humanitas

Vol. LXIII 2011

VIEWS OF LOVE IN JULIUS CAESAR SCALIGER'S POETICS¹

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Resumen

En el libro III de la *Poética*, dedicado a la *inventio*, Escalígero trata todos los aspectos de la *persona*, acompañada de sus accidentes, que el autor especifica de acuerdo con las categorías aristotélicas. El amor aparece entre los *mores*, cuyo conocimiento es necesario para la perfección del poeta. Las referencias apuntan a la doctrina retórica y al ámbito de la ética y la biología.

Palabras clave: Renacimiento, Poética, Amor, J. C. Escalígero.

Abstract

In the Third Book on *Poetics* which is devoted to *inventio*, Scaliger deals with every aspect of the *persona* and its accidents, specifying them according to Aristotelian *categoriae*. Love is one of the *mores*, its knowledge being necessary for the poet's perfection. References point to rhetorical doctrine and the fields of ethics and biology.

Key words: Renaissance, *Poetics*, Love, J. C. Scaliger.

¹ This collaboration work is included in the Research Project *Edición y estudio de los Poetices Libri Septem de Julio César Escalígero. Fuentes clásicas y pervivencia (Edition and Study of Poetices Libri Septem by Julius Caesar Scaliger. Classical Sources and Survival)* FF2008-05882/FILO, developed in the Department of Latin Studies of the University of Granada, and financed by the Spanish DGICYT, to whom we are most grateful.

Experts in aesthetics, theory and literary criticism affirm the fundamental role of Platonism during the Renaissance without reservations. It was recovered by the Medici family and Ficino's work in Florence at the end of the 15th century and it was very influential over the next century. Indeed, it triggered both an innovative reactivation of artistic ideas in general and the development of a criticism method applied to literary texts. mainly to poetic ones, in both vulgar language and Latin. With regard to the first aspect, fundamental ideas for every art are now widespread and firmly established thanks to the direct knowledge of Platonic texts. These ideas represent the value of inspiration within the creative process, the pedagogical dimension of arts, the social role of the artist, or the relationship between truth and poetry as expressed through the metaphysical doctrine of imitation. With regard to criticism, I would remind that one of the most relevant outcomes of Platonism are the numerous treatises on love and beauty written in Italian and Latin at the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century². Furthermore, at the end of the 15th century, old rhetorical theories are reinforced with the first wave of Humanism. They were recovered thanks to both the discovery of Cicero's *De Oratore* and the lost Quintilian, and the addition of post-Aristotelian doctrines, arriving to Italy at the time, as well as the knowledge of Greek language and the spread of Plato's work, by Byzantine masters and scholars, who had emigrated as a result of the pressure put on them by the Turks. Its consequences were incalculable for the interest and care of the form and the most correct, adequate and polished expression in the use of potential language forms in both Latin and vulgar languages. However, the contribution of mentioned treatises on love is that they essentially stress the importance of content and not merely formal value, the subject matter and spirit of poetry, and the psychological reasons against more formal findings of contemporary rhetoric in a new cultural and social framework –women's education, refined erudition, tradition assessment, court games (mainly in Rome and Venice)-. Even with fluctuations between both extremes, difficult compromises and criterion inconsistencies, Mario Equicola's³

² Trabalza, C. (1915), *La critica lettereria nel Rinascimento...* (*Secoli XV-XVI-XVII*), Milan, Italy, page 65. The author highlights, together with the influence of Platonic dialogues, mainly the *Banquet*, the importance of the Medieval tradition and its concept of love, in addition to Christian spirit.

³ *Libro de natura de Amore*, 1525. Firstly, written in Latin and, then, translated into Italian in 1509.

work stands out in this sense, from other treatises, such as the ones by Abravanel⁴, Agostino Nifo⁵ or Luca Paccioli⁶. In his work, Mario Equicola examined the opinion of every writer who talks about love and the works of Latin, Greek, Provencal, French, Tuscan and Spanish poets who wrote about love. All of these treatises on love are clearly ennobled by Ficinian Platonism, which provided them with theoretical foundations and dignity. They also constitute the first literary genre to become unanimously vulgar. A traditional aspect was crucial to such transition from the Latin language to the generalized use of the vulgar variety: the Provençalist and "dolce stil nuovo" Petrarch⁷ fully assimilated to Ficino's Platonism to such an extent, that it is impossible to delimit where the dividing line is.

Apart from Platonism, which works mainly as a trigger but was not targeted to succeed everywhere, and which was assimilated through Petrarchism, Renaissance Classicism as a mature expression in the quest for balance among so many tensions, and which will tend to be canonized, will require other fundamental contributions. Together with the imitation of the ancient authors with regard to language and/or literary and linguistic procedures, two factors related to Aristotelism are incorporated – although not the scholastic, logical and medieval Aristotelism -: the imitation of nature and the authority of reason. Not only the works by Aristotle on science and art theory, but also the methodological methods suggested by him, were applied to theoretical treatises and criticism of artistic and natural products: knowledge organicity, the possibility of an empirical-rationalist method applied to every discipline, and the exhaustive and rational interpretation of the universe. Julius Caesar Scaliger was perhaps the author most intensively, originally and rigorously dedicated to this task. He was a doctor, a botanist, a biologist, a zoologist, a philologist, a poet and an essayist on poetry. Due to the extension of his work, his wide and deep objectives and the massive transcendence he exerted in his time and over the following two centuries, we consider that this study of *Poetics* from a specific perspective may put forward some aspects to think about, which will help us value and organize the prolific production of love poetry in the Renaissance.

⁴ Dialoghi di amore, Roma, Italy, 1535.Posthumous publication.

⁵ De pulchro et amore, 1529.

⁶ De divina proportione, 1509.

⁷ Toffanin, G. (1954), *Il Cinquecento*, Milán, Italy, 5th ed., pages 134 *et seq*. on this topic.

The content or theoretical core of Scaliger's *Poetics* is the subject matter of the central books: 2, 3 and 4. The following books are characterized by critical contents aimed at making it possible for the poet to select the models, both ancient and *recentiores* ones, to be followed, and to assess his own work and others' work. These actions, which are intended to reach the poet's perfection, are specified by the author in books 5 and 6. Book 1. which is mainly historical, addresses the origin and creation of poetry, its components or causes and the birth of the different poetic species. The last book, book no. 7, highlights substantial theoretical matters and includes a philological section of a technical-metrical nature and controversial orientation8. As a whole, it is an attempt to encourage and promote poetic creation in Latin language in all genres, thoroughly instructing the future poet. In addition, it is an attempt to teach both the poet and poetry readers to asses every creative piece at every moment during Latin time up to his time, including his own work, since Scaliger also uses his poetry to set an example. These purposes are aimed at systematically, i.e. according to the causes (rationes) of the poetic fact and its species, and considering some fundamental factors: res-verba, as poetry components; res or content, constituting the forms; and verba, forming the matter, revolutionize the traditional conception. In addition, he uses the four Aristotelian causes as applied to what the author considered as the secondary purpose of poetry: imitation. The ascription of the work to Aristotelian teachings, which was repeatedly claimed by the author, does not prevent that, very often, principles and formulations of the so-called Greek master are not exactly followed. Indeed, they are even criticized and contradicted9, because the prevalence of freedom of judgment and the reason is demanded.

⁸ (2007) A survey of the work's structure and content of the *Poetices Libri Septem* and different works by various authors on the different books is available in the *Ágora*. *Estudos Clássicos em Debate* 9.1.

⁹ Cf. the study by Weinberg, B. (2003), "Escalígero frente a Aristóteles ante la poética" in *Estudios de poética clasicista. Robortello, Escalígero, Minturno, Castelvetro*. Edición, selección de textos y prólogo por Garcia Rodriguez, J. Traducción al español Conde Parrado, P. y Garcia Rodriguez, J., Madrid, pages 109-139. On books 1-4, see also a detailed analysis of Deitz, L. (1995), "*Aristoteles imperator noster...?* J.C. Scaliger and Aristotle on Poetic Theory", *IJCT* 2,1 pages 54-67. The author proposes a not exclusive reference to the Aristotelian framework and he shows other sources for adequately interpreting Scaliger's treatise. In our view, and according to numerous critics, it does not invalidate the thesis of the

Scaliger considers language, which makes cultural development possible, as historically immerse in an ideal evolution where the word has been culturally transformed by art, and poetry is the most elaborated evidence of human discourse intended to teach while giving pleasure through the verse. The sense of language and poetry evolution advances from the simplest, most primitive and clumsiest thing to reach the perfection through a continuous elaboration effort. It is Virgil who, during the golden period and *prima aetas* of Latin poetry, represented the extreme unattainable perfection, but always an incentive for the poet. However, Scaliger separated from "Maronolatry", which was in fashion since the end of Antiquity. This is due to the fact that the procedure of his teaching is based on a reasoned, critical and detailed exposition of the doctrine, and an exhaustive and reasoned analysis about the elements, means and techniques raised in every example he gives. Now we analyse his procedure in detail.

Scaliger treats love among *mores* or moral qualities, a subject which he does not think unconnected to virtues, and considers its knowledge necessary for poets to master what, according to *decorum*, is the adequate and advisable characterization of characters, *personae*, and their accidental circumstances as addressed in detail from chapter XI to chapter XVIII in book 3. In this book, he treats the *res*, the content and the subject matter of poetry, the things that need to be imitated. He devotes the first fourth part to the *persona* and related circumstances, which he specifies by using the Aristotle's *Categories* and illustrates with Virgil's poetry, in particular with Aeneas¹⁰. After dealing with the poet's virtues in a few and fundamental chapters (from chapter 24 to chapter 27, thus in a fully appropriate context), the author devotes the following two fourth parts (chapters 28 to 94), to

crucial importance of the Aristotelian thought in this treatise and in Scaliger's work in general. Cf. Lopez Eire, A. (2007), "Aproximación a la poética de Julio Cesar Escalígero", Ágora 9.1, pages 32 et seq. on this topic.

¹⁰ Poetices Libri Septem 3,11 [II 176, 6 et seq.]. Habemus igitur uno in Aenea tamquam illam Socraticam cuiuscumque personae. Cuius perfectio naturam ipsam in genere aemulari, in singularibus privisque individuis etiam superare videatur. We have used the following edition for quoting the Scaliger's text: Deitz, L. and Vogt-Spira, G. (1994-2003), *Iulius Caesar Scaliger Poetices libri septem. Bücher über die Dichtkuns*. Unter Mitwirkung von M. Fuhrmann herausgegeben von... 5 vols. Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt. After the book and chapter, the volume, page and lines of that issue are included in squared brackets.

thought figures¹¹. They are closely related to varietas, one of the fourth virtues of the poet. The latest fourth part includes the precepts of literary genres with regard to content, starting with "epic majesty", which is used on reference to certain common laws affecting all poetic genres. Therefore, as a result of the exhaustive treatment of every aspect incumbent to human beings, entity and substance consisting of soul and body as well as accidents. his aim is to reach perfection in the poet's training. Love is considered as a special circumstance which affects people. Against the general circumstances (gender, age, job and occupation, nationality and community, facts, administration), the special ones are: behavior qualities (mores), unexpected events, fortune, physical goods and clothes. *Mores* constitute an important chapter (19), which is much longer than the rest. With regard to general circumstances, it can only be compared to officia. Scaliger defines mores as congenital and natural for living beings' qualities or affections -ēthē-. They were close to virtue due to having a natural origin, since they are the basis of *héxeis* or faculties acquired through repetition and training. Virtues are born from there, by exercising related actions¹². By means of actuation, virtue may serve to correct or mitigate a natural disposition, a feeling -primus motus- (such as the one that Aeneas was overcome by when he was planning Helen's death and, then, he desisted from doing it due to a god's advice), which has no ethical value, neither good nor bad. According to Aristotle, virtue, which is a state characteristic of human beings rather than alien to them, may channel and discipline behavior through choices, thus creating a virtuous way of being¹³. Scaliger considers mores as affectus resulting from behavior or moral qualities, ēthos, and preceding acts. That is why they are known as "inner initial acts". They are properties of the

¹¹ Cf. Sánchez Marín, J.A. and Muñoz Martín, M^a. N. (2006), "Sobre las figuras de pensamiento en la *Poética* de J.C. Escalígero (*Idea 3,28-94*)", *Revista Portuguesa de Humanidades* 10.1/2, pages 331-347.

¹² 3,19 [II 241, 21 et seq.] Quamquam de virtutibus ut mihi videbatur satis est dictum, tamen quo perfectionem illam assequamur etiam mores ipsos contemplemur. Mores sunt affectus animalibus connati; héxeis et ēthē dices. At ēthē a natura videntur esse tōn héxeōn fundamenta; héxeis enim ex frecuentatis actionibus. Affectus sunt qualitates, quae proficiscuntur a moribus et antecedunt actiones ita, ut sint actus primi interiores.

¹³ Arist. *EN* 2,5, 1106 a; 2,1, 1103 a-b. See Racionero, Q. (1994), *Aristóteles*. *Retórica*. Introducción, traducción y notas... Madrid, Spain, pages 310, no. 9 and 376, no. 169.

sensitive soul of living beings *-animalibus connati*—, which is in turn different from the vegetative soul¹⁴, and they involve being affected and suffering accompanied by the body (soul *pathemata*¹⁵). We are now in the Latin field of *affectus*, "emotions" and "feelings", which globally translates *páthos* and *ēthos*, which the Greek tradition on feelings¹⁶ differentiates.

Mores include the totality of states of the soul in the broadest sense. and poets need to know how to tackle them. However, the reference to $\bar{e}th\bar{e}$ and páthē, mainly in connection with decorum and inside the res treatment, in a treatise of literary theory, should necessarily refer to the rhetorical doctrine. Actually, Aristotle studies passions and behaviors as subjective elements of persuasion, the affective rhetoric, in the first 17 chapters of book II of the *Rhetoric*: this Greek author tackles the way the speaker must stand before the judge and the audience, and states that he must control their attitude, adapting himself to their willingness, which in turn must be accommodated to a given disposition through the motion of feelings. Therefore, he considers them as a non logical evidence means. Quintilian¹⁷ also studied the role of emotions and feelings, in particular their role in peroratio as very effective instruments, which are even superior to the truth, for managing to get judges' favorable opinion. It is worth stressing that he considered that, at times, natural qualities and passions are of the same nature and only differ in the degree, and according to some others in the affection mode: ēthos mostly means a continuous state and páthos a temporary state. With regard to the degree, the Roman author affirms that the first one involves soft commotions -affectus mites atque compositi- and the second one violent commotions, affectus concitati: amor is páthos, caritas is ēthos¹⁸. Love and friendly affects go between pathos and ēthos.

¹⁴ Cf. Arist. de An. 2,3.

¹⁵ *Ibid*.1,1, 403a 16-18 (*Aristóteles. Acerca del alma* (1978). Introducción, traducción y notas de Calvo Martinez, T., Madrid, Spain, page 134).

¹⁶ QVINT. *inst*. 6,2,8. The rhetorician adds that the term *adfectus* exactly corresponds to *páthos*, whereas *ēthos* does not have any exact equivalent although it is true that it is usually translated as *mores*.

¹⁷ QVINT. inst. 6,1,9-6,2,36.

¹⁸ QVINT. int. 6,2,9-12. Scaliger considers that there is not only difference with regard to the degree: 3,1 [II 78,5 ss.]....Differt autem ēthos et páthos non solum gradibus, ut aiunt, ita ut páthos sit ēthos vehemens, sed quia ēthos est principium agendi, páthos autem patiendi. Itaque qui perturbatur páthos habet ut invidus, qui perturbat ēthos, ut iracundus.

Elswere (5, 10, 17), mentioning *affectus* as a means of argumentation, *probationes*, – as Aristotle does –, Quintilian renounces to deal with the matter and he directly refers to book II of the Aristotle's *Rhetoric*.

Nevertheless, despite their great importance in the treatment of rhetoric, the role of emotions in poetry is different. In *Poetics*, Aristotle treats those elements, $\bar{e}th\bar{e}$ and $p\acute{a}th\bar{e}^{19}$, much more briefly as qualitative parts of the fable, mŷthos", used in favor of its unity and internal consistency and of the peculiar goals of poetry aimed at provoking poetry-related effects rather than as an evidence at the service of persuasion. Although it is true that they neither constitute a secondary means in *Rhetoric*, their main aim is persuasion. What stands as peculiar with regard to the way Scaliger deals with feelings is a connection with the physical-psychic theory contained in Aristotelian ethics. It is present in different works, especially in Ethics to Eudemus and Magna Moralia, despite the last one's authenticity being unclear. Moreover, the immediate reference to Aristotle by Scaliger is not connected with his ethical works, but with de Anima. Together with his works on animals, it is one of the main treatises on Biology, some of them translated and commented by the author. Aristotle addresses living beings in general, $z\bar{o}n$, the phenomenon of life and living natural beings in three books on the soul, where the perspective adopted is strictly naturalist and unrelated to religious considerations or beliefs such as immortality, transmission, sins and punishments. Here, in 1,1, a general doctrine of ēthē and páthē as physical affections and natural states of mind related to both body and soul is observed.

We observe now how Scaliger describes this common affection, love. After treating the different forms of friendship and affection among *mores*²⁰, he identifies a feeling that is slightly different from the simplicity of friendship: "love brings us together through Venus", which as a special form of friendship, i.e. as the true friendship, requires some recommendations²¹. At the inception, it is introduced through our eyes, our ears, our

 $^{^{19}}$ Arist. Po 1454 a 16 et seq., specifically about $\bar{e}th\bar{e}$; 1452 b 28 et seq., about $p\acute{a}th\bar{e}$, inspiring the effects of the tragedy, terror and compassion.

²⁰ He also acts as Aristotle, who addresses the joint study of friendship and love, because they are both philía, in his ethical works as virtue and, in his *Rhetoric*, as passion, although with the essential analysis: cf. Racionero, Q., *Aristóteles*. *Retórica...*, page 327, note 54.

²¹ 3,19 [II 246,25 et seq.]: Paulo diversior ab hac amicitiae simplicitate amor ille, qui Veneris causa coniungit nos; cum tamen amicitiae verae iamaginem

sight or through fame: it is accompanied by suspicion, fear of loosing it, jealousy and fear of rivalry. It is an immediate connection with Virgil's representation of Oueen Dido, who felt prev to this passion²²: she is afraid of everything, even of safe things; she expects everything, she has a feeling about everything. Therefore, she has a feeling about deceptions and she is able to guess what will happen. To confront one's fears, lovers compete with abundant presents to oblige the loved one. Without any kind of moderation, they turn it into an ostentation of their feelings and purpose: therefore, Dido walks with Aeneas across the city, showing him its wealth and luxury. He is a fugitive with nothing, so it was understandable that he stayed there. Another consecuence of passion his the emotion produced by the mere sight of the loved one: Dido hangs from his lips while Aeneas is talking; or the emotion caused when she sees something that reminds her of him: lovers keep clothes and objects of their beloved ones (rings, dresses, letters and, even, in the case of Dido, his sword); or the view of similar things, as Dido does with young Ascanius when she plays with him and holds him in her arms. Besides, when the loved one is not present, lovers imagine that the other one is with them and keep his or her image in their heart. When he is before her, Dido starts talking and suddenly she is speechless. The disturbance of their spirit leads lovers to forget themselves. They fall prey to some kind of madness called *eros* by doctors. It makes Dido neglect everything to a large extent: activities and works in the city are interrupted. These are the initial feelings. Later, this is followed by the feeling of the end of love: she is "obliged" to cry repeatedly, to try and convince with pleas. Scaliger praises Virgil's expression: cogitur, because no lover belongs to himself/herself, but everyone is alien to himself/herself, "deranged". Therefore, Virgil adds the term *supplex* and the expression animum summittere amori, "giving the soul to love"23, which is not advisable for a person who is self-possessed: being self-possessed means to know what things are suitable and convenient, not that both things are recognized and they are obviated.

In a third stage of love, either the feeling of victory or that of desperation emerges. Victory firstly becomes exultation, but then they fall prey to disinterest. At this point, Scaliger introduces short examples about natio-

 $quampiam\ repraesent et,\ hic\ apponamus\ preaceptiones.$

²² Logically, most of Virgil's verses belong to Aen. 4.

²³ Aen. 4,414: cogitur et supplex animos submittere amori.

nal behaviors, giving a current wiew on the matter of success in love: Spanish men act as despots; French men behave with disdain, fall prey to boastfulness and reproach; and Italian ones are driven insane²⁴. When in despair, some of them act the way Dido does: "they beg death, they find looking up in the sky sickening". Finally, they are overwhelmed with courage and choose to die. When love engenders a pain that is harder than the fear of death, some people hurt themselves. This way of acting is exemplified by Dido and present in numerous fables by Ovid.

The description of love has progressed according to an internal logic of passionate behavior, which is strictly interpreted as something natural and pertaining to the field of human behavior. The echo of Aristotelian works is clearly identified, together with the beating of Virgil's poetry.

Against this description of passionate love, furor, which causes an indescribable sorrow, infandum, Scaliger also proposes the poet the celebration of institutional love, with a social repercussion, the singing to the culmination of love represented by marriage, nuptiae. The author pays huge attention to Epithalamion²⁵, which is the start of a series of minor genres and is followed by the Genethliacum, the birth poem, of an celebrating nature. This outcome is considered by himself as the result of a natural sequence. This genre of celebrative poems, of a highly varied nature and content and grouped by the author under the collective name Silvae, must mainly focus on a single law including three aspects: necessitas, utilitas, delectatio, and in turn can be inspired in real or plausible things, but always involve the most outstanding ones. The treatment of epithalamium starts with the definition of thálamos, "marriage bed or main bedroom", which is taken by Scaliger from thállo, in connection with what is considered as flourishing, healthy-looking, vigorous, abundant and happy. The argument is the desideria of fiancés. However, everything revolves around the young woman and her spirit, which the poet must show through signs rather than through express statement. Her very chaste heart is stormed, expugnatum, taken by affection, pietas, towards the young man who is wasting away. When his virtues are mentioned, they will be used as an

²⁴ 3,19 [II 252, 24 *et seq.*]. This is just a shoft portrait of the huge catalogue of "national behaviors", the biggest of its genre, which the author has offered previusly in 3, 16 [II 228, 13 *et seq.*]. Cf. Coenen, E. (2006), "Poética y carácter nacional: los catálogos de atributos nacionales en las poéticas (neo)clasicistas", *EECC* 130, pages 65-85.

²⁵ 3,100 [III 62,17 et seq.].

excuse by the maiden in this defeat of love, which is also influenced by Venus and Cupid. Both of them must by praised about their homeland, lineage, spirit and physical qualities, and happy premonitions be mentioned. Afterwards, the erotic license and game, together with kind terms, blande, must be used with a little but not excessive modesty with regard to the young woman: some aspects may emerge, such as the fear before the forthcoming fight, metus futuri proelii, the victory, the smile after tears and the true happiness which comes after hope. Then, descendants are wished and forecast by the poet. The poem finishes with an exhortation to sleep for the rest of people, and to wakefulness for them. The description of the marriage bed, the bride's dress or the veil covering the bed follows intermingled with the story. In addition, jokes fescennina are indispensable elements. Praise of marriages may contain some mythological examples: Tethys and Peleus, Bacchus and Ariadne, Heracles and Hebe, a wedding where gods are present. There are also references to nature: the union of earth and heaven which originated all natural species is in turn imitated by them to ensure the continuity of propagation through generation. This is the way this succession breeds the immortality denied to them by nature. It can be even praised in accordance to Plato's Banquet, but in such a manner that it is consistent with the subject matter. Hymenaios' plea could also take place at the beginning of the poem, intermingled with jokes. Then, Scaliger includes an erudite digression about the controversial origin of the term. Certain characteristics of rites and festivities typical of weddings between Romans and between some Greek people, may be inserted in the poem to add a higher degree of variety. This is a matter that Scaliger takes abundantly from ancient authors in a direct or indirect way or from contemporaneous sources. Different types of marriage, dowry, certain habits related to the nuptial entourage up to the bedroom, the intervention of the pronuba, adequate dates and specific habits of different peoples are topics addressed by the author. Scaliger's text, which tries to exhaustively illustrate the poet in a very successful genre of Renaissance poetry, finishes with a philological review where the author comments some passages of the most famous Latin epithalamiums from Antiquity, specially the ones by Catullus and Claudian²⁶.

The subject around love could be further analysed in other parts of *Poetics*. A short statement about the elegy among literary genres is contained

²⁶ 3, 100 [III 92,1 et seq.]

in book 3²⁷. Furthermore, in the critical part of *Poetics*, in book 6, Scaliger determines that Propertius, Ovid, Tibullus and Catullus, among other poets, belong to the *secunda aetas*²⁸, where every poetic virtue is included. He also values their poetry in accordance with the precedent doctrine around content, style and its related procedures, the use of verses, figures, and the poetic merit of poems and passages specially approved by the Renaissance author. Finally, the poetic production in Latin language by *recentiores* is appraised in book 6, and the same applies to the best love poets, starting with Marullus²⁹.

²⁷ 3,124 [III 200,16 et seq.]

²⁸ 6,7 [V 310,12 et seq.]

²⁹ 6,4 [V 58,5 et seq.]