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Mantuan Revised: His *Adulescentia* in Early Sixteenth-Century Germany

In no other way is *the Adulescentia*, the enormously successful collection of Latin eclogues by the Italian humanist poet and Carmelite reformer Baptista Mantuanus (Mantuan, as he is known in England) more immediately distinguishable from Graeco-Roman pastoral than in an eremitically based pastoral world that he introduced into the genre. In Mantuan's eclogues this world is correlated with a second, otherworldly pastoral realm and balanced against an understanding of the role of love in shepherds' lives different from that found in Virgil's bucolics. I shall begin by considering the nature and correlation of Mantuan's two pastoral worlds and their relation to his treatment of erotic love. I want to use this discussion as a background to trick out some of the inflections that were made in the relationship between erotic love and these two worlds when his *Adulescentia* crossed territorial and cultural boundaries from *quattrocento* Italy into northern Europe, especially as the collection was adapted by a circle of German humanists associated with Jakob Wimpfeling at Strasbourg. In what ways and why was the text presented in a widely disseminated version of Mantuan's *Adulescentia* first printed there? Especially in the early days of publishing, editions of texts were by no means stable, and in answering the first question I want to look at a short poem by Mantuan, included so as to support an evaluation of his pastoral worlds uniquely given in the selection and arrangement of verse and prose surrounding his eclogues in this edition.

In comparison to Virgil's bucolics (with which the *Adulescentia* has much in common) Mantuan's seventh eclogue sets forth two pastoral worlds inspired by quite different sources. In this poem the shepherd Pollux, fleeing a frustrated love affair, is visited in a dream vision by the Virgin Mary. "Dear boy," she asks, echoing Hercules' choice at the crossroads, "what path are you taking?" The grassy plain you are about to choose is filled with serpents and

leads to Erebus's eternal shadows. Then in an ecstatic, lyrical passage of great beauty Mary sets forth two interrelated pastoral worlds. Choose rather (she tells him) Mount Carmel's heights, dwell in caves and simple huts provided by patriarchs of old. After you have led a life of innocence there you will be raised to a *locus amoenus* ever green where, surrounded by mountain and woodland nymphs, "you will be permitted to learn of the heavens both above and below" (Mantuanus 1989: 64-7). The concluding line connects Pollux's ultimate destiny with Daphnis's in Virgil's fifth bucolic.¹ But the basis for the pastoral worlds Mantuan describes is Judeo-Christian, not in ancient Greece and Rome, and more specifically in the traditions and lore of the Carmelite order.

The mountaintop pastoral world to which Pollux is directed in this world is generally indebted to the Judeo-Christian tradition that placed the earthly paradise on a high mountain (Giamatti 44-45; Duncan 79-80) and more narrowly to the monastic tradition that associated this paradise with cloistral seclusion (Ladner 77-78, 147). For Mantuan, however, it had specific and powerful Carmelite resonances arising out of the Order's belief that it drew its authority and strength from the founders' resolve to establish themselves around the well of the prophet Elijah on Mount Carmel (Brandsma 158).

This Carmelite pastoral wilderness is causally connected in Mantuan's poem with a second, otherworldly pastoral realm. Christ's dying words on the cross, "this day thou shalt be with me in paradise", fused with the traditional location of the earthly paradise, had already been developed in humanist pastoral by Boccaccio, who depicted an otherworldly mountain-top paradise in his fourteenth and fifteenth eclogues. Mantuan made an eremitic extension of this fusion, suggesting that a pious life in the cloister's earthly paradise would lead to the otherworldly life Boccaccio described. Hence arises most immediately Mantuan's obsessive concern, expressed in the concluding ninth and tenth eclogues, with corruption within the Carmelite order and the Papal Curia. In contrast to Daphnis's ultimate destiny Pollux and his kind operate inside a moral and metaphysical framework that is much more explicitly developed than in Virgil's fifth bucolic.

The two pastoral worlds depicted in his *Adulescentia* belong, it seems to me, to an interesting cultural moment in *quattrocento* Italy. In the vast wake of the Protestant Reformation it is perhaps easy to lose sight of a slightly earlier

¹ Cf. Virgil, *Bucolica* 5. 57 and Servius's note in his commentary on this line: *Servii Grammatici quiferuntur in Vergilii commentarii*, 3. 1. 60.

reform movement that swept the monastic orders of western Europe. Mantuan himself was a leader in this movement, deploring corruption within the Carmelites and the Papal Curia and specifically urging an eremitic ideal against the life of apostolic and clerical activity his order had come to pursue.² Nor were territories within the Reich untouched by this monastic reform movement. For the moment let me mention only Johannes Trithemius, the German Benedictine monk who at the end of the fifteenth century set out to reform his order by renovating the ideal of *vera eruditio monastica*, a true monastic erudition (Brann 107-203).

The lack a single founder led Carmelite writers to fashion their pastoral vision of the order's beginnings on Mount Carmel, a vision shaped in paint as early as 1329 in Pietro Lorenzetti's altarpiece for the order's high altar in Siena and which continued well into the *quattrocento* in Fra Lippo Lippi's depiction, done for the Carmine at Florence, of Carmelite hermits on Mount Carmel (Gilbert 172,198). Mantuan, who himself wrote two accounts of the order's early history,³ took this material and in his *Adulescentia* created a pastoral version that in his tenth eclogue was aimed at reforming the Carmelites and in his seventh opened out in a celestial pastoral vision of the individual goal

of that reform.

Within the economy of his collection as a whole, however, the role of these two pastoral worlds potentially conflicted with his version of the Theocritian/Virgilian pastoral world depicted in his first three eclogues. The second and third poems deal, often in terms of Roman elegiac verse, with what one tide describes as the "amoris insania," the amatory madness of the lovesick shepherd Amyntas. Against his unhappy state, intentionally reminiscent of Callus's in Virgil's tenth bucolic, Mantuan's first eclogue sets the earthy, occasionally farcical love affair of Faustus and Galla, an affair that the poem's tide describes as "honestus" ("honorable") and that ends, not like

Amyntas's in self-destruction, but—with the help of a communal wisdom exercised by Faustus's father—in marriage.⁴

Just how difficult the fit potentially is, between the two Mount Carmels developed at the end of Mantuan's collection and the pastoral world set forth in this opening eclogue, became evident in the commentary made in Paris early in the sixteenth century by the Flemish printer and educator Jodocus Badius Ascensius (Josse Bade). Badius quite rightly picked up the allusion to the motif of Hercules on the Crossroads in Mantuan's seventh eclogue and went on in an introductory note to the poem to lay out a bipolar developmental paradigm he saw at work in the collection as a whole:

Si friuolum non sit dicam non sine ratione in hac septima aegloga agi de conuersione iuuenum. [...] Dicunt praeterea septirno quoque anno immutari nobis aetatem. Vt primis septem annis simus infantes. Proximis pueri. tertiis adolescentes. quartis iuuenes: qua aetate constituendum est nobis genus vitae: quos & quales nos esse velimus: & in quo genere vitae. Bene ergo [...] in hac septima aegloga agitur de iuuenum ad religionem conuersione. Vnde hactenus adolescentiam suam (sic enim inscripsit opus) poeta cecinisse putatur: deinceps canturus iuuentam: & virilem aetatem : in duobus videlicet vltimis carminibus quae in religione composuit. (Mantuanus 1989: 117-18)

([...] let me say that with reason Mantuan writes of the conversion of young men in his seventh eclogue. [...] [For] every seven years the period of our life changes: so that for our first seven years we are babes, children for the next seven, youths for the third seven, and young men for our fourth seven years, at which time the character of our lives—who, of what condition, and how we want to live—is all established. Rightly then [...] in this seventh eclogue youth's conversion to the religious life is at stake, a conversion concerning which I believe that up to now Mantuan has sung of his youth (for so he entitled his work [*i.e.*, *Adulescentia*]) and that in turn he will sing of his young manhood and adult years, namely in the last two poems which he composed in religious orders.)

As eloquent as this is, Badius's interpretation here seriously disturbs the balances in Mantuan's collection. The resolution of Faustus' love affair in his first eclogue echoes, within a pastoral literary context as indebted to the

² The standard work on Mantuan's role in this monastic reform movement is Saggi, *La congregazione mantovana*. In *quattrocento Italy Latin translations by Filelfo and others of the Greek desert fathers*—documented in Gentile 1997: 268-70, 283-85, 361-62, 374-76—belong to this renaissance of interest in monastic contemplative spirituality.

³ See the conclusion of his *De vita beata*, in Mantuanus 1576: 4. 2. 209-11 and a letter (apparently written late in life) to Sigismondo Gonzaga, printed in Saggi 1954: 279-84. Trithemius seems also to have been attracted by this material, leaving behind an account of the Carmelites' early history that is reprinted in Mantuan 1576: 4. 1. 248-70.

⁴ For further discussion of the interplay between various kinds of love in Mantuan's three eclogues, see Piepho 1993: 247-51.

literature of *bergerie*⁵ as to Virgil's bucolics, Mantuan's version of an important re-evaluation of marriage that Anthony D'Elia has recently documented as taking place among humanist writers in *quattrocento* Italy (D'Elia 117-34 *et passim*). The detached, slightly ironic tone that suffuses Mantuan's presentation of the affair would seem to convey an implied hierarchy in which it ranks lower than Pollux's devotion to the Virgin in his seventh and eighth eclogues. But in the collection as a whole he nonetheless allows Faustus and his kind to have their say. Badius's introductory note to the first eclogue shows that he recognized the importance of Mantuan's presentation of "honestus amor":

Haec prima asgloga de honesto amore foelicique eius exitu inscribitur non sine ratione: nam licet nondum religionem professus haec veluti ingenii sui praeludia composuerat: ad poesim baud dubie natus auctor: tamen quia ne tunc quidem quicquam inhonestum aut concipere aut edere voluisset: & nunc cum recognosceret si offendisset nimkum reiecisset. Proinde ne si de amoribus titulum quispiam severus [severius?] religiosus lectitans aufugeret: inscipisit de amore honesto: quo revera nihil est homine dignius. Hie autem amor honestus describitur: quia affectione matrimoniali initus. Additur autem de foelici eius exitu: vt eos qui amare volent ad honestum amorem inuitet quippe cuius foelix est exitus. (Mantuanus 1989: 103-4)

(Not without reason is this first eclogue entitled "Honorable Love and Its Happy Outcome." For though Mantuan, having not as yet professed his vows, had already composed these poems, a prelude, as it were, to his genius (having doubtless been born to be a poet), nonetheless because even in his youth he wished to conceive or circulate nothing in the least dishonorable, now in reviewing these eclogues again, he would certainly have rejected anything in them that might give offense. Accordingly, lest, if too severely religious a person, in the habit of reading the title "Love," should put this poem aside, he entitled it "Honorable Love," a kind of love indeed than which nothing is more appropriate to a man. Moreover, this love is defined as honorable because it originated in matrimonial affection. "And Its Happy Outcome" is added so that those who desire to fall in love might be incited to an honorable love, one in fact whose issue is a happy one.)

But the bipolar developmental paradigm he elaborated in his commentary for the collection's organization resulted in a tropological interpretation and a tilt away from the secular world towards Mantuan's two Mount Carmels, a shift

of balances in which erotic love and the marriage of Faustus and Galla logically could not find a place.

Even in Italy there was uneasiness about Mantuan's depiction of erotic love in his first eclogue. A Milan edition that also appeared in 1498, the year Mantuan first allowed his collection to be printed, suggests by its title—*Egloga...de honesto amore et foelici eius exitu cum quadam alia agloga contra amorem noviter addita* (An Eclogue on Honorable Love and Its Happy Outcome Together With a Certain Other Eclogue Opposing Love Newly Added) (*Gesamtkatalog* 3. 315)—that this was the subject most interesting to readers (the edition in fact contains all ten eclogues), that his eclogue on Faustus and Galla had previously had extensive manuscript circulation, and that this "newly added" eclogue written against love was meant to counter it. Moreover, to underline this point the edition concludes (as do other Italian editions at the time⁶) not with Mantuan's tenth eclogue, but with his widely printed, immensely popular *Elegia contra amorem*.

The uneasiness evident here about potentially exalting erotic love and marriage and the turn towards religious devotion and ascetic withdrawal evident in Badius's interpretation of Mantuan's collection were by no means so severe, however, as they became in the German edition of Mantuan's *Aduhseentia* to which I now want to turn my attentions. First printed at Strasbourg in 1503, this edition is traditionally associated with the Alsatian humanist Jakob Wimpfeling. Strictly speaking, however, it was a collaborative effort, the immediate instigator being Wimpfeling's relative and former pupil, Johannes Gallinarius.⁷ Through Wimpfeling's support Gallinarius had been appointed to teach grammar and rhetoric at the chapter school of New Saint Peter in Strasbourg, and the version of Mantuan's eclogues that he prepared was designed as a school text embodying the values and educational program of his old teacher.

The most immediate sign of this orientation is a letter by Wimpfeling that helps to open the collection. Wimpfeling sees Mantuan's poems as providing

⁶ For instance, an edition printed at Brescia in 1502 and another printed in Venice in 1503: items 13 and 40 in Coccia 23, 28.

⁷ In a letter introducing the edition Gallinarius speaks of having begun a commentary on Mantuan's eclogues but, after coming on Badius' commentary, deciding to use it instead of his own. Gallinarius is discussed by Otto Herder on pp. 13-26 in his edition of Wimpfeling's important educational treatise, *Adolescentia*.

⁵ See Cooper 108-11.

good school-texts since, as he puts it, they have a polish and purity that, as handled by a teacher of mature judgment, can be taught free from venom to young scholars.⁸ But it is in a prefatory poem by Thomas Vogler (Aucuparius), a humanist and supporter of Wimpfeling at Strasbourg,⁹ that a second, more important reason emerges for teaching Mantuan's eclogues in the schools. Echoing what Wimpfeling was to declare openly some years later, Vogler claims that beliefs Virgil sang of that conformed to the days of old Mantuan now sings in conformity to our religion ("Quaeque maro cecinit conformia tempore prisco / Hie eadem nostra relligone canit") and that the "catholicus," the orthodox, faithful reader, should therefore be set to work not on Virgil's bucolics but Mantuan's eclogues (sig. A6^V). As Wimpfeling was to put it in 1514, Mantuan's eclogues are to be valued above Virgil's bucolics "propter pudicitiam et honestatem," because of the moral rectitude and cleanness of living that suffuse them.¹⁰

What lay behind these statements was the educational program that Wimpfeling brought to Strasbourg and with which he attracted younger humanists like Gallinarius.¹¹ Poetry had in fact a fairly narrow place for Wimpfeling in a program aimed at reforming German society. Social reform could only come, he believed, through a spiritual rebirth dependent on the restoration of learning. As models for the rest of society the clergy were key to this process. Wimpfeling therefore argued that their schools had to be reformed so as to provide a genuinely Christian education. Mantuan's

8 Mantuanus 1503: sig. al^v: "Baptista Mantuanum extollo turn in poematibus suis tersis et puris quae abseque veneno a mature praeceptore iuuentuti tradi possunt [...]"

9 For Vogler (Aucuparius), see Schmidt 1879: 2. 149-54.

10 *Diatribajacobi Wimpfeling*, as quoted in Wimpfeling 1965: 57. In his *Isidomus Germanicus* Wimpfeling had already insinuated that because of Mantuan's high stylistic polish and the fact that he writes about Christian subjects and themes, his poetry can be used to teach whatever had up to now been acquired from Virgil's poems: "Est et baptista mantuanus in quo nunc de cetero reuera puer edoceri potest quicquid ex virgilio hactenus poterat adipisci" (sig. C4^V).

11 In discussing Wimpfeling and his educational program I have found generally useful Dieter Mertens, "Jakob Wimpfeling, Padagogischer Humanismus" in *Humanismus in deutschen Siidwesten* 35-56 and Schmidt 1879: 1. 1-188; 2. 317-40. A good short introduction in English is given by James Overfield's "Jakob Wimpfeling" (1997) in the *Dictionary of Uteraty Biography*, Lewis Spitz 1963: 41-60 remains helpful.

collection of eclogues was intended as part of this religious and morally based educational program, and, like his imagined schoolmaster, Jakob Wimpfeling together with Gallinarius set out to present a text free from venom.

Partly this was done in *argumenta* by which Gallinarius introduces the collection as a whole:

Perlege Mantoï ruralia carmina vatis Perlege
pastores lector amice iocos Non hie
lascium Coridonis laudat Alexim Pagina
nocturos nee docet ista dolos Fcemeineas
artes fastus conuicia fraudes Exprobrat: et
paphiae furta facesque dez Quot tenuis
sancta: sit honos et cura poesis Et scurras
grates regibus esse dolet Incepit vrbanos
vario discrimine mores Cstera de sacra
relligione canunt. (Mantuanus 1503: sig.
A6¹)

(Read through the rustic songs of Manto's poet; read through, well-disposed reader, the jests of shepherds. Not here does Corydon's page praise wanton Alexis nor does a page teach trickeries that belong to night-time. It reproaches the wiles, disdain, insults, and deceptions of women, and it reproves the Paphian goddess' stolen pleasures and flames of love. It grieves at how slight are sacred poesy's esteem and care, and it mourns that buffons are pleasing to kings. By varied discrimination it complains loudly about the customs of the city. The other pages sing of sacred devotion.)

No mention is made of Faustus's "honestus amor." Indeed, Gallinarius goes out of his way to emphasize the negative aspects of erotic love. Mantuan's eclogues will, of course, have none of Corydon's homoeroticism and women's wily arts (an obsessive theme of Mantuan's fourth eclogue). But love is seen in GaHinarius's *argumenta* only as "furta" and "faces," stolen pleasures and flames of the goddess of love, and in terms of "nocturnes dolos," the nighttime tricks on display in Roman elegiac poetry, a world Mantuan was at pains in his first eclogue to absorb into what ultimately became Faustus's communal, workaday life (Piepho 1993: 250-51).

Religious themes are briefly mentioned only in the last line of Gallinarius's poem. But given the selection and arrangement of the works included in his edition Wimpfeling's moral and spiritual concerns by no means went unrepresented. The tide page announces that the volume will include Mantuan's eclogues with two other major works. The first is a hymn in

elegiacs on John the Baptist that immediately follows Mantuan's pastoral poems. The choice seems an odd one to give to schoolboys, especially since, unlike his collection of eclogues, the poem has no commentary. The main reason for its selection and, indeed, its link with Mantuan's pastoral poems lies, I think, in his praise of John for fleeing the "multivola turba," the crowd of people who lust after many things, so as to live an eremitic version of a pastoral life in the wilderness. Because of his way of living there John had long been considered a monk and held in high repute by the monastic orders, none more so than the Carmelites who, viewing themselves as descended from Elijah's followers, traditionally saw him as a member of their order. As such, Mantuan's description of John echoes the life on Mount Carmel held out to Pollux and echoes the exhortation to his order that concludes his collection of eclogues: "Ferte per antiquas patrum vestigia gressus [...] figite in antiquis iterum magalia campis" ("walk in the footsteps of your forefathers [...] build your huts again in the fields of old"; Mantuanus 1989: 99, 98).

The rejection of a larger social world that Gallinarius emphasizes in his selection of Mantuan's poem on the Baptist only fully opens out, however, in the other major poem announced on his title page, Hermannus Buschius's (Hermann von dem Busche) *Oda de contemnendo mundo & amanda sola virtute & saentia*. Buschius's sweeping title pretty much says it all. The world is to be condemned, the poem's speaker laughing at a numbingly long catalogue of the world's glories: e. g., the relentless pursuit of riches, the fragile beauty of young women ("puellarem fragilem decorem"), the sumptuous displays of Sybaris and Persia. Only "virtus" never wearies, only the glory of a knowledge of how to live never dies.

Gallinarius intertwines the eremitic, inward turn of these two poems in his selection of poems with the negative view of erotic love announced in his *argumenta* to Mantuan's eclogues. John, for instance, is bidden by Mantuan to be merciful towards all young men, specifically to temper the impulses of their passions ("impetus furoris" fol. 85¹). On the whole, however, if in this respect Mantuan's voice dominates the beginning of Gallinarius's edition, Wimpfeling and his friends loom over its conclusion. This is especially true of a short poem by Joannes Immolarius, whom Wimpfeling knew when he was a canon in the cathedral at Speyer. Warning young men to avoid marrying whores, Immolarius is striking in his nastiness. The wine, he concludes, pleased other men. Why should you be pleased only with the dregs? (sig. pV¹) The placement of Immolarius's poem is, I think, important. Coming immediately after Mantuan's hymn to the Baptist it was clearly intended to serve as a gloss on the passionate impulses John had been bidden to protect young men against.

The last word in the collection significantly went to Wimpfeling, and it is a bleak one. Following two epitaphs it is a distich addressed to "omnes," all of us readers, who are destined to die. In our days on earth only death is certain. The wise man will therefore take counsel, Wimpfeling warns us, and have a care for his soul (sig. p7").

Needless to say, the spirit of *contemptus mundi* and the cynicism and distrust shown towards women and marriage in these concluding poems utterly destroy the balances set up between erotic love and religious devotion and between Mantuan's three pastoral worlds in his collection of eclogues. Moreover they seriously call into question the quality of Wimpfeling's educational program to reform German society. Several times during the 1490s he had considered withdrawing to a life of cenobitic solitude, and an unresolved tension between this eremitic impulse and his commitment to social reform seems to me to mark this edition of Mantuan's eclogues. On the one hand Wimpfeling's prefatory letter shows his interest in using the Italian poet's stylistic excellence and morality to raise the level of German education and society. On the other hand he and Gallinarius intensified the eremitic inflection in the second, 1504 printing of their collection by concluding it with Mantuan's *De vita beata*. This is a prose treatise Mantuan wrote on first entering the Carmelite order, and despite the echo in its title of Seneca's *De vita beata* the two speakers in his dialogue are aspiring young monks concerned about how to live a pious life not in the larger world but within the cloister's solitude.

What might Mantuan have thought of this edition? Any answer to this question is complicated by the presence of a distich ascribed to him that appears at the beginning of it (Mantuanus 1503: sig. a2^r):

Disthycon Baptista; Mantuani praeceptoribus crebro et fideliter pueris et adolescentibus proponendum et inculcandum: vt ad letam senectam veniant: ac tranquillam conscientiam senes habeant.

Cur tibi tam levis est? cur tam iocunda senectus?
Libera quod viciis tola iuuenta fuit?¹²

¹² The interrogative mood of the second line, doubtless rhetorical, is missing from the text printed in Mantuanus 1502: sig. cclxxx¹.

(A Distich by Baptista Mantuanus addressed to instructors that is to be frequently and firmly set forth and inculcated in boys and young men so that they might come to a happy old age and have as old men an undisturbed conscience.

Why is your old age so unburdened? Why is it so pleasant? Is it because all your youth was free from vice?)

In relation to the *adulescentia* of Mantuan's title this short poem emphasizes in the clearest possible terms that the best path through youth is a life wholly free from vice. This will be Pollux's way. But it was certainly not the course of Faustus's love affair, a secret meeting between Galla and him being described in Mantuan's first eclogue as a "scelus," a crime. Mantuan's distich would therefore seem to be a retrospective reevaluation, siding with the inflection given by Wimpfeling and GaUnarius to the collection as a whole.

But did Mantuan write the poem for this edition? It is included on one page as the last of a group of four short lyrics, the first of which, a four-line poem in praise of the friendship of Thomas Wolf and Albert de Rathsamhausen, Mantuan composed when the two men visited him in 1500. The other two poems are likewise fugitive works that Wolf and de Rathsamhausen probably brought back with them from Italy.¹³ But the concluding distich was by no means new, having been printed in a quite different context long before Wimpfeling's version of the *Adulescentia*.

It is in fact one of a series of distichs in a compilation of poems first printed in 1484 (*Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* 3. 323) that are addressed to Falcone de' Sinibaldi, Protonotary and Apostolic Treasurer under Innocent VIII during the 1480s.¹⁴ The addressee ("tibi") of Mantuan's poem was his patron in Rome and, praised under the name of "Falco" in his ninth eclogue, the Carmelite poet's hope for serious reform within the Papal Curia. The title given to the distich in the Strasbourg edition suggests a moralizing, general identity for the figure it addresses and praises. But the title belongs to

¹³ The poem on Wolf and de Rathsamhausen appears among a group appended to Mantuan's *Sylvae* in his *Opera* (1502), sig. cxviii'. The other two poems, an inscription for the cathedral at Mantua and a short piece on an apostate priest, did not appear in this edition but were picked up in the *Opera* (1576).

¹⁴ *Ad Falconem libellus in epigrammatis*, the title given to the collection on the tide page of the *Opera* (1502). Special thanks are due to Anne Bouscharain for pointing out the source of Mantuan's distich.

Gallinarius; as one of a series of epigrams addressed to de' Sinibaldi the tide in Mantuan's compilation is simply "Ad eundem." In Gallinarius's tide there is no specific hint of the extraordinary ecclesiastic whom Mantuan so revered in his eclogues and other poetry.

Indeed, a textual peculiarity in the second Strasbourg edition, printed in 1504, suggests that GaUnarius might have grown uneasy about misrepresenting the Italian poet. Mantuan's other three poems all appear in this edition. But the distich together with its misleading title has mysteriously disappeared.

With or without the support of Mantuan's poem the Strasbourg *Adulescentiawas* in the short term remarkably successful throughout northern Europe. In his letter Wolf speaks of a first printing of a thousand copies, a very substantial run for the time. And there were (on Miriam Crisman's census) to be eleven further printings in Strasbourg alone (Chrisman 1982: 148), with editions (to go no further) at Tübingen, Deventer, and Hagenau.¹⁵

A printing appeared at Cologne in 1521,¹⁶ but although editions with Badius' commentary continued to be published well into the eighteenth century, there were to be no further appearances of Mantuan's eclogues in the format put together by Gallinarius and Wimpfeling. Its disappearance may in part have been due to the sort of man Wimpfeling was. Unbending and disputatious, he seems never to have been able to make a permanent place for himself, not even at Strasbourg. Significantly his most important educational proposal, to establish a broadly-based middle school to prepare children of the town for university studies, came to naught under his leadership and had to await the coming of the Protestant reformer Johann Sturm and the evangelical gymnasium he founded at Strasbourg during the 1530s.

Indeed, whatever immediate problems there may have been, the main reason for the long-term failure of Wimpfeling's version of Mantuan's eclogues surely lies with the coming of the Protestant Reformation. Mantuan's eremetically-oriented pastoral worlds and, still more, Wimpfeling's attraction to them occupied a brief historical moment. As confessional divides widened with the coming of Luther, many readers turned away from the monastic reformation championed by Mantuan and supported by Wimpfeling's edition. Ulrich Kopp has pointed out that readers in Protestant areas of the Reich

¹⁵ Items 197, 213, 234, 277 (Tübingen), 44 (Deventer), and 294 (Hagenau) in Coccia 50, 52, 61, 28, 65.

¹⁶ Item 339 in Coccia 72.

began to look for like-minded writers such as Georg Fabricius Chemnicensis and Johannes Stigel. And conversely, Kopp notes, the edition of Mantuan's collected works done at Antwerp in 1576 was almost certainly printed with the expectation of good sales among followers of the Church at Rome (Kopp 127-8).

What happened to Mantuan's pastoral worlds in the literature of Protestant England during the second half of the sixteenth century will perhaps suggest some specific reasons why Wimpfeling's version of the *Adulescentia* lost favor. In the "July" eclogue in his *Shepherd's Calendar* Edmund Spenser adapted a large portion of Mantuan's praise of mountain-top pastoral worlds in his seventh eclogue. But where mountains are holy places for the Italian Carmelite and for one speaker in Spenser's poem, for the other speaker they have no intrinsic value. Only the holy men who once dwelt on them are to be venerated:

The hylls, where dwelled holy saints,
 I reuerence and adore: Not for
 themselfe, but for the sayncts,
 which ban be dead of yore And nowe
 they bene to heauen forewent,
 theyr good is with them goe:
 Theyr sample onely to vs lent,
 That als we mought doe soe.
 (Spenser 125, lines 112-20)

What attracted Protestant writers in England was not Mantuan's eremitic pastoral worlds but rather the attack in his ninth eclogue on corruption within the Papal Curia (Piepho 2001: 94-98). Thus when George Turberville had a translation of the *Aditlescentia* printed in 1567, he excluded Mantuan's concluding eclogue, on reform within the cloistered pastoral world of the Carmelite order, from his version of the collection. Why should English Protestants be interested in a monastic reformation?

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