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Betting on the antipope.

Giovambattista Cantalicio and his cycle of poems
dedicated to the schismatic
Cardinal Bernardino de Carvajal in 1511
(with an edition and translation from Naples, Biblioteca
Nazionale, ms. XVI A 1)¹

Encomiastic poetry belongs to one of the most underestimated and neglected genres within the wide field of Neo-Latin literature. Philologists have only recently started to pay increased attention to texts from this enormous corpus, and to fully tap the potential of this genre. Opening new approaches to Neo-Latin poems of praise means overcoming the persistent literary aesthetics of previous centuries that rejected these compositions, pointing to their allegedly repetitive and rhetorical character. Such poetry hardly lived up to the postulation of a classicistic ideal that was only reached by the greatest humanists of the Renaissance. At the best, it was of partial interest as a historical source².

These aesthetics originating in the 19th century have also affected the research on the encomiastic verses left by the Italian humanist Giovambattista Cantalicio (c.1445-1515). This is clearly reflected in the judgment the Neapolitan scholar Antonio Altamura left in his partial edition of Cantalicio's *Borgias* published in 1940: «The *Borgias* has all the values and defects of the Latin poetry of the Renaissance. It does not lack empty apostrophes and rhetorical reminiscences of mythology. At the same time, it has the abundance of language particular only to the great humanists [...]»³.

Despite Altamura's approval of Cantalicio's Latin, he criticizes literary features of his poems described as «empty apostrophes and rhetorical reminiscences of mythology» («vuote allocuzioni e [...] retoriche reminiscenze mitologiche»). Indebted to the aesthetics of classicism and originality, such approaches showed little interest in understanding encomiastic poetry from its original context of production. However illustrating these aspects is crucial for our understanding of how such poems came into being. Reconstructing the context of dedication enables us to reappraise the skills the poems'

authors applied to respond to the exigencies of their literary production, and to open new approaches to hitherto neglected genres and authors.

Revisiting the manuscript Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, XVI A 1, this article analyses how the most important yet enigmatic manuscript containing Cantalicio's encomiastic poetry came into being and was dedicated. It offers a case study illustrating the strategies this poet applied to quickly seize a transient window of opportunity for dedication. Allowing for the historical context in which this manuscript was finished and dedicated, it will shift the focus towards the crucial skills needed to smooth the way to patronage.

Born as Giovambattista Valentini in the 1440s, the author of the manuscript XVI A 1 became known under the name Cantalicio referring to his hometown Cantalice. His biography is mostly known in fragments that draw the image of an itinerant humanist. After decades of short-term engagements at courts and in cities all across Italy, he was appointed bishop of Atri and Penne in 1503. Cantalicio died in 1515, leaving a considerable number of works mostly consisting of encomiastic poems dedicated to prelates and potentates⁴.

In the last two decades there has been a growing interest in Cantalicio's poetry. The primary trigger for this process was a joint edition (1996) by Liliana Monti Sabia and Giuseppe Germano. It included Cantalicio's *Bucolica* and his *Spectacula Lucretiana*, a cycle of poems describing the marriage between Lucrezia Borgia (1480-1519) and Alfonso d'Este (1476-1534)⁵. In 2004, Germano published a new set of poems of Cantalicio, including the *De secessu ab Urbe Leonis X Pontificis Maximi* describing a curial hunting party⁶. Since then, the process of studying Cantalicio's oeuvre has continued. Ruth Monreal and Gianluca del Noce have recently published articles on his *Feretrana*, a panegyric poem Cantalicio dedicated to the young duke of Urbino, Guidobaldo da Montefeltro (1472-1508)⁷. In 2013, del Noce announced an edition of this text⁸. In an article published in 2014, Giuseppe Germano shifted the focus to the display of magnificence in Cantalicio's *Spectacula Lucretiana* and pointed to the influence Pontano's so-called social treatises had on this cycle of poems⁹.

While recent scholarship has improved our knowledge about texts Cantalicio presented as dedicated manuscripts, the chronology and history of the manuscript containing almost all his poetic production has remained unclear. In 1924, the Italian antiquarian Tammaro de Marinis presented the codex today conserved under the shelf mark XVI A 1 to the *Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli* (BNN hereafter)¹⁰. In the first article following the donation, Benedetto Croce presented this manuscript comprising more than 300 folios and edited smaller portions of it¹¹. Based on a cursory analysis, Croce dates the codex to the time around 1506¹². In an article published sixteen years later¹³, Antonio Altamura argues that Cantalicio completed this vol-

ume between 1505 and 1510, however he does not provide any supporting evidence for this claim. Around this time, Altamura states, the poet dedicated it to the Cardinal of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, Bernardino de Carvajal, who is the dedicatee of the opening cycle of poems (f. 3r-12r)¹⁴. After the first pages had been cut from the manuscript, seventeen pieces of this cycle in elegiac couplets and hendecasyllable have come down to us.

The codex is generally considered an autograph¹⁵. Regarding its purpose, Croce argued that the poet originally used it to collect his poetic production after a first edition of his poems appeared in 1493¹⁶. Altamura however pointed to the fact that parts of this printed work also reappear on the folios of the Naples codex¹⁷. In her 1996 introduction to the transmission of Cantalicio's poems, Liliana Monti Sabia provided what has remained the most comprehensive reconstruction of both this manuscript's dating and its history¹⁸. To this purpose, she introduced an important passage from the opening cycle of poems dedicated to cardinal Carvajal into the dating debate¹⁹. At the end of the first poem of this codex, Cantalicio addresses his dedicatee:

Receive, o venerable prince, our work, and please read with a gentle heart whatever it may be. Shall Rome – that's my wish – concede to you the chair of the Vatican, and shall that greatest mitre of all crown your head!²⁰

In her interpretation of these lines, Monti Sabia points to 1503 as the only year suited for such a wish clearly aiming at the papal tiara. Following the deaths of Alexander VI (18 August 1503) and Pius III (22 September 1503), the Papal See was in a situation of transition twice in that year. In both conclaves, Carvajal counted among the favorites. The perspective of this cardinal becoming the new pope, Monti Sabia argues, provided the ideal window of opportunity to dedicate this poem. She explicitly excludes that Cantalicio could have written the poem earlier than the summer of 1503, when the previous pope and his former protector, Alexander VI, was still alive, or later than 1511, when Bernardino de Carvajal opposed Julius II by convoking the schismatic Council of Pisa and eventually became a *persona non grata*²¹.

Based on this chronological hypothesis, Monti Sabia proposes an explanation of how the entire manuscript XVI A 1 came into being: Around the death of Alexander VI in 1503, Cantalicio was working on a poem dedicated to Carvajal, who had a good chance of becoming the new pope. However after Carvajal's aspirations had been disappointed twice that year, Cantalicio refrained from dedicating the cycle of poems to the cardinal and decided to keep the manuscript for himself. This undedicated cycle, Monti Sabia argues, became the first piece of a growing volume in which the poet kept personal copies of his compositions. To make her point, she also includes

an analysis of the manuscript's watermarks. As they stretch over the first decade of the Cinquecento, she concludes, the poet must have retained the manuscript, and continued to add new layers to it until his death in 1515²². Monti Sabia maintains that this personal codex always remained in the author's hand²³, which explains why it contains corrected versions of poems Cantalicio dedicated earlier in separate manuscripts²⁴. After his death, the entire manuscript passed on into the hands of a younger relative, whose hand left a poem on cardinal Carvajal on the last page of the codex (fig. 1)²⁵.

Monti Sabia's reconstruction points to the key position that the opening cycle dedicated to Carvajal takes in understanding the history of the entire manuscript. The text itself holds great potential for solving this question, however Monti Sabia has left much of this untapped. A close reading of that text, the results of which are presented in this paper, will demonstrate that both the chronology and the history of codex A XVI 1 have to be revised, with surprising results.

In the third poem of the opening cycle (<IV> *DE EIVSDEM CARDINALIS GRATA PRAESENTIA*)²⁶, Cantalicio addresses Carvajal's outstanding appearance among the cardinals: «See how much the prince of Sabina resembles Piety, when his head gleams in the purple circle!»²⁷. This title refers to the bishopric of Sabina, which Carvajal only received on 28 March 1509²⁸. This recent acquisition is also included in the cardinal's long list of bishoprics, which is the topic of a separate poem (<XIII>: *EIVSDEM VARIAE ECCLESIAE SEV EPISCOPATVS*). The title of Sabina provides an unmistakable *terminus post quem* that excludes dating the cycle of poems earlier than 1509. With the help of another composition entitled *How long he has been in Italy since he was created cardinal* (<XV>: *QVOT ANNIS IN ITALIA EX QVO CARDINALIS*), this *terminus* can be pushed even further:

Three lustra joined with one trieteris have already passed, since Rome first witnessed you among the red circle. May Rome fill up your remaining years in the Vatican: My mind has revealed to me that these things will happen for sure²⁹.

In this poetic paraphrase, Cantalicio explains that a period of 18 years (3 x 5 years (*lustrum*) + 3 years (*trieteris*)) has passed since Carvajal was appointed cardinal. As he had received his red hat from the hands of Alexander VI in September 1493³⁰, poem <XV> indicates that the time in question lies in the period between September 1511 and September 1512.

A closer look at the role Carvajal played in church politics at that time reveals that Cantalicio must have chosen an extraordinarily tense yet promising historical context to dedicate his work. With a document dating 16 May 1511, Carvajal and a group of cardinals had called a schismatic council against Julius II that was scheduled to start in Pisa on 1 September 1511³¹.

Supported by the French King Louis XII (1498-1515) and Emperor Maximilian I (1493-1519), the Council of Pisa represented the theological correspondent to the ongoing French military attacks against the Pope. In the summer of 1511, it seemed that his pontificate was nearing its end; the Papal State was open for invasion. In addition, the weakened Pope once more suffered an attack of fever, which this time seemed to be terminal³². Carvajal, the leader of the Council supported by the Pope's enemies, was predestined to replace Julius II on Saint Peter's throne as soon as he either died or was disposed.

The prophetic tone of Cantalicio's quoted poem <XV> precisely reflects the historical context of the late summer of 1511, in which the tiara was within Carvajal's reach³³. However this window of opportunity would only remain open for a few months: Due to considerable delay and moderate response, the beginning of the Council had to be postponed to 1 November 1511³⁴. It was only on 30 October that Carvajal and the rebellious cardinals under his leadership reached Pisa³⁵. They were received with reservation, even hostility, which was reinforced by the latest news from Rome³⁶: in the meantime, Julius II had made it clear that he would not tolerate the opposition of the rebellious *fractio*. On 18 July 1511, he had called the Fifth Council of the Lateran in response to Carvajal's convocation of the Council of Pisa³⁷. A week before the rescheduled Council of Pisa was supposed to begin on 1 November 1511, Julius II deposed and excommunicated Bernardino de Carvajal and most of the schismatic cardinals in the consistory of 24 October 1511, depriving them of all their ecclesiastical possessions³⁸. As Cantalicio's cycle of poems still includes the long list of Carvajal's bishoprics and titles (poem <XIII>), it is highly improbable that Cantalicio dedicated it later than October 1511. After Julius resorted to the extreme step of excommunication that month, the star of the ambitious leader of the Council of Pisa started sinking. The council, which became known under the derogative diminutive of the *conciliabulum Pisanum*, failed shortly after. The rebellious cardinals were forced to move the council from Pisa to Milan, and eventually fled to France³⁹.

From these observations the context of dedication clearly emerges: Cantalicio must have seized the short but favorable period between September and October 1511, when the Council of Pisa entered into its decisive phase. This was the time when Carvajal once more became *papabile* after having been a cardinal for eighteen years. While there can be little doubt about dating the opening cycle of poems, its relationship to the remaining 300 pages of the manuscript needs further discussion.

A codicological analysis further illustrates the question how the manuscript came into being. The original opening pages have apparently been stolen. The headlines of the first remaining pages, which contain the open-

ing poems on Carvajal (f. 3r-8v), are embellished with gold ornament and are decorated in blue and red⁴⁰. The rest of this cycle (f. 9r-12r) is written accurately, but without any particular ornament. The same holds true for all the remaining 300 folios of the codex.

This considerable difference in decoration suggests that these layers were created for different purposes. On this basis, I suggest that in 1511, Cantalicio resorted mainly to material that had been created previously. At this time, I contend, the elderly poet was close to finishing an edition of both new and revised poems which would follow his first printed edition dating 1493⁴¹. This manuscript had grown over a number of years, which explains the chronologically wide range of watermarks⁴². In 1511, he had accurately prepared this autograph manuscript as a printer's copy, and it was close to being finished. When the conflict between Julius II and Carvajal escalated in the summer of that year, an intriguing opportunity to win the future pope as a patron for the project of editing his *Opera Omnia* had opened up for Cantalicio. The poet had previously approached his dedicatees with the wish of seeing the presented poem(s) printed, as the prologue to his *Feretrana* presented to Guidobaldo da Montefeltro in the early 1490s clearly demonstrates⁴³. Possibly, the lost opening pages of the Naples manuscript put forward a similar request. To present the cardinal with his entire poetic productions, the bulk of material was quickly embellished with an appealing top layer that contains the personalized poems dedicated to Carvajal, and which explicitly refer to the context of dedication of 1511.

The poems dedicated to Bernardino de Carvajal seem perfectly in line with this reconstruction of the manuscript's history. The first of the extant poems explains the motives for Cantalicio's dedication (<II>: *AD EVNDEM EIVSDEM CAUSA HVIVS VOLVMINIS DEDICATI*). This piece begins with an intervention by Apollo. The god of the muses urges the poet, who looks back on sixty years of poetical production and considers giving up writing poetry for good, to pick up the pen again and finish his poem on Cardinal Bernardino de Carvajal:

You have indeed written a lot, but something more is left for you to write, and this indeed you must not pass over, or rather I should say: If you don't write what is left for you to write, you won't earn any glory at all from your previous writings. If you enjoy rendering mortal men famous with your poems, why don't you go on and finish the work you started? So far, Italy's noble families, people and potentates have been your topics; popes and cardinals; towns, castles, houses, strongholds, fortresses and beasts, and you sing about everything that exists in the whole world. You shall think that you have achieved nothing, if you don't celebrate that man, as well, who has already been your favorite above all others, who bears the title and the name of the Holy Cross and is an eminent beacon for the purple flock⁴⁴.

The topics listed in the lines 13-16 obviously refer to the impressive amount of poems Cantalicio had previously dedicated to a long list of recipients. A considerable number of them are also included in this manuscript⁴⁵. The poet's reaction to Apollo's exhortation clearly refers to the process in which the entire codex came into being:

After this speech, I took up again my abandoned flute and the lyre, and my Muse took up the work that was assigned to me. In fact, she dedicated everything to you that she had already written earlier, and she will restrict my production of new poems to follow. Receive, o venerable prince, our work, and please read with a gentle heart whatever it may be⁴⁶.

In these lines, Cantalicio declares Carvajal the exclusive dedicatee of his poetic production. The indefinite pronoun *quicquid* and the past perfect *scripserat* (<II>, 27) suggest that the poet dedicated what is practically his entire previous production – an œuvre filling the remaining 300 pages of the manuscript – to this cardinal. However this implied that the codex would include positive references to persons who had become unfavorable in the meantime (such as Julius II)⁴⁷. This fact may explain why Cantalicio explicitly anticipates possible resentments and asks for a benevolent reception to the poems (<II>, 29-30) he created over several decades of rapidly changing Italian history.

The second of the surviving poems (<III>: *CANTALICII AD LIBRVM SVVM*) seems to confirm the role Cantalicio expected Carvajal to play as a patron for a second edition of his poems. Addressing the volume the cardinal received, Cantalicio enters into a dialogue with the book. Drawing heavily upon Martial's epigram 3,2⁴⁸, he explains that he had not allowed the book to leave the house earlier, withholding it from public view for many years. The search for a reliable protector (*vindex*) for the book dominates the debate, a role that is eventually assigned to Bernardino de Carvajal. As the book found a safe protector (*tutus vindex*) in him, the anxious poet finally manages to let go of his creation. This supports the point that Cantalicio approached Carvajal as a patron in the hope of eventually seeing his poems printed, and presented him with a rapidly personalized codex at a time when the Council could still result in his elevation.

Additional evidence suggests that the manuscript left the poet's hands in 1511, and was not kept as a personal copy of his poems until Cantalicio's death in 1515, as Monti Sabia has previously asserted⁴⁹. Firstly the poems unmistakably dating later than 1511 (such as his *De secessu ab urbe Leonis X pontificis maximi cum parte cardinalium*) are not included in this codex, but are exclusively conserved in separate copies of the dedication⁵⁰. A second observation relates to common strategies of dedication. Poets frequently relied on personal con-

tacts with colleagues in the prelate's entourage to forward and recommend their copies of dedication. So far, very little research has been conducted on Carvajal's so-called *famiglia*, the personal staff the cardinal relied on. Again, the text itself provides crucial information. In a poem describing the virtue of Carvajal's entourage (<XVI>: *DE FAMILIA EIVS*), Cantalicio not only mentions two secretaries personally, but makes them the subject of considerable praise:

Our Cedrario emerges shining among these Muses as the morning star shines among the stars at dawn. For this man is also in your services, o worthy prince, and he is not an insignificant part of your entourage. Next, Sigismondo Pindaro gives splendor to your palace, whose learned hand, which you have fostered, is in your service. This eloquent young man, whose temples were dipped in the waters of the Muses, takes care of your letters⁵¹.

Sigismondo Pindaro was a secretary from Venice, whose name appears at the end of the canonization testimonies of Saint Francis of Paola (1416-1507), which he had to translate from a Southern Italian dialect into Latin⁵². It is possible that he joined Carvajal as a secretary around 1507, when his role as the Protector of the Order of the Minims set him in charge of this canonization process⁵³. However our knowledge about both secretaries mentioned in Cantalicio's poem remains fragmentary. New evidence implies that Francesco Cedrario entered the cardinal's services at an earlier stage of both of their careers. In 1496-97, he accompanied Carvajal on his prestigious mission as papal legate to Milan⁵⁴. In 1506-07, Cedrario represented his interests in Naples when the Spanish King reorganized the tenure of his territories in the *Regno*⁵⁵. He remained a representative of Curial Humanism and later appears as a speaker in Jacopo Sadoletto's dialogue *Phaedrus* at the side of the recently deceased Tommaso Fedra Inghirami⁵⁶.

Their prominent appearance in his poem and the strong praise suggest that Cantalicio was on good terms with these two secretaries. It is therefore plausible that he had assigned them a role in his strategy of dedication. However it is unlikely that he could rely on Sigismondo Pindaro to forward and recommend his volume to Carvajal during the Council's decisive phase in 1511, as Pindaro was holding a double engagement as secretary to Carvajal and as papal secretary⁵⁷. When Carvajal openly defected, Pindaro remained loyal to Carvajal's adversary Julius II. Instead of following the schismatic cardinal to Pisa, Pindaro drew up most of the documents the Pope published against Carvajal's Council⁵⁸. Therefore, Pindaro may have been of little use for Cantalicio's intentions. However the only letter identified so far as a testimony of Francesco Cedrario's handwriting (dating 1496; see fig. 2 and fig. 3) suggests that this secretary may have played a role in the poet's intent to have his volume forwarded to the powerful car-

dinal: The document is written in an epistolary scripture whose *ductus* is similar to the four final couplets that were later noted on the last page of Cantalicio's volume (fig. 1). Previously considered an addition by a relative of the author⁵⁹, it is intriguing to assume that Carvajal's personal secretary Cedrario added the final poem of praise to the present his friend Cantalicio had dedicated to the cardinal⁶⁰. While these observations remain speculative given the early state of research on Carvajal's *famiglia*, they may provide additional evidence that Cantalicio's poem indeed made its way into the Cardinal's household.

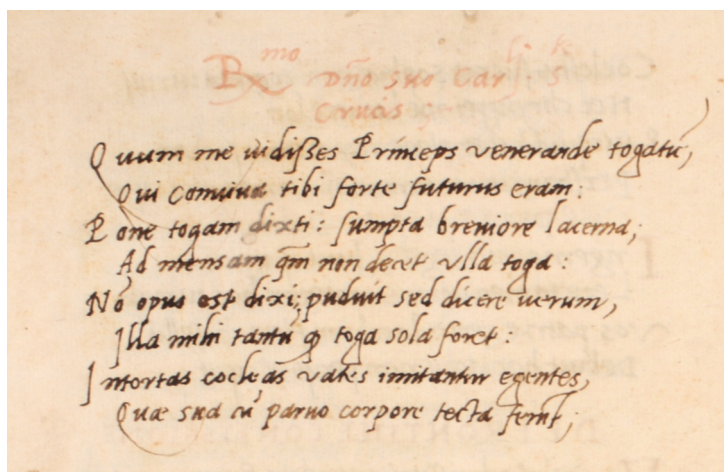


fig. 1: Poem dedicated to Bernardino de Carvajal, ca. 1511, written in a different hand on the last page of the codex (BNN, ms. A XVI 1, f. 316v)

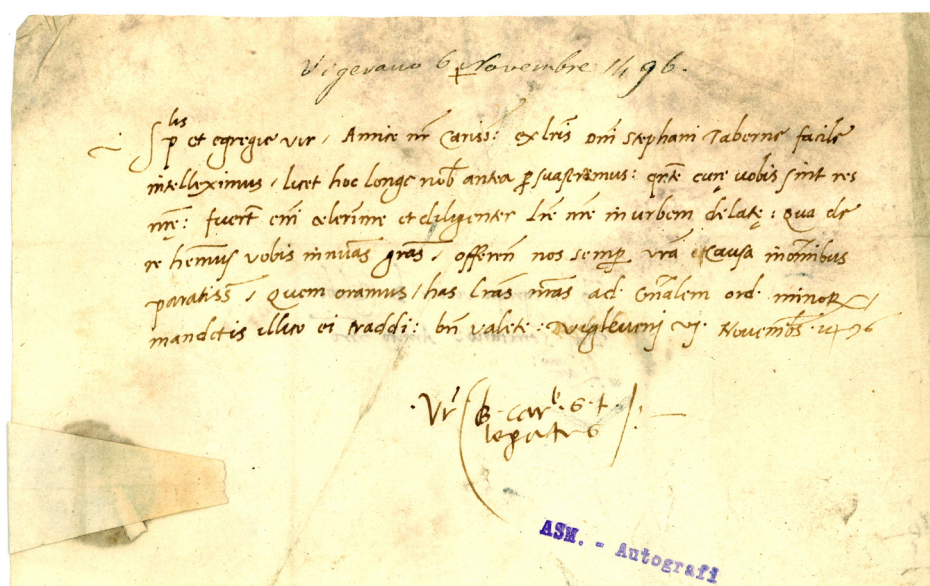


fig. 2: Letter of Bernardino de Carvajal to Bartolomeo Calco, written by his secretary Francesco Cedrario and dating 6 November 1496 (Milan, Archivio di Stato, Autografi, cart. 24, fasc. 81 (Bernardino de Carvajal)). Autorizzazione a pubblicare concessa dall' Archivio di Stato di Milano con lettera del 9 luglio 2015 N. PROTOCOLLO 3391/28.13.11.

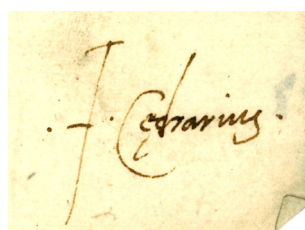


fig. 3: Secretary mark of Francesco Cedrario, bottom right corner of the letter displayed in fig. 2

In the summer of 1511, the poet Giovambattista Cantalicio had thought of everything. He had traced a promising opportunity to win the ambitious cardinal and potential future pope as a patron for a second edition of his poems. With the secretary Francesco Cedrario, he could possibly count on a member of the cardinal's *famiglia* to forward and recommend his book. Recognizing such favorable conditions, Cantalicio rapidly finished the opening cycle dedicated to Cardinal Carvajal that turned the printer's copy of his poems into a personalized copy of dedication. One might even go so far as to conjecture that Cantalicio had chosen the perfect day to place his present: A central date in the liturgy of the Cardinal of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme was the Feast of Exaltation of the Cross, celebrated annually on 14 September⁶¹. In 1511, the papal tiara was still in reach for Carvajal on that date. We may assume that an author as experienced as Giovambattista Cantalicio had even considered the cardinal's liturgical calendar to increase his chances of success⁶².

However despite all factors favoring its dedication, the codex A XVI 1 turned out to be a bet on the wrong horse: At the end of October 1511, Julius II excommunicated the rebellious Carvajal and the cardinals who had supported his schismatic Council of Pisa. Having lost all their ecclesiastical properties, the cardinals eventually had to flee to France with Carvajal, whom the council had even elected antipope Martin VI shortly before. Only after the death of Julius II in 1513, and after Carvajal had «read in a choking voice a humiliating confession of disloyalty» kneeling before Leo X and the cardinals⁶³, the new pope returned to the ex-Cardinal of Santa Croce the majority of his previous honors.

While Carvajal's career had suffered a considerable slump in 1511, Cantalicio however demonstrated his resilience: Notwithstanding the setback in his attempt to win the future pope as a protector for his collected works, he continued to adapt himself to the rapid changes in papal politics. The later poems he dedicated to Leo X (1513-1521) and his cardinals remain a testimony to an author who remained attentive to political changes and opportunities until his death in 1515⁶⁴. His adaptability and his literary resourcefulness confirm Cantalicio's rank among the most professional writers of encomiastic verse during the Italian Renaissance. It may be hoped that alternative perspectives on Neo-Latin encomiastic poetry and new approaches to this genre will encourage further studies on the many works left by this prolific and versatile humanist.

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Appendix.

Edition and translation of Cantalicio's cycle of poems dedicated to Bernardino de Carvajal

Notes to the edition

The cycle of poems dedicated to Carvajal is written accurately and has to be considered an autograph⁶⁵. The Latin text edited here has undergone only minor modifications and is representative of Cantalicio's orthographical standards. The few changes the editor applied to the original text of the Naples manuscript (referred to as *N*) are documented in the notes (cfr. notes 85 and 132). Corrections in the author's hand noted in the margins were silently included. Silent changes also include *ij* being transcribed as *ii* and words written together according to the Oxford Latin Dictionary (e.g. *quidnam* instead of *quid nam*)⁶⁶. The capitalization of words was treated according to the same standards. Abbreviations and *e-caudatae* have been expanded. The punctuation has been modernized.

An apparatus of parallels is printed as notes at the end of this article. It is not intended to be exhaustive. In case of particularly prominent junctures, it indicates the author from which the later use probably multiplied, and summarizes later authors as *et al.* Abbreviations of Latin authors appear in small capitals according to the index volume of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*⁶⁷. The remaining abbreviations refer to the Vulgate-edition of the Bible⁶⁸.

The numbering of the poems is not part of the original manuscript. Following Gianluca del Noce, the numbers referring to the poems appear in pointed brackets⁶⁹. As the first folio of the cycle is missing, which probably contained a letter of dedication and preceding poems, numbering starts with <II> to imply this loss of text.

[f. 3r] <II> AD EVNDEM EIVSDEM CAUSA HVIVS VOLVMINIS
DEDICATI

Ponere carminibus stabat sententia⁷⁰ finem⁷¹

Et penitus tandem dicere 'Phoebe uale!'⁷²,

Cum mihi, quem fueram bis sex per lustra⁷³ sequitus,

Ille uerecunda uoce loquutus ait:

5 "Perge, senex, mea castra sequi⁷⁴, placidissime, perge!

Non est quem sequeris linquere tempus adhuc.

Plurima scripsisti, tibi sed scribenda supersunt

Plura⁷⁵, nec illa quidem praetereunda tibi.

Immo nisi scribas, tibi quae scribenda supersunt,

- 10 Gloria de scriptis nulla futura tua est⁷⁶.
 Si te mortales iuuat illustrare Camenis
 Cur non inceptum claudere pergis opus⁷⁷?
 Hactenus Italicas gentes populosque ducesque⁷⁸
 Pontifices summos cardineosque patres
 15 Oppida castra casas arces castella ferasque
 Et uiuit toto quicquid in orbe canis⁷⁹.
 Nil egisse putes, tibi ni celebretur et ille,
 Qui tibi iam cunctis anteferendus erat⁸⁰
 Quique Crucis Sanctae titulos et nomina portat
 20 Princeps, purpurei lux generosa gregis.
 [f. 3v] Protulit in terris quo non Hispania maius,
 Illa nec est unquam post habitura parem.
 Et te prosequitur magno pietatis amore
 Commendatque frequens et tua scripta legit.”
 25 His calamos dictis desertaque plectra resumpsi⁸¹
 Iniunctumque mihi Musa resumpsit opus.
 Immo tibi, quicquid iam scripserat, illa dicauit
 Carminibus posthac impositura modum.
 Accipe tu nostros, princeps uenerande, labores
 30 Atque legas placido pectore⁸² quicquid id est.
 Sic Vaticani tribuat tibi Roma tribunal⁸³
 Cingat et illa tuum maxima mitra caput⁸⁴.

<III> CANTALICII⁸⁵ AD LIBRVM SVVM

- Quo portas, liber o, meos labores,
 Quo noctes domini geris diesque,
 Quo totum geris anxium uolumen,
 Qui mecum crocitans domi tot annos,
 5 Non ausus foribus pedem mouere,
 Mansisti miser, in timore pressus,
 Formidans nimis ora criticorum
 Et multam male nauseam loquentum?
 Sed dic, attamen exiture tandem:
 [f. 4r] Quem tutum tibi uindicem parasti⁸⁶?
 An de regibus arbitrare querique
 Aut de principibus tibi futurum,
 Nugis atria qui tuis recludat?
 Spes est augurii tui pusilla
 15 Et desiderii inane uotum.

Tecum milia multa⁸⁷ nempe portas
 Et sacros numeris meis refertos.
 Sic credens tibi ianuas patere⁸⁸
 Seris littora uerberasque coelum.
 20 Quae quondam patuere nam Camenis,
 Patent atria principum monetis
 Et nummis bona summa⁸⁹ collocarunt.
 Quare si sapias domi manebis,
 Ne turpem patiare uel repulsam⁹⁰
 25 Vel ronchis lacerare criticorum⁹¹.
 Respondes mihi: "Vindicem paraui,
 Quo me suscipiente nil timendum est,
 Hispani genuere quem disertis,
 Qui Sanctae Crucis illa signa gestat⁹²,
 30 Quis gentes iam fuere liberatae
 Et de faucibus inferis redemptae."
 Iam tu sic, liber o beate, vade:
 Tutum nam tibi uindicem parasti.

[f. 4v] <IV> DE EIVSDEM CARDINALIS GRATA PRAESENTIA

Aspice conspicui quae sit praesentia uultus!
 Qui Crucis a Sanctae nomine signa gerit⁹³.
 Cerne Sabinensis quanta est pietatis imago⁹⁴
 Principis, in Tyrio dum nitet orbe caput!
 5 In quo bis geminae sedem posuere sorores⁹⁵
 Quicquid et in terris religionis inest.
 Scintillantque oculi⁹⁶; coelestia dogmata sacri
 Verbaque barbatum Socratis ora sonant⁹⁷.
 Incessus pariter tali grauitate refertus,
 10 Personam qualis, quam gerit ille, decet.
 Tanta sibi similes fecit praesentia mores.
 Quam bene, quam recte sunt simul ista duo!

<V> DE EIVSDEM CARDINALIS EQUALIBVS VIRTUTIBVS

Cum modo uirtutum uellem numerare tuarum
 Nomina, litigii maxima causa fui⁹⁸,
 Adfuit ad calamos quoniam mihi turba paratos
 Et uoluit primo quaelibet esse loco.

5 Nanque locum petiit laudis Prudentia primum,
 Quod te prudentem fecerat illa sibi.
 Iustitia hunc pariter primum sibi sancta poposcit,
 [f. 5r] Quod te prae reliquis fecerat illa suum.
 Hinc sibi magna locum petiit Constantia eundem,
 10 Principibus quod tu fortior unus eras.
 Hanc quoque quaesiuit petiitque Modestia laudem,
 Quod solus noras rebus habere modum.
 Hoc et Relligio pariter Pietasque petebant,
 Hoc faciles mores ingenuusque pudor⁹⁹,
 15 Hoc et cunctarum rerum doctrina decorque,
 Hoc tua iure sibi lingua diserta dari.
 Quid facerem? Dixi: "Ne me uexate, sorores!
 Nulla sit inter uos rixa nec ira loci.
 Nam uos distinctae uariae in mortalibus estis –
 20 Principe in hoc solo dicimus esse pares."
 Assensere omnes¹⁰⁰ et sic abiere fatentes,
 Laudantes sensum iudiciumque meum.

<VI> FORTUNATA HISPANIA PROPTER EUNDEM
CARDINALEM PRECIPUE

Magnorum ueneranda tot uirorum,
 Salue Hispania, non silenda mater.
 Coeli temperies fruenda salue,
 Quam non uel borealis ira uexat
 5 Aut flatus Aquilonis insonantes¹⁰¹,
 [f. 5v] Non nymbis rabies furentis Austri,
 Sed molles Zephyri tepentis aurae¹⁰²
 Inspirant uegetant mouent fouentque.
 Hinc tu delitiis fluis scatesque
 10 Passim fertilis omnibus metallis,
 Multo fertilior uiris disertis
 Nec non Caesaribus tuis uetustis,
 Qui gentem tenuere iam togatam¹⁰³.
 Reges pontifices duces Tetrarchas
 15 Tu das; historicos sophos poetas
 Tu das; eloquii patres Latini
 Tu das grammaticosque rhetoresque;
 Tu das purpurei decus galeri,
 Quo nunc cardineus nitet senatus
 20 Velut lucifero dies reuerso.

Sanctae quem tituli Crucis perornant,
 In quo se penitus quidem locauit
 Et natura potens¹⁰⁴ parensque rerum
 Concessit sine lege uagienti
 25 Huic uni poterat benigna quicquid.
 Gaude, Hispania tam beata, gaude!
 Hoc uno potes esse gloriosa,
 Si deficit tibi causa gloriandi.

[ff. 6 et 7 vacant]

[f. 8r] <VII> DE EIVSDEM CARDINALIS NATALI LOCO ET EIVS
 PARENTIBVS ET STIRPE

Franciscus genitor, genetrix Aldontia Sandes.
 Et Bernardinum dixit uterque parens
 Et, putet obscuro ne te de sanguine quisquam,
 Cognomen tribuit Caruaial alta domus.
 5 Natalamque dedit generosa Placentia lucem
 In Lusitanis urbs celebrata plagis.
 Reddo tibi ingentes, generosa Placentia, grates:
 Gignis enim, nobis qui placiturus erat.

<VIII> DE EIVSDEM CARDINALIS PRIMIS STVDIIS

Quod sapis haud mirum est, princeps uenerande, quod idem
 In patria, qui nunc, iam puer unus eras.
 Nondum quinta tuos trieteris uiderat annos,
 Simia cum magni iam Ciceronis eras.
 5 Deque tuo Aonii manabant ore liquores
 Et biberas dulces Bellerophontis aquas.
 Virtutum ergo tuae patriae primordia debes,
 Sed reliqui studii dux Salamanca fuit.

<IX> DE EIVSDEM CARDINALIS EDVCATIONE IN CVRIA
 REGIS ET REGINE

Virtutum causa rex et regina tuarum
 Intra regales te uoluere domos.
 [f. 8v] Carus eras, iucundus eras¹⁰⁵ et gratus utrisque,
 Grata quod iis facies indolis illa tuae
 5 Atque tuae in rebus miranda modestia uitae,

Quanta Numae fuerat, quanta Catonis erat¹⁰⁶.
 Nanque sibi similes inter se semper amantur.
 Sanctius iis quidnam regibus esse potest?
 Hinc mutare locum sed te quartana coegit.
 10 Et studiis tenuit te Salamanca suis,
 Magnum ubi tu sophiae studium complexus et artes,
 Factus es et multo, quam modo, maior eras¹⁰⁷.
 Audiuitque suis cathedris Salamanca legentem,
 Cum tua diuinae lectio legis erat.
 15 Noluit illa tibi, princeps, quartana nocere,
 Sed uoluit studiis dux magis esse tuis.

<X> DE EIVSDEM HONORIBVS ET BENEFICIIS ET
LEGATIONE ACCEPTIS A REGE ET A REGINA

Iam uirtute tua rex confirmatus uterque
 Incepit meritis gratior esse tuis,
 Viuere qui ut posses fueras quo dignus honore.
 Constituere auri milia bina tibi¹⁰⁸.
 5 Hinc tu Parthenopen legatus missus adisti,
 Rex Ferdinandus tunc ubi magnus erat.
 [f. 9r] Sed cui non placeat talis praesentia uel quis,
 Ore tuo qui non sic capiatur, erit?
 A quo tam laeta susceptus fronte¹⁰⁹ fuisti
 10 Quam certe in tali munere nemo fuit.

<XI> DE SECVNDA EIVS LEGATIONE AD INNOCENTIVM

Innocui rursus pastoris ad atria missus
 Non minus ingenue regia iussa facis.
 Et bene pro gestis rebusque fideliter actis
 Cinxit apostolico munere mitra caput¹¹⁰
 5 Et capis Asturicam signatus episcopus urbem,
 Quae decus Hispani est non mediocre soli.
 Vmbra uelut corpus semper sectatur euntis¹¹¹
 Sic tua cuncta fuit facta sequutus honor.

<XII> CREATVS POSTEA CARDINALIS AB ALEXANDRO

Innocuus postquam superis discessit ab auris¹¹²
 Accepit Sextus Borgia sorte locum.
 Qui te purpurei decorauit honore galeri,

Quod bene uirtutes nouerat ille tuas
5 Et quod idem precibus rex et regina petebant¹¹³,
Quorum sub clypeo tam bene tutus eras.
Dulcius hoc fuerat, quod te ignorante disertum
Sponte sua tanto cinxit honore caput¹¹⁴.

[f. 9v] <XIII> EIVSDEM VARIAE ECCLESIAE SEV EPISCOPATVS

Prima est Asturicae, Pacensis proxima mitra.
Tertia Carthago, quarta Sagunthus erit.
Alba dedit quintam. Sextam dat Tuscula sedes
Septenamque tibi celsa Preneste dedit.
5 Octauumque decus tribuit tibi mitra Sabina.
Nonus erit titulus, quem Rhosianus habes.
Vtque tui pariter cuncti memorentur honores¹¹⁵,
Est Solimus decimus, quem patriarcha dedit.

<XIV> EIVSDEM LEGATIONES

Nondum puniceo fueras decoratus honore,
Cum regem Alfonsum Sextus adire iubet.
Inde ad Campanos missus legatus abisti,
Solutus ad haec quoniam munera promptus eras.
5 Bis quoque missus adis Germani Caesaris ora¹¹⁶,
Vt puto, ne quateret regna¹¹⁷ Latina petens.
Ista mouet multum cultae facundia linguae¹¹⁸.
Grata tamen facies¹¹⁹ – sed magis ista mouet.

[f. 10r] <XV> QVOT ANNIS IN ITALIA EX QVO CARDINALIS

Iam tria praetereunt iuncta trieteride lustra¹²⁰,
Ex quo te rutilo Roma sub orbe uidet.
In Vaticano reliquos tibi compleat annos
Roma, quod ostendit mens mihi certa fore.

<XVI> DE FAMILIA EIVS

Scilicet expertas etiam cognoscere mores¹²¹
Et quo scire cupis gaudeat ille grege.
Non amat hic scurras princeps gracilesue petauros¹²²
Nec uaria ad citharas qui mouet arte pedes
5 Nec qui de magnis rebus maiora loquuntur

Nec qui schenobates uel parasitus erit,
 Vndique sed uideas magna grauitate clientes
 Astantes domino nocte dieque¹²³ suo.
 Ludicra non unquam, nunquam petulantia uerba,
 10 Casta sed in cunctis uerbaque sancta sonant.
 Atria non uanis resonant clamoribus ullis¹²⁴
 Vana nec ullius dextera quassat ebur¹²⁵,
 Quisque sed a domino commissa negocia tractat
 Ocia uel libris dat sua quisque suis.
 15 Illic assidue disceptant dogmata legum,
 Callet et affectat ius quod utrunque domus.
 [f. 10v] Non minus ille pius noster colit atria Phoebus
 Et quae dant potus ex Helicone deae.
 Quas inter noster Cetrarius ille nitescit
 20 Inter ut Eous phosphorus astra micat.
 Hic quoque nanque tibi seruit, dignissime princeps,
 Atque gregis non est portio parua tui.
 Inde Sigismundus decorat tibi Pyndareus aulam,
 Cuius docta manus¹²⁶ seruit alumna tibi,
 25 Et tua facundus secreta negocia tractat
 Pieriis iuuenis tempora lotus aquis¹²⁷.
 Sed tamen hos mores, quisnam imitetur et artes?
 Talia non mirum est cernere; crede mihi.
 Moribus a domini famulos cognoscere fas est:
 30 Qualis et est mater, filia talis erit¹²⁸.

<XVII> DE VITA EIVSDEM

Vita Sabinensis qualis sit, forte requiris¹²⁹.
 Est, tanti qualem principis esse decet.
 Relligione Numam superat, grauitate Catonem¹³⁰,
 Quosque uocant sanctos relligione patres.
 5 Ille diem nunquam steriles distinguit in horas,
 Sed facit officium quaelibet hora suum.
 Noctis enim partem postquam dedit ille quieti,
 [f. 11r] Surgit ut illuxit nocte abeunte dies
 Imprimisque deum sancte ueneratur et orat,
 10 Donec septenum perficiatur opus¹³¹.
 Inde piam Christi supplex se flectit ad aram
 Ille, ubi pro mundo mysticus agnus obit.
 Imperat ille sacris facilis iam rite peractis
 Reclusos¹³² cunctis posse patere fores

- 15 Praeparat atque aures et se permittit adiri
 Officiumque facit sedulus aure pia.
 Post ubi¹³³ cuique suas faciles iam prestitit aures,
 Ad studii reuolat tempora grata sui,
 Congrua magnificae redeant dum tempora mensae,
 20 Pulchrius in terris qua nihil esse potest.
 Praetereo egregias epulasque dapesque cibosque
 Structorumque artes delitiasque manus.
 Illaque praetereo dignissima pocula diuis
 Qualia dextra Phrygis non Ganymedis habet¹³⁴.
 25 Nec cedunt primis mensis in parte secundae,
 Immo quidem differt inter utrasque nihil.
 Postquam finis adest mensaeque fuere remotae,
 Istrio non illic, non citharedus adest.
 Vana nec ullius ueniunt tunc ora choraulae¹³⁵
 30 Nec Gaditani Niliaciue chori¹³⁶,
 [f. 11v] Sed uenit in medium coeli doctrina segesque
 Ponitur et uariis discutienda modis.
 Perque uices deferuet opus iuuenesque deserti
 Plurima disceptant principis ante pedes.
 35 Denique non paucis missis hinc inde sagittis
 Ille graui partes uoce¹³⁷ silere iubet
 Non aliter rerum dubiosa aenigmata soluens
 Quam si Daeliae Phoebadis ora forent.
 His etiam cum finis adest, mox rursus ad illa
 40 Ocia librorum semper amata redit.
 Hinc iterum prodit populo, quod porrigat, aures,
 Orbis ad hunc quoniam gens numerosa uenit.
 Inde reuertenti modicus dat membra quieti,
 Si modo non studii tunc quoque tempus erit.
 45 Principis o mores, o uitam principe dignam!
 Dispereat, qui te non reuerenter amat.

<XVIII> DE AVLEIS EIVSDEM

- Non modo sanctificas constat tua uita per artes
 Et satis ingenuis moribus illa patet,
 Sed tua per uarias monstrant aulea figuras,
 Est ubi nil foedum barbaricumue nihil.
 5 Non hic uana uides¹³⁸ Phrygii spectacula Martis,
 [f. 12r] Non hic Argolicas Mirmidonumue manus;
 Non circum Iliacos currus trahit Hectora muros¹³⁹;

Non hic attonitus Troilus haeret equis¹⁴⁰
Nec Priami auxilio lunatis agmina peltis
10 Ducit Hamazonidum Penthesilea furens¹⁴¹;
Non hic Iliades moestas peplumque ferentes
Ad templum passis crinibus ire uides¹⁴²,
Sed Solimas turbas licet hic spectare proteruas¹⁴³
Quaerentes Christo saeua per arma necem.
15 Inde uides captum uinclis caesumque flagellis;
Inde uides magno ferre labore crucem;
Inde uides geminos inter pendere latrones,
Quem mare quem coeli sidera terra colunt;
Inde uides uariis mysteria tanta figuris
20 Cuncta per Hebreos significata patres.
Nemo crucis titulos tam conuenienter habebat
Quam tu, qui obseruans tam crucis unus eras.

Translation of the cycle of poems dedicated to Bernardino de Carvajal

<II> From the same [sc. Cantalicio, B.S.] to the same [sc. Bernardino de Carvajal, B.S.] – The reason for dedicating this volume

It was my firm intention to put an end to composing poetry, and finally to say «Goodbye, Apollo!» from the bottom of my heart, when he, whom I had been following for sixty years¹⁴⁴, said to me in his venerable voice¹⁴⁵: «Keep on in my service, o most gentle old man, keep on! The time has not yet come to desert your leader. You have indeed written a lot, but something more is left for you to write, and this indeed you must not pass over, or rather I should say: If you don't write what is left for you to write, you won't earn any glory at all from your previous writings. If you enjoy rendering mortal men famous with your poems, why don't you go on and finish the work you started? So far, Italy's noble families, people and potentates have been your topics; popes and cardinals; towns, castles, houses, strongholds, fortresses and beasts, and you sing about everything that exists in the whole world¹⁴⁶. You shall think that you have achieved nothing, if you don't celebrate that man, as well, who has already been your favorite above all others, who bears the title and the name of the Holy Cross and is an eminent beacon for the purple flock¹⁴⁷. Spanish soil has not brought forth anything more grand than him, and she will never again see his equal. He honors you with great love for your loyalty and often commends you, and he reads what you have written.» After this speech, I took up again my abandoned flute and the lyre, and my Muse took up the work that was assigned to me. In fact, she dedicated everything to you that she had already written earlier, and she will restrict my production of new poems to follow. Receive, o venerable prince, our work, and please read with a gentle heart whatever it may be. Shall Rome – that's my wish – concede to you the chair of the Vatican, and shall that greatest mitre of all crown your head!

<III> Cantalicio's words to his book

Where do you, o book, carry the fruit of my work? Where do you take the nights and days of your master; where do you take such a big and anxious volume¹⁴⁸? You, croaking with me at home for so many years¹⁴⁹, not daring to set foot outside¹⁵⁰, have remained miserable, fearful and insecure; too afraid of the critics' jibes and of the great nausea caused by people talking badly. But you, who are finally going out there despite their talking, tell me: What safe protector have you obtained for yourself? Do you think you will have one of the kings ask for you, or one of the

princes, so that he lets your trifles enter his palace? There is little hope your prophecy will fulfill, and your wishes are in vain. Obviously, you carry with you many thousand words, and sacred books stuffed with my verses¹⁵¹. If you believe that doors will be open for you this way, you sow on the sea and beat the sky¹⁵². For the palaces of princes that once were open for poems are open for money now, and they have located the rank of the highest good in coins. Therefore, if you are wise you will stay at home, and avoid suffering a vile rejection, or being torn to pieces by the critics' gabble¹⁵³. You will answer me: «I have obtained a protector, and with him receiving me, there is nothing to fear. The eloquent Spaniards have brought him forth. This man bears the standards of the Holy Cross, by which the pagans once were saved and redeemed from the abyss of Hell.» It is my wish, o happy book, that you be on your way, for you have obtained a safe protector for yourself.

<IV> On the pleasant appearance of the same cardinal

Behold the appearance of the striking face! This man bears the title that takes its name from the Holy Cross. See how much the prince of Sabina resembles Piety, when his head gleams in the purple circle! Four sisters¹⁵⁴, and whatever sanctity exists in this world have located their dwelling in him. His eyes sparkle, and his lips ring out the heavenly doctrine of the Holy One and the expressions of bearded Socrates. His bearing is filled with the same gravity that suits the role he plays. Such a noble appearance has made similar habits. How well, how fittingly these two are matched!

<V> On the equivalent virtues of the same cardinal

I caused an almighty quarrel when I wanted to catalogue your virtues because there was a crowd of them at my sharpened quill and each claimed precedence. Prudence demanded first place in my praise, because she was the one who had rendered you prudent. Likewise, Holy Justice claimed the first place, because she had made you hers more than the others. Great Constancy then demanded the same place, because you alone were stronger than the princes. Modesty also claimed and demanded this praise, because only you knew restraint in your affairs. Religion and Piety equally claimed this position, as did your affability and your noble sense of shame, your knowledge of all the things and your elegance; your erudite tongue also justly claimed it for itself. What was I to do? I said: «Do not harass me, sisters! There shall be no fighting nor anger among you. Certainly, you are distinct and different in mortals, but in this prince alone, we call you equal.» They all agreed and confirmed this to be true as they left, praising my sense and my judgment.

<VI> Spain is fortunate especially because of the same cardinal

Greetings, Spain, venerable mother of so many great men, who must not be passed over in silence! Greetings, joyful temperance of the sky, which neither icy wrath torments, nor the flogging blasts of the North wind, nor the fury of the raging South wind with his storms, but which the gentle breezes of the warm Zephyr inspires, animates, moves and fosters! They cause you, fertile in all regions, to overflow in delights¹⁵⁵, and you abound with metals of all kind. Yet you are much more fertile in learned men and the ancient emperors, who previously ruled over the Roman people¹⁵⁶. You bring forth kings¹⁵⁷, popes¹⁵⁸, generals¹⁵⁹, tetrarchs¹⁶⁰; you bring forth historians¹⁶¹, philosophers¹⁶², poets¹⁶³; you bring forth fathers of Latin eloquence and grammarians and orators¹⁶⁴, and you bring forth that splendor to the red hat through whom the college of cardinals now shines like the new day after the morning star has risen. The title of the Holy Cross adorns this man. Mighty Mother Nature has placed herself deep within him and has given to him alone, when he was a small boy, whatever benefits were in her power. Rejoice, Spain, which is so blessed, rejoice! You can boast in this singular man, if indeed you need further reason to boast.

<VII> On the birthplace of the same cardinal, on his parents and his family

Francisco is his father, his mother is Aldonza Sande¹⁶⁵. Both parents called him Bernardino, and lest anyone think that you were of humble origin, the distinguished house of Carvajal provided your last name. Noble Plasencia, a city celebrated in the region of Lusitania, gave you birth. Oh noble Plasencia, I am extremely grateful to you, since you brought forth one who would prove pleasant to us¹⁶⁶.

<VIII> On the first studies of the same cardinal

It is no wonder that you are wise, venerable prince, because already as a boy in your home town you were the same unique man you are now¹⁶⁷. You were barely fifteen when you were already aping the great Cicero¹⁶⁸. From your lips the streams of the Muses ran, and you had imbibed the sweet waters of Bellerophon¹⁶⁹. This way, you owe the beginnings of your virtues to your home, but Salamanca led you in your remaining studies.

<IX> On the education of the same cardinal in the administration of the King and the Queen

Because of your virtues, the King and the Queen wanted you in the royal household. Both perceived you as kind, pleasant and dear, because the sight of your talent was dear to them, as was the amazing temperance of the daily conduct of your affairs, which Numa and Cato equally possessed.

For persons that resemble themselves always show reverence towards each other. What could be holier than these kings¹⁷⁰? However fever forced you to move from there¹⁷¹. Salamanca held you tight with its studies, where you, embracing the studies of Philosophy¹⁷² and the Arts, became great and were much greater than you had been just before¹⁷³. Salamanca also listened to you lecturing when you held the chair of divine law¹⁷⁴. That fever did not want to hurt you, o prince, but rather wanted to lead you in your studies.

<X> On the offices, benefices and the legation he received from the King and the Queen

As your virtue confirmed the disposition of both kings, they started to show more gratitude towards what you achieved, who¹⁷⁵ was worthy of an honor providing for his living. The kings allotted a sum of two thousand gold coins to you¹⁷⁶. After this, you were sent as a legate to Naples at the time when King Ferdinand was at the height of his power¹⁷⁷. Who would not enjoy such a presence, what person would not be captured by your words the way Ferdinand was? You were received by this man with such a happy face as certainly no one else in such a function was ever received¹⁷⁸.

<XI> On his second legation to Innocent

Sent once more to the court of Pope Innocent¹⁷⁹, you fulfilled the royal order with no less genius. For a job well done and for pursuing his affairs in a trustworthy way, a mitre crowned your head as an apostolic present, and as a decorated bishop you received the city of Astorga, a great honor on Spanish soil¹⁸⁰. As his shadow accompanies a man as he walks, so honor has followed all your accomplishments.

<XII> Later he was created cardinal by Alexander

After Pope Innocent had retreated from the upper world¹⁸¹, Alexander VI Borgia, took his place by lot¹⁸². This man decorated you with the honor of the crimson hat, because he knew your virtues well, and because the King and the Queen, under whose aegis you had been protected so well, were asking for the same with their requests. Even sweeter than this was the fact that he decorated your eloquent head of his own free will with such a great honor without you even knowing about it¹⁸³.

<XIII> The various churches or bishoprics of the same man

The first mitre was the one of Astorga, the next one Badajoz. Cartagena the third; Sigüenza became the fourth. Alba has given you the fifth; the Tusculan seat gives you the sixth. Lofty Palestrina has given you the seventh, and the Sabinian mitre has awarded you your eighth glory. The ninth be-

came the one you hold as the bishop of Rossano. The tenth honor is the one the Patriarch of Jerusalem has given, that all honors be equally recalled¹⁸⁴.

<XIV> The legations of the same man

Not yet were you decorated with the crimson honor, when Alexander VI ordered you to go on a mission to King Alfonso. At that time, you left as legate for the Campanian fields, because you alone were suited for such a mission¹⁸⁵. Sent twice you went on missions to the territories of the German Caesar in order to, as I assume, dissuade him from setting out to the Latin realms and creating turmoil¹⁸⁶. The eloquence of your refined tongue achieves much. Your appearance is certainly pleasant, but that one achieves more.

<XV> How long he has been in Italy since he was created cardinal

Three *lustra*¹⁸⁷ joined with one *trieteris*¹⁸⁸ have already passed, since Rome first witnessed you among the red circle¹⁸⁹. May Rome fill up your remaining years in the Vatican: My mind has revealed to me that these things will happen for sure¹⁹⁰.

<XVI> On his entourage

Of course you want to get acquainted with his approved manners as well, and you want to hear what kind of entourage delights the cardinal. Neither does this prince take delight in jesters or agile acrobats, nor in him who moves his feet to the lyre in different styles, nor in those who render big things even bigger in their speeches, nor in him who will be a rope dancer or a parasite. Instead, throughout his clientele you may see men of great dignity, who stand by their patron day and night. No jokes, no arguments, but only chaste and holy words pervade everything. His palace does not resound with any vain shouting, nor does a throw from anybody's idle hand shake the ivory dicing table¹⁹¹, but everybody is either busy with the assignments of his patron, or dedicates his free time to studying his books. There, they eagerly discuss the doctrines of the laws, because this house is well versed in both laws and endeavors to fully appropriate them¹⁹². To no lesser degree does he, our pious Apollo, and the goddesses, who provide refreshments from the Helicon, care for this palace. Our Cedrario emerges shining among these Muses as the morning star shines among the stars at dawn¹⁹³. For this man is also in your services, o worthy prince, and he is not an insignificant part of your entourage. Next, Sigismondo Pindaro gives splendor to your palace, whose learned hand, which you have fostered, is in your service. This eloquent young man, whose temples were dipped in the waters of the Muses, takes care of your letters¹⁹⁴. But who could imitate such manners and skills? Believe me, it is no surprise to see such things. It is permitted to recognize the servants from the manners of their patron: As the mother is, so the daughter will be.

<XVII> On the conduct of daily life of the same man

You may perhaps inquire about the conduct of daily life of the bishop of Sabina. It is such that befits a great prince. In religion, he surpasses Numa; in dignity Cato and those who the Christian authors call saints because of their religiosity¹⁹⁵. In his day, this man sets no hour apart which will not bear fruit, but every hour fulfils its designated duty. For after giving a part of the night to rest, he gets up when day has dawned and night retreats, and among the first things, he devoutly worships God and prays that the sevenfold work may be carried out¹⁹⁶. As a suppliant of Christ he then betakes himself to the pious altar, where the mystical lamb died for the world¹⁹⁷. When the sacred offices have been duly performed, that easy-going man orders the closed doors to be open to everybody. He prepares his ears and allows himself to be approached, and fulfils his duty with great care and an attentive ear. As soon as he has lent his affable ears to everybody, he hastens to the time convenient for his studies, until the time fit for his magnificent table returns, and nothing in the world can be more beautiful than this. I pass over the excellent banquets, feasts and meals; the skills of the meat carvers and the delicacies of this band of servants, and I do not mention the drinks that would perfectly suit the gods and are such that even the hand of Trojan Ganymede never held¹⁹⁸. The desserts do not yield to the previous courses in rank, or I should rather say, there is no difference between these two¹⁹⁹. When the meal is finished and the dishes have been removed, neither actor, nor musician appears. Neither does the vain face of any flute-player appear, nor do exotic dancers from Gades or the Nile²⁰⁰. Instead, the heavenly doctrines become the subject of discussion, and a foundation for controversial discussions is established. As they take turns in a heated debate, the erudite young men discuss an impressive array of topics in the presence of the prince. After many darts have been shot back and forth, he orders the opposing parties in a grave voice to remain silent, and solves the doubtful riddles about their issues as if they were words of Phoebus' Delian priestesses²⁰¹. When this has also come to an end, he soon returns to the leisure of his books, which is always dear to him. After that, he once more lends his ears to the crowd and listens to what they bring forward, since plenty of people from everywhere come to this man. He then allows his body to moderately yield to the returning need to sleep, however only if there is no time left which could be used for studies instead. Oh such habits of a prince, such a life worthy a prince! Let him perish who does not admire you from the bottom of his heart.

<XVIII> On the tapestries of the same man

Your conduct is not only constant through holy demeanour²⁰², and clearly visible through natural morals, but through various motifs your tapestries

also demark a zone where there is nothing vile or barbarian. Here, you don't see the vain panorama of the Phrygian Mars, or the armies of the Greek or Myrmidones. No chariot drags Hector around the Trojan walls, no frightened Troilus here rides firmly mounted on his horses, and no furious Penthesilea leads the forces of the Amazons with their half-moon shields to Priam's aid. Here, you don't see Trojan women in sorrow and carrying the peplum to the temple, their hair dishevelled²⁰³, but here you can see the impudent crowd of Jerusalem, demanding the death of Christ through fierce arms. Next you see him bound in fetters and beaten with scourges, you see him carrying the cross with great difficulty, you see him hanging between two thieves, whom the sea, the skies, the stars and the earth venerate; next you see such great mysteries announced by the Old Testament Prophets in various forms²⁰⁴. Nobody was ever more suited to bear the title Santa Croce than you, who are the only one so full of veneration for the cross²⁰⁵.

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¹ This article is based on a research visit to the Università degli Studi di Napoli «Federico II» undertaken as a part of the excellence program TPCC-VALCSIP "Tracciabilità del patrimonio culturale della Campania". I would like to thank Giuseppe Germano for his support of my studies *in situ* and Gianluca del Noce for providing me insights into his work on Cantalicio. I also owe thanks to Giuseppe Germano, Paul Gwynne and Dennis Miedeck for their commentaries on my study and translation.

² Cfr. the introduction to Schirg 2016a. See also Germano 2014, p. 77.

³ «Il *Borgias* ha tutti i pregi e tutti i difetti della poesia latina del Rinascimento: non manca di vuote allocuzioni e di retoriche reminiscenze mitologiche; possiede, altresì, la ricchezza di lingua particolare solo ai grandi umanisti [...]» (Altamura 1940, p. 733).

⁴ For the most comprehensive account of Cantalicio's life and works see Cantalicio, *Bucolica. Spectacula Lucretiana*, pp. 9-46.

⁵ Cantalicio, *Bucolica. Spectacula Lucretiana*.

⁶ Cantalicio, *La vacanza fuori Roma*.

⁷ Monreal 2005, del Noce 2009 and del Noce 2013.

⁸ Announced in del Noce 2013, p. 88 n. 8.

⁹ Germano 2014.

¹⁰ For a list of its content see Kristeller 1963, p. 434.

¹¹ Croce 1924. This article is reprinted in Croce 1927, pp. 46-67.

¹² Croce 1924, p. 157.

¹³ Altamura 1940.

¹⁴ Introducing to this cardinal see Fragnito 1978, Goñi 1987 and Fernández De Córdova Miralles 2012. In many aspects, research still relies on Rossbach 1892. With new material from Italian archives see Schirg 2016a.

¹⁵ Cantalicio, *Bucolica. Spectacula Lucretiana*, pp. 48-49.

¹⁶ Cantalicio, *Epigrammata*.

¹⁷ Altamura 1940, p. 732.

¹⁸ Cfr. Cantalicio, *Bucolica. Spectacula Lucretiana*, pp. 47-57.

¹⁹ Cfr. Cantalicio, *Bucolica. Spectacula Lucretiana*, p. 53.

²⁰ The English translation and the Latin text of Cantalicio's cycle of poems to Carvajal are quoted from my edition and translation in the appendix of this article (referred to as Cantalicio, *Carvajal* in the following). See Cantalicio, *Carvajal* <II>, 29-32: «Accipe tu nostros, princeps uenerande, labores / Atque legas placido pectore quicquid id est. / Sic Vaticanus tribuat tibi Roma tribunal / Cingat et illa tuum maxima mitra caput.»

²¹ Cantalicio, *Bucolica. Spectacula Lucretiana*, p. 53.

²² Cantalicio, *Bucolica. Spectacula Lucretiana*, p. 48 n. 2 and p. 54.

²³ Cantalicio, *Bucolica. Spectacula Lucretiana*, pp. 51-52. Monti Sabia assumes that the last pages date latest, as their poems appear in a more shaky script allegedly indicating the old age of the poet. This however only applies to some of the poems. In addition, manuscripts Cantalicio dedicated earlier also show passages of this kind; see e.g. his commentary to Juvenal in Vatican, *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* (BAV hereafter), Urb. lat. 662, f. 18v-20v and 340v-343r.

²⁴ Cantalicio, *Bucolica. Spectacula Lucretiana*, p. 54.

²⁵ Cantalicio, *Bucolica. Spectacula Lucretiana*, p. 49.

²⁶ The first of the surviving poems is counted as <II> to indicate the loss of at least the opening poem or prologue. See also *Notes to the edition*.

²⁷ Cantalicio, *Carvajal* <IV>, 3-4: «Cerne Sabinensis quanta est pietatis imago / Principis, in Tyrio dum nitet orbe caput!»

²⁸ Goñi 1987, p. 444.

²⁹ Cantalicio, *Carvajal* <XV>, 1-4: «Iam tria praetereunt iuncta trieteride lustra, / Ex quo te rutilo Roma sub orbe uidet. / In Vaticano reliquos tibi compleat annos / Roma, quod ostendit mens mihi certa fore.»

³⁰ Pastor 1955, III.1, p. 377.

³¹ Pastor 1955, III.2, p. 800.

³² Pastor 1955, III.2, pp. 815-818.

³³ Its tone possibly echoes the missionary self-conception attributed to Carvajal after he had opened

the seal of the *Apocalypsis Nova* in 1502 and started to identify with this prophecy. See Morisi-Guerra 1992, p. 45. For the role of prophecy during the time of the Council of Pisa see Landi 1992.

³⁴ Pastor 1955, III.2, p. 821.

³⁵ These included the French cardinals Guillaume Briçonnet (1445-1514), René De Prie (1451-1519) and Amanieu d'Albret (c.1478-1520), and the Italian cardinal Federico Sanseverino (c.1475-1516). See Pastor 1955, III.2, p. 820. Due to bad health, Cardinal Francesco Borgia (1441-1511) had sent a representative to Pisa and died on 4 November 1511.

³⁶ Pastor 1955, III.2, pp. 832-833.

³⁷ The Council was supposed to begin on 19 April 1512 (Pastor 1955, III.2, p. 811).

³⁸ This affected the cardinals Briçonnet, Francesco de Borja and de Prie. Sanseverino und d'Albret were threatened with the same punishment if they did not refrain from supporting the Council. See Pastor 1955, III.2, p. 820.

³⁹ For the end of the Council and the military interventions that followed see Pastor 1955, III.2, pp. 836-845.

⁴⁰ The fact that the first page(s) are lost may indicate that their ornament was particularly sumptuous.

⁴¹ See n. 16.

⁴² See n. 22.

⁴³ Cfr. Monreal 2005, p. 155.

⁴⁴ Cantalicio, *Carvajal* <II>, 7-20: «Plurima scripsisti, tibi sed scribenda supersunt / Plura, nec illa quidem praetereunda tibi. / Immo nisi scribas, tibi quae scribenda supersunt, / Gloria de scriptis nulla futura tua est. / Si te mortales iuuat illustrare Camenis / Cur non inceptum claudere pergis opus? / Hactenus Italicas gentes populosque ducesque / Pontifices summos cardineosque patres / Oppida castra casas arces castella ferasque / Et uiuit toto quicquid in orbe canis. / Nil egisse putes, tibi ni celebretur et ille, / Qui tibi iam cunctis antefendus erat / Quique Crucis Sanctae titulos et nomina portat / Princeps, purpurei lux generosa gregis.»

⁴⁵ See n. 10.

⁴⁶ Cantalicio, *Carvajal* <II>, 25-30: «His calamos dictis desertaque plectra resumpsi / Iniunctumque mihi Musa resumpsit opus. / Immo tibi, quicquid iam scripserat, illa dicaui / Carminibus posthac impositura modum. / Accipe tu nostros, princeps uenerande, labores / Atque legas placido pectore quicquid id est.»

⁴⁷ See e.g. n. 57.

⁴⁸ For Cantalicio's use of this motif in other poems see his epigram in del Noce 2013, p. 99. Cantalicio was perfectly familiar with this Roman author, whose metric forms he applies. See also del Noce 2009, p. 21 n. 2.

⁴⁹ This was the hypothesis of Monti Sabia; see Cantalicio, *Bucolica. Spectacula Lucretiana*, pp. 51 and 54.

⁵⁰ This is clearly the case for the codex BNN, V E 62. This small codex probably written by Cantalicio himself dates between 1513 and 1514 (see Cantalicio, *La vacanza fuori Roma*, pp. 53-54).

⁵¹ Cantalicio, *Carvajal* <XVI>, 19-26: «Quas inter noster Cetrarius ille nitescit / Inter ut Eous phosphorus astra micat. / Hic quoque nanque tibi seruit, dignissime princeps, / Atque gregis non est portio parua tui. / Inde Sigismundus decorat tibi Pyndareus aulam, / Cuius docta manus seruit alumna tibi, / Et tua facundus secreta negocia tractat / Pieriis iuuenis tempora lotus aquis.»

⁵² See Pindaro's subscription to this document in *La canonizzazione di S. Francesco di Paola*, pp. 225-226. Cfr. also *ibid.*, pp. vii and xv. I am grateful to Dr. Jenni Kuuliala, who provided me with transcriptions of this rare edition from the BAV.

⁵³ After Carvajal was excommunicated in 1511, it is likely that Pindaro continued to put his language skill to the use of Cardinal Lorenzo Pucci (1458-1531), the new Protector now in charge of this process.

⁵⁴ Cedrario appears in the list of secretaries following the papal legate to Milan in 1496-97 which Johannes Burckard draws up in his *Diarium*. See Burchard, *Diarii*, vol. 2, p. 320.

⁵⁵ In the dialogue *De opportunitate* set in Naples in the years 1506-1507, Mario Equicola introduces the speaker *Franciscus Citrarius* as secretary («a secretis») of Bernardino de Carvajal. See Schirg 2015, p. 138, n. 22.

⁵⁶ See Schirg 2015, p. 138, n. 22.

⁵⁷ The poem *AD IVLIVM II PONTIFICEM MAXIMVM DE SIGISMVNDIO SECRETARIO* may confirm this position (see BNN, XVI A 1, f. 179v-180r). In this text Cantalicio addresses Julius II and

praises his secretary Sigismondo. As this poem does not mention a last name, it is not entirely certain whether it refers to Sigismondo Pindaro instead of Sigismondo de' Conti (1432-1512), who was also in the Pope's service until his death in 1512 (cfr. Riccardi 1983, pp. 472-474). The poem probably dates close to 1503, as it focuses on Julius' triumph in the conclave (BNN, XVI A 1, f. 179v). Another poem in this volume is unmistakably dedicated to the late Sigismondo de' Conti (*Sigismundus Fulginatus*), praising both his biblical age and learning (*ibid.*, f. 262r-v).

⁵⁸ His name appears at the end of the convocation of the Fifth Lateran Council and the Breve that announced the excommunication of Carvajal. See *Convocatio generalis* 1512, f. [Aa iv] v («Sigismundus Pindarus Secretarius») and *Breve ad reges* [1512], f. 4 («Sigismundus»). Another document signed by Sigismondo is the *Bulla intimationis* [1512], f. [b iv] v («Sigismundus»).

⁵⁹ See n. 25.

⁶⁰ At this point, the authorship of this poem remains uncertain.

⁶¹ For the liturgy of the Cross see de Blaauw 1997, p. 70-72.

⁶² E.g. also during his legation to Maximilian I (see n. 186), Carvajal insisted on celebrating this feast so closely related to his titular church on 14 September 1508. See Minnich 1992, p. 113. Assuming a dedication at this date, it is interesting to note that Cantalicio's cycle of poems closes with a focus on the Cardinal's veneration for the True Cross (Cantalicio, *Carvajal* <XVIII>, 21-22: «Nemo crucis titulos tam conuenienter habebat / Quam tu, qui obseruans tam crucis unus eras»).

⁶³ Minnich 1992, p. 118

⁶⁴ For these poems see Cantalicio, *La vacanza fuori Roma*.

⁶⁵ For a detailed description of the manuscript see Cantalicio, *Bucolica. Spectacula Lucretiana*, pp. 47-57.

⁶⁶ See OLD.

⁶⁷ See TLL.

⁶⁸ See *Biblia sacra*.

⁶⁹ See del Noce 2009, p. 19 n. 1.

⁷⁰ cfr. OV. met. 8,67: *stat sententia*

⁷¹ cfr. OV. met. 14,503: *finemque in acumine ponunt*; LVCAN. 5,314: *liceat scelerum tibi ponere finem*; 10,42: *finem vaesano ponere regi*

⁷² cfr. PROP. 3,1,7: *a ualeat, Phoebum quicumque moratur in armis!*

⁷³ cfr. MART. 10,71,5: *bis sex lustra*; VERG. Aen. 9,272; 11,9; 12,163; 12, 899 et al.: *bis sex*

⁷⁴ cfr. TIB. 2,6,1: *Castra Macer sequitur*; PROP. 2,10,119: *haec ego castra sequar*

⁷⁵ cfr. OV. fast. 1,212: *et, cum possideant plurima, plura petunt*; Ib. 120: *qui mala cum tuleris plurima, plura feras*

⁷⁶ *futura tua est*: OV. Ib. 162

⁷⁷ cfr. OV. fast. 4,15-16: *mota Cytheriaca leviter mea tempora myrto / contigit et 'coeptum perfice' dixit 'opus' rem*; rem. 39-40: *movit Amor gemmatas aureus alas / Et mihi 'propositum perfice' dixit 'opus!'*

⁷⁸ *populosque ducesque*: LVCAN. 7,417

⁷⁹ *quicquid in orbe canis*: OV. fast. 1,284; 493

⁸⁰ cfr. OV. epist. 16,206: *nobis anteferendus erit*; 357: *armis anteferendus erit*

⁸¹ cfr. CIC. Att. 6,8,1: *Cum instituissem ad te scribere calamumque sumpsissem*

⁸² *placido pectore*: VERG. Aen. 1,521

⁸³ cfr. AVSON. 17,13: *tibi tribuere tribunal*

⁸⁴ cfr. PROP. 4,2,31: *cinge caput mitra*; 3,17,30: *cinget Bassaricas Lydia mitra comas*

⁸⁵ CATALICII N

⁸⁶ cfr. MART. 3,2,1-2: *Cuius vis fieri, libelle, munus? / festina tibi vindicem parare*

⁸⁷ *milia multa*: CATVLL. 5,10; 16,12; 61,210; 66,78

⁸⁸ cfr. VERG. Aen. 2,661: *patet isti ianua leto*; 6,1127: *patet atri ianua Ditis*

⁸⁹ *bona summa*: IVV. 5,2

⁹⁰ cfr. HOR. epist. 1,43: *turpemque repulsam*

⁹¹ cfr. MART. 4,86,7: *nec rhonchos metues maligniorum*

⁹² cfr. <IV>, 2: *Qui Crucis a Sanctae nomine signa gerit*

⁹³ cfr. <III>, 29: *Qui Sanctae Crucis illa signa gestat*

⁹⁴ *pietatis imago*: VERG. Aen. 6,405, 9,294, 10,824

⁹⁵ *posuere soreres*: OV. met. 8,452

⁹⁶ cfr. PERS. 3,117: *scintillant oculi*

⁹⁷ *ora sonant*: VERG. Aen. 4,183

- ⁹⁸ *causa fui*: VERG. Aen. 6,458 et al.
- ⁹⁹ cfr. CATVLL. 61,83: *ingenuus pudor*
- ¹⁰⁰ *assensere omnes*: LVCAN. 6,536
- ¹⁰¹ cfr. MART. 10,82,3: *flatus Aquilonis iniqui*
- ¹⁰² cfr. VERG. georg. 2,330: *Zephyrique tepentibus auris*
- ¹⁰³ cfr. VERG. Aen. 1,282: *Romanos, rerum dominos, gentemque togatam*
- ¹⁰⁴ *natura potens*: HOR. sat. 2,1
- ¹⁰⁵ cfr. CIC. Verr. 1,112: *quid enim natura nobis iucundius, quid carius esse voluit?*; Catil. 4,11: *populo carum atque iucundum*; Font. 47: *quid est praeter fratrem quod aut iucundum aut carum esse possit?* et al.
- ¹⁰⁶ cfr. <XVII>, 3: *Relligione Numam superat, grauitate Catonem*
- ¹⁰⁷ cfr. OV. fast. 6,540: *et tanto, quam modo, maior erat*
- ¹⁰⁸ cfr. MART. 3,10,1: *Constituit, Philomuse, pater tibi milia bina*
- ¹⁰⁹ cfr. VERG. Aen. 11,238: *laeta fronte*
- ¹¹⁰ v. <II>, 31
- ¹¹¹ cfr. LVCR. 4,373-374: *propterea fit uti videatur, quae fuit umbra / corporis, e regione eadem nos usque secuta*; QVINT. inst. 8,29,70: *ut umbra corpus sequi*
- ¹¹² cfr. VERG. Aen. 6,128: *sed revocare gradum superasque evadere ad auras* et al.
- ¹¹³ cfr. PERS. 2,37: *Hunc optet generum rex et regina*
- ¹¹⁴ cfr. <II>, 31
- ¹¹⁵ cfr. OV. fast. 3,147: *memorantur honores*
- ¹¹⁶ *Caesaris ora*: LVCAN. 10,145
- ¹¹⁷ cfr. OV. epist. 8,118: *regna quatit*
- ¹¹⁸ cfr. OV. Pont. 1,2,67: *Romanae facundia, Maxime, linguae*; 2,3,75: *Latiae facundia linguae*; trist. 3,5,29: *linguae facundia*; 4,4a,5: *patriae facundia linguae*
- ¹¹⁹ cfr. MART. 7,25,6: *nec grata est facies*
- ¹²⁰ cfr. MART. 9,84,9: *bis trieteride iuncta*
- ¹²¹ cfr. OV. met. 14,524: *licet cognoscere mores*
- ¹²² cfr. MART. 11,21,3: *gracilis vias petauri*
- ¹²³ *nocteque dieque*: OV. met. 2,343; 4,260; epist. 3,1,40
- ¹²⁴ cfr. OV. ars 3,375: *resonat clamoribus aether*
- ¹²⁵ *quassat ebur*: MART. 13,1,6
- ¹²⁶ cfr. TIB. 1,8,12: *docta subsequisse manu*; 2,1,70: *doctas nunc habet ille manus* et al.
- ¹²⁷ cfr. OV. am. 3,9,26: *Pieriis ora rigantur aquis*
- ¹²⁸ cfr. Hes 16,44: *sicut mater ita et filia eius*
- ¹²⁹ cfr. CATVLL. 85,1: *quare id faciam fortasse requiris*
- ¹³⁰ cfr. <IX>, 5-6: *Quanta Numae fuerat, quanta Catonis erat*
- ¹³¹ cfr. I Par 28,20: *donec perficias omne opus ministerii domus Domini*
- ¹³² *recluso N*
- ¹³³ *post ubi*: VERG. Aen. 4,80; 5,362 et al.
- ¹³⁴ cfr. MART. 12,15,6-7: *haec sunt pocula quae decent Tonantem, / haec sunt quae Phrygium decent ministrum*; cfr. OV. met. 10,155: *Phrygii Ganymedis*
- ¹³⁵ cfr. MART. 11,75,3: *non sit cum citharoedus aut choraules?*
- ¹³⁶ cfr. IVV. 11,162-163: *forsitan exspectes ut Gaditana canoro / incipiant prurire choro*
- ¹³⁷ cfr. OV. fast. 6,343: *voce gravi*
- ¹³⁸ cfr. VERG. Aen. 4,12: *nec vana fides*
- ¹³⁹ cfr. VERG. Aen. 1,483-483: *ter circum Iliacos raptaverat Hectora muros / exanimumque auro corpus vendebat Achilles*
- ¹⁴⁰ cfr. VERG. Aen. 1,474-477: *parte alia fugiens amissis Troilus armis / infelix puer atque impar congressus Achilli: / fertur equis curruque haeret resupinus inani, / lora tenens tamen*
- ¹⁴¹ cfr. VERG. Aen. 1,490-491: *ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis / Penthesilea furens mediisque in milibus ardet*
- ¹⁴² cfr. VERG. Aen. 1,479-481: *interea ad templum non aequae Palladis ibant / crinibus Iliades passis pepulumque ferebant, / suppliciter tristes et tunsae pectora palmis*
- ¹⁴³ cfr. OV. fast. 4,142; epist. 5,136: *turba proterva*
- ¹⁴⁴ This line has been adduced to solve the question of Cantalicio's date of birth. See Croce 1924, p. 160, and Cantalicio, *Bucolica. Spectacula Lucreziana*, p. 10 n. 3. As the cycle of poems clearly dates to 1511, the author explains that he entered Apollo's services around 1450. Since we do not know

which age Cantalicio had in mind for this event, it remains difficult to use this line to pinpoint his date of birth.

¹⁴⁵ Apollo's intervention is one of Cantalicio's favorite devices to open a poem. Cfr. for example Cantalicio, *Bucolica. Spectacula Lucretiana*, 1. For classical instances cfr. e.g. VERG. *ecl.* 6,3-5; PROP. 3,3; Ov. *am.* 1,1 or HOR. *carm.* 4,15,1-4.

¹⁴⁶ Cfr. the list of dedicatees and topics in Kristeller's description of the manuscript (see n. 10). Animals are a recurrent topic in Cantalicio's poems; see e.g. *BNN*, XVI A 1, f. 201v and 313r-v.

¹⁴⁷ For Cardinal Bernardino de Carvajal, who held the titular church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, see n. 14.

¹⁴⁸ The excessive use of anaphora is a feature of Cantalicio's Latin style. Cfr. for example Cantalicio, *Carvajal* <V>, 13-16; <VI>, 15-18; <XVI>, 4-7; <XVIII>, 5-8; 15-19. See also Cantalicio, *La vacanza fuori Roma*, lines 102-103; 106-108; 132-138; 159-160; 164-169; 232-238, or Cantalicio, *Bucolica. Spectacula Lucretiana*, 7,4-9; 13-15; 17-20; 23-25; 23,27-31.

¹⁴⁹ The onomatopoeic Latin verb «crocitare» echoes the voice of the raven. In several passages, Augustine rendered his call as «cras, cras» («tomorrow, tomorrow») and declares it the motto of procrastinators (e.g. AVG. in *psalm.* 102,16: «sunt enim qui praeparant conuersionem, et differunt, et fit in illis uox coruina: cras, cras»). This could add an additional layer of interpretation to this passage, which possibly refers to the project of a second edition of poems that has been delayed for years.

¹⁵⁰ «Pes» refers to both the anatomical and the metrical foot.

¹⁵¹ I add «verba» as correspondent to «multa milia» and «libros» to «sacros». The «sacred books» possibly refer to the religious poems also included in Cantalicio's volume. They comprise for example poems on Santa Chiara of Montefalco and San Francesco (f. 213v-214r), prayers to Santa Lucia (f. 234r) and a cycle entitled *Libellus religiosus* including poems such as *Excusatio ad virginem in die passionis Christi*, *Contemplatio ad crucifixum*, *Peccatoris Christiani confessio* or poems on various holidays (f. 247v-258v).

¹⁵² you act in vain.

¹⁵³ Cantalicio referred to the critics in a similar image in the first paragraph of the letter of dedication preceeding his *Feretrana* (quoted from del Noce 2009, p. 18): «Tametsi ad id aetatis, illustrissime Guide, pervenimus ut qui scribere aliquid velint aut nihil intactum scribere valeant, aut, si intactum quicquam forsitan scribant, criticorum dentibus optata pabula largiantur et nasutorum nares usque quaque protendant, ego tamen, quum passim resonent scribentium calami, obiectans me ferocissimis hostibus, in tanta multitudine scripsi quoque non pauca, ne aut in ocio mortuo iacere, aut ne criticorum latratus morsusque formidare viderer.» The canine language reappears in Cantalicio's epigram *In criticos* quoted *ibid.*, p. 19.

¹⁵⁴ i. e. the Four Cardinal Virtues: Prudence, Fortitude, Justice and Temperance.

¹⁵⁵ According to one tradition, the Zephyr originated in Spain. See for example Marineo Siculo, *De Hispaniae laudibus*, f. a v v: «Cuius etiam regionis aer tenuissimus ac saluberrimus. Nec mirum quidem est cum sit Hispania et foelici subiecta climati et uento secundo nimis inspiretur. Zephyro enim respiratur refocillaturque, qui ex ea flare creditur ac nasci, quo nulla est fere mitior aura nulla salubrior.» Cantalicio's poem strongly draws upon the established genre of the *Laus Hispaniae*, which was also a prominent topic in the oration of obedience Carvajal held in 1493 for the Spanish Kings (cfr. n. 183). Cantalicio praised Spain in similar ways on other occasions. See for example his poem *Quod Hispania non sit dicenda barbara* (edited in Croce 1924, p. 190), or the praise of Spain he inserted in his poem *Borgia nobilitas* found in his *Spectacula Lucretiana* (Cantalicio, *Bucolica. Spectacula Lucretiana*, VII).

¹⁵⁶ The Roman Emperors Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian and Theodosius were from Spain.

¹⁵⁷ The Catholic Kings boasted descent from the early Gothic Kings.

¹⁵⁸ The Spanish popes include Damasus I (366-384), Johannes XXI (called Petrus Hispanus, 1276-1277), Benedict XIII (called Papa Luna, antipope 1394-1423) and the Borgia-popes Calixtus III (1455-1458) and Alexander VI (1492-1503).

¹⁵⁹ An allusion to the famous general Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba y Aguilar (1453-1515), who conquered Naples for the Spanish Kings in 1503 and received a poem from Cantalicio.

¹⁶⁰ Possibly a reference to the late Roman Emperor Theodosius (379-394).

¹⁶¹ E.g. Pompeius Trogus, Lucius Anneus Florus, Orosius, Isidore of Sevilla.

¹⁶² E.g. Seneca. «sophos» = *philosophos* (abbreviation due to metrical reasons).

¹⁶³ E.g. Lucan, Silius Italicus, Martial.

¹⁶⁴ E.g. Quintilian, Seneca the Elder.

¹⁶⁵ Bernadino was born on 8 September 1456 to Francisco López de Carvajal and Aldonza Sande.

¹⁶⁶ In the Latin original a pun on the name of the city *Placentia* and the future participle *placiturus*.

¹⁶⁷ For this frequent pattern of praise cfr. Curtius 1954, pp. 108-112.

¹⁶⁸ Already at the age of eleven, Carvajal had joined the University of Salamanca. «Simia Ciceronis» («an ape of Cicero») was an established epithet. It had a positive ring in the circles supporting the scrupulous imitation of Cicero as a stylistic ideal. Cantalicio here possibly follows Paolo Cortese, a representative of Ciceronianism, whose *De cardinalatu* provided an important source for his praise of Carvajal (see n. 203). For Cortese on imitation and the tradition of the *simia Ciceronis* see Achermann 2011, pp. 42-43. For the metaphor of the ape see also Curtius 1954, p. 522-523.

¹⁶⁹ The hoof of Bellerophon's horse, Pegasus, struck a cleft in mount Helicon, from which the Hippocrene fountain sprang; cfr. MART. 9,58,6: «tu fueris Musis Pegasis unda meis».

¹⁷⁰ Alexander VI awarded the Spanish Kings the title of the *Reges Catholici* in 1494.

¹⁷¹ «quartana» in the Latin text refers to «quartana febris» (a quatern fever). This detail from Carvajal's early education does not appear in the modern accounts of his life (cfr. n. 14).

¹⁷² «sophia» = *philosophia* (abbreviation due to metrical reasons).

¹⁷³ Carvajal received his Bachelor in Arts and Theology in 1472 and was made a doctor in 1478.

¹⁷⁴ Carvajal substituted Pedro Martínez de Osma in the years between 1475 and 1479. In 1480, he received the title of *magister theologiae*. The same year, he was appointed rector of the University.

¹⁷⁵ *Constructio ad sensum* corresponding to the relative pronoun *tuis*.

¹⁷⁶ This detail, which also echoes a passage from Martial, does not appear in the accounts of Carvajal's life mentioned in n. 14.

¹⁷⁷ Carvajal negotiated in the conflict between Innocent VIII and King Ferrante of Naples, which in 1485 culminated in the Conspiracy of the Barons supported by the Pope.

¹⁷⁸ Ferdinand of Naples' bad treatment of undesired guests was notorious; a fact explaining the «sed» in line 7.

¹⁷⁹ Pope Innocent VIII (1484-1492) is referred to as «the innocent shepherd» in the original. Since Galfred of Vinsauf's *Poetria Nova*, the name *Innocentius*, which does not fit into the meter of the hexameter and needs to be paraphrased, was a touchstone for poetic creativity. Cfr. Geoffroi de Vinsauf, *Poetria Nova*, 1-8: «Papa stupor mundi, si dixero Papa Nocenti, / Acephatum nomen tribuam; sed, si caput addam, / Hostis erit metri. Nomen tibi vult similari: / Nec nomen metro, nec vult tua maxima virtus / Claudi mensura. Nihil est quo metiar illam: / Transit mensuras hominum. Sed divide nomen, / Divide sic nomen: "In" praefer, et adde "nocenti", / Efficitur comes metri.»

¹⁸⁰ In the 1480s, his friendship with Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza opened up a career in Rome for Carvajal. He returned to Spain in 1485 as a diplomat for the Pope. Around 1488, the Spanish Kings made Carvajal Ambassador to the Holy See as a colleague to Juan Ruiz de Medina. On 27 August 1488, Innocent VIII awarded Carvajal with the bishopric of Astorga, which he exchanged for Badajoz half a year later.

¹⁸¹ Here, the pope is referred to as «the Innocuous» in the original. See n. 179.

¹⁸² Innocent VIII died 25 July 1492. Roderigo Borgia won the conclave on 11 August 1492 and was crowned Pope Alexander VI on 26 August 1492.

¹⁸³ Carvajal received his red hat in the consistory on 20 September 1493, a decision considerably influenced by the Spanish Kings. The expression «caput disertum» (7-8) probably alludes to the fact that Carvajal had not only given the speech in honor of the deceased Innocent VIII on 6 August 1492 (see line 1), but also the oration of obedience in the name of the Spanish Kings in July 1493. For the Spanish legation of obedience see Pastor 1955, III.1, p. 373

¹⁸⁴ Carvajal did not hold all of these titles simultaneously, but exchanged some of them in the course of the years. The mentioned titles comprise (listed in the order of appearance): 1) Astorga (27 August 1488), 2) Badajoz (23 January 1489), 3) Cartagena (27 March 1493), 4) Sigüenza (20 February 1495), 5) Albano (3 August 1507), 6) Frascati (17 September 1507), 7) Preneste (22 September 1508), 8) Sabina (28 March 1509), 9) Rossano (10 January 1508), 10) Patriarch of Jerusalem (30 December 1503).

¹⁸⁵ This passage remains enigmatic. In the period between Alexander's VI election and Carvajal's appointment (August 1492 and September 1493) Alfonso was not yet King of Naples. He received the crown from the hands of papal legate Juan Borja on 8 May 1494 and only kept it until 1495 (Pastor 1955, III.1, p. 385).

¹⁸⁶ In 1507-08, Carvajal was sent on a mission to Innsbruck and Flanders to prevent Maximilian I

from intervening in Italy. The second mission probably refers to a legation in 1496-97. Carvajal's assignment was to meet the Emperor, who had crossed the Alps to wage war against French troops in Italy, in Lombardy, and to prevent him from moving to Rome by crowning him in Milan. Maximilian had been granted the title *rex Romanorum in imperatorem promovendus* (King of the Romans to be promoted to emperor) by the Diet of Frankfurt on 16 February 1486, and was crowned two months later in Aachen (9 April) before the emperor, electors and princes. Strictly speaking, the title Holy Roman Emperor could only be assumed after coronation by the Pope.

¹⁸⁷ A period of five years.

¹⁸⁸ A period of three years.

¹⁸⁹ A period of 18 years (3 *lustra* à five years + 3 years) has passed since Carvajal was appointed cardinal. He received his red hat in September 1493, which means Cantalicio refers to a time not earlier than September 1511 as present. This is precisely the time when Carvajal lead the *conciliabulum* of Pisa against Julius II into its most heated phase.

¹⁹⁰ See the preceding *Study* for a discussion of this passage pointing to the historical context of 1511.

¹⁹¹ An image taken from Martial. Cfr. also the commentary on this author attributed to Cantalicio on MART. 13,1,6 (BAV, Urb. lat. 650, f. 155v): «Tabula lusoria in quam conuetae tesserae crepant resonat.»

¹⁹² = Civil and Canon Law.

¹⁹³ A frequent image in Cantalicio's poems of praise. See for example his poem *De secessu ab Urbe Leonis X Pontificis Maximi* (Cantalicio, *Bucolica. Spectacula Lucretiana*, 57-58): «inter qui rutilos Patres relucet / quantum Lucifer inter astra fulget».

¹⁹⁴ For the secretaries Francesco Cedrario and Sigismondo Pindaro see n. 52-55.

¹⁹⁵ Cfr. Cantalicio, *Carvajal* <IX>, 6. See also MART. 11,5,1-2.

¹⁹⁶ The Seven Acts of Mercy.

¹⁹⁷ Christ who died on the Cross as the *agnus dei*.

¹⁹⁸ The beautiful Trojan shepherd Ganymede was kidnapped by Zeus, who abducted him to the Olympus where he served as cupbearer to the gods. He was often referred to in the context of sumptuous meals; see for example MART. 8,39,1-4: «Qui Palatinae caperet convivia mensae / ambrosiasque dapes non erat ante locus: / hic haurire decet sacrum, Germanice, nectar / et Ganymede pocula mixta manu.»

¹⁹⁹ Cantalicio describes sumptuous meals served in Carvajal's palace in the words of luxurious Roman banqueting culture (for «structor» see for example MART. 10,48,15 or Ivv. 5,120; 11,136). This open praise of a cardinal's luxurious table reflects the changing perception towards the prelates' magnificence, which had become both tolerated and expected by the second half of the fifteenth century. For this aspect in Cantalicio's *Spectacula Lucretiana* and the philosophical background provided by Giovanni Pontano's treatises on the so-called social virtues see Germano 2014. I will treat this aspect with special attention to the influence of Paolo Cortese's *De cardinalatu* in a forthcoming article (Schirg 2016b).

²⁰⁰ Carvajal's table culture again is contrasted with keywords from colorful descriptions of Roman banquet entertainment (e.g. «choraules»: see PETRON. 53,13; 69,5; MART. 5,56,9; 6,39,19; 9,77,6; 11,75,3 or Ivv. 6,77, «schoenobates»: see Ivv. 3,77 or «Gaditani chori»: Ivv. 11,162-163.

²⁰¹ The priestesses of Phoebus Apollo had prophetic skills. This interesting combination of lavish feasts and serious theological debates links Cantalicio's praise to contemporary conceptions of the cardinalate as put forward in Paolo Cortese's *De cardinalatu* (1510), who highlights how Carvajal taught his entourage in his palace. For this aspect see Schirg 2016b.

²⁰² Implying that the cardinal's manners are imitated by his entourage to lead a 'holier' life.

²⁰³ All these scenes refer to the Trojan War. On a verbal level, Cantalicio clearly draws upon the first book of the *Aeneid*, in which Virgil described exactly these scenes on the temple of Juno in Carthage (VERG. *Aen.* 1,446-494). The mythology shown on this masterpiece of ancient art serves as a contrast to Carvajal's choice of Christian motifs. For a thorough discussion of this poem, which echoes Cortese's instructions for the use of pictures in the cardinal's ideal palace, see Schirg 2016b.

²⁰⁴ It has not been possible so far to identify the Passion cycle Cantalicio describes. It remains unclear if his description is exhaustive and how of many physical units it consisted. According to typological interpretation, various scenes of the Old Testament prefigure events in the New Testament.

²⁰⁵ For Carvajal's veneration for the cross see also Cantalicio, *Carvajal* <XVII>, 11-12.