Lucubrationes nostrae: Antonio Volsco and the Humanist Commentary Tradition on Ovid's Fasti in Fifteenth-Century Rome

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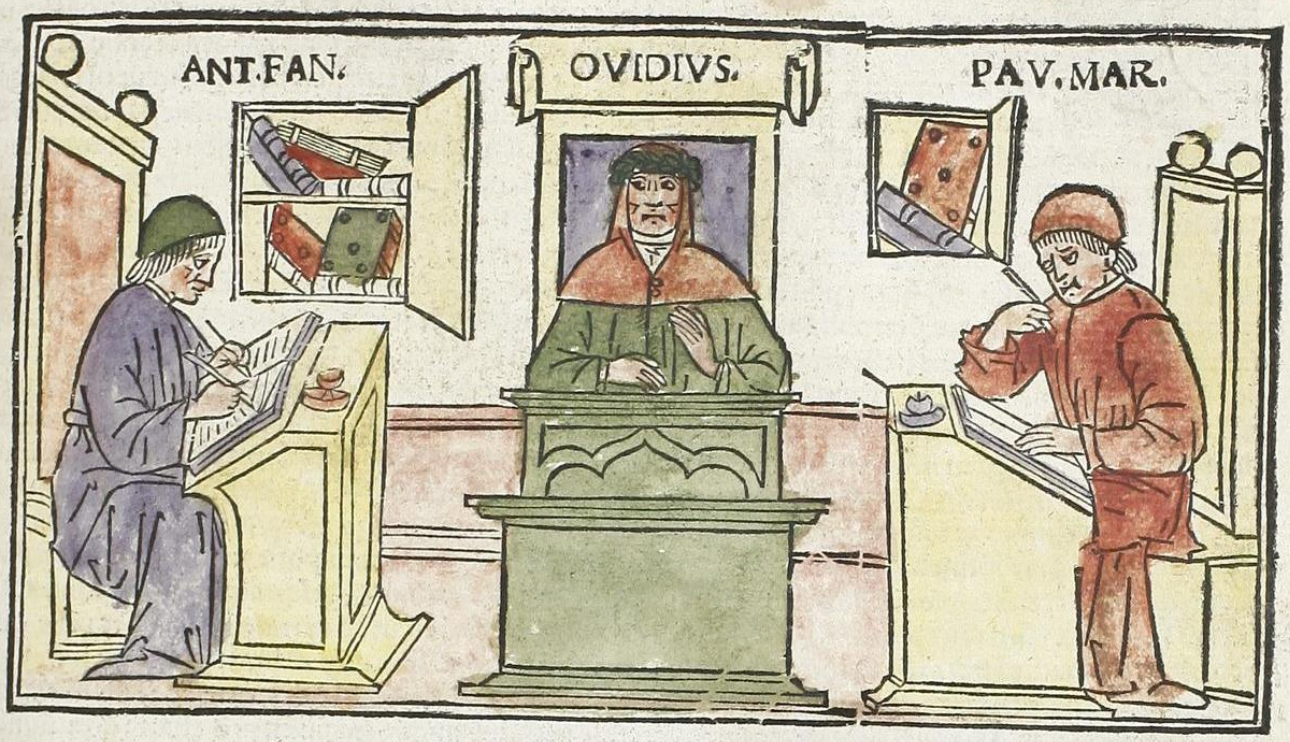

¶ Ouidius de Fastis cum duo-
bus commentariis: Anto-
nii de Fano ⁊ Pau-
li Marsi.

LVCVBRATIONES NOSTRAE

Antonio Volsco and the Humanist Commentary Tradition on Ovid's *Fasti* in Fifteenth-Century Rome

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Table of contents

Picture on frontpage: title page (f. [1]r), with a hand-coloured woodcut depicting the humanist commentators Antonio Costanzi (da Fano) and Paolo Marsi, and the Roman poet Ovid, of the 1502-reprint of the composite edition of Ovid's *Fasti* with the commentaries of Costanzi and Marsi, originally printed in 1497 in Venice by Giovanni Tacuino da Tridino.

1. Introduction: Ovid's *Fasti*, humanist Rome and Antonio Volsco[1]

The *Fasti*, a Latin calendar poem written by the Augustan poet Ovid (43 BCE – 17 CE), was a core text for scholarly research in Rome during the fifteenth century. The poem functioned as a mirror of ancient Roman civilization: a heuristic guide to the humanist endeavour of restoring Rome to its ancient grandeur. Ovid's stories about ancient Roman society, the origins of Roman holidays, (religious) customs and rites fuelled the antiquarianism of Roman humanists. The text helped them to reconstruct the city's history and topography but also encouraged them to revive the ancient city and the 'Roman way of life'. They would recover other ancient literary texts, visit monuments and catacombs, and revive ancient celebrations.[2]

There are multiple manuscripts that serve as evidence for the high output of annotating and commenting on the *Fasti* in the fifteenth century. Many of these manuscripts originated in Rome and are associated with the intellectual circle of the humanist Giulio Pomponio Leto (1428–1498) and his so-called 'Roman Academy' (*Accademia Romana*) – a casual, informally organised, group of learned humanists who often assembled in Leto's house on the Quirinal to study classical antiquity.[3] A number of these manuscripts are now in Roman libraries and have been identified and described by Angela Fritsen, but their annotations have never been studied, published or digitised in their entirety.[4] In my research master's thesis, I intend to examine these annotations.

I will study a manuscript containing a commentary on the *Fasti* by Antonio Volsco (c. 1440–1507), a pupil of Pomponio Leto, which is currently held by the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome: Vallicelliana, Ms. R 59. To get an overall impression of the character of this early modern commentary, I will analyse several entries from Volsco's commentary on the proem of the *Fasti*. To find out what role this commentary plays in the fifteenth-century commentary tradition of the *Fasti*, I compare Volsco's comments with the most influential *Fasti* commentary, which appeared in print, by Paolo Marsi (1440–1484), who also belonged to Leto's circle. My research question is twofold: (1) how should we characterise Volsco's commentary, and (2) in what way does it relate to Marsi's commentary?

Volsco's commentary is unique in the fact that it is voluminous (consisting of 218 folios), it concerns a running instead of a marginal commentary, and it has never been extensively examined.[5] It is worth studying, however, since a humanist commentary like Volsco's can offer a unique insight into the way the *Fasti* was read by Italian humanists, specifically in the context of the Roman Academy of Leto. In general, early modern commentaries yield a wealth of knowledge – literary, linguistic, historical, topographical et cetera – that is now fallen into oblivion. In particular, Volsco's commentary can provide insight into humanist reflections on the city of Rome, for the *Fasti* functioned as an ideal text to convey encyclopaedic knowledge and provide insight into Roman civilization.[6] Since the humanists were known for their extensive reading of ancient

[1] This research was made possible by a research grant from the Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome (KNIR). I would like to thank the friendly and helpful staff of the KNIR, and the inspiring people I had the opportunity to meet there.
[2] Fritsen (2015: xi-xii, xv).
[3] Coulson (2015: 107); De Beer (2008: 185; 191-192).
[4] See Fritsen (1995) and Fritsen (2015).
[5] Unlike the other extant Roman *Fasti* manuscripts (see paragraph 1.3), which include the *Fasti* text with separate marginal annotations, Volsco's commentary is written as a running text, without the source text being included.
[6] Fritsen (2015: xii).

authors and studies into ancient civilization, not taking this commentary into account is not only regrettable but even detrimental to an understanding of the *Fasti* and the reception of Ovid since ancient times. Lastly, the *Fasti* gave a commentator like Volsco the opportunity to show his own learning in his commentary or to follow Ovid's poetic footsteps, making his commentary itself a literary text. The fact that the manuscript contains a running commentary, without the text of the *Fasti* itself, suggests that it could be read (or meant to be read) without Ovid's text as reference point.[7]

In this introduction, I will first introduce Ovid briefly, especially his *Fasti* and the way in which this text was received in the fifteenth and twentieth century. These two paragraphs act not only as an introduction to the research topic, but also touch upon some important *Fasti* themes, which have occupied readers of the poem in both early modern and contemporary times, or which, in fact, show where the areas of interest and concerns have shifted through the centuries. Secondly, I will discuss the relevant Roman manuscripts of the *Fasti*. I will then narrow down the discussion to one manuscript, containing Volsco's commentary, which I will analyse for my thesis. Thirdly, I will elaborate my research question and intended methodology. Lastly, I will present the outline of my thesis.

1.1 Ovid's *Fasti* and the Roman *fasti*

Ovid wrote his *Fasti* in elegiac couplets around 8 CE. He claimed to have written the poem in the years before his work was interrupted by his exile to Tomis (present-day Romania), which was ordered by Emperor Augustus in 8 CE.[8] The cause of his exile (and whether it actually took place) has traditionally been debated. Ovid describes its cause as *carmen et error* ('a poem and a mistake').[9] According to modern scholars, the frivolous debauchery of Ovid's previously written *Ars Amatoria* (*The Art of Love*) would have affronted Augustus and his moral reforms. Ovid never explains the nature of his misstep, but it could be related to the exile of Augustus' granddaughter Julia, who was convicted of adultery, also in 8 CE.[10]

The exact date of the *Fasti*'s publication is hard to determine, but book 4 mentions Augustus' restoration of the temple of Cybele or Magna Mater in 3 CE. This temple on the Palatine in Rome was destroyed by a fire in the same year. Its reconstruction by Augustus was etched in the collective Roman memory through his *Res gestae* and recorded by Ovid, who refers to both Augustus' and Metellus' reconstruction of the temple after a previous fire in 111 BCE.[11] This means Ovid wrote his poem after 3 CE. Although his work was interrupted by his exile, he claims to have composed twelve books.[12] In the period between Augustus' and Ovid's own death in exile (14–17 CE), he revised the first half of his poem. These six books, covering the months January to June, have been handed down to us. The *Fasti* was originally dedicated to Augustus but after Augustus'

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[7] Volsco's commentary exemplifies the kaleidoscopic qualities and purposes of Neo-Latin commentaries as described by Enenkel (2013), especially on pp. 12-39.

[8] Herbert-Brown (1994: ix; 156): in his elegiac epistolary poem *Tristia* (*Tr.* 2.549-552). White (2002: 16): Ovid writes that this disaster happened to him when he was fifty years old (*Tr.* 4.8.33: *decem lustris peractis*).

[9] *Tr.* 2.207.

[10] Knox (2009: 6-7); Fritsen (2015: 1-2). For more on this topic, see e.g. Luisi (2008).

[11] Aug. *RG* 19: *aedem Matris Magnae in Palatio feci*; Ov. *Fast.* 4.347-348: *templi non perstitit auctor: / Augustus nunc est, ante Metellus erat*. Herbert-Brown (2002: v); Knox (2002: 171). Morgan (1973: 215; 238-239) has argued that Ovid is referring here to Gaius Caecilius Metellus Caprarius (consul in 113 BCE), who rededicated the temple in 101 BCE.

[12] *Tr.* 2.549-552.

death rededicated to Germanicus Caesar, nephew and adopted son of the new emperor Tiberius.[13] Ovid addresses him in the opening of book 1: *excipe pacato, Caesar Germanice, voltu / hoc opus et timidae derige navis iter* ('Accept with calm sight, Caesar Germanicus, this work and guide the course of my timid ship.').[14]

The name and the content of the poem, *Fasti*, relates to the Roman calendar, in particular the list of days on which court hearings were held.[15] Unlike today, the word *calendarium* referred to the account book in which debts were recorded, since loans were provided and interest payments were due on the first day of the month (*Kalendae*). There are three categories of *fasti* handed down to us from Roman times: wall paintings, book calendars and inscriptions. The first two categories consist of only six *specimina*: four painted panel calendars from the Late Republic (the *Fasti Antiates Maiores*, c. 60s/50s BCE) and Empire (Augustan *Fasti plateae Manfredo Fanti*, the Caligulan *Fasti Viae Graziosa* and Antonine/Severan *Fasti Porticus*), and two books from Late Antiquity (by Furius Filocalus and Polemius Silvius, extant in medieval copies). Inscriptions, consisting of 44 surviving specimina, make up the majority of the extant *fasti*, mostly from the Augustan-Tiberian period. Painted and inscribed *fasti* hardly differ in design and size. A *fasti* consists of 12 (or 13, for the intercalary month) columns, representing the twelve months of the year, starting with January. Eight 'nundinal letters' (A-H) mark the period of the eight-day Roman week (*nundinae*). Furthermore, the *Kalendae* (first day), the *Nones* (fifth or seventh day) and the *Ides* (thirteenth or fifteenth day, the middle of the month) are distinguished to structure every month and make dating possible. In the next column the legal status of every day is indicated: popular assemblies were allowed on days marked 'C' (*dies comitales*) and court sittings on days marked 'F' (*dies fasti*) but not on days marked 'N' (*dies nefasti*). Furthermore, multi-lettered abbreviations and/or words marked feast days, the names of gods and the foundation days of temples.[16]

Ovid presents his *Fasti* as a poetic version of the Roman *fasti*. The overall structure is the same: each book corresponds with a month (although only the first six months are published) and each month is divided into accounts of individual days discussing the ritual(s) connected to these days. These accounts often involve dialogues between the first-person poet and Roman gods, who clarify the origins and practices of Roman festivities. Although the calendar model provided a clear framework for Ovid's poem, it also presented challenges: the rigid structure of the calendar with its (sub)divisions made a natural, continuous narrative difficult, especially since the progress of the poem was determined entirely by the order of days of the calendar. Moreover, the different and often unrelated celebrations included heterogeneous and ambivalent themes hard to bring together in one narrative. However, by using elegiac couplets, Ovid managed to meet these challenges. While the subject of the calendar in twelve books may have been appropriate for the epic genre, the elegiac metre allowed Ovid to put a more personal spin on his poem by including direct speech, short dialogue, light-hearted witticisms, asides to the audience, and so on. In this way, it made more sense to cast the various disunited calendrical themes into one narrative and present accounts of varying lengths, ranging from the brief mention, or even omission, of a holiday to erudite expositions on rituals, Greek and Roman mythology, and astronomical observations. This reveals

[13] Herbert-Brown (2002: v); Herbert-Brown (1994: 173).
[14] *Fast.* 1.3-4. For more on (the humanist approach of) the issue of the dedicatee of Ovid's *Fasti*, see Chapter 3.3.
[15] *Fastus* derives from *fas*, 'divine law' (as opposed to human *ius*); 'which is permitted'.
[16] Rüpke (2011: [Table 1]; 1; 6-9; 11).

another important model for Ovid's project besides the calendar structure: the third-century BCE poet Callimachus and his elegiac poem *Aetia*, which dealt with aetiological myths connected with Greek history and rituality. Much like the *Aetia*, Ovid's *Fasti* continuously deals with the Greek and Roman *aetia*, legends, myths and constellations associated with the different Roman festivals.[17]

There has been much debate among scholars about Ovid's exact motivation to compose a calendar poem. Elaine Fantham has summarised this discussion well by stating that Ovid did not have to remind the Roman audience of, or instruct it about, the various traditions and customs, for we can assume that these were known. Instead, Ovid wanted to assert his erudition as a poet by enriching the Roman calendar with his knowledge of the Greek and Roman (prehistoric) past. Additionally, there could have been a more political motivation for Ovid to compose his *Fasti*, related to the calendrical reforms of Julius Caesar and Augustus.[18]

Until Caesar's time, the Roman year was ninety days behind the solar year, causing great chaos, as the harvest festival, for example, was celebrated long before the harvest had begun. In 46 BCE, Caesar ordered mathematicians to conform the Roman calendar with the solar year, as Ovid too reports to us in book 3 of his *Fasti*.[19] The result was the Julian calendar, essentially equivalent to the current western calendar of 365 ¼ days divided into twelve months. This mathematical adjustment was also politically motivated: it allowed Caesar to reinforce and replay his relationship with the Roman public every year, by allowing *feriae* (holidays) to be instituted on the anniversaries of his birthday and victories, and the seventh month to be renamed 'Iulius' in his honour. The result was that the reformer's personal cult was included in the yearly round of religious, cultural and civic life, and the collective consciousness of the entire social order. Furthermore, since many festivities were also celebrations of events in Roman legend or history, Caesar tried to link himself with the Roman past and its important *exempla*. Augustus understood the benefits of the calendar and, just like Caesar, he ordered his anniversaries (birthday, victories and the renaming of a month 'Augustus') to be included into the calendar without interfering with existing celebrations.[20] Ovid's poem could be interpreted as an endeavour to propitiate Augustus by praising the new imperial festivities and incorporating them into the traditional Republican calendar.[21] This led some scholars to believe that Ovid was encouraged or even urged by Augustus to write his calendar poem, otherwise he would not have chosen such a problematic format.[22]

Other scholars have argued against this reading of the *Fasti* as 'merely' propaganda for Augustus and the Julian house, and highlighted Ovid's safe criticisms (figured speech) or his attempt to destabilise Augustan ideology.[23] Particularly influential was the study of the classicist Alessandro Barchiesi, which pleaded for an Augustus-critical reading of the *Fasti* but dismissed the, in his view, inadequate opposition between 'pro-Augustan' and 'anti-Augustan'. He suggested the term 'Augustan discourse' (derived from Augustus), which went beyond propaganda and covered the whole cultural life in Rome in all its customs, arts and architecture, including the Roman calendar and Ovid's *Fasti*. Augustus tried to unify the Roman history and calendar by imposing a universal chronology from the founding of Rome to the Empire, and a rotation of the Roman year

[17] Herbert-Brown (1994: 1-3; 7-10). On Ovid's poetic models and use of the elegiac metre, see e.g. Miller (1991) and Hinds (1992).
[18] Fantham (2002: 23-24).
[19] *Fast.* 3.155-165.
[20] Herbert-Brown (2009: 120-122).
[21] Fantham (2002: 24).
[22] See e.g. Herbert-Brown (1994: 1).
[23] Three important studies here are Feeney (1994), Newlands (1995) and Barchiesi (1997).

in which the emperor is annually present. Ovid, in turn, reacted with a 'subversive' unification of the calendar. His *Fasti* was an undermining of Augustan and Julian themes in several ways, including the use of the elegiac genre, tampering with the reliability of the *Fasti* by putting words in the mouths of deities, clumsy associations between Augustus and the primitive appearances of founding figures such as Aeneas and Romulus, and the intentional half-finished state of the poem as a metaphor for Ovid's life, which was cut short by exile halfway through the composition.[24]

1.2 *Nachleben* of Ovid's *Fasti*

Although only the first six books of the *Fasti* exist, the *Fasti* nevertheless turned out to be an important source for the study of ancient Roman religion. Partly because of this, the *Fasti* enjoyed great recognition and popularity in the following centuries. Ovid's work was widely renowned in the Middle Ages, especially in monastic and classroom environments, where they speculated about the proto-Christian identity of Ovid and the existence of the other six books of the *Fasti*.[25]

During the fifteenth century, the poem experienced a revival in popularity among humanist scholars, for they used it as a manual to revive the textual and physical Rome. The hypothesis that there were six more books hidden somewhere made them eagerly looking for them. The surviving books were widely read, commented on and edited for publication. The idea that the poem was incomplete and in need of repair led poets to write supplements to fill in the gap or to compose (autonomous) imitations of the calendar poem. The two most influential commentaries on the text were written by the humanists Paolo Marsi and Antonio Costanzi (1436–1490), and appeared in print respectively in 1482 and 1489. The text was also studied outside Rome. Most importantly, the humanist Angelo Poliziano (1454–1494) gave lectures in Florence on the *Fasti* and published his *Collectanea*, a collection of various philological remarks on this poem and many other texts.[26]

In the twentieth century, however, the *Fasti* could not count on the recognition and popularity it had in the centuries before. The poem was less attractive to literary scholars for multiple reasons: they believed that the *Fasti* was an artistic failure due to its unfinished character, the format of a calendar poem was flawed, and Ovid's role as antiquarian and panegyrist to Augustus and the Julian house could not be taken seriously in regard of the applied elegiac metre and his earlier elegiac love poem *Amores*. The *Fasti* remained an important source for historians of religion and anthropologists, although also within these academic fields there were critical voices about the inadequacy and reliability of the poem.[27] However, one can notice a major increase in the *Fasti*'s readership and appreciation as a literary source since 1978, when Alton, Wormell and Courtney published a new edition of the text of the *Fasti*.[28] The year 1987 could be regarded the starting point for the renewed interest in literary research into the *Fasti*: at the meeting of the American Philological Association in New York, six scholars formed a panel on the *Fasti*, which culminated in an issue of the academic journal *Arethusa* entirely devoted to the poem.[29] Meanwhile, the *Fasti*

[24] Barchiesi (1997: 6-8; 251-253; 262; 271).
[25] Fritsen (2015: 23-24). A great deal has been written about Ovid's Nachleben from Classical antiquity to the Middle Ages; e.g. the last three chapters of Boyd (2002) provide a clear overview. Kilgour (2014) outlines the reception of the *Fasti* in the European Renaissance.
[26] Fritsen (2015: 25-30; 42).
[27] Miller (1992: 1); Newlands (1995: 2).
[28] In this thesis, the 2005-edition of this original *Bibliotheca Teubneriana* volume from 1978 is used.
[29] Miller (1992: 2). See also the other articles in this issue of *Arethusa*.

has undergone a massive rehabilitation in both readership and scholarship, and many aspects of this multifaceted poem have been disclosed.[30]

1.3 *Fasti* manuscripts in the context of the Roman Academy

This thesis centres on the rehabilitation of the *Fasti* in the fifteenth century. In Rome, an important humanist centre of learning, the text was extensively studied. Many of the extant *Fasti* manuscripts were produced in the context of Leto and his Roman Academy, and are currently held by the *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* and the *Biblioteca Vallicelliana* in Rome. These manuscripts have been identified and described by Angela Fritsen:

1. *Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 1595*: Ovid's *Opera omnia*, c. 1450. This manuscript was owned by Pope Pius II. The text of the *Fasti* is written between ff. 254r-331v; Pietro Odi di Montopoli, Leto's teacher, annotated ff. 254r-351v.

2. *Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 3264*: *Fasti*, 1469-1470, with annotations written by Leto on the first five folios. This is Leto's earliest commentary on the *Fasti* and was made for Leto's private student Fabio Mazzatosta.

3. *Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 3263*: *Fasti* with a marginal commentary, post-1488, an autograph written by Leto.

4. *Vatican City, BAV, Ottob. lat. 1982*: various classical and humanist texts, c. 1485. We find annotations on the *Fasti* by an anonymous student of Leto.

5. *Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Ms. R 59*: post-1473, a running commentary on the *Fasti* by Antonio Volsco.[31]

The four Vatican manuscripts are of interest to scholars working on the commentary tradition of the *Fasti* in the fifteenth century, because "[they] reveal the timeframe when the *Fasti* was popular and the manner in which it was taught".[32] The fifth manuscript can be placed in the same Roman context of Leto as the Vatican manuscripts but is particularly interesting. It concerns a commentary on the entire *Fasti* by Volsco that has not yet been fully studied by modern scholars. This is also noted by Latinist Frank Coulson: "[It] contains a substantial commentary on the *Fasti*, unpublished and to my knowledge unstudied".[33] Ms. R 59 will be the focus of this thesis.

1.4 Antonio Volsco and his commentary on the *Fasti*

What do we know about this Antonio Volsco and the context in which he created his commentary? Little is known about Volsco's life. He was born around 1440 and received the name 'Antonio Costanzi'. Because of this, scholars have often confused him with the aforementioned Antonio

[30] See e.g. the aforementioned literary-critical studies by Newlands (1995) and Barchiesi (1997), the (cultural-)historical articles in Herbert-Brown (2002) and the narratological study by Murgatroyd (2005).
[31] Fritsen (2015: 36, 39, 45-46).
[32] Idem, 45.
[33] Coulson (2015: 108).

Costanzi of Fano, who also wrote (but published as well) a *Fasti* commentary.[34] The name 'Volsco' was added to indicate his birthplace on the border of the former Volscian country, Priverno, which was located near Frosinone (Lazio). He moved to Rome in the 1450s where he became a pupil of Leto, with whom he developed a close intellectual friendship. He was a member of the Roman Academy, as correspondence and his inscribed name on the walls of the catacomb of Santi Marcellino e Pietro testify.[35] In this context, he met Paolo Marsi, with whom he simultaneously worked on a *Fasti* commentary. Volsco lectured at the University of Perugia, probably between 1468 and 1471. Records show that he taught Rhetoric at the *Studium Urbis* (present-day Sapienza University) in Rome in the periods 1481–1483 and 1494–1496, but we can assume he worked here continuously from 1473 onwards.[36] The exact date of Volsco's death is unknown but based on a funerary epigram written for him by Evangelista Fausto Maddaleni Capodiferro (probably one of his former pupils), he deceased between the end of 1506 and the beginning of 1507.[37]

Volsco devoted his study to Propertius, Ovid, Persius and Nonius Marcellus. From around 1468, he worked on his commentary of the *Fasti*, which was never printed. In 1481, he published his commentary on Ovid's *Heroides* without the text. A year later, he published the text of Propertius' *Elegiae* without commentary, followed by a second edition in 1488 with a renewed text including a commentary.[38] His *Heroides* edition, in particular, proved to be a 'bestseller': it was reprinted in Italy 35 times between 1481 and 1503 (and once in Lyon in 1500/1501), though after the *editio princeps* his commentary only appeared in composite editions with other works of Ovid.[39] In the same period, Volsco was also occupied with another project: to describe the sites and antiquities of Lazio in his antiquarian work *De antiquitate Latii*, following in the footsteps of his predecessors Poggio Bracciolini in his *De varietate fortunae* (*On the Vicissitudes of Fortune*, 1448), Flavio Biondo in his *Roma instaurata* (*Rome Restored*, 1449) and the works of other members of the Roman Academy.[40] This work is only preserved in one manuscript (London, British Library, Ms. Harley 5050) and was never published, but apparently Volsco was also renowned for his literary production. For Maddaleni's funerary epigram praises Volsco's mythological and historical prose and poetry, and not so much his commentaries. This notion suggests that he has produced even more works yet unknown to us

[34] Thomson (2011: 218-219); Lee (1970: 220-221). In the eighteenth century, the Italian literary critic Girolamo Tiraboschi mixed up these names, and it was not until the twentieth century that this error was corrected by Castaldi (1914).
[35] For more on the context for the Roman Academy, see Chapter 2.3.
[36] Thomson (2011: 219-220); Fritsen (2015: 39). Lee (1970: 220): e.g. Volsco's salary payments can be found in the State Archives of Rome.
[37] Castelli (2020): this epigram has been preserved in an autograph of Maddaleni's poems: Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 3351, f. 104v. Castelli does not explain on what information he bases this rather exact date of death, but an examination of the surrounding epigrams in the manuscript tells us that a possible *terminus post quem* is 11 November 1506 for on f. 103v, we read an epigram dedicated to *Divo Iulio II Pont(ifici) Max(imo) recoepta bononia* ('To the Holy Pope Julius II after Bologna was reconquered'). On 11 November 1506, pope Julius II made a triumphal entrance into Bologna after his armed takeover of this papal city from the despot Giovanni II Bentivoglio. The *terminus ante quem* could be 26 November 1507 because on f. 107r, we can read three epigrams addressed to Julius II to honour the completion of the fourth year of his papacy (*quattuor ex seclis nascuntur Iulia secla*) on 1 November 1507, of which the third one is dated: *VI Kal(endas) Decemb(ris)* i.e. 26 November. Cf. Castelli (2016: 167-168).
[38] Thomson (2011: 219-220).
[39] Data provided by the Incunabula Short Title Catalogue (ISTC), the international database of fifteenth-century European printing. Search 'Antonius Volscus' <https://data.cerl.org/istc/_search?query=antonius+volscus> last consulted 14-08-2022.
[40] La Malfa (2003: 267-268). Chapter 2 deals with Volsco and other humanists from the circle of Leto in more detail.

or unpreserved, in particular an ancient history about the city of Priverno as the seventh line of the epigram seems to indicate:[41]

D(iis) M(anibus) Antonii Volsci privernatis

Antoni cineres Volsci salvere viator
iure iube, nulli noxius ille fuit
Nec gravis ille fuit cuiquam tantumve molestus[42]
quantum nunc tibi quom dicere pauca rogat.
Nomine Casmillae[43] et multorum antiqua superbit
Privernus siquis belli facta notat.
Unum hoc defuerat, quod nunc Antonius adfert:
scribere facta virum et facta virum canere.
Quisquis in historia cultove poemate sudas,
hos cineres Livi, Virgiliique puta.[44]

To the Spirits of the Dead of Antonio Volsco of Priverno

The ashes of Antonio Volsco, traveller,
salute them for me righteously; for he was harmful to no one
and neither was he unpleasant to anyone or so much annoying
as now to you because he desires to say a few words.
In the name of Casmilla and many others Priverno takes pride,
if someone records its ancient acts of war.
This was the one thing missing, which Antonius now contributes:
to write about the deeds of men and sing about the deeds of men.
Whoever you are who toils on a poem about history or culture,
consider these ashes Livy's or Virgil's.

Volsco's years of research on Ovid's *Fasti* have survived in one extensive manuscript, containing a running commentary on the entire poem. The commentary is structured as a collection of lecture notes.[45] Each note starts with a lemma from the text of the *Fasti* followed by an explanation – grammatical, syntactic, literary or (cultural-)historical in nature. In her monograph on the commentary tradition of the *Fasti*, Fritsen states that "[Volsco's] commentary reflects the influence of Pomponio Leto's teaching and Volsco's own conclusions". She works with two examples that indeed show that Volsco responds to Leto's notes in his commentary, and two examples that Marsi

[41] Castelli (2020); Castelli (2013: 27).
[42] This may refer to his 'friendly' disagreements with other lecturers of the *Studium Urbis* such as Martino Filetico, Domizio Calderini and Pietro Marso, cf. Castelli (2020).
[43] This name refers to a verse from Virgil's *Aeneid* (*A.* 11.543: *nomine Casmillae, mutata parte, Camillam*), in which Casmilla is presented as mother of Camilla, the daughter of King Metabus of the Volsci, who came from the ancient city Privernum and fought on the side of Turnus against Aeneas. This reference recalls Volsco's name and birthplace.
[44] Vat. lat. 3351, f. 104v. The transcription and translation are my own, as are the others in this thesis. The following text-critical signs are used throughout this thesis: round brackets supplement words abbreviated in the original text, square brackets indicate letters that should be deleted, and angle brackets enclose letters or words that should be added.
[45] As to whether this manuscript contains Volsco's own (autographical) notes or, in fact, his lecture *dictata* written down by one of his students, see Chapter 3.1.

adopts Volsco's "innovative reading" in his printed commentary of 1482.[46] My research primarily focuses on Volsco's observations and how these compare to Marsi's.

1.5 Research question and method

In my thesis, I will analyse several entries from Volsco's commentary on the *Fasti*'s proem (*Fast.* 1.1-62) to get an overall impression of the commentary. My research question is: (1) how should we characterise Volsco's commentary, and (2) in what way does it relate to Marsi's commentary? The answers to these questions allow us to get a better understanding of the life and work of this little-known Italian humanist, and what he can tell us about the way in which Ovid was read and taught in fifteenth-century Rome.

With a close reading of the text, I will try to answer my research question. To define the 'character' of Volsco's commentary, I analyse the commentary strategies Volsco employs in his commentary, by looking at his reconstruction and treatment of Ovid's text, the layout and structure of his commentary, and the intended purpose and audience of his commentary.[47] I compare Volsco's notes with those of Marsi. Marsi's commentary, having appeared in print and met with great success, could be considered a model for how fifteenth-century humanists commented on Ovid's *Fasti*. A comparison between Volsco and Marsi helps to clarify how Volsco relates to this model and how his commentary stands out compared to other humanist commentaries.

My approach is closely related to classical reception studies, which explore how and why classical reception takes place: the way classical literature has been read, interpreted, (ab)used and adapted throughout the centuries. The starting point of reception studies is the notion that an author never reproduces a text without intention but always appropriates it for a specific purpose.[48]

I am particularly interested in the function that the *Fasti* had in fifteenth-century Rome, as a mirror of ancient Roman civilization, with Ovid as a tour guide through Rome. Volsco lived in a time when Rome had lost a lot of grandeur compared to classical antiquity: the city was, for example, full of ancient ruins. At the same time, numerous new buildings had been erected, mostly of a Christian nature. Humanists as Volsco, in their attempt to restore Rome to its ancient state, were particularly interested in the topography and rituality of the city. In the *Fasti* they searched for locations that were strongly connected to Roman culture and religion, for example, places of worship, temples and festivities.

My hypothesis is that Volsco, as well as his colleagues, is building an image of the physical appearance of ancient Rome through literary reception of Ovid. Volsco's specific purpose and contribution could be to revive – at least the textual – Rome. By commenting on Ovid, he creates a dialogue between the textual and the physical Rome, and thus shows that literature is able to not only describe the city but also shape it.[49]

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[46] Fritsen (2015: 39-41).

[47] The term 'strategies' relate to the various manners in which the commentator, with different intentions, mediated between ancient texts and early modern readers. 'Layout' refers to the way the commentary is coupled with the source text, see Enenkel (2013: 14; 39-40; 70-71).

[48] See De Pourcq (2020) for a definition and genesis of classical reception studies, and recent contributions to the field.

[49] This ties in with the ancient and humanist *topos* of literary works as buildings, and reviving ancient Rome through a decent reading of ancient texts, see Edwards (1996: 6-8).

1.6 Outline

My thesis consists of two parts. The first part (Chapter 2) focuses on the commentary tradition of the *Fasti* in fifteenth-century Rome. It discusses which commentaries appeared in writing and print, and clarifies the context in which the commentaries of Volsco and Marsi arose. I will focus on the *paratexts* Marsi included in his printed commentary, because they provide us with a lot of information about the nature of fifteenth-century research into the *Fasti* and the humanist environment for Volsco's and his own commentary. The second part (Chapter 3) dives into the commentaries of Volsco and Marsi in more detail, through a case study of several of their comments on the proem of the *Fasti*. I will examine the structure, nature and content of both commentaries. In this way, I hope to determine the character of Volsco's commentary and his contribution to the humanist study of the *Fasti* in the fifteenth century.

2. Studying the *Fasti* in fifteenth-century Rome: Paolo Marsi's commentary

In Renaissance Italy, Rome was still considered *caput mundi*, the place where the ancient Roman world was most present and visible. No wonder that especially in Rome interest in the *Fasti* blossomed from the fifteenth century onwards. Attracted by the literary and physical remains of antiquity, humanists longed to restore the city to its ancient state. They often took this quite literally as they searched for ancient remains, recited and composed Latin poetry, and re-enacted Roman festivities. They collected ancient texts, inscriptions and sculptures, with the aim of building impressive (public) antiquarian collections. Ovid' *Fasti* provided the humanists with an antiquarian manual and a literary equivalent of the physical Rome. Through reading, editing, annotating and emendating the text, the humanists allowed themselves to be guided by Ovid around the Rome that they were also trying to restore.[50] Exactly this function of the *Fasti* is expressed by Costanzi in the preface to his edition of the poem (1489):

> Accedit ad haec quod pleraque urbis templa magnificentissima et aedificia olim Romanam ostentantia maiestatem, e quibus hac aetate fundamentorum tantum reliquiae manent aut certe nulla vestigia vel diligenter explorantibus sese offerunt, in eodem opere paene integra et inviolata monstrantur, ut eius modi rerum studiosis quae cernere minime possunt ea facile et videre et contemplari liceat.[51]
>
> *Add to this that many of the greatest temples and buildings of the city, once revealing the Roman grandeur, of which in this age either only the remnants of the foundations last or no traces present themselves at all to the careful explorers, are exhibited in the same work* [i.e. Fasti] *almost intact and unharmed, so that students of his working method can easily both see and consider those things which they can perceive the least.*

The *Fasti* was an ideal school text, and by studying the poem, ancient Rome came back to life. This chapter treats the most influential printed *Fasti* commentary of the fifteenth century, by Marsi (1482). In the paratexts of his edition, Marsi discusses why and by whom the *Fasti* was studied in Rome, and he is therefore an essential source for our understanding of the humanist context of the poem's revival. Four characters are central in this revival: Marsi himself, Costanzi, Leto and Volsco.[52] These Italian humanists all extensively studied the *Fasti* and, each in their own way, left their mark on the reception of Ovid in Renaissance Italy. In the following, they will be considered, in order to outline the context in which Volsco's written commentary arose.

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[50] Fritsen (2015: 102-103). For the antiquarian pursuits and collections of Roman humanists, see e.g. Christian (2010).
[51] Costanzi (1489: a2r), *praefatio in commentarios Fastorum Nasonis*, ll. 23-28.
[52] Much has been written about Leto but the monograph of Accame (2008) should be mentioned here, which builds on the foundational research of Zabughin (1909-1912) on Leto's life and work, and the identification of extant manuscript material. Marsi has experienced a similarly extensive treatment though the most important biography remains the one by Della Torre (1903). A few articles have appeared on Costanzi, see e.g. Formichetti (1984). Little has been published about Volsco: fundamental is Pecci (1890); Castelli (2020) provides a lot of biographical information and announces a monograph on Volsco, which has not yet been published but is probably an elaboration of Castelli (2013). Another important source for biobibliographical material on the 'Pomponiani' is the digital *Repertorium Pomponianum* (https://www.repertoriumpomponianum.it/), maintained, and still updated since 2007, by an international team of scholars.

2.1 Printing the *Fasti* in fifteenth-century Italy

The revival of interest in the *Fasti* is primarily attested by the multiple editions of the poem that were published in the course of the fifteenth century and their large print-runs. A brief survey on the online *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* shows that the *Fasti* was printed 26 times (12 are composite prints with other Ovidian works) between 1470 and 1512. It is striking that 21 of these prints originated in Italy, and the oldest even relate to Italy's earliest printing. In 1470, the *Fasti* was printed for the first time: in Rome by Ulrich Han, probably the first printer in Rome. In the same year, the *editio princeps* of Ovid's *opera omnia* was printed by two presses (there is debate on who was the first): in Bologna by Baldassarre Azzoguidi, in the edition of Francesco Puteolano, and in Rome by Konrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz (who were associated with Johannes Gutenberg and printed the first books of Italy in Subiaco), in the edition of Giovanni Andrea Bussi.[53]

Undoubtedly the most popular editions of the *Fasti* were produced by Marsi and Costanzi. They published their commentaries respectively in 1482 in Venice and in 1489 in Rome. The decision to release a composite edition turned out to be a profitable idea. First published in Venice in 1497, this edition dominated the Italian book market for thirty years in six reprints (in 1502, 1508, 1510, 1512, 1520 and 1527). Especially the final reprint must have had a large print-run as many copies can nowadays be found in various European and American libraries. In the second half of the fifteenth century, this 'bestseller' also travelled beyond Italian borders, where it became part of two important *opera omnia* editions of Ovid: volume three of the Basel edition (1550) and volume two of the Frankfurt edition (1601).[54] In the meantime, Marsi's commentary was still reprinted separately four times at the end of the fifteenth century: in Milan (1483 and 1489) and Venice (1485 and 1492) – unlike Costanzi's edition, which was no longer reprinted separately after 1489.[55] Not only the many printed editions of the *Fasti* in the fifteenth century attest to the revival of the poem but also Marsi's commentary itself provides us with interesting information about the context of its popularity.

2.2 Marsi's printed commentary on the *Fasti*

Marsi's text of the *Fasti* with commentary was printed by the Venetian printer Baptista de Tortis on 24 December 1482. No extensive research has yet been conducted on the source text of his edition, and on which Ovidian manuscripts he and other members of the Roman Academy had at their disposal. Marsi himself did not document the manuscripts he had consulted and, besides a list of print errors he included in his book, he seemed to have had no intention of presenting a 'critical edition' of the classical text. This was a practice, which scholars like Poliziano and the Venetian printer Aldo Manuzio (1449–1515) were more inclined to follow, and became an important humanist occupation from the sixteenth century onwards. We know that the Roman *editio princeps* of Ovid drew on an eleventh-century manuscript (Florence, San Marco 225). Later printed editions mainly drew on the Bolognese *editio princeps*, and scholars and printers corrected and supplemented this edition on the basis of other manuscripts or personal discretion.[56]

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[53] ISTC, search 'Fasti' <https://data.cerl.org/istc/_search?query=fasti> last consulted 14-08-2022. See also Cioni (1962), who decides in favour of the Bolognese edition.
[54] Fritsen (2015: 29-30); Fritsen (1995: 4).
[55] ISTC, search 'Fasti'.
[56] Richmond (2002: 456-457). See also Alton (1977).

Marsi's edition has the layout of a general fifteenth-century 'frame-commentary'.[57] The text of the *Fasti* is printed in the centre of each folio with the commentary in a smaller fount size structured around it. Each comment starts with a lemma from the *Fasti* text followed by a (cultural-historical, theological, grammatical et cetera) explanation by the commentator. The lemma is not printed in *capitalis* or bold, so that it would stand out in relation to the explanation, but a small blank space is left between each comment to separate them from each other.

Marsi appended several *paratexts* to his commentary: seven prefaces – one to the entire *Fasti* (*praefatio in Fastos*) and five shorter (prose and verse) prefaces to *Fasti* books two till six –, a *vita* of Ovid, an appendix to the commentary consisting of an *emendatio quorundam locorum* (a correction of errata in the printed text) and a *ratio astrologiae* (an explanation of the astronomical phenomena described in the text), and, finally, a colophon.[58] In these paratexts, Marsi outlined the context in which he and other commentators engaged with research into the *Fasti*, and provided a brief chronological overview of his work activities and the emergence of other *Fasti* commentaries. In the following, these paratexts will be analysed in more detail.

2.3 Marsi's colophon: the context for the Roman Academy and its members

Starting with the colophon, I use this text to briefly outline and clarify the Academy's historical context and activities. Remarkably presented as an epitaph in *capitalis* 'engraved' on a tombstone, the colophon confirms that Marsi was a member of the Roman Academy together with Leto, with whom he studied the *Fasti*:

> Religiosae litterariae Sodalitati Viminali et universae Academiae Latinae ad viventium posteror(um)q(ue) usum Pau(li) Marsi Pisci(natis) poe(tae) Romani fideliss(imam) Fast(orum) Interpretationem Baptista Tortius a Neocastro Venetiis imprimendam curavit anno salutis MCCCCLXXXII et a constituta sodalitate an(no) IIII D(omenico) R(uverio) car(dinali) divi Claemen(tis) protectore pont(ifice) Firman(o) et Nestore Malvis(io) Praefectis Pomponio Laeto P(ublio] Astreo et Paolo Marso Censorib(us) IX. Cal. Ianuar.[59]
>
> *To the sacred literary Sodality on the Viminal Hill and the entire Latin Academy for the use of the present and coming generations, Baptista de Tortis from Nicastro ordered the most faithful Exposition of the Roman poet's* Fasti *by Paolo Marsi from Piscinas to be printed in Venice, in the year of salvation 1482 and in the fourth year from the constitution of the Sodality, when Domenico della Rovere, cardinal-priest of San Clemente, was its protector, the bishop of Fermo and Nestore Malvezzi were Prefects, and Pomponio Leto, Publio Astreo and Paolo Marso were Censors, 24 December.*

Marsi writes that his work is addressed to the literary Sodality on the Viminal Hill and to the Latin Academy. We know that Leto had bought a house on the Quirinal in 1479, which he opened for gatherings of learned humanists. Leto's house became the focal point of his learned movement. Here, intellectuals such as Marsi and Volsco could either engage in conversation or study in peace, and consult his collection of manuscripts and epigraphical material. These humanists often confused the Viminal, the smallest of the seven hills of Rome lying between the Quirinal and Esquiline, with the Quirinal and Esquiline itself. For them, it was not an obvious distinction, as can be deducted from the erroneous localisation in Marsi's colophon.[60]

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[57] Cf. Enenkel (2013: 39-40).
[58] For more on the literary concept of 'paratext', see e.g. the important study of Genette (1987); 'paratext' applied to the early modern book, see e.g. Smith (2011).
[59] Marsi (1482: f. R6r), colophon.
[60] Fritsen (2015: 113); Fritsen (1995: 150).

According to Marsi, there were two 'sections' of the Roman Academy of Leto: a *sodalitas* and an *academia*. The usage of and distinction between the two terms may have been inspired by Leto himself, as the Volterran historian Raffaele Maffei writes in his *Commentarii urbanorum* about Leto: *domunculam in Quirinali sibi paraverat, ubi sodalitatem litteratorum, ut ipse appellabat, instituit* ('He had purchased a small house for himself on the Quirinal where he founded a sodality of letters, as he himself called it.').[61] Leto perhaps wanted to separate his *sodalitas* as a group of learned friends, who gathered around him in a more informal setting, from the *academia* as a place of public and private education. However, the two terms in the colophon are grammatically connected and likely not intended to be mutually exclusive: Leto's house was to facilitate a fusion of social and intellectual activities, viz informal gatherings, exchange of knowledge and education.[62] This is in line with how we should imagine early humanist assemblies in the fifteenth century. Although both terms (*sodalitas* and *academia*) suggest a certain amount of organisation and institutionalisation involved, Leto's Roman Academy should be regarded rather as a casually organised group of humanists, students and acquaintances with varying participation. Unlike the later Italian Academies from the sixteenth century, Leto's group was not a well-defined institution but rather a 'coterie' revolving around a charismatic individual, and engaged in the study of literature and antiquity.[63]

No evidence has occurred of anything like a formal membership or an official enrolment procedure, and no list of members has survived, although scholars have tried to reconstruct such a list.[64] This did not mean that the participants lacked a sense of belonging or being part of the initiated. They referred to themselves or were referred to by others as *sodales* or *pomponiani*.[65] Furthermore, people were credited with certain titles, which seem to have indicated their (administrative) position within the sodality, such as Leto's title *Pontifex Maximus* as head of the sodality.[66] According to Marsi's colophon, there were *praefecti* and *censores*, although it is not clear what these titles entailed. The two prefects have been identified by historian Arnaldo della Torre as Giovanni Battista Capranica, referred to as *pontifex Firmanus* for he became bishop of Fermo in 1478, and Nestore Malvezzi, a Bolognese 'Knight of Jerusalem'. Publio Astreo was a Perugian poet and friend of Leto, and shared his censorship with Leto and Marsi.[67]

Marsi undoubtedly belonged to Leto's inner circle. He met Leto when he arrived in Rome after 1457, during Leto's public lectures at the *Studium Urbis* and through private education, during which they discussed Ovid's *Fasti*, because Marsi was working on his *Fasti* commentary at the time. They built up a close relationship, which is attested by many including the fifteenth-century Venetian historian Marco Antonio Sabellico: *Marsum seniorem unice dilexit* ('Leto considered the elder Marsi especially dear').[68] Marsi's membership in the Sodality is evident from the colophon, which was written *a constituta sodalitate anno IIII* ('in the fourth year from the constitution of the Sodality') when Marsi was one of its *censores*.

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[61] Maffei (1530: f. 246v).
[62] Fritsen (2015: 88; 112-113); De Beer (2008: 189-190).
[63] De Beer (2008: 190-192); Chambers (1998: 2); Fritsen (2015: 110). A standard work on the academic movement in Europe (particularly France and Italy) until 1600 is edited by Deramaix (2008) and also includes an article on Leto's Academy.
[64] Della Torre (1903: 87-120) has compiled a list (the list is on p. 119) of members based on e.g. writings of academicians Bartolomeo Platina and Marsi, and the research conducted by archaeologist Giovanni Battista de Rossi at the end of the nineteenth century on the graffiti of the names of academicians found in the Christian catacombs in Rome.
[65] De Beer (2008: 191-192); Fritsen (2015: 110).
[66] Fritsen (2015: 107): this is a title attributed to Leto e.g. on the walls of the catacombs of San Callisto (*POMPONIV. PONT.MAX.*)
[67] Della Torre (1903: 245-247).
[68] Idem, 21-22: the academician Pietro Marso would be the 'younger' in order not to confuse both *Marsi.*

Marsi is referring to the so-called second Roman Academy established in 1479. The first Academy was in fact 'closed down' during the turbulent events of 1468, when Leto and other academicians were imprisoned in Castel Sant'Angelo by order of Pope Paul II, on the charges of a conspiracy against the pope and of heresy.[69] Although no evidence of any imminent conspiracy seems to have existed, the secretive and inner-circle character of the Roman Academy will no doubt have fuelled the pope's suspicion, along with the 'pagan' and perhaps considered 'anti-religious' or 'anti-clerical' undertakings of these humanists. They differed from other (contemporary) academies in their extraordinary commitment to classical antiquity attested in their study of classical literature, history and topography. This commitment was most evident from their visits to ancient Roman sites and the catacombs, where the academicians inscribed their latinised names on the walls. As for Volsco, his name can be read in the catacomb of Santi Marcellino e Pietro, but he was able to avoid imprisonment.[70]

Under Paul's successor Sixtus IV, the Roman Academy could reinstate itself in 1479. The members realised that religion now had to predominate to guarantee the continued existence of the second Academy. Domenico della Rovere, cardinal and brother of Sixtus IV, was appointed as its protector, as we read in Marsi's colophon. Where Marsi and Volsco were only indirectly involved in the first Academy, they were active members of the second Academy.[71] They were committed to finding an appropriate *dies natalis* for its re-establishment, to be celebrated on a day that was important to both ancient and Christian Rome. Volsco proposed April 22, the day on which he believed the *Palilia* used to be celebrated: an ancient Roman shepherd festival and, during the Imperial period, Rome's anniversary feast, hence a very important festivity for humanists.[72] Marsi corrected this to April 20, a date which, not accidentally, coincided with the feast day of the three Christian martyrs Victor, Fortunatus and Genesius. Fritsen argues that these saints probably recalled the Roman sanctuaries of Victory and Fortune and, therefore, the prosperous fate of Rome, as the latter referred to the birth (*genesis*) of Rome.[73] On April 20, 1483, the Palilia and the Academy's *dies natalis* were celebrated at Leto's house on the Quirinal. These festivities were probably also celebrated before 1483 but the first testimonies appear from this year. Marsi delivered an inaugural oration, a *Genethliacon* ('birthday ode'), which he also included in his *Fasti* commentary at *Fasti* 4.31, where Ovid clarifies the ancestry of Romulus and the origins of Rome. There was a banquet and a poetic contest, and from the emperor Frederick III Leto even received the privilege to crown poets.[74]

Under Sixtus IV, the second Academy could prosper, even if its activities still exposed the antiquarian and 'pagan' interests of its members: they recited classical works, composed poetry, performed the comedies of Plautus and Terence (as is also attested by the many references to these playwrights in Volsco's commentary), and still made city walks along ancient monuments and

[69] For more on the 'conspiracy' of 1468, see e.g. Palermino (1980) and De Beer (2008).
[70] Palermino (1980: 118; 121; 135-137, 144); Fritsen (2015: 78); De Beer (2008: 206-207; 211-212); Castelli (2020).
[71] Fritsen (2015: 109-110). Marsi, residing abroad, e.g. bemoaned the imprisoned academicians in his poem *Ad fratres academicos Romae captivos* (*To my brothers academicians imprisoned in Rome*).
[72] Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Ms. R 59, f. 144v.
[73] Fritsen (2015: 164-165); De Beer (2008: 217). Although Ovid himself designates April 21 (XI. Kal. Mai.) as the Palilia (or Parilia), its exact date was still a much-debated topic for the academicians. The changeability of the calendar even in Caesar's time led humanists to zealously (re)calculate Roman anniversaries. Marsi and Volsco went to great lengths to find this date and eventually (erroneously) proposed resp. April 20 and 22, as witnessed by their discussion of the Palilia in Ovid's *Fasti* 4.721-862. See Fritsen (2015: 158-166) for a discussion of the humanist obsession with Rome's birthday and Marsi's complex explanation for the validity of April 20 above April 21 or 22.
[74] Fritsen (2015: 155-157). The antiquity-inspired concept of the *poeta laureatus* was reintroduced by Petrarch in 1341 and institutionalised in the fifteenth century when the coronation was increasingly performed by Holy Roman Emperors, see Flood (2006: lxiv-lxxx).

collected epigraphical material.[75] The latter is a particularly interesting category, as it distinguished their research from previous humanist endeavours. In the recent past, humanists like Flavio Biondo and Ciriaco de' Pizzicolli had already been concerned with inscriptions, but Leto and his fellow academicians brought the study of epigraphy to a higher level: they discovered inscriptions, copied them and published editions in print. During his life, Leto collected more than hundred Latin and Greek inscriptions, varying from epitaphs to calendars, which he displayed (immured) in his courtyard. Following in the footsteps of Ovid, who writes in his *Fasti*: *sacra recognosces annalibus eruta priscis* ('you will examine the holy rites excavated from the ancient annals'), the academicians examined their findings to interpret the Roman calendar.[76] The 'epitaphical' format of Marsi's colophon also demonstrates the humanists' fascination with epigraphy, just as their own composition of epitaphs in ancient Roman manner. For Leto, who supposedly had expressed his wish to be buried on the Via Appia in Rome, two academicians even composed an epitaph while he was still alive:

D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum)	*Sacred to the Spirits of the Dead*
Iulio Pomponio qui vixit	*to Giulio Pomponio, who lived*
donicum fata permiserunt	*as long as fate permitted.*
M. Antonius Alterius et	*Marco Antonio Altieri and*
C. Antonius Septumuleius	*Giannantonio Settimuleio*
devoti	*have placed [this monument] dedicated*
b(ene) m(erenti) via Appia posuerunt.[77]	*to the well-deserving on the Via Appia.*

It is very likely that Volsco himself also composed and unearthed epigraphical material. In any case, he is credited with rediscovering the famous Late Hellenistic mosaic of the Nile from the Temple of Fortune at Palestrina (ancient Praeneste), as he documented in his *De antiquitate Latii*.[78]

Sixtus IV enabled the humanist study and education in a wide variety of subjects that was not restricted to theology.[79] He formally established the Vatican Library in 1475 and appointed academician Platina as its prefect, so that books and manuscripts could be borrowed and studied. We find the names of many *Studium Urbis* professors, including Leto and other academicians, in the library's loan registers. The idea of Sixtus IV as an *alter Augustus* was an often-occurring theme in the academicians' writings: like Augustus, Sixtus had renewed Rome and left it in marble, and like Ovid sought the patronage of Augustus or Germanicus, the humanists sought Sixtus as their patron.[80]

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[75] Jean (2015: 18); Christian (2010: 140); Fritsen (2015: 165).

[76] *Fast.* 1.7. Fritsen (2015: 137-138); Christian (2010: 131).

[77] Caldelli (2014: 48-49): inscription (CIL VI 3477*), dated to pre-1471, on a marble slab, found in the Villa Altieri in Rome, presently in the Museo delle Terme di Diocleziano in Rome. It was originally classified as a *falsa* (forgery epigram) for its imitation of a Roman inscription, but since the epitaph was created not for an ancient individual but for a contemporary one, it should in fact be considered as a specimen of Neo-Latin epigraphy created in a humanist context.

[78] See the article by La Malfa (2003).

[79] Fritsen (2015: 168). Lee (1970: 240-241) opposingly argues that the second Academy as "religious corporation […] must be considered a symptom of intellectual stagnation." For Sixtus IV, patronage was a matter of spending money, which "implied not merely the replacement of critical standards by considerations of prestige, but in effect the subordination of Sixtus' literary and intellectual patronage to political goals. The implications of this inversion of values for the development of intellectual life in Rome were unquestionably negative." While Sixtus IV may not be considered (as great) a humanist pope as e.g. Pius II (his predecessor before Paul II), I believe Lee's strong claim detracts from what Sixtus provided for the intellectual life in Rome, such as the opening of the Vatican Library.

[80] Campanelli (2000: 119-120); Fritsen (2015: 88; 166-168): even Ovid's struggle with writing under Augustus' 'supervision' could be compared with writing about pagan Rome under Sixtus.

2.4 Marsi's 'Germanicus': the dedicatee of his commentary

Continuing with the salutation, Marsi reports to whom his work is dedicated. For the fifteenth-century humanists, much like the Augustan poets, it was essential to find personal patronage to be able to finance literary projects and provide for the necessities of life.[81] Marsi had found a patron for his *Fasti* commentary in Giorgio Cornaro. In the salutation of the first preface, he is mentioned as the dedicatee of the work: *Paulus Marsus Piscinas poeta clarissimo generoso iuveni Georgio Cornelio M(arci) Cornelii equitis f(eliciter) salutem.* ('The poet Paolo Marsi of Piscinas greets the most renowned and noble young man Giorgio Cornaro, son of the Knight Marco Cornaro.')[82] This Giorgio Cornaro was a descendant of the Venetian patrician family Cornaro and, like his father, Knight of the Holy Roman Empire. Most likely, Marsi was introduced to Giorgio by Leto, who had taught at the Cornaro family's home between 1461–1464. Marsi, subsequently, was Giorgio's personal tutor from circa 1471 until 1474, teaching him also in the *Fasti*.[83] Giorgio commissioned and financed Marsi's project, as he explains in the *emendatio locorum*:

> Haec illa sunt, G(eorgi) Corneli, quae nos octo antea annis in Ovidianos Fastos magna cura ac diligentia scripseramus et a principio tibi dicata. Visum est illud inire consilium ut in hoc usque tempus pressa teneremus, ne editio praecipitata dedecori potius quam laudi esset. Nunc vero cum tandem ex urbe Venetias ad te venire licuerit his lucubrationibus nostris extremam modo manum imposuimus et cui tu ipse mandasti dedimus imprimendas.[84]
>
> *These are the things, Giorgio Cornaro, which I had written eight years ago on Ovid's* Fasti *with great care and precision, and dedicated to you from the beginning. It seemed right to decide to keep my work concealed until now, lest a rushed publication be a sign of dishonour rather than praise. But now, because I have finally been allowed to come from Rome to Venice to you, I have placed just the finishing touch on these nocturnal studies of mine, and I have given them for printing to the one whom you yourself commissioned.*

Apparently, Marsi had already finished the first draft of his research on the *Fasti* in 1474, since his commentary was firstly printed in 1482. He used the intermediate eight years to organise his notes at ease, in order to prevent its publication from being jeopardised with haste. In 1474, he returned from Venice to Rome to take up a professorship at the *Studium Urbis*. He was employed here at least between 1474 and 1476, and between 1480 and 1484, lecturing in eloquence, Horace, and Ovid's *Tristia* and *Fasti*. In 1482, he temporarily exchanged Rome for Venice to personally supervise the publication of his commentary and to write the prefaces addressed to his patron Giorgio.[85] Late 1482, he finally sent his book to Baptista's printing office where it was printed on December 24. Although Marsi had found a benefactor for his project in Venice, it was Rome that he longed to return to. His desire is most evident from his determined hexameters in the preface to the sixth book of the *Fasti*:

> Discedam repetamque pares in amore sodales,
> quos nunc Roma fovet, quibus hinc revocamur ab isdem,
> nanque diu abfuimus, tibi dum monumenta laborum
> nostrorum in Venetis Corneli ex<s>cripsimus undis.[86]

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[81] See e.g. De Beer (2013) for an important study on the constructs of literary patronage in Renaissance Italy.
[82] Marsi (1482: f. a1v), salutation.
[83] Fritsen (2015: 30; 33).
[84] Marsi (1482: f. ʀ4v), *emendatio quorundam locorum*, ll. 1-6.
[85] Lee (1970: 212); Bianchi (2010: 241); Fritsen (2015: 31; 34).
[86] Marsi (1482: f. y2v), *praefatio in sextum librum Fastorum*, ll. 12-15.

I will depart and return to the members equal in dearness,
whom Rome now cherishes, by the same I am recalled from here,
since I have been away for a long time, while I was writing the monuments
of my efforts for you, Cornaro, on Venetian waters.

Marsi's verses echo Ovid's longing (notably in his *Tristia*) to return to Rome from exile. But unlike Ovid, Marsi was able to come back to the *urbs aeterna*. Here, in the context of the Roman Academy, he had books at his disposal unavailable outside the city, he could exchange views about the *Fasti* with fellow humanists as Leto and Volsco, and lecture on the poem at the *Studium Urbis*, which he continued to do so in 1483.[87]

2.5 Marsi's first preface: the context for Ovidian studies in Rome

In the preface to book one of the *Fasti*, Marsi explains how and where his commentary originated. Although his ideas on the *Fasti* sprouted in Venice, they only really took shape in Rome. He had left the city in 1464 and stayed abroad for ten years including his long-term residency with the Cornaro family.[88] In 1474, he could finally continue his *Fasti* study in Rome:

> Postquam mihi ex longa peregrinatione redire tandem tua quoque pace e Venetiis Romam unde decennio antecesseram velut in portum et optatam quietem licuit, rettuli me, G(eorgi) Corneli, ad ea studia quae tam longo tempore intermiseram quam longo a patriis sedibus abfueram.[89]
>
> *After I could finally come back, with your permission as well, from a long sojourning in Venice to Rome, whence I had left ten years before, as it were to a haven and desired resting place, I have returned to those studies, Giorgio Cornaro, which I had interrupted for as long a time as I had been absent from my native land.*

For the academicians, Rome was the centre of *Fasti* studies: Ovid's poem revolved around Rome, they city enabled the academicians to explore the topographical landscape, and there was a great availability of books (through Leto's library, the *Studium Urbis* and the Vatican Library) and antiquarian material (inscriptions, sculptures et cetera through the collections of people like Leto, Sixtus IV and the Maffei family).[90] In the preface, Marsi compares his study with *Fasti* commentaries written by his fellow academicians and his rivals. Thereby, he deliberately places his work in the literary-historical context of contemporary research on Ovid. This list provides us with some important details about fifteenth-century Italian humanists involved with the *Fasti*:

> Scripserat in Fastos pluribus ante me annis, pauca tamen, fidelissimus antiquitatis et totius Latinitatis interpres Pomponius noster. Postea nos secuti provinciam omnem percurrimus, nihil intactum nihilque indiscussum relinquentes. Deinde Perusiae Anaclyterius meus, vir tum Graecis tum Latinis litteris ornatissimus et utroque dicendi genere illustris, Fastos et ipse interpretatus est.[91]

[87] Della Torre (1903: 13); Fritsen (2015: 32-33).
[88] Fritsen (2015: 30; 33).
[89] Marsi (1482: f. a1v), *praefatio in Fastos*, ll. 1-4.
[90] Fritsen (2015: 80-81; 115).
[91] Marsi (1482: f. a1v), *praefatio in Fastos*, ll. 35-39.

> *Our dear Pomponius, the most faithful interpreter of antiquity and all Latinity, had written on the* Fasti *many years before me, though a few things. I followed afterwards and run through the entire province* [i.e. the *Fasti*]*, leaving nothing untouched and nothing undiscussed. Then my dear Anaclyterius of Perugia, a man most distinguished in both Greek and Latin literature, and brilliant in both kinds of speech, also interpreted the* Fasti.

Marsi starts off with Leto's study on the *Fasti*. In accordance with Marsi's remark, the outcome of this study appears to have only consisted of marginal manuscript notes (*scholia*) and not an independent commentary intended for publication. Leto's annotations on the poem have survived in two Vatican manuscripts (the previously mentioned Vat. lat. 3263 and 3264) and a Ferraran codex (Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea, II.141), which contains notes on multiple works of Ovid, possibly dating from about 1490 and previously belonging to academician Agostino Maffei (as his coat of arms can be found in the manuscript). Leto himself was probably introduced to the *Fasti* by his teacher Pietro Odi da Montopoli (c. 1420–1463), whose annotations survived in Vat. lat. 1595.[92] Who is meant by *Anaclyterius* is unclear, but his identity is sometimes associated with the Perugian historian Francesco Maturanzio (1443–1518), who studied Ancient Greek during his two year-stay in Greece, and apparently wrote a *Fasti* commentary that is unknown to us today.[93]

Thereafter, Marsi makes an interesting remark, which is relevant to this thesis. His commentary was initially prepared in co-operation with his colleague and friend Volsco, but they failed to publish a co-produced commentary as both decided to abandon the project. For Volsco turned to his research on Propertius and Marsi left Rome for Venice (in 1482):

> Idem paulo ante fecit doctissimus et eruditissimus iuvenis interpresque diligentissimus Ant(onius) Volscus, cum quo est mihi tanta necessitudo et mutua benivolentia ut communi utriusque titulo lucubrationes nostras essemus edituri, quod, occupato illo in Propertianis monumentis et me ab urbe digresso, non est in praesentia factum.[94]

> *Shortly before that, Antonio Volsco, a most learned and accomplished young man, and a most diligent interpreter, did the same, and with him I had such a friendship and mutual good-will, that we planned to publish our nocturnal studies under one common title, but because he was occupied with his writings on Propertius and I left the city, this work has not at present been produced.*

Their friendship was mutual as Volsco described Marsi in similar wordings: *Paulus Marsus, vir nostri temporis litteratissimus mihique summa benivolentia convinctissimus* ('Paolo Marsi, the most learned man of our time and to me the most convinced in the greatest good-will').[95] Volsco had studied the *Fasti* possibly already since 1468, around the time he joined the Roman Academy. This is attested by a letter from Leto, who recommends him: *Iuvenis quidam cui nomen est Antonius, gente Volscus, bonarum artium studiosus […]. De doctrina et erga auditores diligentia ac moribus fidem ipse facio* ('A certain young man with the name Antonius, surname Volscus, zealous in the good arts. […] I myself have confidence

[92] Fritsen (2015: 35-36). For more on the influence of Leto's teachers, Pietro Odo da Montopoli and Lorenzo Valla, on his research (particularly on Lucretius), see Dixon (2010).
[93] Bianchi (2010: 239); Fritsen (2015: 38). The Hellenised name seems to be a wordplay between Ancient Greek ἀνακλιντήριον ('head-rest') and Medieval Latin *mataratium* ('mattress'). For Maturanzio's biobibliography, see Falzone (2008).
[94] Marsi (1482: f. a1v), *praefatio in Fastos*, ll. 39-43.
[95] Thomson (2011: 214): Volsco in the *praefatio* to the fourth book of the *Elegiae* in his Propertius-edition of 1488.

in his learning, and his diligence and manners towards pupils.').[96] We can assume that Leto personally tutored Volsco about the *Fasti*, as we find some of his ideas reflected in Volsco's commentary; Volsco's own notions and thoughts took shape during his professorships at the *Studium Urbis* from 1473 onwards.[97] Volsco in turn influenced Marsi's commentary. Multiple times, Marsi relies on information received from Volsco, as he also acknowledges, for example, in book six of his commentary: *et ne cui sua laus detrahatur, Volscus noster Romae primus fuit qui ita dicendum asseret. Cuius quidem sententiam approbavi.* ('And so that not somebody is denied his praise, my dear Volsco was the first in Rome who asserted it should be said this way. I certainly agree with his point of view.')[98]

From Marsi's comment about his departure from Rome and Volsco's decision to suspend his research on the *Fasti* to focus on Propertius, we can deduct that Volsco must have worked on his *Fasti* commentary until 1482 at the latest, the year that both his edition of Propertius' *Elegiae* and Marsi's *Fasti* commentary were published. Volsco, therefore, worked on the *Fasti* for roughly fifteen years. His commentary on the entire *Fasti* is preserved in one Roman manuscript (Vallicelliana, Ms. R 59), the focus of this thesis. This manuscript can be dated, given the time span of his study, between 1468 and 1482, and, given its structure as a collection of lecture notes, we can narrow the dating to the period 1473–1482. Another set of *recollectae* have survived in a Florentine manuscript (Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plutei 45.28) but only contains Volsco's notes on the first and start of the second book of the *Fasti*.[99]

The last person on Marsi's list of *Fasti* scholars is Antonio Costanzi, perhaps the biggest threat to his fame as the *Fasti* expert:

> Sed ne quenquam defraudemus, plurimum linguae Latinae conferens, magnam ille laudem in omni studiorum genere meretur. Antonius praeterea Phanensis, vir et ingenio et doctrina singularis et in utraque eloquentia summus, in indaganda ratione Fastorum pluribus iam annis occupatur. Nescio si illi ad finem perventum est. Non enim omnes, quae nobis est Romae, eam domi librorum supellectilem habent. Ita quae nobis facillima sunt, redduntur aliis difficiliora.[100]
>
> *But so that I do not sell anyone short, he, who contributes most to the Latin language in every field of studies, deserves great praise. Antonio of Fano too, a man remarkable for both his cleverness and erudition, and the most excellent in his eloquence of both languages, has already been occupied for many years researching the account of the* Fasti. *I do not know if he has reached the finish. Because not everyone has at home that store of books that I have in Rome. That is why things, which are very easy for me, become more difficult for others.*

This passage could be interpreted as an act of self-fashioning.[101] While Marsi praises Costanzi for his learning in Latin and Greek, he also tries to downplay his research: Costanzi has spent a lot of

[96] Della Torre (1903: 103): letter from Leto to the cardinal Giacomo Ammannati Piccolomini, 1 September 1468.
[97] Fritsen (2015: 39): e.g. Volsco assigns Tiberius as the dedicatee of the *Fasti*, just like Leto does (in Vat. Lat. 3264, dated to 1469/1470), whereas Leto later alters this to Germanicus (in Vat. lat. 3263, post-1488). See also Chapter 3.3.
[98] Marsi (1482: f. ɔ6v). Fritsen (2015: 40).
[99] Castelli (2020). For more on this manuscript, see Chapter 3.1.
[100] Marsi (1482: f. a1v), *praefatio in Fastos*, ll. 43-48.
[101] For more on the topic of 'self-fashioning', see Chapter 3.3.

time on his *Fasti* research, may still be working on it, and did not have the resources at his disposal that Marsi does. By including Costanzi in his list no one can blame him for not giving credit where credit is due. At the same time, Marsi seems to be indifferent about the precise progress and completion of Costanzi's research (*Nescio si illi ad finem perventum est.*), and he puts forward his own privileges and suggests that Costanzi lacks these. In this manner, Marsi is presenting himself as the ideal *Fasti* expert, and the Roman Academy as the centre of learning. Indeed, Costanzi was not part of the Roman Academy; he studied the *Fasti* in Fano, where he was a public teacher. His commentary was published in 1489, seven years later than Marsi, but his research dates from around the same period and has survived in two manuscripts (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chig. H. VI. 204 and Urb. lat. 360, dating to respectively 1470 and 1480).[102] Afraid of being surpassed by Costanzi, Marsi attempts to nullify Costanzi's upcoming publication by suggesting that if one's research is not conducted in Rome, and in the context of the Roman Academy, one is irrelevant.

Marsi's list of *Fasti* commentators is, nevertheless, incomplete. There were other Italian humanists, not related to the Roman Academy, occupied with *Fasti* research, some have yet to be identified.[103] Outside of Rome too, the *Fasti* was heavily annotated, most notably by Poliziano, whose research on the poem was extremely influential. In the same year as Marsi published his commentary, Poliziano taught the *Fasti* at the University of Florence. During his stay in Venice in 1482, Marsi tried, without luck, to visit him in Florence. Poliziano's commentary, which he called a *collectanea in enarrationem Fastorum* ('collected writings on a detailed exposition of the *Fasti*'), survives in one Munich manuscript (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 754).[104] Moreover, Ovid's poem inspired humanists to write their own poetry, as we have witnessed in the verse prefaces to Marsi's commentary. The academician Lodovico Lazzarelli (1447–1500) even wrote a sixteen-book long *Fasti christianae religionis* (*The Fasti of Christian Religion*), in which the *Fasti* is applied as model and is explained how the Christian calendar adopted certain Roman pagan festivals.[105]

Without underestimating the importance of the work carried out by Costanzi and Poliziano, we can admit that the vast majority of research on the *Fasti* in the fifteenth century centred around the Roman Academy of Leto in Rome. Marsi's edition provides insight into the antiquarian interests and activities of the academicians, and outlines the context for studying the *Fasti* in Rome. Volsco appears to have been an active member of the Academy, who participated in both intellectual and social activities. His research and written commentary on the *Fasti* played a key role in the poem's Italian revival, not only as an important source for Marsi's influential printed edition but also on its own. In the next chapter, I will dive deeper into Volsco's commentary. I will discuss how we should characterise this commentary and how it relates to Marsi's commentary.

[102] Fritsen (2015: 41).
[103] Jean (2015: 13). Fritsen (2015: 42) mentions e.g. the Roman humanists Domizio Calderini and Niccolò Perotti, whose *Fasti* research have not been preserved.
[104] Jean (2015: 12-13); Fritsen (2015: 42-43): scholars have argued that the influence of Poliziano's study on the *Fasti* possibly even reached the domain of visual arts, for Botticelli painted a *Fasti* scenery in his famous *Primavera*.
[105] Jean (2015: 13). For more on the influence of the *Fasti* on the Neo-Latin Christian calendar poem, see Miller (2003).

3. Teaching on the *Fasti*: Volsco's written commentary

In this chapter, I will analyse the commentary strategies Volsco employs in his commentary on the *Fasti* (Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Ms. R 59) in more detail. To explicate these commentary strategies, Volsco's comments are compared with Marsi's. Such a comparison unveils the characteristics of Volsco's commentary, its relation to Marsi's commentary as a model, and its significance compared to other humanist commentaries. To get an overall impression of Volsco's commentary, I will discuss, as a case study, several entries from his commentary on the poem's introductory section (*Fast.* 1.1-62).[106] As one can expect at the beginning of a literary work, the first verses of Ovid's *Fasti* are heavily annotated. The structure of the commentary, however, is clear: each note starts with a lemma from the text of the *Fasti* followed by an explanation. What can we learn about the choices of the commentator – regarding the layout and structure of his commentary, his intended purpose and audience, and his selection of topics (what does he find interesting to comment on and what does he skip) – and how do these choices differ from Marsi's?

3.1 Purpose and intended audience of the commentary

For a good understanding of Volsco's commentary, it is important to know why and for whom it was created. The commentary does not include prefaces like Marsi's printed commentary in which he explains his means and motivations. However, the layout and structure, and the title and explicit of the commentary provide us with several clues as to its purpose and intended audience.

Firstly, the layout and structure of Volsco's commentary differ from Marsi's printed frame-commentary and Leto's *scholion* commentary (Vat. lat. 3263), which presents Ovid's text with Leto's own annotations located in the margins around the text block or between the lines. We are dealing here with a so-called *catena* (chain) commentary: the main text is left out and lemmata from the *Fasti* followed by comments on it are included instead. The resulting text, consisting of lemmata with explanations as links in a chain, appears as a continuous prose work that could substitute for the poetry work it comments upon. Whereas Marsi's and Leto's marginal annotations are secondary to Ovid's poem, the *catena* commentary is itself a primary text.[107] I would like to argue that the format of Volsco's commentary is related to the genre ('school text') and intended readership of the commentary ('students'). Volsco chose the *catena* format in order to secure the "effective didactic transmission of a body of knowledge", as John O. Ward writes in his article about the purposes of the *catena* commentary.[108] Volsco presents himself as an *auctoritas* in the field of Ovidian studies, whose lectures are copied in a commentary: both the incipit and the explicit of Volsco's commentary emphasise his name as the author of text. In the following, as we dive deeper into the commentary, we may find clues of Volsco's envisioned students, his modes of organising material in such a way that it is easy to process as study material, traces of classroom discussion on certain textual issues, and novel systems for the layout of the material (including abbreviated language and adequate terminology).[109]

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[106] Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Ms. R 59, ff. 2r-5v. A bibliographical description of the manuscript and a reproduction of the discussed folios can be found in appendices I and II.

[107] Ward (1996: 109); Gura (2010: 172-173; 179-180). Both articles deal with the development of the *catena* commentary in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but the format is also witnessed in the centuries that followed as part of a teaching (Ward) or utilitarian (Gura) tradition started in the medieval West.

[108] Ward (1996: 111).

[109] Idem, 111-112.

Secondly, the title of the commentary indicate how we should characterize the work: *Expositio Volsci*. The Roman humanist Lorenzo Valla (c. 1406–1457), the influential predecessor of the academicians, explains what an 'expositio' entails in his *Elegantiae linguae latinae* (*Elegances of the Latin Language*, c. 1441). He distinguishes two kinds of commentary: a brief discussion of one topic (*libellus*) and a thorough analysis of the author of a literary work (*expositio et interpretatio auctorum*).[110] Given the size of the codex (218 folios) it is evident that Volsco presents to his readers an extensive discussion of the entire poem, as the title indicates: *P(ublii) O(vidii) N(asonis) P(oetae) Co(mmentarii) in libris Fastorum* (*Commentaries on the* Fasti *books of the poet Publius Ovidius Naso*).

The explicit at the end of the work suggests, in fact, that we should consider this manuscript as a collection of lecture notes (*recollectae*) compiled during the gatherings with Volsco's students: *Conventum Volsci super Ov(idii) Na(sonis) Fa(stis) feliciter explicit* ('the meeting of Volsco on Ovidius Naso's *Fasti* ends here successfully'). Remarkably, the manuscript seems to read *conventum* and not *com(m)entum* as one would expect. The use of the word *conventum* ('convention, meeting'), though it could be a simple misspelling, suggests that this commentary arose in a school or university context.[111] We may well understand this manuscript as the lecture notes of one of Volsco's students rather than his own autographical notes. In the fifteenth century, it was a common practice for professors to dictate their lectures. They discussed a canonical text from beginning to end, commenting and explaining each line or passage. Students recorded the professor's *dictata* as thoroughly as possible. Afterwards they organised and structured their *recollectae* at home into a fair copy, which the professor could use to make his own formalised version of the lecture notes, with the aim of distributing the commentary again among his students or publishing it in print.[112] Marsi actually followed the same procedure leading up to the publication of his *Fasti* commentary, as he explains in his second preface: *At nullum pene profertur verbum quin ab illis omne protinus excipiatur, excepta domum referent, relata in suum ordinem digeruntur. Ab illis deinde, siquid edituri sumus, labores nostros mutuamur et quo ordine a nobis omnia prolata sunt, eo quoque edenda esse ducimus.* ('Hardly any word is expressed without each being immediately captured by [my students]; they bring these captured words back home, and brought home they are arranged in their own order. Thereafter, when I am going to publish anything, I borrow my works from them, and I reckon that all words must be published in the same order in which they were expressed by me.')[113]

It is quite possible that we are also dealing here with Volsco's *dictata* recorded by one of his students at the *Studium Urbis* in Rome. It would clarify why the text is written in a rather hasty and cursive hand, and the text is full of corrections and marginal and interlinear additions. It would also explain the 'sigh' we find towards the end of the book: *HIC NICHIL DEFICIT VAH. VOLSCUS PRIN(ceps)* ('Nothing is missing here, ah! Volsco chief (teacher)').[114] Much clearer evidence for our hypothesis is found in the other manuscript identified as Volsco's commentary: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plutei 45.28. Although I was unable to examine this manuscript entirely in the scope of this thesis, a quick glance at the first folios reveals a lot about its context. We read: *Antonius Volscus: commentator: Petrus Ioannes Volscus scriptor et auditor Romae omnia haec exacta stu(dio).* ('Antonio

[110] Fritsen (2015: 68; 171): Valla was important for the academicians (e.g. Marsi repeatedly quotes him) as they strongly believed in Valla's notion that the Latin language was an essential method of the exchange of Rome's cultural imperium. See on this topic also e.g. Pieper (2021: 15-20).
[111] R 59, f. 217v. I surprisingly enough read *CO**NV**ENTUM* here rather than *CO**M**ENTUM*, mainly since the shape of the capital letter 'M' is different elsewhere in the handwriting, e.g. the last letter of the same word.
[112] Enenkel (2013: 17); Gaisser (2015: 279); Jean (2015: 105).
[113] Marsi (1482: e6v), *praefatio in secundum librum Fastorum*, ll. 11-14. Fritsen (1995: 84-85).
[114] R 59, f. 187r. Moreover, we find *Hic nichil defit* on f. 151r.

Volsco commentator; Pietro Giovanni Volsco, writer and listener, [has recorded] all these exact things in the *Studium Urbis* in Rome.')[115] A certain attendee of Volsco's lectures presents himself as a transcriber and listener of Volsco's classes – and he may have been a real admirer of his teacher and/or with the same origins as he also assumes the surname 'Volscus'. The notes seem to be much better organised and more neatly written than the ones in the Vallicelliana manuscript. Still, the content seems to be very similar, which endorses our hypothesis of this commentary as lecture notes.[116]

Why did Volsco deem the *Fasti* worthy of teaching and consider it necessary to provide commentary on this poem for his students? In general, as we have seen, the *Fasti* became an inexhaustible source of knowledge for the humanists: about the city of Rome, the Roman calendar and religious practices, mythology, history, and so on. Ovid was highly regarded as a poet, but the content of his poems was not necessarily straightforward and unambiguous. Volsco explains his motivation for commenting on Ovid in the introduction (or dedication) to his printed edition of the *Heroides* (1481):

> Is enim ut inventione et facilitate ita omnes ingenii ubertate et verborum copia Latinos poetas adstipulante Fabio absque ulla dubitatione praecellit. […] Opus enim varium est, disertum, multiplex, copiosum; ubi multae non solum exquisitae reconditaeque sententiae vix satis explicantur, sed etiam locorum historiarumque et fabularum obscura et perdifficilis hactenus allucinationem praebuit appositio. His igitur apertis, spero meum hunc laborem et tibi et bonis omnibus non inhonestum videri posse.[117]
>
> *For [Ovid] surpasses all the Latin poets without a doubt, as Fabius agrees, not only in the invention and fluency of expression but also in the fruitfulness of his genius and the abundance of his words. […] His work is diverse, eloquent, complex and copious; where not only the many excellent and profound ideas are hardly explained sufficiently, but also the obscure and very difficult apposition of places, histories and stories has so far offered gibberish. Having disclosed these things, then, I hope that this labour of mine cannot be regarded dishonourable to you and to all good men.*

Although Volsco's written *Fasti* commentary does not contain a comparable introductory statement, its purpose can be understood in the same manner: Volsco recognises the wealth of Ovid's work but claims that it does not speak for itself. It needs explaining in order to be fully understood and appreciated for the beauty and knowledge it holds. Marsi describes his project on the *Fasti* in similar wordings: *divinum illud Fastorum opus, in quo tot veterum mysteria, tot mythice physiceque*

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[115] Plutei 45.28, f. IIr.

[116] A comprehensive comparison between the two manuscripts would be helpful in this context and a suggestion for future research.

[117] Volsco (1481: [2]r). Volsco's dedication is addressed to Ludovico Diedo, son of the Venetian patrician Francesco Diedo. Volsco might refer here to the first-century rhetorician Marcus Fabius Quintilianus and his criticism (probably intended less positive than Volsco presents) of Ovid's *Medea* (*Institutio oratoria* 10.1.98): *Ovidi Medea videtur mihi ostendere quantum ille vir praestare potuerit si ingenio suo imperare quam indulgere maluisset* ('The *Medea* of Ovid seems to me to demonstrate how much that man could have surpassed if he had preferred to control rather than to indulge his genius.'). Another suggestion is Fabio Mazzatosta, who was a member of the Roman Academy and studied the *Fasti* with Leto as his private teacher (see Chapter 1.3).

obscurius recondita sunt, […] professi sumus ('I have disclosed that divine work of the *Fasti*, in which so many mysteries of the ancients, so many related to myth and science, are very secretly hidden.').[118] However, while Volsco remains modest in his *Heroides* introduction and hopes his project does not fall in disgrace, Marsi is sure of his achievement: *Hoc unum ausim dicere me in hoc opere et militiae meae morem gessisse et aequum lectorem nil esse in eo quod ulterius desiderari queat iudicaturum* ('This one thing I would dare to say, that I have gratified in this work and office of mine, and a righteous reader would judge that there is nothing in this work that can be desired any further').[119] Marsi considers his *Fasti* commentary his *militia* ('military service') to the reader, referring to Ovid, who claims that his own *Fasti* is his *militia* (*haec mea militia est*) or service to Augustus.[120] With their clarifying and enriching commentaries, Marsi and Volsco, in turn, render a service to the readers of the *Fasti*, especially to students of Ovid at the *Studium Urbis* and the *Roman Academy*.

In the following, I will explore Volsco's commentary strategies in more detail, based on his comments on the *Fasti*'s introductory section (1.1-62). These comments provide us with several themes that reveal Volsco's foci: the genre of the poem, its dedicatee, the ancient sources employed by both Ovid and Volsco, the literary instrument of self-fashioning through commentary, and Volsco's particular interest in astronomy and mythology.

3.2 Surprising presentation of the genre

The beginning of Volsco's commentary differs from Marsi's. Volsco exploits the first line of the *Fasti* to extensively introduce both Ovid and his commentary. Marsi, on the other hand, reserves this information for his *vita* of Ovid (the second paratext of his commentary). Instead, his actual commentary starts with an explanation of the customs regarding the beginning of a poetic work:[121]

> Ut cum proprium sit poetarum proponere, invocare, narrare, morem servat et ipse; proponit primis duobus versibus de quo dicturus sit, et duo se scripturum pollicetur. Tempora per Romanum annum cum rationibus, hoc est cum ipsis originibus ordinata, et ortus occasusque signorum. Invocat non caeleste numen, sed Germanicum ipsum, ut faveat, ut facilis sit, licet in omnibus fere mensibus, mensium numina et interdum musas imploret. Sic et Lucanus non superiora numina sed Neronem invocavit. 'Sed mihi iam numen, nec si te pectore vates / accipiam, Cyrrea velim secreta tenentem / sollicitare deum Bacchumque avertere Nisa. / Tu satis ad vires romana in carmina dandas.'[122] Id vero non modo a poetis, sed ab historicis quoque servatum est, ut a Valerio Maximo. 'Te quoque huic caepto penes quem hominum deorumque consensus regimen esse voluit Caesar invoco.'[123] Mos autem invocandi numinis in initio operis ab Aegyptiis in Graeciam, et a Graecis in Latium emanavit. Illi enim nisi invocato prius numine nihil unquam aggrediebantur. Idem quoque nobis ex Platonis instituto traditum est.[124]

[118] Marsi (1482: f. a1v), *praefatio in Fastos*, ll. 9-11.
[119] Idem, ll. 25-26.
[120] *Fast.* 2.9. Cf. Herbert-Brown (1994: 14).
[121] A close reading of both texts reveals that the content is partly similar, which strongly suggests that Volsco and Marsi did indeed work closely together in the composition of their commentaries.
[122] Cf. Lucan 1.63-66.
[123] Cf. Valerius Maximus 1. praef.
[124] Marsi (1482: f. a3r), ll. 1-17.

> *So that, since it is proper for poets to propose, to invoke, to narrate, he himself also observes the custom; he proposes in the first two verses of which he will speak, and promises that he will write about two things. The times throughout the* Roman *year with its reasons, that is, arranged with the very beginnings and the rising and setting of the constellations. He invokes not a heavenly deity but Germanicus himself, so that he may favour it, so that it may be easy, although he implores the deities of months, and sometimes the muses, in almost every month. Thus, also Lucan invoked not the higher deities but Nero: 'But to me you are a deity already; and if I receive you as an oracle in my heart, I would not care incite the god, holding the Delphic secrets, and divert Bacchus from Nysa. You are sufficient to give strength to Roman songs.' This has been preserved not only by poets but also by historians, as by Valerius Maximus: 'Therefore I invoke you to this undertaking, Caesar, in whose hands the unanimity of men and the gods wants to be the guidance.' The custom of invoking a deity at the beginning of a work spread from the Egyptians to Greece and from the Greeks to Latium. For they never commenced except having evoked a deity first. The same thing also has been handed down to us from Plato's practices.*

According to Marsi, in the first lines of a poem, the poet sets forth what the work is about; in Ovid's case, this is the Roman year ordered by the constellations. The next step is invoking a favourer of the work; instead of a deity, which is more common, Ovid implores a mortal (Germanicus). Marsi, however, gives two examples of Roman authors who also seek the support of a man instead of a god: the poet Lucan calls upon the emperor Nero in his *De bello civili* and the historian Valerius Maximus upon the emperor Tiberius in his prose work *Facta et dicta memorabilia*. These two examples legitimise not only Ovid's invocation of Germanicus, but also Marsi's own dedication to knight Giorgio Cornaro in the salutation of his first preface. As mentioned before, humanists like Marsi shared a similar fate with the Augustan poets: for both, it was of vital importance to find a personal patron who could finance their literary projects and provide for the necessities of life. Marsi had found Giorgio willing to (commission and) finance his project, and the best way to favour his patron was to dedicate his commentary to him, 'invoke' him in the preface and (present himself as the ideal person to) praise Giorgio's nobility and generosity.[125] Important ancient writers as Homer and Virgil may have chosen a divine invocation for their literary projects, in Lucan and Valerius Maximus, Marsi found important precedents to legitimise Ovid's and his own deviation from this ancient tradition. In case his reader is interested in the origins of the practice of invoking deities at the beginning of literary works, Marsi explains the Egyptians started this custom and spread it to Greece and from there it came to Rome.

Volsco, on the other hand, does not start with an explanation of poetic customs but of literary genres. In a surprising manner, he discloses the genre of the *Fasti* and the differences between the Latin historiographical terms *historia*, *annales* and *fasti*. Although Marsi also covers the genre of the *Fasti*, it is much less extensively than Volsco does and not as prominently at the beginning of his commentary (but instead in his *vita* of Ovid). I will argue that commencing his commentary with the genre of the *Fasti* is a strategy that allows Volsco to not only explain Ovid's poetic project but also his own undertaking as commentator. In this way, this comment functions as the commentary's (unofficial) preface. It starts as follows:

[125] This is an important 'self-fashioning' strategy, on which I will elaborate in the next paragraph.

TEMPORA cum causis Latium digesta per annum. Verrius F(laccus) libro q(uarto) de significatu verborum dubitat an historia et annales idem sint cum historia graeca significatione rerum presentiarum co[n]gnitio sit, annales vero res gestae plurium annorum observato cuiusque anni ordine. Tamen multi tradiderunt historiam esse rerum gestarum quamlibet narrationem s(ed) ab his differt Diarium quod Caius As[s]ellio libro q(uarto) Istoriarum Effem[im]erida Graece app(ellata) tradit. Id enim est cum per singulos dies gesta scribuntur.[126]

[I will sing of] times and their reasons, arranged in order throughout the Latin year. Verrius Flaccus, in the fourth book of his On the Meaning of Words*, doubts whether 'history' and 'annals' are the same. Since 'history', in the Greek meaning, is the knowledge of current events, whereas 'annals' represent the events of multiple years in observance of the order of each year. However, many authors transmit that 'history' is any kind of narration of events. But the 'diary', which Gaius Asellio transmits in the fourth book of his* Histories*, called the 'ephemerides' in Greek, differs from this practice. This is the case because events are written down per single day.*

Volsco embarks on a paraphrase of a passage from book 4 of the treatise *De verborum significatu* (*On the Weaning of Words*) by the Augustan grammarian Marcus Verrius Flaccus (c. 55 BCE – 20 CE), which is preserved through the second-century author Aulus Gellius:

'Historiam' ab 'annalibus' quidam differre eo putant, quod, cum utrumque sit rerum gestarum narratio, earum tamen proprie rerum sit 'historia', quibus rebus gerendis interfuerit is, qui narret; eamque esse opinionem quorundam Verrius Flaccus refert in libro *de significatu verborum* quarto. Ac se quidem dubitare super ea re dicit, posse autem videri putat nonnihil esse rationis in ea opinione, quod ἱστορία Graece significet rerum cognitionem praesentium. Sed nos audire soliti sumus annales omnino id esse, quod historiae sint, historias non omnino esse id, quod annales sint: sicuti, quod est homo, id necessario animal est; quod est animal, non id necesse est hominem esse. Ita 'historias' quidem esse aiunt rerum gestarum vel expositionem vel demonstrationem vel quo alio nomine id dicendum est, 'annales' vero esse, cum res gestae plurium annorum observato cuiusque anni ordine deinceps componuntur. Cum vero non per annos, sed per dies singulos res gestae scribuntur, ea historia Graeco vocabulo ἐφημερίς dicitur, cuius Latinum interpretamentum scriptum est in libro Semproni Asellionis primo […].[127]

Some believe that 'history' differs from 'annals' in this, that while each is a narrative of events, yet 'history' is strictly speaking an account of these events in which the narrator has taken part. And that this is the opinion of certain people, Verrius Flaccus states in the fourth book of his On the Weaning of Words. *He says that he, however, is uncertain about this matter, but he believes that there seems to be some reason in this opinion, since* ἱστορία *in Greek indicates the knowledge of current events. But we usually hear that annals are entirely the same as histories, but that histories are not entirely the same as annals: as for instance a human being is necessarily an animal, but an animal is not necessarily a human being. So they say that 'histories' are indeed the exposition or description of events, or what other term may be used, but [they say]*

[126] R 59, f. 2r.
[127] Gel. 5.18.1-7.

> *that it are 'annals', when the events of multiple years, with observance of the order of each year, are arranged successively. However, when events are written down, not per year, but per single day, this history is called with the Greek word* ἐφημερίς *(diary), a term of which the Latin interpretation is described in the first book of Sempronius Asellio.*

This passage from Verrius Flaccus helps Volsco to explain to his students the differences between the existing Roman and Greek historiographical terms and to characterise the *Fasti* genre. Although the terms *annales* and *historia* are used interchangeably by many authors, according to Verrius Flaccus, they are not the same. *Historia* (in Greek) indicates the knowledge of present times, whereas *annales* represent the events of multiple years in their chronological order. Another practice is introduced by the historian Gaius Sempronius Asellio (fl. second century BCE), who states that in a *diarium* (diary) descriptions of events per single day are kept. Volsco is, however, concerned with another term, which is central to his commentary, namely *fasti*:

> Fasti enim ab his large different nam is non rerum gestarum ordo continentur, non plurimorum annorum series, non singulorum dierum acta, non privatarum aut publicarum consilia narrantur, sed deorum immortalium cultus per statos dies aut eorum qui ex hominibus ad deos transierunt, celebritas signorum ortus et occasus ad<d>ita quibusque institutis ratione scribuntur. Itaque unius anni facta descriptione ut Verrius s(cribit) ceterorum nam haberi possit. Eorum cura pontificum erat qui per senatum institutam celebritatem redigebant in Fastos, vel si senatus dubitasset eorum iudicio relinqueba<n>tur.[128]
>
> *The* fasti *differ from this practice completely since this order of events is not maintained, not a series of multiple years, not the acts of single days, not the resolutions of private and public affairs are narrated. But, per fixed day, the cults of the immortal gods, or those who transitioned from humans to gods, and the celebration of the rising and setting of the constellations, with the addition of the reason for every custom, are described. In this manner, when the description of one year is made, as Verrius writes, that of other years can also be produced. It was the concern of these high priests, who put a celebration instituted through the Senate in the* Fasti *or, if the Senate had doubted [certain celebrations], that with their judgement they were abandoned.*

The Roman *fasti* followed a completely different approach than annals, histories or diaries, as they described the cults of the immortal gods or deified mortals per fixed day, and how certain religious and astronomic festivities originated and disappeared. It is striking that Volsco starts his commentary with a paraphrasis of Verrius Flaccus. It grants him the opportunity to explain not only the differences between the three Latin words (*historia*, *annales* and *ephemeris*) but also the distinctions between the various historiographical genres and their conventions. The *fasti*, not discussed by Verrius Flaccus, is a separate genre, which describes when, how and why religious holidays are organised. Another reason for Volsco to start his commentary with Verrius Flaccus is the fact that he is an important model for Ovid's work. Both his inscribed public calendar (*fasti Praenestini*, c. 6–10 CE) and his dictionary *De verborum significatu* (preserved in the epitome of the

[128] R 59, f. 2r.

second-century grammarian Sextus Pompeius Festus) are arguably consulted by Ovid for their wealth of knowledge on cult and history, and their aetiological and etymological *excursus*.[129]

However, most importantly, Verrius Flaccus' works are programmatic for Ovid's and Volsco's undertaking. Much like Verrius Flaccus' works, Ovid's *Fasti* was an instrument for collecting knowledge and finding occasions for expositions and digressions on religion, society and aetiology. Ovid constantly departs from the (genre) requirements of the *fasti* by taking every opportunity, during his description of a certain festivity, to deviate from the main subject, discuss other (more or less related) topics and add new information and knowledge. This is perhaps most noticeable in the first two lines of the poem: *Tempora cum causis Latium digesta per annum / lapsaque sub terras ortaque signa canam* ('I will sing of times and their reasons, arranged in order throughout the Latin year, and of stars sunk beneath the earth and risen.').[130] The first verse refers to traditional *fasti* material: Ovid will treat de (holi)days of the Roman calendar and their aetiology. The second verse, however, introduces an innovation into the *fasti* tradition: Ovid is going to add astronomical knowledge to his calendar poem, something that had never occurred on such a systematic scale before.[131] Therefore, it is a valid reason for Volsco to treat this topic as well. Just as Ovid uses the *Fasti* as an instrument to elaborate on numerous subjects and themes, the genre of the literary commentary can be employed by Volsco as a cooking pot for all kinds of knowledge, not only related to the *Fasti* but also expanding on broader themes, from Latin literary genres to Roman society and religion, and the etymology of Latin words and expressions. This makes Volsco's first comment programmatic for his entire project as commentator, and, since his commentary does not include any prefaces, this comment can be considered, in a sense, as its (unofficial) preface.

In summary, by paraphrasing Verrius Flaccus, Volsco clarifies Ovid's most important source of information, but he also draws an indirect comparison between Ovid playing with the *fasti* genre conventions and writing a literary commentary. In addition, by discussing both the Latin historiographical terms and their Greek counterparts, as prompted by Verrius Flaccus and Sempronius Asellio, Volsco also seems to be aware of the dichotomy in (the languages of) Ovid's sources. This dichotomy is already apparent in the first two verses of Ovid's *Fasti*: Latin is used for historical knowledge and Greek for astronomical (and mythological) knowledge. It preludes Ovid's entire project as a dialogue between Greek and Roman temporal and ideological themes.[132]

3.3 Self-fashioning through commentary

As we have seen, Volsco employs the genre of the literary commentary to parade his knowledge of ancient literature and society. Volsco makes perfect use of the genre conventions of the literary commentary to leave his personal mark on the humanist study of the *Fasti*. In this paragraph, I will argue that Volsco chose the medium of commentary not only to be able to clarify and interpret Ovid's *Fasti* but also to influence and steer how he, the commentator, was perceived by his readers, in particular by his students, fellow academicians and other *Fasti* specialists. In other words, his commentary was an instrument of 'self-fashioning', in order to consciously construct his identity and public *persona* as a humanist.[133] Volsco is not unique in this regard: a commentary on an ancient

[129] Fantham (2002: 23); Fritsen (2015: 5-6).
[130] *Fast.* 1.1-2.
[131] Fritsen (2015: 6); Feeney (1998: 125-126).
[132] Feeney (1998: 125-127).
[133] Richardson (2004: 87-88). Although Richardson focuses on the concept of self-fashioning in sixteenth-century printed books, relying on Stephen Greenblatt's influential monograph *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (1980), we can observe the same practice among the fifteenth-century humanists.

author was often employed by humanists as one of their self-fashioning techniques to overawe patrons and competitors with their knowledge, and differentiate themselves from other groups of intellectuals without their characteristic classical Latin prose style. A humanist commentary is not a mere explanatory guide to a classical author but should be understood as a form of authorial self-fashioning hidden in a complex web of classical references, quotations and interpretations.[134] The way in which this identity construction takes place and succeeds differs per humanist, although clearly similar techniques can be indicated in the *Fasti* commentaries that appear in the fifteenth century. Volsco puts forward several self-fashioning techniques, which can also be recognised at Marsi. A reader of Volsco's commentary is immediately confronted with three manners in which Volsco shapes his humanist *persona*: (1) through the visual presentation of his commentary, (2) by placing himself among important Roman authors who have dealt with the *Fasti* before him, and (3) by joining the discussion among humanists on the dedicatee of Ovid's *Fasti*. With these three strategies, Volsco tries to present himself as the ideal *Fasti* scholar and his commentary as the anchor point between past and present.

Firstly and generally, Volsco's efforts to influence the ways he, as an author, was perceived by his readers, started with the visual and physical presentation of his commentary. For the form of a book could stir the readings of its consumer. Aware of this, humanists as Volsco and Marsi claimed their own role in the presentation of the material and paratextual features of their commentaries and, as Brian Richardson puts it, "developed a typographical mentality".[135] Marsi had made, as we have seen, conscious choices in the layout and fount of his book, and the inclusion of different kinds of paratexts, such as dedications and prefaces. The same goes for Volsco, but in his case it is more complicated to speak of a physical 'book'. For his commentary never appeared in print and only (student) notes have been preserved in two different manuscripts. After all, in Marsi's preface we read that Volsco was occupied with his research on Propertius and decided to discontinue his *Fasti* project.

This does not mean, however, that Volsco never intended to release his commentary in print or, at least, circulate a 'clean version' among students. We could speculate that our Roman manuscript was regarded as a working copy, given the hasty hand and the many corrections and additions to the text. The Florentine manuscript could have functioned as a final copy of the commentary (which appears to be neatly written and organised, with only a few corrections and additions to the text), intended for further distribution but never finished, as it only contains notes on the first and start of the second book of the *Fasti*. Nor does this mean that Volsco had no influence on the visual and physical presentation of his commentary. The layout of his lecture dictations is clearly visible in both manuscripts: each note starts with a lemma from the *Fasti* text, either underlined or capitalised, followed by an explanation. The manuscripts also include paratexts in the form of marginal annotations and illustrations to accompany Volsco's lecture notes.[136] Moreover, the voluminousness of Volsco's commentary (R 59 consisting of 218 folios) and the comprehensiveness of his comments represent the magnitude of Ovid's work, and of a humanist commentary, as a storehouse, in which all kinds of encyclopaedic knowledge are stored. In that sense, our manuscript, as a physical object, mirrored and reinforced the content of the *Fasti*.[137]

[134] Cf. Palmer (2019: 165).
[135] Richardson (2004: 88).
[136] In Volsco's commentary, one can find e.g. a small drawing of Priapus (f. 10v), a fish (f. 96v) and an herb (f. 217v).
[137] Cf. Richardson (2004: 89).

Secondly, both Volsco and Marsi present themselves as experts on the *Fasti*. As we have seen, Volsco allows himself to be addressed as principal teacher and commentator of the *Fasti* ('princeps' and 'commentator' in respectively the Vallicelliana and the Laurenziana manuscript). Marsi, however, takes a more explicit and straightforward approach than Volsco. In his preface, Marsi describes how rapidly he could finish his commentary:

> Fuere enim alii qui cum plurium annorum in hoc ipso operam exhibuissent non tamen pluribus annis absoluerunt. Nos vero paucis mensibus ad finem deduximus quod tamen admirationi debet esse nemini. […] Liceat ita sine arrogantia loqui ne cuiquam benemerenti vera laus detrahatur, cum primus ego per totum hoc ingens pelagus audenti c<y>mba cucurrerim et quae prius incognita erant caeteris aperuerim et ita aperuerim ut ulterius inquirendi laborem omnibus ademerim.[138]
>
> *There were in fact others who, though they had delivered many years to the same study, still haven't finished it after many years. I, on the other end, brought my study to an end in a few months, which shouldn't come as a surprise to anyone. […] So may I speak without arrogance so that true praise is not deprived from the one deserving it, since I am the first to have sailed over this entire open sea on a brave little boat and to have disclosed to others what was formerly unknown, and to have disclosed it in such a way that I have freed everyone from the trouble of further study.*

Marsi's 'boasting' about how quick he has completed his commentary, and how he is the first and only specialist on *Fasti* research can easily be interpreted as an act of self-fashioning. To prevent others from showing off (with editions and commentaries) the *Fasti* as their area of expertise, Marsi presents himself as the one scholar who carried out the entire research into the *Fasti*. Everything unknown about this poem has been brought to the surface by him, so that we now know everything about it and there is nothing left to inquire. The link between Marsi's work and Ovid's own poetic undertaking (*Caesar Germanice […] timidae dirige navis iter*) is quickly established.[139] In the topical metaphor of their works as the voyage of a ship, the voyage (*iter*) represents the difficulty of both projects (*timidae navis* versus *audenti cymba*), and the vast sea (*ingens pelagus*) the greatness of the task they both set themselves. But while Ovid is still timid and unsure about bringing his journey or project (*timidae navis iter*) to a successful end, asking Germanicus for assistance (*Caesar Germanice dirige*), Marsi already knows that he has bravely completed his daring project (*ego per totum hoc ingens pelagus audenti cymba cucurrerim*), without direct reference to his patron Giorgio.

Although Marsi presents himself as the first and only *Fasti* specialist, he also deliberately places his work in the literary-historical context of contemporary research on Ovid. As we have seen in the previous chapter, he compares his study with *Fasti* commentaries written by his fellow academicians and his rivals. Volsco takes a similar but much more subtle approach, when, in his notes on the poem's exordium, he mentions the previous Roman authors dealing with the *fasti* theme:

> Primus apud Latinos ex po<e>tis Fastorum libros Li(vius) An[t]ronicus x edidit, deinde secuti sunt Ennius, Lucius Actius, Afranius et post longum intervallum Ovi(dius) qui evolutis priscis annalibus et pontificum libris in quibus instituta sacra variis temporibus

[138] Marsi (1482: f. a1v-a2r), *praefatio in Fastos*, ll. 27-29; 53-56.
[139] *Fast.* 1.3-4. Cf. Fritsen (2015: 80-82).

> erant in unius anni ordinem reduxerunt app(ellarunt)que anni horum partem Fastos (id est) deorum et sacrorum libros cum sint et nephasti dies et concisi […].[140]
>
> *As the first of the Latin poets Livy Andronicus published ten books of* Fasti*, then Ennius, Lucius Actius, Afranius, and after a long time Ovid, have followed him, who, having unfolded the ancient years and the books of the high priests, in which the religious rites were instituted in various times, have restored them to the order of one year and called the part of the year for these [rites] the 'Fasti', that is the books of the gods and the religious rites, for there are both irreligious and divided days.*

By mentioning these Roman poets, Volsco assures his readers that he is familiar with previous research into the Roman calendar. Moreover, he is aware of the chronological order of these calendar poets and the sources on which they relied. Without making this explicit, Volsco suggests that students of the *Fasti* are in good, reliable hands with him as teacher, as the *commentator Fastorum*. He himself should belong among these illustrious *Fasti* scholars. After all, his commentary has also unfolded the meaning of the *Fasti*, and, presented as a running commentary enriched with all kinds of knowledge, it has itself become an autonomous literary text, if you like, a new *Fasti*.

Thirdly, an important problem of Ovid's *Fasti* is its dedicatee. The work contains two dedications, in the proemia of the first and second book. The humanists realised that Ovid, after Augustus' death, needed a new patron and, having moved his original dedication to the second book,[141] wrote a new dedication at the beginning of book 1. This is also attested by Marsi:

> Asserunt hos Fastorum libros sub Augusto principe scriptos, […]. Hoc credendum et asserendum est, scriptos fuisse Romae magna ex parte, sed in Ponto emendatos sex priores libros tantum editos dumque emendaret multa sustulisse multaque addidisse. Quae de Augusto vivente scripserat non immutavit, nam post obitum eius editum putandum est. Addebat quae ad laudem Germanici pertinere videbantur.[142]
>
> *[*Fasti *scholars] argue that these books of the* Fasti *were written under Augustus' principate […]. This must be accepted and asserted, that these were written at* Rome *for the most part, but that the first six books were revised in Pontus – only these were published –, and during his revision he removed and added many things. He did not alter what he had written about Augustus during his life, for it is thought to have been published after [Augustus'] death. He added what seemed to concern the praise of Germanicus.*

According to Marsi, Ovid wrote the new dedication after the death of Augustus during his exile in Tomis, where he revised the first six books of his poem.[143] In the third verse of the *Fasti,* Ovid addresses the dedicatee as *Caesar Germanice*. In the fifteenth century, this led to heated debates among Roman humanists. Even in modern times, it has always been a point of discussion as to who exactly is addressed here by Ovid. This discussion was caused by a confusion about the identity of this Germanicus. The modern *communis opinio* is that Germanicus was the adopted child of the

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[140] R 59, f. 2r-v.
[141] *Fast.* 2.15.
[142] Marsi (1482: f. c1v), ll. 49-54 on *Fast.* 1.285: *Pax erat et vestri Germanici causa triumphi* ('There was peace and the cause for the triumph of your Germanicus […]').
[143] Ovid often refers to the coastal area of Tomis as 'Pontus' after the 'Pontus Euxinus' (modern-day Black Sea).

future emperor Tiberius. Ovid probably chose Germanicus as the dedicatee of his revised poem since he considered him a fellow poet, having written an astronomical poem *Phaenomena*, and the ultimate candidate to succeed Augustus and revoke Ovid's banishment (of course the reality turned out to be more unruly). Since the first six books of Tacitus' *Annales*, which describe the period from Augustus' to Tiberius' death and could therefore provide clarification, was not yet discovered (this would happen in 1508), the historical person behind the name Germanicus was often mistaken.[144]

The fifteenth-century interest in this subject may have had to do with the constant need for a suitable patron, who could protect and provide the humanists with financial support. And even under patronage the humanists, like Ovid himself, could fall victim to all kinds of political incidents.[145] For a commentator, the dedicatee was therefore a particularly suitable subject to form his own opinion on and thus to leave his own mark on the humanist *Fasti* discourse. The Roman humanists quarrelled over to whom the final *Fasti* was dedicated, Germanicus or Tiberius. Most of them advocated the first, including Leto and Marsi. Leto writes in the margins of his autograph: *Germanicus, Drusi filius, adoptatus a Tiberio iubente Augusto* ('Germanicus, son of Drusus, adopted by Tiberius by order of Augustus').[146] Marsi agrees with Leto's view: *Dicavitque hoc opus non Tyberio Augu(sto) ut multi afferunt, sed Germanico Drusi fratris Tyberii filio, illius Drusi, qui in Germania oppetiit.* ('[Ovid] dedicated this work not to Tiberius Augustus, as many report, but to Germanicus, the son of Drusus, brother of Tiberius, that Drusus, who died in Germany.')[147]

Other humanists argued that 'Germanicus' was an alternative name for Tiberius, since the emperor had also led Germanic expeditions and victories. Ovid would refer to Tiberius each time he writes 'Germanicus'. Volsco is the main (Roman) defender of this point of view.[148] He claims that the dedicatee must be Emperor Tiberius, disagreeing with both Leto and Marsi: *Duodecim Fastorum libros ad Tiberium Caesarem Augustum dum Ovidius esset in Ponto Thomis religatus inscribit* ('Ovidius writes his twelve books of *Fasti* to Tiberius Caesar Augustus, while he was bound in Pontus (Tomis)').[149] Like Germanicus, Tiberius has also been adopted, but then by Emperor Augustus: *Nam Tiberius per adoptionem filius fuit Octaviani* ('For Tiberius was through adoption the son of Augustus').[150] So, according to Volsco' notes, with 'pater' and 'avus' (line 10) Ovid addresses respectively Augustus and Julius Caesar, and with 'Druso' (line 12) Tiberius' brother.[151] Volsco indicates that 'Germanicus' does not refer to a different person but is used as a pseudonym or military honorific for Tiberius because of his Germanic expeditions: *O Germanice: O Tiberi […] Tiberius bellum Germanicum gessit* ('Germanicus: Tiberius. Tiberius waged the Germanic war') and, in the left margin, *Tiberii Germanici triumfum* ('the triumph of Tiberius Germanicus').[152] The fact that Tiberius is repeatedly addressed as the dedicatee elsewhere in the commentary (e.g. on ff. 3v and 4r) points out that Volsco stood by his opinion, and does not seem to have changed his mind about it. Certainly, this topic was heavily debated between the academicians. Marsi notes that even his

144 Fritsen (2015: 50-52).
145 Idem, 50; 62.
146 Vat. lat. 3263, f. 1r.
147 Marsi (1482: f. a2v), *Ovidii vita*, ll. 24-25.
148 Fritsen (2015: 52), furthermore, mentions Ciriaco de' Pizzicolli (Costanzi's teacher), Leto's earliest *Fasti* commentary (Vat. lat. 3264) and Leto's anonymous pupil (Ottob. lat. 1982).
149 R 59, f. 2v.
150 Idem, f. 3r.
151 Idem.
152 Idem, f. 5r-v.

students attack him for his opinion on the identity of the dedicatee: *Coacti quidem fecimus ad reprimendos eorum obstinatos animos, qui dum haec profitemur, maledictis assidue nos incessunt, quoniam ab eorum sententiis abhorrere videar, cum a veritate abstrahere me non possint.* ('I was indeed compelled to repress their obstinate minds, who, while I teach these things, constantly attack me with insults, because I seem to be averse to their opinions, since they cannot draw me away from the truth.')[153] A commentary and a classroom were pre-eminently places where a humanist could assert himself. Volsco, who undoubtedly had had many discussions with his fellow academicians about the dedicatee of the *Fasti*, seemed to consciously oppose the most important *Fasti* scholars in Rome, his colleges Leto and Marsi, with his choice for Tiberius. For him, it was the perfect opportunity to leave his mark on an important contemporary humanist debate.

The three commentary strategies discussed above illustrate how Volsco employs the genre of the literary commentary in order to shape his own *persona* as an ideal humanist. He wants to present himself to his readers (especially his students, the academicians and other humanists) as a *Fasti* scholar who can measure himself with the *Fasti* poets of the past, as a *commentator doctus* among *poetae docti*, and someone who is able to make a useful contribution to the contemporary *Fasti* discourse.

3.4 Typology of the commentary

Having discussed some general commentary strategies that Volsco applied in the general outlook and beginning of his commentary, I will now delve deeper into the work to see how we should characterise Volsco's commentary. As a case study, I will analyse Volsco's commentary on the first two verses of the *Fasti* in detail: what do we read in his commentary and what types of comments can be distinguished? To point out what distinguishes Volsco's commentary from other humanist commentaries, I compare his comments with Marsi's commentary on the same verses.

In Volsco, after the 'preface' of the commentary (on the recto side of the first folio), we read:

> Tempora: propositum vel t<h>ema est propositionem signi. Canam: describam carmen more poetico vel poetice describam. Tempora: menses et dies fastos et nephastos et concisos. Digesta: disposita primum a Romulo deinde a Numa aucta demum a Caesare et Augusto perfecta et ad cursum lunae et solis disposita. Per La(tium): Romanum annum Romanum dixit quo(niam) alii aliter annum habuerunt. Egipti<i> primum habuerunt annum menstruum deinde quatrimestrem ut Plutarcus meminit. Arc[h]ades trium mensium, Acarnanes sex, Graeci reliqui dierum trecentorum quinquaginta quatuor. Cum causis: addam ad hystoriam, fabulas et consilia quibus instituta sint. Nam Gaius Asellio dicebat scribere decreta aut gesta neque iterare quibus consiliis ea gesta sint, pueris fabulas narrare. Canam, inquit, annum Romanum digestum in menses et dies fastos et nephastos et concisos et addam institutorum consilia. Signa: duodecim in ovato circulo et reliqua corpora in caelo observata. Lapsa: demersa sub terras. Et orta: emersa supra terras et rectissime ab occasu potius incepit quam ab exortu. Nam ut Vi[c]truvius s(cribit) una necessitas utrinque simul et orientem et occidentem perficit. Nam circulorum r(ati)o ita archite[t]ctata est ut quanta pars novissimi signi quanta revolutione sub terra occultatur, tantundem eius con(tra)riae versationis e terra exciditur ad lucem. Nam cum mundus terram complectatur, necesse est

[153] Marsi (1482: f. c2r), ll. 47-49 on *Fast.* 1.285.

quod ex duodecim signis sex supra terram caelo perva[m]gantur, caelo subeuntia cetera sub terra eius umbra obscurentur; dicam, inquit, et occasum et ortum ratione oppositae terrae signorumque observavit antiquitas et triplex est propositio dicit se dicturum tempora causa et ortus et occasum signorum.[154]

Tempora ('times')*: that is the model or theme, the design of the constellation.* Canam ('I will sing')*: I will write down the poem in a poetic fashion or I will write poetically.* Tempora*: the months, the days on which assemblies could* (dies fasti) *and could not convene* (dies nefasti) *and split days.* Digesta ('arranged')*: arranged first by Romulus, then increased by Numa, finally completed by Caesar and Augustus, and arranged according to the course of the moon and the sun.* Per Latium ('throughout the Latin [year]')*: he said that the Roman year was Roman, since others had a different year. The Egyptians first had a monthly year, then a year of four months, as Plutarch mentions. The Arcadians [had a year] of three months, the Acarnanians of six, and the rest of the Greeks of 354 days.* Cum causis ('with the reasons')*: I will add to [the calendar days] the history, stories and considerations by which they have been established. For Gaius Asellio said that to write decrees or deeds and not relate with what considerations these things were done, is to tell stories to children. I will sing, he says, about the Roman year, divided into months and days on which assemblies could and could not convene and split days, and I will add the considerations of the customs.* Signa ('constellations')*: the twelve in an oval circle and the other bodies observed in the sky.* Lapsa ('sunk')*: submerged beneath the earth.* Et orta ('and risen')*: emerged above the earth, and, most correctly, it began from the setting rather than from the rising. For, as Vitruvius writes, one necessity executes on both sides simultaneously the rising and setting. For the system of circles has been constructed in such a way that whatever part of the last sign is hidden under the earth by whatever revolution, the same extent of its opposite rotation is removed from the earth to light. For, since the world embraces the earth, it is necessary that six of the twelve signs range above the earth in the sky, the others in the sky going under the earth are hidden by its shadow. I will say, he says, antiquity observed both the setting and the rising by the system of the opposite earth and the signs, and there is a three-fold theme, he says, that he will speak of the times with their cause, and the rising and setting of the constellations.*

In this passage, different types of comments occur. Some types are widely found in early modern commentaries: notes that give the definition of a certain word from the source text, that explain the meaning of a word or text element, that outline the (cultural-)historical context of the text or that provide the text with literary(-critical) references.[155] Definitions of single words we recognise in Volsco's comments on *tempora* and *canam*. Words are explained by giving synonyms or a periphrastic definition: they do not only clarify the content of Ovid's poem, but also function as an exercise to expand the student's vocabulary and understanding of the Latin syntax.[156] For example, Volsco clarifies that *propositum*, *thema* and *propositio* are more or less synonyms, and shows the difference between the use of the adjective *poeticus* and the adverb *poetice*. Volsco provides certain text elements with short explanations, for example, the first word of the *Fasti*. The reader may not immediately understand what is meant by *tempora*, so Volsco recalls that the calendar is the subject of Ovid's poem, which includes the months of the year with the *(ne)fasti* days. Notes can also present themselves in the form of short (mythological and) historical explanations: Ovid has 'arranged the year' with his poem, but before him, the Roman calendar was officially regulated by

[154] R 59, f. 2v.
[155] Cf. Enenkel (2013: 17-23).
[156] Enenkel (2013: 19).

the first legendary kings Romulus and Numa, and finalised by Caesar and Augustus. Next, Volsco – cultural-historically – elaborates on the fact that Ovid calls it the 'Latin year', in his opinion, to contrast it with other nations, such as the Egyptians who first had a monthly year and afterwards a year of four months. Volsco's comment on *cum causis* expands on his earlier remarks in his 'preface': according to Volsco, Ovid means by 'the reasons' that, in addition to describing the calendar, he is going to explain the history behind the various festivities and customs, and how and why certain holidays have been institutionalised. Here, Volsco includes a literary reference, again to the historian Sempronius Asellio, from the same chapter of Aulus Gellius:

> Scribere autem, bellum initum quo consule et quo confectum sit et quis triumphans introierit, et eo libro, quae in bello gesta sint, non praedicare autem interea quid senatus decreverit aut quae lex rogatiove lata sit, neque quibus consiliis ea gesta sint, iterare: id fabulas pueris est narrare, non historias scribere.[157]
>
> *To write over and over again by which consul a war was started and ended, and who entered [the city] in a triumph, but in that book not to relate in the meantime what happened in the war, what the senate decreed, or what law or bill was passed, nor to repeat with what motives those things were done: that is to tell stories to children, not to write history.*

With this passage Volsco explains what Ovid intends with *cum causis*: he is going to include everything that could enrich his calendar poem, in terms of the historical events that occurred, the different people involved and the motivations behind certain (political) decisions. This passage could also be considered as literary criticism, since Volsco uses it to express how he thinks a good historical work should look like. Ovid, indeed, fits into this model perfectly as he is not only listing historical facts in his poem but he also discusses the considerations that precede them.

What distinguishes Volsco's commentary from the *Fasti* commentaries of Marsi and other fifteenth-century humanists, is his particular interest in astronomy. Already, prominently, at the beginning of his commentary, Volsco's knowledge of astronomical facts is apparent, when we look at his notes on *signa*, *lapsa* and *orta*. He wants to explain why Ovid includes the *signa* in his poem. According to him, Ovid is talking about the twelve signs of the zodiac, which move in an 'oval' orbit and determine the twelve-month division of the year. This clarifies why Ovid explicitly mentions the rising and setting of the signs, since different constellations are visible in the first six months than in the last six months. Ovid does not explain how this happens exactly, but Volsco makes an attempt by paraphrasing Vitruvius: the necessity of rotating pushes the constellations to either their rising or setting, so that every rising sign has its setting counterpart and vice versa.[158] In Volsco's opinion, astronomy is inextricably linked with Ovid's *Fasti* as one of the three main themes of the poem, as Ovid is going to discuss, besides times and reasons, (the rising and setting of) the constellations.

Moving on to Marsi's commentary, it is noticeable that his comments are often much more extensive than Volsco's. The format of the printed commentary is apparently better suited for elaborate discussions and digressions than Volsco's lecture notes. In his edition, we recognise the

[157] Gel. 5.18.9.
[158] Cf. Vitr. 9.1.4.

same types of comments as in Volsco's, but there are also clear differences, as Marsi has other areas of focus and interest. Having explained the customs regarding the beginning of a poetic work, Marsi continues his commentary as follows:

> Narrat deinde poeta: Tempora ipsa uti proposuit, et orientia labentiaque signa. In hac autem praefatione, ut decebat Germanicum docilem, benivolum et actentum reddit. Docilem cum summam rei breviter exposuerit. Non enim potuit brevius aut dilucidius exponi res tanta, quae cum diceret: 'Tempora cum causis Latium digesta per annum / Lapsaque sub terras ortaque signa canam', et in hoc etiam actentum reddit, cum magnum quidem et arduum sit id profiteri. Benivolentiam vero ab auditoris primum persona captat, cum ipsum velut caeleste numen imploret, cum in Fastos referendum asserat, cum eloquentiam et poeticen ipsius extollat. A se ipso benivolum facit, cum ita supplex se et opus suum Germanico voverit. A rebus autem cum ostendat, quod ei commodum futurum sit, vel quid ex his ediscere poterit, ut illud Sacra recognosces annalibus eruta priscis, et reliqua, inquit ergo Canam, ego cantando scribam, ut poetae solent.[159]
>
> *Then the poet relates: the Times themselves he proposed to use, and the rising and sinking signs. In this preface, as was fitting, he renders Germanicus docile, benevolent and attentive. Docile when he has briefly explained the main affair. For such an affair could not be more concisely or clearly explained, than, when he said: 'I will sing of times and their reasons, arranged in order throughout the Latin year, and of stars sunk beneath the earth and risen', and he pays also attention to this, since it is indeed great and difficult to profess it. But he first captures the benevolence from the person of the hearer, when he implores him as a celestial divinity, when he asserts that he is to be referred to in the* Fasti*, when he extolls his eloquence and poetic language. By himself, [Ovid] makes him benevolent, when he thus humbly vowed himself and his work to Germanicus. But from the affairs, when he shows, what will be advantageous for him, or what he will be able to learn from them, so that you may recognise this, the sacred passages unearthed from ancient annals, and the rest, he says therefore, 'I will sing', I will write in singing, as the poets are wont to do.*

This passage shows Marsi's interest in the rhetoric of Ovid's *Fasti*, in particular the *inventio*, *dispositio* and *elocutio* of his poem. Rhetorical analysis fitted in well with the humanist curriculum.[160] He begins by discussing Ovid's approach towards Germanicus. Marsi uses the theory of the influential rhetorical handbook *Rhetorica ad Herennium* to show that Ovid is able to propitiate and persuade his dedicatee, which can be done in three ways. In his preface, Ovid ensures that Germanicus constantly shows himself receptive, favourable and attentive towards him: Germanicus is receptive because Ovid explains clearly and briefly the theme of the poem; he is attentive to Ovid for the magnitude and difficulty of his work; and he is favourable because Ovid invokes him as a deity and dedicates his work to him.[161]

Marsi then continues:

> Tempora digesta: disposita et ordinata. Per annum latium: per annum romanum: a Romulo prius, deinde a Numa institutum, postea a decem viris emendatum. Demum a Caesaribus

[159] Marsi (1482: f. a3r), ll. 17-27.
[160] Enenkel (2013: 19).
[161] Cf. *Her.* 1.7.1.

in certiorem ordinem redactum. Latium: a Latio ubi Roma est, quod a latendo deducitur, et ideo per annum Latium dixit, quod annum alii aliter observavere.[162]

'Times arranged': disposed and ordered. 'Throughout the Latin year', throughout the Roman year, it was established first by Romulus, then by Numa, and later amended by the Decemviri ('Ten-men commission'). Finally, it was brought back by the Caesars to the more certain order. 'Latin': from Latium, where Rome is, which is derived from 'latere' ('hiding'), and therefore he said 'throughout the Latin year', because others observed the year differently.

Here, we see, much like in Volsco's commentary, brief explanations with synonyms (*disposita* and *ordinata* for *digesta*) or historical contexts. Remarkably, Marsi included the same information about the 'regulators' of the Roman calendar as Volsco, but also mentions the Decemviri, as if he has consciously supplemented Volsco's comment (which is quite possible, given their initially joint commentary project). Next, another important type of comment can be distinguished, which often occurs in both Marsi and Volsco: etymological explanations. Humanists were very fond of the origins of words, and they presented their etymological findings both seriously and playfully.[163] Here, the commonly found etymology of the words 'Latin' and 'Latium' is given, to explain why Ovid writes 'Latin year', namely to differentiate it from the calendars of other nations, such as the Egyptians (again, Marsi seems to build on Volsco's aforementioned comment).

A last category of comments I would like to point out are the philosophical remarks. Although Volsco's comments on the constellations do have some common ground with philosophy, Marsi includes a comprehensive philosophical discussion on the topic of time:

Cum causis: hoc est cum rationibus. Est enim causa animi impulsus ad aliquid agendum. Ratio vero, ut Victorino placet, est gerendorum ordo ex causa venientium, ut quid quo loco dicas, ac facias intelligas. Ratio sine causa esse non potest. Causa vero sine ratione potest, ergo cum ex causa ratio sit. Cum causis: hic cum rationibus intellige, vel cum causis cum originibus, nam et fabulas et historias refert, unde quid originem habuerit, et qua ratione fuerit institutem. Praesertim cum causam plerique velint a casu deduci, et inde esse negociorum originem. Aliqui causae appellationem Chaos dedisse volunt, a quo principium rerum omnium fuit. Maxime cum causa negociorum, ut diximus origo sit. […] Aristoteles, vero IIII Phisicorum, Tempus est inquit numerus motus secundum prius et posterius. Prius et posterius sunt in motu prout sunt numerata ab anima et paulopost tempus est mensura motus rerum mutabilium et in eodem quoque libro tempus est passio motus, et praecipue motus caeli, et paulo post tempus est numerus priorum et posteriorum existentium in motu. Motum autem ipsum late declarat in V Phisicorum. Vectius autem Praetextatus apud Macrobium: Tempus inquit est certa dimensio, quae ex caeli conversione colligitur.[164]

'With reasons', this is with reasonings. For it is the cause of the impulse of the mind to do something. But the reason, as it pleases Victorinus, is the order of actions coming from the cause, so that you understand what you say and do in what place. A reason cannot be without a cause. But a cause can exist without a

[162] Marsi (1482: f. a3r), ll. 27-31.
[163] Cf. Enenkel (2013: 3).
[164] Marsi (1482: f. a3r), ll. 31-49.

> *reason, therefore when there is a reason from a cause. 'With reasons': understand here with reasons, or with causes with origins, for it refers both to stories and histories, whence it had its origin, and by what reason it was instituted. Especially since most people would like to derive the reason from the event, and from that is the origin of matters. Some would like to give the cause the name Chaos, from which was the beginning of all things. Especially with the cause of matters, as we have said, it is the origin. Aristotle, indeed, in the fourth book of his* Physics*, says that Time is the number of the motion according to before and after. Before and after are in motion as they are numbered by the soul, and a little later time is the measure of the motion of changeable things, and in the same book also time is the occurrence of motion, and especially the motion of the heavens, and a little after time is the number of the former and the latter existing in motion. And the movement itself is explained at length in the fifth book of the* Physics. *But Vectius Pretextatus in Macrobius says: Time is a definite dimension, which is gathered from the turning of the heavens.*

In this passage, Marsi treats the same lemma 'cum causis' as Volsco, but chooses a different approach. He wants to discuss the philosophical themes of motion and time. Marsi's comment does not seem to be intended to explain Ovid's text in more detail, but rather to show the wider literary and philosophical themes with which ancient literature was concerned. Ancient philosophers like Aristotle and Marius Victorinus (both of which are paraphrased) reflected in their writings on the concepts of 'causality', 'motion' and 'time'. They wondered how an action is set in motion (does it follow a rational decision or not?). Marsi links this to Ovid's *Fasti*, a work which, in his opinion, satisfies the people's need to know 'the reason' behind (mythological) stories and historical events. He even touches upon the concept of the 'first causality', the Aristotelian 'unmoved mover', the Chaos that has set everything in motion. He brings in Aristotle to explain that causality is closely related to time, as he explains time as the occurrence of motion. He contrasts this with Vettius Praetextatus (the protagonist in Macrobius' *Saturnalia*) who sees time as a fixed dimension. After this philosophical digression, Marsi continues with his treatment of the *Fasti* text.

3.5 General remarks on Volsco's and Marsi's commentary

In this paragraph, I would like to point out a few general remarks regarding Volsco's commentary in relation to Marsi's commentary. I have demonstrated that Volsco had some different foci than Marsi: he is more interested in astronomical knowledge, whereas Marsi is more concerned with the rhetorical and philosophical themes of the *Fasti*. Volsco's interests seem to differ from those of his fellow humanists, who were often concerned with the physical Rome as, for example, Fritsen argues in her monograph. At the start of my research, I expected to come across various comments in which Volsco discusses the topography and rituality of the city of Rome. My hypothesis was that Volsco was building an image of the physical appearance of ancient Rome through literary reception of Ovid. But in fact, I have not found any comments to support this hypothesis.

In Marsi's commentary, however, such antiquarian comments do occur. These comments form an important category in Marsi's work, but do not immediately have a suitable place in the rest of this chapter. Therefore, I would like to mention them briefly here. As other humanists, Marsi eagerly searched the *Fasti* for locations and buildings that were strongly connected to Roman culture and religion. Sometimes, these places had adapted a new Christian context in the time of Marsi. In the following, I would like to give two examples of Marsi's antiquarian comments:

(1) In his commentary on book 6 of the *Fasti*, Marsi misidentified the temple of the Mater Matuta or Portunus, in his time the church of Santa Maria Egiziaca, when he states: *Quod templum rotundae formae erectis in ambitu columnis integrum adhuc est in ipsa ripa in extrema parte fori sub titulo divi Stephani martyris* ('that the temple, round in form and with erect columns around it, still intact, is on the very bank [of the Tiber] and on the outermost part of the forum [Boarium] under the title of Saint Stephen Martyr').[165] He is, in fact, thinking of the round temple of Hercules Victor.

(2) Another example is related to the same forum Boarium, to which Marsi devotes the following enthusiastic words:

> *Verum quis crederet tot iam elapsis saeculis ab eo tempore quo celebris erat illa ara, illis diebus quo haec Romae profitebar, in ultimo angulo fori Boarii ab his qui marmora inquirebant reperta est ara Maxima, et effossa aerea Herculis statua, cum multis circa eam epigrammatibus, quae omnia delata mox fuere in Capitolium et in atrio dominorum Conservatorum collocata, atque omnibus visenda patent?*[166]
>
> Who would believe, now that so many centuries have passed since the time that the altar was famous, that in these days, while I was teaching in Rome, the Ara Maxima was found in a far corner of the forum Boarium by the marble quarries, and they dug up the bronze statue of Hercules, with many inscriptions around it, which were all immediately taken to the Capitoline and assembled in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, and they are accessible for everyone to see.

Marsi is very excited about the artefacts that were found, because now they are visible to everyone and reveal a piece of the puzzle of how Rome used to look like in ancient times. These two comments show that Marsi was very involved with the physical Rome, as the city appeared to him in his own time and (reconstructing) how it had done in ancient times.

Volsco does not seem to have been all that interested in the physical Rome in his *Fasti* commentary, or at least, I have not been able to find any comments explicitly pointing to that. Perhaps Volsco was deliberately looking for a lacuna in the *Fasti* research, for a way to distinguish himself, as an act or self-fashioning, from other humanists and to address other themes in his lectures and commentary. In any case, Volsco's contribution to the humanist *Fasti* discourse lies in different fields, most prominently in his sifting through (obscure) references to astronomical, mythological and historical texts of both Latin and Greek authors. We have come across a few examples of these in our Roman manuscript, but his printed commentary on the *Heroides* is also full of such references.[167] My analysis of Volsco's commentary is by no means exhaustive and there are countless other commentary types and strategies used by Volsco to point out. A much more extensive text-critical analysis of the content of his *Fasti* commentary should reveal exactly what Volsco contributed to the fifteenth-century understanding of the *Fasti*.

[165] Fritsen (2015: 131) on *Fast.* 6.479.
[166] Idem, 132, on *Fast.* 1.582.
[167] Castelli (2013: 18; 20).

4. Conclusion

Ovid's calendar poem witnessed a great rival in Renaissance Italy. This revival was attested, first of all, by the multiple editions of the *Fasti* that were published in the course of the fifteenth century. The poem was read in Bologna, Florence, Venice, Milan, but most notably, in Rome. Marsi's edition proved to be the most influential. His commentary is even more interesting because he included paratexts that provide us with crucial information about the context for Ovidian studies in Italy and the reasons for the poem's popularity in fifteenth-century Rome. Marsi shows that the revival had a very different motivation than its popularity has had in recent decades. The humanists were less interested in, for example, the problematic relationship between Ovid and Augustus (and Augustan discourse) and did not doubt or question the reliability of its narrator (as a possible act of undermining Augustan themes).

For them, the *Fasti* was a sound and inexhaustible source of learning on almost every subfield of ancient Roman cultural history. It was a source text for Roman religion, festivals and their related customs. It was a guidebook to the topography of the ancient city. It was a collection of mythological tales. It was an ideal school text for learning about Roman history, literature and grammar. Those were the reasons why the *Fasti* was so eagerly read in universities, and why so many humanists devoted themselves to editing, annotating and emendating the text. The Roman Academy of Leto was pre-eminently a place where Ovidian studies could flourish. The extraordinary commitment of the academicians to classical antiquity, attested both in their study of classical literature and their visits to ancient Roman sites, was deepened and enriched by their reading and understanding of the *Fasti*. The papacy of Sixtus IV allowed the Roman humanists to assemble and elevate their interpretation and comprehension of the poem through discussion and access to literary and material sources. The research of all these humanists (Montopoli, Leto, Marsi, Poliziano, Costanzi, Volsco et cetera) taken together is invaluable not only for our understanding of Ovidian studies in fifteenth-century Italy and Rome, but also for our understanding of the *Fasti* itself. Within humanist commentaries, due to their 'open' character (and flexible genre conventions), anything is possible: they can preserve a wealth of knowledge, add new learning and composed (Neo-Latin) literature, and provide insights into humanist reflections on the city of Rome.

Volsco's commentary is a perfect example of the unique qualities of a humanist commentary. In my research, I have attempted to characterise Volsco's commentary, by a comparison with Marsi's commentary in terms of the employed commentary strategies. We have seen that Volsco's commentary is structured as lecture notes, which attest to the importance of the *Fasti* as a school text in Renaissance Italy. Through an excavation of his commentary on the proem of the *Fasti*, it becomes clear where Volsco's foci lie: he is interested in the genre, dedicatee and ancient sources of the *Fasti*, as his extensive comments on these topics indicate. Both Volsco and Marsi were aware that by writing a commentary on the *Fasti*, they had embarked on a similar undertaking as Ovid. In his commentary, Volsco draws an (implicit) comparison between the genre of the calendar poem and the genre of the literary commentary, which can both function as a cooking pot for all kinds of knowledge, not restricted to the Roman calendar.

Furthermore, Volsco and Marsi employ the commentary genre as an instrument of 'self-fashioning'. Through the visual presentation of their commentaries and by presenting themselves in their commentaries as experts in the field of *Fasti* studies, who are capable teachers and active participants of the humanist discourse on Ovidian studies, they both constructs their public *persona* as an ideal humanist.

When we compare the start of both commentaries, we see that Volsco had some different foci than Marsi. The types of comments that can be distinguished are partly similar: both have notes on Latin vocabulary and syntax, include literary references or explain (cultural-)historical contexts. Where Volsco discerns himself from Marsi, is in his interest for astronomy, whereas Marsi is more concerned with the rhetorical and antiquarian aspects of the *Fasti*. Volsco does not seem to be focused, like his fellow humanists, on reviving the physical Rome. I expected to come across various comments in which Volsco discusses the topography and rituality of the city of Rome. But in fact, I have not found any comments on these topics. Volsco's specific purpose and contribution to the humanist study of the *Fasti* is, however, to add new (Greek and Latin) sources and knowledge about astronomy and mythology to the humanist discourse.

It may not have been Volsco' main concern to revive the physical Rome, which was more the case with humanists like Costanzi and Marsi, but he was definitely concerned with reviving ancient literature and antiquity. For Volsco and the academicians, the ideal humanist could only flourish in the city of Rome. Here, the endless access to primary resources, and all his hard work and nocturnal studies on Ovid allowed Volsco to establish a connection with the past. By reading and commenting on the *Fasti*, for Volsco, his students and fellow humanists, and us, Ovid came back to life.

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Appendix I: Description of manuscript

Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Ms. R 59
post-1473
Antonio Volsco, running commentary on Ovid, *Fasti*
Rome

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1. Content

ff. 2r-219r: Antonio Volsco (c. 1440-1507), *Commentarium Volsci in Libris Fastorum Publii Ovidii Nasonis.*

> f. 2r (incipit): *Expositio Volsci P(ublii)·O(vidii)·N(asonis)·P(oetae)·Co(mmentarii)· In Libris Fastorum Foeliciter I. TEMPORA cum causis Latium digesta per annum. Verrius F. libro q. de significatu verborum dubitat an historia & annales idem sint.*
>
> f. 217v (explicit): *CONVENTUM·VOLSCI·SUPER·OV(idii)·NA(sonis)·FA(stis)· FELICITER·EXPLICIT·FINIS.*
>
> f. 218r-219r: table of contents of *secundus mensis* and *tertius mensis*

2. General physical characteristics

Material of the writing supports	paper
Number of leaves	i + 218 + iii
Collation	I^{i+3}, II-III^{10}, IV-VI^{12}, VII^{14}, VIII^{12}, IX^{16}, X-XI^{12}, XII^{8}, XIII^{2}, XIV-XVI^{12}, XVII^{16}, XVIII-XIX^{12}, XX^{4}, XXI^{3+i} + ii
Size of leaves	205 x 145 mm
Average size of writing area	c. 165 x 125 mm
Average number of lines per page	30 long lines
Type of script	main text in humanist minuscule; incipit, explicit and often catchwords in Roman square capitals
Binding	rebound in an eighteenth-/nineteenth-century half leather binding, decorated with geometric and flower strips tooled in blind; on spine two labels with 'R.' and '59.' written in black ink; broken lock on the upper cover

3. Detailed description

Text block
Twentieth-century pagination in pencil in top right corner. Left margin used for *Fasti* lemmata and catchwords, some in Greek. Leaves in good condition, ink sometimes faded; text in margin occasionally lost due to later rebinding. Folios 168 and 169 damaged (text is half lost) and repaired by sticking an external leaf to it. A certain Pandimiglio repaired the text block (and possibly binding) in 1976 by adding two lower end leaves and a pastedown.

Script and decoration
Main text written in Rome in fifteenth century by one or two hands, in black and brown ink, various sizes and sometimes in italics; words are often abbreviated, underlined, corrected or written across other words. Moreover, rubrics (ff. 2r and 5r); small drawing of Priapus (10v), a fish (96v) and an herb (217v); *manicula* (146r); correction sign (204v).

Provenance
Stamps of Biblioteca Vallicelliana (2r, 113r and 218v) and Reale Società Romana di Storia Patria (2r, 3r with signature '01622', 23r, 31r and 218v). With black ink in a nineteenth-century hand on 2r "~~Ex Legato P. Pellegrini ab Ecclesia~~ Bibliotheca Vallicellana (sic) R. no. 59." and 218r "Commentarium Volsci in Lib. Fastorum P. Ovidii Nasonis. Codex Seculi decimiquarti". With pencil in a twentieth-century hand on 220v "FINE T" and back paste-down "Restauro Pandimiglio 1976". Very little is known about the provenance of this manuscript and the Biblioteca Vallicelliana preserves no documentary sources on this manuscript. Could it, for example, have belonged to the sixteenth-century Italian painter Pellegrino Pellegrini?

Bibliography
Kristeller (1967: 134).
Castelli (2013: 84).

Appendix II: Reproduction of relevant folios

This thesis focusses on Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Ms. R 59, ff. 2r-5v: Volsco's commentary on Ovid's *Fasti* 1.1-62 (the poem's introductory section). Below one can find a reproduction of these four folios (eight pages) and the explicit of the work (on f. 217v). The photos were taken by me with permission from the Biblioteca Vallicelliana for academic use. I am grateful to the library for letting me use their facilities and the staff for their kind helpfulness.

Expositio uolsci

P·O·N·P·C· In libris fastoy Feliciter

TEMPORA Cum causis latium digesta p annum
cum causis latium digesta pannus

Verrius ꝓ libro q. designticatu uerboy dubitat an historia et annales idem sint cum historia greci significationem rerum ꝑsentium congruentia sit Annales uero res geste plurium Annoy obseruato Cuius Anni dum In multi tradiderit historiam rerum gestay q. libri Narrationem S. Ablis differt diarii q caiui asselliq. historiay et feminis ritu dies acta scribunt Fasti enim est cum primos dies festa scribunt Fasti enim ablis large defertur Nam is no rem gestarum ordo continetur Nonplurimorum annoy series non singlos dies actas Nonpriuatay aut publicas rum Comitia Haurent S. decemplimonatus Cuius ꝑstatoi dies Hor q. hominibo addeos Transferut Celebritas signoy Ortus et occasy adiecti q. institutione scribunt Itaq Varro annales facta descriptione Vt uerrius S. ceterorum Non breui possit Coniectura pontificum erat q ꝑseruata festa celebritates indicebant Infastos Velsi feriatus diebus fas Reliquebatur fmul ap latinos et potest fastos Prof. Ir. antronicus et edidit de inde Socii fastos Romanus lucas accu Aframus & post lonomi intercalium oui q. ex diuitijs priscis annalibo & pontificu libris in q. instituta sacra uarii temporibo erat mutata ordinem Redegerit Appq. author pate fastos et deorum sacroy libros Cum sint q. Infasti dies

Ex Libris P. Pellegrini ab Ecclesia

Bibliothecæ Vallicellanæ

R. nº 59.

Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Ms. R 59, f. 2r

& concisi ut varro minimis de his suo loco ; ipsum est bmm
Tempora propositum uelterius q. propositionem segui
canam describam Carmen flore poetice ut poetice decla
bam Tempora menses et dies Fastos et festa Concisos
Diuesta dispositu primum Romulo deinde Annum Au
thoritatem accessit et augurio ꝓfecta et decursum lustri et olim
ostensa pla Semestrem annum Romany dixit qui collatus
Annū ñ. reliquerit Ennii bmm inuenit annum mistrum demas ena
trimestrem ut plutarcus primum : archades Trium dierum
Acarnans ter greci et lig dieru Trentorum quum decem
quatuor Cum cau addi ad historiam fabulae et consilia
quibus instituta sint Ham Caius Asellio dicebat forbes
dicta aut gesta neque star q or comitis ea gesta sint pue
ris fabulis narrare Cauas sngt Annū Romanū dge
stum immenses et dies fastos q. nefastos et concisos et qui
institutos comitia sacra duodecim mouetto Circulo et sig
corpora noctu obseruato Lata demersa sb terras et ortus
et rursus supra terras et crebrissime aboccasu potius incipi
et aboriu Haut ut Vitruuius S. una necessitas utrius
simul et orientes et occidentem plicit Ham circulor ro uter
architectatus ut quarta pars nouissimi signi quadrat
uolutionis sb terra occultatus Tantundem ejus gre uersatur mis
eterna et ꝓcidetur ad lucernam Cum mundus terram complecta
tur necesse est quod et duodecim signis sex supra terram ex
lo prominentq. ecclo subeuntia cetera sb terra eiusdem umbra ob
scurentur dicam sngt occasum et ortum Rom oppositi terr
honorum q. obseruauit antigtas et triplex est ꝓpositio dicti
dicturum tempora causa et ortus et occasum signorum

O GERmanice Duodecim fastorum libros adhibens
CA dum uiduus esset apponto Thomis Reliquatus mise
bus ꝓpagationis ea : Varia ꝓcditur uerū et uarius q. fon
Causam scribit Iunx Ouerors altra patet q. de annali te libros adorn
annum nec
tium mutui

f. 2v

f. 3r

f. 3v

4

to quanno dies unus intercalation quadam. Adatur Consilio urbis
Romu dil. ordinavit tempora menses et dies q. ordinavit [illegible]
decem in suo anno voluit sing. Romulus annum suum clausit ex
q sideravit Rome Cura diligentia et industria ui superare [illegible]
Antemnates vicit Romulus Antemnates Crustumerios Cenenses et fidenates cu
sabinis fedus in iit Ocae Tiberi illu romu cuiramu distraxerit fide
cem menses et iit cas ius quo iure et qua rone sunt in institutionis
suam, in qua usus erat adit atq huius temporis [illegible] Romu.
tm decem patres et fetiales [illegible] et sufficiens quam temporis
tempestivum dumdum partus prodeat in lucem editur ab utero [illegible]
existimavit decem menses in annos distribuendos qui totidem mensi
bus partus editur in lucem et menandrum. Sequitur in plotio fabu
la. Tradit mulier decimestris parit q usus [illegible]
in [illegible] tabula S. et alia tempora [illegible] iuno vera indicat in
solet mulier decimo mense parere pos. Nono septimo atq. octavo s. i
pocrates et [illegible] in Ipocratem commentarius: Octavo nasci infante
posse tradit s. no esse validos partus varro et undecimo plinius
Tertio decimo q videtur, afide alienu s. [illegible] est per
varro tradit et veteres observavit q voluerunt ceteros partus esse mo
stros probavit q. tm Nono et x. mense genitus et ab parcis ap
vendo mutata una litteram Nomen dederit duas q. a partu [illegible]
stino nona decima app. qd adulit terram Cesellius uindex [illegible]
Meram Andronicum in Odiseam Morta app. l. alij no mortam [illegible]
[illegible] alia ratio hec [illegible] quae ex tribus sola repetitur
De Rhoto afris uo dicuntur Clota lachesis et atropos [illegible] Alia re [illegible]
[illegible] in funebria [illegible] pullas uestes [illegible] privata [illegible]
tempore Coniugis mariti sui [illegible] menses [illegible] seneca ait maiores nostri ad
deplorandam funera aium feminis instituisse viros aut nullu qm
nullam existimavit et legitimu tempus quiri deplorarent Cura
Trabea diligentia quirini Ro. Trabeati Trabea ueste induti Trabea ue
stis [illegible] purpurea et picta qua reges utebantur alij Romulu accepisse
abetruscis voluit dionisius in Tarquinio [illegible] abetruscis illas accepisse
confirmat [illegible] causas superiores [illegible] Ro. dat institueret [illegible]
anni rationem populis populo romano Rudibus [illegible] erat propagaret
Martis enim est principium anni instituti aromulo erat Martis principe
bat nominato secundus mensis erat ue [illegible] secundu mensem Ro atribuit
ueneri

f. 4r

et app. aprilem aperire ut fulur [illegible] Gra. [illegible] afros dr q
et maris spuma nata sit Princeps principii generis [illegible]
enim aperire ducebat originem Rome [illegible] Qui ueneris filii fuit
ille mars e pt [illegible] romuli [illegible] mars complexus [illegible] vestale
et ex ea romul. genuisse l. dionisii [illegible] armatum [illegible]
tis secum [illegible] commiscuisse huius mensis mavis dicti [illegible] A scribis
maioribus l. alii maui amata dictum putet Quartus Iunius dictus no
tamus denomi [illegible] iunonem nuncupari tradant s. [illegible]
hac app. fecit ab institution sua Nam senis a iuvenibus distinxit [illegible]
app. patris quorum consilio [illegible] urbs [illegible] presidio defenderet [illegible]
Turba q.s. s ceteri menses q sequuntur [illegible] Notata [illegible] fuit [illegible]
qm mensis qui iulius dr est ap. quintilis Augustus Sextilis [illegible]
nomen tenent ut september oct. no. de. l. dionij. ut plur. sen. [illegible]
septembrem appellari germanicum Octobre uo domitianum [illegible]
nomina [illegible] Iulius dictus est a iulio Cae. Augus. [illegible]
augusto [illegible] adrationem solaris anni Ianu [illegible] ianuarium [illegible]
cuperetur. [illegible] mavis [illegible] februarium mensem [illegible]
februa [illegible] purgationis dil inferis [illegible] februar [illegible] purgari
proposuit adiunxit duos in [illegible] Ianu. et februarium [illegible] A romulo [illegible]
tutis q decem erat Ille nefastus O Tiberi. [illegible] iura [illegible]
dierum [illegible] q uaria [illegible] officia [illegible] dies lucifer [illegible] sidus ueneris
[illegible] ante solem hac stellam ueteres iubar. app. [illegible]
[illegible] noctis decurso spatio et [illegible] lumen iubarum
incelo cerno idem qui primum oriatur [illegible] gr. uocat esperum
Latini uesperuginem sive esperum [illegible] plau. Neq
uesperugo [illegible] occidunt Virg. [illegible]
[illegible] uesperus stellam [illegible] dicit [illegible] pro die [illegible]
idem [illegible] dies no [illegible] idem officium Ille dies [illegible]
rietatem [illegible] erat [illegible] sacris [illegible] dicitur Tria [illegible] Do di
co. et abdico. silentium Tacentur actori Erunt dies nefasti fasti
et incesi comitiales et nundinales et alii quos apud varronem
et macrobium l. inspicere Nefastus erat [illegible]
cebat pretorem fari [illegible] Tria [illegible] do. dico et abdico [illegible]
[illegible] omne ministerium continetur Nam actorem [illegible]

f. 4v

5

Ait cum pace latet. Quando dicas sine cutula intra templum clausus est pace pacis tempore. hic est cum tempore pacis tuum templum est clausum: Jani templum romae erat duabus portis ut plutarchus auctor est quod clausum pacis. Apertum vero bellum significat id alii ad romulum referunt hic. tum tra. Numa post templum Jani ad

hunum argiletum constituisse | radice bellique pacis

Id erat inter duo fora boarium et piscarium numa postea illud clausit: tres et quadraginta annos deinde marcho atilio et tito mallio consulibus apertum est deinde augustus clausit post victum antonium A dactum promotorium epiri nec est apertum quatuor et quadraginta annis et cum quam cluderis hic est templum tuum dei

in armis bellis motis quod mouentur bella. Nec mora est reddita causa quesitae petitionis et quaestionis mee

Janus custodit | Ut populi romani pateat ad bella pro Janua nra hic est

mei templi tota patet aperta est sera obice postulo

in summario | dempta et remota tempore belli apertum: meus templi aditus pateat sit apertus populo romano pro ad bella

qui venit in bellum pace pacis tempore. Obdo obice do

obdo | udo fores ianuas mei templi ne ipsa pax aliquo non posset discedere a populo romano. Ex operoque di templum meum diu erit clausum meo potestatem Cesaro augusti caesaris diu inquit mutem ipsa erat claustri augusto Dixit scilicet ianus et attollens cernens oculos videntes in multes diuersa quod hic geminas faces.

loquitur ouidius | Pax erat o germanice o tiberi erat pax tum in toto orbe terrarum et iam fuerat fluuius ortus ut tu cau sar

f. 5r

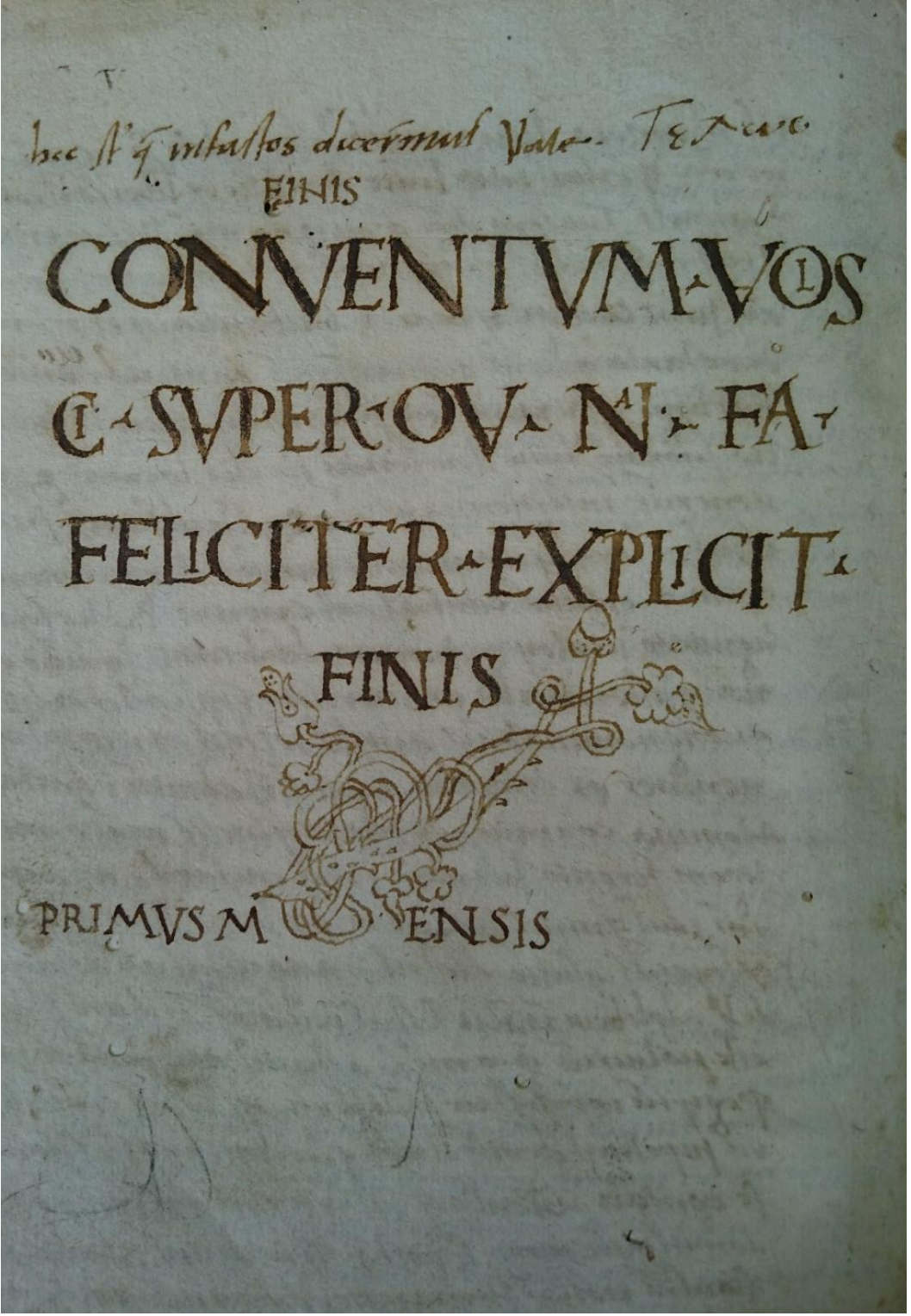
Ex lepontiis qui albes incolunt et moccanum influit sed ante in multas partis diuidus germaniam quae a gallis sepat Tiberius bellum germanicum gessit quod quaestor dedalitiorum Traiecit in galliam ... quae ripas rheni sedibus aligrianis collocavit: Ideo ouans et currum urbem ingressus est

Tiberius germanicum triumphum | Ut tranquillus meminit primus ut mihi scribunt triumphalibus ornamentis insignitus nouo nec ante cuique tributo genere honoris gessit quod bellum germanicum drusus: viuente augusto et trans rhenum fessas in medio ... pis effecit: quae nunc dicuntur uocantur germaniam drusi filius mortuo augusto ut tranquillus scribit de germanis triumphauit quod huic conuenire non potest nam de augusto non mortuo scribit ouidius. Renus fluvius causa uestri triumphi qui dedit causa tuae triumphali ouationi tradiderat tibi in potestate tua aquas famulas obsequentes et hoc dicit propter accolas quos ad renum traduxit

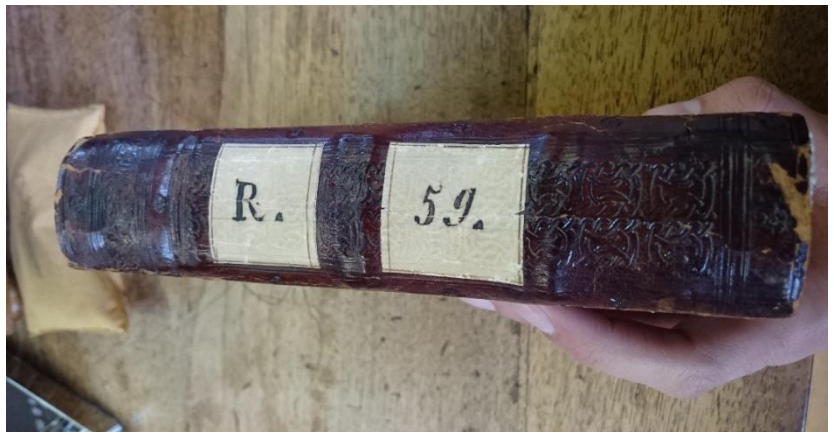
poeta ad ianum loquitur | Jane face facias pacem et numen hic est in perpetuum in esse

ministros pacis drusum et tiberium quin instrat. pax ut auctor hic est augustus non deserat instructa summum opus hic est pacem. Quod tamen ingenium licuit oc cultum est mihi dicam exponere ex fastis ex annalibus ... ... mis Pamsueteris romani aui sacrauerit et dedicauerunt hac die hic est kalendis ianuariis alterius iouis delubrum exculapio insula in tiberi facta est: ex ... ... pi Tarquiniorum quam magna ... hominum post captum tarquinium superbum in tiberi fuerit ... tu flumine aqua: Ut hic libro scilicet ab urbe condita Tradi

f. 5v



f. 217v



The codex's binding, edge and spine with signature 'R. 59.'