: 'Constantinus uero orbis terrarum donationem papyro tantum et atramento signauit, cum praesertim machinator fabulae, quisquis ille fuit, faciat Constantinum dicentem se credere non de fore, qui donationem hanc impia auditate rescinderent!' — '(...) the very inventor of the fabulous story makes him [namely Constantine] say that he thought there would not be lacking those, who with unholy greed would set aside this Donation' (Coleman). Whichever reading is correct for the Donation itself, this sentence makes it clear Valla had 'quod credimus' in the text before him, and therefore this is the correct reading for the chapter 65 of the treatise: the later 'non' should be rejected.

12. Chapter 70

Priilegium autem, ut aiunt, Constantini, quod reddi alicui non debebat, nec dari debuit dici; ut appareat eum, qui sic locutus est mentitum esse, nec scisse fingere, quod Constantinum dixisse ac fecisse uerisimile esset.

The problem begins with 'ut appareat', as this apparently introduces a subordinate clause, which however does not seem to be attached to the main one in any reasonable way. Let us see what translators do. Coleman: 'and so it should be apparent that he who spoke thus lied' Pugliese: 'così che è chiaro che chi ha parlato in questo modo ha mentito'. Bowersock:

⁸ *Festgabe für Rudolf von Gneist: Constitutum Constantini*, ed. by Karl Zeumer (Berlin: Julius Springer, 1888).

⁹ *Das Constitutum Constantini (Konstantinische Schenkung)*, ed. by Horst Fuhrmann (Hannover: MGH Fontes, 1968).

‘wherefore it should be apparent that the person who spoke this way was lying’.

The ‘ut’, however, cannot mean here ‘and so’ or ‘wherefore’ (in Latin it is ‘quare’, not ‘ut’), and ‘sic ut’ (‘così che’) makes the sentence not Latin: if this has to be a final clause, ‘ne’ is expected in place of ‘ut’, or alternatively ‘ut non’, if a consecutive one. So it is clear, that something is depraved here. I think that a word is missing and that it is ‘nisi’ (‘unless’). It should read: ‘Priuilegium autem, ut aiunt, Constantini, quod reddi alicui non debebat, nec dari debuit dici; <nisi> ut appareat eum, qui’ eqs. ‘unless it has to become apparent, that he who’ etc. Such irony is typical to Valla, who is repeatedly ridiculing the apparent, subconscious willingness of the forger to get caught lying; the closest parallel I can find is at the end of the chapter 42: ‘Quid agis aliud, infelix, nisi ut indices te uoluntatem fallendi habere, facultatem non habere?’ We can find similar omission of ‘nisi’ in chapter 78: ‘Et summus pontifex hos libros appellat “apocryphos”, quasi nihil uitii sit, <nisi> quod eorum ignoratur auctor’ (the word missing in A has been transmitted in BN).

13. Chapter 71

An honesta erroris excusatio est, cum patefactam uideas ueritatem, nolle illi acquiescere, quia nonnulli magni homines aliter senserint? Magni, inquam, dignitate, non sapientia nec uirtute. Vnde tamen scis, an illi, quos tu sequeris, si eadem audissent quae tu, mansuri in sententia fuerint, an a sententia recessuri?

This is the text as printed by Setz and Pugliese. Both Coleman and Bowersock print the MS A ‘unde tantum’ instead of ‘unde tamen’, and, of course, fall in trouble rendering this into English (Bowersock ignores the word, Coleman translates it as ‘even’). Setz is obviously right, the sense requires ‘tamen’, and the confusion of ‘tamen’ (abbreviated as ‘tn’), ‘tum’ (‘tū’) and ‘tantum’ (‘tm’) is notorious in manuscripts. Also see below on two other places with the same problem.

14. Chapter 82

Mihi tamen crede, si Romam ego ac Tusciam possiderem, tantum abest ut facerem, quae facio; ut etiam frustra mihi Paschalis donationis (sicut reor, falsae) caneret cantilenam.

Coleman and Bowersock follow the MS A here, printing 'mihi tantum crede' and translating 'only: take my word for it' and 'only believe me', ignoring the fact that the text means 'believe me exclusively' (i.e. me and not anyone else). Pugliese, who follows Setz, rightly prints 'tamen' here and translates 'credimi, però'.

15. Chapter 86

Tamen dico uos nec iure diuino nec iure humano ad recuperationem agere posse.

This is yet another instance of a possible *tamen-or-tantum* issue. Here all editors rightly print 'tamen' even though Coleman's manuscript (A) has 'tantum'.

16. Chapter 73

Romae ex auctoritate papae ostenditur codex Bibliae tamquam reliquiae sanctorum luminibus semper accensis, quod dicant scriptum chirographo Hieronymi.

So all MSS. Setz, Pugliese and Bowersock follow them, whereas Coleman diverges from his MS and prints 'quod dicunt' following the editio princeps. He has a good reason to do so: the MSS reading is ungrammatical and meaningless. Bowersock translates 'because it is said that Jerome wrote it with own hand', but this does not justify the conjunctive 'dicant' he has printed — in a causal clause it would mean not 'it is said', but 'it is allegedly said', which hardly makes any sense here. And, besides, Bowersock's translation would correspond rather to something like 'quia dicitur scriptus chirographo Hieronymi' in proper idiom.

Coleman's variant may be taken to be an equivalent of 'quod eum dicunt scriptum esse chirographo Hieronymi', but the missing pronoun 'eum' makes the construction harsh. So I suggest the following: 'Romae ex auctoritate papae ostenditur codex Bibliae tamquam reliquiae sanctorum, luminibus semper accensis, quem dicunt scriptum chirographo Hieronymi'. 'At Rome, by the authority of the Pope, with the candles ever burning, as though for a relic of the saints, is shown a copy of the Bible, which, they say, is written in the hand of Jerome' (I am modifying Coleman's translation here). Altering the gender is necessary to keep all

the surrounding text grammatically consistent, for it is the masculine ‘codex’ Valla is making references to in this place (compare the subsequent ‘Illum ego (...) inspectum (...)’). Therefore the form ‘scriptum’ must also be an acc. sg. masc. and a part of acc. duplex governed by ‘dicunt’, and not an acc. sg. neutr.

The source of the error is probably a wrongly resolved abbreviation for rarer ‘quem’ as more frequent ‘quod’, plus a desperate attempt to cure the resulting nonsense by altering the mood of the predicate to produce a consecutive clause (of the barbarous type criticized by Valla in chapter 58) such as: ‘so that people say it is written in the hand of Jerome’.

17. Chapter 80

Et metropolitanum ab archiepiscopo distinguunt uoluntque illum a mensura ciuitatis dictum, cum Graece dicatur non ‘metropolis’ sed μητρόπολις, id est mater-ciuitas siue urbs.

Coleman, unlike Setz, Pugliese and Bowersock, prints the words ‘non “metropolis”’ using Greek typeface for the noun, as ‘non μετρόπολις’. I think he is right, otherwise the sentence does not make much sense, as the point here is a confusion of Greek μέτρον ‘measure’ and μήτηρ ‘mother’.

18. Chapter 84

Si tu, papa, et potes Graecum imperatorem priuare Italia prouinciisque Occidentis, et Latinum imperatorem facis, cur pactionibus uteris? Cur bona Caesaris partiris? Cur in te imperium transfers?

Coleman, Setz, Pugliese and Bowersock print the text as above, even though the last question is meaningless, for it was Constantine who allegedly ‘transferred the empire’, that is, the right to do all the things previously listed, to popes. The real point of the passage is this: ‘if you, o pope, have enough power to deprive one emperor of large territory, and create another emperor so easily, why do you act in such a complicated way, that involves pacts and subdivisions of the empire, instead of simply transferring the reign to yourself, just as the Donation allows?’ The suggested answer is: all that is necessary, because the Donation is a forgery and you know that, so you must secure your rights by other means.

Therefore Bonneau prints 'Cur in te imperium <non> transfers?' and I think he is right. The source of the error must be a deliberate change.

19. Chapter 95

Deum testamur, iniuria cogit nos rebellare, ut olim Israel a Roboam fecit. Et quae tanta fuit illi iniuria? Quanta portio nostrae calamitatis grauiora soluere tributa?

So print Coleman and Bowersock, who follow the MS A, whereas Setz (and Pugliese) accepts the reading of BN and prints 'Et quae tanta fuit illa iniuria?' It is true that 'iniuria mihi est' is unidiomatic, but on the other hand 'illa' makes the text less clear; and, besides, assuming that it was the original reading, it is difficult to see, how it could yield 'illi' — exactly the other way around, it is 'illi' that could easily become 'illa' under the influence of the feminines 'quae', 'tanta' and 'iniuria' standing near by, and an interpolator would rather prefer 'illius', a more common construction.

The reading of MS A may be perhaps defended as an ellipsis, that is an equivalent of 'et quae tanta fuit illi iniuria facta?' 'and what a great wrong was done to them?' But in fact it is most probably a mistake Valla made while imitating Verg., *buc.*, 1, 26: 'et quae tanta fuit Romam tibi causa uidendi?' (both 'causa est' and 'causa mihi est' are idiomatic, apart from Virgil see also Tac., *Agr.*, 15, 5: 'illis auaritiam et luxuriam causas belli esse' etc.) So altering the text to read 'illa' is probably not cleaning up a copyist's error, but improving the author's style, and that is beyond the scope of textual criticism.

20. Chapter 95 (2)

Tu uero, quae sacerdotii operis sunt, cura, et noli tibi ponere sedem ad aquilonem et illinc tonantem fulgurantia fulmina in hunc populum ceterosque uibrare.

So all MSS, and so print Setz, Pugliese and Bowersock, despite that 'tonantem' is meaningless. Pugliese translates the text as if the word was 'tonans', ignoring the accusative ending. Bowersock writes 'thunder from there as you hurl' (= 'illinc tonare (...) uibrans'). Coleman, apparently more sensitive to Latin grammar, rightly accepts Hutten's conjecture

'tonando' and translates 'don't take your stand in the north, and thundering there hurl your lightning and thunderbolts'. The source of the error is probably a wrong resolution of 'tonaj' (= tonando) as 'tonantem', with the acc. ending suggested by the antecedent 'aquilonem'. Note that Coleman silently corrects 'illinc' (from there) to 'illic' (there) in his translation.

Another solution, and a tempting one, might be to assume an omission: 'noli tibi ponere sedem ad aquilonem et illinc, Tonantem <agendo>, fulgurantia fulmina in hunc populum ceterosque uibrare': 'don't take your stand in the north, and, playing Jupiter, hurl your lightning and thunderbolts from there'. In this case it might indeed be desirable to read 'illic'.

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INSTRUMENTUM BIBLIOGRAPHICUM
NEOLATINUM

apparaverunt

Dirk Sacré, Gilbert Tournoy, Kris Delcroix

iuvantibus Antonio Dávila Pérez, Jeanine De Landtsheer,
Fabio Della Schiava, Jan Papy et Toon Van Hal

Appellatio ad auctores

Auctores librorum et commentationum de rebus neolatinis enixe rogamus ut nuntium de novis opusculis nobis mittant (in Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae, Blijde-Inkomststraat 21 (Box 3311), B-3000 Leuven, Belgium), quo citius in hoc instrumentum possint referri.

Haec bibliographia absoluta est Kalendis Augustis anni 2011.

SIGLA:

<i>AHSI</i>	<i>Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu</i> (Roma)
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte</i> (Gütersloh)
<i>BHR</i>	<i>Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance</i> (Genève)
<i>Camenae</i>	<i>Camenae</i> (Université de Paris – Sorbonne – Paris IV; vide interrete: http://www.paris-sorbonne.fr/la-recherche/les-unites-de-recherche/mondes-anciens-et-medievales-ed1/rome-et-ses-renaissances-art-3625/revue-en-ligne-camenae/)
<i>CamHung</i>	<i>Camoenae Hungaricae</i> (Budapest)
<i>CH</i>	<i>Les Cahiers de l'Humanisme</i> (Paris)
<i>CM</i>	<i>Colloquia Maruliana</i> (Split)
<i>CR</i>	<i>Calamus renascens. Revista de humanismo y tradición clásica</i> (Alcañiz – Teruel – Cádiz)
<i>ERSY</i>	<i>Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook</i> (Leiden – Boston)
<i>GSLI</i>	<i>Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana</i> (Torino)
<i>HL</i>	<i>Humanistica Lovaniensia</i> (Leuven)
<i>IJCT</i>	<i>International Journal of the Classical Tradition</i> (Boston)
<i>IMU</i>	<i>Italia Medioevale e Umanistica</i> (Milano)
<i>JMRS</i>	<i>The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies</i> (Durham, NC)
<i>JWCI</i>	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i> (London)
<i>NJ</i>	<i>Neulateinisches Jahrbuch</i> (Hildesheim – Zürich – New York)
<i>RELat</i>	<i>Revista de Estudios Latinos</i> (Madrid)

<i>RHR</i>	<i>Réforme, Humanisme, Renaissance</i> (Lyon)
<i>RIN</i>	<i>Rinascimento</i> (Firenze)
<i>RnR</i>	<i>Roma nel Rinascimento</i> (Roma)
<i>RPH</i>	<i>Revista Portuguesa de Humanidades</i> (Braga)
<i>RPL</i>	<i>Res Publica Litterarum</i> (Roma)
<i>RQ</i>	<i>Renaissance Quarterly</i> (New York)
<i>RS</i>	<i>Renaissance Studies. Journal of the Society for Renaissance Studies</i> (Oxford)
<i>SCJ</i>	<i>The Sixteenth Century Journal</i> (Missouri, CO)
<i>SPV</i>	<i>Studia Philologica Valentina</i> (València)
<i>SUP</i>	<i>Studi Umanistici Piceni</i> (Sassoferrato)
<i>TAPhA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i> (Atlanta, GE)
<i>Vates</i>	<i>Vates. The Journal of New Latin Poetry</i> (vide interrete: http://pineapplepubs.snazzystuff.co.uk/vates.htm)
<i>WBN</i>	<i>Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten</i> (Wiesbaden)
<i>WRM</i>	<i>Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen</i> (Wiesbaden)

ABBREVIATIONES:

- ACNBud* Schnur Rhoda (gen. ed.) – Joaquín Pascual Barea – Karl Enenkel – Amedeo Di Francesco – David Money – Colette Nativel – Howard B. Norland – László Szörényi (eds.), *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Budapestinensis. Proceedings of the Thirteenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Budapest, 6-12 August 2006*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 386 (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2010).
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- vide et infra 1.5: Lucanus (Finiello); 2.2: Marulus (Jozić); 4.2: Petrarca (Hempfer – Regn – Scheffel); 5 (García Nistal); 5: Hispania (Castro Santamaría).

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INSTRUMENTUM LEXICOGRAPHICUM

apparavit D. Sacré

1. NOVA LEXICA

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Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch bis zum ausgehenden 13. Jahrhundert. Begründet von Paul Lehmann und Johannes Stroux (...), IV, 4: *frendor – gelo* (München: Beck, 2011)

2. INDEX VERBORUM RECENTIORUM

Sequuntur verba quae neque in *Thesauro Linguae Latinae* (ThLL) neque in *Lexico Totius Latinitatis Forcelliniano* (Forc.) reperiuntur. Ea autem quae in lexicis et glossariis mediae et inferioris Latinitatis leguntur stellulis (*) notavimus; cruciculis (+) quae in lexico neolatino Renati Hoven (Hoven), orbiculis (°) quae in indice verborum neolatorum Iohannis Ramminger (Ramm.) interretiali offenduntur. Uncinulos (|) eis praemisimus verbis, quae quidem reperiuntur apud veteres, at intellectu insigniuntur diverso. Nomina locorum virorumve et mulierum quaeque ex eis sunt derivata, aliaque id genus vocabula non nisi raro afferuntur.

Aeronavis, -is: *airship*: 339

+Altifremus, -a, -um: *sounding from on high, sounding loud*: 169

*Anteambulare (*inter voces dubias habet* ThLL; *vis est verbi diversa apud Blaise*): *go before distinguished persons*: 254

+*°bombarda, -ae: *cannon, fire-arm*: 313

[*buffo, -onis: *buffoon*: 94

+[*bulla, -ae: *bull*: 114, 122-123, 131

+*°Cabalisticus, -a, -um: *cabalistic*: 185

+*Carmelita, -ae: *Carmelite*: 196

*Christiades, -ae: *Christian*: 337

+*°Considerabilis, -is, -e: *considerable, important*: 246, 252

+*°Contactio, -onis = contactus: 74

Diabola, -ae: *she-devil*: 90

[*°Elector, -oris: *Elector*: 105, 123

+°Episodium, -ii: *episode*: 313

+*[°Excudere (*vi verbi diversa apud Ramm.*): *print*: 323-324

*Hexastichon, -i (*deest in ThLL, exhibet Forc.*): *poem of six lines*: 259

Hircianus, -a, -um: *referring to consul Aulus Hircius*: 261

*Humanisticus, -a, -um: *humanistic*: 3

+*°Impressoria ars: *art of printing*: 313

+*[°Imprimere: *print*: 322-323

+*°Irregularitas, -atis: *irregularity*: 112

°Lasciviuscule: *somewhat lasciviously*: 74

+*°Lutheranus, -a, -um: *Lutheran*: 101

+*°Lutheranus, -i: *Lutheran*: 23-24, 39

+*°Lutherianus, -a, -um: *Lutheran*: 109, 111

Macaronice, -es: *macaronic literature*: 85-86

°Mardrus, *Madrus, -i: *marten*: 308

Menobiblos, -i: *book written in one month*: 250-251, 262-264

*Meretriceus, -a, -um = meretricius: 67

*Monasta, -ae: *friar, monk*: 25, 28

*°Moralisatio (*moralizatio legitur apud Ramm. et Latham*): *moralizing*: 91

Mosculus, -i: *Muscovite*: 313

Moscoviticus, -a, -um: *Muscovite*: 313

Mulieriosus, -a, -um (*vox dubia*) = mulierosus: 303

*Palea, -ae: *addition to a (decretal) text*: 36, 38

Palinodaris, -is: *Palinod*: 195

Pathodia, -ae: *song or music full of affection*: 235

+*Perastutus, -a, -um: *very shrewd or sly*: 22

*Porphyricus, -a, -um = porphyreticus: 288

°Praenotamentum, -i: *prefatory notice*: 71

+*°Praesidentia, -ae (*inter voces dubias habet ThLL*): *presidency*: 170

Proseuticum, -i: *poetic petition*: 300

Pseudoflumen, -inis: *false priest or theologian*: 25

+Putrificus, -a, -um = putrificatorius: 307

*°Quadragesima, -ae: *Lent*: 52

+*°Recudere (*inter voces dubias habet Forc., vi diversa*): *reprint*: 323

*Renominatus, -a, -um: *renowned*: 94

+*Ribaldus, -i: *lecher, scoundrel*: 94

+*Salvus conductus: *safe-conduct*: 122

- +*^oSecretarius, -ii: *secretary*: 52
 +*^oSemicorrosus, -a, -um: *half eaten away*: 258
 *Stultifer, -a, -um (*diverso significato apud Bartal*): *carrying fools*: 65-70, 72-73, 77-82
 +*^oSuperplenus, -a, -um: *completely full, perfect, superabundant*: 185
 Surdidulus, -a, -um: *somewhat deaf*: 75
- Tarraballatio, -onis: *clangorous jangle*: 91
 +*^oTheologaster, -tri: *bad theologian*: 92
 +*^oTheologista, -ae: (*bad*) *theologian*: 24-25, 28
 +*Truffator, -oris: *impostor, deceiver*: 94
 +*^oTypographia, -ae: *printing office*: 324
 +*^oTypographicus, -a, -um: *typographical*: 324
 +*^oTypographus, -: *printer*: 322-323
- +Vuyclevita, -ae: *follower of Wycliff*: 117

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NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

Humanistica Lovaniensia follows the *MHRA Style Book. Notes for Authors, Editors and Writers of Theses*, ed. by A. S. Maney - R. L. Smallwood, 5th edn (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 1996), with a few exceptions as noted below. Accepted manuscripts that do not follow these rules can be delayed in publication.

1. bibliographical references1.1. *first reference*

1.1.1. references to books

The information should be given in the following order:

- author: forename in full, if not possible his initial(s); family name as it appears on the title page
 - * Sometimes it might be better to include the author's name within the title (e.g. *texteditions*).
 - * The names up to three authors should be given in full; for works by more than three authors the name of only the first should be given, followed by 'et al.' (= et alii) (see example 4).
- comma
- title: title of the work (including the subtitle) as it appears on the title page, in italics
 - * Title and subtitle should always be separated by a colon. For books in English, capitalize the first word after the colon and of all principal words throughout the title. For titles in other languages, follow the capitalization rules for the language in question.
 - * Titles of other works occurring within the title should be enclosed in single quotation marks.
- comma
- editor, translator etc.: the names of editors etc. should be treated in the same way as those of authors (as to forename, number); they should be preceded by the accepted abbreviations 'ed. (by)', 'trans. (by)', 'rev. (by)', ...
- comma
- series, edition, number of volumes:
 - * If a book is part of a numbered series, the series title and the number (in Arabic numerals) should be given. Series titles should not be italicized (see example 2).
 - * If the edition used is other than the first, this should be stated by '2nd edn', '3rd rev. edn' (see example 5).
 - * If the work is in more than one volume, the number of volumes should be given in the form '2 vols', a comma separating title and number of volumes (see example 3).

- details of publication: place of publication, publisher's name and date of publication are enclosed in parentheses; a colon separates the place from the publisher's name; a comma separates the latter from the date

* If place or date are not given but can be ascertained, they should be enclosed in brackets. If one of them remains uncertain, one should use '[s.l.]' (= no place), '[s.a.]' (= no date) or '[s.l.a.]' when both are lacking.

* In giving the place of publication, either the current form of place names in the language the article is written in, or its official form in its own country should be used.

* The name of the publisher should be given without secondary matter such as '& Co.', 'Ltd', 'S.A.', etc. Forenames or initials should be omitted. Where a publisher's name includes 'and' or '&', the conjunction should be given in the form which appears on the title page.

* A reference to a work in several volumes published over a period of years should state the number of volumes and give inclusive dates of publication, with the date of the volume specifically referred to in parentheses after the volume number, when it is not the first or last in the series. If a work in several volumes is still in the process of publication, the date of the first volume should be stated, followed by a dash; the date of the individual number being cited should be added in parentheses after the volume number (see example 5).

- If the reference is to a book as a whole, a point will conclude it. If further information about volume and/or pages is requested, a comma is added, followed by the number of the volume (in small capital roman numerals and where necessary the year of publication in parentheses), a new comma, concluded by the exact page or pages.

* When the volume number is given, 'p./pp.' should be omitted, unless the page number(s) is (are) also in roman numerals (see example 5). If there is no volume number, the numerals are preceded by 'p./pp.', 'col./cols', 'fol./fols'.

* The first and the last number of the span should always be stated (instead of 'sqq.' or 'ff.'!)

Examples:

(1) Mark Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics: Rubens and the Circle of Lipsius* (Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991).

(2) G. Oestreich - N. Mout, *Antiker Geist und moderner Staat bei Justus Lipsius (1547-1606): der Neustoizismus als politische Bewegung*, Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 38 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1989).

(3) Leon Voet, *The Plantin Press, 1559-1589: A Bibliography of the Works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*, 6 vols (Amsterdam: Van Hoeve, 1980-1983).

(4) *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, eds. G. Pignatelli et al. (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960-).

(5) *Indice Biografico Italiano, 3a edizione corretta ed ampliata*, ed. T. Nappo, 10 vols (München: Saur, 1999-2002), III (2000), 944.

1.1.2. references to articles in journals

The information should be given in the following order:

- author (cf. supra)
- comma
- title of the article, in single quotation marks; title and subtitle are separated by a colon
 - * The title of works of literature occurring within the title of an article should be italicized or placed within quotation marks.
- comma
- title of journal, in italics
 - * Only the main title should be given; an initial 'The' or 'A' and any subtitle should be omitted.
 - * In case of several references to the same journal, an abbreviated title should be indicated after the first full reference or in a preliminary list of abbreviations.
- comma
- volume number, always in arabic numerals
- year of publication, in parentheses
- comma
- first and last page numbers of article cited, without 'p./pp.'
- page number(s), in parentheses and preceded by 'p./pp.' in case of a particular reference

Examples:

- Godelieve Tournoy-Thoen, 'Le manuscrit de la *Biblioteca de Cataluña* et l'humanisme italien à la cour de France vers 1500', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 24 (1975), 70-101; 26 (1977), 1-81; 27 (1978), 52-85.
- Michel Oosterbosch - Gilbert Tournoy, 'Two Unknown Autograph Letters by Justus Lipsius (1547-1606)', *Lias*, 23 (1996), 321-326 (pp. 325-326).
- Perrine Hallyn-Galand, 'La "Praelectio in Suetonium" de Nicholas Bérauld (1515)', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 46 (1997), 62-93 (p. 87).

1.1.3. references to articles in books

The information should be given in the following order:

- author (cf. supra)
- comma
- title of the article, in single quotation marks (cf. 1.1.2.)
- comma
- the word 'in' (without colon) followed by title, editor's name, and publication details of the book, as in 1.1.1.
- comma
- first and last page numbers of article cited, preceded by 'p./pp.'
- page number(s), in parentheses and preceded by 'p./pp.' in case of a particular reference

Example:

- Jozef IJsewijn, 'The Coming of Humanism to the Low Countries', in *Itinerarium Italicum: The Profile of the Italian Renaissance in the Mirror of its European Transformations. Dedicated to P.O. Kristeller...*, eds. H. A. Oberman - Th. A. Brady, Jr. (Leiden: Brill, 1975), pp. 193-305 (p. 260).

1.1.4. references to theses and dissertations

The titles of unpublished theses and dissertations should be in roman type within single quotation marks, capitalization following the conventions of the language in question. The degree level, university and date should be in parentheses.

Example:

- Robert Ingram, 'Historical Drama in Great Britain from 1935 to the Present' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1992), pp. 17-23.

1.1.5. references to manuscripts

Names of repositories and collections should be given in full when first occurring; an abbreviated form should be used for subsequent references.

Example:

First reference: Leiden, University Library, ms. Lips. 4.

Later reference: Leiden, UL, ms. Lips. 4.

1.1.6. references to classical authors

In references to classical authors and their works the system of abbreviations adopted in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae ... Index librorum scriptorum inscriptionum ex quibus exempla afferuntur*, 2 edn (Leipzig: Teubner, 1990) should be followed, but with the (abbreviation of the) author's name in normal print, the (abbreviation of the) title in italics and comma's between all parts of the reference.

Example:

Stat., *Silv.*, 3, 1, 182.

1.2. later references

In all further references, the shortest, intelligible form should be used. This will normally be the author's name (without initials) followed by (the volume and) the page reference. When more than one work of the same author is referred to, the title should be repeated in a shortened form. Phrases as 'loc. cit.' and 'op. cit.' should not be used.

Examples:

- IJsewijn, 'The Coming of Humanism', p. 195.

- Voet, *The Plantin Press*, II, 234-139.

2. lay-out

2.1. quotations

- *Short quotations* (not more than about forty words of prose or two complete lines of verse) should be enclosed in single quotation marks and run on with the main text. If, however, there are several such short quotations coming close together and being compared or otherwise set out as examples, it may be appropriate to treat them in the same way as longer quotations.

* If two incomplete lines of verse are quoted, the line division should be marked with a spaced upright stroke l.

* A quotation within a quotation is enclosed within double quotation marks.

* If a short quotation is used within a sentence, the final full point should be outside the closing quotation mark; the initial capital may be altered to lower case.

* When a short quotation is followed by a reference in parentheses, the final punctuation should follow the closing parenthesis.

* The final point should precede the closing quotation mark only when the quotation forms a complete sentence and is separated from the preceding passage by a punctuation mark.

Examples:

- Clusius was generous with his advice and with gifts of plants, including the still rare and valuable tulips, a ‘thesaurum hortensem’ (‘garden treasure’), as Lipsius called one gift in 1585.

- According to Peter Smith ‘the seven newly discovered poems by Catullus are absolutely fabulous’.

- Michel Oosterbosch and Gilbert Tournoy inform us ‘that in the *index* to that same *Inventaire* (p. 526) the questionable initial was resolved into “Nicolaus” ‘.

- Soames added: ‘Well, I hope you both enjoy yourselves.’

- *Long quotations* (more than about forty words of prose or two complete lines of verse) should be broken off by an increased space from the preceding and following lines of type script. No quotation marks are needed. The quotation should also be distinguished from the main text by using a smaller size and indenting.

* Omissions within prose quotations should be marked by [...] (an ellipsis); omitted lines of verse should be marked by an ellipsis at the end of the line before the omission. An ellipsis at the beginning or the end of a quotation is not necessary.

* A reference in parentheses after a long quotation should always be placed outside the closing full point and without a full point of its own.

Example:

- Harvey does, however, provide several references to the Court of Arches as the locale. For example, he writes:

If we were wearye with walking, and loth to go too farre to seeke sport, into the Arches we might step, and heare him plead; which would bee a merrier Comedie than ever was old Mother *Bomby*. As, for an instance: suppose hee were to sollicite some cause against Martinists, were it not a jest to see him stroke his beard thrice, and begin thus? [...] O, we should have the Proctors and Registers as busie with their Tablebooks as might bee, to gather phrases, and all the boyes in Towne would be his clients tio follow him. (*Gabriel Harvey: His Life, Marginalia and Library*, ed. by Virginia F. Stern (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), p. 81)

2.2. *footnotes*

- Footnotes should be limited to what is strictly necessary, e. g. for documentation and for the citation of sources relevant to the text.
- The number of footnotes can also be kept down by incorporating simple references (such as line numbers or page references to a book already cited in full) in the text, for instance in parentheses after quotations. Adjacent references to several lines of the same text or to several pages of the same publication can be grouped together in the same footnote.
- Neither should footnotes repeat information already clear from the text: if for instance a bibliography is added to a book or an article, the length of the footnotes can be reduced.
- Wherever possible a footnote reference should be placed at the end of a sentence so as not to interrupt the flow of the text. In this case the footnote reference number follows the punctuation mark.
- All footnotes should end with a full point, whether or not they form complete sentences.

2.3. *general requirements*

- The author's name should appear at the head of the article (first name in full, surname in small capitals), followed by the title in capitals. His or her affiliation should appear at the end of the body of the text, followed by his or her address and e-mail.
- Titles for chapters or paragraphs in the text should be put in bold and should be numbered in Arabic.
- Manuscripts should be double-spaced, except footnotes and long quotations. Manuscripts for publication should be submitted (in 2 copies) to a member of the editorial board.
- The authors are asked to provide an abstract of not more than ten lines which will appear on the website of *Humanistica Lovaniensia*.