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***Latin and vernacular in Florence  
during the mid-1430s***

[stampato in *City, Court, Academy. Language Choice in Early Modern Italy*. Edited by Eva Del Soldato and Andrea Rizzi, London and New York, Routledge, 2018, pp. 47-64]\*

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### 3 Latin and vernacular in Florence during the mid-1430s

*Luca Boschetto*

Two considerations have shaped this examination of the relationship between Latin and the vernacular in Florence in the mid-1430s – the period, that is, during which Pope Eugenius IV and the ecumenical council of the Roman Catholic church (the *Concilio*) were in Florence. First, this period is of great interest to anyone wishing to study the relationship between language and different cultures, given that life in Florence for a decade after 1434 was characterized by the presence of a considerable number of people originating from distant and differing parts of the world. Second, thanks for the most part to writers occupied with *studia humanitatis*, some of the most original and popular works of literature in the vernacular were produced in these years. There resulted an irreversible shift in language use that would be a basis for the subsequent flowering of vernacular literature in the era of Lorenzo de' Medici.

I begin this chapter outlining the respective positions occupied by Latin and the vernacular in the broad context of the first half of the fifteenth century. Subsequently, I attempt a different reading of key texts relating to the debate of 1435 between the humanists of the Pontifical Curia and the Chancellor of the Florentine Republic, Leonardo Bruni. Conducted in the papal apartments of Santa Maria Novella, this famous debate tackled the question of the language spoken by the ancient Romans. Particular attention is given to the relationship between these texts, especially Biondo Flavio's *De verbis Romanae locutionis*, and the broader popular milieu. This new examination of the subject allows for a closer look at the purported date of the preface to the third book of the *Della famiglia*, and the *Grammatica della lingua toscana*, the two texts by Leon Battista Alberti which represent his greatest contribution to linguistic theory.<sup>1</sup>

#### Latin and vernacular in the first half of Quattrocento

From 1434 to 1436, and then again between 1439 and 1443, Eugenius IV and his retinue were based in Florence. The rise of vernacular literature in Florence during the years when the Curia resided there is, at least at first glance, surprising. In just a few short years, between the pope's arrival in

the city in 1434 and the temporary union of the Latin and Greek churches that occurred in July 1439, we see, to cite a small number of titles, the appearance of: the *Vita civile* by Matteo Palmieri; Alberti's *De pictura* and the *Grammatica della lingua toscana*, which at the time completed the *Della famiglia*; Bruni's *Vite di Dante e del Petrarca*, and Giannozzo Manetti's *Dialogus consolatorius*. Simply stated, this brief but intense period of production may be considered to have already ended by the time of the public poetry competition (*Certame coronario*) held in 1441. Yet the results of those few short years continue to amaze, especially considering that in the preceding decades concerted efforts had been made to denigrate and discourage vernacular literature.

On the domestic front, in the face of the expansion of humanistic Latin at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the vernacular was placed on the defensive – as demonstrated by the accusations made against Dante Alighieri and the great writers of the fourteenth century by the character Niccolò Niccoli in the first book of Bruni's *Dialogi ad Petrum Paulum Histrum*. (Petrarch, of course, had already characterized Dante as a poet suited for the most part to “wool weavers” and “bakers.”)<sup>2</sup> Further, one should not forget Francesco Filelfo's presence in Florence at the beginning of the 1430s. At least at the level of programmatic statements, Filelfo declared that use of one's mother tongue should be restricted to matters relating to the domestic sphere, which is to say to subjects of scant importance.<sup>3</sup> In the broader context, on the other hand, the pope's arrival in Florence meant that the same Eugenius IV, caught up in a bitter wrangle with the Council of Basel, was obliged to assume a benevolent attitude toward supporters of the *humanae litterae*, on whom he depended for the realization of his agenda for religious reform.<sup>4</sup>

Real as they were, these two forces should not, however, cause us to forget that the atmosphere of those first decades of the fifteenth century was not unfavorable toward the vernacular. In his famous essay of 1946 on the origins and development of Italian prose writing, Paul Oskar Kristeller first emphasized that the *Quattrocento* did not, at least in Tuscany, signify a decline in the use of the vernacular. This absence of a decline can also be ascribed to an expansion into new areas of expression, including “a marked increase in the use of the vernacular in public documents of a domestic nature,” as well as abundant use of the vernacular in civic and religious oratory (a prominent feature of Tuscan life at the time). Kristeller's assertion corrected a considerable number of earlier prejudices regarding the fifteenth century, and one need only leaf through any number of histories of literature, or of the Italian language, to confirm just how definitively it was accepted by later historians.<sup>5</sup> Admittedly, not all the lines of inquiry suggested in that illuminating essay were followed up with equal determination. Whereas recognizing, for example, the recent decades of work on the translation of classic texts into the vernacular, or on oratory and preaching, it is worth noting that the great vernacular archives left to us by the

Florentine Republic (primarily the thousands of records left by the *Catasto* of 1427) are yet to have their linguistic and socio-cultural significance examined in a systematic fashion.<sup>6</sup>

Our appreciation of literary texts, however, has been greatly enriched in recent years with the focus mainly on the works of those authors mentioned above. Without doubt, all of these men shared a recognition of the potential of the Tuscan language, and a commitment to elevating its prestige by way of its adoption in humanistic works. And this is so despite explicit declarations on the part of some of those authors themselves, who often subscribed to the traditional notion that the vernacular was the language of commoners, to be used only when one needed to be understood by all citizens. In contrast, an examination of their writings demonstrates that they adopted the Tuscan language in order that Florentine readers of the vernacular might enjoy first-rate works of the highest stylistic quality.<sup>7</sup>

Alberti provides a good example of such adoption with his work on painting written between 1435 and 1436 in the Tuscan language. This treatise filled a void in classical literature itself. Lucia Bertolini has eloquently demonstrated the precedence of the vernacular version of *De pictura* in relation to the Latin version. Against past assumptions, Bertolini shows that the Latin version resulted from Alberti's self-translation, clear evidence that, in the Florentine context (the main subject of *De pictura* is Florentine artists and painters), subjects of undeniable innovation could be written about in the vernacular.<sup>8</sup> One could not hope for greater confirmation of Alberti's "complete bilingualism" (Guglielmo Gorni's phrase); as a writer Alberti should be considered original and groundbreaking for his experimentation in both the vernacular and Latin.<sup>9</sup>

With his *Vita civile* Palmieri undertook to compose an ambitious treatise in the vernacular. Having been advised by colleagues to avoid using his mother tongue for writing technical works, formerly Palmieri had maintained a certain reserve with respect to the use of the vernacular. Perhaps he was attempting to recreate in the vernacular a text that dealt with the themes of Cicero's *De republica*, a work believed lost at the time.<sup>10</sup> Although the text of the *Vita civile* was written over a short period, we also know that the author continued to rework it, Latinizing the lexicon and standardizing the spelling. That is, the revisions accorded with a practice already prevalent in Coluccio Salutati's time of normalizing the vernacular. This subject would be taken up again with surprising rigor by Alberti in his *Grammatica della lingua toscana*.<sup>11</sup>

The humanistic practice of self-translation was a phenomenon that constituted one of the defining innovations during the first half of the fifteenth-century in Florence. Even Manetti, who could hardly be described as avant-garde, followed the practice when writing in prose. Between 1438 and 1439, he translated his own *Dialogus consolatorius* – a work written in commemoration of the death of his son – from Latin into the vernacular. (The tendency is further demonstrated by the example of Alberti, who in

that same year sent the vernacular version of one of his Latin *Intercenales*, *Uxoria*, to Piero de' Medici.) Again, it is significant that a recent study of the two versions of the *Dialogus consolatorius* has shown how Manetti, having written the work in Tuscan, made the most of the opportunity of a new edition, correcting factual errors of the Latin version, expanding the existing quotations, even refining the style of the text in pursuit of a vernacular elegance in keeping with the spirit of humanism.<sup>12</sup>

### The oral dimension of the 1435 debate

It is impossible, however, to discuss the relationship between Latin and the vernacular in these years without dealing with the central issue of the 1435 debate between Bruni and the humanists in the service of Eugenius IV – namely, the language spoken by the ancient Romans. The content of the debate, which would continue to unfold throughout the fifteenth century, with contributions from Guarino Veronese, Poggio Bracciolini, Francesco Filelfo, and Lorenzo Valla, is considered to have begun with *De verbis Romanae locutionis* (or *de locutione romana*), a pamphlet written by Flavio in March 1435, and sent to Bruni in the following month. Bruni replied with a letter dated May 7, 1435.<sup>13</sup>

Flavio's epistle has been the subject of scholarly attention. In his text, the humanist from Forlì for the most part elaborates Bruni's thesis that the ancient Romans conducted their orations in a language governed by strict grammatical conventions; a language that was the sole domain of the educated classes, and one that existed alongside a popular spoken idiom which, in contrast, was less formalized. This was equivalent to drawing a parallel between ancient Rome and Quattrocento Italy, where Latin existed alongside vernacular idioms. Flavio maintained, however, that the ancient Romans "made do" with a single language – Latin, albeit endowed with a number of different registers and styles. In the setting of ancient Rome, classical Latin was considered a living language, Flavio argued. As such, it was subject to those profound historical transformations capable, in combination with the fall of the Roman Empire and the Barbarian invasions, of leading to the genesis of what would become the spoken idioms of *Quattrocento* Italy and the other communities associated with the Romance languages.<sup>14</sup>

The present chapter offers a new reading of Flavio's well-known letter. I hear in this document echoes of the many voices that would have filled the air of Florence, when, during Lent of 1435, the "winds of March" were blowing and Flavio decided to record, in written form, the main arguments of the debate among humanists. The diverse linguistic reality that characterized Florence in the mid-1430s was beating at the doors of the papal palace in Santa Maria Novella, where Flavio's text situates the discussion between the Florentine Chancellor and the pope's secretaries.<sup>15</sup>

As mentioned, the linguistic reality in Florence at the time was very varied, the city streets having been literally invaded by the papal court and its

retinue: thousands of people, that is, including pontifical functionaries and their respective *familiae*, as well as merchants and artisans *Romanam curiam sequentes*, all of diverse origins. The arrival of the pontiff, and then the *Concilio*, enriched city life; Florence became exposed to the many public discussions which the Curia brought with it, a further addition to the rich cultural panorama already existing in Florence. Florentines would have been well aware of this new situation, which they lived with greater intensity from 1439 onward, the period of the *Concilio*, when an unprecedented number of diverse accents began to intermingle in Florence's churches, palaces, and streets.<sup>16</sup>

Flavio's *De verbis* contains information about contemporary diplomatic language, because in the fifteenth century there was a return to Latin eloquence in diplomatic speeches.<sup>17</sup> There are details on religious orations, with a curious reference to a contemporary episode in which a boy named Bartolomeo, who was less than five years old, and the son of a Florentine barber, having been coached by Ambrogio Traversari, delivered magnificent orations before the pope, to the great amazement of all present.<sup>18</sup> Finally, Flavio's text refers to vernacular expression, with recognition of the refined quality of spoken Florentine used by the urban upper classes, whose speech is described as "harmonious."<sup>19</sup>

Of particular interest is the attention given to what might be described as the linguistic Babel that was the Roman Curia. The servants of the Curia's functionaries, observes Flavio, are of the most diverse nationalities: French, German, English, Hungarian (and each of them obviously spoke their own language). Particularly emphasized with reference to these foreigners is their ability to understand discourses given in Latin, even if the same foreigners were unable to correctly construct similar discourses themselves, which, Flavio adds, is not necessarily to say that they lacked a rudimentary understanding of grammar.<sup>20</sup>

### *As the Florentines say*

To better understand the importance given in *De verbis* to living languages, it is useful to briefly consider a passage found at the beginning of Flavio's treatise, which to date – at least in my view – has not been adequately understood. Declaring that he intends to outline, with absolute clarity, the arguments for and against the two opposing theses, Flavio in fact resorts to a peculiar comparison: "The subject of this argument," he writes,

will be explained in such a clear manner that anyone, even those lacking specific juridical preparation [*jurisdicundi ignarus*], or, as the Florentines say, any kind of "iudex emporinus", will not hesitate in giving their judgement immediately and in a straightforward manner.<sup>21</sup>

Flavio's appreciation for Florence's linguistic reality is demonstrated by his insertion in the text of a reference to an expression in common parlance

in Florence, as made explicit by the clarification “ut dicere Florentini solent.” However, a precise explanation of this phrase, which in Latin is rendered “iudex emporinus,” remains difficult. The adjective “emporinus” is not to be found in classical Latin, nor, as far as can be ascertained, in Mediaeval Latin. It has been suggested that the expression could be understood to mean “giudice da Empoli” (judge of Empoli) or alternatively, as “giudice di piazza” (town-square judge), this second suggestion presumably intended to mean an informal adjudicator who satisfactorily resolves a dispute.<sup>22</sup>

My own impression is that in Flavio’s text here could be a very precise reference to the normal procedures of Florentine commercial law. Heading up the courts of the individual guilds were not legal experts, as might be expected, but rather artisans and merchants, who were called upon to make quick decisions using criteria based on equity, and using summary procedures free from the usual formality of legal proceedings: a practice to which the expression “faciliter et ex tempore sententiam ferre” may refer. Thus the adjective “emporinus” could have been coined by Flavio himself, through the joining of the adjectival suffix *-inus* with the noun “emporus” (that is, “mercante”).<sup>23</sup> He might have come across this noun – transliterating from the Greek – in the introduction to the *Mercator* by Plautus.<sup>24</sup> As such, the adjective would have the meaning of “mercantile,” and the expression “iudex emporinus” could be interpreted as “mercantile judge.” Regarding Flavio’s decision to borrow a term from the Latin playwright, this could have served two purposes: on the one hand, to recreate in Latin the flavor of an expression taken from the mouths of the Florentine people (“ut dicere Florentini solent”); on the other, to allude perhaps to the far from lofty social standing of these “lay” judges, making use of a suffix that in the vernacular would eventually be used to refer to various professions, for the most part linked, as has been observed, to the “artes sordidae.”<sup>25</sup> Perhaps Flavio intended that “emporinus” might echo “comitatinus,” meaning someone who lived outside the city, while placing the invented term in a position superior to that of the Mediaeval Latin term.<sup>26</sup>

Flavio was possibly also struck by the fact that in Florence the vernacular had long ago supplanted Latin in the courts of mercantile justice. This had occurred in the courts of the arts going back as far as 1414. In the Merchant Court, one of the largest commercial associations in the city, the change had taken place in 1355, a golden year of expansion in use of the vernacular in Florence – the same year saw the beginning of the campaign to vernacularize the city statutes, entrusted to Andrea Lancia. Undeniably such momentum behind use of the vernacular for formal, civic purposes placed the Tuscan city in an avant-garde position with respect to the broader Italian context, a situation consistent also with the expansion of Tuscan and Florentine in the area of commercial language, which had already been happening over a long period. It is worth remembering that, thanks to an agreement reached in 1434 between Eugenius IV and the city of Florence, many papal courtiers

brought their suits before the judges of the Merchant Court. This was in fact the tribunal intended for the resolution of disputes between them and Florentine citizens. As a result, Flavio had surely a firsthand knowledge of the procedures adopted in this court. Therefore, by using in this context the adjective *emporinus*, he probably invited humanist readers of the treatise to appreciate the richness and vitality of his Latin style; at the same time, he underlined the dominance acquired in Florence by the vernacular, referring to the exemplary case of the commercial justice.<sup>27</sup>

### The "strange and barbaric nations" in Flavio, Bruni, and Alberti

As is well known, the final pages of Flavio's treatise have had the greatest impact on the scholarly discussion about vernacular language and literature. Here Flavio is the first of the humanists to recognize the grammaticality of his mother tongue by observing that every speaker, despite having received no formal instruction, is capable of changing verbs into the required tenses and agreeing word endings. He is also the first to acknowledge the spoken language of his day as the product of the process of the transformation of Latin which had occurred following the fall of the Roman Empire and the Barbarian invasions.

With Flavio's observations as his starting point, and in open polemic with Bruni, while also following the example given by the ancient Romans, Alberti undertook his campaign to raise the standing of the modern vernacular to the level of Latin by using it to write on all manner of subjects. Alberti set out his ideas in the *Proemio* to the third book of the *Della famiglia*, and in his *Grammatica*, the latter being the first work to provide a systematic description of a vernacular language, spoken Florentine, which Alberti observed using his eccentric position of "foreigner."<sup>28</sup>

Alberti's contributions to the debate of 1435 has been a subject of great discussion in Albertian philology. For a long time, it was believed that the *Proemio* could not have been written earlier than 1437, nor the *Grammatica* prior to 1438. Recently, however, it has been suggested that both texts may have been written around the time of the exchange of letters between Flavio and Bruni. This hypothesis has the undeniable merit of more directly connecting Alberti's written contribution on vernacular language with the 1435 debate between those favoring the vernacular and supporters of Latin. Furthermore, particularly with reference to the *Proemio*, it would go some way toward explaining the incongruity of a work dedicated to a linguistic argument appearing at the beginning of a book that deals overwhelmingly with "economic" matters.<sup>29</sup> Some light may be shone on the question of the date of the *Proemio* if the text is compared to the Latin letters by Flavio and Bruni, and also to another work which is not usually directly linked to the debate of 1435. I am thinking here of Bruni's *Vite di Dante e del Petrarca*, written in May 1436, and which enjoyed immediate and great success. Of



interest here is the way in which Flavio, Bruni, and Alberti deal with the matter of the arrival in Italy of the barbarian populations.

In his letter of 1435, Flavio, who was the first to address the topic, gives sole credit for the fall of Rome to the Goths and the Vandals, which in turn paved the way for linguistic corruption. He states: "after the city was occupied by the Goths and the Vandals and they began to establish themselves there, it wasn't just a handful of people, but rather everyone who was polluted and sullied by Barbarian speech."<sup>30</sup> He is referring here to the taking of Rome that occurred in the fifth century CE, first at the hands of Alaric, king of the Goths, and then, a few decades later, at the hands of Genseric, king of the Vandals. A few years later, incidentally, in his *Italia illustrata*, Flavio would specify that the decisive phase in the crisis of the Latin language coincided with the arrival in the peninsula of the Germanic Lombards; at the time of his exchange with Bruni, Flavio claimed, he had not yet understood a process that would later seem obvious – once, that is, an examination of the documents from the Lombard era had been undertaken, which in fact he had now done.<sup>31</sup>

With reference to the decline in quality of Latin writing, Bruni believed that this was due to deterioration in the standard of notarial documents written in the centuries of the barbarian invasions:

And there came over into Italy the Goths and the Lombards, barbarous and foreign nations who in fact almost extinguished all understandings of letters, as appears in the documents drawn up and circulated in those times; for one could find no writing more prosaic or more gross and coarse.<sup>32</sup>

Let us now examine what Alberti has to say on the matter in the *Proemio* to the third book of his *Della famiglia*. Like Bruni, in discussing the fall of Rome, Alberti blamed the Lombards, but only after having mentioned, just as Flavio had done, the Goths and the Vandals: "Italy was repeatedly occupied and subjected to various nations: the Gauls, the Goths, the Vandals, the Lombards, and other like harsh and barbarous peoples" – who, as well as barbarian, were also described as "newly arrived [foreigners]."<sup>33</sup>

A comparison of these three passages indicates that the list of barbarian peoples progressively expands between Flavio's letter (in which he speaks of "Goths" and "Vandals"), Bruni's *Vite di Dante e del Petrarca* (where, in contrast, the author speaks of "Lombards" and "Goths"), and Alberti's *Proemio* (where mention is made of Goths, Vandals, and Lombards). Alberti's *Proemio* seems to draw both on Flavio's mention of the invasions in his letter, and on Bruni's statements on the matter, reworking both into what may be considered an original synthesis.

By comparing the passage taken from Bruni to that written by Alberti, one has the impression that the texts are not entirely independent of one another. That is, it seems particularly likely that while writing the *Proemio*,

Alberti had Bruni's treatise in the forefront of his mind. In support of this hypothesis, apart from the identical reference to Lombards, there is also the common presence of the terms "Italia," "nazioni," and "barbare" – although it should also be acknowledged that all of these terms appeared in the general Prologue to the *Della famiglia*, on which the *Proemio* undoubtedly was meant to build.<sup>34</sup> Nor is it irrelevant, in terms of establishing a link between the two texts, that the diffusion of the *Vite di Dante e del Petrarca*, which was rapid and considerable (more than a hundred and fifty codices have survived to the present day), greatly outstripped the circulation of the third book of *Della famiglia*.<sup>35</sup>

If the writing process did unfold in the manner suggested here, May 1436, the date of the publication of the *Vite di Dante e del Petrarca*, would also constitute the *terminus post quem* with regard to the composition of Alberti's *Proemio*. Thanks to the connection, not just to the Latin letters of Biondo and Bruni, but also to the *Vite di Dante e del Petrarca*, Alberti's text can be more firmly tied to the humanist debate that took place in Florence in the fourth decade of the fifteenth century.

### Languages in "contact" in Alberti's *Grammatica*

There remains one final observation to make with regard to the three passages examined above. That is, at the head of Alberti's list there is a fourth barbarian "nazione," identified through the term "Gallici." This word warrants some attention, for it appears in the only section of the *Grammatica* in which, alongside Tuscan, Alberti mentions not Latin, but another vernacular idiom of the period.<sup>36</sup> Who, then, are the Galls included in the *Proemio*? Historiographical knowledge suggests that by placing the term at the beginning of a list that progresses chronologically, Alberti is referring to the ancient Celtic settlement in the north of Italy which culminated in the famous episode, recounted by Livy, of the conquest of Rome (excluding the Campidoglio) on the part of populations led by Brennus in 390 BCE. In this instance Alberti certainly invokes the episode more for its symbolic value in Roman historiography than for its presumed linguistic impact.<sup>37</sup>

Turning to the *Grammatica*, we can confirm that, at the conclusion of the section concerning adverbs, Alberti notes that these are formed in the vernacular with the suffix – *mente*.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, he notes how this mirrors the Gallic language, evidently referring, with this term, to the French language of the time: "Item, like the Gallic language, Tuscan language takes singular feminine adjectives and adds – *mente*, using them as adverbs, like *saviamente*, *bellamente*, *magramente*."<sup>39</sup> Therefore the languages evoked in this passage are two: the mother tongue, "Tuscan," and French, the "lingua gallica," both of them living languages. In relation to the use of the term "gallico," it can be asked whether between the *Proemio* and the *Grammatica* there is perhaps a more subtle connection. In other words, in making that observation in the *Grammatica*, could it be that Alberti was seeking to

create a link with Biondo's thesis regarding the "catastrophe" that overcame Latin after the barbarian invasions? On reflection, the similarity between modern French and the adverbial structure that Alberti describes for Tuscan vernacular, which does not exist in Latin, could have been sufficient to cast a shadow, in Alberti's eyes, over this feature of the Tuscan language; a feature which, to some degree, can be traced back to the ancient Celtic population.<sup>40</sup>

Moving from theoretical to more practical aspects of Alberti's vernacular works, it is possible to make a surprising observation that seems to confirm the hypothesis regarding the question of the "Gallici," and thus of a correlation between the *Proemio* and the *Grammatica*. Analysis of the diachronic development of Alberti's vernacular lexicon reveals that from the middle of the 1430s, in all of his works, Alberti more or less equally used adverbs ending with the suffix *-mente* alongside basic adjectives that functioned as adverbs – a form clearly based on the Latin construction. However, from the fourth book of the *Della famiglia* onward (that is, from 1441, the year in which the work was publicly presented to Florentine readers), in all of his vernacular works Alberti completely eliminates use of adverbs with the suffix *-mente*. Instead he favors simple adjectives functioning as adverbs: *facile* instead of *facilmente*, *continuo* instead of *continuamente*, and so on.<sup>41</sup> Evidently his approach becomes more clearly based on the Latin construction, inasmuch as the endings *-e* and *-o* correspond to the endings of many Latin adverbs. It is not by chance that this particular choice on Alberti's part coincides with a phase in his writing during which, alongside an irrefutable interest in the richness of fifteenth-century Florentine expression, the linguistic influence of Latin becomes more and more pronounced.

The discovery in the *Grammatica* of the affinity between Tuscan and modern French occurred in the context of Alberti's reflections on the origins of vernacular languages prompted by the debate between Biondo and Bruni. This discovery led to a specific stylistic choice which Alberti maintained consistently in all his works written in the vernacular, all the way up to *De iciarchia*, written in 1465 – right on the verge, that is, of Lorenzo de' Medici's rule.

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The foregoing represents but a glimpse of the discussion occurring in Florence during the years in which the papal court and the *Concilio* were in the city. The great influx of visitors of 1439, prompted by the arrival of the *Concilio*, and the exchange of books and ideas that occurred at that time, did not result in an outcome that favored Latin and Greek, the two protagonist languages of the church council's theological debate.

It is true that in these years there were many Greek manuscripts circulating in Florence, and that many diplomats and priests took advantage of the situation to stock their libraries with codices written in Latin on subjects such as theology and law, as well as with works by classical and patristic

authors. Yet there were also those who focused their attention in a different direction. Take, for example, the case of the Spanish noble Nuño de Guzmán, who, upon returning to Córdoba from Florence, took with him texts for the most part written in the Tuscan language, including vernacularized classical works that he had commissioned while in the service of the *Concilio*.<sup>42</sup>

It is perhaps also thanks to the *Concilio* that in the early fifteenth-century the Tuscan language gained the new expansive momentum discussed by Carlo Dionisotti in his study of vernacular traditions. All of this constituted an important precedent for what would occur in the second half of the fifteenth century. Then, as Alberti had done years earlier when writing in his *Grammatica* “to honor and utility of the homeland,” the likes of Cristoforo Landino, Lorenzo de’ Medici, and Angelo Poliziano came to consider Tuscan literature, enriched by the vital nourishment of Latin, an instrument essential to achieving “some propitious event and the growth of the Florentine empire.”<sup>43</sup>

## Notes

- 1 The most recent overview of the relationship between the two languages in fifteenth-century Florence can be found in the collection of essays *Quattrocento Florence and Beyond*, ed. Andrea Rizzi and Eva Del Soldato, *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 11, no. 1/2 (2013), where the reader can find an up-to-date bibliography on the subject. On the presence of the papal Curia in Florence, see Luca Boschetto, *Società e cultura a Firenze al tempo del Concilio. Eugenio IV tra curiali, mercanti e umanisti (1434–1443)* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2012).
- 2 For more on this see Giuliano Tanturli, “Il disprezzo per Dante dal Petrarca al Bruni,” *Rinascimento* 25 (1985): 199–219; for a recent discussion of the *Dialogi*—specifically in the context of an analysis of Bruni’s linguistic reflections—and that instead emphasizes full recognition on the part of the humanist of the effectiveness and prestige acquired by the vernacular in cultural and political life, see Andrea Rizzi, “Leonardo Bruni and the Shimmering Facets of Languages in Early Quattrocento Florence,” *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 16 (2013): 243–56.
- 3 This despite the fact that at the time he held the chair of Dante Studies in Florence. Filelfo’s attitude toward vernacular literature is actually more complex, as is evidenced by Nicoletta Marcelli’s recent work: “Filelfo *volgare*: stato dell’arte e linee di ricerca” in *Philelphiana. Nuove prospettive di ricerca sulla figura di Francesco Filelfo. Atti del Seminario nazionale di studi, Ricerca FIRB 2012, Macerata 6–7 novembre 2013*, ed. Silvia Fiaschi (Florence: Olschki, 2015): 47–82. I would like to thank the author for having allowed me to read her work prior to its publication.
- 4 The bibliography relevant to the relationship between the Venetian pope and humanist culture is discussed in Boschetto, *Società e cultura a Firenze al tempo del Concilio*, 479–85.
- 5 Paul Oskar Kristeller, “The Origin and Development of the Language of Italian Prose,” *Word* 2 (1946): 50–65, republished in Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters*, 4 vols. (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1956–96), I, 473–93: 484–85 (for the general thesis), and specifically 485.

- (for quotation). See also by the same author, "Latin and Vernacular in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Italy" in vol. IV of the same series, 341–65, originally published in *Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association* 6 (1985): 105–26.
- 6 Despite the fact that it is well known for being an "immense domestic chronicle," a characteristic attributed to it by one of the most respected scholars in the field, the linguistic richness of the Florentine *Catasto* of 1427 remains largely unexplored. See for instance Elio Conti, *I catasti agrari della Repubblica fiorentina e il catasto particellare toscano (Secoli XIV–XIX)* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1966), particularly 37–42. The important study by David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Tuscans and their Families. A Study of the Florentine Catasto of 1427* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), originally published as *Les Toscans et leurs familles. Une étude du catasto florentin de 1427* (Paris, Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, 1978), is based on a series of records that contain the reports transcribed by scribes in the service of officials of the *Catasto*, but not on the original denunciations as written by the contributors themselves, which are conserved separately in a different archive section. The systematic analysis carried out by Robert Black, *Education and Society in Florentine Tuscany: Teachers, Pupils and Schools, c. 1250–1500* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2007), 1–42, has demonstrated the importance of these documents in establishing the level of literacy among Florentines. The contribution made by the *Catasto* to the study of anthroponymy is documented in David Herlihy, "Tuscan Names," *Renaissance Quarterly* 41 (1988): 561–82.
  - 7 On this topic see the in-depth comparative analysis of the language and style of the vernacular of Alberti, Palmieri, and Brunì (contrasted to the later styles of Cristoforo Landino, Angelo Poliziano and Lorenzo de' Medici) by Giuseppe Patota, "Latino e volgare, latino nel volgare," in *Il latino nell'età dell'umanesimo. Atti del convegno, Mantova, 26–27 ottobre 2001*, ed. Giorgio Bernardi Perini (Florence: Olschki, 2004), 109–66.
  - 8 See Lucia Bertolini, "Introduction" to Leon Battista Alberti, *De pictura (redazione volgare)*, ed. Lucia Bertolini (Florence: Edizioni Polistampa, 2011), 37–58.
  - 9 The reference is to Guglielmo Gorni, review of Leon Battista Alberti, *Opere volgari*, 3 vols., ed. Cecil Grayson (Bari: Laterza, 1973), *Studi medievali*, III s. 14 (1973), 246–58.
  - 10 Giuliano Tanturli, "Sulla data e la genesi della "Vita civile" di Matteo Palmieri," *Rinascimento* 36 (1996): 3–48.
  - 11 On the revision of this work, see Giuliano Tanturli, "Tradizione di un testo in presenza dell'autore. Il caso della Vita civile di Matteo Palmieri," *Studi medievali* 29 (1988), 277–315, and by the same author, "Filologia del volgare intorno al Salutati," in *Coluccio Salutati e l'invenzione dell'umanesimo. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Firenze, 29–31 ottobre 2008*, ed. Concetta Bianca (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2010), 83–144.
  - 12 See Francesco Bausi, "Le due redazioni del 'Dialogus consolatorius' di Giannozzo Manetti. Appunti sul testo e sulle fonti," in *Dignitas et Excellentia Hominis. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi su Giannozzo Manetti* (Georgetown University – Kent State University: Fiesole – Firenze, 18–20 giugno 2007), ed. Stefano U. Baldassarri (Florence: Le Lettere, 2008), 77–104. On the tradition of *Uxoria* see Leon Battista Alberti, *Opere latine*, ed. Roberto Cardini (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 2010), 389–423. Regarding his relationship with Alberti, which was undoubtedly characterized by a degree of competition, it should be remembered that certain thematic commonalities between *De pictura* and Manetti's oration *De secularibus et pontificalibus pompis*, written to commemorate the consecration of the Florentine cathedral, have been

interpreted as a possible example of the early influence of the Albertian text on his contemporaries. See in particular Christine Smith and Joseph F. O'Connor, *Building the Kingdom. Giannozzo Manetti on the Material and Spiritual Edifice* (Tempe, AZ-Turnhout: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies-Brepols, 2006), 333–38.

- 13 The primary study on this, which is accompanied by all of the documents relating to the debate, comes from Mirko Tavoni, *Latino, grammatica, volgare. Storia di una questione umanistica* (Padua: Antenore, 1984). The documents of the debate are also now available in Marco Bianco Marchiò, *Come discutevano gli umanisti. Una disputa quattrocentesca sulla lingua parlata dai romani antichi* (Florence: Atheneum, 2008). In depth discussions of the subject can also be found in Angelo Mazzocco, *Linguistic Theories in Dante and the Humanists: Studies of Language and Intellectual History in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy* (Leiden, New York, and Köln: Brill, 1993), 13–105, and Silvia Rizzo, *Ricerche sul latino umanistico* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2002), 15–121.
- 14 The bibliography on this question is discussed in the introduction to Blondus Flavius, *De verbis Romanae locutionis*, ed. Fulvio Delle Donne (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2008), xv–lviii. See also the new edition of the epistolary exchange between Flavio and Bruni in Giuseppe Marcellino and Giulia Ammannati, *Il latino e il 'volgare' nell'antica Roma. Biondo Flavio, Leonardo Bruni e la disputa umanistica sulla lingua degli antichi Romani* (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2015).
- 15 With the words cited here, Flavio establishes the exact moment in which he concludes the letter to Leonardo Bruni which accompanies and introduces his little treatise. See Blondus Flavius, *De verbis*, 4–5 (§ 7): “indictis christiana religione ieiuniis, et perflantibus martio mense ventis, quo in tempore ista scripsi.” Based on the date “Florentiae, idibus martiis MCCCCXXXVIII” (that is, March 15, 1439) of codex F 66 in Dresden’s Sächsische Landesbibliothek, belonging to the son of Biondo Flavio, Girolamo (as opposed to the codex in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 1071, corrected by the author, which is dated “Florentie, kalendis april. MCCCCXXXV”), the most recent editor of the text has hypothesized that the first manuscript may carry “the date of a subsequent revision of the work on the part of Biondo Flavio, possibly undertaken at the time a copy of the work was sent or delivered to somebody who may even have been in Florence at the time of the *Concilio*” (Blondus Flavius, *De verbis*, xv–xviii). I would like to observe, however, that if things had actually gone in this way, it would have been quite unusual for Flavio to have not updated the section of his work in which he notes that Leonardo Bruni had up to that point only finished the first six books of his *Historia Florentina* (Blondus Flavius, *De verbis*, 8, § 21: “In primis autem, quos hactenus scripsisti, sex libris”). It should be recalled, in fact, that on February 6, 1439 Bruni, with a gesture that would without doubt not have gone unnoticed, delivered a further significant section of his work (books VII–IX) to the *Signoria*. See also Marcellino and Ammannati, *Il latino e il 'volgare' nell'antica Roma*, 138–42.
- 16 It is indicative of this atmosphere, which was even influenced by delegations arriving from as far afield as Armenia and Egypt, that the only testimony we have of the content of the welcome speech given for the Emperor John VIII Palaeologus in February of 1439 “in Greek” by Chancellor Leonardo Bruni at the door of San Gallo is found in the diary, written in the vernacular, of a servant of the *Signoria*, the “donzello” Goro di Giovanni. See Boschetto, *Società e cultura a Firenze*, 178–79 and n8. On the integration of the Greek delegation into the urban environment see also Sebastian Kolditz, *Johannes VIII. Palaiologos und*

das Konzil von Ferrara-Florenz (1438/39). *Das byzantinische Kaisertum im Dialog mit dem Westen* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 2013–2014), 502–642.

- 17 Blondus Flavius, *De verbis*, 8 (§§ 21–22), where the author, in reference to *Historia florentina*, states his conviction that in the recounting of events, when it got to the point of discussing the war fought between Florence and Filippo Maria Visconti, Leonardo Bruni would not have failed to include the speech given by the Venetian Ambassador in the presence of Pope Martin V: “elegans praeclari Francisci nostri Barbari oratio, quam tunc ad pontificem publica audientia orator habuit, qualis fuerit referre cveniet.”
- 18 Blondus Flavius, *De verbis*, 15 (§ 54): “quod de Bartholomeo tonsoris filio cive Florentino factum videmus, qui, licet quintum aetatis annum vix emensus dicitur, subministratas ab eruditissimo fratre Ambrosio nostro luculentas orationes summo pontifici memoriter cum omnium admiratione pronunciat.” There do not appear to be any remaining accounts of this episode in Camaldolese sources.
- 19 Blondus Flavius, *De verbis*, 16 (§ 58):  

opinor non negabis, in vulgari aetatis nostrae loquendi genere, cuius gloriam inter Italicos apud Florentinos esse concesserim, multo facundiores esse qui honesto nati loco ab urbanis educati parentibus et civilibus enutriti sint officiis, quam ceteram ignavae aut rusticanae multitudinis turbam; cumque eisdem verbis sermonem utrique conficiant, suaviloquentia unum placere multitudini, incondito garritu alterum displicere.
- 20 Blondus Flavius, *De verbis*, 9–20 (§§ 75–77); section followed by a few observations on Italian servants in the service of courtiers. Flavio’s reflections around this material probably offered the starting point for Alberti’s later mention of linguistic acquisition on the part of ‘foreign slaves’ that is found in the *Proemio* of the third book of *Della famiglia*, for which see Lucia Bertolini, “Servi albertiani,” *Studi linguistici italiani* 23 (1996): 223–30.
- 21 Blondus Flavius, *De verbis*, 5 (§ 9): “eritque omnium oculis adeo subiecta huiusce disceptationis materies, ut quilibet iurisdicundi ignarus, sive, ut dicere Florentini solent, iudex emporinus, faciliter et ex tempore sententiam ferre non dubitet.”
- 22 These hypotheses have been put forward respectively by Bartolomeo Nogara, who proposed, albeit debatably, “da Empoli” – see Flavius, Blondus, *Scritti inediti e rari di Biondo Flavio*, ed. Bartolomeo Nogara (Rome: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1927), 116 – a solution also upheld by Marchiò in *Come discutevano gli umanisti*, 147 n7: “né è possibile andare oltre tale congettura.” See also Delle Donne, according to whom “probabilmente l’espressione ha il significato di ‘giudice di piazza’”: Blondus Flavius, *De verbis*, 5, n5. The same interpretation is accepted by Marcellino and Ammannati, *Il latino e il ‘volgare’ nell’antica Roma*, 151 (translation) and 191–92 (commentary). Johann Ramming has attributed the same meaning (“auf dem Marktplatz befindlich”) to the adjective in *Neulateinische Wortliste. Ein Wörterbuch des Lateinischen von Petrarca bis 1700*, www.neulatein.de/.
- 23 On the *varietas* of Flavio’s lexicon, which is full of neologisms and marked by the “presenza di alcuni grecismi,” see 231–41 (for words adapted from Greek 237–38) of the introduction to Blondus Flavius, *Italia illustrata*, ed. Paolo Pontari (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2011).
- 24 Pl. Mer. 9–10: “graece haec vocatur Emporos Philemonis / eadem Latine Mercator Macci Titi,” refers to the lost Greek work that served as a model for the *Mercator*, though it should be pointed out here that “Emporos,” the title of the play, is a correction that only appears with the Giuntina edition of the plays of 1514 edited by Niccolò degli Angeli: *Plauti Comoediae viginti nuper recognitae*

- et acri iudicio Nicolai Angelii diligentissime excussae* (Florence: Filippo Giunta, 1514), fol. 215<sup>v</sup>. The codices to which the humanists had access, on the other hand, among which we can cite as an example the manuscript transcribed in 1432 by Niccolò Niccoli (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conventi soppressi J. I. 12, fol. 78<sup>r</sup>), all read “emporus,” a term also present in Ausonio’s *Epistulae* (415, 28). On the transmission of Plautus’s text, see Richard J. Tarrant, “Plautus,” in *Texts and transmission. A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. Leighton D. Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 302–7, and Alba Tontini, “La tradizione manoscritta umanistica di Plauto. Novità e problemi,” in *Due seminari plautini. La tradizione del testo. I modelli*, ed. Cesare Questa and Renato Raffaelli (Urbino: QuattroVenti, 2002), 57–88. The *Mercator*, one of the twelve “new” plays rediscovered in 1430 with the arrival in Italy from Germany of the Orsini Codex, seems to anticipate the title of the *Emporia*, a play written by the humanist Tito Livio Frulovisi which was performed between 1432 and 1433 and in which there is a character named “Emporos.” See Tito Livio Frulovisi, *Emporia* [critical Edition], ed. Clara Fossati (Florence: SISMEL Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2014), as well as Alba Tontini, “L’*Emporia* di Tito Livio Frulovisi,” in *Lecturae Plautinae Sarsinates*, XI, *Mercator* (Sarsina, 29 settembre 2007), ed. Renato Raffaelli and Alba Tontini (Urbino: QuattroVenti 2008), 83–99, at 83 and 96. As well as the interest in Ferrara circles, particularly that of Guarino with whom Frulovisi mixed, it is also well known that the codex belonging to Cardinal Giordano Orsini provoked considerable interest among those belonging to the Curia (Poggio), not to mention in humanist circles in Florence (Niccoli). See Cesare Questa, *Per la storia del testo di Plauto nell’umanesimo*, I, *La “recensio” di Poggio Bracciolini* (Rome: Edizioni dell’Ateneo, 1968), and Rita Cappelletto, “Congetture di Niccolò Niccoli al testo delle ‘dodici commedie’ di Plauto,” *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica* 105 (1977): 43–56.
- 25 See Giorgio Pasquali’s thoughts on this, “I sostantivi in -ino,” *Lingua Nostra* 9 (1948), 42 [later reprinted in *Lingua nuova e antica. Saggi e note*, ed. Gianfranco Folena, 2nd ed. (Florence: Le Monnier, 1985), 181–83], cited in Gerhard Rohlfs, *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti*, vol. III: *Sintassi e formazione delle parole* (Turin: Einaudi, 1969), 412–14 (§ 1094).
- 26 See Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, 10 vols. (Paris: Excubant Firmin Didot Frères, 1842), II, 464–65, s.v. *comitatinus*, in the sense of “*Comitatus* seu territorii urbis incola.”
- 27 On the introduction of the vernacular into the commercial courts, particularly with regard to the Merchant Court, see Luca Boschetto, “Writing the Vernacular at the Merchant Court of Florence,” in *Textual Cultures of Medieval Italy: Essays from the 41st Conference on Editorial Problems*, ed. William Robins (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 217–62. During Eugenius IV’s stay in Florence members of his retinue made frequent use of the Merchant Court. See Boschetto, *Società e cultura a Firenze*, 60–65.
- 28 Lucia Bertolini, “Fuori e dentro la *Grammatichetta* albertiana,” in *Da riva a riva. Studi di lingua e letteratura italiana per Ornella Castellani Pollidori*, ed. Paola Manni and Nicoletta Maraschio (Florence: Franco Cesati, 2011), 55–70, particularly 55–57.
- 29 See Lucia Bertolini, “Leon Battista Alberti,” *Nuova informazione bibliografica* 2 (2004): 245–87: 254. It is not surprising, with the immediacy of the debate having passed, that the *Proemio* was withdrawn by the author, as is evident in the version of the *Della famiglia* found in the authoritative ms. II. IV. 38 in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence, which represents “the final attempt at a cohesive version of the work,” and which probably dates to 1443: Lucia Bertolini, entry no. 14, in *Leon Battista Alberti. La biblioteca di un umanista*, ed.



Roberto Cardini, with contributions by Lucia Bertolini and Mariangela Regoliosi (Florence: Mandragora, 2005), 279–82: 281.

- 30 Blondus Flavius, *De verbis*, 26 (§ 111):

postea vero quam Urbs a Gothis et Vandalis capta inhabitarique coepta est, non unus iam aut duo infuscati, sed omnes sermone barbaro inquinati ac penitus sordidati fuerunt; sensimque factum est, ut pro Romana Latinitate adulterinam hanc barbarica mixtam loquelam habeamus vulgarem.

- 31 “idque incognitum nobis quando opus de loquutione romana ad Leonardum Arretinum edidimus, postea didicimus, visis Longobardorum legibus, in quibus de mutatione facta multarum rerum vocabuli tituli tractatusque sunt positi.” Taken from the beginning of *Regio Nona, Italia Transpadana, sive Marchia Tarvisina*, the passage was in turn taken from the introduction to Blondus Flavius, *Italia illustrata*, ed. Paolo Pontari, 2 vols. (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2011), I, 25–241: 222–23, which gives an historic overview of the work. Mazzocco, *Linguistic Theories*, 41–42, has rightly pointed out the reworking here of an earlier passage from *De verbis* regarding the invasions. On the position vis-à-vis these matters held by Flavio, who undoubtedly “contributed more than any of the other *quattrocentisti* in laying the groundwork for the debate on the Northern Barbarians which would assume great importance in the culture of the sixteenth century,” see Gustavo Costa, *Le antichità germaniche nella cultura italiana da Machiavelli a Vico* (Naples: Bibliopolis, 1977), 19–31; also Claudio Marazzini, “Le Origini barbare nella tradizione linguistica italiana,” *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 164 (1987), 396–423, at 398–404. On the furtherance of Flavio’s original work from 1442–43 on the history of the Lombards, see Ottavio Clavuot, *Biondos “Italia Illustrata” – Summa oder Neuschöpfung? Über die Arbeitsmethoden eines Humanisten* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1990), 253–59, 337–47.
- 32 Leonardo Bruni, *Vite di Dante e del Petrarca*, in *Opere letterarie e politiche*, ed. Paolo Viti (Turin: Utet, 1996), 537–60, and 555:

Et sopravvennero in Italia Goti et Longobardi, nationi barbare et strane, e quali affatto quasi spensero quasi ogni cognitione di lettere, come appare negli strumenti in quelli tempi rogati et fatti, de’ quali niente potrebbe essere più materiale cosa, né più grossa et rozza.

The English translation is taken from *The Lives of Dante and Petrarch*, translated by Alan F. Nagel, in *The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni: Selected Texts*, trans. and intro. Gordon Griffiths, James Hankins, and David Thompson (Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies in conjunction with the Renaissance Society of America, 1987), 85–100: 97. In his *Historiae* from a few years earlier, Bruni had discussed the arrival of the Lombards in Italy. However, at that time he did not explicitly link that occurrence with cultural and linguistic decline. On the role of the *Vite di Dante e del Petrarca* in Bruni’s work see Gary Ianziti, “Parallel Lives: Dante and Petrarch,” in his *Writing History in Renaissance Italy: Leonardo Bruni and the Uses of the Past* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012), 169–85, which includes a discussion of the earlier bibliography.

- 33 Leon Battista Alberti, “I libri della famiglia,” in his *Opere volgari*, ed. Cecil Grayson, 3 vols. (Bari: Laterza, 1960–73), vol. 1, 154: “Fu Italia più volte occupata e posseduta da varie nazioni: Gallici, Goti, Vandali, Longobardi, e altre simili barbare e molto asprissime genti” and “strani e avventizii uomini.” The English translation is taken from *The Family in Renaissance Florence*. A translation by Renée Watkins of *I libri della famiglia* by Leon Battista Alberti (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1969), 152.

- 34 See Alberti, "I libri della famiglia," 3–12 (particularly 8).
- 35 On the circulation of the *Vite* see James Hankins, "Humanism in the Vernacular: The Case of Leonardo Bruni," in *Humanism and Creativity in the Renaissance: Essays in Honor of Ronald G. Witt*, ed. Christopher S. Celenza and Kenneth Gouwens (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 11–29, at 17–18 and 25 (Appendix A. 1). The codices containing the third book of the *Della famiglia*, which include the *Proemio* number ten in all.
- 36 The dialectic between the vernacular and Latin in grammars of the humanist period is the subject of an essay by Brian Richardson, "Latin and Italian in Contact in Some Renaissance Grammars," in *Rethinking Languages in Contact: The Case of Italian*, ed. Anna Laura Lepschy and Arturo Tosi (London: Legenda, 2006), 28–41, particularly pages 32–34 which focus on Alberti.
- 37 . Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, 5. 33. 5–5. 35. 3. With the use of the term "Galli" (Galls) in his vernacular writings, Alberti is referring as much to the Celts of Brennus (in *Theogenius*), as he is to the Teutons and Cimbrians, who were Germanic peoples, whom he mentions in the fourth book of *Della famiglia* in reference to their defeat at the hands of Gaius Marius in 101 BCE "at the foot of the Alps." See respectively Leon Battista Alberti, "Theogenius," in *Opere volgari*, 3 vols., ed. Cecil Grayson, II, 69, and "I libri della famiglia," 325.
- 38 For the origins of the phenomenon across the panorama of Romance languages see Keith E. Karlsson, *Syntax and Affixation: The Evolution of MENTE in Latin and Romance* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1981); for a recent contribution on adverbial pairs with this suffix, see Giuseppe Patota, "'0 e – mente," "mente e – mente," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 126 (2010): 546–67.
- 39 Leon Battista Alberti, "Grammatichetta" e altri scritti sul volgare, ed. Giuseppe Patota (Roma: Salerno, 1996), 35–36, § 85: "Item, a similitudine della lingua gallica, piglia el toscano e nomi singolari femminini adiectivi et agiungevi – mente, e usagli pro adverbii, come *saviamente*, *bellamente*, *magramente*." A particularly detailed treatment of adverbs ending in – *mente* can be found in *Commentarii* by Girolamo Ruscelli; however, neither here nor in any other sixteenth-century grammars is the connection made to the French language: Girolamo Ruscelli, *De' commentarii della lingua italiana* (Venice: Zemaro, 1581), 346–55.
- 40 It is interesting to note how among the defilers of Latin the Galls are also present, and here too in pole position, in another text linked to the humanist debate on the language used by the Romans, the *De lingue Latine differentiis* by Guarino Veronese (Tavoni, *Latino, grammatica, volgare*, 231, §§ 20–21). It is also curious to observe how in the *Prose della volgar lingua*, the "Francesi" are at the head of the list – confused as it may be – of peoples who invaded Italy (although it should also be noted that they are identified by the critics with the 'Franchi'). See Pietro Bembo, "Prose della volgar lingua," in *Trattatisti del Cinquecento*, ed. Mario Pozzi, 2 vols. (Milan-Naples: Ricciardi, 1978), I, 69 (I, vii), and n3.
- 41 See my unpublished Ph.D dissertation, Luca Boschetto, *Leon Battista Alberti e Firenze. Ricerche sulla storia e la lingua delle opere volgari*, Pisa, Scuola Normale Superiore, A.A. 1996/97, 159–65 and in particular table n.1.
- 42 A bibliography on Guzmán can be found in Boschetto, *Società e cultura a Firenze*, 386–87. Meetings of the Council, as is well known, were particularly conducive to the circulation and production of manuscripts: for a bibliography on this topic, see Concetta Bianca, "Il Concilio di Costanza come centro di produzione manoscritta degli umanisti," in *Das Konstanzer Konzil als europäisches Ereignis. Begegnungen, Medien und Rituale*, ed. Gabriela Signori and Birgit Stüdt (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2014), 379–89.
- 43 Carlo Dionisotti, "Tradizione classica e volgarizzamenti," in *Geografia e storia della letteratura italiana*, ed. Carlo Dionisotti (Turin: Einaudi, 1967), 103–44,

in particular 122–23. The function, including at a political level, attributed to the expansion of the Tuscan language in the era of Lorenzo de' Medici constitutes a kind of leitmotif, which is found in works by more or less all Florentine authors from that period, from Vespasiano da Bisticci to Cristoforo Landino, from Angelo Poliziano (in the letter-introduction to his *Raccolta Aragonesa*), to Lorenzo the Magnificent. See Lorenzo de' Medici, "Comento de' miei sonetti," in Lorenzo de' Medici, *Opere*, ed. Tiziano Zanato (Turin: Einaudi, 1992), 565–88, in particular 584: "qualche prospero successo e augumento al fiorentino imperio". The English translation is taken from *The Autobiography of Lorenzo de' Medici the Magnificent. A Commentary on My Sonnets*, trans. James Wyatt Cook (Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1995), 51.