

Neolatinistendag 2003

Gewoonlijk wordt de *Nieuwsbrief* geopend met een aankondiging van de eerstvolgende Neolatinistendag. De jaarlijkse bijeenkomst heeft evenwel, bij wijze van uitzondering, reeds plaatsgevonden, en wel in Leuven op 5 juni. De studiedag was een half jaar vervroegd in verband met de visitatie door OIKOS, de Landelijke Onderzoeksschool Klassieken, waar het Neolatinistenverband bij is aangesloten. De voordrachten van deze dag zullen volgend jaar in de *Nieuwsbrief* gepubliceerd worden, ingeleid door een verslagje van de dag zelf. Dan zullen ook de datum en de agenda bekend zijn van de Neolatinistendag 2004, die, zoals gebruikelijk, weer in het najaar zal plaatsvinden.

Impressie van de Neolatinistendag 2002

Rudolf Engelberts schreef een impressie van de Neolatinistendag 2002:

Hic quantum distet versificator optimus ab illo Phaedro, facile cognosci potest. Ad Rivum Dulcem Neolatini venerant, siti compulsi maximae scientiae. Primum se dediderunt Brasilicis fabis. Orationes audiverunt tum duas. Duas dein per horas trahitur prandium, ciboque et potione et pulchritudine locorum ubi versantur, animus captus est. Orationes iterum audiverunt duas. Postremo rivo vini genium reficiunt. Nam Neolatini (id docuit haec narratio) nequaquam hominibus differunt a ceteris.

Voordrachten op de Neolatinistendag 2002

Giannantonio Campano and the Rhetoric of Patronage – Susanna de Beer¹

‘You shower me with presents, and I shower you with verses. You, Peter, will be most celebrated because of my poems; I will be famous because of your gifts!’

¹ Mijn promotieonderzoek naar de poëzie en de literaire patronage van Giannantonio Campano is een vervolg op mijn scriptieonderzoek over zijn neolatijnse liefdeselegieën. In deze scriptie heb ik naast een kritische teksteditie van de elegieën (verzameld in boek I van Campano's *Opera Omnia*) ook een analyse gegeven van Campano's elegiepoëtica in vergelijking met die van de klassieke elegiaci. Wie hierin geïnteresseerd is stuur ik (tegen een vergoeding van de kopiëerkosten) graag een exemplaar toe. e-mail: s.t.m.debeer@uva.nl

This quotation offers a perfect illustration of literary patronage in its purest form. It comes from one of Giannantonio Campano's epigrams, and is directed to cardinal Pietro Riario, the nephew of pope Sixtus IV.

Nowadays his name is not very well known – which of course I hope will change within the next few years – but in his own days the 15th century humanist Campano found himself in the centre of the literary, cultural, political and religious life of early renaissance Italy. Having grown up in Campania, he studied and became professor of rhetoric in Perugia, was appointed bishop by pope Pius II and was called his court poet. After Pius' death he stayed in touch with his closest friends, cardinal Ammannati and cardinal Todeschini-Piccolomini. He also managed to stay in favour with the succeeding popes, Paul II and Sixtus IV and to get himself appointed as papal governor. He fell out of favour in the end because he was too critical towards the papal military policy in Città di Castello, the city he was governor of. He retired at his bishopric in Teramo, where he died at the age of 48.

Apart from many speeches, treatises and letters, Campano left us a considerable amount of neo-latin poetry. This body of poetry, which consists partly of love elegy, partly of epigrams, has come down to us in several manuscripts and in an incunabulum with his *Opera Omnia* of 1495.

In this poetry, his contacts with the political and religious elite are well reflected. A substantial part of his epigrams is directed or dedicated to these people; he praises them, asks for a favour or simply describes a familiar situation. It is apparent that he was dependent on them for his livelihood, as this theme frequently figures in both his poetry and epistolary. Therefore it seems sensible for an examination of Campano's poetry to take the theme of literary patronage as a guiding line, as I plan to do in my PhD-research.

Until now, there has been attention for literary patronage especially in Antiquity, but the patronage research for the Renaissance has mainly confined itself to the visual arts. What precisely should this research on literary patronage in case of Campano be aimed at?

The answer to this question depends on how we define literary patronage. In his recent study on literary communication in the age of Domitian, Ruurd Nauta uses the following definition: there would be literary patronage if:

1. The relationship between the writer and the supporter would be 'patronage' in the technical sense, which means asymmetrical, personal and reciprocal. And:

2. The contribution of the writer to the exchange would consist partly in literature.

Nauta's definition is based on the assumption that literary patronage was part of a complete 'patronage system' in the sociological sense – the type of system which, according to Saller in his study on Personal patronage under the Early Empire, characterised ancient Roman Society.

This definition seems perfectly applicable to Campano. First of all because from recent studies on patronage in the Renaissance it follows that there are obvious links to and continuities with the system of social and political patronage of Roman antiquity. Besides, the way in which the patronage system is presented in the poetry, i.e. the literary conventions and the *topoi*, which I will refer to as the 'language of patronage', seem very similar for both periods.

The implicit equation of the literary patronage realities in both periods, on the basis of similarities in language, holds a certain risk too. It does not take into account the fact that the world the poets created in their poems does not necessarily coincide with the real world. According to the poets, the relationship with their supporters was directly related to their literary production. In reality however, at least in the Renaissance, it appears that the patronage relationships of humanists-writers were not exclusively based on and structured by their literary production, but just as much by other services, on secretarial, diplomatical or religious level. If we let go of the ambiguous English term 'patronage' and use the more precise Italian terms *mecenatismo* and *clientelismo*, we may say that the relationship between a writer and his supporter was not confined to mere *mecenatismo*, but extended to the field of *clientelismo* as well.

Because of the shortage of secondary sources, for Antiquity it is difficult to challenge the current view, which is mainly based on the poetry itself. I certainly do not want to claim any new insights as far as this period is concerned. Luckily however for the Renaissance, besides the poetry, far more sources, like epistolary or archival material, are available to compare with the picture that rises from the poetry. Thus, in order to give insight into the functioning and the importance of Campano's literary production for his relationships with his supporters, an accurate distinction must be made between the *reality* and the *language* of patronage.

For now I will restrict myself to the *language* of patronage, and even to a specific part, the '*rhetoric* of patronage'. Within the category of poems in which Campano directly addresses patrons or potential patrons to ask for

support, I have chosen Campano's three most important supporters: pope Pius II (= Enea Silvio Piccolomini), cardinal Giacomo Ammannati-Piccolomini, and cardinal Pietro Riario, the nephew of pope Sixtus IV. To all of them Campano wrote several epigrams and elegies and maintained a long-term patronage relationship. I will give an overview of the arguments used in each case, and shall thereafter shortly mention some possible interpretations of this material.

Pius II – Enea Silvio Piccolomini

Campano's first long poem on patronage is addressed to pope Pius II, evidently the most important patron a poet could obtain. In this long elegy, he first draws the attention to Pius' obligations as a poet himself. He says: 'As you are a father, you should embrace all human beings, but as you are a poet, you should especially favour poets. May savage kings give rewards to rough soldiers, but may your rewards be directed to the Muses' military service'.

Next, he focuses on Pius' obligations as a pope. He states: 'You have not been born only for yourself, your fates have placed you on such a high position to be looked at, and to take a wide look yourself on the human beings and give rewards to everyone who deserves it'.

Whereas at first Campano seems to have high expectations of his future at the papal court, gradually he becomes more disappointed in his advancements. Having approached Pius very carefully in the beginning, he now becomes more straightforward in asking for his deserved rewards. As Campano has become quite famous by means of his poetry, Pius' favours will be immortalized. In turn he desires from Pius time and rest to write, which he hopes to gain by just one *officium*, probably alluding to a bishopric. He states: 'Then, if I can live from your bread and have settled down, I will start to sing of all your deeds with greater tuba. Whether you want them related in poetry or prose, I will not be your last witness.'

Until now Campano has focused on papal support as a form of economic aid, but he extends it to moral assistance. His talent is not only dependent on the amount of bread he can eat, but also on the approval and the inspiration the patron provides. In an elegy written after Pius' death, Campano urges himself to lay down the lyre, because: 'he is dead, the one on whose judgement your sweet poems depended, and who was the supporter of your talent. Now you lack a listening ear, someone who praises and gives rewards, someone to put spurs to you'.

A final argument to persuade Pius is asserting that poetry is a perfect means of lightening the Pope's worries, especially those concerning the

crusades. As such, Campano presents his own poems as nothing more than *nugae*, fun.

Apart from these direct addresses, Campano also employs the rhetoric of adulation, convincing by flattering. He for example compares Pius II to Jupiter.

Cardinal Ammannati

A less important patron as far as position is regarded, but probably the most important person for the advancement of Campano's career, is cardinal Giacomo Ammannati-Piccolomini. He can be regarded as Campano's broker, his mediator; he is the one who arranged most of Campano's contacts. Ammannati is usually addressed as a friend, but it is nevertheless apparent that this relationship was not truly equal.

Campano needs Ammannati's assistance particularly in approaching Pius. In urging Ammannati's help, he consequently points on his duties as a friend. In return, Campano will also be his friend forever. Furthermore the honour of the Gods will be guaranteed.

Moreover, Ammannati can also be regarded as a supporter in his own right. This support doesn't merely concern Campano's poetry, but also his position in Rome, particularly within the papal Court. This dependence is expressed as follows: 'under your auspices, our fortune takes different colours, because of you I get dyed and I shine'. The colours point to the coloured togas, which go with the different ecclesiastic offices.

Besides asking for support, Campano feels free to complain if he doesn't get the support from Ammannati he claims he deserves. For example he states: 'I'm your buffoon now, I'm clearly not your friend anymore. Your table is open, but you keep a tight hand on your purse'. In another poem, structured as a *paraklausithyron*, he complains to the closed door of Ammannati's house: 'Why does the third hour nearly elapse while I'm waiting, and don't you let me go to my master, doorkeeper?'

In the end, Campano threatens Ammannati to change over to another 'friend' or 'patron', namely Bernardo Visconti. 'Not because the cardinal from Ravenna gave me birthday presents, but because you didn't give any, it seems profitable I accept his support'. Apparently he is confident that Ammannati will not let him go so easily, and hopes that by this threat the cardinal will be persuaded to give more favours.

Cardinal Pietro Riario

In Campano's poems to cardinal Pietro Riario, the nephew of pope Sixtus IV, the system of literary patronage is represented in its purest form. In

plain terms Campano states what he expects from such a relationship: ‘I want a stable law with you, and a sworn pact’; ‘it is not my style to sell my poems for an uneven price; if you want Campano, you will have to buy me completely’. And furthermore: ‘I will not be your buffoon, or a drunken lyrist, no, I want to be appreciated, admitted, praised, honoured and loved’. And in case it might not be clear yet, Campano explains the arrangement I quoted at the start: ‘If you want me to make a prediction, I predict that you shower me with presents, and I shower you with verses. You, Peter, will be most celebrated because of my poems, I will be famous because of your gifts!’ Clearly this is what literary patronage should be like in Campano’s view. Unfortunately – from my point of view – the poems Campano subsequently wrote about Riario, are quite boring and full of dull adulation.

Interpretation: literary conventions

From this overview it is apparent that Campano uses more than one argumentative strategy to convince his patrons. One of the questions that need answering is where Campano found these arguments. To what extent can they be ascribed to the literary conventions and for which part have they been derived from reality? It seems obvious to make a comparison with Martial’s epigrams, because he, using the same genre, also frequently made comments on his patronage relationships

The roman poet certainly preceded Campano in pointing out the patrons’ obligations, both towards the poets, as towards Poetry in general. Famous in this respect is the following sentence: ‘As long as there are Maecenases, Flaccus, Vergils will not be lacking.’

Martial consistently displays a wide range of complaints about his patron’s conduct, which of course does not meet his expectations. He does not eschew using flattery to achieve his goals either, for which he has been heavily criticized. Not surprisingly, the same comparison of the patron with Jupiter may be found, as well as the extreme exaggerations about the patron’s achievements.

Strikingly, also a certain influence from Latin love elegy can be traced in Campano’s rhetoric, for example in the comparison of the poet with a soldier, which resembles the *militia amoris* of the Latin love elegy. Moreover, Campano calls Ammannati *dominus*, and explicitly compares him with the *domina* of his love elegies. Finally, Campano is angry with Ammannati’s doorkeeper because he refuses to open the door, a charge comparable to the traditional complaint of the lover standing in front of the closed door of his mistress’s house.

In the Latin love elegy the poet is not only the author, but also the lover in his own poems. Consequently, for his poetic talent he is dependent on the encouragement of the lady. In like manner it is the poet Campano who also figures as the client in his own poems, and depends for his poetic talent likewise on his patron's approval. Thus Campano, just as he created a 'world of love' in the love elegies, written when he studied in Perugia, in his epigrams creates a 'world of patronage'.

This again adds force to the importance of distinguishing between the literary constructed 'world of patronage', and the 'real world'.

Interpretation: patronage 'reality'

What may be related to the 'real world', is the manner in which Campano addresses each patron. The way of approaching a patron is likely to depend on both the position of the patron and of the poet. As we have seen, Campano addresses Pius most respectfully, whereas he feels free to complain to Ammannati, if something in their relationship bothers him. This corresponds with the positions of, respectively, a pope and a cardinal.

Moreover, Ammannati is presented by Campano as a friend. Though we may question the equality of this friendship, Campano was indeed far much closer to Ammannati than to other cardinals, as appears from their correspondence. When addressing other cardinals, with whom he is not this familiar, Campano sings a different tune. Although the same familiarity is not likely to have existed between Campano and cardinal Riario, the addresses to him are still quite openhearted. This might be explained by the fact that when these poems were written, – ca. 1474 – Campano's poetry was already held in high esteem and therefore he could afford a more self-confident tone.

To summarize, short though this introduction may have been, I hope to have shown that in order to understand the functioning of Campano's poetry, a distinction between the language and reality of patronage is necessary, as well as a shift from *mecenatismo* to *clientelismo* in the notion of 'literary patronage'.