This is the first comprehensive study of the school curriculum in medieval and Renaissance Italy. Robert Black’s analysis finds that the real innovators in the history of Latin education in Italy were the thirteenth-century schoolmasters who introduced a new method of teaching grammar based on logic, and their early fourteenth-century successors, who first began to rely on the vernacular as a tool to teach Latin grammar. Thereafter, in the later fourteenth and for most of the fifteenth century, conservatism, not innovation, characterized the earlier stages of education. The study of classical texts in medieval Italian schools reached a highpoint in the twelfth century but then collapsed as universities rose in importance during the thirteenth century, a sharp decline only gradually reversed in the two centuries that followed. Robert Black demonstrates that the famous humanist educators did not introduce the revolution in the classroom that is usually assumed, and that humanism did not make a significant impact on school teaching until the later fifteenth century.

*Humanism and Education* is a major contribution to Renaissance studies, to Italian history and to the history of European education, the fruit of sustained manuscript research over many years.

A woodcut from Niccolò Perotti's *Rudimenta grammaticae*, published by Christophorus Pesis at Venice in 1495. Copyright: The British Library. The woodcut illustrates the full grammar curriculum of an Italian Renaissance school. Elementary education is represented by the child on the right holding an alphabet table / psalter (reproduced here with a typical handle). On the left is a slightly more advanced pupil who has moved beyond the psalter to the parts of speech (Donatus); his own psalter is shown cast aside on the floor. Beyond him is a disciplinary whip. The pupils on the right appear younger than those facing them; the former seem to represent the level of secondary Latin grammar while the latter are possibly beginning the study of rhetoric and letter writing. It is significant that the pupils in the school have their own textbooks, illustrating pupil ownership of schoolbooks in Italian education, a practice documented as far back as the thirteenth century. This illustration may constitute an advertisement for Perotti’s own textbook, published here, which covered the whole range of Latin grammatical education, from the alphabet and parts of speech, through secondary grammar (syntax), up to elementary rhetoric and letter writing.
HUMANISM AND EDUCATION IN MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE ITALY

Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century

ROBERT BLACK
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This book is dedicated to my wife, Jane, and my two daughters, Emily and Alison.

School of History
University of Leeds
31 January 2000
### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aesop</td>
<td>Fabulae, tr. Walter the Englishman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambros.</td>
<td>Milan Biblioteca Ambrosiana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASA</td>
<td>Arezzo Archivio di Stato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prov. Deliberazioni del Consiglio Generale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASF</td>
<td>Florence Archivio di Stato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CSTrozz. Carte Strozziane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MAP Mediceo avanti il Principato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASI</td>
<td>Archivio storico italiano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASPCD</td>
<td>Prato Archivio di Stato Comune Diurni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASPistoia</td>
<td>Pistoia Archivio di Stato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prov. Consigli Proversioni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASSColle</td>
<td>Siena Archivio di Stato Comune di Colle Valdelsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASSG</td>
<td>San Gimignano Archivio storico comunale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NN Serie NN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASU</td>
<td>Udine Archivio di Stato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avianus</td>
<td>Fabulae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAV</td>
<td>Vatican City Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archi. S. Pietro Archivio San Pietro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Barb. Lat. Barberiniano Latino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ott. Lat. Ottoboniano Latino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pal. Lat. Palatino Latino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urb. Lat. Urbinate Latino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reg. Lat. Reginense Latino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vat. Lat. Vaticano Latino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BL</td>
<td>London British Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Add. Additional manuscripts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Royal Royal manuscripts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BML</td>
<td>Florence Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AD Acquisti e doni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ashb. Ashburnham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ashb. Append. Ashburnham Appendice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CS Conventi Soppressi</td>
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<td></td>
<td>.dst. destro</td>
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</table>
List of abbreviations

Edili
Edili
Med. Fies.
Mediceo Fiesolano
Med. Pal.
Mediceo Palatino
Pt.
Plutei
sup.
supereiore
sin.
sinistro

BNCF
Florence Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale
CS
Fondo Conventi Soppressi
Landau Fin.
Fondo Landau Finaly
Magl.
Fondo Magliabechiano
Magl. Append.
Magliabechiano Appendice
NA
Nuove accessioni
Pal.
Fondo Palatino
Panciat.
Fondo Panciatichiano

BNP
Paris Bibliothèque Nationale
N. Acq.
Nouvelles Acquisitions
Sorb.
Sorbonne

Bodley
Oxford Bodleian Library
Can. lat.
Canonici classici latini
Can. misc.
Canonici miscellanei
Lat. class.
Latini classici
Lat. misc.
Latin miscellaneous
Laud Lat.
Laudenses latini
Rawl.
Rawlinson manuscripts

Boethius
Consolatio philosophiae

Bonvesin
Bonvesin da la Riva Vita scolastica

BRF
Florence Biblioteca Riccardiana

Cato
pseudo-Cato Disticha

Cicero
O = De officiis, A = De amicitia, S = De senectute,
SS = Somnium Scipionis, P = Paradoxa stoicorum,
DT = Disputationes tuscanae

Claudian
De raptu Proserpinae

DBI
Dizionario biografico degli italiani, Rome 1960–

Geoffrey
Geoffrey of Vinsauf Poetria nova

GSLI
Giornale storico della letteratura italiana

GW
Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, Leipzig 1925–

Hain
Ludwig Hain, Repertorium bibliographicum, Stuttgart
1826–36

Henry
Henry of Settimello Elegia

Horace
AP = Ars poetica, S = Sermons, E = Epistolar,
CS = Carmen sacrale, Epo. = Epodes, O = Carmina

IGI
Indice generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche d’Italia, ed.
T. M. Guarnaschelli and D. Valenziani, Rome 1943–81
List of abbreviations

BMU Italia medievale e umanistica
JHI Journal of the History of Ideas
John the Abbot De septem viciis et septem virtutibus
JWCI Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes
MSV Miscellanea storica della Valdelsa
n.n. not numbered
Ovid Met. = Metamorphoses, Her. = Heroides, AA = Ars amatoria, RA = Remedia amoris
Plimpton New York Columbia University Plimpton manuscripts
Prosper Epigrammata (ed. PL, 51.499–532) and Poema consugi ad axorem (ed. PL, 51.611–16); these texts are normally presented as one work without a break (see below, p. 90)
Prudentius D = Prudentius Dittocaeon, P = Psychomachia
Pseudo-Boethians De disciplina scolariarum
RPL Res publica litterarum
Sallust BJ = Bellum Catilinae, BJ = Bellum Jugurthinum
Seneca Tragediae
SM Studi medievali
sn. signum
Statius A = Achilleis, T = Thebais
STC Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in Italy and of Italian Books Printed in Other Countries from 1465 to 1600 now in the British Museum, London 1958
Val. Max. Valerius Maximus Facta et dicta
Vergil A = Aeneid, E = Eclogues, G = Georgics
WOM Word-order marks
Editorial note regarding citations from manuscripts and publications

1 Vernacular glosses are indicated in italics.
2 [ ] means that letters or words enclosed appear in the manuscript but are thought to be erroneous; they are also used to enclose editorial comments such as [sic] [MS:] [space].
3 < > means that letters or words have been added for the sake of coherence; their omission may have been due to scribal error, or they may no longer be legible.
4 Letters or words enclosed in round brackets () indicate an uncertain expansion of an abbreviation.
5 Question marks immediately following letters or words indicate an uncertain reading.
6 Italicized words indicate a lemma.
7 = is used to indicate an interlinear gloss. What appears on the left of the sign is the word or phrase being glossed; on the right, the gloss itself.
8 {} occasionally enclose an interlinear gloss which is supplying an understood word: e.g. {ego} inquam.
9 In the case of Boethius’s *Consolation of Philosophy*, (t, p. 1, 1) or (t, m. 1, 1) and so on refer to the relevant prose passage or metre line of the Bieler 1984 edition.
10 The orthography and latinity of the manuscripts have been retained, although the punctuation and capitalization have been modernized. Sic has been indicated where there is a notable or gross divergence from correct grammatical or classical usage.
11 Folios will normally be indicated without the abbreviations fol., fo., f., or ff.
12 Normally manuscripts from the Plutei series in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana will be cited without Pl. Thus Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Pluteo 36.28 will be cited as BML 36.28. When a number of manuscripts from the Plutei are listed in
sequence (for example in ch. 4 or in Appendices iv and vi), the manuscripts will be listed in numerical order, not in the order they appear in Bandini’s catalogues and in the card indices of the library (where manuscripts from Santa Croce with Plutei numbers including sin. or dxt. follow higher numbers from the principal collection, e.g. 24 sin. 5 after 76.23 and so on).

13 / = new verse or new line.

14 // = new folio.

14 Unless otherwise indicated, all dates have been modernized.
A note on chronological terminology

I have used a number of chronological terms in a conventionalized manner; no interpretation or greater significance is meant to be implied thereby.

later antiquity 300–600 AD
early middle ages 600–1000
Dark Ages 600–900
high middle ages 1000–1200
later middle ages 1200–1400
middle ages/medieval 600–1400
Renaissance 1400–1600
pre-humanist 1250–1400
humanist 1450–1600
Duecento thirteenth century
Trecento fourteenth century
Quattrocento fifteenth century
Cinquecento sixteenth century

In discussing manuscript glosses, the term 'contemporaneous' is used to described a writer working at about the same time as the copyist.

Dates according to centuries are indicated by Roman numerals (XVc.). XV\textsuperscript{1/2}: first half of the fifteenth century; XV\textsuperscript{1/4}: first quarter of fifteenth century; XVmid: mid fifteenth century; XIV/XVc: turn of the fifteenth century; XVex.: 1490–1500; XVin.: 1400–10; and so on.