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WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY IN ST. LOUIS

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The Monumentalization of the Past: German Humanist Patriotism and Source Use, 1488–1582

by

Justin P. Meyer

A dissertation presented to  
Washington University in St. Louis  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree  
of Doctor of Philosophy

May 2023  
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Justin P. Meyer

*Washington University in St. Louis*

*May 2023*

## ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Monumentalization of the Past: German Humanist Patriotism and Source Use, 1488–1582

by

Justin P. Meyer

Doctor of Philosophy in History

Washington University in St. Louis, 2023

Professor Christine Johnson, Chair

The development of a patriotic discourse among German Renaissance humanists emerged from a humanist desire to memorialize the past by gathering information from the sources of German history and geography. Prevailing scholarly arguments explain the emergence of this discourse as a result of cultural conflict with Italian humanists who reproached the Germans for their barbarity. This explanation, which I call the Conflict Model, is inadequate as a means to explain the phenomenon of this patriotism because it relies on too few sources. This dissertation rests on a far more expansive source base in which cultural conflict is a limited but vocal theme; the major motivation for the German humanists was monumentalization, that is, the recording and preservation of knowledge about their homeland, Germania, and their ancestors, the Germani, in written form. Since the patriotism and the ways that the humanists used sources were inextricably bound, I also demonstrate that the supposedly “modern” scholarly methods the humanists developed were neither modern nor methodical, but rather a product of scholarship in an age of transition.

## Introduction: The Sources of German Humanist Patriotism

This dissertation and its arguments have their roots in one simple question: how did German humanists use ancient sources in their patriotic histories? I used one criterion for deciding which texts belonged to the patriotic movement: does the author utter a statement of self-identification with the Germani or Germania? Working with these patriotic humanists and how they used sources made two things immediately clear: the long-standing arguments about the development of patriotism and how humanists employed source criticism were only telling part of a larger story. Notions of cultural conflict between the Italians and Germans and the emphasis on the humanists' development and use of “modern” scholarly practices had only partially uncovered how humanism functioned in the German lands. Again and again I saw that the German humanists lamented the meager and inaccurate information about Germania, because it hindered their ability to write lasting monuments about their ancestors and homeland. The German humanists' concern for who their ancestors were, where they lived, and how they could identify with these people and the land they inhabited indicate the intensely personal motivation of the German humanists in writing their patriotic texts. These personal motivations, instigated at times by denigrations by Italian humanists and the programs of political actors, crystallized as a massive heritage project of self- and collective identity building, which entirely shaped how knowledge from sources was used. I call this heritage project “monumentalization.”

This dissertation places personal rather than political factors as the driving force of German humanist patriotism. The reason why the German patriotic humanists are so important to study lies in the fact that they uncover a personal side to humanism that has largely been omitted from scholarly discussions. Uncovering this personal side has both a particular effect on studies of German humanism and general effect on studies of European humanism. The particular effect



concerns the prevailing explanation that German humanist patriotism emerged out of cultural conflict between Italian and German humanists. Cultural conflict was indeed a notable influence, but in comparison with monumentalization, was quite limited and far less pervasive than has hitherto been thought. The general effect on the other hand concerns the motivations of humanists and illustrates that, although they were often in the employ of political potentates and writing for political ends, there was an intensely personal aspect to their projects. Thus the personal motivations of humanists must be analyzed alongside the political, scholarly, religious, and social in explaining why the humanists actually carried out the scholarship they did. Humanists wrote poems, histories, geographies, and *Landesgeschichten*, and they translated and critically edited the texts of others because they had a personal stake in doing so.

Monumentalization was this personal stake and it was carried out through close contact with the sources. The effects of monumentalization markedly shaped the practices humanists used to acquire and present information from their sources. These effects relativize long-standing arguments about the “modernity” of humanist scholarship, because the entire bundle of practices the humanists used were entirely their own and typical of their time. They remind us that the humanistic intellectual endeavors grew directly out of medieval conventions and were part of a protracted transformation of scholarship in general. Viewing these practices in this way helps situate humanist scholarship in a heuristic framework that does not create a division between “medieval” and “humanist/modern,” but rather shows that humanism was an agent of medieval and Renaissance intellectual transformation. The changes it wrought were gradually introduced and developed over centuries out of constant negotiation, acceptance, abnegation, and perpetuation of medieval conventions. The humanists were less heralds of modern scholarly practices, than discoverers, innovators, testers, and investigators of a plethora of conventions to elicit the

knowledge and information they desired from their sources. What the patriotism of the German humanists demonstrates is the fact that for many humanists their ideological program came before any scholarly demands.

Each chapter in this dissertation serves a specific role in the development of my argument for the development and impact of German humanism. This dissertation is focused heavily on how the German humanists conceptualized and employed the various materials they could mine for information. It is thus episodic, focusing on individual practices or themes concerning source use in which the motivations and effects of monumentalization are most clearly seen. Together they create the image of a humanism in search of information in order to preserve the heritage of Germania and the Germani for posterity. Together they make one important point clear: the patriotism of the German humanists is to be sought in the ways that they instrumentalized and conceptualized sources.

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### Monumentalization and *Informationsbedarf*

The German humanists' scholarly practices and their personal motivations crystallized around the project of monumentalization. I define monumentalization as the preservation of specific knowledge in physical form for transmission to posterity. The goal of monumentalization was to ensure that what had been and was known about Germania and the Germani would not be forgotten and that the humanists' descendants could learn from it. Monumentalization consisted of four elements that were consistently repeated by the German humanists: 1. a concern for transmitting knowledge or information to posterity; 2. a fear of oblivion; 3. recording information in textual form; 4. a concurrent regard for past and present as the objects of monumentalization with the future as recipient. Together these elements encompassed the main motivations that drove the humanists to write about their history and *patria*.

Monumentalization was a manifestation of larger patterns of thought in Renaissance culture. Examples outside of humanism abound in the Renaissance and the motivations behind them were strikingly similar to the German humanists. Nearest to the humanists was Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I's cultural propaganda project to develop his imperial image and secure his *gedechtnus*, his memory/remembrance. Maximilian I [r. 1493 –1519] came to power in a time of transformation and disruption, and he carried out an extensive propaganda and self-fashioning campaign in a variety of media to secure, solidify, legitimize, and honor his personal deeds and family's history. Literarily *Gedechtnus* was the "systematic preservation of [one's] posthumous reputation [*Nachruhm*] in the medium of literature,"<sup>1</sup> and for Maximilian such efforts centered on a few major works, including the *Weißkunig* and the *Theuerdank*. The two written monuments offered idealized and fictionalized accounts of his life and dynastic history. The *Weißkunig* in particular manifested some of the same impulses for composition as the humanists with their own patriotic works: concerns for *gedechtnus* and oblivion because traditions had been forgotten. Unlike the humanists, whose attention centered on Germania and the Germani, the reference points for Maximilian were himself, his office, and his dynasty.<sup>2</sup>

More remote but similar efforts were made in other social situations and realms of Europe. In Cologne, the Catholic lawyer and city-councilor Hermann von Weinsberg [1518–1597] spent fifty years compiling his three-volume *Gedenkbuch* [memorial book], in which he wrote about the honor and heritage of his family, as well as whatever he thought his progeny might need and want to know.<sup>3</sup> The goal was to create a "lasting monument on paper" because he feared being forgotten,

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<sup>1</sup> Müller, *Gedechtnus*, 20.

<sup>2</sup> Müller, *Gedechtnus*, 96.

<sup>3</sup> Lundin, *Paper Memory*, 2.

and this monument was intended to preserve the knowledge of his heritage.<sup>4</sup> Farther afield in Europe, English elites were engaged in a similar process, although in a different form. Across early modern England, physical memorials and monuments were erected as a means of informing posterity about what should be known about the past. These not only preserved history, but rewrote it to reflect the intentions and desires of the creators.<sup>5</sup> Matters of descent sat at the center of these monuments, and they sought to control the form and content of one's familial history.<sup>6</sup> Like the humanists, Hermann von Weinsberg and early modern English elites were concerned with past and future, with preserving and determining the nature of a familial history in a monumentalized form, whether as a book or a physical memorial.

The concern for *gedechtnus* and memory was itself also inherent to humanist thought in general. Humanists learned from ancient Roman literature that great deeds would only be remembered if recorded textually.<sup>7</sup> Hartmann Schedel, in the footsteps of the Italian humanists, sought to safeguard the ruins and monuments that conveyed information about German history for himself, his peers, and his descendants.<sup>8</sup> Conrad Celtis considered it to be a patriotic duty to remember and restore the ancient Germani's lost nobility and culture, while Heinrich Bebel sought a "revision of the historical image" of the Germani as part of his efforts "to administer or reestablish the[ir] *Gedächtnis*."<sup>9</sup> He was thoroughly aware of the fact that German historical reputation had faded because it had not been conserved in text.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Lundin, *Paper Memory*, 2–3, 5.

<sup>5</sup> Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory*, 10.

<sup>6</sup> Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory*, 19–20.

<sup>7</sup> Kajanto, *Poggio Bracciolini*, 33.

<sup>8</sup> Worstbrock, "Hartmann Schedels 'Liber Antiquitatum,'" 227–228, 241, 242; Stauber, "Hartmann Schedel," 170.

<sup>9</sup> Krebs, *Negotiatio Germaniae*, 228; Letocha "Duty of Memory," 270, 271, 272, 279.

<sup>10</sup> Krebs, *Negotiatio Germaniae*, 241.

The German humanists were however not the first humanists to design monumentalization projects. Before Schedel, Celtis, and Bebel, Italian humanists had already begun to explore and impart similar ideas. Leonardo Bruni, for example, wrote his *Commentarii de Primo Bello Punico* between 1418–1422 out of reverence for the Romans as his ancient forefathers and to save the memory of their deeds.<sup>11</sup> Of particular note however were two of the great antiquarians of the Quattrocento, Poggio Bracciolini and Flavio Biondo, who both felt a need to record as much of Rome’s ruins as possible before they vanished.<sup>12</sup> Poggio Bracciolini [1380–1459], an employee in the papal curia and later the chancellor of Florence, showed a clear personal and emotional concern for guarding and conserving Rome’s literary and material past.<sup>13</sup> He was sensitive to the signs of decay and sought to save what he could from permanent loss.<sup>14</sup> The most resounding evidence of Poggio’s affective attachment to the past came in his *De Varietate Fortunae* [mid-1440s] in which he poignantly lamented the destruction of Rome’s ruins and outlined the moral obligation of humanists to secure the memory of contemporary history in writing.<sup>15</sup>

Biondo took a slightly different approach, one we might say was more “scholarly,” because he embedded his feelings and attempts in a handful of antiquarian and historical works. In these he sought to restore what he could of the ancient Roman past.<sup>16</sup> For Biondo, ancient Rome was a powerful symbol and idea: it was a bearer of great culture and a paragon of power.<sup>17</sup> He wrote his first antiquarian work, *Roma Instaurata* [1444–1446] after an encounter with Rome’s ruins.<sup>18</sup> He

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<sup>11</sup> Ianziti, *Writing History*, 14.

<sup>12</sup> Weiss, *Renaissance Discovery*, 205.

<sup>13</sup> Barkan, *Unearthing the Past*, 32; Mazzocco “Rome and the Humanists,” 186; Stein “Auf der Suche,” 89, 94.

<sup>14</sup> Barkan, *Unearthing the Past*, 31–32.

<sup>15</sup> Barkan, *Unearthing the Past*, 31–32; Kajanto, *Poggio Bracciolini*, 34; Worstbrock, “Hartmann Schedels ‘Liber Antiquitatum,’” 226.

<sup>16</sup> Ott, *Entdeckung des Altertums*, 159–160.

<sup>17</sup> Mazzocco, “Introduction,” 15–16.

<sup>18</sup> Clavuot, *Biondos “Italia Illustrata”*, 30.

was afraid for the future of these material remains and concerned they would succumb to oblivion if they were not diligently studied.<sup>19</sup> This same drive to counteract oblivion expressed itself in his *Italia Illustrata* [first MS edition 1453], which he used to bridge a gap that he perceived separated the present day from antiquity. He felt a sense of having lost great parts of the ancient world due to disruptions and transformations in the Early Middle Ages.<sup>20</sup>

Poggio and Biondo were the intellectual descendants of a disposition toward antiquity seen already with Lovato dei Lovati's classicizing Latin style: the revivification, restoration, reclamation, and recovery of the ancient past.<sup>21</sup> The desire to restore and recover that came to shape and influence all manner of humanist activities solidified early in the development of humanism itself.<sup>22</sup> This type of thought was most strongly emphasized in the historical-antiquarian pursuits of the humanists and it was often expressed in very personal and emotive ways.<sup>23</sup> Humanists so emotively articulated these pursuits because they found means of identification and connection with the past. No connection was perhaps more personal than Petrarch's letters to ancient authors. In these one can discern the poet's excitement about the ancient authors' own literary productions, as well as a despondency about the loss of much ancient literature.<sup>24</sup> Poggio Bracciolini, Flavio Biondo, and the German humanists felt the same connection to the ancient past. Each of their laments about the great losses in literature, knowledge, and *materialia*, as well as their attempts to preserve what they could were voicings of this connection.

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<sup>19</sup> Mazzocco, "Introduction," 10.

<sup>20</sup> Castner, "*Fortuna*," 178; Stauber, "Hartmann Schedel," 170.

<sup>21</sup> Witt, '*Footsteps of the Ancients*', 78.

<sup>22</sup> Baker, *Italian Renaissance Humanism*, 5; Celenza, *Intellectual World*, 62; Garber, "Trojaner-Römer-Franken-Deutsche," 146-147; Grafton, *Commerce with the Classics*, 137; Johnson, "Creating a Usable Past," 1071-1072; Kaiser, "Kontingenz, Stabilisierung und Aneignung," 330, 343; Mazzocco, "Rome and the Humanists," 185; Muhlack, *Geschichtswissenschaft*, 32; Palmer, *Reading Lucretius*, xiii; Stein, "Auf der Suche," 97-98.

<sup>23</sup> Peters, "Claiming and Contesting," 15.

<sup>24</sup> Stein "Auf der Suche," 79-82.

That humanism cared for and developed in relation to the ancient past is well known, but its link to the eventual patriotism of the German humanists has yet to be identified. This is a significant link because it illustrates the fact that the patriotism of the German humanists was rooted in Italian humanism, but not in the way scholars have thought. Instead of the Italians being the agents who sparked German humanist patriotism, they were the creators of the ways of thinking that fostered it. Thus studying the patriotism itself tells us about the development of humanism. It indicates one of those ways of thinking inherent to humanism that was so entrenched that it could successfully cross the Alps and flourish in an entirely different intellectual and social environment.

Among the German humanists this way of thinking manifested itself in a strong drive for information. This is seen in a unique drive to collect knowledge, to ensure that the humanist had put forth their own thoughts on a topic, and to uncover new informational sources. I call this great concern *Informationsbedarf*, the “need, demand, or requirement of information.” Formulations of *Informationsbedarf* emerged first out of the humanist historical-antiquarian disposition to investigate and record the past, but it was greatly intensified by the German humanists’ inability to extract enough information on Germania from sources to satisfy their patriotic demands. The sources, especially the ancient but also the medieval and humanist, posed great problems in investigating Germania and the Germani because they were lacunose and/or faulty. Because no single source—including Tacitus’ *Germania*—could answer even a majority of the questions the humanists had, the German humanists were forced to look to a multitude of sources to answer their questions. This was aided and made all the more apparent by the general humanist expansion of the types of materials that could be used as sources for historical investigation.

The sources for German humanists were the alpha and omega, the first and the last, the beginning and the end of their patriotism. Upon them were placed the obligation to inform German

humanists of their ancestors and homeland, as well as the burden to create an identity for an entire people. This immense weight substantially determined how the sources could and should be used, because the German humanists approached them as tools to be shaped and reshaped for their ideological commitments. The German humanists asked “how can I read the Germani into a source” and not “how might this source tell me about the Germani?” The cart was placed before the horse, because the German humanists knew what they wanted a source to tell them. They generally had little compunction in forcing a source to be a piece of evidence.

And yet the humanists in general established a new evidentiary standard for intellectual projects in the Middle Ages. Generally, but certainly not always, the humanists expected information to be backed by evidence. This evidentiary standard grew out of the humanists’ philological practices with texts, which expanded over into historical and learned investigation. Because of this evidentiary standard and the development of practices that can be justly called “source criticism,” historiography has long held the humanists as the architects of modern, academic scholarship. This notion has some validity: the humanists did devise practices and guidelines for working with sources that are still used today, but it would be problematic to understand these as “modern” or even “good” or “preferable” to other scholarly dispositions. Labeling the critical and scrutinizing practices of the humanists as better than other practices of the time is questionable because it conforms to a positivistic story about the development of modern scholarship. It tells us more about what we modern scholars think we are doing than what the humanists were actually doing, and thus reinforces the image of ourselves as having a historically legitimized tale of progress toward “good” scholarship.

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## The Conflict Model

The patriotism of the German humanists did not spring from a single origin, but was made possible by a few momentous shifts in late medieval and early modern European society. Until now the prevailing theory for the development of German humanist patriotism has been cultural conflict between Italian and German humanists. This theory, which I call the Conflict Model, has remained the predominant explanation for well over a century.<sup>25</sup> The reason for the long-standing reliance on the model stems from two important facts: cultural conflict existed and it agrees with larger, teleological patterns of discussing national identity creation. In addition to the teleological problems with the model, it fails as a general explanation because it cannot make sense of the patriotic pursuits of even a majority of German humanists, let alone all of them. The Conflict Model has simply been expanded beyond the context to which it belongs and should be understood not as an explanation for all of German humanist patriotism, but rather one impetus in a movement with a number of different impulses.

In broad strokes the Conflict Model argues the following: the Italian humanists, as self-proclaimed cultural and even “national” heirs to Rome, denigrated non-Italians as culturally inferior barbarians. This denigration, called the *Barbarenverdict*, the “verdict of barbarism,” had roots in Graeco-Roman ethnographic thought, but seems to have first developed in humanism under Petrarch. The Italians’ reproaches were not limited to the Germans, but the Germans seem

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<sup>25</sup> Amelung, *Bild des Deutschen*, 67, 70; Andermann, “Historiographie und Interesse,” 91–92; Goerlitz, “sine aliquo verborum splendore,” 86; Hammerstein, “Geschichte als Arsenal,” 22, 25–26; Helmrath, “Probleme und Formen,” 336; Hirschi, “Vorwärts in neue Vergangenheiten,” 376, 377; Hirschi, *Wettkampf der Nationen*, 253–257; Garber, “Trojaner–Römer–Franken–Deutsche,” 151, 152; Kaiser, “*Diserte Germanice loqui*,” 67, 68; Krebs, *Negotiatio Germaniae*, 21, 113; Kugler, “Nürnberg auf Blatt 100,” 121–122; Langosch, “*Germania des Johannes Cochläus*,” 373; Maissen, “Worin gründet der Erfolg?” 49; Muhlack, “Projekt der *Germania Illustrata*,” 156–157; Muhlack, “Humanistische Historiographie,” 33; Müller, “Humanistische Gemeinschaftsbildung,” 139, 140; Müller, *Germania Generalis*, 207–208, 219, 220, 232; Münkler et al. *Nationenbildung*, 217, 220; Ramminger, “Roman Inscriptions,” 203; Ristow-Stieghahn, “Geschichtsschreibung des Beatus Rhenanus,” 373; Staab, “Quellenkritik im deutschen Humanismus,” 155; Stauber, “Hartmann Schedel,” 180; Strauss, *Sixteenth-Century Germany*, 8–10; Tiedemann, “Tacitus,” 1, 2, 5, 140; Walther, “Nation als Exportgut,” 445.

to have received particular ire from their southern neighbors. The two main antagonists are held to be Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini [d. 1464] and Gianantonio Campano [d. 1477]. According to the model, the reproaches of these Italians motivated German humanists to defend themselves, their ancestors, and their homeland in the way humanists did: in writing. They employed a variety of literary genres to demonstrate not only that the Germani had a distinguished history, but also that they were a civilized people with homeland defined by all manner of Renaissance signs of civilization: urban life, agriculture, government, trade, and even wine.

In 2005 the Conflict Model reached its fully developed form in Caspar Hirschi's *Wettkampf der Nationen: Konstruktion einer deutschen Ehrgemeinschaft an der Wende vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit*. Hirschi's study is a far more theoretically undergirded and historically developed model than previous explanations. The work concentrates on the "construction of a German community of honor" in the Renaissance, which had its roots in the High Middle Ages and the Investiture Controversy. Hirschi looked not only at humanists, although they play a vital role in his narrative, but also at princes, clerics, and many other historical figures from the elite of medieval and Renaissance society. Hirschi's goal was far more ambitious than to explain German humanist patriotism. Rather he sought to study the development of nationalism, arguing that it cannot simply be understood as a child of the modern era because its roots are to be found in the Middle Ages.<sup>26</sup> Humanism was very important for nationalism's development because it offered a particular "radicalization of nationalization."<sup>27</sup>

Hirschi clarifies that, before the Renaissance and humanism, the means to discuss Europeans along national lines had already been developed. This is seen, for example, in the

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<sup>26</sup> Hirschi, *Wettkampf der Nationen*, 21.

<sup>27</sup> Hirschi, *Wettkampf der Nationen*, 21.

writings of Lupold von Bebenburg [d. 1363], an author of political treatises who wrote in defense of the Holy Roman Empire against the power of the papacy and the claims of rival kings. His works show a clear use of language that was shaped by "national" considerations: for him the Germani were defined by language and legal tradition, as well as various honors and obligations toward the *regnum Germanie*.<sup>28</sup> The example of Lupold von Bebenburg illustrates the fact that by the time of the Council of Constance, which Hirschi marked as a turning point in the discourse of nations, the means of collective identification and their use in political milieux were already in place.<sup>29</sup> The Council of Constance [1414–1418] added a decisively antagonistic element to the discourse and gave it a political stage to develop on. Humanists and European elites took up this discourse and employed it in a *Wettkampf*, or competition, between various states and “nations.”<sup>30</sup> Although admitting multiple influences for the nationalist discourse, a major part of Hirschi’s explanation for the development of German humanist nationalism was conflict with the Italians.<sup>31</sup>

Both the general explanations and Hirschi’s theory of the Conflict Model suffer from a number of issues that need to be discussed together and, when necessary, separately. The fundamental flaw with the model is that it can only make sense of a limited number of humanists and their patriotic works. This has led scholars to overemphasize and over-privilege a handful of humanists, creating a disproportionate sense of the ubiquity of the model. At the center point of these are Conrad Celtis, Heinrich Bebel, and Ulrich von Hutten, who are, especially in the case of Celtis, seen to be illustrative examples and tone-setters for German humanism. While scholars have with success investigated the conflict in relation to these humanists and a few others who

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<sup>28</sup> Hirschi, *Wettkampf der Nationen*, 98.

<sup>29</sup> Hirschi, *Wettkampf der Nationen*, 125.

<sup>30</sup> Hirschi, *Wettkampf der Nationen*, 135.

<sup>31</sup> Hirschi, *Wettkampf der Nationen*, 253–257.

voiced their displeasure with the Italians, the attempts to expand the model or assume its currency as a general explanation fail because conflict was not expressed by all. Instead of limiting the Conflict Model to the texts and discussions in which it can be shown to have had an effect, it has been expanded to include works that show no clear connection or motivation by conflict, having even been posited as the motivation for the entire patriotic movement.<sup>32</sup> This has led scholars into dangerous territory, for they have begun to assume the general validity of the model for all German patriotic humanists and argue that certain works “implicitly” or “silently” interact with this theme without evidence.<sup>33</sup>

Cultural conflict and monumentalization were not antithetical and the presence of one did not exclude the other. I argue however that the Conflict Model should be limited to the time period between 1492, the publication of Conrad Celtis’ *Oratio in Gymnasio Ingelstadio publice Recitata*, the first clear formulation of a patriotism based on conflict, to the death of Ulrich von Hutten in 1523, who combined this patriotism with his ardent support of Martin Luther. After this time, conflict is either relegated to a marginal position in the works of the humanists or is non-existent. Even during this thirty-one-year period conflict did not dominate the motivations of the German humanists. It was valid for Celtis, Bebel, von Hutten, and only limitedly for Franciscus Irenicus, as Ronny Kaiser has shown,<sup>34</sup> but it did not motivate Schedel, Conrad Peutinger, Johannes Cochlaeus, Johannes Aventinus, and Beatus Rhenanus.

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<sup>32</sup> Amelung, *Bild des Deutschen*, 67; Andermann, “Historiographie und Interesse,” 91–92; Hirschi, “Vorwärts in neue Vergangenheiten,” 371; Kugler, “Nürnberg auf Blatt 100,” 118; Müller, “Humanistische Gemeinschaftsbildung,” 140, 163–164; Münkler et al. *Nationenbildung*, 217; Ramming, “Roman Inscriptions,” 203; Ristow-Stieghahn, “Geschichtsschreibung des Beatus Rhenaues,” 373; Schirrmeister, “Gegenwärtige Vergangenheiten,” 83; Staab, “Quellenkritik im deutschen Humanismus,” 155; Stauber, “Hartmann Schedel,” 180; Straus, *Sixteenth-Century Germany*, 8–10; Tiedemann, “Tacitus,” 1, 140.

<sup>33</sup> Kugler, “Nürnberg auf Blatt 100,” 120; Münkler et al. *Nationenbildung*, 220.

<sup>34</sup> Kaiser, “*Diserte Germanice loqui*,” 67.

The assumed ubiquity of the model has led to scholars flattening the roles of both Italian and German humanists in their patriotic program. Conrad Celtis and Heinrich Bebel, the German humanists *par excellence* for the Conflict Model, were also intimately worried about the history and memory of the Germani. These two themes formed interwoven threads of motivation in their various works, as Danièle Letocha and Christopher Krebs have demonstrated.<sup>35</sup> Moreover Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini has taken on the role of a primary instigator of the patriotism because of his depictions of the Germani as barbarous. However one only occasionally finds German attempts to refute Piccolomini's depiction of the Germani. Rather his role was far more neutral and even positive because his works were among the most authoritative sources on Germania.

For Hirschi's argument specifically, a few additional matters need to be addressed. First, although his argument is far more developed and acknowledges the various influences that create humanist "nationalism," it is still a model based on conflict.<sup>36</sup> Second, his version of the model imagines a struggle between communities that overemphasizes the political nature of humanist patriotism.<sup>37</sup> He understands Germania to have been a "political community" which the German humanists had given new meaning by emphasizing "shared descent and indigeneity [*Ureinwohnerschaft*]."<sup>38</sup> There is however very little evidence of the German humanists conceiving of Germania as a political unit: I have only found one example of a humanist possibly equating Germania with a political entity, and this is entirely dependent on how one translates the passage.<sup>39</sup> Moreover the notion of the "Germani" among the humanists was far more than political

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<sup>35</sup> Letocha, "Duty of Memory," 270, 271, 273, 279; Krebs, *Negotiatio Germaniae*, 226–231, 241–243.

<sup>36</sup> Hirschi, *Wettkampf der Nationen*, 79.

<sup>37</sup> Hirschi, *Wettkampf der Nationen*, 82.

<sup>38</sup> Hirschi, *Wettkampf der Nationen*, 109.

<sup>39</sup> *Si enim scriptorum beneficio illustria foris domique gesta Germanorum ad posteros transmissa essent, essetque in recenti memoria ea fortitudo animi, ea strennuitas, ea in rebus gerendis peritia, quas de se prestiterunt Caroli, Ludouici, Lotharii, Fæderici, Othones, Henrici, Conradi, Rodolphi, Alberti ceteri Germani Imperatores.* Bebel, *Oratio ad Regem Maximilianum*, a5r. The interpretation hinges on the phrase *ceteri Germani Imperatores* and

and included culture, language, religion, geography, and descent. On the whole the very striking aspect of the German humanists' conceptions of Germania is its decidedly apolitical nature. I have found no humanist equating Germania with any polity, including the Holy Roman Empire. Rather what Germania and Germani meant developed out of a reciprocal identification of people and place: Germania was where the Germani were and vice versa.

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### Why the "Nation"?

The Conflict Model has embedded in it concepts of international power struggles that are often explained in terms of the "nation." The arguments are based on the increasing importance of collective organization mechanisms between 1300–1700 that solidified around regionally defined polities and peoples, like the Kingdom of France, the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, Holland, and even cities like Trier. The historiography is clear that the "nation" or similar ideas gained increasing currency as a means of collective identification as European thought was "nationalized." This process of nationalization occurred in literature, scholarship, political discourse, religious discussions, and university administration.

The "nation" and all derivatives are at very best semi-functional terms to discuss the identification processes at play during the Renaissance and I only use them in this section to engage with the historiography. They are able to capture aspects of collective identity building based on place and people that are so important to national identities. They are however misleading and teleological because they create a connection to the modern nation in terms that are quite different from the nationalist thought patterns of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The largest problem is the limitation of English vocabulary to describe what actually occurred during the Renaissance

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whether to understand the the emperors, the *imperatores*, as the "emperors of Germania," that is, as the rulers of Germania, or as "Germania's emperors," which could equally be the emperors that reside in Germania or the emperors who rule Germania.

and the concomitant reflex to translate the Renaissance *natio* as “nation.” However the discourses on the “nation” in the Renaissance were variable. They did not consist of a combination of state, space, and ethnicity, that is, of an ethnically homogeneous people ruled by a government within a defined geographic area, which has defined modern nationalist thought. In the case of Germania, the state was non-existent, the population ethnically heterogeneous, and the geographical realm ill-defined. The only consistent themes in defining Germania and the Germani were those of a diverse people and geographically unclear region. A Renaissance *natio* was not a nation.

Forms of identification like *natio* long preceded the Renaissance. The ideas that the humanists used developed originally in antiquity and were common in Graeco-Roman literature to define large groups of people. These Graeco-Roman ideas were durable, never ceasing to be used in the Middle Ages. They reappeared increasingly in the era around 1150–1200 in political, religious, and intellectual circles for delineating large groups perceived to share a common language and geographical homeland.<sup>40</sup> *Nationes* were organizational schemes at universities [the so-called *Universitätsnationen*], as well as in religious writings and historical literature.<sup>41</sup> The discourse surrounding the nations changed significantly in 1400 because the nations were brought into a European-wide competition between European elites who sought to bolster claims of legitimacy, authority, rule, and power. The competition resulted from a complex set of social, intellectual, political, and religious developments which inflamed European elites.<sup>42</sup> The nation was one idea around which this competition crystallized, and it consequently became a significant

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<sup>40</sup> Busch, “Vorhumanistischen Laiengeschichtsschreiber,” 35, 49–50; Garber, “Trojaner–Römer–Franken–Deutsche,” 137; Hirschi, *Wettkampf der Nationen*, 125; Münkler, “Nation als politische Idee,” 59–60; Walther, “Nation als Exportgut,” 437.

<sup>41</sup> Graus, “Nationale Deutungsmuster,” 73, 74, 90; Helmuth, “Probleme und Formen,” 352; Hirschi, *Wettkampf der Nationen*, 135; Johnson “Creating a Usable Past,” 1073; Scales, *Shaping of German Identity*, 3–4.

<sup>42</sup> Enenkel and Ottenheim “Introduction,” 1; Maissen, “Worin gründet der Erfolg?” 60; Muhlack, *Geschichtswissenschaft*, 31; Walther, “Nation als Exportgut,” 438–439.

and powerful means to demonstrate legitimacy and authority.<sup>43</sup> The nation was thus politically founded and was located at the center of political and cultural conflict between the various states and peoples of Renaissance Europe.<sup>44</sup>

The involvement of humanists in this political competition meant that humanist historiography and scholarship was co-opted for political purposes. Humanist scholarship allowed for the creation of national identities rooted in antiquity which could be employed to position newly emerging states on the political map of Europe.<sup>45</sup> It also reflected the values of the ruling elite and historically legitimized their power and positions.<sup>46</sup> Some scholars, like Albert Schirrmester, have even gone so far as to unequivocally state that sixteenth-century historiography “was always a historiography at the service of political power.”<sup>47</sup> In the context of the Conflict Model humanist scholarship was the driving force of political competition. It gave new valence to traditional notions of German identity, which had almost solely been based on the Holy Roman Empire and its religious function, and gave them ethno-geographic and deeply historical components. This helped define and bolster the claims and ambitions of the humanists and political leaders.

The understanding that humanist scholarship, particularly, historiography, and humanist “national” identity were tools of political considerations has helped outline one of the assorted functions that humanism had. It has however written the personal motivations of the humanists out of the history. It is true that the aims of political leaders were very often the goal of humanist scholarship, but the humanists themselves also had a stake in the work they were doing and the

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<sup>43</sup> Enenkel et al., “Introduction,” 6–7.

<sup>44</sup> Münkler, “Nation als politische Idee,” 59, 86.

<sup>45</sup> Maissen, “Weshalb,” 212, 218.

<sup>46</sup> Ianziti, *Writing History*, 303.

<sup>47</sup> Schirrmester, “Authority through Antiquity,” 73.



identities they were creating. In fact both the humanist's personal motivation and the political leader's designs could coexist in a single work. Johannes Aventinus was commissioned to write his *Annales Ducum Boioariae* [1522] by the Wittelsbachs ruling in Munich, but as Andrej Doronin has shown, "Aventinus sacrificed the alleged dynastic roots of the ruling Bavarian house, its *origo*, to the nation," that is to Germania.<sup>48</sup> Moreover political motivations were sometimes not even drivers for specific works. Karl A.E. Enenkel and Konrad Adriaan Ottenheim have refuted the claim that the early sixteenth-century debate between the Dutch humanists Cornelius Aurelius and Gerardus Noviomagus on whether Holland was identifiable with the Island of the Batavians was the product of a propaganda war between the Duchy of Guelders and the province of Holland. It was instead a scholarly-antiquarian debate.<sup>49</sup> The German humanist patriotic works fall somewhere on the political spectrum between Aventinus and Aurelius–Noviomagus, often leaning toward the latter.

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### Why Germania and the Germani?

The humanists played a decisive role in the *Wettkampf*, because they could "provide" the competing nations, polities, and political actors with the most important ingredient in this competition: antiquity.<sup>50</sup> Within the political realm this meant vigorous investigation of the sources on all things German in search of a distinguished history. Germania and the Germani were thus objects of study in an international power struggle carried out across the pages of history. These arguments have importantly shown that the idea of "German" as a broad, collective identity was

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<sup>48</sup> Doronin, "baierisch nam," 147.

<sup>49</sup> Enenkel and Ottenheim, *Ambitious Antiquities*, 154-158.

<sup>50</sup> Enenkel and Ottenheim, *Ambitious Antiquities*, 13-14; Enenkel and Ottenheim, "Introduction," 1-2.

powerful and current during the Renaissance. A German identity was clearly in formation at this time and the humanists were vital to this. It was however far from solely a political identity.

Humanist notions of Germania and the Germani came from a variety of sources. The origin of the identities is found in Graeco-Roman literature, which were transmitted to later ages and recast in new political and intellectual environments. In the Middle Ages the idea of “German” came to be a notable political and religio-political identity for the German-speaking peoples of Central Europe.<sup>51</sup> During the Late Middle Ages, important impulses came from outside the German lands, predominantly through either Italian humanist literature or the established organizational structure of the *Universitätsnationen*. The final and definitive element came from the German humanists, who reworked each of the models and sources to convey the messages and ideals they sought. The “Germans,” thus, were not “an Italian invention” during the Renaissance, but rather a Graeco-Roman invention that proved a lasting means of classification and identification.<sup>52</sup>

The humanist notion of “German” showed a major shift away from the ideas prevailing in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in which conceptions of German identity were inseparable from political and religious discourses.<sup>53</sup> These notions were recast under the aegis of humanism to create a German identity rooted in the interwoven concepts of people and place that reflect the humanists’ interests in geography, historiography, and classical antiquity.<sup>54</sup> The “Germani” and

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<sup>51</sup> Hirschi, *Wettkampf der Nationen*, 98, 107; Kneupper, *Empire*, 2–3, 16, 151; Scales, “Late Medieval Germany,” 181; Scales, *Shaping of German Identity*, 56, 190, 315.

<sup>52</sup> Hirschi, *Origins of Nationalism*, 106: “How were the scholars of the late medieval period, such as Gobelinus Persona, able to anticipate a process that was barely visible during their lifetime? If the speakers of German languages were hardly capable of understanding each other, let alone claim a common allegiance to a political community, they needed incentives from abroad to define themselves as both a linguistic and political unit. This was exactly what happened. The Germans, one could say, are an Italian invention.”

<sup>53</sup> Kneupper, *Empire*, 2–3, 16, 151; Scales “Late Medieval Germany,” 181.

<sup>54</sup> Andermann, “Historiographie und Interesse,” 94; Helmrath, “Probleme und Formen,” 337; Hirschi, *Wettkampf der Nationen*, 108; Krebs, *Negotiatio Germaniae*, 56, 111.

‘Germania’ the humanists encountered in the ancient sources were geographic and, for lack of a better term, ethnographic designations. Neither idea was entirely bound to political structures. These geographically and ethnographically defined notions are very similar to the ones used in Italian humanist literature to either discuss Italia, as Flavio Biondo did in the *Italia Illustrata*, or as Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini did for Austria in the *Historia Austrialis*.

The shift in conceptions of the Germani from a political identity to one based on people and place was made possible by the revivification and reinvigoration of literary genres and fields of study that had diminished in the Middle Ages. The most significant scholarly changes came in the fields of historiography, geography, and their combination, which Gerald Strauss called the “topographical-historical genre.”<sup>55</sup> The first significant change was the increased interest by humanists in all things geographical, which was aided in great part by the translation and dissemination of Greek geographical texts by Italian humanists. Works like Ptolemy of Alexandria’s *Geographike Hyphegesis* [AD 2nd c.] and Strabo’s *Geographia* [ca. AD 18–23] were translated into Latin and spread across Europe where they were read and studied by a variety of humanists and geographically interested scholars.<sup>56</sup> The influence of geography is seen in the variety of humanist texts and centers of crafts and scholarship like Nuremberg that became focal points of geographic studies.<sup>57</sup>

The second significant scholarly transformation occurred when humanists released historiography from the framework of Christian universalism and eschatology to provide

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<sup>55</sup> Strauss, *Sixteenth-Century Germany*, 45–59. See also Andermann, “Geographisches Wissen,” 299.

<sup>56</sup> For an overview of the reception of both of these Graeco-Roman authors, see Dalché, “Reception of Ptolemy’s *Geography*,” 285–364 and Dalché, “Strabo’s Reception,” 367–383. See also, Strauss, *Sixteenth-Century Germany*, 47–48, 50.

<sup>57</sup> For the influence of geography on humanists and the situations in which it appeared, see Dalché, “Strabo’s Reception,” 370, 377, 380; Ott, “Römische Inschriften,” 213–226; see also the cited literature below for the influence of geography on historiography. For Nuremberg, see Rücker, “Nürnberger Frühhumanisten,” 191, 192; Stauber, “Hartmann Schedel,” 163, 167–169.

alternative organizational schemes.<sup>58</sup> Extraordinarily important for this change was the increasing concern for geographically defined histories, like those of individual cities, regions, polities, and *nationes*.<sup>59</sup> This new spatial element in historiography allowed the humanists to concentrate extensively on the connections between history and place in their patriotic works.<sup>60</sup> Geographical spaces became imbued with their own importance as they turned into objects and subjects of historical investigation and the means to identify small and large groups of peoples.<sup>61</sup>

The German humanists' interest in people and place proved itself to be a concern for descent and lineage in a manner that resembled the dynastic and familial concerns of political leaders like Emperor Maximilian I. In humanist conceptions, the ancient and Renaissance Germani were bound by *Siedlungskontinuität* [a continuity in settlement] and a stability in terminology that made the connection between, for instance, Strabo's *Germanoi* and Johannes Cochlaeus' *Germani* possible.<sup>62</sup> Direct lines of connection between the past and present were vital in humanistic thought and especially in the constructions of the Germani and Germania, but they were not always smooth or easy: selectivity and reshaping the past to make it conform to present demands was often necessary.<sup>63</sup> The resulting links between past and present supplied Germania's antiquity, the Germani's *Siedlungskontinuität*, and the heritage for the humanists' identities.

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<sup>58</sup> Borchardt, *German Antiquity*, 289; Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung*, 8; Maissen, "Worin gründet der Erfolg?," 60; Muhlack, *Geschichtswissenschaft*, 89–90, 98, 150–151.

<sup>59</sup> Andermann, "Geographisches Wissen," 275; Helmrath, "Probleme und Formen," 341; Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung*, 3–14; Muhlack, *Geschichtswissenschaft*, 98.

<sup>60</sup> Andermann, "Geographisches Wissen," 300; Helmrath, "Probleme und Formen," 335–336, 337, 340; Helmrath "Natio," 154–155; Strauss, *Sixteenth-Century Germany*, vii, 45–46.

<sup>61</sup> Dalché, "Strabo's Reception," 380; Helmrath, "Natio, regio und terra," 143–156; Helmrath, "Probleme und Formen," 340; Maissen, "Worin gründet der Erfolg?" 49, 71; Meyer, "Germania Romana," 697–719\*; Muhlack, *Geschichtswissenschaft*, 151; Schirrmeister, "Gegenwärtige Vergangenheiten," 103; Strauss, *Sixteenth-Century Germany*, 45–59.

<sup>62</sup> I took the idea of *Siedlungskontinuität* from Albert Schirrmeister, "Gegenwärtige Vergangenheiten," 103.

<sup>63</sup> Asher, *National Myths*, 103; Johnson, "Creating a Usable Past," 1070, 1077, 1090; Maissen, "Weshalb," 230–231; Meyer, "Germania Romana," 697–719\*; Ott, *Entdeckung des Altertums*, 98; Schirrmeister, "Gegenwärtige Vergangenheit," 85, 103–104.

## The Heralds of Modern Scholarship?

The second major historiographical contribution this dissertation offers concerns the nature of humanist practices with sources. Scholarship has long emphasized that humanism developed a number of intellectual practices that we still use today, and that, taken as a whole, humanist scholarship showed a great transformation vis-à-vis traditional conventions. Recognizing the significance of humanist scholarly practices and how they have been explained has been problematic on two fronts: they are often explained teleologically and without consideration of their richness and diversity. In the search for the heralds of modern scholarship, scholars since the nineteenth century have either misrepresented or ignored the fact that humanism's transformation to intellectual culture was a protracted process. Humanism sparked a transformative phase in which traditions and innovations meshed, existed simultaneously, and worked together over centuries to create a scholarly landscape that was vastly different from that of the earliest humanists by time of the development of the *ars historica* in the mid-sixteenth century.

This topic will be fully investigated in the conclusion because it is best understood after working through the variety of practices outlined in the dissertation. One thing must be explained first. German humanist patriotism is particularly suited to investigating humanist practices with sources because it clarifies two general aspects of humanism: first, the practices with sources were subject to the overall program of the individual humanist. They were a means to an end and therefore were shaped to reach this end. For the German humanists, the end was gathering information for monumentalization, so their practices show a great concern for mass amounts of information. Second, humanism guided a gradual, not abrupt, change in scholarly practices. We see this in the patriotic movement of the German humanists because a large group of texts from across a century must be compared to understand the patriotism itself. The image one receives

from these works is of scholarly practice in transition. Increasingly critical practices were introduced over time, but were used and ignored at will by the humanists. Moreover purportedly “medieval” conventions, like compilation, remained staple ways to use sources. Humanism was an agent of protracted change, the Renaissance, the time period in which this change took place. This change was neither immediate nor linear, as the humanists and many scholars like to argue, but rather characterized by exploration and testing.

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### Methods and Explanations

Methodologically my dissertation takes an expansive approach to the German patriotic humanists. I have not limited myself by genre, popularity of an author, or time period. I therefore look at a wide variety of types of texts and a combination of both well-known and little-known works from across a long period of time. I took these expansive approaches to create a comprehensive image of German humanist patriotism and scholarship because much of the research of the last century has focused on a handful of great figures, like Conrad Celtis and Beatus Rhenanus. This narrow focus has created uneven understandings of German humanism and has left very important texts and authors either under researched or untouched.<sup>64</sup> Only recently have more studies begun to focus on lesser-known or studied individuals, a project that Ronny Kaiser has spearheaded with his research on Andreas Althamer and Franciscus Irenicus.<sup>65</sup> These lesser-known figures and their

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<sup>64</sup> The list of under-researched patriotic works is long. Those needing urgent attention are Hartmann Schedel, *Opus Excerptum* [before 1488] and *Opus de Antiquitatibus* [1505]; Andreas Althamer, *Scholia in Cornelium Tacitum* [1529] and *Commentaria Germaniae* [1536]; Sebastian Münster, *Germaniae atque Aliarum Regionum Descriptio* [1530]; Hubertus Thomas Leodius, *De Tungris et Eburonibus* [1541]; Jacobus Micyllus, *Der Römischen Keyser Historien* [1535]; Jodocus Willich, *In Cornelii Taciti Equitis Romani Germaniam Commentaria* [1551], and many more.

<sup>65</sup> Kaiser, “Kanonisierung und neue Deutungsräume”; Kaiser, “*Sola historia negligitur*”; Kaiser, “Personelle Serialität”; Kaiser, “*Deserte Germanice loqui*.”

works are integral, for it is through them that monumentalization, *Informationsbedarf*, and the rich diversity of source practices are best seen.

Concerning types of sources, this dissertation is based on historiographical works, geographies, chorographies, critical editions of ancient and medieval texts, inscription collections, translations, and learned treatises. I often discuss these works in terms of historiography because, although most of the texts are not strictly histories, historiography was often an indistinguishable and critical component of them. For example, even the most geographically oriented works, like Willibald Pirckheimer's *Germaniae Explicatio* [1530], were historically grounded and comprehensible only with an understanding of history.<sup>66</sup> Moreover, Andreas Althamer's two commentaries on Tacitus' *Germania*, the *Scholia in Cornelium Tacitum* from 1529 and its successor, the 1536 *Commentaria Germaniae*, were commentaries oriented toward historical pursuits.<sup>67</sup> The array of patriotic works generally share a historiographical orientation and they together comprise the monuments of German humanist monumentalization.

I paired this broad approach to genre with a far more wide-ranging collection of sources than is common in such studies. These include well-worn texts like Heinrich Bebel's *Oratio ad Regem Maximilianum de Laudibus Germaniae* and Johannes Nauclerus' *Memorabilium Omnis Aetatis et Omnium Gentium Chronici Commentarii*, as well as those that have received limited and rare inclusion in these discussions, as for instance Hartmann Schedel's *Opus de Antiquitatibus cum Epigramatibus Inclite Germanie* and Jakob Schopper's *Neuwe Chorographia und Histori Teutscher Nation*. This was both a reaction to the heavy emphasis on certain individuals like Conrad Celtis, but also a necessity, because Celtis and others like Rhenanus, Bebel, and Nauclerus

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<sup>66</sup> Meyer, "Germania Romana," 707–711\*.

<sup>67</sup> Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung*, 149; Kaiser, "Kanonisierung und neue Deutungsräume," 359.

were not representative of German humanism in general. They needed to be placed into a larger context. It was through this that I realized that the Conflict Model should be limited to only a few individual humanists and that the scholarly developments displayed by individuals like Rhenanus only told a partial story.

Lastly, I looked far beyond the general historiographical preference for the era between 1492 and ca. 1530, that is, from Conrad Celtis' *Oratio* to Beatus Rhenanus' *Rerum Germanicarum Libri III*. I place the beginning point for my search sometime around 1488, when a number of texts appeared that bear noticeable markers of patriotism, like the lamentations about problematic sources, *Informationsbedarf*, and personal identification of the individual humanist with Germania and the Germani. At the temporal beginning of the patriotic movement stands not Conrad Celtis' *Oratio*, but rather Sigismund Meisterlin's *Nierenbergensis Chronica* [1488], Felix Fabri's *Descriptio Sueviae* [1488], and Hartmann Schedel's *Opus Excerptum ex Vulgari Cronica de Rebus Gestis in Germania per Imperatores Romanorum et de Inclita Ciuitate Alemanie Nuremberga*. The last of these is particularly significant because it seems to have been the first patriotic work written by a German humanist. It is unknown exactly when Schedel composed it, but it appears to have been before 1488.<sup>68</sup> Due to the lack of research on the text since its printing in the third volume of *Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte* in 1864, other relevant information about the text and its compilation has not been uncovered.

The endpoint for my research has been much more difficult to define because neither humanism nor the patriotism associated with it ever ended. I extend far beyond the date of 1530 to include not just the later works of Sebastian Münster and Gerardus Noviomagus, but also far less studied texts, like Jacobus Micyllus' translation of Tacitus' works [1535], Jodocus Willich's

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<sup>68</sup> Schedel, *Opus Excerptum* (*Chroniken der deutschen Städte*), 259.



*In Cornelii Taciti Egvitis Romani Germaniam Commentaria* [1551], Heinrich Pantaleon's *Prosopographiae Heroum atque Illustrium Virorum Totius Germaniae* [1565–1566], and Jakob Schopper's vernacular *Neuwe Chorographia und Histori Teutscher Nation* [1582]. Each of these works shows that the patriotic discourse was still well alive long after the Rhenanus' *Res Germanicae* and even Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia*.

I chose Jakob Schopper's *Neuwe Chorographia* as the stopping point because there are a number of characteristics to Schopper's work that both show it to be a manifestation of various strands of intellectual thought seen in the texts of the humanists before him, but also that he was working in a different intellectual environment. Schopper's *Neuwe Chorographia* bears the critical and scrutinizing disposition of Rhenanus, the confessional [pro-Lutheran] disposition of Pantaleon, the concern for writing in the vernacular to reach a larger audience as in Jakob Miccyllus' translation of Tacitus' works, and the same patriotism seen in Schedel, Münzer, Noviomagus, and the rest. As the confluence point of all of these intellectual strands, Schopper was at once both unique and entirely normal, because none of the strands of thought was new, but their combination in one work was.

I did deliberately omit and deemphasize certain humanists and their works in this dissertation: I do not research Ulrich von Hutten at all and Conrad Celtis only comes into discussion infrequently. Ulrich von Hutten's patriotism is of a different type than his predecessors, peers, and successors. His concern was first and foremost with the Reformation and papal–imperial politics.<sup>69</sup> His patriotism therefore much more closely resembles the political and religious identity building for Germani in the Holy Roman Empire in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, but recast in terms of the Reformation and with heavy dependence on German humanism. I deemphasized

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<sup>69</sup> Stadtwald, *Roman Popes*, 92–103.

Celtis in order to decouple the narrative of German humanist patriotism from the story of Celtis' life and his works' reception. German humanist patriotism was not defined by Celtis, but rather emerged before him and lived long after him. Moreover Celtis' poetry, his most researched work, receives no treatment here because so little information of his source use and conceptions of sources can be derived from it. There are indicators of how sources shaped his poetry, but because the focus of the poetry was on the production of literature and not on information from the sources, his patriotism and scholarship manifested itself differently than in, for instance, his letters or editions of medieval texts.

Throughout the dissertation I retain the humanists' vocabulary of *Germania*, *Germani*, *Teutsch*, and *Teutschland*, and I do not use "Germans" or "Germany." This allows me to use the concepts that the humanists developed and to maintain a necessary distance between the Renaissance conceptions of "German" and our own. *Germania* and *Teutschland* were a far cry from any iteration of Germany that we might be able to identify in the modern era. Ours are conceptions of Germany as a nation-state, an idea that would have been entirely foreign to the German humanists. Moreover neither Germany nor *Deutschland* come close to the humanists' conceptions of *Germania*/*Teutschland*, for these included all of the Low Countries and, depending on the humanist, spaces that reached far into what is now Russia. Moreover *Germania* was not "ethnicized" in the same way that "Germany" has been in the modern era: no single ethnic group was understood to have lived there, but rather a variety of people.

I describe this movement among the German humanists as "patriotic" and a form of "patriotism" out of necessity and not because I believe that this is the appropriate terminology. Terms like "nationalism" should be avoided at all cost because a humanist *natio* was not a nation. The problem with "nation" and "nationalism," which are both used consistently in the

historiography, is that these terms are permanently bound to and burdened with the historical, cultural, social, and intellectual baggage of the nation-state, which is a phenomenon of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Moreover no straight line can be drawn between the Renaissance and nineteenth-century nationalism. Patriotism is more serviceable because it is less burdened by such denotations and connotations, although the term in American English is essentially the same as “nationalism.” Nevertheless it provides a little more separation between the “nation” and the *natio*. Unfortunately the humanists themselves did not use a term to describe their feelings, except perhaps *amor patriae* [love for the *patria*] on rare occasions, so their vocabulary is of little help.

The humanists’ classical and medieval texts were different from the rather stable critical editions published by the *Bibliotheca Teubneriana*, the *Collection Budé*, the *Oxford Classical Texts*, or the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. The versions that they had access to could vary quite widely from those that we now use. For this reason, I have always compared the quotations and information the humanists took from either an edition of the text that I know that the humanist in question owned, or, when this was not possible, with a text that would have at least been available to them. When reference to a passage in a text is made, but whose exact wording is not necessary for my analysis, I have cited the passage from the text according to the modern standards, using the citation guidelines found in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, and LSJ’s *Greek–English Lexicon*.

Lastly I have only slightly changed the texts by updating punctuation and changing each long *s* [ſ] to the normal *s* symbol. All other non-standard letters found in Renaissance prints (*æ*, *ǣ*, *ę*, *œ*, *ō*, *ū*, *ū̇*, *etc.*) and idiosyncratic capitalizations remain unchanged, in order to preserve the unique characteristics and their historical forms of each text. In cases of clear misspellings—

excluding non-Classical spellings of Latin and *Hochdeutsch*—I put [*sic*] after the misspelled word.

All Latin and Ancient Greek is given in Italics, while German is in standard print. All translations of classical, medieval, and Renaissance sources are my own.

## Chapter 1. “Their Deeds Have Come to Oblivion from a Lack of Writers.” German Humanist Patriotism at the Confluence of Monumentalization and a Deficient Source Base

In 1508 the Nuremberg humanist Christoph Scheurl published the second edition of his *Libellus de Laudibus Germanie et Ducum Saxonie*, a revised and expanded version of the first publication from 1506. The *Libellus* was originally a speech Scheurl gave in the Dominican church in Bologna in 1505 on the occasion of the inauguration of Wolfgang Kettwig as rector. The 1506 printed version was a far cry from the original speech and squarely placed it within the developing patriotic discourse among German humanists. Scheurl augmented the text for the second printed edition, which carried a new line of argumentation that many of Scheurl’s predecessors and peers had expressed: the sources of German history did not provide enough information on Germania and the Germani. Scheurl himself argued that “both the ancient and almost all recent writers have spoken most sparingly about Germania.”<sup>1</sup> He was agitated that, although “we,” the Germani, “must be thought to be superior to other peoples,” he nevertheless found that “all the books are filled with the glory of others.”<sup>2</sup> Excluded had been the emperors of the Holy Roman Empire, the “Fēderici, Caroli, Othones, and others,” and Scheurl exclaimed that “their deeds have come to oblivion from a lack of writers.”<sup>3</sup>

Scheurl’s complaints are representative of the longest and most consistent motivation among the German patriotic humanists: to seek out information on the Germani and to

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<sup>1</sup> *De Germania vero et veteres et fere omnes recentes scriptores parcissime locuti sunt & tamquam extra orbem ea natio sita esset, somniantes quodammodo res Germanicas attingunt.* Scheurl, *De Laudibus Germanie*, b2v.

<sup>2</sup> *Et licet tanto aliis nationibus superiores existimandi simus, quanto prestat virtus & religio viciis et iniquitati, tamen aliorum gloria referti sunt omnes libri, nostros autem omnes pene et eorum gesta tenebre occupauerunt.* Scheurl, *De Laudibus Germanie*, b2v–b3r.

<sup>3</sup> *Si enim scriptorum beneficio illustria domi forisque gesta. Germanorum ad posterum transmissa essent, essetque in recenti memoria ea fortitudo animi, ea strenuitas, ea in rebus gerendis pericia, quos de se prestiterunt Caroli, Ludouici, Lotharii, Federici, Othones, Henrici, Conradi, Rodolphi, Alberti, Ceterique Germanie imperatores.* Scheurl, *De Laudibus Germanie*, b3r.

monumentalize them. With epigraphic and archaeological remains just beginning to be studied and numismatics in its infancy, texts remained the most important and richest informational repositories available to the humanists. These texts however were not perfect guarantors of knowledge and information. They contained a number of troubling errors and a great paucity of information, which hindered the patriotic project of monumentalization because they did not allow the German humanists to access history as they desired. Thus the humanists found themselves in a particularly problematic dilemma: these deficient texts were both problem and solution, a conundrum that remained even as other old texts were unearthed and new works about German history were produced.

The lamentations of the German humanists about the deficient and faulty written record functions as the access point to their form of humanist monumentalizing culture peculiar to the German lands. In trying to discuss what the faults with the sources were, the German humanists were forced to articulate exactly why they were the problem. The statements they uttered include a number of themes, including a fear of oblivion, the inability to properly understand the past, and *Informationsbedarf*, that define German humanist patriotism and the program of monumentalization.

The German patriotic humanists' lamentations about the sources have not escaped the notice of scholars, but they also have not been given either the space or attention they deserve. Although scholars have recognized that the complaints were present among a large number of humanists, thorough analyses are limited and have mostly been carried out in reference to individual humanists.<sup>4</sup> For example, Hartmann Schedel's complaint about lacking sources in his

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<sup>4</sup> Andermann, "Historiographie und Interesse," 91–92; Kaiser, "*Sola historia negligitur*," 94–95; Krebs, *Negotiatio Germaniae*, 241–243; Posselt, *Konzeption und Kompilation*, 33; Tiedemann "Tacitus," 9–22; Wiener, "Von Humanisten ediert," 169; Worstbrock, "Hartmann Schedels 'Liber Antiquitatum,'" 241. Although not about a

introduction to his edition of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini's *De Europa* explained why Schedel and his editorial team included the Italian humanist's work at the end of the *Nuremberg Chronicle*. The problem of the deficient record has thus been used to explain specific choices and counter-measures employed by the German humanists, but not to elucidate their patriotic program.<sup>5</sup>

The most comprehensive discussion of the lamentations is found in Hans Tiedemann's 1913 dissertation, "Tacitus und das Nationalbewußtsein der deutschen Humanisten." This text deserves particular scrutiny because it alone gives an overview of the complaints and outlined a number of the recurrent themes, including, most importantly for humanist monumentalization, the fear of oblivion.<sup>6</sup> It will act as my point of reference for setting out two major aspects of the monumentalization and patriotism of the German humanists. Tiedemann argued that the complaints gradually faded away after 1515 with the publication of Tacitus' collected works by Philippus Beroaldus.<sup>7</sup> The complaints were actually a consistent argument among the German humanists for composing their own patriotic works before and after 1515. They appear sometime just before 1488 with Hartmann Schedel's *Opus Excerptum* and persist at least into the 1580s, as is seen in Jakob Schopper's 1582 *Neuwe Chorographia und Histori Teutscher Nation*. Second, Tiedemann argued that the complaints were in part more rhetorical than factual.<sup>8</sup> The lamentations were indeed wrapped in strong rhetoric, but the German humanists, as I argue, fashioned the lamentations with great affective power, precisely because they knew the power of rhetorical language and because they were entirely frustrated with the sources.

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German humanist, Gernot Michael Müller discusses Piccolomini's complaint in his *De Europa*. Müller, *Germania Generalis*, 258–263.

<sup>5</sup> Andermann, "Historiographie und Interesse," 91–92; Kaiser, "*Sola historia negligitur*," 94, 95; Müller, *Germania Generalis*, 261; Posselt, *Konzeption und Kompilation*, 33; Worstbrock, "Hartmann Schedels 'Liber Antiquitatum,'" 241.

<sup>6</sup> Tiedemann, "Tacitus," 10.

<sup>7</sup> Tiedemann, "Tacitus," 22.

<sup>8</sup> Tiedemann, "Tacitus," 22.

Humanism itself was closely bound to rhetoric and eloquence.<sup>9</sup> Whether the origins of humanism are to be found in Ronald G. Witt's thirteenth-century poets and grammarians or in Paul Oskar Kristeller's fourteenth-century rhetoricians, there is no doubt that humanists were motivated by the power of language.<sup>10</sup> For humanists, rhetoric was not pejorative, as modern conceptions of it generally are, but rather a practice in which eloquence was tied to wisdom and truth, with value found in the means to motivate individuals toward worthy pursuits and virtue.<sup>11</sup> The complaints and lamentations about the sources in part fulfilled this persuasive goal, for in explaining their own motivations, the humanists aimed to impel others to carry out the same work. Although not every humanist was a rhetorician and although rhetoric was not all-encompassing within humanism, rhetoric and knowledge of the power of language influenced an array of humanist pursuits.<sup>12</sup>

If we take the rhetoric seriously as the humanists did, then we can better appreciate the difficulties that they faced with the written record on the Germani. Several other factors support the authenticity of the humanists' lamentations. First, the German humanists were not the first to express the belief in a deficient source base for German history. The first complaint may be found with Albertus Magnus in the thirteenth century, but the earliest securely attested complaint can be found in the early 1400s. After this they crop up intermittently over the decades until Schedel's *Opus Excerptum* and Sigismund Meisterlin's *Chronicon Nieronbergensis* in the 1480s, after which they become a fixed part of the patriotic discourse. Second, the complaints showed both stability and dynamism in ways that we would expect as reflections on the written record. The lamentations were quite consistent and static concerning the ancient sources, but they changed over the course

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<sup>9</sup> Bouwsma, "Renaissance and Reformation," 226–227; Grafton, "Renaissance Readers," 642–643; Gray, "Renaissance Humanism," 498; Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought I*, 24, 243.

<sup>10</sup> Witt, *In the Footsteps*, 5, 6–7; Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought I*, 24–25.

<sup>11</sup> Cox, "Rhetoric and Humanism," 654; Gray, "Renaissance Humanism," 498; Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought I*, 243.

<sup>12</sup> Monfasani, "Humanism and Rhetoric," 177; Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought I*, 243.



of the patriotic movement both as texts were rediscovered and new works were composed. Third, despite advances in archaeology, studies in the Germanic past still face the very real problem of documentation, and the little textual documentation we do possess is mediated through the Greeks and Romans, which the humanists complained of at length.<sup>13</sup> In short, the humanists' lamentations were not rhetorical invention, but a genuine concern imbued with the power of language.

The lamentations conveyed a genuine fear of oblivion, that past and present knowledge on the Germani and Germania had not and would not be recorded and ultimately lost. The oral transmission of knowledge was not sufficient for humanists—information needed to be put into physical form to ensure its transmission to later ages. The deficient written record from past ages only made it clear how much had been lost, but the glimpses the sources did allow only served to more firmly confirm the humanists in their belief that there was a history to recover. The path to recovering the past had already been paved by the Italian humanists, and the Germans' humanistic training gave them the tools to unlock knowledge about the Germani and Germania. This fear of oblivion and desire for monumentalization did not emerge *ex nihilo*, but came from humanism itself. The strain of humanist thought that drove the investigation and recovery of antiquity was sharpened by the problems the sources created, and at times further impelled by the dynastic and political programs of leaders like Emperor Maximilian I, territorial conflicts between French and German lands, and cultural conflict with the Italians. The monumentalization program was flexible and expressed itself in a variety of contexts, and it formed a consistent, binding thread between the patriotic humanists' works.

Until this time, the monumentalization program has only gained limited discussion in the literature because the prevailing motivation of the German humanists has been explained through

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<sup>13</sup> Wolfram, *Das Römerreich und seine Germanen*, 19, 20; Maier, "Germanen," 33–34.

the Conflict Model.<sup>14</sup> Save Hans Tiedemann's dissertation, the discussion of monumentalization has only occurred in relation to three individual German humanists: Hartmann Schedel, Conrad Celtis, and Heinrich Bebel.<sup>15</sup> These three not only happen to be among the most well investigated German humanists, but they were also early cultivators of German patriotism. They are therefore not representative of the monumentalization as a whole. They do nevertheless offer a solid platform for further investigation because they outline one important point: monumentalization—phrased in terms of *memoria* and memory in the literature—was a part of both Italian and German humanist thought.<sup>16</sup>

With this chapter I take these previous arguments and expand them to include the entire range of patriotic texts from the late 1480s with Hartmann Schedel's *Opus Excerptum* to Jakob Schopper's 1582 *Neuwe Chorographie und Histori Teutscher Nation*. I argue that the need to monumentalize carried a sense of duty to preserve and remember and that it was fueled by a realization of just how little of the past had survived to their day.<sup>17</sup> The complaints are but a mere symptom of the problem, an emotional expression of the frustration and futility that they felt, but also the drive and motivation that impelled them to write patriotic works. Monumentalization was thus, in the humanists' eyes, the act of negating oblivion by capturing vital knowledge and information in physical form. For the humanists, as textual scholars and literary enthusiasts, this

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<sup>14</sup> Amelung, *Bild des Deutschen*, 35–43, 67, 70; Helmrath, "Probleme und Formen," 367, 382; Hirschi, *Wettkampf der Nationen*, 79, 253; Krebs, *Negotiatio Germaniae*, 112, 116–117, 120; Mertens, "Instrumentalisierung," 76–77; Muhlack, *Geschichtswissenschaft*, 206; Muhlack, "Humanistische Historiographie," 33; Münkler et al., *Nationenbildung*, 217; Roberts, *Konrad Celtis*, 97; Strauss, *Sixteenth-Century Germany*, 8–10; Tiedemann "Tacitus," 26, 70, 71; Worstbrock "Das geschichtliche Selbstverständnis," 516–517.

<sup>15</sup> Krebs, *Negotiatio Germaniae*, 228; Letocha, "Duty of Memory," 270; Worstbrock, "Hartmann Schedels 'Liber Antiquitatum,'" 227–228.

<sup>16</sup> Worstbrock, "Hartmann Schedels 'Liber Antiquitatum,'" 223–242.

<sup>17</sup> Krebs, *Negotiatio Germaniae*, 228; Letocha "Duty of Memory," 272, 282; Worstbrock, "Hartmann Schedels 'Liber Antiquitatum,'" 227–228.

meant composing one's own work, or in the case of editions of the texts of others, co-opting and further transmitting these written records.

I have divided the chapter into five sections which build on each other to unfold the layers of meaning enveloped in the lamentations. The first section, "Lamentations before the German Patriotic Humanists," investigates the few complaints about the problematic source base on German history before German humanist patriotism to demonstrate that the patriotic humanists were not the first to notice this problem. In this section I explain how these complaints differed from those of the German humanists. The second part, "Close Encounters with the Sources: The Problems with the Source Base," gives an overview of the various types of problems the German humanists faced with the sources to show that the complaints emerged not from *a priori* argumentation or rhetorical invention, but rather from the actual effort of working with the sources. Part 3, "Lamentations for the Past: The Dearth of Appropriate Sources," focuses on the most pervasive and important of the complaints, namely the lack of sources, because it reflected a secondary aspect of their monumentalization program that was vital to their program: the need to collect information. Part 4, entitled "The Problem of and Desire for Monumentalization," connects the previous sections with the humanists' ultimate goal of monumentalizing the past and ensuring that it would survive in written form for following generations. Part 5 ties *Informationsbedarf*, "the need for information," with the complaints about the lack of sources and the need to monumentalize. *Informationsbedarf* was related to the complaints and helped bind monumentalization and the lamentations more closely with the actual work the humanists were carrying out. The complaints about the sources were often indissolubly linked with notions of *Informationsbedarf* and monumentalization. The latter drove the humanists to search for

information, and the problematic and deficient sources pushed for an even wider net to be cast to find information.

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### 1.1. Lamentations before the German Patriotic Humanists

“Germania has many provinces about which the ancient authors...wrote utterly nothing.”<sup>18</sup> Gobelinus Persona.  
*Cosmidromius*.

The German humanists were not the first to notice that the Germani faced problems with the sources on German history. Franciscus Irenicus reported in the *Exegesis Germaniae* that Albertus Magnus complained about “why Germania was so unknown to the ancients.”<sup>19</sup> I have not been able to find this statement in Albertus Magnus’ works, but if genuine, it would place the first complaint in the thirteenth century. The first directly attestable lament comes from Gobelinus Persona’s world chronicle, the *Cosmidromius* from ca. 1418. Gobelinus offered a discussion of Germania that was based heavily on Orosius and Isidore of Seville, and he explained, “Germania has many provinces, about which the ancient authors, who had great care concerning their descriptions of the lands, wrote utterly nothing.”<sup>20</sup> This statement comes in a larger discussion of Germania and Europe which provided among other things basic geographical and onomastic information about the German lands. Persona still believed that there was a history that had been omitted.

The first such complaints by humanists came from two important fifteenth-century Italians, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini and Giacomo Filippo Foresti da Bergamo. Although less well-known than Piccolomini, Foresti’s later writings show that Piccolomini’s observation was far from unique. Foresti was very well known in Renaissance Europe for his *Supplementum Chronicarum*,

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<sup>18</sup> *Germania multas habet prouincias de quibus scriptores antiqui qui circa descriptiones terrarum magnam fecerunt diligentiam nichil omnino scripserunt.* Persona, *Cosmidromius*, 3v–4r.

<sup>19</sup> Irenicus, *Germaniae Exegesis*, 6r.

<sup>20</sup> Persona, *Cosmidromius*, 3v–4r.

which incidentally was one of the main sources for Hartmann Schedel's *Nuremberg Chronicle*. In the *Supplementum*, first printed in 1483, Foresti stated, "For indeed the Germani in the times of the Romans [were] humble and were almost of no worth, and on account of this the ancient writers wrote little about them."<sup>21</sup> He went on to explain that the Germani came under Roman sway, and declared that the ancient authors had not been able put the Germani's deeds into writing "due to the barbarity of the names of those people."<sup>22</sup> Foresti believed that the Germani had a past that could have been written about but that they were not entirely worthy of record. Nevertheless he importantly acknowledged that there were lacunae in the historical records.

The most important statement about lacking sources before the German humanists came one of most important sources for the German patriotic humanists: Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini's *De Europa*.<sup>23</sup> Piccolomini outlined many of the German lands in the *De Europa* as he knew them from his time. After the description of Saxonia, he wrote,

We have surpassed the bounds of our writing by making mention of the cities of Saxonia by name. We have done this because the fewest writers have spoken about Germania, and, although in sleep, they touch on Germanic affairs in a certain manner as if this people lay beyond the world. On account of this, perhaps pardon will be given to me and someone will have gratitude if we were a little more prolix when describing the Germanic provinces in order to lay open the matters before their eyes. Our plans have transgressed our boundaries.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> *Germani namque Romanorum temporibus modici aut nullius ferme fuerunt precii & propterea veteres scriptores pauca de eis scripsere, quod ipsa Germanorum prouincia per tempora Augusti Cesaris imperio cepit esse subiecta et ideo pauca in ea rebus gestis illorum temporum similia contigit fieri.* Foresti da Bergamo, *Supplementum Chronicarum*, 242r.

<sup>22</sup> *Et si quid forte memoria dignum ab eis gestum fuit scriptores (vt crediderim ego) propter nominum illarum gentium barbariem scripto mandare nequuerunt.* Foresti da Bergamo, *Supplementum Chronicarum*, 242r.

<sup>23</sup> See chapter three of this dissertation for the importance of the *De Europa*.

<sup>24</sup> *Excessimus scribendi modum Saxonie ciuitates nominatim commemorantes. Id fecimus quia veteres scriptores parcissime de germania locuti sunt, et tamquam extra orbem ea nacio iaceret somniantes quodammodo res germanicas attingunt. Ob eam rem dabitur mihi venia fortasse & aliquis gratiam habebit si germanicas describentes prouintias vt res oculis subiiciamus paulo prolixiores. Propositi nostri metas egressi.* Piccolomini, *In Europam*, flv-f2r.

The motivation to write more about Germania stemmed for Piccolomini from a dearth of information. Piccolomini's explanation reveals that, like the German humanists, he was writing in response to the deficient written record and attempting to fill the gaps he perceived. As a humanist, he was aware of the importance of the ancient sources and he accordingly reproached them for not bequeathing sufficient detail. His search for information was thus similar to both Gabelius Persona and the German humanists. He however differed from the latter because the deficiencies were not the impetus for writing in the first place and they did not result in *Informationsbedarf*.

As with the German patriotic humanists after them, these three—possibly four—authors reacted to the source base as it stood in their time, and they sought more information about the German lands. They each demonstrate that the record of information on the Germani had been probed by writers before the German humanists but found wanting. The notion of lacunose and faulty sources was not simply a German humanist invention but reflected a late medieval and Quattrocento assessment of the state of knowledge on Germania. The examples of Gabelius and Foresti illustrate that their motivations diverged from those of the German humanists: although dissatisfied, they did not write their works specifically to overcome the deficiencies. Rather they clarify in passing that these shortcomings might have hindered their undertakings. For Foresti even this seems to have not been very problematic simply because they were unworthy of discussion. Piccolomini's explanation on the other hand showed something unique, because his problems with the sources, as with the German humanists, did actually transform the work he carried out, for it pushed him to write more than he had planned. Nevertheless he did not strive to counteract oblivion or necessarily to ensure the monumentalization of either the Germani or Germania. The three authors' statements reflected the status of the source base as it stood for much of the fifteenth century, and this would only begin to change in the German lands in the 1490s with the wide

dissemination of Tacitus' *Germania* and the commencement of serious research into the German past and present.

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## 1.2. Close Encounters with the Sources: The Problems with the Source Base

“But he [Pomponius Mela] wrote about Germania...in the fewest words. For its elucidation it should seem right to have appended a short description, lest we seem to despise our *patria* along with the ancient authors.”<sup>25</sup>

Johannes Cochlaeus. *Brevis Germanie Descriptio*.

Work with the sources of German history led to a distinct awareness of two often interrelated issues with these materials: a general belief in the existence of an insufficient amount of information and the transmission of inaccurate or false information. The German humanists' recognition of these problems only emerged from their close work with the existing source base and was predicated on an intimate knowledge of what remained. Complaints about the sources occurred early within the patriotic movement, articulated first in the late 1480s by Sigismund Meisterlin and Hartmann Schedel, and they became fixed expressions of the German humanists' dissatisfaction with not being able to carry out their patriotic program as they wished. The grievances demonstrated a certain dynamism, being shaped over the late fifteenth and sixteenth century to reflect a variety of contexts as the conditions the humanists were writing in changed. The most fundamental change was the expansion of the written record through the rediscovery of ancient and medieval texts and the publication of humanists' own works. The German humanists' discussions about the problems with the sources covered a range of topics that showed just how onerous the task of uncovering German history was: physical remains had been damaged and destroyed, potentially helpful texts lost, and the major informational gaps, false information, or simply insufficient information on Germania plagued the written record.

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<sup>25</sup> *Ceterum de Germania paucissimis (que tunc ignota adhuc erat) [Pomponius] scripsit, pro cuius elucidatione breuem adiunxisse descriptionem fas sit queso, ne patriam nostram contemnere videamur cum priscis illis scriptoribus.* Cochlaeus, *Brevis Germanie Descriptio*, e6v.

Surveying the physical landscapes of Germania and the textual realm brought the humanists into direct contact with an unassailable problem: the remains of antiquity, already far fewer and more precariously preserved than in Italy, had only been partially preserved in Germania by the time of the Renaissance. Roman cities and monuments could only be found in shards, ruins, memories, and the occasional intact landmark. In the case of Augsburg, one of the oldest Roman cities in the German lands, its monuments were either “dissolved into lime from fire or placed in the foundations of buildings, gates, porticoes, [and] gardens.”<sup>26</sup> The problem was only slightly different with the written remains because surviving texts were limited but also betrayed occasional hints that other, potentially useful books had once existed but had since been lost. Among the most lamentable was the loss of Pliny the Elder’s twenty-book *Bella Germanica*, which humanists like Sigismund Meisterlin knew about either through the nephew of the Pliny the Elder, Pliny the Younger [*Ep.* 3.5.4] or Tacitus [*Ann.* I.69]. Meisterlin bemoaned the work’s disappearance in chapter six of his *Nieronbergensis Chronica* of 1488, when he was attempting to answer the question, “Why our deeds have been so rarely written down?” Upon explaining that Pliny the Younger mentioned the existence of the *Bella Germanica*, Meisterlin exclaimed “would that these had come down to our hands!”<sup>27</sup> The loss of this work is a topic throughout the German patriotic movement, and its disappearance was also lamented by Hartmann Schedel, Franciscus Irenicus, and Willibald Pirckheimer.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> *Sed quia diuturnitate temporum lapides ipsi imaginibus atque inscriptionibus vetustis sculpti plerumque detriti, conlapsi, obruti, et, quod iniuriae veterum monumentorum accedit inscitia et negligentia nostrorum hominum, vel igne in calcem soluti vel in fundamentis aedificiorum positi sunt, docent haec portae, porticus, horti, domus quoque plurimae.* Celtis, *Briefwechsel des Konrad Celtis*, 588.

<sup>27</sup> *Licet Plinius secundus in quadam epistola asserat, avunculum suum triginta duos libros scripsisse de bello Germanico, in quo ipse militavit. Qui utinam ad manus nostras devinissent!* Meisterlin, *Nieronbergensis Chronica*, 193.

<sup>28</sup> Schedel, *Opus de Antiquitatibus*, 288v; Irenicus, *Germaniae Exegesis*, 1v; Pirckheimer, *Germaniae Explicatio*, a3r.



The humanists could do nothing to reverse the loss and destruction that had already occurred, so they set their sights on what remained and attempted to contact the past through what was still available. The humanists consequently uncovered a variety of problems and explained the nature of these obstacles both to give an overview of remaining sources and to situate their own publications against the works that had already been written. These explanations made clear that the most important, extant ancient sources simply could not answer each question they had. Franciscus Irenicus was among the most sensitive to the problems with ancient texts and in his *Exegesis Germaniae* [1518] he composed the most detailed summary of the available information. In his chapter, *De Germaniae Scriptoribus* ["On the authors of Germania"], he described how lacunose geographic information on Germania was, asserting,

Pomponius Mela, while treating of Germania in book 3, enumerates none of [Germania's] regions [and] hardly any cities, but [discusses] their mores. Solinus, having followed him, wraps up [his treatment of Germania] very briefly. On the other hand Ptolemy (having left his discussion of their mores out) lists the cities of Germania, but [they are] darkened to an impossible obscurity [...]. Strabo [...] was not aware of all of Germania, hardly the half of it, for he writes in book seven that it is altogether unknown beyond the Elbe, [and] in the same place [he writes] that it is not known how far Eastern Germania, as in the Bastarnae [and] Sauromatae, was removed from the sea.<sup>29</sup>

Irenicus was acutely aware that each author presented a different problem: Mela did not supply enough geographical information; Solinus simply did not write enough; Ptolemy gave good information about the cities but this shrouded in obscurity; and Strabo only knew of part of Germania. Irenicus thus reflected the issue of relying on the major sources at his disposal, but also

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<sup>29</sup> *Sed ut ad geographos redeam, Pom. Mela ca.iii. de Germania agens, nullam regionem uix urbem enumerat, tamen mores. Solinus hunc secutus angustissime absoluit, contra Ptolemæus urbes Germaniæ enumerat, moribus posthabitis tamen inconcessa obscuritate fuscatis, ut capite sequenti patebit. Strabo lib. iiii.&vii. non totam cognouit Germaniam uix mediam, scribit enim li.vii. ultra Albim incognitam prorsus esse. Ibidem orientalem Germaniam, ut Bastarnas, Sauromatas, nec sciri quantum ab Atlantico remoti sint pelago. Irenicus, Germaniæ Exegesis, 1v.*

where he—and every other patriotic humanist—was looking for knowledge. He wanted the ancients to provide information on Germania.

Early in the patriotic movement, the theme of lacunosity and the abundance of absence expanded beyond specialized geographical knowledge to include all historiography on Germania. In 1505 Jakob Wimpfeling asserted that upon “seeing that the Venetian, Anglian, Pannonian, Bohemian and French histories will be continuously read,” he encouraged Sebastian Murrho, the original author and compiler of the *Epithoma Rerum Germanicarum* who died before its completion, “to produce an epitome of at least the glorious deeds carried out by the Germani based on the ancient historiographers lest...we appear to sleep perpetually as if being lazy despisers of our ancestral glory with little minds.”<sup>30</sup> Wimpfeling here was trying to establish a history of the Germani within and in comparison the histories of other European peoples. His was a drive to remember the deeds of his forefathers in the way that other European peoples had monumentalized theirs in the historical record. It was not simply a duty to know the past, but to access it, as a humanist, through the ancients, and preserve the information about past glories. The other European peoples had done their due diligence and set a standard for the German humanists.

The emergence of the humanists’ own histories however changed the nature of the complaints about lacking information over the course of the sixteenth century. By 1541, when Hubertus Thomas Leodius had his *De Tungris et Eburonibus* printed, the source base was entirely different to that of 1505: humanist historians had mined the available information sufficiently to at least somewhat satisfy the longing for general descriptions and histories of the Germani, but

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<sup>30</sup> *Videns Romanas, Venetas, Anglas, Pannonumque & Boemorum ac Francigenum historias indies lectum iri, excitauerunt nuper Sebastianum Murrhonem, vt expriscis [sic] historiographis epithoma saltem rerum a Germanis magnifice gestarum comportaret, ne cum caetera nationes egregia maiorum suorum facinora disseminare student, nos veluti somnolenti & parui animi contemptores perpetuo dormiater videremur.* Wimpfeling, *Epithoma Rerum Germanicarum*, 1r.

what still remained was the need for historians who could cover specific topics. In his letter of dedication to Cornelius von Berghen, Bishop of Liège, Leodius explained that, since it was his duty to his *patria*, he had taken up reading the ancient historians for information on Germania, but realized that he had troubles understanding the works because the terminology the authors used did not match that in the mid-sixteenth century. He therefore turned to “the most diligent investigators of antiquity [...]: Beatus Rhenanus from Schlettstadt with his two printed books about *Res Germanicae*, and [Andreas] Althamer in his published [works] on Cornelius Tacitus’ little book *De Situ et Moribus Germaniae*; moreover Gerardus Noviomagus restored the Batavi for us, Dr. Aegidius Tschudi the Reti [*sic*], [Johannes] Aventinus the Baioarii, another the Flandri, another the Gothi and Scandiani.”<sup>31</sup>

The works of these sixteenth-century authors made Leodius realize that out of all the peoples of Germania “Only the Tungri and Eburones—the most ancient of all the Germani in Gallia Belgica—and those who are included among them, remain obscure and unknown, as if covered by a perpetual fog.”<sup>32</sup> The problems of one group of texts, those from antiquity, led Leodius to track down other information, but upon reading these new sources he realized that there was another issue because information about the Germanic peoples of Gallia Belgica was missing. Leodius’ quote demonstrated the importance of the German humanists making their own monuments. He did not believe it was acceptable to let the ancients speak for the Tungri and Eburones alone, but rather that it was necessary to translate and to interpret their information for

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<sup>31</sup> *Tandem addubitantibus succurrit nobis diligentissimus antiquitatus scrutator Beatus rhenanus Slettadiensis de rebus Germanicis libris duobus, et Althamerus editis in Cornelii Taciti libellum de situ & moribus Germaniæ, Gerhardus item Nouimagus nobis restituit Batauos, D. Aegidius Tschudius Retos, Baioarios Auentinus, Flandros alius, alius Gothos & Scandianos.* Leodius, *De Tungris et Eburonibus*, a3v.

<sup>32</sup> *Soli Tungri & Eburrones Germanorum omnium in Gallia Belgica antiquissimi & qui sub hiis comprehenduntur, tanquam perpetua tecti caligine, obscuri & ignoti remanent, necdum repertus quisquam, qui illorum miseretur aut manum qua sese arrigerent, admoueret.* Leodius, *De Tungris et Eburonibus*, a3v.

his own use. Leodius did not understand himself or the Tungri and Eburnoes to be in conflict with Beatus Rhenanus, Andreas Althamer, Gerardus Noviomagus, and Johannes Aventinus,<sup>33</sup> but rather that these other humanists had shown that there were still gaps in knowledge about the Germani. It fell to Leodius as a Germanus from the same region that the Tungri and Eburones had once inhabited to fill these gaps. Leodius, like Wimpfeling and Irenicus, illustrates the fact that the humanists believed themselves to be working in an intellectual environment that was littered with patchy information on the Germani. The cases of Wimpfeling and Leodius show that the written record was partially fluid, for new works could offer information and insight to gradually rectify the problematic source base. Irenicus however illustrated one important fact: the texts of ancient authors were simply immutably lacunose and parts of their knowledge had been irretrievably lost.

In addition to lacunosity the major problem with the sources was the troubling fact that they furnished false, misleading, or irrelevant information. Leodius hinted at this concerning the transformation of names for locales between ancient works and his present day. His contemporary, Sebastian Münster, recorded this same issue, called *mutatio nominum*, in his *Germaniae atque Aliarum Regionum Descriptio* [1530]. He declared that, “although Ptolemy and certain others whom he followed designate several places in Germania and write that it was cultivated in their times, they nevertheless seem to me to be pure fabrications, pulled together from their minds, since today not one town exists in true Germania that has retained its ancient name.”<sup>34</sup> Münster was quite pointed with his criticism. It is not that the knowledge of the ancients was obsolete, it was

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<sup>33</sup> Cf. Schirrmeister, “Gegenwärtige Vergangenheiten” 83. Schirrmeister understands this passage to be Leodius’ contribution to a “competition” between the various peoples.

<sup>34</sup> *Quanquam autem Ptolemæus & alii quidam, quos ille sequutus est, nonnulla in Germania signarint loca, cultamque suis temporibus scribant, uidentur tamen illa mihi mera esse commenta, e suis conficta cerebris, quum hodie nec unum extet in uera Germania oppidum quod uetustum illud suum retinuerit uocabulum.* Münster, *Germaniae atque Aliarum Regionum*, 3. “True Germania,” *uera Germania*, is Münster’s label for ancient Germania.. He used the phrase, *recht war Teütsch land*, in his *Cosmographia*. Münster, *Cosmographia*, 144.

potentially fabricated. Such troubles hindered Münster's ability to both discuss the geography and history of the German past and present with conceptions of the region found in the written record. This connection between past and present was urgent for Münster and the other German patriotic humanists because it tied German history to Roman history and explained who the Germani were in reference to their history.<sup>35</sup>

The humanists also faced the issue of erroneous information outside ancient texts. The problems extended to the present day and included the transmission of knowledge known to be false. Heinrich Bebel had to confront the most authoritative non-ancient author on Germania, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, because he believed the Italian humanist had given false information in his *De Europa*. Bebel wrote his *Germani Sunt Indigenę* [1504] to refute the legend of the Trojan origins of the Franci, which Piccolomini picked up from medieval sources and wrote into his *De Europa* in his discussion of the Franci. Bebel found the legend dubious, and turning his critical acumen against Piccolomini and other authors who promoted this origin story, argued "no credibility, no received history supports [this origin], since there is no mention of the Franci from all the historians except in the lands of the Germani. Therefore Aeneas Silvius has in no way proven [himself] to me in his *Europa*."<sup>36</sup> For Bebel it was imperative to first undercut Piccolomini's authority further to show how problematic both the *De Europa* and Piccolomini were before fully explaining why the Trojan legend was false. Instead of immediately turning to refuting the Trojan legend, Bebel revealed that Piccolomini had never even mentioned the Suevi, whom Orosius, Tacitus, and Julius Caesar had not only discussed but granted a special place

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<sup>35</sup> Meyer, "Germania Romana," 697–719\*.

<sup>36</sup> *Nunc mihi certamen est cum quibusdam plebeis Francigenarum historiis et quibusdam aliis assentatoribus vt videtur qui vel Germanorum laudi inuidentes vel vetustate originis cupidi vt fert mortalium amibtio. Francorum ortum a Troianis auspicantur, quibus nulla fides, nulla recepta historia suffragatur, quoniam Francorum nulla omnium historicorum mentio fit nisi in finibus Germanorum. Nullo igitur modo probatur mihi Aeneas Siluius in sua Europa.* Bebel, *Germani Sunt Indigenę*, d3r–d3v.

among the Germani. Following this Bebel turned to the formal argument against the Trojan origins of the Franci and the Germani, with the goal of presenting a true account of the Germani's origins.

Together both the ancient sources and the works of medieval and humanist authors created a major problem for the humanists: their information was both faulty and lacunose. Even the most authoritative of authors like Ptolemy and Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini hindered the German humanists' path to the ancient past. Spurious legends and fanciful terminology either clouded history or rendered it inaccessible. The German humanists nevertheless set out on their course to uncover and learn what they could. They knew that some of this past was forever lost and that they could only hope to unearth other aspects of it if they were so lucky as to chance upon lost or forgotten manuscripts of, for instance, Pliny's *Bella Germanica*. Without such good fortune the state of information was unlikely to change, but other avenues existed through the continuous production of patriotic scholarship by other Germani. These publications changed the nature of the written record, solving certain problems, while exposing others. Ultimately the problems the humanists perceived in their sources could both hinder and engender their attempts at writing patriotic texts, but they created productive spaces for humanists to augment or change the existing written record.

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### 1.3. Lamentations for the Past: The Dearth of Appropriate Sources

"I have desired to see some description of Germania just like I have found of other provinces, but I have not been able to find any except some brief ones by Isidore and others."<sup>37</sup>

Felix Fabri. *Historia Suevorum*.

The humanists were certainly knowledgeable about their sources and aware of the problems they presented. The major issue turned out to be just how little had been written about the Germani. This dearth of information was the predominant complaint the humanists had, and they lamented

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<sup>37</sup> *Optavi videre aliquam Germaniæ descriptionem, sicut aliarum prouinciarum inueni, sed nullam reperire potui, nisi quædam breuia ex Isidoro & aliis. Fabri, Descriptio Sueviae, 54.*

this fact at length—so much so in fact that these became one of most enduring and prevalent expressions of their motivation to write patriotic texts. These laments were not mere rhetorical claims without substance, but rather reflected their need to acquire information and the humanists' anxiety about not being able to do so. Ultimately the lamentations about lacking information expressed a belief in a once distinguished past that needed to be recovered. The lamentations manifested a desire to reclaim this past and record it for themselves, their homeland, and posterity, because this knowledge was the means to ensure German history's textual survival.

The most common complaint centered on the argument that authors, particularly the ancients, had simply not written enough about Germania. Hartman Schedel, compiler of the important and famous *Nuremberg Chronicle* from 1493, was the first German humanist to utter this complaint. It came not in the *Nuremberg Chronicle* but in his little-known *Opus Excerptum ex Vulgari Cronica de Rebus Gestis in Germania per Imperatores Romanorum et de Inclita Ciuitate Alemanie Nuremberga*, written sometime before 1488. The *Opus Excerptum* comprises Schedel's excerpts from a poorly attested chronicle written sometime between ca. 1450–1480, which scholars have labeled the *Deutsche Chronik*.<sup>38</sup> The author of the *Deutsche Chronik* is completely unknown except for Schedel's statement in the *Prohemium* to the *Opus Excerptum* that he worked in the chancellery in Nuremberg.<sup>39</sup> Schedel esteemed this unnamed author because he was the only writer to have written significantly about Nuremberg and Germania. Schedel situated this chancellery official within a large pool of authors who had not appropriately handled German history, arguing,

Out of the number of all the writers I have found few who have described the locations of Germania and the [deeds] which might have happened and were carried out there in previous times. For the ancient historians, and especially the Italici,

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<sup>38</sup> Schedel, *Opus Excerptum* [*Chroniken der deutschen Städte*], 257.

<sup>39</sup> Schedel, *Opus de Antiquitatibus* [C1m 472], 120r.

handled Germanic matters and the glories of the Theotonic Emperors as if they were in sleep.<sup>40</sup>

Schedel cast his net wide: he developed his complaint in relation to all the authors he could get his hands on. The problem was that these authors, especially the Italic—ostensibly both Romans and Italians—failed in properly handling German history and glory. This problem was especially true for Nuremberg, whose citizens were entirely ignorant of their city, with the exception of one distinguished chronicler:

In fact I have come upon almost no one from Nuremberg—their [own] *patria*—who would enlighten certain antiquities or incursions and slaughters recently done in the city of Nuremberg, except one industrious man who had his post there in the chancellery. He elegantly composed a chronicle in the Theotonic language.<sup>41</sup>

The unnamed chronicler did what Schedel believed the ancients, Italians, and contemporary citizens of Nuremberg should have done by providing a written record of distant and more recent history. For Schedel it was imperative for citizens of Nuremberg to write about their *patria*, and he expected them to feel the same duty that he did as an inhabitant of Germania and citizen of Nuremberg. The duty was an extension of Schedel's ability to establish his identity in relation to Nuremberg and identify himself with the city as *patria* and part of Germania.

The main issue, according to Schedel, was negligence in the face of history and memory. He explained to his readers, "In reference to antiquity and origin[s], I have encountered no one still who for instance seems to remember the name of his ancestor, much less the memory of the city."<sup>42</sup> History and memory were bound to Schedel's patriotic notion of duty. It was not enough

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<sup>40</sup> *Ex omnium scriptorum numero paucos repperi, qui loca Germanie et que illis per superiora tempora evenerint atque gesta sunt, describant. historici enim veteres et presertim Italici res Germanicas atque imperatorum Theotonicorum glorias quasi somnians [sic] pertingunt.* Schedel, *Opus Excerptum* [Clm. 472], 120r.

<sup>41</sup> *Nürnbergensis vero patrie pene nullos offendi, qui aliquas antiquitates ac incursiones recenter factas ac clades civitatis elucidet, preter unum virum industrius, qui ibi officium in cancellaria habuit; is chronicum Theotonicum ideomate eleganter coniunxit.* Schedel, *Opus Excerptum* [Clm 472], 120r.

<sup>42</sup> *De eius antiquitate ac origine nemo adhuc mihi occurrit, qui vel avi sui nomen et memoriam nedum urbis tenere videretur.* Schedel, *Opus Excerptum* [Clm 472], 120r.



to know that the city had a history and memory. It was imperative to ensure that both were written down and recorded, and the *Opus Excerptum* was his own contribution to accomplish this. Schedel however could not do this by simply referencing the original *Deutsche Chronik*. Schedel extracted and collated, as far as can be determined, only those sections dealing with German history. These were then pieced together to create the narrative of German history Schedel desired. He tied the work together in the *Prohemium* and he outlined the place of the *Chronik* and *Opus* within the existing source base. The function of the *Opus* was to provide information to ensure that Nuremberg and Germania were properly recorded in written texts. He thus actively shaped and transformed the text to present and preserve the memory of his *patria* as he wanted it, thereby transforming the chronicle into a monument of German history.

Over time the complaints about the lacking and problematic source material came to be more pointed and combative. Like Münster's blunt criticism of Ptolemy's provision of potentially fabricated information, claims about missing information began to lay increasing agency and blame at the feet of ancient and medieval authors. Some twenty-two years before Münster, Christoph Scheurl argued that even if foreign authors had written about the *res Germanicae*, their "love, hate, fear, and adulation mendaciously added, fraudulently omitted, and cursorily diminished many things."<sup>43</sup> These reproaches are striking. Instead of simply finding fault for not carrying out one's duty to their *patria*, as Schedel asserted, Scheurl censured other authors. Gone as well was Schedel's criticism of peers, of other citizens of Nuremberg as Scheurl explicitly framed his denunciations in terms of foreignness, of "non-Germanness." Scheurl's complaints show a new dimension and may in fact reflect the cultural conflict that his peers Conrad Celtis and

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<sup>43</sup> *Quod si quedam ab externis et alienigenis obiter sunt perstricta scriptorum tamen amor, odium, metus, adulatio, quin multa mendaciter addiderint et fraudulenter subtraxerint et transeunter externauerint, nemo asserere dubitat.* Scheurl, *De Laudibus Germanie*, b2v–b3v.

Heinrich Bebel had been engaging with for many years. Scheurl's statements are striking because they show that at the same time that the German humanists were refining their techniques for extracting information, they were honing their critiques. Greater entanglement with the sources was producing both greater rewards and greater frustration among the humanists.

Willibald Pirckheimer was a proponent of the belief that both the ancient authors and ancient Germani were to blame for the state of information on Germania. His *Germaniae Explicatio* [1530] contained two separate complaints about the state of knowledge on Germania and the source base in general. The first came in the letter of dedication to Hermann von Neuenahr, a fellow humanist who had, among other literary pursuits, edited Einhard's *Vita et Gesta Karoli Magni* for print in 1521; the second complaint came in the very early part of the *Germaniae Explicatio* and helped introduce the topic and purpose of his book. In both Pirckheimer faulted ancient and modern authors, German and non-German alike, and in the introduction, he argued

It is very difficult to explicate the state and condition of ancient Germania, not only on account of the negligence of the ancient writers, but because all of it has only lately been traversed and come to be known, for—since the ancient Germani gave more attention to wars than letters—it is not surprising if deeds brilliantly carried out by them are lost or have been less faithfully related by foreign writers.<sup>44</sup>

Pirckheimer's formulation of the complaint is unique because it describes the problem not as monocausal, but rather the result of three issues. First, and most problematic for Pirckheimer as we will see, was the negligence and carelessness of ancient and "foreign" authors. Second, and unique to Pirckheimer, was the notion that Germania's full extent had only recently come to be known. Third and last was the belief that the ancient Germani shared in the blame. This last statement was not unknown to the humanists, but the emphasis on their devotion to war partially

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<sup>44</sup> *Admodum difficile est, veteris Germaniae statum ac conditionem explicare, non solum ob priscorum scriptorum incuriam, sed quia sero tandem tota peragrata ac cognita est etenim cum veteres Germani bellis potius, quam literis operam impenderint, nil mirum si res praeclare ab eis gestae interciderint, aut minus fideliter ab exteris relatae sint scriptoribus.* Pirckheimer, *Germaniae Explicatio*, a3r.

offset their blame because it was a characteristic that came to be considered an explicit virtue, because the Germani were in fact carrying out the deeds themselves.<sup>45</sup>

Pirckheimer considered the Greeks and Romans the most culpable ancient and foreign authors due to their promotion of disinformation:

For what have the Greeks written about Germania except fables? The Romans in fact, because they were almost on every occasion devoted to their own glory, not only exalted their [own] deeds with the greatest praise but also shrewdly covered up the troubles [they] received from the Germani. For which of them accurately recounts the slaughters received by Carbo or L. Cassius and Scaurus Aurelius, or Servilius Coepio [*sic*] or M. Manlius, which Tacitus nevertheless relates most briefly, and Caesar in no way disguises that Cassius the consul died—in fact his army was defeated. Indeed no history exists except for Paterculus’ recently discovered [*Historia Romana*], which explicates the destruction of Quintilius Varus with his legions.<sup>46</sup>

Pirckheimer was upset by the nature of the information he found in the ancient sources. He disregarded the Greek authors out of hand completely and maligned the Romans as propagandists in search of their own glory, because both made investigating ancient Germania difficult. It is very significant however that Pirckheimer understood the Greeks and Romans to have different roles in providing information: he censured the Greeks for providing fables about Germania, thus about geography, and he blamed the Romans for not offering less biased information about the deeds of the Germani themselves, thus the people. The division not only reflects the German patriotic humanists’ concern for people and place, but also the *Germaniae Explicatio* itself: to its core the work is geographical, but it still tells a narrative of historical-geographical transformation from

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<sup>45</sup> See for instance Meisterlin, *Nieronbergensis Chronica*, 193.

<sup>46</sup> *Quid enim Graeci praeter fabulas de Germania scripserunt? Romani vero, quoniam ubique fere propriae studuerunt gloriae, non tam gesta sua maximis extulerunt laudibus, quam incommoda a Germanis accepta callide texerunt. Quis enim eorum clades a Carbone, seu L. Caßio, aut Scauro Aurelio, vel Servilio Coepione, sive M. Manlio acceptas exacte recenset, quas tamen brevissime Tacitus refert, et Caesar Caßium Consulem occisum, exercitum vero eius pulsum esse nequaquam dissimulat. Quin et nulla praterquam Paterculi nuper inventa extat historia, quae Quintilii Vari cum legionibus internitionem explicat.* Pirckheimer, *Germaniae Explicatio*, a3r–a3v.

antiquity to the present, using both geographical concepts and individual Germanic peoples as means of defining spaces and their transformation over history.<sup>47</sup>

The great rhetorical flourish in Pirckheimer's statements did not entirely reflect the truth, because he was able to use both Greek and Roman sources to great effect in the *Germaniae Explicatio*. The lamentations however voiced a frustration because these sources ultimately could only provide very limited amounts of information. Pirckheimer himself was only too well aware of this, because the *Germaniae Explicatio* was both the "fruit of his studies in Ptolemy,"<sup>48</sup> as well as the product of a lifetime of humanistic study—he died the same year as the book's publication. Moreover the *Germaniae Explicatio* was built from a broad array of ancient sources: Ptolemy, Strabo, Pliny the Elder, Julius Caesar, Pomponius Mela, Velleius Paterculus, Procopius, Solinus, and Tacitus' *Germania*, *Historiae*, and *Annales*. The range of sources both includes those that had long been staples in the patriotic movement, as well as those that were more recently discovered and introduced, like Velleius Paterculus, Procopius, and Solinus. The rhetorical statements were uttered by someone who had spent years working with the sources and who had very intimate knowledge of their strengths and weaknesses.

The frustration with the sources was inextricably bound with Pirckheimer's intention for the work. In his letter of dedication to Hermann von Neuenahr, he clarified that he conceived of *Germaniae Explicatio* as an aid for future scholars to monumentalize Germania. With the book's help, these future authors would be able "to more exactly illustrate our Germania, than we have."<sup>49</sup> They would have to do better than their predecessors because other Germani had not studied their

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<sup>47</sup> Meyer, "Germania Romana," 707–711\*.

<sup>48</sup> Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung*, 186.

<sup>49</sup> *En tibi comes illustris Germaniam nostram σεπτικην, in qua nil certius affirmo, quam quod nihil fere affirmo, attamen ansam fortassis tam tibi, quam eruditis reliquis praebuero, ut exatius, quam nos fecimus, Germaniam nostram illustrarent.* Pirckheimer, *Germaniae Explicatio*, a2r.

homeland. He asked his dedicatee, “what is more absurd than the fact that the Germani describe the entire world, but in the meantime they at no time ever defend their own *patria* from oblivion’s abyss?”<sup>50</sup> Pirckheimer’s remedy against the fear of a forgotten Germania and his dissatisfaction with other Germani in researching their *patria* necessitated, in his view, an investigation into the ancient past, but the fable-telling Greeks and dissimulating Romans inhibited further and better study.

Pirckheimer’s rhetorically charged exclamations should not be taken as a sign that his beliefs in the problematic written record were disingenuous. These beliefs were predicated on an intimate knowledge of the ancient sources and an awareness that the available materials could not rectify certain fundamental problems with researching Germania and the Germani. Nevertheless the *Germaniae Explicatio* reflects Pirckheimer’s broad studies and the transforming source base. Between the time of Schedel, Scheurl, and Pirckheimer, an assortment of ancient texts had reappeared and made their way into the patriotic discourse. The patriotic humanists were, as this demonstrates, actively seeking out information, drawing it not simply from the established and the well-known sources, but also from the new and newly discovered. This interest in the recently unearthed was written into humanism from its very early stages and was a manifestation of the drive to recover the past. In the German humanists’ hands, the drive to restore the past was recast in terms of recovering and restoring the knowledge of ancient Germania with the hope to monumentalize it for present and future.

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<sup>50</sup> *Quid enim absurdius quam Germanos orbem describere uniuersum, patriam tamen interim propriam neququam ex obliuionis uindicare barathro?* Pirckheimer, *Germaniae Explicatio*, a2r.

## 1.4. The Problem of and Desire for Monumentalization

“We are indignant if ever foreign writers either pass over the deeds of our ancestors in silence or touch on them lightly or diminish what was magnificently carried out [by them].”<sup>51</sup>  
Gerardus Noviomagus. *Germanicarum Historiarum Illustratio*.

Destruction, loss, false knowledge, and desire to record the little that remained drove the German patriotic humanists to compose their own works. At the heart of this drive was a need to monumentalize the Germani and commit knowledge about them to paper. The dilemma the humanists found was that monumentalization was only achievable through historical monuments and writings, but these very sources were fraught with many unassailable difficulties. The complaints manifested the humanists’ awareness of these issues and inability to overcome them. At the core of these motivations was the humanist impulse to restore antiquity. This mindset and the contact with the sources allowed the German humanists to believe that there was indeed a German past in bygone eras that could be studied and restored. It was thus not simply enough to know, or merely say, that this past had once existed—it had to be documented, both by the sources and by the humanists themselves. The humanists’ lamentations articulated the frustration that occurred when this humanist impulse could not be sufficiently undertaken because of a lack of information. In short, deficient information placed a great obstacle in the way of investigating antiquity and, occasionally, made it completely impossible. As such, the goals of the humanists could only be partially met—sometimes even this incomplete fulfillment was not possible.

The monumentalization project of the humanists is visible from the earliest contributions to the patriotic discourse. Johannes Nauclerus, Heinrich Bebel, and Hartmann Schedel expressed their discontent with the written record early in the emergence of German humanist patriotism, and the claims they made were echoed by their contemporaries and successors for decades.

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<sup>51</sup> *Indignamur si quando exteri scriptores maiorum nostrorum res gestas aut silentio praetereunt, aut leviter attingunt, aut quod praeclare gestum est extenuant.* Noviomagus, *Germanicarum Historiarum Illustratio*, 186.

Monumentalization was therefore part of the patriotic movement from the beginning and came to shape and control its historical course henceforth. Its power was so great that it forced the transformation of long-standing and newly developing working practices and could force changes to literary genres. Both Hartmann Schedel's *Nuremberg Chronicle* and Johannes Naclerus' *Memorabilium Omnis Aetatis et Omnium Gentium Chronici Commentarii* departed from the conventions of the world chronicle to impose their patriotic program on their texts. Schedel added a strongly geographical framework to the otherwise temporally structured genre, while Naclerus broke the chronological sequence of the work to insert a lengthy digression about the Germani and Germania.

Naclerus composed the *Memorabilia* for the most part between 1498 and 1504 and, although the work found an audience after its completion in manuscript form, it was not printed until 1516, six years after his death. Within the scope of the chronicle, only a relatively short passage enshrined the Germani—twenty pages of several hundred folia—but the section is a striking digression from the narrative. After reaching the historical events of the late eighth century AD and introducing Charlemagne's coronation as Roman Emperor, Naclerus turned his attention to discussing the Germani, the people he associated with Charlemagne and the *translatio imperii*. The section handles a number of themes about the Germani and Germania and part way through the discussion Naclerus introduced a particularly pressing matter: *Germanis non animos olim sed scriptores defuisse*—"previously the Germani did not lack courage but writers." In this passage, he asked his readers,

Who doubts that among the ancient peoples of the Germani there were many who in their times were distinguished and famous for the glory of their deeds? Their renown was extinguished at the same time with them because of the lack of writers who would illustrate their deeds in speech or song. I think that nothing other than nature must be accused in this matter [...] since innumerable men are found from among the Germani who did outstanding things, [but] no one who might write

[about them]. But, because a city located on a hill cannot be hidden, even foreign people [who] have been thoroughly moved by admiration [for them] have not allowed the memory of the deeds that are worthy of immortality to utterly perish.<sup>52</sup>

Nauclerus' concern lay with the renown and fame of the Germani. He lamented the fact that he knew—and so should everyone else—that the Germani had carried out great deeds in the past. He believed that a glorious history existed, but the problem was the fact that as the Germani died, the record and memory of their deeds perished with them, because the historical events had not been textually preserved for later eras. Nauclerus admitted in the end that information on the Germani was not entirely lacking, but it was meager. This resulted, he argued, from the fact that Nauclerus' ancient Germani, the “city located on a hill,” were so distinguished that non-Germans did capture parts of this history. This allowed them to not entirely slip into complete obscurity. For Nauclerus, lacking sources was intimately bound to monumentalization and his goal to recover the past.

1504, the same year that saw the completion of the *Memorabilia*, witnessed the publication of Heinrich Bebel's 1501 *Oratio ad Regem Maximilianum de eius atque Germaniae Laudibus*. The *Oratio* was a speech held before Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I on the occasion of Bebel's crowning as poet laureate. The focus of the speech lies to an extent on Maximilian, but mostly on the Germani. Bebel discussed a number of topics about the Germani in his speech and emphatically addressed the issue of the lack of reports on their deeds. Bebel saw the problem in the penury of authors and he explained to Maximilian that he found it justifiable

to bemoan and lament the unfair condition of our ancestors' unfair situation, because there are found among the Germani very many who did outstanding [deeds] [but] no one who would write [about them]. I complain about this before

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<sup>52</sup> *Quis dubitat inter priscos germanorum populos fuisse non parum multos qui suis temporibus gloria rerum gestarum insignes et præclari extitere, cum quibus fama simul extincta est propter inopiam scriptorum qui gesta oratione uel carmine illustrarent, in quo nihil aliud quam naturam accusandum censeo, quæ de industria quasi uidetur humanæ perfectioni inuidere quoniam ex germanis qui egregia facerent reperti sunt innumeri, qui conscriberet nullus, sed quia abscondi non poterat ciuitas super montem posita homines externi, uel admiratione permoti non passi sunt earum rerum quæ digna immortalitate essent, memoriam penitus interire, quorum profecto testimonium tanto præualet autoritate quanto ab omni suspicione affectionis fuerunt alieni.* Nauclerus, *Memorabilium*, 2:119v.



you, Emperor, [and] it forces me to burst out into tears, for if the illustrious deeds abroad and at home had been transmitted to posterity by the help of writers, there would be a strength of mind, a vivacity, [and] experience in carrying out deeds in recent memory, which the Caroli, Ludouici, Lotharii, Fœderici, Othones, Henrici, Conradi, Rodolphi, Alberti, and other emperors of Germania took upon themselves.<sup>53</sup>

Bebel believed that the lack of writers had led to a lack of reports on the Germani's deeds. This was particularly lamentable because the deeds that might have served to educate and inculcate other Germani could not fulfill their didactic function. As with Pirckheimer, the Germani were at least in part to blame for the state of knowledge. Their inability or negligence meant that their descendents would not know about them or learn from them. The greatest problem with this stemmed from the fact that the Germani had in fact done great deeds, not just on behalf of their *patria*, but also Christendom:

But if the dead have any feeling [...] one must actually believe that the spirits of the dead [*manes*] lament when they learn that so many sufferings had been taken on in vain by them, and so many outstanding deeds not only for our *patria* but for the preservation and defense of the entire Christian religion not only were undertaken in vain, but also completed with the greatest praise, with the result that by their sweat and the auspices of the Roman church they accomplished the kind of growth that the Macedonian, Alexander [the Great], did not for his [own people] or the Caesars, Pompeii, Scipiones, and others for the ambitious Roman Empire. And yet all the books of the orators, poets, historians, and philosophers are in fact filled with Romans and Greeks for posterity's every emulation.<sup>54</sup>

Bebel's points of comparison were apparent: he knew of the deeds of Alexander the Great and distinguished Roman leaders and generals like Julius Caesar and Scipio Africanus, but he made it

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<sup>53</sup> *Libet itaque lamentari et deflere, iniquam maiorum nostrorum conditionem, qui apud Germanos reperti sint qui egregia facerent plurimi, qui scriberet nullus. Hoc me in lachrymas prorumpere cogit. Si enim scriptorum beneficio illustra foris domique gesta Germanorum ad posteros transmissa essent, essetque in recenti memoria ea fortitudo animi, ea strenuitas, ea in rebus gerendis peritia.* Bebel, *Oratio ad Regem Maximilianum*, a5r.

<sup>54</sup> *Quod si vllus est defunctis (vti non dubitanus [sic]) sensus, profecto horum manes ingemiscere credendum est, cum tot labores incassum sibi fuisse susceptos intelligant, et tot nequiquam egregia opera non solum pro nostra patria, sed etiam pro totius Christianę religionis conseruatione et defensione sint non solum aggressi, verum etiam summa cum laude confecerint, vt cum suis ipsi sudoribus et auspiciis Romanę ecclesię pepererint tale incrementum, quale non Macedo Alexander suis, vel Cęsares, Pompeii, Scipiones et cęteri ambicioso Ro. imperio. Attamen omnes oratorum, poetarum, historicorum & philosophorum denique libri referti sunt.* Bebel, *Oratio ad Regem Maximilianum*, a5r–a5v.

clear that he did not consider their achievements to be as praiseworthy as the Germani who had fought for Christendom. In spite of Bebel's (argumentative) rhetoric, it is evident that the histories of the Greeks and Romans had become the benchmark to measure how a people's deeds should be recorded. In comparison with these histories, Bebel found those about the Germani to be wanting, for the Germani had not recorded their great religious deeds. This argumentation was both an expression of general sixteenth-century thought about the duty of Christians, but also had particular valence in the political context of the speech. The Holy Roman Emperor was, at least in medieval theory, the defender of Christendom. Maximilian's position was thus superior to Alexander's and the various Romans' for he was fighting for the greatest good of all. In this speech, Bebel demonstrated that motivations stemming from politics and competition between peoples existed alongside attempts at monumentalization. He thus wove together multiple motivations, underpinning them with a drive to uncover the past and memorialize it.<sup>55</sup>

One year after the publication of Bebel's *Oratio ad Regem Maximilianum*, Hartmann Schedel finished his *Liber Antiquitatum*, a four-part work that collected and recorded the antiquities, epitaphs, and epigrams of Greece, Rome and Italy, and Germania. The fourth part, the *Opus de Antiquitatibus cum Epigrammatibus Inclite Germanie*, is devoted solely to Germania and antiquities found in various German cities. It expanded on the themes of historical oblivion, survival, remembrance, and monumentalization from the first three parts of the *Liber Antiquitatum*, but expanded beyond Greece, Rome, and Italy and focused them on Germania.<sup>56</sup> Schedel's arguments about oblivion and monumentalization stemmed directly from the Italian humanists. He was the first in the German lands to devote himself to the ruins of Rome, and he latched onto "the

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<sup>55</sup> Krebs, *Negotiatio Germaniae*, 227.

<sup>56</sup> Worstbrock, "Hartmann Schedels 'Liber Antiquitatum,'" 225.

question of historical oblivion, commemoration, decay, and survival” seen in the works of the Italian humanists.<sup>57</sup> The fourth part of the *Liber Antiquitatum* applied Italian humanist ways of understanding the past through physical remains to Germania and its *materialia*, thereby recasting Italian concerns as German.

Schedel poignantly voiced his belief in the destruction and loss that he considered to have afflicted Germania. He clarified at the beginning of the *Opus* that he wanted to not only devote attention to the Greeks and Romans, but also the Germani, because Germania was his homeland and the Germani had “clearly been a famous and flourishing people” in previous times.<sup>58</sup> He nevertheless admitted that, although he was “a lover of antiquity,” he had written little about the Germani. He felt compelled to rectify this but was hindered by the fact that there was a “lack of very renowned writers” and the fact that the physical remains of the past had been reduced “to almost nothing.”<sup>59</sup> He informed his readers that “the ancient authors wrote little” about the Germani because the latter “were in the beginning of little repute in the times of the Romans.”<sup>60</sup> He continued, stating “if by chance anything worthy of memory had been carried out by them, the writers were perhaps unable to commit them to writing due to the coarseness of their names.”<sup>61</sup> Schedel emphasized history, but he knew that there had once been a distinguished history, but that, a lack of writers, the ephemerality of material remains, and the limited repute of the Germani hindered his ability to access this history.

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<sup>57</sup> Worstbrock, “Hartmann Schedels ‘Liber Antiquitatum,’” 225.

<sup>58</sup> *Et in primis inclitam scilicet nacionem olim fuisse et florentem et suis virtutibus Romanum Imperium meruisse.* Schedel, *Opus de Antiquitatibus*, 288r.

<sup>59</sup> *Perpauca aut pene nulla de Germania vetustatis amator perscripsi. [...] Inter cetera duo nobis magis id perficiendum prohibuerunt: Clarissimorum videlicet scriptorum penuria et bellorum varij motus, que omnem antiquitatem et epigrammata pene in nihilum redigerunt.* Schedel, *Opus de Antiquitatibus*, 288r.

<sup>60</sup> *Germani namque Romanorum temporibus pauce reputacionis in primordio existebant. Ideo veteres scriptores de eis pauca scripsere.* Schedel, *Opus de Antiquitatibus*, 288r.

<sup>61</sup> *Et siquid forte memoria dignum ab eis gestum fuit, Scriptores fortassis propter nominum illorum grossiciem scripto mandare nequiuierunt.* Schedel, *Opus de Antiquitatibus*, 288v.

The *Opus de Antiquitatibus* was Schedel's attempt to do his patriotic duty and to capture what little physical remains existed to ensure that they not be forgotten.

Also the deeds of the Germani and their magnificent works will not last for a long time, since they are destroyed by time, violence, and old age. Therefore something else will be most resounding for eternal memory: the writings about [these] matters by most renowned men. And it in particular is accustomed to seem honorable to make the antiquities of the Germani very famous with all care and illustrate [them] with as much zeal as possible either with deeds or words [and] to not allow them to be lost, although, very few [antiquities] exist, since the ancients devoted themselves with the greatest power to make themselves immortal. [...] We, being more than ungrateful, permitted ourselves to pass over these [things] [as if they were] unknown and lay secretly concealed.<sup>62</sup>

Schedel feared not recording the Germani's deeds. He knew that one day they would be lost, but that it was necessary to put them down in writing in order to preserve them in some form. The ancients, not necessarily only classical writers, were to blame because they cared more for their own fame than for the collective renown of the Germani and they did not save the antiquities that could bear witness to this greatness. Schedel was reacting to the ruinous state he believed he found the antiquities of the past in and the need he felt to make sure that the ruin did not continue.

In the end the *Opus de Antiquitatibus*, as well as the *Liber Antiquitatum*, comprised a "book of memory" [*Memoria*-Buch].<sup>63</sup> Schedel picked up on and reshaped the notions of forgetting, remembering, passing, and surviving, which his Italian predecessors had expressed.<sup>64</sup> He was thus a direct recipient and promoter of similar notions about the nature of German antiquities and

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<sup>62</sup> *Gesta quoque Germanorum eorumque opera magna nec longo tempore duratura sunt, cum tempestate, vi, ac vetustate pereant. Aliud igitur erit resonatissimum ad sempiternam memoriam Rerum earum per celebratissimos viros inscriptio, Illudque in primis videri solet honestissimum videlicet Germanorum vetustates summa ope, ut immortales sese facerent studuerunt. [...] Ea nos incognita preterire et abdita iacere in occulto plusquam ingrati patiamur.* Schedel, *Opus de Antiquitatibus*, 289r.

<sup>63</sup> Worstbrock, "Hartmann Schedels 'Liber Antiquitatum,'" 238.

<sup>64</sup> Worstbrock, "Hartmann Schedels 'Liber Antiquitatum,'" 225.

history. He sought to make sure that Germania's past was secure from being forgotten, especially due to the fact that they had carried out "great works."<sup>65</sup>

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### 1.5. Monumentalization and *Informationsbedarf*: Collecting Sources and Information

"Lastly, what they [foreign authors] have already written about them [the Teutschen], they wrote briefly, so that one must thus gather partially short and partially in other respects mutilated affairs from various writers with great effort and work."<sup>66</sup>

Jakob Schopper. *Neuwe Chorographia und Histori Teutscher Nation*.

Parallel to and intimately connected with monumentalization was the German humanists' *Informationsbedarf*, or "need for information." *Informationsbedarf* is a word I have borrowed from German, because it succinctly and accurately describes the actions of the German humanists in a way that English cannot. In this context I use it to describe the intellectual state that the humanists found themselves in as they attempted to find information about Germania and the Germani. By using it in this way, I hope to interact better with German-language scholarship by developing an idea that can be used in both English- and German-language contexts to describe this phenomenon.

*Informationsbedarf* and monumentalization were fundamental expressions of the German patriotic movement and were inextricably bound together. Monumentalization demanded information and *Informationsbedarf* was a specific disposition toward the sources that both humanism and monumentalization produced. Both evoked the same need to find information about the German past, and all three influenced each other to create the motivations that formed the core of the patriotic movement. This *Informationsbedarf* and the ability to pull from a broad array of sources might look like a counterbalance to the notion of lacking sources, but it was actually an

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<sup>65</sup> Schedel, *Opus de Antiquitatibus*, 289v.

<sup>66</sup> *Letzlich was sie schon beschrieben haben von ihnen, das haben sie kurtzlich beschrieben, daß man also mit grosser Mühe unnd Arbeyt auß vielerley Scribenten zum theil kurtze und zum theil sonst gestümmelte Sachen zusammen klauben muß.* Schopper, *Neuwe Chorographia*, b5r.

expression of it: if one looks at the ways humanists discussed ancient and post-classical sources, one sees that they read them for information on the Germani—for the potential ability to provide information on the Germani. Since this potential was not readily available it often had to be found in a wide array of sources. Frequently the humanists could only pull very little from each source and only when this information was collated could some representation of Germania's history be spliced together.

The belief in the failures of past sources did not force the humanists to resign themselves to the idea that they could not uncover various aspects of Germania's history, rather it forced them to look harder and pull out every piece of information on Germania they could. Thus the (perceived) lack of sources did not exclude *a priori* a broad corpus of sources, it actually seems to have promoted it. Thus the act of collecting from as many sources as possible, an action which has long been held as an antithesis to source criticism, resulted from a genuine criticism of the sources.

*Informationsbedarf* expressed itself in three ways: manuscript and source hunting, collecting a critical amount/all sources for a particular topic, and co-opting the sources and histories. Manuscript hunting had a long history in humanism and was one of the movement's most enduring legacies. By the late Renaissance the corpus of classical texts had come to include almost every source now associated with it.<sup>67</sup> Most famous for rediscovering classical texts was the humanist Poggio Bracciolini. Poggio saw it as a personal triumph that he had found a number of Cicero's works, including the *In Pisonem* and the *Pro Q. Roscio Comoedo* in the course of his travels,<sup>68</sup> and his friend and fellow manuscript hunter, Cincius Romanus, placed great emotional value in rediscovering the works of Latin antiquity. In a letter written to Franciscus de Fiana about

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<sup>67</sup> Reynolds et al., *Scribes and Scholars*, 122.

<sup>68</sup> Gordan, *Two Renaissance Book Hunters*, 205.

a visit to St. Gallen [Switzerland] with Poggio and Bartholomeus Montepolitianus, Romanus explained that the three immediately found Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*, Vitruvius' *De Architectura*, a number of Cicero's speeches, and works by Lactantius and Priscian. He lamented that they found "countless books" that "were kept like captives and the library neglected and infested with dust, worms, soot, and all the things associated with the destruction of books" in a tower close to the church of St. Gallen.<sup>69</sup>

Among the German humanists, Conrad Celtis stood out as one of the most prolific manuscript hunters. Celtis was different from Poggio and his circle because, aside from the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, a thirteenth-century copy of a fourth-century map of the Roman Empire, Celtis' most important finds were medieval texts: the thirteenth-century poetic epic *Ligurinus*, attributed to Gunther of Pairis, and the works of Hrotsvitha, the tenth-century Saxon canoness at the Abbey of Gandersheim. The fruits of this labor lay with this edition of the works of Hrotsvitha in 1501, which was based on a manuscript he had discovered in 1493/1494 in the monastery of St. Emmeram in Regensburg. The edited text, once printed, became a means to monumentalize both Hrotsvitha and the Germani. Honoring Hrotsvitha monumentalized the Germani because her achievements in the field of literature reflected the literary greatness that Germani could achieve. The fifteen epigrams printed after the letter of dedication in this edition made clear just how highly esteemed the canoness was by the German humanists. Willibald Pirckheimer's twin Greek and Latin epigram declared, "If Sappho is the tenth of the sweetly singing Muses, Hrotsvitha must be written in as the eleventh of the Aonides."<sup>70</sup> Hrotsvitha was not simply comparable to the great

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<sup>69</sup> Gordan, *Two Renaissance Book Hunters*, 188–189.

<sup>70</sup> *Ἐὶ σαπφὼ δεκάτῃ μουσᾶων ἐστὶν ἀδόντων / Ῥόσβιθ ἔνδεχατῇ μοῦσα καταγράφεται. Eiusdem traductio. Si sappho decima est musarum dulce canentum / Hrosuitha scribenda est undemica aonidum.* Celtis, *Opera Hrosvite*, a3v.

archaic poet Sappho, but great enough to be one of the muses [Aonides]. As Sappho was the tenth muse from Lesbos, so Hrotsvitha was the eleventh, but from Germania.

Discovering the manuscript of Hrotsvitha's works was part of Celtis' attempts to ensure the safeguarding of the German past. In the letter of dedication to Kurfürst Friedrich III of Saxony, Celtis explained that he had traveled throughout Germania, "in order to seek out ancient and not yet published codices."<sup>71</sup> He sought to "bring them to light" but complained that Italians had plundered the German lands and taken many of these "very famous and illustrious transcripts."<sup>72</sup> Because of this, Celtis wrote,

I was thinking to myself as a person born in the middle of Germania and the Hercinia [Forest] [...] that by the law of succession and inheritance I ought to strive, just like an outstanding hunter, to draw out codices lying in darkness, and offer some of them as splendid [works] to my [fellow] Germani, by which they may see and understand our diligence and the continual labors of our ancient fathers and progenitors [...]."<sup>73</sup>

Celtis clearly wished to convey both that it was his duty to find lost and forgotten texts and that he had attempted to do just this. The Germani were obliged as Germani, in his opinion, to find works about the past and present,<sup>74</sup> and Celtis imbued this obligation both with significance deriving from its educational and genealogical importance. Drawing the manuscripts out of the darkness and spreading them amongst the Germani would educate them about German affairs, but not simply because they gave *exempla* for contemporary life, but because they explained heritage and

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<sup>71</sup> *Eumque laborem & itinerum pericula libens semper & hilari animo subii, ut antiquos & nondum impresso inquirerem codices.* Celtis, *Opera Hrosvite*, a2r.

<sup>72</sup> ... [ut] *nostrorum seculorum faelicitate per impressoriam artem a nostris hominibus inuentam in lucem proferrem.* [...] *Quo circa dum uidissem multa preclara & illustria exemplaria tamquam aegregia & optima quedam de nobis spolia ab Italis e germania in italiam delata ibique impressa.* Celtis, *Opera Hrosvite*, a2r.

<sup>73</sup> *Cogitabam ego ad me hominem in media germania & hercinia natum & qui primus inter germanos litterarum ornamenta & insignia ac imperialem laurum a caesare, tuo princeps illustrissime Friderice ductu & monitu accepissem successionis & hereditatis iure spectare debere, ut latentes in obscuro codices uelut uenator egregius elicere.* *Germanisque meis tanquam opipera quedam offerrem quibus illi ueterum nostrorum patrum & progenitorum circa litteras & religionem christianam nostram diligentiam & iuges labores uiderent & intelligerent.* Celtis, *Opera Hrosvite*, a2r.

<sup>74</sup> Zeydel, "Reception of Hrotsvita," 242.



ancestry. Celtis himself understood himself to be the heir to the ancient Germani, which impelled him to recover and collect the means to inform him and other Germani about their heritage. The two words “fathers” and “progenitors” are a sign that Celtis understood the ancestral and genealogical significance of this project not simply in terms of the fact that the ancient Germani and he himself shared the same *patria*, but also because they had a quasi-familial connection and function based on descent, succession, heritage, and inheritance.

Hints and direct overtures to *Informationsbedarf* activities are found throughout the works of the German patriotic humanists. Johannes Aventinus made direct statements about his collecting drive in both his *Annales Ducum Boioariae* and *Germania Illustrata*.<sup>75</sup> Hubertus Thomas Leodius and, much more clearly, Jakob Schopper, ensured that their readers knew that gathering information was both part of the intellectual process and desire to monumentalize.<sup>76</sup> *Informationsbedarf* was not only intimately connected to monumentalization but also just a general practice among the humanists. It shaped how they tracked down information and how they used it. It expressed one aspect of the humanists’ patriotic dynamic, which consisted equally of collecting information and monumentalizing the past. Together the two worked together to create the core drive of the patriotic humanists and affected the ways they carried out their scholarship.

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## Conclusion

German humanists complaints about deficient information about ancient Germania and the Germani indicated that they believed that there was a significant Germanic history to uncover, but that it could only be partially accessed through the current written record. The limited glimpses into this inheritance made the German humanists aware that this past had existed at some point,

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<sup>75</sup> Aventinus, *Annales Ducum Boioariae*, 3–4.

<sup>76</sup> Aventinus. *Germania Illustrata*. 75-76.

but their work with the sources also illustrated that only a diminished and insufficient amount of this past could ever be accessed. The lamentations articulated a frustration and despair, as well as anxiety about the ability or inability to recover and illuminate this partially lost and very distant past.

The rhetoric surrounding the lamentations makes them read as statements designed to heighten the sensibilities of the humanists and their peers. This rhetorical aspect is present, but because rhetoric was a powerful tool that the humanists knew how to employ for their own benefit, the statements should be read not as empty utterances, but rather manifestations of the apprehension that the humanists felt in being able to carry out their projects. They resulted from the very working processes and mentality that drove the humanists to undertake their projects in the first place and clarified the stakes involved in them. The complaints therefore sat at the crossroads of intellectual labor and humanist desire for monumentalization. They consequently signified and expressed far more than might at first seem to.

The false information and the gaps in knowledge motivated the humanists greatly. The knowledge of what had been lost forced them to collect and textualize what remained. The awareness of these problems and the passion to rectify them created an extraordinarily fertile ground in which the German humanists' patriotism could take root. Humanism drove them to search the ancient past and to restore what they could find. Their self-conception as Germani allowed them to identify and connect with the remains of the past that they could identify as German. The work with the sources proved that accessing this history was fraught with certain unassailable problems, but these did not lead to a sense of futility, but rather forced the German humanists to work with what did remain and to try to find as much as they could.

The meaning of the lamentations and complaints of the German humanists extends beyond being manifestations and reflections of their patriotism. They embody a central feature of scholarly labor because they were the most fundamental form of source criticism a humanist could utter. As a form of source criticism, these complaints and the intellectual work they represent were quite similar to other forms of source criticism, like the identification of anachronism or false information, because they were part of a process of trying to define the kind of work the humanists were undertaking. For example, just as Heinrich Bebel mobilized ancient authors to refute Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini's conception of the origins of the Franci and Germani in his *Germani Sunt Indigenae*, so the humanists used knowledge gained from one source to counteract the problems of another.

The ability to utter and formulate lamentations was predicated on an intimate knowledge of the source base. The complaints were an organic product of the intellectual work the German humanists were doing, and they forced them to often look far and wide for a broad array of materials to answer their questions. As criticisms of the sources, the lamentations embodied a crucial question a scholar must ask when conducting research: does this object or text provide information on my subject? This question contains two further, implicit questions: what is my subject? and what should the subject or subjects of history be? This is integral intellectual labor that most scholars take for granted because many of our sources have been so cataloged and categorized based on their content that the work of answering such questions often does not arise in our research. This was a major area of labor for the humanists in general, but it was so incredibly important for the German humanists because they were working from such an informational deficit.

This criticism of the sources expressed and emerged out of a confusing paradox: a complete dependence on the existing sources and a desire to be independent of them in their current condition. There was both an unspoken open-armed embrace and vocal abnegation of them. Put in different terms, the paradox spoke to the fact that the sources were both the problem and the only solution for understanding Germania. They hindered access to the past but were also the only means to gain such access. The paradox however proved to be a very productive space, because the conflict with the sources and the total dependence on them meant that there was only one response—to write one’s own work, which is exactly what the German humanists did. The humanists however never said that ancient, medieval, or humanist sources were unusable, rather that they created a particular problem that they needed to overcome.

Writing their own works accomplished the major goal the German humanists had with monumentalization because it put the information down on a medium that could be passed onto later ages. Hartmann Schedel understood that “a writing was an instrument of preservation” against ephemerality, because a text was a codified and transmittable form of historical memory.<sup>77</sup> That such importance should be placed in the written word should not be surprising when considering the humanists. This was a literary culture that put extraordinary weight in all things written as texts were the primary means of both recording and conveying one’s own thoughts. Up until this point both the ancient Greeks and Romans, as well as the various medieval cultures of Europe, had each recorded texts and history for transmission, but for the humanists there was a particular urgency concerning written texts, because they had staked their intellectual and pedagogical aims in writing. The humanists’ manuscript hunts and their research illustrated just how elusive the records

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<sup>77</sup> Worstbrock, “Hartmann Schedels ‘Liber Antiquitatum,’” 227–228.

of the past could be, so they imbued texts with the ability to do more than preserve information, but also capture historical memory for posterity

## Chapter 2. The Source Congeries and the *Situs Germaniae*: Managing *Informationsbedarf* and Executing Monumentalization

The German humanists' lamentations about the written record articulated their despair about their ability to know German history. Many of the complaints centered on the lost deeds of the Germani, either because the ancients simply did not describe what the Germani had achieved or because they had even purposely omitted them. The concern for the deeds of the Germani helped root the identity of the German humanists in the past through the *gens* or *natio Germanica* itself, making the people of the Germani one of the two pillars German identity rested on. The other pillar was the land this people inhabited, Germania.<sup>1</sup> With the increasing interest in geographic studies during the Renaissance and the historiographical shift that turned geography and conceptions of space into factors of analysis and study, humanists across Europe devoted themselves to understanding the history and development of their *patriae*, or homelands, as *lieux de mémoire* and *historische Bedeutungsträger* [bearers of historical meaning].<sup>2</sup> These *patriae* could be cities, like Nuremberg for Hartmann Schedel, territories, as Bavaria for Johannes Aventinus, or “superregions,” for instance the German humanists’ Germania or Italia for Italians like Flavio Biondo. The place of geographical studies in Renaissance society meant that spaces became foci of investigation and study, and determining the location, or *situs*, of one’s *patria* was paramount.

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<sup>1</sup> For information on the humanists’ occupation with Germania, the best place to start is Helmrath “Probleme und Formen,” 333–392 for a historiographical overview of the problems and state of research concerning regional and “national” historiography, especially among the German humanists. See also Andermann, “Geographisches Wissen,” 275–301; Helmrath, “*Natio, regio und terra*,” 143–156; Mertens, “‘Landesbewußtsein’ am Oberrhein,” 199–216; Meyer “*Germania Romana*,” 697–719\*; Müller, ‘*Germania generalis*’, 224–245; Strauss *Sixteenth-Century Germany*, 45–59.

<sup>2</sup> Maissen, “Worin gründet der Erfolg?” 49; Helmrath, “*Natio, regio und terra*,” 154.

Willibald Pirckheimer's lamentations in the previous chapter reveal that the German humanists faced significant problems in determining where and what Germania was. The written record was incomplete, contradictory, faulty, and largely no longer current, since Germania's borders had expanded since antiquity. For example, the Greek and Roman authors were often in agreement that the Rhine, Danube, and the North Sea were its borders, but the eastern edge was little agreed on, predominantly from a lack of information about it. Strabo declared that "the [lands] across the Albis near the ocean are totally unknown to us," but Ptolemy placed the eastern border at the Vistula River, and Tacitus did not even mention an eastern border.<sup>3</sup> Defining Germania's limits remained difficult in the Renaissance not simply because the ancient models did not always agree, but also because there was no defined territory or polity to identify it with. The humanists either relied on topography or linguistic geography, i.e. Germania was where German was spoken, to determine its expanse.

Despite the difficulties the written record presented, the *situs Germaniae* was one of the few topics that received continuous treatment from antiquity to the Renaissance. The German humanists could therefore draw on a relative plethora of general descriptions of Germania's geographical expanse to answer the crucial question, what is the *situs Germaniae*? The German humanists had at their disposal a few ways to answer this question. Some, like Johannes Cochlaeus, relied on one source for outlining the *situs* of ancient Germania which then served as a departure point for describing the region's late antique and early medieval expansion due to the *Völkerwanderung*.<sup>4</sup> Others tried to mobilize the various interpretations and portrayals, to either

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<sup>3</sup> Τὰ δὲ πέραν τοῦ Ἀλβίου τὰ πρὸς τῇ ὠκεανῷ παντάπασιν ἄγνωστα ἡμῖν ἐστίν (Geo. 7.2.4).

<sup>4</sup> *Germania (inquit Cor. Tacitus) omnis a Gallis Rhetiisque et Pannoniis Rheno et Danubio fluminibus. A Sarmatis Dacisque mutuo metu aut montibus separatur. Cetera Oceanus ambit latos sinus et insularum immensa spacia complectens. At nunc latiores sunt fines eius Rhetii enim nunc Sueui sunt, Superiorque Pannonia nunc Germanie pars est, que Austria dicitur, Longus quoque tractus trans Rhenum Gallie ademptus est Germanie adjectus.* Cochlaeus, *Brevis Germanie Descriptio*, H3v.

give a sense of the diversity of the answers or to prove a particular reading of the *situs*. I call this latter practice of using many sources the “source congeries,” because it was a manner of heaping information together.

The source congeries provides unique access to understanding German humanism because it illustrates how they tried to synthesize and present the vast amounts of information they had collected and how they tried to manage and work with it. In the context of their patriotism, the German humanists used the source congeries to present and manage the significant number of statements that they had extracted from their sources on topics like the *situs Germaniae*. The source congeries was thus less of a direct practice in service of monumentalization and *Informationsbedarf*, but rather the means to manage the information that their *Informationsbedarf* had driven them to collect. Moreover the source congeries reflects the desires and practices of each humanist vis-à-vis their sources. The cases of Franciscus Irenicus, Beatus Rhenanus, and Jakob Schopper in this chapter indicate that the source congeries was a locus of both source criticism and of cultivating practices modern scholars deem uncharacteristic of humanism: compilation, lack of concern for a source’s context, creative interpretations of the material, and an overall disregard for a source’s integrity. Each of these practices points unequivocally to the fact that the German patriotic humanists’ first and foremost concern was for quantity of information over quality.

For modern scholars the source congeries both offers rich possibilities for research because of its long history and its ability to reflect the working practices of an author. It however also poses significant challenges to prevailing ideas of humanist source use. Franciscus Irenicus depended on it for his *Germaniae Exegesis*, which has led scholars to define parts of it as “heap[s] of random quotes” or “functional assembl[ies] of quotes”<sup>5</sup> Moreover Werner Goez posited the transformation

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<sup>5</sup> Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung*, 181; Kaiser, “Personelle Serialität,” 184.



from medieval [i.e. non-academic and *unwissenschaftliche*] historiography to academic and *wissenschaftlich* as a shift away from compilatory habits towards source criticism, a shift he saw exemplified in Johannes Nauclerus' *Memorabilia*. He argued that “conflicting information from sources had hitherto simply been placed next to each other, [...] silently adjusted, or furtively ignored if they were uncomfortable or dubious.”<sup>6</sup> These are the very same practices that the authors considered here used to employ knowledge from the written record, illustrating that the ostensibly medieval was still strong in humanism.

Scholars have long argued that the humanists were sensitive to source context and that they began to earnestly consider context as a factor in evaluating sources.<sup>7</sup> This is true, but only to an extent. The source congeries shows that they were moved by considerations of content, information, and argumentation more than their sources' context, and I will add, integrity, i.e., the assorted factors that make a source a historical document, including context but also authorial intention, anachronism, etc. Employing the source congeries often meant writing out and flattening crucial differences between sources and their contexts, as well as shaping and creatively employing them in a way that impinged upon their integrity. This is not something that has completely escaped scholarly notice, for Ottavio Clavuot has found this practice in Flavio Biondo's *Italia Illustrata*, but it has yet to be formally studied for its function and significance.<sup>8</sup> Uncritical practices, such as releasing information from its original context and re-embedding it in a new one was part and parcel of humanist source use. This is all-the-more significant because it betrays the fact that

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<sup>6</sup> Goetz, “Anfänge” (1972), 9.

<sup>7</sup> Burke, *Renaissance Sense*, 34; Franklin, *Jean Bodin*, 2; Grafton, *Commerce with the Classics*, 3; Muhlack *Geschichtswissenschaft*, 353, 360–361; Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions*, 46.

<sup>8</sup> Concerning Biondo's use of Eusebius, Clavuot wrote, “In most cases, the humanist [Biondo] released the short characterizations of Eusebius suited to relocation out of their chronological context and paraphrased or summarized them.” Clavuot, *Biondos 'Italia Illustrata'*, 168.

humanists considered sources tools, and that the knowledge they contained was held to be almost timeless.

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## 2.1. Source Congeries: Definition and History

In order to give a sense of what a source congeries looks like, I have provided transcriptions of three by Franciscus Irenicus, Beatus Rhenanus, and Jakob Schopper in the appendix in the original language, which form the basis of this chapter. Identifying a source congeries, like the three in the appendix, is easy, but defining them is difficult because they were all shaped by certain textual contexts without guidelines for use. Defining them is very difficult and it suffers from the problem of “I know it when I see it.” This predominantly stems from the fact that the humanists themselves rarely discussed their conventions for using sources. The source congeries was so ingrained in the scholarly toolkit of late medieval authors [see below], that it appears that it would have been simply a reflex to employ it in certain situations. Moreover the source congeries, whether by tradition, practice, or conscious effort, was developed to marshal great amounts of often diverse information for the sake of description or argumentation. It was not suited to long discursive sections because ancient, medieval, and Renaissance scholars employed it for its ability to present mass amounts of knowledge.

Despite the difficulty in defining the source congeries, it had two indispensable characteristics: direct citations of the sources and the use of a significant number of sources. Direct reference was necessary because it separated the source congeries from the medieval tradition of *compilatio*—the compilation of discrete strands of information from other works without reference to the source. Naming the author retained the source’s authority in the source congeries. The second qualification for a source congeries, using a significant number of sources, is more difficult to define because “significant” is a relative term. Here it is based on the frequency and “density”

of references or quotes in a given passage. Ten such references across ten folia with notable discussion by the author would not qualify, but ten citations in just a few paragraphs would. In general I call passages with more than three references to sources a “congeries.”

In the hands of the German patriotic humanists the source congeries has a few common characteristics:

1. The humanists presented the information from the sources in different ways: quotes [either in the original language, a translation, or both], paraphrases, allusions, or even with just a reference to the name of an author or work.
2. Each cited author often appears as an equal to the others: authority based on reliability, time, amount of knowledge provided, and factual/perceived accuracy are often disregarded.
3. The humanists generally “flattened” sources. Flattening could be temporal: Piccolomini and Tacitus could appear as equals on a given topic despite their temporal separation. Authors might flatten context: there is often no acknowledgement that sources were written in different time periods, under various circumstances, and with contrasting ends. Lastly, source information itself could be flattened: authors might frame or introduce information to make a general statement that the sources did not necessarily support. For example, authors might state that their sources all agree on a topic when in reality they did not. It is in this flattening where the humanists were most creative with their sources and least concerned with their integrity.

There is no true scholarship on the German humanists’ use of the source congeries, merely passing mentions of its appearance in a few different works. Most direct or indirect discussion of the practice has occurred in scholarship on Irenicus’ *Germaniae Exegesis*, but Ulrich Muhlack on

one occasion pointed to the practice in Beatus Rhenanus' *Res Germanicae*.<sup>9</sup> Before the very recent work of Ronny Kaiser, the most significant acknowledgment of the practice came from Paul Joachimsen's assessment of the *Exegesis Germania*.<sup>10</sup> Joachimsen asserted that "when he [Irenicus] could put forth his own good information [on a topic], like that about the extraction of amber, we only reach it [by going] through a heap of random quotes."<sup>11</sup> This "heap of random quotes [Haufen wahlloser Zitate]" is in fact a source congeries on amber in volume seven, chapter seven of the *Germaniae Exegesis*.<sup>12</sup> More indirect discussion of Irenicus' use of the source congeries comes in treatments of the compilatory nature of the work.<sup>13</sup> Beyond this no scholarship that I have found has investigated it. Given this lacuna it is fitting to place the practice in a very tentative outline of its history.

The earliest example of the source congeries I have found stems from the *Antiquitates Judaicae* of Josephus [b. AD 37/38].<sup>14</sup> This example likely places the practice's origins outside Christianity's written tradition, but more research is needed to track down its possible Judaic roots. In the Christian tradition from antiquity onward, the source congeries was most at home in the commentary. Late antique commentators, like Jerome [ca. AD 347–419] in his *Commentary on Isaiah*, were among the first, if not the first, Christians to use the practice.<sup>15</sup> Its presence continued

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<sup>9</sup> Muhlack, *Geschichtswissenschaft*, 390.

<sup>10</sup> Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung*, 181. Also Kaiser, "Personelle Serialität," 184; Strauss, *Sixteenth-Century Germany*, 37.

<sup>11</sup> Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung*, 181.

<sup>12</sup> Irenicus, *Germaniae Exegesis*, 165v-166r.

<sup>13</sup> Irenicus "resembles more Albertus Kratz, a compiler who had to use greatly scholarly ingenuity to make any sense out of his sources." Borchardt, *German Antiquity*, 144. "As the title already states, the extensive *Exegesis* is not for instance a history of Germany, but rather a source collection for a historical *Landeskunde*." Ehmer, "Reformatorsche Geschichtsschreibung," 228-229. "A further consequence, which arises from the immense spectrum of sources, lies in the fact that the writing is distinguished rather by its compilatory character than by a continuous narrative depiction. Kaiser, "Personelle Serialität," 166. "His [Irenicus'] writing shifts toward being a compilation." Müller, *Germania Generalis*, 476.

<sup>14</sup> Josephus, *AI* 1.3.93–95. 1. This and each of the following citations in this short historical overview indicate where in the texts I found an example of the source congeries.

<sup>15</sup> Jerome, *In Esaiam*, 91–92.

after Jerome, through the Early Middle Ages with Pope Gregory I [r. AD 590–604] and later in the works of Thomas Aquinas [ca. AD 1225–1274] and Albertus Magnus [AD 1196/1206–1280].<sup>16</sup> Similar to the German humanists, these authors heaped up references and quotes from the Bible and the Church Fathers in service of their arguments or interpretations. To be sure the practice was not a *sine qua non* of Christian or medieval commentary, for the anonymous *Bavarian Commentary* on Ovid's *Metamorphoses* [ca. AD 1100], Clm 4610 in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, hardly mentions sources, if at all, while the Venerable Bede [AD 673–735] shows source congeries tendencies but nothing that can be explicitly labeled as such in his *In Epistulam Iacobi Expositio*.<sup>17</sup> The source congeries's presence in commentaries continued with the Italian humanists, but in these the Bible and Church Fathers were largely replaced as sources by Greek and Roman authors.<sup>18</sup>

The practice is found in other overtly Christian works, like religious treatises. Augustine of Hippo [AD 354–430] made use of it in his *De Trinitate*, an important work in Latin-Christian Patristic tradition on the doctrine of the trinity.<sup>19</sup> Pseudo-Cyprian's *De Rebaptismate* [2nd century AD] also shows some tendencies like a source congeries.<sup>20</sup> Unlike the commentary and treatise, the practice seems to have had more ambiguous relationships with medieval historiography and encyclopedism. Gregory of Tours [AD 538/539–594] relied on it in his *Historiae*, but it seems to

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<sup>16</sup> Aquinas, *Scriptum super Libros Sententiarum*, 189; Magnus, *Commentarii*, 19.

<sup>17</sup> For the *Bavarian Commentary*, I examined the comments that correspond to the first three books of the *Metamorphoses* and came across only one possible mention of a source. Böckerman, *Bavarian Commentary*, 192–227. Bede did like to heap up sources but not with enough frequency to equate to the practices of other commentators. Bede, *In Epistulam Iacobi Expositio*, 96.

<sup>18</sup> Beroaldus, *Commentarii in Asinum Aureum*, a3r; Perottus, *Cornucopiae*, 206; Viterbo, *Auctores Vetustissimi*, k5r. Of the three only Beroaldus cites a Christian source, Jerome, and this only one time.

<sup>19</sup> Augustine, *De Trinitate*, 153–154.

<sup>20</sup> Pseudo-Cyprian, *De Rebaptismate*, 579.

have been absolutely foreign to the genre of the chronicle.<sup>21</sup> Moreover it surprisingly appears to have found limited use in medieval encyclopedic works. Isidore's [ca. AD 560–636] *Etymologiae*, while abounding in source use, does not appear to have used it, and I only found one example in Vincent of Beauvais's [ca. AD 1190–1264] *Speculum Historiale*.<sup>22</sup>

The humanists significantly broadened the use of the source congeries. Its presence was felt in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century studies on philology, history, and/or geography. I have found examples in Flavio Biondo's *Italia Illustrata*, and Lorenzo Valla used it once in the *De Falso Credita et Ementita Constantini Donatione*.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, Zaccarias Lilius in the *Orbis Breviarium*, Guillaume Budé in *De Asse et Partibus eius*, and even Erasmus in *De Libero Arbitrio Διατριβή sive Collatio* all relied on it at some point.<sup>24</sup> Like the German humanists, the commentators and the theologians and historians before them, the non-German humanists found the source congeries useful.

The general patterns for using the source congeries across European history show that it was not conducive to strictly linear historical narratives like the chronicle. The commentary provided a natural setting for the source congeries, because this genre, whether in Antiquity, the Middle Ages, or the Renaissance, was often a place for arguing a specific position, justifying an interpretation, or providing information on a topic based on the knowledge of others. The source congeries also proved effective in humanist works of all kinds because the humanists were often concerned with where knowledge came from. Topics like the *situs* were particularly prominent

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<sup>21</sup> I checked the anonymous *Kölner Weltchronik*, Heinrich von Lettland's *Chronicon Livoniae*, Otto von Freising's *Chronica sive Historia de Duabus Civitatibus*, Otto von St. Blasien's *Chronica*, and Thietmar von Merseburg's *Chronik*.

<sup>22</sup> Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies*; Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, book 4, ch. 11 [there are neither page numbers nor signatures in the edition I used].

<sup>23</sup> Biondo, *Italia Illustrata*, 10–14; Valla, *De Constantini Donatione*, 84.

<sup>24</sup> Lilius, *Orbis Breviarium*, e7r–e7v; Budé, *De Asse*, 1r–1v; Erasmus, *De Libero Arbitrio*, 46.

venues for the source congeries because they were not part of a linear or chronological structure in historical narratives. About the history and function of the source congeries we can in general say that it was a long-standing, multi-religious, multi-genre tradition that appears to have been a staple means of knowledge production from ancient to Renaissance Europe, when it was necessary to rely upon the both the information and authority of one's sources.

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## 2.2. Content over Context: Franciscus Irenicus, *Germaniae Exegesis* [1518]

"Since we have uncovered the scarcity of writings on Germania, it seems to be in our power to explain what [previous] authors were able [to accomplish] with their intellect, and I will address first the *situs Germaniae*."<sup>25</sup>  
Franciscus Irenicus. *Germaniae Exegesis*.

Franciscus Irenicus was the master of the source congeries. He constructed his *Germaniae Exegesis* around this practice, and it was the main way he worked through various problems and topics. His treatment of the *situs* in chapter fourteen of volume one of his monumental work contains one of the most striking examples of the source congeries [see appendix]. It contains a wealth of information on the ancient German lands taken from sources as distant as Julius Caesar, as recent as Conrad Peutinger, as unexpected as Lucan, and as unknown as Jacobus Carmelitanus.<sup>26</sup> He mustered each of these and many more in his attempt to describe Germania's location. The result is a web of both conflicting and concordant sources that span over fifteen centuries of history, from genres including history and geography, as well as poetry, commentary, and biography. Irenicus' use of the source congeries reflected two of his general practices throughout the *Germaniae Exegesis*: provide a mass of information and let the authors speak for themselves.

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<sup>25</sup> Irenicus, *Germaniae Exegesis*, 8r. See the appendix for the Latin for each of Irenicus', Rhenanus', and Schopper's *situs Germaniae*.

<sup>26</sup> Very little is known about Carmelitanus: "We know nothing of his life; by his own account he was a religious Carmelite of Germanic origin. His (hand-)writing is a humanistic *antiqua rotunda*. His name is found in a manuscript, signed "I, brother Jacob Johannes Alamanus Crucennacensis, of the Order of Brothers of the Blessed Virgin Mary *di Monte Carmele*, have faithfully transcribed this work, completed on the Calends of April, AD 1490." Csapodi-Gárdonyi, "Les scriptures," 38. French translation by Ian McNeely, Latin by the author. The manuscript is now housed in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in the Plutei collection [Plut. 21.18], but it cannot be the one Irenicus references because it offers no information on Germania.

Franciscus Irenicus was born in 1495 in Ettlingen. He was a student of Georg Simler and a peer of Philipp Melanchthon at Simler's Latin school in Pforzheim. After publishing the *Germaniae Exegesis* of 1518, he moved on to become a canon in Baden-Baden starting in 1519 and later a court and itinerant preacher for Markgraf Philipp I von Baden. His two other, posthumously printed works, *In Artem Poeticam et Libros Epistolarum Horatii Annotationes* and *Grammatica*, attest to his humanistic interests, but religion and school teaching appear to have occupied a good portion of the rest of his life. Once he arrived in Gemmingen as a priest and school teacher in 1531, he did not leave. He died in 1553.

Scholarship has been unkind to the *Exegesis*. Already within a decade of its appearance, humanists like Johannes Aventinus were lampooning the work.<sup>27</sup> The negative treatment of the text remains a fixture in modern scholarship.<sup>28</sup> Many of the negative assessments stem from the belief that Irenicus was not critical in choosing his sources, lacking methodological principles, and willing to heap up great amounts of sources—source congeries!—as a way to provide information.<sup>29</sup> In short the largest problem with Irenicus' work lay in his use of sources. Scholars have tried to explain his practices by recourse to Irenicus' own explanation that his work was an “exegesis” and a collection of sources [*Quellensammlung*] or source discussion [*Quellenerörterung*].<sup>30</sup> Günther Cordes, the only author to have significantly studied Irenicus'

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<sup>27</sup> These comments are found in a letter from Johannes Aventinus to Beatus Rhenanus. The work and author in question in the letter are not named, but the *communis opinio* remains that Aventinus was referring to Irenicus and the *Germaniae Exegesis*. Rhenanus, *Briefwechsel*, 344–347.

<sup>28</sup> Cordes, “Quellen der *Exegesis Germaniae*”; Cordes, “Franciscus Irenicus,” 353–371; Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung*, 176; Rhenanus, *Res Germanicae*, 513.

<sup>29</sup> Cordes, “Quellen der *Exegesis Germaniae*,” 80; Cordes, “Franciscus Irenicus,” 357; Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung*, 176; Müller, *Germania Generalis*, 475–476; Rhenanus, *Res Germanicae*, 512–513.

<sup>30</sup> Cordes, “Franciscus Irenicus,” 357; Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung*, 173.



source practices, also attributed many of the text's purported failures to his hastiness in composing and printing the book.<sup>31</sup>

The source congeries is the practice implicitly discussed in these assessments, but the problem with previous arguments is not their truthfulness, but rather that they have failed to try to understand Irenicus' practices on their own terms. Instead they have measured Irenicus' conventions against modern standards and have therefore overlooked that the source congeries was a genuine reflection of Irenicus' preferences, goals, practices, and ways of managing sources. He was motivated by providing information on Germania, and this he did most successfully with the source congeries supporting him. In it he could either desist from discussion and allow his sources to speak for themselves, or he could join in the argument when proper interpretation was at stake. And although he wrote out context, the corresponding gain was an emphasis on content. As such it becomes clear that context was of little importance for consideration when the basic problem was simply being able to provide information on Germania. Because of the emphasis on content and the drive to find information about Germania [*Informationsbedarf*], Irenicus was able to draw on a rich and diverse body of sources.<sup>32</sup> These sources created a very real problem that German humanists faced: disagreement. The complication then was trying to create a consistent image of the *situs Germaniae*. However this was a complication that Irenicus sidestepped by addressing that it merely existed without trying to surmount it. In his hands, the source congeries thus reproduced the complexity of working with sources, and he turned it into a practice of knowledge production that emphasized complexity and the diversity of opinions on the *situs Germaniae*.

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<sup>31</sup> Cordes, "Quellen der *Exegesis Germaniae*," 79.

<sup>32</sup> He cited upwards of 400 different authors and works, however some of them he cited second-hand, through other authors. Cordes, "Quellen der *Exegesis Germaniae*," 12.

### 2.2.1. Letting the Sources Speak for Themselves

Irenicus relied on the source congeries heavily for the *Germaniae Exegesis*. By flipping to any random folio in the text the reader will most likely encounter at least one, if not a few examples of it.<sup>33</sup> Irenicus generally used the source congeries either to provide information on a given topic or to make an argument. The differences between the two lay in what Irenicus was attempting to do with the source congeries, and often argumentative versions required Irenicus to insert himself more into the discussion. Chapter fourteen of volume one, under consideration here, shows minimal interference by Irenicus in the text, but others demonstrate that he was willing to guide the reader to the “correct” answer or interpretation.<sup>34</sup> He inserted himself into these because he had a stake in the information's interpretation, and did in fact prove himself interested in settling contradictions in his sources.<sup>35</sup>

Irenicus structured chapter fourteen, *De Situ Germaniae*, in four subsections through the marginal labels, ‘the location of Germania,’ ‘the sides of Germania,’ ‘an outline of Germania,’ and ‘the location of Germania in our time.’ These sections are of varying length and are not the clearest ways to subdivide the chapter, but each seems to present different ways to conceptualize the *situs Germaniae*. Across the four subsections, Irenicus cited, quoted, paraphrased, or alluded to twenty-two different authors. The first section contains the most, itself claiming fourteen of these citations. In total his source-base was diverse, covering multiple genres, including geography, history, ethnography, commentaries, poetry, and biography. The result is a mosaic pieced together from various matching and mismatched tiles that he plucked from an array of images that spanned

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<sup>33</sup> Some examples include volume 4, chapter 19, *De potentia Germanorum & autoritate in bellis*; volume 5, chapter 21, *Quibus cladibus Augustum cæsarem Germani affecerint*; volume 8, ch. 3, *De piscibus Germaniæ*. Irenicus, *Germaniae Exegesis*, 112r–112v, 130r–131r, 173r–173v.

<sup>34</sup> Irenicus, *Germaniae Exegesis*, 10r–10v; 188v–189r.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Cordes, “Quellen der *Exegesis Germaniae*,” 91. For example, see chapter eighteen, volume one and chapters nine and ten in volume nine.

approximately fifteen centuries of history, from Strabo's first-century AD *Geographia* to Conrad Peutinger's early sixteenth-century *Sermones Convivales*.

After a few introductory sentences, Irenicus began outlining the first section, "the location of Germania." This passage reads as a modified list of quotes, paraphrases, and summaries of various other authors' notions of the *situs Germaniae*:

Cornelius Tacitus circumscribes all Germania with the Rhetii, Pannonii, Galli, the Rhine and Danube, the Sarmatae, and the Daci, [and] the rest with the ocean. [Raimundus] Marlianus has the same opinion as him. Dionysius [Periegetes] asserts that the Germani were close to the Hercynian Forest, the Rhine, and Danube. Yet [Nicolaus] Perottus, in the first book [of his commentary] on Martial, and [Marcus Antonius] Sabellicus, in the 6th Ennead of book 2 [of his *Enneades*], agree with Cornelius. In book 1 [of his *Historiae Adversus Paganos*], Orosius says that [Germania] has the Rhiphaean mountains in the east, and in the north Gallia Belgica, and it has the Rhine River to the west, and it has Hesperia to the south, which is under Europa. In book 7 Strabo reckons Germania by the Elbe, Rhine, Danube, and ocean. He says that he does not have knowledge of the rest. Ptolemy in book 2, chapter 4 [of his *Geographia*, marks the borders of Germania] in the west with the Rhine, in the north with the ocean, in the south with the Danube in the east with Sarmatia. Zacharias Lilius is supportive of this opinion, except that he encloses Germania in the south with the Alps, but in the east and north with the Sarmatae and the ocean. Pliny entered upon Germania in book 4, chapter 14 from the *Mare Gallicum* (if his text is not corrupt) and the Bay of Codanus and extended [it] all the way to the *Mare Germanicum*. Donatus Acciaiuolus encloses Germania with the Rhine, Danube, and Ocean in his translation of [the Life of] Charlemagne. Iacobus Carmelitanus supports this. But more recent [authors] extend the borders of the Germani farther. As Aeneas Sylvius [Piccolomini and Conrad] Peutinger state, Germania has Dacia in the east, Italia in the south, the Galli to the west, and Sarmatia in the north."<sup>36</sup>

Although much of the section is in Irenicus' own words, the content is not. His mediation is confined to guiding the reader through the various pieces of information and explaining in a limited fashion how the material fits together. The abrupt shifts between his authors without comment, as for instance, from Orosius to Strabo, display Irenicus' willingness to leave interpretation to his readers who would need to notice that the two authors gave quite different images of the *situs*.

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<sup>36</sup> Irenicus, *Germaniae Exegesis*, 8r.

This approach defines the chapter as a whole, and any discussion before the last quarter of the chapter comes in short statements that often explain that one author supports another, or, at his most loquacious, “See, there is great disagreement [*διαφωνία*] among the authors.”<sup>37</sup> Irenicus’ disinclination to pursue any discussion is a manifestation of his overall goal with the chapter and his general working practices. He was not interested in making an argument or proving a point, but rather offering knowledge from his sources on a specific topic. The end result is a messy collection of numerous opinions from authors who lived immediately before him and even some more than a dozen centuries previously. The practice however came with two intimately connected problems: managing agreement and disagreement between sources, as well as choosing the content of his sources over their context.

### 2.2.2. Having the Sources Agree

The section quoted above appears to have little internal coherence beyond the marginal note explaining to the reader that they are reading about the “location of Germania.” There is however a specific, thematic, organizing principle to this section: Germania’s location in the ancient, specifically, Roman world. The citations of the ancient sources clearly play this out, but his citations of later authors, at first blush, do not. But when one digs into the various, post-classical descriptions, it becomes clear that considerations of Germania from Roman antiquity determined use of sources. For example, Irenicus’ citation of Raimundus Marlianus is actually a reference to Marlianus’ *Index Commentariorum C. Iulii Caesaris* [1469], a geographical index and commentary on Julius Caesar’s *De Bello Gallico*. The entry for “Germania” in the index describes the region known to the Greeks and Romans of the late Republic and Empire.<sup>38</sup> Irenicus used authors like Raimundus Marlianus and Zacharias Lilius as authorities on ancient Germania in their

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<sup>37</sup> Irenicus, *Germaniae Exegesis*, 8v.

<sup>38</sup> Marlianus, *Index Commentariorum*, Q3v.

own right along with the ancients. Despite the temporal distance separating the ancient and more recent authors, each source had its own place and authoritative function, and their presence in the *situs* was not simply to support the statements of the ancients, but also to show both that these statements had currency in his own day. Ultimately they prove that Irenicus had read both the ancient and recent authorities on the topic, bolstering his own authority on the matter.

The great temporal expanse between Irenicus' earliest source and his latest, however, betrays the fact that authority based on time played very little if no role in how Irenicus chose sources. In total, Irenicus cited fourteen authors in this section. Six of them lived and wrote under the Roman Empire [Tacitus, Dionysius Periegetes, Orosius, Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pliny], while eight came after [Rainaldus Marlianus, Niccolaus Perottus, Marcus Antonius Sabellicus, Zaccarias Lilius, Donatus Acciaiuolus, Jacobus Carmelitanus, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, Conrad Peutinger]. What is more striking is that these eight lived and wrote in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and thus in close temporal proximity to Irenicus, but at great distance from Roman Germania. Their authority however was not subordinated to the ancients but rather generally maintained. As such, the composite image of Ancient Germania that Irenicus developed here was one in which the information of the individual authors was placed before all else.

When pairing sources Irenicus generally summarized how the authors and their works fit together in a few words. In the case of Niccolaus Perottus and Marcus Antonius Sabellicus, whom he paired with Tacitus, Irenicus declared that they *subscribunt*, that is, that they “agree” with Tacitus on the topic of the borders of Germania. Perottus [1429-1480] and Sabellicus [c. 1436-1506] were both Italian humanists who made impressive scholarly contributions to humanist learning. Perottus, papal secretary and archbishop, wrote the *Cornucopiae sive Linguae Latinae Commentarii*, an imposing lexicographic commentary on Martial, first published posthumously in

1489. Sabellicus wrote the *Enneades sive Rapsodiae Historiarum*, a universal history down to 1503. Irenicus grouped these two authors together with Tacitus for more than their agreement: Perottus provided a direct quote, and Sabellicus, a very close paraphrasing of Tacitus' outline of the borders of Germania in *Ger.* 1.1. Summarizing their relationship as one of mere agreement did not capture the three authors' relationship. Close textual analysis shows that they did more than simply agree with Tacitus—they reproduced his very own words. Irenicus' description of their relationship in this way involved two layers of flattening, one by which the authors' relationships to each other was not considered, the other by which the vast temporal distance that separated them from Tacitus was written out. The result is a leveling of the authority of all three authors for providing information on ancient Germania to the same temporal and authoritative plane.

Perottus' quote appeared in an etymological discussion on words he believed related to *genus*, like *generare* and *germen*. He wrote, *a germanis autem germania, prouincia uocitata est, quæ a gallis rhetiisque, ac panoniis rheno et danubio fluminibus a sarmatis, dacisque mutuo metu ac montibus seperatur, cætera ambit oceanus latos sinus, et insularum immensa spatia complectens*.<sup>39</sup> Sabellicus, on the other hand, embedded a paraphrase of the same quote in a discussion of the history of the last decade of the second century BC and Gaius Marius' campaigns against the Cimbri and Teutoni. He wrote, *Ea tota [Germania] septentrionalis a Gallis Rheno fluuio diuiditur, a Rhetis et Pannonibus Danubio a Dacia quidem & Sarmatia montibus, mutuoque olim metu discreta. Cætera oceanus ambit*.<sup>40</sup> The passage from Sabellicus is not a direct quote, but is a very close paraphrasing of *Ger.* 1.1, reproducing not simply the ideas, but also much of the same vocabulary as Tacitus' text. Each of the underlined words in the two quotes either directly

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<sup>39</sup> Perottus, *Cornucopiæ*, 206. My underlining.

<sup>40</sup> Sabellicus, *Enneades*, S2v/726. My underlining.

matches what Tacitus himself wrote, or is the same word but in a different form. Both works were thus heavily indebted to Tacitus and accurately reproduced the ancient historian's ideas. Irenicus however embedded each of their own works in the new context of the source congeries.

Irenicus was certainly aware that the relationship of Tacitus with Perottus and Sabellicus was of an ancient authority and his recipients, respectively. However his restraint from inserting his own discussion hid this relationship behind his explanation of their intellectual relationship as an agreement. He thereby left teasing out the exact nature of their agreement to the learned or industrious readers who either knew both Perottus' and Sabellicus' works or were willing to seek this information out. Moreover Irenicus smoothed over the fact that a fourteenth-century gap between the ancient historian and the Renaissance humanists existed. He thereby made each of the three authors authorities on the borders of ancient Germania, despite the fact that Perottus and Sabellicus were taking their information from the very source that Irenicus paired them with. Tacitus' own antiquity played little role in establishing his authority on the subject, because defining the relationship between the ancient historian and the two Renaissance humanists as one of agreement signified that Perottus and Sabellicus were in fact also authorities on the same matter in their own right. Therefore Irenicus flattened the factors that defined the relationship between these authors into a relationship of simple agreement, in which he could use them as equal authorities on the same topic.

### 2.2.3. Consequences of the Source Congeries: Content over Context

Irenicus' desire to provide a mass amount of information came with a price. He had to value what sources said over when or by whom they were written, and he paid little attention to contradictions and varieties in opinions. In one sense, the notion of a "Haufen wahlloser Zitate" is an apt description, leaving assessment to his readers, while including almost no information about his sources. This description is however too hasty a judgment and does not understand the work as

Irenicus conceptualized it or set about constructing it. There is a purpose here, a purpose that reflected what Irenicus intended with the work, because he wished to put forth information on his homeland Germania. In this he was more than successful, and the source congeries functioned aptly, since it was a means by which Irenicus could offer much knowledge from various sources on a very pressing topic.

Ultimately the heap of sources that comprises chapter fourteen in volume one of the *Germaniae Exegesis* brings to light the messiness of actually using sources and the great *διαφωνία*, the great disagreement, that often hampered establishing definitive answers. As a patriotic humanist striving to put forth information on Germania, driven to open each source that might pertain to his task, Irenicus knew all too well the difficulty of scouring sources for information on past and present. In this way his practice of using the source congeries for the *situs Germaniae* was one of the truest reflections of the actual work that constituted using sources: it was messy, conflicting, confusing, not always forthcoming with definitive answers, but also rich, informative, and diverse.

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### 2.3. Exploiting the Ambiguity: Beatus Rhenanus, *Rerum Germanicarum Libri III* [1531]

“Those who extend *Germania vetus* to the Alps and the source of the Rhine in the south—foremost among whose number is Pomponius Mela—are forced to assign a good part of Rhetia on the right bank of the Rhine to Germania, on the left to Gallia.”<sup>41</sup>

Beatus Rhenanus. *Rerum Germanicarum Libri III*.

The *situs Germaniae* of Beatus Rhenanus’ *Rerum Germanicarum Libri III* [henceforth *Res Germanicae*] is the cornerstone of the first of the three-book history. Almost all subsequent material in book one is dependent on the foundation his *situs Germaniae* lays, for is the geographical starting point for Rhenanus’ later discussion of Germania’s expansion during the

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<sup>41</sup> Rhenanus, *Res Germanicae*, 34.



*Völkerwanderung*.<sup>42</sup> The nature of Rhenanus' *situs* conformed to his expressed goal of researching the Danubian and Rhenane provinces of the Roman Empire and their relationship to Germania, and how this expansion transformed *Germania vetus* [ancient Germania] into *Germania recentior* [more recent Germania].<sup>43</sup> His *situs* consequently focuses solely on the western and southern borders of, what he calls, *Germania vetus*.<sup>44</sup> The bulk of Rhenanus' *situs* centers on the exact location of the southern border because he specifically sought to refute the notion that the Alps formed Germania's southern boundary. Rhenanus' *situs* was therefore an argument, wherein he mustered his critical acumen and an array of close reading tactics to establish the proper interpretation of Germania's borders during the Roman Empire.

Rhenanus' sources, points of reference, and analysis are all oriented toward argumentation. He made his description largely *ex negativo* based on evidence from the sources; said differently, he used sources to show where Rome's Danubian provinces, specifically Rhaetia, ended in the north, and therefore by extension where Germania ended in the south.<sup>45</sup> This section was not an attempt, as James Hirstein argued, to determine the boundaries of "a Germany which had existed long before Tacitus' own time."<sup>46</sup> Hirstein errs due to one major interpretive misstep: he placed far too much emphasis on Tacitus' *Germania*, arguing that "Rhenanus' initial effort in the first book of the three is to define the boundaries of Germany. In so doing he must come to grips with the initial chapter of the *Germania* [of Tacitus]."<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> For a description of the individual sections that comprise the first book, see Rhenanus, *Res Germanicae*, 535-536.

<sup>43</sup> Rhenanus, *Res Germanicae*, 30.

<sup>44</sup> Rhenanus, *Res Germanicae*, 35.

<sup>45</sup> Rhenanus, *Res Germanicae*, 445-446, 535.

<sup>46</sup> Hirstein, *Tacitus' Germania*, 171. See also Hirstein, "Ermolao Barbaro als Vorbild," 191.

<sup>47</sup> Hirstein, *Tacitus' Germania*, 171.

Hirstein's argument makes Tacitus' description of Germania at *Ger.* 1.1 the reference point for Rhenanus' own *situs*. It thus appears as if Rhenanus' own *situs* was an attempt to deal with Tacitus' own description of the *situs*.<sup>48</sup> This is misleading because Rhenanus' main source for the *situs* was not Tacitus' *Germania*, but rather, in addition to Strabo, a group of works from the middle and late Empire.<sup>49</sup> Rhenanus' goal with the *situs* was not to come to terms with Tacitus' description of Germania, but rather, as stated above, to prove that those authors like Pomponius Mela who placed the southern border of Germania at the Alps were wrong. What Rhenanus did have to come to terms with was a divergence in explanations of where Germania's southern border could be found. It was only after working through the *Notitia Dignitatum*, Strabo, Solinus, and Claudian that Rhenanus actually came to Tacitus, and here only to explain, based on the previous sources, what Tacitus' own description of the *situs* was. The result of Rhenanus' argument was the image of an immutable Germania in the era of the Roman Empire.

Rhenanus' predominant means to ensure the validity of his argument was his ability to exploit the ambiguities between his sources. As the source congeries of Irenicus showed, the written record often supplied general overviews of Germania's location, not specific explications. These general descriptions allowed for some inspired interpretation of the material. His ability to carry out his interpretation and argumentation derived from two practices: close textual readings and making his texts work together. The former revealed inconsistencies in source material, the latter proved to be his way to overcome these. Rhenanus was guided in this by his drive to correct knowledge, and by extension, produce it. This principle of knowledge correction distanced him from Irenicus, not because Irenicus was disinterested in what he believed was correct, but rather

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<sup>48</sup> Hirstein, *Tacitus' Germania*, 171.

<sup>49</sup> Rhenanus, *Res Germanicae*, 545.

because his overriding concern was with the accumulation of information. Rhenanus' motivation worked closely with his textual critical pursuits which were entirely entwined with how he wrote history in the *Res Germanicae*.<sup>50</sup> The work thereby offered an array of new readings of various ancient and early medieval sources.<sup>51</sup>

Rhenanus' principle of knowledge correction underlay his general motivation for writing the *Res Germanicae*. He explicitly declared that he wished to write about the Roman provinces along the Rhine and Danube because he had noticed "that even the most learned men are blind whenever a discussion of the provinces arises" and they "make such little distinction between ancient Germania and that [Germania] that was later occupied."<sup>52</sup> This has led learned men like Ermolao Barbaro to read Pliny incorrectly and for others to write that the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest between the Germanic tribes and Rome in AD 9 took place in Rhetia, not Germania.<sup>53</sup> The *situs Germaniae* is simply the first in a long list of examples of this motivating principle in the *Res Germanicae*. It determined the form and scope of the *situs* and guided the way he approached his arguments and use of sources in it.

Rhenanus made use of eight different sources for his *situs* and their selection reflects the *Res Germanicae*'s expressed focus on the eras now called Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages.<sup>54</sup> The sources stem from the years between Strabo in the early first century AD and the *Notitia Dignitatum*, which Rhenanus seems to know emerged after the death of Constantine the Great [d. AD 337]—it came into the form Rhenanus used between AD 395–408.<sup>55</sup> Four of

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<sup>50</sup> "In his history of Germany, Beatus successfully combined textual criticism and history." D'Amico, *Theory and Practice*, 173. "Beatus the textual critic was inseparable from Beatus the historian." D'Amico, *Theory and Practice*, 205. See also Hirstein, "Ermolao Barbaro als Vorbild," 186, 198; Muhlack, *Geschichtswissenschaft*, 390.

<sup>51</sup> D'Amico, *Theory and Practice*, 192-193.

<sup>52</sup> Rhenanus, *Res Germanicae*, 30.

<sup>53</sup> Rhenanus, *Res Germanicae*, 30.

<sup>54</sup> Rhenanus, *Res Germanicae*, 30.

<sup>55</sup> Rhenanus, *Res Germanicae*, 30.

Rhenanus' sources were staples in the German humanist discussions and stem from the years of the early Roman Empire: Pomponius Mela's *De Chorographia*, Strabo's *Geographia*, and Tacitus' *Germania* and *Historiae*. The other four emerged in the fourth and fifth centuries AD, and were received in various manners by the German patriotic humanists. The *Notitia Dignitatum* was virtually unknown until Rhenanus, for whom it was a key source in the *Res Germanicae* but not for humanists in general. Solinus' *Collectanea* [ca. AD 200] was a major source for the German humanists and often appeared in their works. Claudian's *De Bello Gothico* [AD 402] had a more limited but certainly visible reception, while the final work, Festus' *Breviarium Rerum Gestarum Populi Romani* [after 369], found its way into humanist works relatively rarely.

For the *situs Germaniae* and Rhenanus' argument, these eight sources proved to be both problem and solution. Rhenanus argued that Pomponius Mela and others he did not name provided erroneous material on the *situs*, while other ancient sources offered the information necessary to correct them. The entire premise of the *situs* was consequently based on Rhenanus' belief in his ability to weigh sources and read them "correctly." His command of the sources and his eye for detail allowed him to detect subtle differences in the texts that proved vital to his undertaking, and his ability to exploit the ambiguous statements of his sources in order to make them work together in benefit of his argument.

### 2.3.1. Close Textual Readings

Close textual readings were foundational to Rhenanus's arguments and his use of the source congeries. His desire to work through the fine details required a technique that suited argumentative settings and that could mobilize great amounts of information. The close readings gave his arguments their validity, allowed him to find the nuances and the disagreements, and to finally come up with the correct interpretation of the material. Rhenanus first employed his close readings to refute the notion that Germania had once extended to the Alps with the help of the

*Notitia Dignitatum* and Strabo's *Geographia* against Pomponius Mela. With information from the *Notitia*, Rhenanus claimed that "it is known" that the regions surrounding Lacus Brigantinus [Lake Constance]—including those to the north—"were under the administration of the *dux Rhetiarum*. Since a *praesidium* of Rhetia Prima had been established at Arbor Felix, which is now called Arbona, just as on the bank opposite from Brigantia or Confluentes."<sup>56</sup> Rhenanus was concerned with the details here: which *dux* was in charge of the regions around the Lacus Brigantinus? Under whose command was the *praesidium* of Arbor Felix and the establishments Brigantia and Confluentes? How did the locations of Arbor Felix and Brigantia explain which region they belonged to? Rhenanus sought detailed clarification because it established, according to his argumentation, authoritative evidence against Germania's former border being drawn at the Alps.

Concern for these details made it clear that the area around Lacus Brigantinus, including the *praesidium* and settlements, lay within Rhetia, but they did not however allow him to place the border exactly. Rhenanus never explicitly mentioned Germania and its border with Rhaetia and he therefore did not fully complete his argument, but left an ambiguous space for the reader to draw the conclusion he was leading them to. This was very similar to Irenicus' practice of leaving interpretation up to his readers, but unlike Irenicus, Rhenanus told his readers in advance what they should take away from the sources. It is nevertheless clear that the entirety of Lacus Brigantinus, which, from Rhenanus' perspective, was located before the Alps, fell to Rhetian administration, and thus was not of Germania. Germania therefore could not have reached the Alps.

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<sup>56</sup> Rhenanus, *Res Germanicae*, 34. See *Notitia dignitatum*, 201.

Rhenanus immediately turned his keen eye to Strabo after the *Notitia*. He stated that “Strabo, when discussing Germania in book seven, is not inapplicable [for this argument].”<sup>57</sup> Rhenanus further clarified, stating that the ancient geographer “says, *the first parts of this region [Germania] are next to the Rhine, [extending] almost from the beginning of the source of this [river] until it pours into the sea*. He [Strabo] says, *almost*.”<sup>58</sup> The weight of Rhenanus’s argument lay on a single word: “almost,” *fere* in the Latin. By stating that Germania *almost* reached the source of the Rhine, Rhenanus brought all his attention onto the meaning of a single word that significantly altered the quote. This one word was thus evidence that some other region—Rhetia?—created a buffer zone around the source of the Rhine. But the word “almost,” while forming the lynchpin of Rhenanus’ argument was also decidedly ambiguous. Since Rhenanus provided no more information about his interpretation of what “almost” meant, it is unclear exactly how he understood or wanted someone to understand the relationship between the Rhine and the Alps. He surely would have known that Tacitus and Pliny placed the Rhine’s source in Rhaetia, and that both Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini and Tacitus clearly stated that it arose in the Alps.<sup>59</sup>

Within the boundaries of the argument Rhenanus certainly wanted the reader to know that this unnamed space kept Germania separate from the source of the Rhine. Despite his concern for details, he was comfortable leaving ambiguous spaces and working with a few assumptions about his audience, for example, that they would have known the geographical relationships of Lacus Brigantinus and the source of the Rhine to the Alps. He nevertheless concluded from this evidence

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<sup>57</sup> Rhenanus, *Res Germanicae*, 34; Str. *Geo.* 7.1.3.

<sup>58</sup> Rhenanus, *Res Germanicae*, 34. The Italics are mine and indicate a direct quote from a Latin translation of Strabo’s *Geographia*, although a Greek version of the work was available in Venice 1516. For comparison, the Basel 1523 edition has *Primæ huius regionis partes sunt Rheno proximæ, ab ipsius fere fontis initio, quoad in pelagus infunditur*. Strabo, *Geographicorum Commentarii*, 200. Rhenanus says, *nec abs re Strabo de Germania loquens lib. VII: “Primæ huius regionis partes,” inquit, “sunt Rheno proximæ, ab ipsius fere fontis initio, quoad in pelagus infunditur.”* Rhenanus, *Res Germanicae*, 34.

<sup>59</sup> Tac. *Ger.* 1.2; Plin. *Nat.* 3.135; Piccolomini, *Briefwechsel*, 1: 28-38.

without further explanation that “Germania thus did not reach the Alps and the origin of the Rhine River.”<sup>60</sup> His lack of concluding explanations and tightly knit arguments allowed for spaces of interpretation and ambiguity. His close readings found these ambiguous spaces functional: he exploited them in service of his argument and to make his sources work together.

### 2.3.2. Making Sources Work Together

In the second half of Rhenanus’ *situs*, his need to make his sources work together continued with his use of Solinus’ *Collectanea* and Claudian’s *De Bello Gothico*. Rhenanus faced much less clarity in this endeavor, which forced him to more creatively interpret them to make them agree. Rhenanus cited Solinus first for the *situs*’ second argument that the ancients knew the precise boundary between Germania and Rhetia. Rhenanus paraphrased the first part of Solinus’ description of Germania, but he ended with a quote taken directly from the *Collectanea*: “[Solinus] says, *Where it [Germania] begins it is wetted by the Danube, where it ends, by the Rhine*. And thus the head of the Danube virtually forms the border of Ancient Germania in the south.”<sup>61</sup> Rhenanus took Solinus’ rather vague quote to mean that Germania almost reached the source of the Danube, despite the fact that Solinus made no claim about the Danube’s origin. Nevertheless Rhenanus subsumed it to his overall argument as definitive proof of the ancients’ knowledge of the German-Rhetian boundary. Rhenanus then led out Claudian, who sang for “his Maecenas, Stilicho the Vandal: *High into the north Rhetia drives forward, bordering on the Hercynian Forest, which boasts to be the parent of the Danube and the Rhine, stretching out both rivers toward the Romulian kingdom*. He assigns the source of the Danube to Rhetia, as you see, on account of their proximity.”<sup>62</sup> Rhenanus explained that one must heed this poem, because “it indicates that these

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<sup>60</sup> Rhenanus, *Res Germanicae*, 34.

<sup>61</sup> Rhenanus, *Res Germanicae*, 34. Italics are mine and signify a direct quote from Sol. 20, 1-2.

<sup>62</sup> Rhenanus, *Res Germanicae*, 34. Italics are mine and denote a direct quote from *BGoth.* 329-332.

are Transdanubian and Cisrhenane provinces, for he [Claudian] understands them under the name of the Romulian Kingdom.”<sup>63</sup> The decisive factor for Rhenanus was the fact that Claudian was discussing Roman provinces on the far, i.e., northern, side of the Danube and nearer, i.e. eastern, side of the Rhine.

The two quotes are not entirely harmonious. According to Solinus, the starting point for Germania was the Danube itself. And despite the fact that this is an unambiguous statement, what it meant for the relationship of Rhetia, Germania, and the source of the Danube—thus Rhenanus’ argument—is uncertain. Claudian on the other hand was much clearer about this relationship. According to him the source of the Danube lay in Rhetia. However he did not mention Germania, merely Rhetia and the Danube, and therefore left open the question of the relationship between the three. Neither of these passages then actually provided direct evidence for Rhenanus’ argument. Germania’s relationship with the Danube is very clear in Solinus: it touches on the river, while Claudian stated that the Danube’s source could be found in Rhetia. Therefore, the Danube has a relationship with Germania for one author, with Rhetia for another. Moreover neither author made mention of both Germania and Rhetia in the quotes Rhenanus offered: Solinus discussed the former but not the latter, Claudian the exact opposite. As such these two sources could not offer the exact information that Rhenanus was seeking. Despite this fact Rhenanus made these sources support his argument. Since the sources themselves could not do this on their own, he framed and interpreted them in ways that would support his claims.

Rhenanus exploited the ambiguous statements in his sources by transforming the rather vague idea of the Danube as the border of Germania into direct evidence for the Danube’s source “virtually” being the border of Germania. Rhenanus guided the reader to this “correct”

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<sup>63</sup> Rhenanus, *Res Germanicae*, 34.



interpretation of Solinus and Claudian from the beginning of the second argument of the *situs*. His claim, “the shared border of Germania and Rhetia in this place did not escape the ancients,” tells the reader how he wished to present his evidence. At this point it was still up to the readers to make their own judgments, but after supplying his source material from Solinus, Rhenanus made a significant claim that changed how the reader should understand the ancient author: “the head of the Danube virtually forms the border of Ancient Germania in the south.”<sup>64</sup> At no point did Solinus actually make any statements about the Danube’s head, or source. Similar processes were underway with the way he framed Claudian. First Rhenanus stated that “this matter,” namely the problem of the Danube and the border between Germania and Rhetia, “moved Claudius Claudian, a most cultivated poet, to sing” that Rhetia extended into the north boasted of being the “parent of the Danube,” while being under Roman dominion. Rhenanus wrote that Claudian “assigned the source of the Danube to Rhetia on account of their proximity.”<sup>65</sup> He thus made it seem that Claudian was intentionally stepping into a debate with his poem, a debate in which he emphatically declared that the Danube arose in Rhetia. The ways Rhenanus framed his information are important. They told the reader how to approach and analyze the information provided. They allowed Rhenanus to gloss over potential contradictions and even exploit ambiguities. He did this because it served his argument and his desire to guide his readers to correct interpretations of sources and history.

### 2.3.3. Exploiting the Ambiguity

Ambiguity is where Rhenanus made his greatest conjectures, where his learning was on display, and also where his arguments found their fullest form. Exploiting this ambiguity was an outgrowth of the simple messiness that came from working with sources, and it worked well in the context

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<sup>64</sup> Rhenanus, *Res Germanicae*, 34.

<sup>65</sup> Rhenanus, *Res Germanicae*, 34.

of the source congeries. When stripped of Rhenanus' argumentation, the sources could only provide enough information to make ambiguous and non-committal claims about the *situs Germaniae*, specifically the southern border. Ambiguity could be dealt with through learned conjecture, but Rhenanus also applied a keen ability for exploiting these spaces out of an antiquarian, humanistic desire to put forth a correct understanding of ancient Germania. His sources were thus usable, but only with framing.

Ambiguity was not a necessary outcome of the source congeries, but it was a natural one. Rhenanus was managing sources that spanned multiple centuries, sources that reflected various transformations, and they were imbued with their respective authors' own motivations and knowledge. As such, Rhenanus had to rely on assorted practices to make his version of the source congeries work. As Rhenanus was often making arguments with his sources, he needed to be able to pull them apart and decipher what they were saying. He cared about details, and the details provided great support for his claims. One word from Strabo was the entire reason Rhenanus was able to use him to claim that Germania did not reach the Alps.

These close textual readings revealed inconsistencies and ambiguities between Rhenanus' sources. Both Strabo's *Geographia* and the *Notitia Dignitatum*, a first-century geography and a late fourth-century/early fifth-century administrative handbook, respectively, had to be brought into line as mutually supporting evidence for one argument about the border of Germania throughout its history until the *Völkerwanderung*. The *Collectanea*, Solinus' geography and paradoxography, and the *De Bello Gothico*, Claudius Claudian's short epic on the Gothic wars of the early fifth century, did not provide mutually supportive material, but Rhenanus made the two sources work together, and framed them as bolstering his argument. The space of disconnect between Solinus and Claudian created the ambiguity that Rhenanus exploited for argumentation.

Rhenanus however had to engage in a flattening of his sources in a twofold manner to make his claims work. His claims demanded interpretation and discussion that did away with various possibilities for differing interpretations in favor of Rhenanus' own. Moreover, much like Irenicus, but to a greatly diminished degree, Rhenanus had to flatten the temporal and contextual distance between his sources. Both the Roman and German worlds of the early imperial authors, like Strabo and Tacitus, were very different to those of Rufus and the *Notitia Dignitatum*. In the end this did not keep Rhenanus from using the conclusions he drew from Solinus and Claudian as a means to explain what Tacitus meant by stating that the Rhine and Danube separated Germania from the Galli, Rhetii, and Pannonii.<sup>66</sup> It did not signal that he should not use the *Notitia* to argue against Pomponius Mela. Thus Rhenanus read Tacitus and Pomponius Mela through the knowledge he had gained from sources that emerged well after the Roman historian's and geographer's deaths.

Rhenanus' flattening was a result of the fact that he was searching for a stable distinction between Ancient Germania and the Roman province of Rhetia despite the fact that the sources largely did not provide this. In pursuit of stability, he ignored, missed, and even elided historical change and context, reading the borders from Strabo's *Geographia* as the same ones found in the *Notitia Dignitatum*. This sense of timelessness between his sources resembles Irenicus' pairing of ancient and humanist portrayals of Germania, but Rhenanus' *situs* shows a narrowing of the temporal distance between sources. This betrays a sense that Rhenanus understood that there were temporal limits for his sources and that they could be combined based on belonging to a certain period in history. However once within this time period his sources were equal witnesses to the same phenomenon. This is not an indictment of Rhenanus' practices, but rather a means to shine a light on the ways he used sources and conceptualized them. The source congeries shows

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<sup>66</sup> Rhenanus, *Res Germanicae*, 34; Tac. *Ger.* 1.1.

Rhenanus both at his most critical and at his most willing to exploit sources for his own argumentation. Those practices, like close reading, for which scholars have praised Rhenanus, found great use in the context of the source congeries. These worked parallel to his practices that overlooked aspects like change over time and context to create his vision of the *situs*.

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## 2.4. Making Information Accessible: Jakob Schopper, *Neuwe Chorographia und Histori Teutscher Nation* [1582]

“I have desired to treat such [material] in the German and not in the Latin language, in order that the Germans, whom this [work] concerns, are able to read and understand it.”<sup>67</sup>

Jakob Schopper. *Neuwe Cosmographia und Histori Teutscher Nation*.

Jakob Schopper is a relatively unknown name in sixteenth-century German history, much less German humanism, but the late Renaissance theologian broke new ground with his *situs* and use of the source congeries. He created a clear hierarchy of sources and made informational accessibility through translations a driving force in his description, establishing translation as an integral part of his *situs*. Schopper’s hierarchy placed Tacitus’ description of Germania from his work of the same name at the top of a collection of depictions of Germania from ancient sources. This was a departure from the work of Irenicus and Rhenanus, who treated each of their sources essentially as equals. The hierarchy was an expression of humanist source criticism, but within the confines of the source congeries it allowed Schopper to write out the informational differences between sources because he subordinated them to Tacitus’ conception of Germania. Schopper’s *situs* shows a development in the *situs* by privileging one image of the region over others, and his interest in translating the material made a larger readership into recipients and benefactors of the monumentalization project of the humanists.

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<sup>67</sup> Schopper, *Neuwe Chorographia*, a3v.

Jakob Schopper was a theologian and the son of one of Martin Luther's students of the same name.<sup>68</sup> He was born in 1545 in Biberach an der Riß, southeast of the Swabian city Ulm. He made his name as a Lutheran theologian and ruffled many feathers as a *Streittheolog*.<sup>69</sup> After raising Catholic dislike against himself in Biberach, he left his hometown, whereupon he began a rather itinerant life for the next twenty-three years, which saw him travel to Tübingen, Heidelberg, Ansbach, and other German towns. He finally found a place to settle in Altdorf bei Nürnberg, just southeast of Nuremberg, in 1598.

Historiography on Schopper has predominantly concerned his religious and theological activities, especially as Professor of Theology in Altdorf. The most substantial overview is Gustav Georg Zeltner's biography in his *Vitae Theologorum Altorphinorum* from 1722.<sup>70</sup> Since then Schopper has appeared intermittently, from which it has become clear that his accession to office in Altdorf signaled a conspicuous change in the intellectual life at the *Academia Norica*, the *Hochschule* in Altdorf, because he was the first orthodox Lutheran [gnesio-Lutheran] to take up a position in the theological faculty there.<sup>71</sup> Simultaneous with his activities as theologian involved in confessional disputes, Schopper's work was a late representative of the same intellectual and patriotic tradition of the preeminent humanists from the first half of the sixteenth century.<sup>72</sup> His *Neuwe Cosmographia und Histori Teutscher Nation* [1582] is one of the most imposing historiographical manifestations of this movement, although it would remain his only foray into patriotic historiography. The existing literature on this work is thin, but we do learn that the work was shaped by his Protestant leanings, a reflection of larger processes in which Protestants aligned

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<sup>68</sup> All biographical information comes from Mährle, *Academia Norica*, 491 and Tschackert, "Schopper, Jakob," 373-374 <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd101071515.html#adbcontent>.

<sup>69</sup> For an overview of Schopper's activities as a *Streittheolog*, see Marti, "Altdorfer Sozinianismusstreit," 162-163.

<sup>70</sup> Zeltner, *Vitae Theologorum Altorphinorum*, 58-86.

<sup>71</sup> Marti, "Altdorfer Sozinianismusstreit," 161.

<sup>72</sup> Henrich, *Die lyrischen Dichtungen*, 79.

with patriotic programs.<sup>73</sup> Schopper was a humanist, whose *Neuwe Chorographia* betrays great familiarity with the Classical tradition and his patriotic and intellectual heritage.

Schopper divided the *Neuwe Chorographia* into three books, each of which corresponds to a particular type of history: book one treats *Historia Naturalis*, or everything from the origin and name of the Germani and geography of Germania—including natural features, like forests, mounts, and waterways—to Germanic migrations; book two, *Historia Moralis*, is not a moral history in any modern sense of “moral,” but rather in the Latin *mores* and *moralis*, or ways of life, and includes topics ranging from the *translatio imperii* to German characteristics and inventions; book three, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, is a history of the Germani’s religion, pagan and Christian.

Schopper’s *situs* is found in book one, chapter three, which he entitled “On the perimeter and borders of Teutschland, treated in the manner of a conversation.”<sup>74</sup> The “subject and content” explanation for the chapter reads, “here will be shown, how far Teutschland stretched in its perimeter in [the works of] the ancients and what its borders are now.”<sup>75</sup> Schopper divided the chapter into three parts, each containing a question or a request for information about Teutschland’s location by a fictional questioner named Erotetes and an answer from his fictitious respondent Apocrita. The first section, the object of investigation here, concerns the boundaries of ancient Teutschland; the second, the borders of contemporary Teutschland and whether Teutschland had expanded between antiquity and the present day; the third, the expanse of Teutschland based on measurements and distances between cities.

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<sup>73</sup> Putten, *Networked Nation*, 62; Schmidt, *Vaterlandsliebe und Religionskonflikt*, 129.

<sup>74</sup> Schopper, *Neuwe Chorographia*, 32.

<sup>75</sup> Schopper, *Neuwe Chorographia*, 32.

#### 2.4.1. Hierarchy of Sources

Schopper structured part one of the chapter around a hierarchy of sources. The first section discusses Tacitus and his conception of the *situs* from his *Germania*, because Schopper considered Tacitus to be the most important source for the topic. After his lengthy treatment of Tacitus, Schopper turned to offering the opinions of four other ancient authors on the *situs*, Pomponius Mela, Strabo, Solinus, and Ptolemy, whose statements Schopper subordinated to Tacitus' conception of Teutschland. The third, final paragraph consists of a shorter concluding quote from Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia*. Münster's inclusion is conspicuous, but not entirely surprising. Schopper held Münster and the *Cosmographia* in high regard, a stance colored by Schopper's confessional leanings as a fervent, polemical Protestant.<sup>76</sup> He was able to use Münster in this setting because he was quoting Münster's interpretation of the *situs* of ancient Teutschland, which he synthesized from ancient authors. Thus the theme of the section remained the same: ancient information used for claims about ancient Teutschland.

The source congeries is part of Schopper's source hierarchy and is used to support Tacitus' opinion about the *situs*. Schopper regarded Tacitus highly and explained that his image of the *situs* was the best one could find. Through Aprocrita Schopper explained, "Tacitus (who lived 1500 years ago) writes about this [Germania's expanse] in his small book about the Teutschen the best of all, and shows what our dear fatherland had as boundaries and borders vis-à-vis foreign peoples."<sup>77</sup> Schopper then quoted Tacitus' *situs Germaniae* from *Ger.* 1.1 and provided a

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<sup>76</sup> Dieser [Münster] ist [...] ein Hochgelährter unnd Gotseliger mann gewesen, ein anhängen und Lehrer deß H. reynen Euangelions. [...] Er hat aber auch ein herrliche Cosmographiam Teutsch und Lateinisch an tag gegeben, in welcher er die gantze Welt, alle Völcker und Länder mit iren Sachen und etlichen fürnemen Geschichten gar herrlich unnd löblich beschrieben hat. "This man [Münster...] was a very learned and pious man, a follower and teacher of the pure, holy Evangelion. [...] He also wrote a magisterial cosmography, printed in German and Latin, in which he very masterfully and laudably described the entire world, all peoples and lands, along with their affairs and many impressive deeds." Schopper, *Neuwe Chorographia*, c2v.

<sup>77</sup> Schopper, *Neuwe Chorographia*, 33.

translation of it for his non-Latinate readership. Through this introduction to the section, Schopper ensured that his audience knew that Tacitus' small book was the best source for writing about the *situs*.

In order to drive home the superiority of Tacitus' *situs* and to make sure that his readers fully understood what Tacitus had written, Schopper added a summary of *Ger.* 1.1 and explained its utility. Following the Latin quote from Tacitus and Schopper's translation, he wrote,

With these words Tacitus describes the ancient ends, boundaries, and borders of Teutschland [and] how far it stretched at that time. And to know this old perimeter is useful for the fact that we see how Teutschland had expanded over many lands since then and now encompasses a wider expanse. These are, as Tacitus shows here, the old borders of the *Teutscher Nation* during his time: the Rhine was the boundary in the west, separating the Frantzosen from the Teutschen. The Danube in the south separates the *Pannonies*, that is Oesterreich, and the Rhaetians, [and] the Sarmatians and Daci occupied the east, who were separated by the river, the Vistula, and by the Carpathian Mountain. In the north, the Teutsch Meer was horrible. These were the borders of old Teutschland.<sup>78</sup>

Schopper not only explained the utility of knowing the borders of Teutschland here, but he also summarized the quote from Tacitus that he had just provided. The significance of Tacitus lay with the fact that he gave the, from Schopper's perspective, proper starting point for an investigation of Teutschland's geographical transformation. His reiteration of Tacitus' outline only further drove home the significance of the ancient historian's *situs*, but also made clear that his audience would know exactly what it said. At this point there was seemingly no need for further information on the topic, but like Irenicus and Rhenanus, one conception of the *situs* was unsatisfactory. Schopper therefore turned his attention to what other authors had written, but unlike his predecessors, made sure that the audience knew that Tacitus was superior.

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<sup>78</sup> Schopper, *Neuwe Chorographia*, 33.



Schopper's treatment of Pomponius Mela, Strabo, Solinus, Ptolemy was very different from that of Tacitus. He provided no explanation of who the authors were or what they wrote about, and their description lacked in all panegyric. Schopper had Apocrita unceremoniously introduce them by asserting, "the other geographers agree with Tacitus, like Mela in book three.... Strabo writes the same in [book] seven.... Solinus in chapter 32 [writes].... Ptolemy in the second book, chapter 2 [explains]...."<sup>79</sup> The ellipses in this quote indicate where Schopper gave the Latin from the four authors followed by his translations of the quotes. The staccato representation of their material only further emphasizes the fact that their role was subordinate to Tacitus and in support of him. Their role was, in accordance with the source congeries, to provide more information, but this information was, in accordance with Schopper's purpose, simply supportive.

In emphasizing Tacitus and claiming that the other four authors support him, Schopper flattened the disparities in the knowledge from Mela, Strabo, Solinus, and Ptolemy. The four agreed with Tacitus that the Rhine was the western border of Germania, but when looking at the quotes Schopper provided, we see that this was the only border with unanimous agreement. Solinus and Ptolemy shared with Tacitus the belief that the Danube was the southern border, but Pomponius Mela placed it at the Alps, and the truncated quote from Strabo provided no information on Germania's southern limit. Four of the five authors were in agreement that the eastern border was in part or in full defined by Sarmatia or the Sarmatians: Tacitus stated that the mutual fear and mountains separate Germania from the Sarmatians and Dacians; Pomponius Mela explained that there was a shared boundary between Germania and the Sarmatian peoples; Solinus claimed that Germania extended to the cliffs of the Sarmatians; Ptolemy explained that the eastern side lay in a stretch of land that extended from both the mountains of the Sarmatians to a bend in

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<sup>79</sup> Schopper, *Neuwe Chorographia*, 33.

the Danube; the quote from Strabo, however, does not even mention the east. Additionally Ptolemy and Mela were in agreement with Tacitus that the ocean was the northern border, but the quotes from Strabo and Solinus are silent on this matter. There was thus some agreement among the ancients about the borders of Germania, but there certainly was no consensus outside of the Rhine, based on the information Schopper provided. The informational disparities were written out by Schopper's desire to subordinate their insight to that of Tacitus, despite the fact that the authors only partially agreed with him.

The quote from Münster appears to be almost an afterthought or a concluding summary of the material from a contemporary source. The quote summarizes the ancients' conception of the borders of Germania, but like the previous paragraph on the four supporting sources, Münster's quote is clearly subordinate to Tacitus. The information Münster provided largely agrees with the Roman historian, but Münster placed the eastern border at the Vistula instead of Sarmatia. As with Pomponius Mela, Strabo, Solinus, and Ptolemy Schopper provided no special introduction for the quote, and after the quote he merely states that "these here were the ancient borders of our dear fatherland."<sup>80</sup> Münster's placement of the eastern border at the Vistula deviated from the Tacitean *situs*, but, despite Schopper's great regard for the Protestant cosmographer, his role was that of contemporary authority who largely agreed with the ancient historian.

Setting Tacitus up as the preeminent source for the *situs* came with the problem of disagreements among the ancients. As a Roman construction, Germania itself was completely dependent on the Romans to set its borders, and these proved to be somewhat mutable: Strabo's Germania was not Tacitus' Germania. Schopper however was clear that Tacitus deserved a place of prominence. This differed substantially from Irenicus' and Rhenanus' *situs* because neither

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<sup>80</sup> Schopper, *Neuwe Chorographia*, 33.

made clear arguments about or indications to hierarchies. In the *situs* of Schopper's predecessors, Tacitus was one source among others, a *primus inter pares*, whose significance derived from his ability to provide supporting information.

#### 2.4.2 Making Information Accessible

Schopper aimed at making his *situs* approachable and understandable to a German audience. In his dedication to Ludwig VI, Pfalzgraf bei Rhein, he stated that he had employed two practices to make his work accessible. First he refrained from using a continuous narrative [*continua oratio*] in favor of a dialogue in many chapters "in order that the reader may be amused by such exchanges, and be all the less disgruntled reading this history."<sup>81</sup> Second he explained, "I have desired to treat such [material] in German and not in the Latin language, in order that the Germans, whom this concerns, are able to read and understand it."<sup>82</sup> This concern for a Latin-illiterate audience was not shared by Irenicus and Rhenanus and it signals an important reflection by Schopper in the context of humanist patriotism, because he was specifically making the non-Latinate Germans the recipients of the monumentalization project. Translating the Latin into German thus also meant translating memorialization from a Latin-only context to a broader German audience who could then partake in it.

The source congeries required Schopper to translate and work in creative and critical ways. His translations had to be functional and utilitarian because the source congeries did not allow for critical explanation or informative discussion. In these translations, Schopper demonstrated the same critical approach to interpreting the ancient sources that the source congeries produced in

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<sup>81</sup> *Hab aber in diser Histori nicht durchauß ein Continuum orationem gebraucht, sondern in vielen Capiteln ein Dialogum zweyer Gesprechs Personen, deß Erotetis (welches ein Frager heißt) und deß Apocritæ (welches ein Antworter heißt) angestalt, darmit der Leser durch solche abwechßlung auch belustiget werde und desto minder im ablesen dieser Histori verdrossen seye.* Schopper, *Neuwe Chorographia*, a3v.

<sup>82</sup> *In der Teutschen Sprach aber unnd nicht in der Lateinischen hab ich solches handeln wollen auff daß die Teutschen, welche es angehet, dasselbig lesen und verstehen künden.* Schopper, *Neuwe Chorographia*, a3v.

Rhenanus. Instead of using his own words to guide interpretation, Schopper relied on his translations to carry the message he intended because he had to ensure that his audience understood concepts that, in Latin, had clear references. A simple translation of Tacitus' *oceanus* as *Meer* would not necessarily have signaled that one should understand this to mean, in Schopper's time, the *Teutsches Meer*, the German, or now, North Sea. The translations required small but remarkable alterations to ancient knowledge to render it understandable to a sixteenth-century audience, but the nature of the source congeries restricted just how much Schopper could explain his translations.

Schopper's translations of proper nouns are fraught with both the ability and inability to map Latin terms and ideas onto German ones. When translating proper nouns, Schopper had to depend on three general practices for presenting the information in German: 1. complete translation—changing the word completely so that it had no relation to the original Latin (this even includes translating not just the word, but also the meaning of the word to match a contemporary context); 2. partial translation—a Germanization of a Latin term; 3. no translation, i.e. simply reproducing the original Latin. There are numerous examples of complete translations throughout the *situs*, but there is one example in which all three of these translation practices occurred together: Schopper's translation of *Germania* 1.1. The names of the various ancient peoples Tacitus mentioned proved to be problematic to make understandable for a late-sixteenth-century German-speaking audience. In the following, the superscript numbers in the Latin and German quotes show which word in the original Latin corresponds to Schopper's translation of it in the German. It reads,

*Germania omnis a Gallis<sup>1</sup> Rhætijis<sup>2</sup>que et Pannonijs<sup>3</sup> Rheno & Danubio fluminibus,  
a Sarmatis<sup>4</sup>, Dacis<sup>5</sup>que mutuo metu, aut montibus separatur.*

*Das gantze Teutschland wirt von den Frantzosen<sup>1</sup>, Rhetiern<sup>2</sup> [...] und von den Pannoniis<sup>3</sup> durch den Rhein und Donaw, die Fluß, von den Sarmatern<sup>4</sup> und Dacis<sup>5</sup> durch forcht gegen einander, oder durch die Berg abgesondert.<sup>83</sup>*

Schopper had various levels of success with translating each of the five Latin names. He succeeded in producing only one full translation: *Gallis – Frantzosen*. The identification of the Galli with the Frantzosen, the “French,” among the humanists was common practice, but doing so required notable creative interpretation, because identifying the *Galli* as *Frantzosen* meant creating identificational links across almost fifteen centuries and expanding the word *Frantzosen* to include the notion of the *Galli*. The *Galli* of Tacitus’ era were not the *Frantzosen* of Schopper’s, but his success in making this translation points to the stability of the connection between the *Galli* and *Frantzosen* in sixteenth-century thought, as well as a sufficiently developed German vocabulary that could identity at once the contemporary *Frantzosen* and the ancient *Galli*.

Schopper’s translation of *Rhætij* and *Sarmatae* as *Rhetiern* and *Sarmatern* is the first indication that translation was difficult. The two translated words retain their Latin roots clearly, but have been Germanized by replacing the Latin ablative endings [-is] with the common, plural German ending of -(e)n, reflected in the words *Frantzosen* or *Teutschen*. The result is that these terms were in essence now German words that simply display their Latin heritage boldly. This also signified that a complete translation or equation of *Rhetii* and *Sarmatae* with late-sixteenth-century peoples was not possible. There was no contemporary people that Schopper could anchor either of the two ancient populations to. Thus the terms retained the original meaning of the Latin word because they could not be linked definitively with any fixed community in the present.

In two instances Schopper failed to even make an attempt at any translation. Both *Pannonijs* and *Dacis* retain their complete Latin forms, including their ablative declensions.

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<sup>83</sup> Schopper, *Neuwe Chorographia*, 33.

Maintaining the unchanged Latin for *Pannonij* and *Daci* may have been out of necessity. Both Pannonia and Dacia as geographical ideas each encompassed multiple polities and peoples in Schopper's time. Humanists, including Schopper, often divided Pannonia into Pannonia Superior and Inferior, which were identified with Austria and Hungary.<sup>84</sup> Dacia was even more difficult to describe—Schopper states that people in his day called it “the great Walachia [*Walachey*],” but he did not provide much more information on what this means.<sup>85</sup> Thus Schopper may have deemed it necessary to continue using the full Latin term because there was no suitable alternative, or to create a sense of separation from the conceptions, distances he was quick to flatten in the case of the Galli. The lack of success in translating the two terms points to the vast intellectual differences and disparate realities of Tacitus' and Schopper's worlds. On the one hand, the case of the *Galli-Frantzosen* translation shows that the enormous expanse between the two could be sufficiently flattened and passed in sixteenth-century terms, but on the other hand, the partial and unattempted translations illustrate that this distance was not so easily bridged.

#### 2.4.3. Hierarchy and Accessibility

Spread over three individual sections and multiple pages, Schopper's dialogue between Erotetes and Apocrita is a far cry from the informational deposit of Irenicus and the argumentation of Rhenanus. If the dialogical structure of the first section of the *situs* is removed, his treatment of the borders of Germania begins to look similar to the others, achieving the same goals in giving an indication of where Germania was located. The most significant departures from his

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<sup>84</sup> See Schopper, *Neuwe Cosmographia*, 168.

<sup>85</sup> Two of Schopper's sources demonstrate just how nebulous and amorphous the idea of Dacia could be. Andreas Althammer explained that “now partially the Germani, partially the Hungari, Vualachi, and also Turcae hold Dacia. The Germani, who inhabit Dacia, are called *Transsylvani* and *Septemcastrenses*, [that is] *Siebenburger*—from the mountainous [regions] which they occupy,” Althamer, *Commentaria Germaniae*, 14. Sebastian Münster stated that the area where Dacia once existed was now split between various smaller regions. Münster, *Cosmographia*, 916.

predecessors came in the clear hierarchy of sources he imposed on the *situs*, as well as his attempt to present information on Germania to a German-speaking audience.

As with Irenicus and Rhenanus, Schopper's practices required a significant amount of flattening. By placing Tacitus at the top of his hierarchy and stating that all the other geographers agreed with him, Schopper disregarded the differences between them, thereby forcing his sources into agreement with Tacitus, when such a simple agreement did not exist. The way that Schopper chose to use the source congeries only limited his ability to acknowledge such nuance and difference, because his goal with the practice was to support his belief in the superiority of Tacitus' opinions. In this regard it served him well, because he could present an abundance of similar but notably distinct opinions in quick succession, eliding the differences between them, while also putting forth a nuanced image of Teutschland.

Schopper's recourse to translations for his Latin quotes had the effect of flattening the temporal distance, and thus context, between antiquity and the late sixteenth century. Bringing ancient Latin knowledge into an idiom that could not accurately convey the original meaning forced over a millennium of geographical transformation and knowledge of topography to be expressed by concepts that had little capacity to indicate the same ideas. Within the confines of the source congeries, he had to make it so that his translations could manage this problem, even though they could not always capture the significance of his sources. Thus making the monumentalization project of the German humanists accessible was not an easy and straightforward process, but was often carried out best in a non-German language.

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## Conclusion

The source congeries was one of the ways to manage and present the mass of information the German humanists had collected in their investigations of Germania. Because the region Germania

was one of the two cornerstones of their patriotic identity and since geographic descriptions of it were abundant, the humanists had a great amount of knowledge to sift through and present in their works. Managing and presenting the material required a practice that could effectively and efficiently convey great amounts of information for both descriptive and argumentative purposes. The humanists did not have to look or work hard to find such a tool, because the source congeries was a long-standing practice that each humanist would have encountered in their studies. It was thus a suitable and readily available model for the transmission of the plethora of statements about the *situs Germaniae*.

The source congeries was not a direct outgrowth of monumentalization or *Informationsbedarf*, but rather the tool that went into managing and disseminating the information gathered for their patriotic projects. Seen in this light, Franciscus Irenicus looks like an author who had amassed information and presented this mass in a slightly altered form to his audience. Irenicus was thus a collector and mediator of knowledge on Germania, a function that defined much of his *Germaniae Exegesis*. Beatus Rhenanus's role in this context was as the scrutinizer of this information, and his *Res Germanicae* in general followed this principle. He had gathered the information like Irenicus, but found faults that needed to be mended. Schopper appears to have worked similarly to his predecessors by collecting and putting forth many distinct notions of Germania's borders, but he was a translator who made this collected information available to a larger audience. In the end the goal remained the same for all three: put forth information on Germania so the readership would know what and where it is.

The source congeries illustrates that the accumulation of information that so drove the German humanists could actually create a difficult situation. The plethora of discussions of their homeland's borders from the sources established an almost always shifting notion of what



Germania was. Consequently their *patria* and their identity based on their *patria* was on unstable ground. Each humanist sought different strategies for coming to terms with the information, but furnishing multiple different viewpoints was essential: Defining the borders of their homeland, especially because their collective identity rested on it, required the mobilization of a great amount of information, and for once the German humanists were in possession of this information. There was no guarantee that they would agree, and the case of Rhenanus at least exemplifies the fact that overcoming the challenges of sources meant being able to use more than one source for a particular problem.

Irenicus illustrated the great *διαφωνία*, the great disagreement, between reports on the borders of Germania that hampered a clear understanding of its extent. The case of Rhenanus demonstrated clearly that the sources, the very same ones used in the monumentalization process, could actually be inadequate for the job of explaining Germania. His sources did not support each of his claims, but there was simultaneously enough space separating them and overlap between them for him to tie them together into an argument resting on authoritative evidence. Sources were thus simultaneously problem and solution: their lack of specificity and silence on fine details actually created the space that both demanded clarification and allowed Rhenanus to make specific arguments in service of this clarification. Schopper found the means to offer a single image of the *situs* through the diversity of opinions, by creating a hierarchy of sources, in which the source congeries served to support the superior source. He however had to disregard the actual nuances and idiosyncrasies in these subordinated opinions to ensure that his hierarchy maintained validity. His translations of these opinions demonstrated that crossing the vast distance between the ancient and late-Renaissance worlds could only be realized partially. Certain ideas from Latin antiquity could not make sense to the German Late Renaissance.

The source congeries demands scholarly attention because it reflects the actual challenges and rewards of working with sources. Within the context of the source congeries we see each of the humanists at work both to satisfy their patriotic and ideological inclinations and to manage the information that served this function. Within the source congeries one finds the full range of critical and uncritical practices that the humanists employed. One of the most striking side-effects of these practices was the flattening used to simultaneously maintain the source congeries, while presenting the mass of information. Because of the often great temporal distances between the authors of sources or the diversity of information, each humanist was unwilling, unable, or indifferent to acknowledge context, great expanses of time, or informational differences of and between their sources. This flattening was paired with creative combinations and interpretations of the texts. Rhenanus exploited ambiguities in his sources' information to ensure that his argument found the support he desired, and Schopper tried to make ancient Latin information accessible in a language that could not entirely support or convey the meanings he sought and imposed on his translations.

The ways that these humanists worked with their sources and separated them from their contexts, shows that the humanists believed that sources had a sense of timelessness, or if not timelessness, then a broad range of time within which their information was still valid. Rhenanus, long described as a paragon of German humanist scholarly achievement, appears to have chosen his sources from a specific time period, while nevertheless holding onto the notion that the Roman Empire from Strabo to the *Notitia Dignitatum* was a changeless entity. Therefore the sources from this time period were all equally representative of the Empire in general. This aspect is only more striking in Irenicus and Schopper, who paired ancients and Renaissance sources. This was not a methodological failure but rather a reflection of a vision of sources, in which information derived from the written record was seen to be imbued with a certain amount of timelessness that gave

sources the ability to be used across great periods of time. This sense of timelessness made employing sources from various time periods not only possible, but logical: what one author from the early Empire could not offer, another from the late Empire or even the Renaissance might. This timelessness was itself productive, especially for a group of intellectuals who so actively sought information about Germania.

The flattening and the creative work with the sources point to an undeniable fact in that the information the source contained was of the utmost, if not only, importance for the German humanists. The emphasis on content transformed sources into tools to be wielded for the humanist's own purposes. This allowed for Irenicus to pair Tacitus with Niccolaus Perottus and Marcus Antonius Sabellicus; it enabled Rhenanus to exploit his sources and to see in each of them a validity for providing information on the Roman Empire's borders throughout its history; finally, it empowered Schopper to subject a diversity of conclusions about Germania's spatial expanse to a single interpretation of the same topic. Put in negative terms, the humanists did not have a conception of a source's integrity. For them, sources were not inviolable objects, but rather malleable informational deposits, tools subject to the demands of the individual authors.

Each of these conceptions and uses of sources was *zeittypisch*, "representative of their time," and contingent. As much of the scholarship on Franciscus Irenicus and Beatus Rhenanus makes perfectly clear, scholars have been overly concerned with what the humanists "lacked" and how they were "wrong" on the one hand, or on the other how they were methodological paragons anticipating the practices of modern scholars. Both of these viewpoints take away from what the humanists themselves actually did. Instead of placing the source congeries within modern scholarly value systems, my discussion here has attempted to explain exactly how the source congeries reflected humanist source practices. In light of this, it is necessary to understand

humanist concerns for source context and source integrity against this background. In the context of Irenicus, Rhenanus, and Schopper, this background was the monumentalization efforts of the patriotic humanists. The desire for information and their *Informationsbedarf* urged the accumulation of knowledge. Presenting the accumulated information was difficult, and the humanists often had recourse to long-standing conventions like the source congeries that could manage such presentation. These practices however were not suited to certain concerns, like source context and integrity, and they were therefore sacrificed for the larger program. Among the German patriotic humanists at least, context and integrity served monumentalization, and sources were the tools of it.

## Appendix

This appendix contains the three source congeries I discussed in this chapter. The texts for Franciscus Irenicus and Jakob Schopper are from the *editiones principes* of each work. For Beatus Rhenanus, the text comes from Felix Mundt's critical edition of the *Res Germanicae* from 2008. Mundt's text of the *Res Germaniae* has been reprinted here without change, but for Irenicus and Schopper I have only slightly changed their texts by updating punctuation and changing each long *s* [ſ] to the normal *s* symbol. All other non-standard letters found in Renaissance prints (*æ*, *ā*, *ē*, *œ*, *ō*, *ū*, *ŭ*, etc.) and idiosyncratic capitalizations remain unchanged. In cases in which there are obvious misspellings—excluding non-Classical spellings of Latin words and spellings different from modern *Hochdeutsch*—I put [*sic*] after the misspelled word. All Latin and Ancient Greek is given in Italics, while German is in standard print. The boldface phrases dividing Irenicus' source congeries signify the marginalia found in the text and their placement here gives their approximate location in the print.

### **Franciscus Irenicus. *Germaniae Exegesis*. Hagenau, 1518.**

***Situs Germaniae:*** *Vbi tenuitatem scriptorum Germaniæ reuelauimus, integrum uisum est retegere, quod nam ingenio suo ualuere scriptores, situmque germaniae primum aggrediar. Cor. Tacitus omnem germaniam Rhetiis, Pannoniis, Gallia, rheno et Danubio, Sarmatis & dacis, caetera Oceano arctauit, cui & riualis existit Marlianus. Dionysius saltu Hercunio subicere germanos, Rheno & a danubio asserit. Cornelio tamen Perottus supra Martialem in primo, & sabellicus li. ii. nonarii. vi. subscribunt. Orosius li.i.ait ab oriente habere montes Riphæos, a septentrione Galliam Belgicam, & fluuium Rhenum ad occasum, ad meridiem uero Hesperiam sub Europa sitam. Strabo li. vii. Albi, Rheno, Danubio, & Oceano germaniam collegit, cætera ignorare dicit. Ptolemæus li. ii. ca. iiii. ab occidente Rheno, a septentrione oceano, a meridie Danubio, oriente Sarmatia. Zacharias Lilius huic opinioni suffragatur nisi quod a meridie alpibus, ceterum sarmatis & oceano germaniam inclusit, ab oriente & septentrione, Plynius a mari Gallico (si litera non est deprauata) & a Codaneo germaniam inceptit li. iiii. ca. xiii produxit usque ad mare germanicum. Don. Acciulus in translatione Caroli Magni, Germaniam Rheno Danubio & Oceano complectitur, cui astipulatur Iaco. Carmelitanus. Recentiores uero longius dilatant Germanorum fines, ut Aeneas Syluius, Peutiger [sic], ab oriente Daciam, meridie Italiam, occidente Gallos, septentrione Sarmatiam habere germaniam perhibent.*

***Latera Germaniæ:*** *Cunradus Celtes quatuor latera assignat, Rhenum, Danubium, Tanaim & Oceanum, ait enim. Danubiusque rapax, & adauctę nubibus alpes / Austrinos faciunt fines, metamque resignant / Italicæ, Illyricæ, Scythicæ, contermina genti / Oceano fines ponit natura sub*

arcton / Pulcher ab occiduo quas claudit gurgite Rhēnus / Nos a Sequanicis disiungit flumine Gallis. Vincentius lib. ii. c. lxxii. historiarum, & Isidorus Iacobi Carmelitani sententiæ adhærent, **Periphrasis germaniæ:** Lucanus Germaniam κατὰ περιφράσιν ita libro primo depinxit: Tunc inter Rhenum populos alpesque iacentes / finibus arctoïis patriaque / a sede repulsis / pone sequi. Ecce tanta scriptorum διαφωνία. In cuius autem sententiam iuramus, paucis dabo, Mantuanus de Situ Germaniæ: Tenditur ad leuam magis Germania campis / Oceanum Boreamque petens ibi littora Cymber / Incolit, arctoum longe porrecta sub axem / sed / secus hoc latus Italiæ circundedit altis collibus. Claudianus in Stylicone: Omne quod Oceanum fontemque interiacet Istri / Vnius incursu / tremuit.

**Situs germaniæ tempore nostro:**

Vt demum finem positurus sim, præstantissimis placuit, hodie ad occasum & Franciam & burgundias, uidere Germaniam, ad meridiem uero Italiam, septentrione uero insulas septentrionales claudere, cæterum Hungariam orientalem limitem constituere, & hæc de tractu Germaniæ dilatatio hodie describitur, & diffusior est descriptione Alberti Magni, qui tamen Rheno Oceano Danubio & Istula [sic Vistula] germaniam collegit.<sup>86</sup>

**Beatus Rhenanus. Res Germanicæ. Orig. Basel, 1531. Edited by Felix Mundt in Beatus Rhenanus: Rerum Germanicarum libri tres (1531). Ausgabe, Übersetzung, Studien. Tübingen, 2008.**

Qui Germaniam veterem ad Alpeis usque extendunt et Rhēni fontem a meridie, de quorum numero præcipuus est Pomponius Mela, Rhetiae bonam partem in dextera Rhēni ripa Germaniæ, in sinistra Galliae tribuere coguntur. At constat eos tractus, qui Brigantium lacum attingunt utrinque et etiam superiores sub administratione fuisse ducis Rhetiarum. Siquidem apud Arborem Felicem, quam Arbonam hodie uocant, præsidium Rhetiae primæ collocatum fuisse, non aliter quam Bregantiae siue Confluentibus in opposita ripa, suo loco docebimus. Nec abs re Strabo de Germania loquens lib. VII: “Primæ huius regionis partes,” inquit, “sunt Rheno proximæ, ab ipsius fere fontis initio, quoad in pelagus infunditur.” Dicit, “fere.” Ergo Germania non pertingebat ad Alpeis et ortum amnis Rhēni. Itaque sciendum supra Danubii fontem inter Germaniam veterem et Rhetiam primam limitem a Romanis fuisse constitutum. Hunc a quibusdam Impp. promotum legimus arridente victoria. Fuit is sane terminus a meridie, partem hanc veteris Germaniæ, quæ et Alemannia postea dicta est, a provincia Rhetia prima siue superiori dirimens. Confinium Germaniæ Rhetiaque hoc loci non latuit veteres. Nam C. Solinus de Germaniæ terminis loquens Vigeunum, qui sinus maris et Seuonem montem accolunt, facta mentione, extendi illam inter Hercynium saltum et rupes Sarmatarum tradens, “Vbi incipit,” inquit, “Danubio, ubi desinit, Rheno perfunditur.” Sicque Danubii caput a meridie propemodum Germaniæ ueteris terminum facit. Quæ res mouit cultissimum poetam Cl. Claudianum, ut sic caneret ad Moecenatem suum Stiliconem Vandilum:

sublimis in Arcton

Prominet Hercyniæ confinis Rhetia syluæ  
Quæ se Danubii iactat Rhenique parentem  
Vtraque Romuleo prætendens flumina regno.

Fontem Danubii Rhetiae, ceu uides, assignat propter uicinitatem. Postremum uero carmen diligenter obseruandum, Transdanubianas et Cisirhenanas prouincias innuens: nam has intelligit Romulei regni nomine. Sane nunc melius uerba Taciti intelliguntur, quum scribit Germaniam a

<sup>86</sup> Irenicus, Exegesis Germaniæ, 8r–8v.

*Galliis Rhetiisque et Pannoniis Rheno ac Danubio fluminibus separari. Siquidem Danubius Germaniam ueterem, de qua scriptor ille loquitur (nec erat alia continentibus intra fines suos adhuc se Germanis), dirimit a Rhetiae superioris parte uersus meridiem: nam supra fontem huius, ut dixi, confinium Germaniae et Rhetiae erat, loco non multum distante, quem nos in sequentibus certius indicabimus. Deinde separat idem fluuius, de qua re minus ambigitur, Germaniam ueterem a Rhetia prima et a secunda, cui Vindiliciae quoque nomen, sed uetustius. Item a Norico ripensi, tum ab utraque Pannonia prima et secunda. A Galliis secludit Rhenus. Enimuero Tacitus quum pugnam Cecinae cum Heluetiis describit in historia Augusta, commemorans nuncios ad Rhetica auxilia missos et iuuentutem Rhetorum statum affuisse, satis innuit, quinam utramque Rheni Brigantinique lacus ripam tenuerint supra Danubii caput; nam res non procul a castello Thermarum gesta est sub monte Vocecio. Ascribendum huc limitem per Danubium esse ductum sub Augusto, quemadmodum Sextus Ruffus autor est, non quod Rhetiae Noricum et Pannoniae Germanis fuerint ademptae, quas illi nunquam possederant, sed quod eas regiones quum utentur libero iure sibi Romani subiecerint.*<sup>87</sup>

**Jakob Schopper. *Neuwe Chorographia oder Histori Teutscher Nation*. Frankfurt, 1582.**

**Erotetes:** Nach dem wir im nechstuergangnen Gespräch von den namen der Teutschen angehört, lieber so schreit zur sache selber, und sag mir auff dißmal, was das Teutschland, unser hochlöblich und geliebtes Vatterland bey den Alten für ein umbkreiß, gegene, oder Marckstein in sich gehalten hab, und jetzunder zu unser zeit innhabe.

**Apocrita:** Das wil ich dir ordentlich auff dein beger erzehlen, darumb so höre nur fleissig zu. So viel nun den Circkel oder umbkreiß deß Teutschenlands bey den Alten antrifft, schreibt hieruon zum aller besten der Tacitus (welcher vor 1500. Jaren gelebt hat) in seinem Büchlin von den Teutschen, und zeigt an, was zu seiner zeit unser liebes Vatterland für Termin unnd Grentzen gegen den frembden Völkern gehabt. Seine wort lauten also: *Germania omnis a Gallis Rhætiisque et Pannonijs, Rheno & Danubio fluminibus, a sarmatis, Dacisque mutuo metu, aut montibus separatur. Cætera Oceanus ambit, latos sinus & Insularum immensa spacia complectens, nuper cognitis quibusdam gentibus ac regibus, quos bellum aperuit*. Das ist, das gantz Teutschland wirt von den Frantzosen, Rhetiern (wer sie gewesen, wil ich bald anzeigen) und von den *Pannonijs* durch den Rhein und Donaw, die Fluß, von den Sarmatern und Dacis durch forcht gegen einander, oder durch die Berg abgesondert. Das ander umbgibt das Teutsch Meer, welches in sich breite winckel und grosse weite der Insulen begreift, als newlich etlich Völcker und König erkannt seind worden, welche der Krieg geoffenbaret hat. In diesen worten beschreibt Tacitus die alte *Terminos*, Markstein, unnd Grentzen deß Teutschlands, wie weit es sich dazumal erstreckt hab, Und solchen alten Circkel zu wissen, ist dazu nützlich, daß wir sehen, wie seither das Teutschland durch viel Länder gemehret, und jetzt einen weitem umbkreis fasse. Es seind aber dieses, wie Tacitus hie anzeiget, die alte Grentzen der Teutschen Nation gewesen zu seiner zeit. Der Rhein war der Marckstein gegen Nidergang der Sonnen, unterscheidet die Frantzosen von den Teutschen. Die Donaw gegen Mittag sonder ab die *Pannonies*, das ist Oesterreich und die Rhetier, die Sarmater und Daci hielten inne den Auffgang, welche durch das wasser die Wixel und durch den Berg Carpathum geendet waren. Das Teutsch Meer war gegen Mitternacht abschewlich. Diß seind gewesen die Grentzen deß alten Teutschlands.

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<sup>87</sup> Rhenanus, *Res Germanicae*, 34, 36.

Dem Tacito stimmen die andere *Geographi*, als *Mela lib. 3.* schreibt: *Germania hinc ripis Rheni, vsque ad Alpes, a Meridie ipsis Alpibus, ab Oriente Sarmaticarum confinio gentium, qua Septentrionem spectat, Oceanico littore obducta est.* Das ist, das Teutschland (wirt geendet) von dannen mit dem gestade deß Rheins biß an das Gebirg, von Mittag mit dem Gebirg selber, von Auffgang mit den grentzen der Sarmatischen Völcker, da es gegen Mitternacht sicht, ist es mit dem gestad deß Teutschen Meers umbzogen. Deßgleichen schreibt *Strabo in 7. Primæ huius Regionis partes sunt Rheno proximæ, &c.* Die erste, oder eusserste, theil dieses Lands seind zum nechsten beym Rhein. *Solinus capite 32. Extenditur inter Hercynium saltum & rupes Sarmatarum. Vbi incipit Danubio, vbu desinit, Rheno perfunditur.* Das ist, Es wirt außgestreckt zwischen dem Schwartzwald und der Sarmater Felsen. Da es anfahet, wirt es mit der Donaw, da es auffhört wirt es mit dem Rhein begossen. *Ptolemeus libro secundo, cap. II. Germaniæ latus Cccidentale Rhenus fluius terminat, Septentrionale Germanicus Oceanus, Meridianum vero a parte Occidentali Danubius fluius. Orientale vero latus terminat distantia, quæ fit a flexu Danubij ad Sarmatarum montes.* Das ist, deß Teutschlands seitten gegen Nidergang endet der Fluß der Rhein, gegen Mitternacht das Teutsch Meer, gegen Mittag aber, vom theil gegen Nidergang der Fluß die Donaw. Aber die seiten gegen Auffgang beschleußt die weite, welche geschicht von der frümme der Donaw an der Sarmater Berg. Was dieses für Völcker seyen gewesen, die Sarmater, *Rheti, Daci, &c.* wird bald folgen.<sup>88</sup>

Also schreibt Münsterus in seiner *Cosmography*, fol. 373: Demnach die Alten beschrieben haben das Teutschland, haben sie seinen ort gesetzt gegen Occident den Rhein, gegen Mittag die Donaw, gegen Orient die Wixel, gegen Mittnacht das Meer. Sihe zu, zwischen diesen vier Wassern ist vor zeiten das recht war Teutschland gelegen gewesen. Dieses seind nun die alte grentzen unsers geliebten Vatterlands gewesen.

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<sup>88</sup> Schopper, *Neuwe Chorographia*, 33.



### Chapter 3. *Germaniam suscipite, Europam recipite*: Co-Opting Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini's *De Europa* in the *Nuremberg Chronicle* [1493]

This chapter explores two interwoven aspects of German humanism that are vital for understanding how the German humanists attempted to fill the informational gap in the source base and how their patriotism developed in relation to Italian humanism. German humanists had at their disposal an assortment of ways to use sources, but among their most important was co-opting them. This included an array of practices that took the source as a whole and made it participate in some conversation or argument that differed from the author's original intention. The first major co-opting for the patriotic movement of the humanists came not with an ancient text, but rather with the *De Europa* of the Italian humanist and pope, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini.

A few years after the publication of the *editio princeps* of Piccolomini's *De Europa* in ca. 1491, Hartmann Schedel and Hieronymus Münzer printed their own highly edited version in Schedel's *Nuremberg Chronicle* [1493]. Their edits transformed the book, so that it was read as a source of German history and geography, designed to fill gaps in knowledge about Germania and the Germani. Their appropriation of Piccolomini signals approbation. Far from the villain, Piccolomini represented an ally to German patriotic humanists. This alliance is evidence of the fact that Piccolomini's place in the development of this patriotism had both a positive and negative aspect, as he is depicted in the Conflict Model. The co-opting of Piccolomini's *De Europa* opens an alternative path for understanding the pope's role in the patriotic movement of the German humanists, because it illustrates that Piccolomini did not simply provoke the German humanists, but also provided authoritative information. This alternative path of reception accords with larger

patterns of research on Piccolomini's influence north of the Alps in the German lands, where his influence was generally neutral, if not overtly positive.<sup>1</sup>

Humanists had at their disposal a handful of ways to co-opt sources, including translation, commentary, editing, or paratexts. The most commonly used practices were writing a commentary or producing their own edition of the text itself. Both media allowed the humanist to control the meaning of the text either through their comments on the work or through paratexts.<sup>2</sup> Two other means to co-opt a source came through translation or writing a companion piece to describe the source. Among the German humanists, a translation was not simply the movement of meaning from one language to another, but also the transformation of the meaning of a text to have it say what they wanted.<sup>3</sup> Co-opting sources for the patriotic movement was a common practice among the German humanists, and it is found in Andreas Althamer's two commentaries on Tacitus' *Germania* [1529, 1536], Hermann von Neuenahr's edition of Einhard's *Vita Caroli Magni* [1529], Beatus Rhenanus' publication of various histories of the Goths [1531], Gerardus Noviomagus' anthology, *Germanicarum Historiarum Illustratio* [1542], and Schedel's own collection of *materialia*, the *Opus de antiquitatibus* [1505].

The edition of the *De Europa* found at the end of the *Nuremberg Chronicle* is an example of how humanists used both paratexts and direct interventions in the text to shape its meaning. The reasons to select Piccolomini and his *De Europa* are clear: Piccolomini was, most importantly, an authoritative source who knew the German lands intimately and devoted great attention to them in the text. The *De Europa* nevertheless required both paratextual and direct textual mediation to

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<sup>1</sup> Bernstein, *Literatur des deutschen Frühhumanismus*, 3, 9, 11; Iaria, "Piccolomini und das Basler Konzil," 96; Vogel, "Hartmann Schedel als Kompilator," 85; Weinig, *Aeneam Suscipite*, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Kaiser, "*Sola historia negligitur*," 91–92; Kaiser, "Kontingenz," 337–339, 341–342. Kaiser, "Kanonisierung und neue Deutungsräume," 357; Kaiser, "Selbstinszenierung und Instrumentalisierung," 97, 122.

<sup>3</sup> Johnson "Creating a Usable Past," 1070. See also the section on Jakob Schopper in this dissertation in chapter two.

realize its inherent potential as a source on Germania. Schedel wrote an introduction that informed the reader of various aspects of Germania and its inhabitants, the Germani, while establishing Piccolomini's authority. Münzer edited and added to the text to create an image of Germania as a unified geographic whole made up of diverse parts. His *additio*, "addition," also made clear that sources on Germania did not always provide the information each humanist desired. Between Schedel's introduction and Münzer's *additio*, the theme of deficient or lacking sources rings throughout the text. The belief in this lacking information guided their efforts and thoughts on investigating Germania, its people, and its history. Münzer's and Schedel's patriotic co-opting of the *De Europa* was an act in the larger process of the reception of Italian humanism by Germans, but they wrapped it within their ideological program, and resold Piccolomini's text as a repository of information on Germania.

Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini [1405-1464] was a humanist, poet laureate, diplomat for Holy Roman Emperor Friedrich III, Bishop of Siena, cardinal, and pope as Pius II [r. 1458–1464]. His *De Europa*, completed in 1458, was planned and written as part of a larger geographical-historical work on Asia, Africa, and Europe, which was to be called the *Cosmographia* or *Historia Rerum ubique Gestarum Locorumque Descriptio*. He did not complete the work before his death, but did finish two of three parts, the *De Asia* and the *De Europa*. Piccolomini's influence on the German humanist movement was immense and came in four forms. First, he aided in disseminating humanistic learning north of the Alps.<sup>4</sup> Second, his works, like the *De Europa*, *Historia Austriacalis*, and *Historia Bohemica*, helped effect a shift in late medieval historiography, as he and others made

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<sup>4</sup> "Without him the diffusion of humanism north of the Alps is hardly imaginable." Helmrath, "*Vestigia Aeneae imitari*," 102, 137; Bernstein, *Literatur des deutschen Frühhumanismus*, 3.

geography and space important aspects to consider while writing history.<sup>5</sup> Third and more specifically for the German humanists, he was an instigator of patriotic sentiments among the German humanists, and he, along with Giovanni Antonio Campano, is held to be one of the leading forces that sparked their patriotism.<sup>6</sup> Fourth, his assorted works, particularly the *De Europa*, were significant sources of information on the German lands for the German humanists. He found an emphatic follower in Hartmann Schedel, who owned a very expansive collection of manuscripts and printed editions from Piccolomini's *œuvre*.<sup>7</sup>

Hartmann Schedel is the name most associated with the *Nuremberg Chronicle*. Born in 1440, Schedel was a doctor and humanist who studied in Leipzig and Padua. He became a *Stadtarzt* in Nördlingen in 1470 and then in Amberg in 1477, but took up permanent residence in Nuremberg in 1481, where he died in 1514. He is known for his medical work and vast library, but his greatest renown lies in the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, one of the most significant incunabula and early expressions of German humanist historiography and patriotism. The chronicle was Schedel's second contribution to the German humanists' burgeoning patriotic discourse; his first was the little-known *Opus Excerptum ex Vulgari Cronica de Rebus Gestis in Germania per Imperatores Romanorum et de Inclita Ciuitate Alemanie Nuremberga* [before 1488], a collection of excerpts from an otherwise unknown work, which Schedel esteemed greatly because its author was the only one to have sufficiently recorded information on Germania and the Germani<sup>8</sup>; his final came in his never printed *Opus de Antiquitatibus cum Epigrammatibus Inclite Germanie*, a collection of

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<sup>5</sup> Bernstein, *Literatur des deutschen Frühhumanismus*, 12–13; Helmrath "Probleme und Formen," 365–366; Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung*, 28; Montecalvo, "The New *Landesgeschichte*," 55–86; Muhlack, *Geschichtswissenschaft*, 202–206; Strauss, *Sixteenth-Century Germany*, 12.

<sup>6</sup> Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung*, 32; Krebs, *Negotiatio Germaniae*, 120; Staab, "Quellenkritik im deutschen Humanismus," 155; Tiedemann, "Tacitus," 5.

<sup>7</sup> Märkl, "Weitläufige Prälaten," 118; Rücker, *Hartmann Schedels Weltchronik*, 83; Vogel, "Hartmann Schedel als Kompilator," 85. For Schedel owning Piccolomini's works, see Weinig, *Aeneam Suscipite*, 20.

<sup>8</sup> Schedel, *Opus Excerptum (Chroniken der deutschen Städte)*, 259.

epigraphs from various German and Burgundian cities, which he completed in 1505. Each of the three works aimed at the twin patriotic goals of providing information on Germania and monumentalizing knowledge of it.

A complete historiographical overview of the *Nuremberg Chronicle* is not needed here. Bernd Posselt has provided a useful review in his *Konzeption und Kompilation der Schedelschen Weltchronik*,<sup>9</sup> but I will summarize the most important aspects of both Posselt's work and that of others as it pertains to my discussion. The work as a whole [*Gesamtlage des Werkes*] consists of two main parts, the chronicle itself and the *Anhang* ["appendix"], in which the edition of the *De Europa* is found. The two are mostly conceptually distinct, but they are connected through a consistent use of the text-image relationship established in the *Chronicle* itself, as well as a geographical "frame of reference" [*Bezugshorizont*] throughout the work.<sup>10</sup>

The *Anhang* is a compilation and consists of five different texts and prints: 1. a description of Sarmatia, 2. Schedel's introduction to the *De Europa*, 3. the *De Europa*, 4. an introduction to Münzer's map of Central Europe, and 5. the map of Central Europe itself. The *Anhang* is part of a narrowing of the geographical focus of the *Nuremberg Chronicle*. The chronicle begins with the breadth of the cosmos and the story of Creation from the Book of Genesis, but starting with the sixth age, the Christian era, on folio ninety-five it starts to narrow its geographical horizon, bringing it eventually down to focus on Germania.<sup>11</sup> This narrowing is seen in the many woodcut prints of various cities found in the *oikoumene*, but with the sixth age, cities of Germania begin to dominate the total number of cities depicted.<sup>12</sup> Hieronymus Münzer's map of Central Europe and Magna

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<sup>9</sup> Posselt, *Konzeption und Kompilation*, 34–48.

<sup>10</sup> Reske, *Produktion der schedelschen Weltchronik*, 27; Posselt, *Konzeption und Kompilation*, 29. See also Müller, *Germania generalis*, 287; Wiener, "Von Humanisten ediert," 166–167.

<sup>11</sup> Kugler, "Nürnberg auf Blatt 100," 111–112. See also Müller, *Germania generalis*, 287; Stauber, "Hartmann Schedel," 174–175.

<sup>12</sup> Kugler, "Nürnberg auf Blatt 100," 110–112.

Germania that closes the work rounds out the focus on Germania. The co-opted *De Europa* bridges the geographically limited sixth world age in the chronicle to Münzer's map and is part of a number of geographical emphases that connect the chronicle and the *Anhang* with each other.<sup>13</sup> In this geographically-oriented environment the *De Europa* was only all too at home.

The *De Europa* takes up the majority of the *Anhang* and is a manifestation both of Schedel's and German humanism's indebtedness to the Italian humanist and pope. The patriotism cloaking this work has not gone unnoticed, but up to this point there have been a few issues in the interpretation of the relationship between this patriotism and the *De Europa*. The first lies in the treatment the *De Europa* predominantly as a model of humanist historiography or *Landesgeschichte* rather than as a repository of information. It served both functions, a fact last discussed by Michael Haitz in 1899.<sup>14</sup> There is no doubt that Piccolomini's works were valuable as models for developing historical and geographical-historical genres in the German lands, as well as for providing interpretive paradigms, like *mutatio*, for the German humanists.<sup>15</sup> But this has overshadowed the fact that Piccolomini's works, the *De Europa* in particular, were also simply and often fonts of information—a fact most clearly seen in the many various references to and quotations from Piccolomini's works by the German humanists.<sup>16</sup> This ability to provide information is exactly what moved Schedel to add the text to the *Nuremberg Chronicle*.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Posselt, *Konzeption und Kompilation*, 9, 30; Reske, *Produktion der schedelschen Weltchronik*, 27.

<sup>14</sup> Haitz, "Hartmann Schedel's Weltchronik," 21–22, 24.

<sup>15</sup> Müller, *Germania generalis*, 234, 250–257. For Schedel specifically, Haitz, "Hartmann Schedel's Weltchronik," 24; Stauber, "Hartmann Schedel," 168.

<sup>16</sup> Information taken from Piccolomini's works litters the *Nuremberg Chronicle*. Haitz, "Hartmann Schedel's Weltchronik," 21–22; Posselt, *Konzeption und Kompilation*, 63, 250; Stauber, "Hartmann Schedel," 162. For other humanists see Cochlaeus, *Brevis Germanie Descriptio*, 110–123; Irenicus, *Germaniae Exegesis*, 30v, 31r, 56r, 94v; Schopper, *Neuwe Chorographia*, b4r, 34, 144, 463.

<sup>17</sup> Schedel, *Nuremberg Chronicle*, 267r.

The second and more important interpretive failure lies in a misidentification of texts Schedel used for writing his introduction to the edition. The introduction is a far more complex work than has yet been established and its full complexity can be seen in the appendix to this chapter. Scholars have cumulatively identified three sources for the introduction. Two have been correct, but the third has been misidentified. Reinhard Stauber analyzed this introduction only in relation to Piccolomini's *Germania*, Gernot Michael Müller did so in relation to the the *Germania* and the *De Europa*, while Claudia Wiener assessed it in connection with the *Germania* and Piccolomini's *De Constantinopolitana Clade*.<sup>18</sup> A very close reading of the introduction demonstrates that, while Müller and Wiener have correctly identified the *De Constantinopolitana Clade* and the *De Europa* as sources for the introduction,<sup>19</sup> Schedel did not use Piccolomini's *Germania* at all. The information assumed to have come from this text instead stems from the *Excusatio contra Murmur Grauaminis Germanice Nationis*.<sup>20</sup>

This misidentification can be explained in two ways. First the *Germania* and *Excusatio* are relatives. They are both responses by Piccolomini to Martin Mayr, chancellor of the Archbishop of Mainz, who wrote a list of *Gravamina*, or grievances, to Piccolomini in the 1450s. Given the close relationship, they both discuss similar topics, but their forms are vastly different: the *Germania* is a fully developed epistolary treatise in three books, while the *Excusatio* is a letter of a few pages. Their similarities notwithstanding, their words, historiographical treatment, and their histories are not the same. Therefore the impact on German humanism attributed to the former cannot be assumed for the latter, and each of the texts was received independently and by different

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<sup>18</sup> Müller, *Germania Generalis*, 289–292; Stauber, “Hartmann Schedel,” 175, 180–181; Wiener, “Von Humanisten ediert,” 167–174. Ulrich Muhlack also detected the *Germania* in the introduction. Muhlack, *Geschichtswissenschaft*, 106.

<sup>19</sup> Müller, *Germania Generalis*, 293.

<sup>20</sup> Piccolomini, *Epistolae Familiares*, 170r–171r.

individuals. Since the *Germania* seems to have not made a large impact on the German humanists until the *editio princeps* from Leipzig in 1496,<sup>21</sup> the *Excusatio* appears to have developed a history and influence all its own before its better known relative.

Herein lies the second explanation for textual misidentification. The long-standing, heavy scholarly emphasis on the *Germania* as a main reference text for the German patriotic humanists has driven attention away from his other texts, not just the *Excusatio*, but also the *De Europa*. The identification of traces of the *Germania* in Schedel's introduction are an outgrowth of the assumed predominance of the text's influence in the German lands,<sup>22</sup> despite the fact that from the perspective of manuscript studies, neither of Piccolomini's two works that in particular dealt with German history, the *Historia Gothorum* and the *Germania*, were widely spread in the German lands. In fact they "hardly found [any] resonance there."<sup>23</sup> Indeed the patriotic humanists used the *De Europa* far more than the *Germania*, which only shows up occasionally.<sup>24</sup> In order to understand Piccolomini's influence on German patriotic humanism, our assumptions about the role of his *Germania* need to be put to one side. This will make space for discussions of texts of

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<sup>21</sup> Bernstein, *German Humanism*, 11; Tiedemann, "Tacitus," 6.

<sup>22</sup> For example, Joachimsen wrote that the *Germania* "affected German historiography most deeply." Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung*, 28. See also Bernstein, *German Humanism*, 9; Muhlack, *Geschichtswissenschaft*, 206; Münkler, *Deutschen und ihre Mythen*, 149–150; Smith, *Germany*, 7; Staab, "Quellenkritik im deutschen Humanismus," 155.

<sup>23</sup> "That, for all things, the two treatises that concern German history and German affairs in particular, the *Historia Gothorum* (1453) and the *Germania* (1457), have not been transmitted in this context, can be explained by the fact that these two texts hardly found dissemination and therewith resonance in Germany when considering the history of textual transmission." Weinig, *Aeneam Suscipite*, 67.

<sup>24</sup> Bebel quoted from the *De Constantinopolitana Clade* in his *Oratio ad Regem Maximilianum* quotes. Bebel, *Oratio ad Regem Maximilianum*, c1r; Bebel's *Germani Sunt indigenae* is a response to Piccolomini's statement in the *De Europa* that [some of] the Germani descended from Trojans. Müller, *Germania Generalis*, 351. Johannes Nauclerus copied directly from the *De Constantinopolitana Clade* in his *Memorabilia*. Nauclerus, *Memorabilia*, 2:116v. Gebwiler and Peutinger directly name the *De Europa* in their works. Gebwiler, *Libertas Germaniae*, c4; Peutinger, *Sermones Convivales*, d1v. Althamer cites the *De Europa* and the *Historia Bohemica* in the *Commentaria Germaniae*. Althamer, *Commentaria Germaniae*, 291, 295, 337. Piccolomini's *De Europa* shows up fairly often in Johannes Cochlaeus's *Brevis Germaniae Descriptio* either as a directly named or unnamed source. The *Germania* also shows up occasionally, as well as his *Historia Bohemica* and the *Historia Austrialis*. See Langosch's notes to the text in chapters 4–8 in his edition of the *Brevis Germanie Descriptio* where Piccolomini's influence is greatest. Cochlaeus, *Brevis Germanie Descriptio* (1512), 74–161.



lesser, equal, or even greater impact, like the *De Europa*, *Excusatio*, *De Asia*, and *De Constantinopolitana Clade*.

The misidentification of the *Germania* as a source has led to a major problem in interpreting Schedel's introduction. This interpretative issue is a manifestation of a larger problem of analyzing the motivations of the patriotic humanists. Throughout studies in the reception of the *Germania* among the German patriotic humanists, Piccolomini—and other Italians—have held a particular, historiographically-defined place that has been predominantly negative.<sup>25</sup> By this I mean that Piccolomini's influence has been understood as a source of conflict which galvanized the German humanists into taking action to defend their homeland against reproaches that they were barbarians. This explanatory model absolutely does not hold for Schedel, who had a very positive relationship with Piccolomini's texts and viewed the sometime pope with much regard.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, no sense of cultural conflict guided Münzer's redaction. Consequently it must be kept in mind that such a sensitivity to the reproaches from Italians would have fallen on deaf ears among the German humanists had they not already developed a sense of identity and connection with Germania. Thus the model of cultural conflict outlined by scholars assumes that Piccolomini helped create the necessary ingredients for the German humanists' notions of Germania and the Germani by trying to refute his conceptions of them. I argue however that the positive reception

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<sup>25</sup> For general negative relationships between Italian and German humanists, see Amelung, *Bild des Deutschen*, 35–43, 67, 70; Helmrath, "Probleme und Formen," 382; Hirschi, *Wettkampf der Nationen*, 79, 253; Krebs, *Negotiatio Germaniae*, 112; Mertens, "Instrumentalisierung," 76–77; Muhlack, "Humanistische Historiographie," 33; Müller "Humanistische Gemeinschaftsbildung," 139–140; Roberts, *Konrad Celtis*, 97; Strauss, *Sixteenth-Century Germany*, 8–10; Tiedemann, "Tacitus," 26, 70, 71; Worstbrock "Das geschichtliche Selbstverständnis," 516–517. For Piccolomini specifically, see Helmrath, "Probleme und Formen," 367; Hirschi, "Humanistische Nationskonstrukt," 382; Krebs, *Negotiatio Germaniae*, 112, 116–117, 120; Muhlack, *Geschichtswissenschaft*, 206; Müller, *Germania generalis*, 408; Münkler et al., *Nationenbildung*, 217; Tiedemann, "Tacitus," 26.

<sup>26</sup> In the *Nuremberg Chronicle* Schedel described Piccolomini so: *Vir quidem omni laude dignus eloquentissimus copiosissimusque, prudentie singularis, qui non ad otium sed res maximas agendas vocatus*. Schedel, *Nuremberg Chronicle*, 250v. Schedel also used Piccolomini's texts positively for what they could help him explain about Germania. Stauber, "Hartmann Schedel," 181; Wiener, "Von Humanisten ediert," 168.

of the *De Europa* shows a different process of, and ingredients for, this development, because the German humanists' notions of the Germani often were taken directly from Piccolomini because they agreed with him.

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### 3.1. How Hartmann Schedel Wanted the *De Europa* Read

"For although he [Piccolomini] was Sienese by birth, he nevertheless admitted that he was a German."<sup>27</sup>  
Hartmann Schedel. *Nuremberg Chronicle*.

Making the *De Europa* read as a source focused primarily on Germania required proper framing. Jumping straight into the text without an introduction would lead the reader into a discussion of East-Central Europe, Greece, and the Turks before ever reaching the German lands. Schedel's introduction changed this, bringing the reader's attention to various aspects of Germania and its inhabitants before ever reaching the text. He mentioned the lack of ancient sources on Germania, discussed the cultural-civilizational transformation of the Germani, explained how Germania had expanded over time, teased out a line of continuity in the Germans' bellicosity, and justified his choice of Piccolomini for providing information about the region. He relied on a tendentious use of sources to create a patriotically tinged image of Germania. He copied directly from his sources, decontextualized and recontextualized them, then stitched them together into a text that appeared to be an original production. The decontextualizing of the sources was important and functional, for it allowed him to create a positive depiction of Germania's development over time.<sup>28</sup>

Schedel's introduction to the *De Europa* is a complex work. A close look reveals an elaborate web of carefully selected quotations. Except for the few sentences Schedel himself wrote,<sup>29</sup> the introduction is a compilation of lightly to heavily edited direct quotations from six

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<sup>27</sup> Schedel, *Nuremberg Chronicle*, 267r. See the appendix for Schedel's Latin quotes.

<sup>28</sup> Wiener, "Von Humanisten ediert," 169.

<sup>29</sup> *Cum igitur hoc opus...quam itali putemur* and *Que igitur in germania...in primis perlustrabimus*. Schedel, *Nuremberg Chronicle*, 267r.

different works. Five of the six come from Piccolomini's corpus: the *De Europa*, the *Excusatio contra Murmur Grauaminis Germanice Nationis*,<sup>30</sup> the *Oratio Enee de Constantinopolitana Clade et Bello contra Thurcos Congregando*,<sup>31</sup> the *Oratio Enee Siluii ad Papam Calixtum Offerendo Obediam Imperatoris*,<sup>32</sup> and the *De Asia*. The sixth and final source is Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliotheca Historica*. Schedel made a few changes to the quotes—adding conjunctions and short explanatory phrases or changing the subject of sentences to ease reading—to create the illusion of a seamless whole and convey the message he intended.<sup>33</sup>

This type of compilation and combination differs from the source congeries in two significant manners. The information in a source congeries concerns one defined topic, but Schedel's concatenation of sources covers a variety of themes. Moreover, unlike Franciscus Irenicus, Beatus Rhenanus, and Jakob Schopper, Hartmann Schedel did not supply the names or titles of his sources. It was vital for the other three humanists to directly refer to their sources because the names or titles of the source told the reader where the information came from and, more importantly, that the information and opinions were not the humanists'. For Schedel this was different. His readers most likely knew where the words in his introduction came from, but his goal was not to maintain Piccolomini and Diodorus as the authorities of this information. He wanted to pass it off as his own. This is thus not a matter of scholarly honesty or dishonesty, but

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<sup>30</sup> This is letter 383, addressed to Martin Mayr, in the Nuremberg 1481 edition of Piccolomini's *Epistolae Familiares*. Piccolomini, *Epistolae Familiares*, 170r-171r. Christopher Krebs provides a partial edition of the letter. Krebs, *Negotiatio Germaniae*, 257. R. Wolkan did not include it in his *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*, 3 Bde. 1909-1912.

<sup>31</sup> Letter 131. Piccolomini, *Epistolae Familiares*, 88v-93r.

<sup>32</sup> Letter 413. Piccolomini, *Epistolae Familiares*, 211r-213r.

<sup>33</sup> For example, he adds the words *verum cum* between a quote from Piccolomini's *Excusatio* and Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliotheca* to join the two. For the original quote in the *Excusatio*, see Piccolomini, *Epistolae Familiares*, 171r. For Diodorus see Diodorus Siculus, *Diodori Siculi Historiarum Priscarum*, 67v.

rather what each of the humanists sought from the work of others. Schedel found the appropriate ideas already conveyed by others and co-opted them to compose the introduction he desired.

### 3.1.1. The Need for Information: The Claim of Lacking Sources

Schedel opened his introduction with a direct quote from the *De Europa* in which he complained that “the ancient authors of [historical] events have said very little about Germania as if this territory lay beyond the world. They somehow touched on Germanic matters [although] in sleep.”<sup>34</sup> This statement has a twofold effect and purpose: first, it from the outset leads the reader’s attention to Germania, the topic Schedel wished to explore with his introduction and edition of the text. Second, the complaint explained the central motivation for producing this edition of the *De Europa*: provide information on Germania. Schedel’s belief that the ancients had not done their duty and had neglected Germania placed him within a line of German humanists who complained greatly about the lack of information on their *patria* and their ancestors. Schedel and the other patriotic humanists were really concerned with this lack because it hindered their ability to recover and restore the ancient past and thereby to understand their historical identity.

This lament does not articulate a point of conflict between Schedel and his source for the quotation—Piccolomini’s *De Europa*—but rather expresses an opportunity to offset the greatest problem the German humanists believed they faced in the written record. Claudia Wiener argued that this statement about the deficient body of sources, when combined with the following information in the introduction about Germania’s historical-geographical transformation, was at odds with what Piccolomini had shown in his *Germania* in which he relied on Strabo, Julius Caesar, and Tacitus.<sup>35</sup> Wiener’s analysis is problematic because it seems to have worked from the assumption that the lament originated with Schedel while the following information in the

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<sup>34</sup> Schedel, *Nuremberg Chronicle*, 267r.

<sup>35</sup> Wiener, “Von Humanisten ediert,” 169-170.

introduction stemmed from Piccolomini's *Germania*. However, as discussed, the *Germania* is nowhere to be found in the introduction. The source is instead the *Excusatio*. Moreover Schedel did not write this lament, but rather it comes directly from Piccolomini's *De Europa*. Since the lament itself is Piccolomini's own words, the idea that Schedel was placing himself in opposition to Piccolomini on the topic of lacking sources cannot stand, because Piccolomini himself did in fact emphasize the deficient body of sources in the *De Europa*.<sup>36</sup>

### 3.1.2. Introduction Part I: Transformation and Continuity

After the introductory lament concerning the deficient body of sources, Schedel's introduction may be divided into two parts. The first begins at *namque si legamus* and ends at *quam recensere valemus* [see appendix]; the second, which I deal with later, picks up immediately after this at *cum igitur hoc opus historiarum* and comes to a close at the end of the introduction. The first section lays out two themes that are found throughout the German humanists' patriotic discourse: the transformation of Germania and the Germani's military prowess.<sup>37</sup> Schedel explored the first theme through Piccolomini's *Excusatio*, the second through the *De Constantinopolitana Clade*. The *Excusatio* has already been introduced, but the *De Constantinopolitana Clade* was an oration held during the Reichstag in Frankfurt in October 1454. This speech was given to convince the German princes present at the Reichstag to invoke a Crusade against the Turks, who had captured Constantinople in the previous year, and it additionally expressed a broader concern over the threat

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<sup>36</sup> Wiener sets up a similar opposition on page 170. She claims that she has identified a passage that bears "keywords" that refer to *Germania* 2.7 and 2.18. Based on these keywords, she argues that Schedel has developed a "rewriting" of what Piccolomini wrote in the *Germania*. Wiener, "Von Humanisten ediert," 170. These are not however keywords and we are not dealing with Schedel's rewriting because the quote in question is actually a direct quote from Piccolomini's *Excusatio*. Piccolomini, *Epistolae Familiares*, 170v.

<sup>37</sup> Müller, *Germania Generalis*, 290; Wiener, "Von Humanisten ediert," 176. Given the limited space here, I have focused solely on how Piccolomini discussed transformation. *Mutatio* underlies almost all of Beatus Rhenanus' *Res Germanicae* and it appears that it would have been a major aspect of the *Germania Illustrata*. Rhenanus, *Res Germanicae*, 463. It is also found in Schopper's discussion of the borders of Germania and their expansion over time. Schopper, *Neuwe Chorographia*, 32–35.

the Turks posed to Europe.<sup>38</sup> Together the information that Schedel took from the two texts allowed him to present a narrative of historical-geographical transformation for Germania, while maintaining that the Germani had always been a bellicose people with great prowess in war.

Schedel outlines Germania's transformation by reproducing Piccolomini's own thoughts on the topic from his *Excusatio*. Using this text, Schedel explained that Germania's transformation developed out of two overlapping actions: the geographical changes to Germania and the transformation of its inhabitants, the Germani. His depiction of Germania's transformation is one of expansion and, in late fifteenth-century terms, civilization. He explained that Germania used to be "contained between the sea and the Danube and in turn between the Rhine and Elbe."<sup>39</sup> But this was not the Germania that Schedel or Piccolomini knew from their times, for the region had experienced significant geographical change. Within its borders were now found parts or all of Gallia, Rhaetia, Noricum, Vindelicia, Sarmatia, Anglia, and Prussia.<sup>40</sup> Therefore its spatial footprint was far larger than it had once been, a fact Schedel's successors would discuss intensely.<sup>41</sup> With the background intention of providing information on Germania, this discussion explained that Germania had changed over time and informed the reader that the Germania they knew and would read about in the *De Europa* was the result of a process of historical transformation.

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<sup>38</sup> On the background and meaning of the speech, see Johannes Helmrath's introduction to his edition of the speech in the *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*. Helmrath, et al. *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*, 19.2:460–489.

<sup>39</sup> Schedel, *Nuremberg Chronicle*, 267r.

<sup>40</sup> Schedel provides two of Piccolomini's descriptions of the ancient and contemporary borders of Germania. The first comes from the *Excusatio*, the second, the *De Constantinopolitana Clade*. They differ in where they placed the eastern border of ancient Germania, the first has the Elbe River, the second has the Vistula and Hungaria. The list of regions that were part of contemporary Germania I give here is a compilation from the two different descriptions of the borders. Schedel, *Nuremberg Chronicle*, 267r.

<sup>41</sup> Beatus Rhenanus made this expansion the main theme of his *Res Germanicae*. For the geographical-historical significance of this transformation and how it was a manifestation of German humanists' indebtedness to Rome's legacy, see Meyer, "Germania Romana," 697–719\*.

This massively expanded region had also undergone significant aesthetic changes. These alterations so fundamentally transformed the image of Germania that it would have been unrecognizable for someone who had seen its previous state. Schedel explained that

If any one of those Teutones who lived in the time of Julius Caesar were to rise from the dead [and] were to survey it [Germania] like Ariovistus [did], he would certainly say that this was not the land he had seen previously and would deny that this was his *patria*, since he would observe the cultivation of vines [of grapes] and fruit-bearing trees, the clothing of humans, a refinement among the citizens, a brilliance in its cities, and such a sophisticated government among the Germani.<sup>42</sup>

This was, in no equivocal terms, a complete transformation, a metamorphosis that conveyed a process of becoming “civilized,” in both ancient Roman and late-medieval European terms. The invocation of Julius Caesar and Ariovistus took the reader to the oldest extant depiction of the German lands in Caesar’s *De Bello Gallico* and made this image of Germania the point of comparison. The emphasis on agriculture, presumably “proper” clothing, refinement, cities, and governance all point to markers of civilization in Schedel’s Europe. The argument is clear: Ariovistus’ [barbaric] Germania was no more—civilization had taken root in the German lands.

Germania’s process of civilization was paralleled by its population’s. Schedel explained that “if we read about ancient times, we will find that the Germani had formerly lived in a barbaric manner,” which meant using tattered clothing and being wild people who sought out war and had no use for wine.<sup>43</sup> But by Schedel’s time they had among them “so many of the most illustrious princes, so many high-born lords, [and] so many of the strongest knights.”<sup>44</sup> Their transformation was so thorough that Schedel argued, through Piccolomini, that under the helping hand of Christianity, “the Greeks themselves [were] now the barbarians, but the Germani deserve to be

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<sup>42</sup> Schedel, *Nuremberg Chronicle*, 267r.

<sup>43</sup> Schedel, *Nuremberg Chronicle*, 267r.

<sup>44</sup> Schedel, *Nuremberg Chronicle*, 267r.

called Latini with good reason.”<sup>45</sup> This statement not only had implications for the immediate description of Germania, but in the context of the medieval theory of *translatio imperii* it meant that the Germani were the rightful bearers of the *imperium Romanum*, a power that the Greeks—from whom the Germani theoretically acquired the *imperium*—were no longer fit to possess as barbarians. Schedel reproduced Piccolomini’s ecclesiastical-political claim that the cause of the transformation of both Germania and the Germani lay with Christianity, asking his readers “what made this change if not the religion of Christ? For the cult of the Christian religion expelled all barbarity from the Germani.”<sup>46</sup>

Schedel’s comparisons between the past and the present derived from a simple binary juxtaposition between ancient and modern. Since Schedel did not originally set up and write this comparison, we must look to the original author to understand why. Piccolomini was attempting to argue that the Church had not, as Martin Mayr complained, financially exploited the German lands, but rather that the Church on the whole had been salvific for them, for they had culturally transformed under the aegis of Christianity. Piccolomini chose the ancient texts as his point of comparison with the contemporary age because he was a humanist and his intellectual-cultural disposition made antiquity his reference point for most cultural matters. Moreover it is probable that he chose these texts because he was aware that they provided the starkest point of contrast with the Europe of his day and they captured a pre-Christian reflection of Germania. They therefore functioned best within the bounds of his ecclesiastical-political argumentation: Piccolomini himself was already a cardinal with an eye to future prospects within the papal curia—perhaps to the three-tiered tiara—when he transformed these statements into the complete epistolary treatise

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<sup>45</sup> Schedel, *Nuremberg Chronicle*, 267r.

<sup>46</sup> Schedel, *Nuremberg Chronicle*, 267r.



we now know as the *Germania*.<sup>47</sup> These statements were thus quite self-serving for Piccolomini within the ecclesiastical politics of the late 1450s, but in the process of recontextualizing this information, Schedel stripped the quote of this ecclesiastical-political context and meaning and used it as a mere bit of information to explain Germania's transformation.<sup>48</sup>

Directly following and standing in opposition to this narrative of transformation was Schedel's depiction of the Germani's consistent prowess in war. The quote in Schedel's introduction comes from Piccolomini's *De Constantinopolitana Clade* and is stitched together from three different sections of the text.<sup>49</sup> The meaning of the text is clear and it shows—proves—that the Germani were successful in war since the times of Julius Caesar and Augustus and continuing through the Crusades. This is a line of continuity that Piccolomini sought to cultivate in the speech to encourage the German princes to take up a crusade.<sup>50</sup> However the interest for both Schedel and Piccolomini was the present. The section begins with Schedel explaining that, “no people seems more experienced, none more eager (among all the peoples who are judged to be capable in war) than the Germanic people” to someone who was thinking about ancient or modern affairs.<sup>51</sup> In the original quote Piccolomini inserted himself as the person who noticed these aspects [*At mihi seu noua consideranti, seu vetera mente repetenti*] and understood the Germani to be the most experienced and eager *natio*, but Schedel slightly altered the quote and removed Piccolomini to make this a general statement about the Germani [*Siue igitur noua*

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<sup>47</sup> Worstbrock, "Piccolomini, Aeneas Silvius," <https://www-degruyter-com.libproxy.wustl.edu/database/VDBO/entry/vdbo.vlma.3383/html>.

<sup>48</sup> Wiener, “Von Humanisten ediert,” 169. Although Wiener's discussion concerns the *Germania*, it is still valid for the *Excusatio*.

<sup>49</sup> See the appendix in the section from the *De Constantinopolitana Clade*.

<sup>50</sup> Krebs, *Negotiatio Germaniae*, 115–116.

<sup>51</sup> Schedel, *Nuremberg Chronicle*, 267r.

*consideranti seu vetera mente repetenti nulla*]. In short he turned it from Piccolomini's opinion to a general statement of fact that created a direct line between antiquity and the present era.

Nevertheless, according to both authors, the Germani's bellicosity was rooted in antiquity:

For that suppressor of all lands and master of the world, Julius Caesar, although he often crossed the Rhine after subduing the Gauls, carried out the greatest deeds in Germania, nevertheless left the warlike and troublesome people of the Suevi unconquered. Augustus Octavianus, to whom both the kings of the Parthians and Indii sent gifts, is believed to have been one of the most fortunate of all the Romans. He, I say, the most fortunate emperor, nowhere ever suffered defeat except with the Germani, for he endured the Lollian and Varrian slaughters in Germania.<sup>52</sup>

Antiquity proved the Germani's virtuosity in war. Julius Caesar and Augustus, two of Rome's leaders most associated with conquest, could not even defeat the Germani and, although unstated here, the ancient texts could prove it.<sup>53</sup>

This bellicosity of the Germani was not only on display in antiquity, but also during the Crusades. In an example of the Germani's prowess in the Crusades, Schedel explained,

We also know that Gotfridus, who was duke of Lotharingia, struck Hungaria with only Transrhenane Teutones [...], some Gallici, and a few Itali, penetrated Grecia, crossed the Hellespont, traversed Asia, and rescued Jerusalem from the power of the infidels, after conquering and laying low all the peoples that resisted him on the way although both the numerous Turci and Sarraceni were attempting to resist him. People relate that there were two-hundred thousand soldiers in his [Gotfridus'] army, and only Germania is able to assemble many more troops [than this].

In the original context of the Reichstag in 1454 when this speech was held, this depiction of the Germani served Piccolomini because he was attempting to mobilize German princes into a Crusade against the Turks. But for Schedel it functioned as more modern but historically-grounded proof of the Germani's own virtuosity in war. These examples of the ancient and medieval military

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<sup>52</sup> Schedel, *Nuremberg Chronicle*, 267r.

<sup>53</sup> Muhlack, *Geschichtswissenschaft*, 210.

prowess of the Germani only acted for Piccolomini and Schedel to ground statements about the contemporary Germani in the past.

Both *mutatio* and consistent Germanic military prowess found much discussion in the other texts of the German humanist patriotic movement. Unlike Heinrich Bebel and Conrad Celtis, Schedel did not situate the notion of military prowess in a cultural quarrel with the Italians, including Piccolomini.<sup>54</sup> At least in the edition of the *De Europa* printed in the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, Schedel was not interested in any cultural competition with the Italians and Piccolomini's depictions of Germania.<sup>55</sup> In fact, Schedel appears to have found no problems with Piccolomini's statements at all. Their reproduction here would indicate his acceptance of their validity, but only after he had stripped them of their context and repackaged them. Schedel's arguments ultimately fit within the value system of his time: military prowess, civilization, Christianity, and civilization through Christianity. Schedel was thus able to extract both from history and Piccolomini's works a fundamentally positive image of Germania and the Germani and explain their cultural development and expansion.<sup>56</sup> He did this while maintaining the population's claim to military prowess. The result is the idea of Germania and the Germani that was in harmony with the cultural values of the time, which would help the reader understand the sections of the *De Europa* that discuss the German lands.

### 3.1.3. Introduction Part II: Schedel's Concept of Piccolomini

The second part of Schedel's introduction shifts its focus from Germania to Piccolomini and the *De Europa* itself. This section begins at *Cum igitur hoc opus* and continues to the end of the introduction. It focuses on explaining why Schedel chose to publish the *De Europa*, and

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<sup>54</sup> Krebs, *Negotiatio Germaniae*, 191, 215, 227, 244.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Kugler, "Nürnberg auf Blatt 100," 119–121.

<sup>56</sup> Stauber, "Hartmann Schedel," 181. See also Wiener, "Von Humanisten ediert," 168.

concomitantly justifies why Piccolomini was an appropriate author to provide information on Germania. In the only section of the introduction in which Schedel himself put forth a significant statement in his own words he explained that

Since this work of histories is going forth from a workshop in Nuremberg, which is a famous city located almost in the middle of Germania, we are concluding [the work with] very few [words] at the end of the book about Germania by putting forth the *Historia Rerum ubique Gestarum in Europa sub Friderico Tercio Romanorum Imperatore* by Aeneas, Pius II, Roman pontifex.<sup>57</sup>

Schedel's motivation was to supply information on Germania and he understood the *Historia Rerum ubique Gestarum in Europa*, that is the *De Europa*, as the appropriate source for this task. It is important to note that Schedel's horizons were not parochial: he was looking beyond Nuremberg and its immediate surroundings, beyond the city as an independent political unit, a *freie Reichstadt*, within the Holy Roman Empire, to its placement within the larger idea of Germania. Moreover he deemed it appropriate to allow another author to provide the information he desired, a practice that was not foreign to him, as the *Nuremberg Chronicle* as a whole is completely dependent on the information of others. For Schedel, Piccolomini was only too fitting a choice.

Piccolomini's text provided the means to offer information on Germania because, as Schedel explained, Piccolomini wrote accurately about Germania and the other regions of Europe. Schedel stated, both in his own words and those of Diodorus Siculus, the first-century BC Sicilian-Greek historian and author of the *Bibliotheca Historica*, that Piccolomini "applied himself to more recent histories, omitting the deeds of previous ages about which [other] writers often disagree," and that Piccolomini, "while he was living in the leisure of his cardinalate, accurately wrote about the things that were carried out in Germania and the other regions of Europe that are worthy of

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<sup>57</sup> Schedel, *Nuremberg Chronicle*, 267r.

mention in that diverse and outstanding work [the *De Europa*].”<sup>58</sup> According to Schedel, the *De Europa* was suitable because it was accurate and offered non-contentious information about the Germani which there was little to no contention between various authors. Schedel thus seems to have emphasized the historical in the *De Europa* over the geographical, as Wiener argues,<sup>59</sup> but there is no clear separation of history from geography here, a separation Wiener argues for, because providing information on the historical events provided information on Germania itself. The geographical and the historical appear linked in Schedel’s mind and were necessary in creating his image of Germania.<sup>60</sup>

Piccolomini not only wrote an accurate work, but was also intimately knowledgeable of the German lands and could boast of being German himself. After explaining that he wanted to provide information on Germania through the *De Europa*, Schedel described the Italian by explaining that although “he was Sienese by birth,” Piccolomini had actually “admitted that he was German.”<sup>61</sup> Schedel followed this statement with a direct quote from Piccolomini’s *Excusatio* that bore witness to Piccolomini’s own thoughts on this: “since we [Piccolomini] have lived in Germania for over twenty-four years already, we do not think that we ought to be judged [to be] a foreigner”; “we conduct ourselves in such a way altogether that we consider ourselves to be more German than Italian by birth.”<sup>62</sup> Schedel plucked this quote out of the *Excusatio* and situated it in such a way as to emphasize Piccolomini’s “Germanness.” He thereby removed it from its ecclesiastical-political context, where it was designed to be disarming for his German audience, and made it a resounding piece of evidence for Piccolomini’s suitability as a source on Germania.

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<sup>58</sup> Schedel, *Nuremberg Chronicle*, 267r.

<sup>59</sup> Wiener, “Von Humanisten ediert,” 173.

<sup>60</sup> Stauber, “Hartmann Schedel,” 168-169.

<sup>61</sup> Schedel, *Nuremberg Chronicle*, 267r.

<sup>62</sup> Schedel, *Nuremberg Chronicle*, 267r.

Piccolomini, while a foreigner originally, actually stated that he was a German, and this German identity for the pope could be used to strip him of the label of “foreigner” who wrote about Germania, an idea that often irked other patriotic humanists and they often remarked upon.<sup>63</sup> Schedel could therefore emphasize that not only was this an imminently influential humanist who was also a pope—and thus already authoritative—but also that much more authoritative because he himself admitted to becoming German through residence in the German lands.

Schedel concluded the introduction by splicing together two quotes from Diodorus Siculus’ *Bibliotheca* along with a quote from Piccolomini’s *De Asia* to explain that ancient authors were at pains to make information harmonize. Quoting from the *De Asia*, Schedel explained that

There is much discord about these things [historical information] among the ancients, which we judge to know [to have arisen] from the fact that they have not preserved the names of either mountains or rivers or peoples, and the names of provinces and kingdoms receive their great variety starting with Strabo, who lived under Tiberius Caesar, up to Ptolemy Alexandrinus, who wrote the *Situs Orbis* under Antoninus Pius. This was in fact not a great [amount of] time and nevertheless such a great change of names occurred that we see that very few peoples are named from among these in one author, whom the other has named.<sup>64</sup>

Here again Schedel invokes the theme of *mutatio* through Piccolomini, but it is not positive in this instance, as it was for describing Germania’s transformation, but rather negative. Change and time had rendered proper knowledge of the distant past difficult to recover, and two of the most preeminent geographers of antiquity, Strabo and Ptolemy, were examples of the deleterious effects of *mutatio*. The placement of this quote, along with those of Diodorus, were intended to present Piccolomini’s *De Europa* as a reliable source. Piccolomini saved himself and his work from the

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<sup>63</sup> For example, Willibald Pirckheimer, *nil mirum si res praeclare ab eis gestae interciderint, aut minus fideliter ab exteris relatae sint scriptoribus. Quid enim Graeci praeter fabulas de Germania scripserunt?* Pirckheimer, *Germaniae Explicatio*, a3r. See also chapter 6 of Franciscus Irenicus’ *Germaniae Exegesis, Quod Græci in locis externis errauerint, & ubi non (ut de Germania) aliquid scribere habuerunt in tabulis nudum spacium reliquerint?* Irenicus, *Germaniae Exegesis*, 4v–5r. In the *Annales Ducum Boioariae* Aventinus separated his sources as *domestici* and *externi* in the prefaces to the individual books. Aventinus, *Annales Ducum Boioariae*, 2:1–2.

<sup>64</sup> Schedel, *Nuremberg Chronicle*, 267r.

problems associated with studying the distant past. He was able to do this during the leisure of his cardinalate.<sup>65</sup> As such the *De Europa* was distinct from other histories, because it was accurate and free from the conflicts that plagued others.

Despite the words almost all coming from Piccolomini, with one quote from Diodorus Siculus and a few sentences from Schedel himself, this introduction was an original production by Schedel. The quotes were carefully chosen and specifically combined to convey certain, ideologically-motivated ideas and themes. The section from the *De Constantinopolitana Clade* is not a single block quote from the text, but rather a patchwork of separate quotes from a section of the text that spread across three pages in the Nuremberg 1481 edition of the text.<sup>66</sup> Most of the quotes were lifted out of their contexts and many were stripped of the author's original intention.<sup>67</sup> Schedel made sure to select those quotes that brought themes and ideas connected with Germania and the Germani to the fore: ancient authors did not write about Germania enough; Germania was a space of transformation; the Germani were no longer barbarians but have had prowess in war since antiquity; the publishing location of *Nuremberg Chronicle* demanded information on Germania; and Piccolomini was an authority with strong connections to Germania. These carefully selected quotes created a specific, positive way of reading the *De Europa*. It offered the information and authority needed to provide an overview of Germania. Piccolomini was not simply

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<sup>65</sup> Schedel, *Nuremberg Chronicle*, 267r.

<sup>66</sup> Piccolomini, *Epistolae Familiares*, 91v–92v.

<sup>67</sup> Wiener correctly states that Schedel's *Vorlagentexte* were "reinterpreted," but is not entirely correct in stating that they were "in the end not employed against the general intention of their author." Wiener, "Von Humanisten ediert," 174. This assessment holds true for her treatment of the *De Constantinopolitana Clade*, but not for the five other works that make up the content of the introduction. We need only look at the last few lines of the work to see just how far removed these texts were from their authors' intentions. From *cum igitur hoc opus* to the end of the introduction, Schedel spliced together his own statements, a passage from Piccolomini's *Excusatio*, two quotes from Diodorus Siculus' *Biblioteca*, and Piccolomini's *De Asia* to create a resounding finale. Making this many and such diverse sources work together necessitated an almost complete lack of attention to their context and intention. Both are so absent, that Schedel was able to splice each of the quotes together to create a "seamless" whole, intervening in the text to add conjunctions and other words to fuse the sentences.

a figure for negatively instigating a patriotic pride among the German humanists, but rather a means of satisfying this pride's demand for information. He was an authoritative author who could fill the informational deficit left by the ancients.

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### 3.2. How Hieronymus Münzer Reshaped the *De Europa* for Germania

"Since you found it [the text of the *De Europa*] mangled, mutilated, and so corrupted in many places, that Pius himself would abhor it when reading it, you wanted me to inspect and emend it [...]. I have striven with great effort and I have exerted myself with care to emend the mistakes."<sup>68</sup>

Hieronymus Münzer. Letter to Hartmann Schedel.

Hieronymus Münzer's role in the co-opting process with the *De Europa* was far different from Hartmann Schedel's. Münzer was an editor of the manuscript *Druckvorlage* [the manuscript version of the text which the printers used as a model to create the actual print version]. He made numerous textual emendations and interpolations, adding both short phrases and long passages into the text. Münzer's edits predominantly focused on geography and the names of specific regions. They show an attentiveness to the *mutatio nominum*, that is, name changes over time, particularly between antiquity and the present.<sup>69</sup> A fair number of these centered on Germania. Through them Münzer created a specific spatial and temporal framework by which one could conceptualize Germania and reconceptualize the content of the *De Europa*. His changes to the actual text are an editorial counterpoint to Schedel's introduction.

Hieronymus Münzer [1437-1508] was a well-traveled humanist and doctor. He studied in Leipzig in the 1460s and in Pavia in the later 1470s. He moved to Nuremberg in 1477 and the city council granted him permission to practice medicine in 1478. He received Nuremberg citizenship

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<sup>68</sup> *Quam [historiam] cum laceram, mutilatam et in multis ita depravatam invenires, ut ipse Pius sua relegens abhorreret, voluisti ut illam tuo amore recognoscerem et castigarem. [...] Vehementer elaboravi et curiose enisus sum, errores, quos plures deprehendi fortassis ob librorum negligentiam aut correctorum inscitiam emendare.* This quote comes from a letter Hieronymus Münzer wrote to Hartmann Schedel after the completion of the *Nuremberg Chronicle*. Goldschmidt, *Hieronymus Münzer*, 109.

<sup>69</sup> Wiener, "Von Humanisten ediert," 176.



two years later.<sup>70</sup> Scholarship remembers Münzer for his intertwined lives as geographer and traveler.<sup>71</sup> These two lines of research are intimately bound in the scholarship, as they were for Münzer in life. For this present study, I researched Münzer's participation in the *Nuremberg Chronicle*. Unlike most previous studies, I treat Münzer as a patriotic humanist with particular ideological commitments to his *patria* because his emendations and interpolations, as well as his map of Central Europe that closed the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, make clear his patriotic interest in Germania and shaped how he wished for readers to understand the *De Europa*.

As Reinhard Stauber noted, Münzer conspicuously appended the phrase *Germanie provincia*, or various similar ones, to each of the regions in the *De Europa* that he believed made up Germania.<sup>72</sup> These appended phrases are significant: along with a paragraph in Münzer's own words, called the *additio*, that he inserted into the *De Europa*, Münzer forced Piccolomini's text to make a statement about Germania and how it was supposed to be conceived geographically. Stauber argues, with particular emphasis on the *additio*, that Münzer ultimately outlined Germania as a region that had developed historically and transformed into an area defined by language [*Sprachraum*].<sup>73</sup> Stauber is indeed correct that Münzer developed a connection between Germania and a German *Sprachraum*, but this German *Sprachraum* was not the same as Germania. The interaction between Piccolomini's text and Münzer's appended phrases create the idea of a Germania that was not located in language, as Stauber argues, but rather, I contend, in space and time. The result is a historically grounded, geographically diverse, yet specific idea of Germania that Münzer was able to put forth through co-opting.

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<sup>70</sup> For Münzer's life, see Burmeister, "Die Brüder," 11-20.

<sup>71</sup> For Münzer's travels and geography, see Burmeister, "Die Brüder," 16-18, and esp. Goldschmidt, *Hieronymus Münzer*, 43-97.

<sup>72</sup> Stauber, "Hartmann Schedel," 179.

<sup>73</sup> Stauber, "Hartmann Schedel," 180.

Since much of the following analysis relies on the Latin *Druckvorlage* of the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, it must be explained that neither Hartmann Schedel nor Hieronymus Münzer actually wrote down the text of the *De Europa* for the *Druckvorlage*. Rather an unknown writer, named “Schreiber C” by Christoph Reske, copied it. Münzer’s hand was a later addition. Therefore the *Druckvorlage*, as of now only accessible at the Stadtbibliothek im Bildungscampus in Nuremberg, guarantees insight into the work that the final product otherwise cannot demonstrate. Assessment of Münzer’s redactions in the *Druckvorlage* must be understood with the knowledge that he did not choose the text, but was working with what was given to him. When given the text for editing and emending he took it upon himself to add to the text and the *Druckvorlage*. He saw the possibility of making Germania appear on the page and he made it.

### 3.2.1. Münzer’s Disposition to the *De Europa*

Münzer’s *additio*, as a sizable interpolation of his own thoughts on the text, provides the most important information about his own conceptions of the *De Europa*.<sup>74</sup> Münzer did not insert the *additio* directly after the last section discussing a region of Germania or at the end of the *De Europa*, but rather after the description of *Sebaudia*, Savoy. He placed it here both out of necessity and ideological commitment: he did not consider *Sebaudia* to be part of Germania, but there was no space in the *Druckvorlage* for a sizable addition on Germania until after *Sebaudia*, where Schreiber C left room for a woodcut image.<sup>75</sup> Münzer wrote his *additio* in this blank space and kept it close to Germania.

The first sentence of the *additio* makes it clear that Münzer understood the *De Europa* as a text on European affairs, but that he was reading it for its information on Germania. He lamented

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<sup>74</sup> Schedel, *Nuremberg Chronicle* (Cent. II, 98), 287v/313v. The *Druckvorlage* has two systems for foliation. I give both in these notions, separated by a slash.

<sup>75</sup> Schedel, *Nuremberg Chronicle* (Cent. II, 98), 287r-287v/313r-313v. Compare this with the printed edition to see how the image fits into the text in print. Schedel, *Nuremberg Chronicle*, 287r-287v.

the fact that Piccolomini did not discuss the Suevi, the Rhine region, a part of Alemania, and portions of the Low Countries.<sup>76</sup> The *additio* highlights an important element of Münzer's understanding of Piccolomini's conception of Germania, namely that it was incomplete. Münzer made it clear that despite the European-focus of the text, it failed to capture all of the regions of Germania, and thus Europe, by extension. This criticism is important because, as Gernot Michael Müller argues, it demonstrates that the *De Europa* was not understood to be an unsurpassable source, instead only a contemporary outline of Germania,<sup>77</sup> and I will add, an authoritative one. The *De Europa*'s "German" element was therefore Münzer's focus, despite being an incomplete repository of information on his homeland. It nevertheless proved to be a functional and authoritative means to convey a geographically and temporally grounded idea of Germania.

### 3.2.2. Redacting Europe for Germania

Piccolomini provided separate descriptions for each of the individual regions of Germania. Münzer was able to take this structure and create an image of Germania as a single, yet heterogeneous unit; in other words, a single entity of disparate parts. The text of the *De Europa* aided Münzer in his co-opting: although it predominantly focused on historical content, the work has a strong geographical structure that orders the information.<sup>78</sup> Piccolomini treated each region or people of Europe in their own section before moving onto the next, often situating the historical information within a geographically defined area to create a chorographic narrative bound by history and geography. Because Piccolomini did not describe Germania in a single section of the text, he allowed for the reader to create their own image of Germania based on the information he provided. At times this information was unclear because not every region that Münzer ascribed to Germania,

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<sup>76</sup> Schedel, *Nuremberg Chronicle*, 287v.

<sup>77</sup> Müller, *Germania Generalis*, 288.

<sup>78</sup> Bisaha, ed. *Europe*, 19.

was labeled a region of Germania by Piccolomini. Thus the text offered some interpretive leeway that the reader could exploit. Münzer was one such reader. Through a series of section headings that he interpolated in the text, Münzer bound twenty different regions in the *De Europa* together as “provinces of Germania.”

Unlike previous manuscripts and the *editio princeps* of Piccolomini’s text, the *De Europa* printed in the *Nuremberg Chronicle* was divided by the various editors and writers into individual sections that had their own headings. These headings named the region under discussion and signified a change in topic. For example, the section on Boeotia has the heading *De Boecia*.<sup>79</sup> This created a visually divided text with the impression of a single work that was a composite of individual descriptions. The headings were an essential means for Münzer to create his geographical notion of Germania on paper.

The headings are not supported by either the manuscripts or the *editio princeps* of the *De Europa*,<sup>80</sup> despite the fact that the print version of the *Nuremberg Chronicle* makes it appear as if they were an original part of the text. The headings emerged from the editing process and composition of the *Druckvorlage*. Their inclusion in the *De Europa* appears to have been a process that occurred in two stages. First, the headings appear to have been taken from the marginal notes

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<sup>79</sup> Schedel, *Nuremberg Chronicle*, 275v.

<sup>80</sup> I have not been able to consult each of the MSS Adrian van Heck outlines in his critical edition of the *De Europa*, but it is clear from those that I have worked with that markers that signify different sections of the text, like marginalia, are either not present at all in any of the works or were added at a separate time. *Urbinae Latinus* 855 [15th c.] has no marginalia and the text is undivided. This MS appears to retain the text Piccolomini originally wrote [Adrian van Heck, van Heck, ed. *De Europa*, 9], which might suggest that Piccolomini’s own version was undivided. *Vaticanus Latinus* 3888 has marginalia that did not divide the text into sections, but do signify a change in topic. These appear to be from a different hand than the one that wrote the MS. *Clm* 386 of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, which is the manuscript Hartmann Schedel himself copied in 1480. Like *Vat. Lat.* 3888 it has marginalia that mark topic changes. These marginal notes appear to have been written after the text itself was copied by Schedel, because they seem to have been written with a different writing implement and perhaps by a different hand. It seems unlikely that Schedel would have switched between writing utensils for the text itself and the marginalia. Lastly, the *editio princeps* that I used, ULB Darmstadt: Inc II 307, had no printed sections dividing the text or printed marginalia, but handwritten, marginal notes have been added after it was printed, which denote a change in subject.

of Schedel's own manuscript copy of the *De Europa* [Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 386], which he copied in 1480. Schedel's MS does not have embedded titles, but it does have marginal notes that are very similar to the titles.<sup>81</sup> Since this MS may have been the very copy used for the *Druckvorlage*, someone on the editorial team—perhaps Schreiber C—simply moved the marginal notes into the text itself to create the headings for the individual sections.<sup>82</sup> Part of this process included adding the Latin preposition *de* before almost every heading. These headings still said nothing about Germania.

The second step of the process came during Münzer's redaction. The explanatory phrases like *Germanie provincia* that Stauber mentions are not part of the original *Druckvorlage* that Schreiber C wrote out and are not found in any of the manuscripts, but were added by Münzer. Conspicuously Münzer added them only to those regions that he believed were part of Germania. No other region received similar additions. The end result, as seen in the printed version of the *De Europa* in the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, was the first edition of the *De Europa* text to have fully developed and integrated headings to divide the text and guide the reader. Münzer's headings were, as opposed to the marginalia, not simply guides, but an actual intervention in the text that imposed an ideologically-driven structure on it.

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<sup>81</sup> The spelling of the various names of the regions found in the marginalia of BSB Clm 386 provides evidence of the fact that the marginalia of BSB Clm 386 were the references for the titles and names of the region in the *Druckvorlage*. The *Druckvorlage* has the name *Slesia*, as does BSB Clm 386, while Vat. Lat. 3888 has *Selesia* and the *ed. prin.* has *Sclesia*. See also *De Phrisia* in Cent. 98, II (the *Druckvorlage*) originally Schreiber C wrote *De phrisona*, but some editor—it does not look like Münzer's hand—crossed this out and replaced it with *De Phrisia*. BSB Clm 386 has *Phrisonia*, Vat. Lat. 3888 has *Phrisones*, and the *ed. prin.* has *Phrisia*.

<sup>82</sup> Wiener states that the editorial team used Schedel's own 1480 MS for the text of the *De Europa* in the *Nuremberg Chronicle*. Wiener, "Von Humanisten ediert," 174. Reske on the other hand states that there is "a nearly verbatim agreement" between the *De Europa* in the *Anhang* and the *editio princeps* from Memmingen, printed not after March 1491. Reske, *Produktion der schedelschen Weltchronik*, CD196. I do not have a definitive answer to this conflict, but I am inclined toward Wiener's opinion because the spelling of the regions' names from the marginalia of Clm 386 bears striking similarities to that of the *Druckvorlage*. This by no means settles the debate because the text could have been taken from the *ed. prin.* but the headings from Clm 386.

Münzer changed twenty of the headings that the editorial team inserted into the text to reflect his notion of Germania. His changes were specific to Germania and he changed no other section heading. Each of the twenty headings received one of the following eight phrases: *nunc Germanie prouincia*, *germanorum celebri prouincia*, *Germanie prouincia/Prouincia germanie*, *magna germanie prouincia*, *prouincia inferioris germanie*, *germanie superioris prouincia/superioris germanie prouincia*, and *populis germaniae*.<sup>83</sup> The theme of Germania is clear, and together they created a definable and even mappable idea of the space. The labels bear inchoate, yet significant, geographical and historical information. The additions also allowed Münzer to place a number of provinces within a geographical scheme of *superior* and *inferior* and to create a narrative of Germania's expansion through the temporal adverb *nunc*. The result is a conception of Germania made up of disparate parts that was a geographically diverse product of change over time.

The regions Münzer selected for inclusion in his idea Germania were chosen with purpose. The *De Europa* does not deal with all of Germania's territories and peoples in one section of the text, like it does for Italia. Rather Piccolomini's discussions of the various German lands are interspersed throughout a large portion of the text, sometimes with discussion of other geographical areas in between. From the first region Münzer labeled as part of Germania to the *additio*, which ends the discussion and emphasis on Germania, there are twenty-nine total sections that each discuss a different region or people. Münzer did not label each of the twenty-nine sections as provinces or peoples of Germania, but rather only twenty of them. He did not add any

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<sup>83</sup> There are actually 10, but I categorize the phrases *Germanie prouincia* and *prouincia Germanie*, as well as *superioris Germanie prouincia* and *Germanie superioris prouincia* as two, not four, separate phrases since the meanings between the two paired phrases in each is the same.

explanatory information to the nine remaining sections.<sup>84</sup> As such, Münzer did not simply label each of the various sections within a given portion of the text as German, but rather selected each one of them based on his conception of Germania.

Münzer's idea of Germania was shaped by geographical considerations. Five of these received the geographically descriptive adjectives, *superior* and *inferior*. It is unclear what Münzer fully understood by the phrases *Germania Superior* and *Inferior*, although the phrases had a long historical legacy that could tie them to the Roman provinces of the same names. However, based on the evidence, it appears that he understood them in a vaguely geographical-topographical manner, much like the modern geographical-linguistic designations, “Upper” and “Low” German or *Ober-* and *Niederdeutsch*. The regions’ connections to the two Roman provinces appear to be misleading. Holandia and Selandia, both of which Münzer labeled as provinces of Germania Inferior,<sup>85</sup> might have partially fallen within the borders of the Roman province Germania Inferior. Franconia, a “province of Germania Superior,” would have overlapped with the Roman province Germania Superior to an extent, but it also at least reached or partially overlapped with Noricum, which was a great distance from Germania Superior.<sup>86</sup> Bavaria, also labeled a “province of Germania Superior,” certainly did not fit within the boundaries of Roman Germania Superior according to the text, since it was once inhabited by the Norici and extended in the west to the Lech River [*Lycus*], which flowed through Augusta Vindelicorum [Augsburg], the capital of the province Rhaetia, and after Diocletian’s reforms, Rhaetia Secunda.<sup>87</sup> Nevertheless it is very possible that Münzer was using the names to tap into the historical legacies of the Roman

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<sup>84</sup> The nine non-German regions and peoples are Polonia, Lituania, Russia, the Messagetae, Bohemia, Dania/Dacia, Suecia, Nortuegia, and Sabaudia.

<sup>85</sup> Schedel, *Nuremberg Chronicle* (Cent. II, 98), 283r/309r.

<sup>86</sup> Schedel, *Nuremberg Chronicle*, 285v, 286r.

<sup>87</sup> Schedel, *Nuremberg Chronicle*, 286v.

provinces. The ability to conflate contemporary territories with Roman provinces was a major task of the patriotic humanists, who sought to utilize the history and legacy of Rome to discuss the historical and geographical transformation of Germania. The actual geographical accuracy of these conflations was not important for them.<sup>88</sup>

Münzer's use of the labels *inferior* and *superior* appears to be quite ill-defined because the Roman provinces did not in fact seem to be a reliable guide. They did however offer a rough geographical orientation. *Alsacia alias Helvetia* would have straddled the border between the Roman provinces Germania Superior and Rhetia, but Münzer did not label the region as part of Germania Superior. Moreover he used both *Germania Superior* and *Inferior* in the *additio* in a seemingly purely geographic manner, without reference to the Roman provinces. He writes, "Although [Piccolomini] endeavors to finish dividing the lands of Germania by their borders, he omitted the flower of Germania Superior and Inferior. For he wrote nothing about the most ancient peoples of the Suevi."<sup>89</sup> The Suevi covered a massive geographic expanse in antiquity and corresponded neither to Germania Inferior nor Superior, whose extent and composition varied according to different Roman authors. Moreover his use of the two here together appears to signify all of Germania, not simply two provinces. Therefore Münzer's conceptions of *Superior* and *Inferior*, while tied to the Roman provinces in name, were likely purely geographic. They corresponded to Southern Germania, which was higher in elevation [*Superior*], and Northern Germania, which was lower [*Inferior*]. His use of the phrases to further describe various regions bears echoes of Rome's historical legacy, but his use of the names was not well defined.

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<sup>88</sup> Meyer, "Germania Romana," page 697–719\*.

<sup>89</sup> *Cumque dirimendas suis limitibus germanie terras absoluere nititur ipsius germanie superioris & inferioris florem omisit. Nihil enim de sueuorum antiquissimis germanie populis scripsit.* Schedel, *Nuremberg Chronicle* (Cent. II, 98), 313ar. This is a leaf that was later added to the work. It contains Schreiber C's rewritten and more legible copy of Münzer's *additio*, which was presumably difficult for the printers' to read.



Far clearer was Münzer's use of the adverb *nunc* for four of the regions of Germania. Münzer used the entire phrase *nunc Germanie prouincia* to mark those regions he believed had been incorporated into Germania over time—Carnia, Carinthia, Prussia, and Liuania. The use of this adverb reveals the fact that Münzer had two conceptions of Germania: an older, “original” Germania without these four territories, and a newer, expanded one that included them. The *nunc* constructed the idea of Germania as a space of historical depth because it established time as an element of analysis in understanding the region. This Germania that had historical depth was Münzer's own construct—he did not pull it out of the text of the *De Europa*. Piccolomini says nothing about when, or even whether Carnia and Carinthia were incorporated into Germania—in fact, there is no evidence for Germani anywhere in the text.<sup>90</sup> Therefore, Münzer could not have pulled the idea of these regions as German from Piccolomini's text. The fact that Münzer considered Liuania a part of Germania when Piccolomini did not,<sup>91</sup> and that there is no basis in the *De Europa* to claim that Carnia and Carinthia had previously not been part of Germania, shows the distance that separated Münzer's and Piccolomini's conceptions of the region.

### 3.2.3. Münzer's Germania: A Region of Time and Space

Münzer's Germania was a region rooted in time and space, not in language. Language is in fact hardly a factor for Münzer and when it does arise in the *additio*, the emphasis is on its connection with the *imperium*. Reinhard Stauber understood the *additio*, before all else the phrase *tamen Germanorum imperio dilatato, omnes Germanica lingua loquuntur*, to signify that Münzer was

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<sup>90</sup> Carnia: *Sclau tamen quorum sermo regionem obtinet carnos bifariam diuidunt diplicem carniolam esse dicentes*; Carinthia: *Sunt enim ipsi corinthiani sclau*. Schedel, *Nuremberg Chronicle*, 277r, 277v.

<sup>91</sup> Germania and Liuania were clearly separate entities in Piccolomini's mind. On Liuania, he stated, “the person returning from Liuania into Germania along the shore of the Baltic Sea encounters the Pruteni after the Massegetae.” Piccolomini, *De Europa* (2001), 120. In the *Nuremberg Chronicle* edition of the text, this sentence is split between the sections of the *Massagete* and *Prussia nunc germanie prouincia*, when it probably should all be part of the section on Prussia. I consulted Adrian van Heck's edition of the *De Europa* to figure out how the section should be read because it makes little sense as it is in the edition in the *Nuremberg Chronicle*. Piccolomini, *De Europa* (2001), 120.

adding language as a criterion for understanding Germania as a historically developed *Sprachraum*. Based on the wording of this phrase, Münzer's reference point was not Germania, but rather the German language and the *imperium* that the Germani held, ostensibly through the Holy Roman Emperors.

The context and wording of the quote establish the fact that Münzer saw the German language tied to the expansion of the *imperium*. The quote *tamen...loquuntur* comes in a discussion of the Low Countries, a fact that Stauber mentions, but it does not weigh heavily on his interpretation.<sup>92</sup> Münzer wrote,

“[Piccolomini entirely] left out Flandria, Hannonia, Brabancia, lands famous for their multitude of riches and businesses, in which [the cities] Brugis, Gandauum, Mechlinia, Antwerpia [are located], which, even though they were formerly counted [as part of] Gallia Belgica, nevertheless all speak in the Germanic language after the *imperium* of the Germani had been expanded. [They are] even knowledgeable in other languages on account of their proximity [to them].”<sup>93</sup>

The original phrase *tamen...loquuntur* refers to linguistic change in the Low Countries and the shift of them from Gallia Belgica to, presumably, the rule of the Germani. The *omnes* refers to the inhabitants of these regions, not everyone under the *Germanorum imperium*. As such Münzer was discussing linguistic and political expansion, not the notion of Germania as a historically developed linguistic realm [*Sprachraum*].<sup>94</sup> The crucial aspect of this discussion is the fact that Germania as a single, whole unit was not a political entity or idea for the German humanists.<sup>95</sup> It was a geographical, historical, and cultural idea that encompassed various polities, but it was for most of the patriotic humanists not equatable with the Holy Roman Empire even if the empire was

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<sup>92</sup> Stauber, “Hartmann Schedel,” 179–180.

<sup>93</sup> *Omisit [Piccolomini] item flandriam, hannoniam, brabanciam, terras diuiciarum negotiationumque celebritate perspicuas, in quibus brugis, gandauum, mechlinia, antwerpia, que licet olim gallie belgice adumerate sint, tamen germanorum imperio dilatato, omnes lingua loquuntur, propter vicinium ceteris linguis etiam perite....* Schedel, *Nuremberg Chronicle*, 287v.

<sup>94</sup> Stauber, “Hartmann Schedel,” 180.

<sup>95</sup> Meyer, “*Germania Romana*,” 716–719\*.

“of the German nation.” Therefore, Stauber’s conclusion that “Münzer suggestively included the central idea of language as a criterion for the cultural space [*Kulturraum*] befitting a nation: that the expansion of the German vernacular [*Umgangssprache*] in his own time bears witness to the expansion of borders, the ‘expansion of the German nation,’” is unsustainable.<sup>96</sup> At no other point in the text does Münzer intertwine space and language. Thus, the idea of a linguistically defined *Kulturraum*, a cultural *space*, cannot be supported by the evidence, because, in the *additio*, Münzer only presents a geographically and temporally defined Germania, not a linguistic one.

Germania was nevertheless “historisch geworden.” The simple yet powerful adverb *nunc* adds a temporal element, a sense of historical becoming for those provinces and peoples that appear to have been added to Germania. We must assume that those provinces and peoples without a *nunc* probably refer to Münzer’s conception of the “original” regions that comprised Germania. Unlike later humanists, such as Beatus Rhenanus, who specifically separated an ancient [*vetus*] and more recent [*recentior*] Germania, Münzer did not have a fully developed—or at least clearly explained—notion of Germania along these lines. Nevertheless he was able to construct an image of Germania that was “historisch geworden,” immensely diverse, rich in history, and a unified, but composite whole from the various passages of the *De Europa*.

Münzer’s redactions were just that—redactions. When given the text for editing and emending he took it upon himself to add to the text and the *Druckvorlage*. Schedel had already made the arguments for why the *De Europa* was suitable for co-opting, but there is precious little in the text that made the German lands into a singular and coherent region. Moreover Schedel had already outlined the borders of the region twice in his introduction. Many of the regions Münzer labeled as provinces of Germania appear to have had tenuous ties to Germania and the Germani in

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<sup>96</sup> Stauber, “Hartmann Schedel,” 181.

the *De Europa*, while others have none. As previously stated, there was nothing inherent in the text that would have induced Münzer to consider Carnia and Carinthia to be provinces of Germania, but he included them in his vision of the region.

The idea of Germania that materializes over the *De Europa* had echoes of the Roman past and were built, to an extent, upon Piccolomini's notion of Germania. In the end however this Germania was Münzer's own construction. The *De Europa* helped him in this project because it offered enough of a structure to allow a number of simple interpolations and one lengthy addition in order not only to emphasize the German aspects of the work, but actually to create the idea of Germania from the text itself. This Germania was one of the earliest attempts by a German humanist to thoroughly outline Germania geographically in all of its diversity and through the lens of history.

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## Conclusion

The presentation of the finished edition of the *De Europa* in the *Nuremberg Chronicle* hides all of the work that went into preparing it. This was a group project, and despite the fact that the impetus seems to have come from Schedel, he was not alone in it. Schreiber C transcribed the *De Europa* in the *Druckvorlage* and Münzer emended and augmented the text. Through their work, Schedel and Münzer reshaped a text on Europe into a monument on Germania and Europe.

Schedel's and Münzer's tasks in co-opting were ultimately quite different. Münzer's letter to Schedel from June 13th, 1493, less than two weeks after he completed writing out the Seventh Age in the Latin *Druckvorlage* on June 4th, makes clear the different relationships each humanist had with the project:

You [Schedel] have also added to your work the history that Pope Pius had previously written about Europe and the deeds carried there, seeing as it [is] suitable for this work. Since you found it mangled, mutilated and so corrupted in many

places that Pius himself would abhor it when reading it, you wanted me to inspect and emend it out of love for you. But although this was difficult I, in order that I should aid adherents of the Latin language and that you should hear Pius speaking with his most erudite words, have striven with great effort and have exerted myself with care to emend the mistakes. The majority of these I have perceived [to have] perhaps [arisen] on account of the negligence of scribes or the ignorance of emenders.<sup>97</sup>

According to Münzer, Schedel was the instigator for integrating the *De Europa* into the *Nuremberg Chronicle*. This is not surprising. Schedel was a great proponent of Piccolomini and, according to Claudia Märkl, was “the most influential propagator of Piccolomini’s texts” in Bavaria.<sup>98</sup> Contrarily Münzer appears to have not participated in the process of planning or integrating the text into the chronicle, a fact that his handwritten emendations and interpolations to the *Druckvorlage* bear out. Rather he was like an expert consultant—someone with the technical skills and knowledge to fix the text. He nevertheless played an important role in the finished product.

The question remains, why the *De Europa*? For Münzer, the answer is simple because he had no choice in the matter—he was brought in only after the text had been selected. Noteworthy however is Münzer’s laconic declaration that the text was “suitable” for Schedel’s undertaking. Münzer was in a position to make a more significant or simply different comment on Schedel’s inclusion of the text, but his acceptance of the text means that he saw no issues with including it, even if he had to edit it. For Schedel, the answer lies, as for Münzer, in the suitability of Piccolomini’s book. There are a number of reasons internal to the text that made the *De Europa* apt for co-opting. It was the text richest in information on Germania—even Piccolomini’s

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<sup>97</sup> *Inseruisti etiam, mi Hartmanne, operi tuo historiam quam Pius Papa olim de Europa et rebus in ea gestis scripserat, tamquam huic operi accomodatam. Quam cum laceram, mutilatam et in multis ita depravatam inuenires, ut ipse Pius sua relegens abhorreret, voluisti ut illam tuo amore recognoscerem et castigarem. Quod cum difficile sit tamen ut Latinae linguae sectatores iuarem et Pium suis verbis eruditissimis audires loquentem vehementer elaboravi et curiose enisus sum, errores, quos plures deprehendi fortassis ob librariorum neglegentiam aut correctorum inscitiam emendare.* Goldschmidt, *Hieronymus Münzer*, 109.

<sup>98</sup> Märkl, “Weitläufige Prälaten,” 118.

*Germania* could not offer the same combination of historical and geographical information, because Piccolomini's *Germania* did not become widely known in the German lands until its *editio princeps* in 1496.

The publication date of the *Nuremberg Chronicle* is significant in explaining why Piccolomini's *De Europa* was selected as a suitable work for providing information on Germania. Tacitus' own *Germania*, although already in print since 1471, did not become the main reference-text for the German humanists until ca. 1495/1496–1498/1500, when the *Opera* of Giovanni Giannantonio Campano, *Germania* of Piccolomini, and Conrad Celtis' own edition of Tacitus' *Germania* were published.<sup>99</sup> By 1493 Piccolomini himself was already an established authority. He had acquired extensive knowledge of Germania and its history while living there as a participant in the Council of Basel, as secretary for Pope Felix V, and finally as diplomat for the Habsburgs. Lastly the text's form aided its co-opting: the work is itself a composite and split into easily divisible sections.<sup>100</sup> An editor could thus easily break it down into independent parts and reshape it according to their needs.

It must be admitted however that one, potentially crucial aspect of the inclusion of the *De Europa* cannot be addressed: whether the idea to include the *De Europa* stemmed from Schedel, the financiers, or some combination of the various individuals working on and financing the project. The problem lies in the fact that, as far as I know, a contract between Schedel and the financiers, Sebald Schreyer and Sebastian Kammermeister, does not today exist. The other contracts surrounding the *Nuremberg Chronicle* only grant very limited insight into the content of

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<sup>99</sup> For Campano and Piccolomini, see Mertens, "Instrumentalisierung," 80; Hammerstein, "Geschichte als Arsenal," 24. For Celtis, Müller "Humanistische Gemeinschaftsbildung," 140–141.

<sup>100</sup> Bisaha, ed. *Europe*, 28.

the work.<sup>101</sup> Without this, or at least other information, certain motivations, such as the potential financial benefits of printing a widely known work along with the chronicle cannot be fully considered.

Whatever the additional motivations might have been, both Hartmann Schedel and Hieronymus Münzer saw Piccolomini as a source of information on Germania that could fill an informational gap. Schedel made it clear through his panegyrics on the pope and the introductory material that the *De Europa* was a means to an end, a way to provide information on his *patria*. Münzer went about this another way. His complaints in the *additio* about the limitations of the text and the lacunae he perceived in it manifested a central desire for the text to be a repository of information on the German lands.

In their attempts to highlight this information, Schedel and Münzer exemplified some of the traits that underlie the patriotic works of the German humanists. Most importantly, sources were not inviolable repositories of information, rather raw materials to shape and manipulate. Schedel's introduction demonstrates that the "medieval" ideas of *compilatio* and *ordinatio*, i.e. of compilation and the proper ordering of material in a text, were alive and were suited to humanist works.<sup>102</sup> Like the actual text of the chronicle in the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, Schedel's introduction to the *De Europa* was not a thoughtless compilation.<sup>103</sup> He chose his texts with purpose and stitched them together for what they could do for him. Moreover copying directly from another author defines the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, as it does the edition of the *De Europa*.<sup>104</sup> This practice was not as medieval as scholars of humanism have long wanted to believe, for direct copying, as

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<sup>101</sup> Reske has transcribed the contracts relating to the *Nuremberg Chronicle* and analyzed them. Reske *Produktion*, 85–90, 406–413.

<sup>102</sup> Posselt, *Konzeption und Kompilation*, 98; Märkl, "Weitläufige Prälaten," 118.

<sup>103</sup> Haitz, "Hartmann Schedel's Weltchronik," 44.

<sup>104</sup> Posselt, *Konzeption und Kompilation*, 127.

well as compilation techniques, was normal for humanists: Piccolomini copied directly from Bartolomeo Facio's *Rerum Gestarum Alfonsi Regis Libri* for the *De Europa*<sup>105</sup>; Flavio Biondo both copied and compiled from his sources for the *Italia Illustrata*<sup>106</sup>; Karl Langosch's *apparatus fontium* for his edition of Johannes Cochlaeus' *Brevis Germanie Descriptio* shows just how present such copying was in the work<sup>107</sup>; and Franciscus Irenicus used compilatory techniques throughout his *Germaniae Exegesis*.<sup>108</sup> Copying and compilation were other, more pointed means to co-opt sources, for they allowed the ideas of another source to be situated in a new or different context to emphasize and highlight particular aspects of the information.

On the other side of this, Münzer did not view the *De Europa* as a text that should not be transformed. Rather his *additio* and other changes, including the sizable additions to the sections on Austria, Bohemia, Portugalia, and Hispania,<sup>109</sup> make it clear that he believed the text needed changing. These additions turned the *De Europa* into a "living" document that could be augmented and expanded. The headings that brought the focus of the work onto Germania were part of a different process of textual transformation, one in which the meaning and emphasis of the work could be shifted in a particular direction, thereby imposing a different heuristic framework onto the text that the original author may never have intended.

Schedel and Münzer existed independently of the Conflict Model. An alternative path to German humanistic patriotism existed and it is to be found in the confluence of humanism with

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<sup>105</sup> Bisaha, ed. *Europe*, 20–21.

<sup>106</sup> Clavuot, *Biondos "Italia Illustrata"*, 158, 159, 177, 304; Muecke et al. "Introduction," 10–11.

<sup>107</sup> See for example chapter 6 of the *Brevis Germanie Descriptio*. Cochlaeus, *Brevis Germanie Descriptio* (1512), 110–123.

<sup>108</sup> Borchardt, *German Antiquity*, 144; Ehmer, "Reformatiorische Geschichtsschreibung," 228–229; Kaiser, "Personelle Serialität," 166; Müller, *Germania Generalis*, 476.

<sup>109</sup> Wiener, "Von Humanisten ediert," 178. The others are Austria, Bohemia, and Portugalia, which had two—the second addition for Portugalia was also rewritten, possibly by Schreiber C, with the page number 315a. Schedel, *Nuremberg Chronicle* (Cent. II, 98), 278r/304r, 283r/309r, 289v/315v, 290r/316r.



late medieval trends to establish forms of identification on *nationes* or factors such as language, place of birth or habitation, geography, and customs. This combined with the fact that humanism created a new way to view these *nationes* in relation to the ancient past, which allowed the humanists to emphatically identify with the various peoples of antiquity. This is seen in the general Italian humanist concern for all things Rome, or in the various and multiple civic, regional, and superregional histories of the Italian lands.<sup>110</sup> This disposition was exported across the Alps with humanism itself during the fifteenth-century and redirected toward the humanists' own frameworks for self-identification.<sup>111</sup> The Germans did not need the Italians to tell them they were Germans—Len Scales and Frances Courtney Kneupper have already demonstrated that this was known well before the humanists,<sup>112</sup> and there were plenty of ancient and medieval texts that solidified the place of the Germani in history. The shift with humanism came not from “incentives from abroad.”<sup>113</sup> Humanism rather changed the way that German intellectuals understood and investigated Germania. The Italians played a role in this, not only as instigators of conflict, but also as authoritative sources and fonts of knowledge who set the tone and disposition toward researching history.

Both Münzer's and especially Schedel's interactions with Piccolomini and his texts have significant consequences for interpreting Piccolomini's place in the patriotic movement of the

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<sup>110</sup> For example Bruni's focus on Florence and the Florentines in his *Historiarum Florentini Populi Libri XIII* and for Flavio Biondo's interest in all of Italia, Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography*, 7–9, 36. Another example is Carlo Sigonio's *Historiae de Regno Italiae*, which Cochrane argues was mainly written out of Sigonio's patriotism, a desire to stimulate and guide his fellow citizens, i.e. all Italians. Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography*, 309, 312.

<sup>111</sup> Hammerstein, “Geschichte als Arsenal,” 22.

<sup>112</sup> Scales, *Shaping of German Identity*, esp. chs. 4, 6 and 7; Kneupper, *Empire*, 149–171.

<sup>113</sup> Hirschi argues that, “How were the scholars of the late medieval period, such as Gobelius Persona, able to anticipate a process that was barely visible during their lifetime? If the speakers of German languages were hardly capable of understanding each other, let alone claim a common allegiance to a political community, they needed incentives from abroad to define themselves as both a linguistic and political unit. This was exactly what happened. The Germans, one could say, are an Italian invention.” Hirschi, *Origins of Nationalism*, 106.

German humanists. Neither the *De Europa* in the *Nuremberg Chronicle* nor the *Anhang* as a whole correspond to the long-standing historiographical explanation that German humanist patriotism emerged from or engaged in a cultural conflict with the Italians. Piccolomini did not spur Schedel or Münzer into writing in defense of their homeland, but his texts provided opportunities for them to offer information on Germania. As such, the need to display Germania's transformation, its *mutatio*, from barbarity to civilization was not part of an attempt to culturally position the Germani vis-à-vis other late medieval peoples, but rather to show Germania's transformation within the value system of late medieval Europe.

The *Nuremberg Chronicle* is not only one of the most significant incunabula in the history of the book, but is also one of the earliest manifestations of the patriotism that came to characterize a number of projects among German humanists for a century. Schedel's and Münzer's goals were clear: provide information and ensure that Germania would be known. The region of Germania was an integral part of both the identity of the German humanists and their memorialization project. Because German identity among the humanists stemmed from a combination of people and place, it was vital to create defined concepts of Germania and to preserve information about it. In this edition of Piccolomini's *De Europa*, Schedel set the background for the text: information about Germania and the Germani was lacking and Piccolomini was the author most suited to provide it. Münzer created the image of Germania he wanted his readers to understand. Both however understood that the *De Europa* could not be reprinted without mediation. In an unedited form it gave information on Europe with no clear presentation of Germania, where it was located, who lived there, and what its history was.

Schedel's and Münzer's work stood at the beginning of the patriotic humanists' attempts to make Germania an identifiable and definable idea. This occurred a few years before Conrad Celtis' own

first description of Germania appeared in his *Norimberga* [1495] and some time before his never composed but much discussed *Germania Illustrata* gained traction as an idea. As such, any attempt to connect the *Nuremberg Chronicle* with the *Germania Illustrata* is anachronistic. Instead of “Schedel’s chronicle [being] located in close proximity to the plans of a *Germania Illustrata*,”<sup>114</sup> we should instead say that the *Germania Illustrata* was located in close proximity to the project of the *Nuremberg Chronicle*.

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<sup>114</sup> The quote stems from Kugler, “Nürnberg auf Blatt 100,” 122. Similar ideas are found in Muhlack, *Geschichtswissenschaft*, 208, 209, 210, Roberts, *Konrad Celtis*, 417, and Stauber, “Hartmann Schedel,” 182 similarly project the idea of a *Germania Illustrata* back onto the *Nuremberg Chronicle*. Müller and Joachimsen however see the *Germania Illustrata* growing out of Celtis’ work on a revised, but never started/completed edition of the *Nuremberg Chronicle*. Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung*, 156; Müller, *Germania Generalis*, 289.

## Appendix

When comparing Schedel's text with his sources, it must be remembered that Schedel's text was one fluid, complete whole that was not subdivided. I have broken it down and separated the individual parts for ease of comparing the sources he took the information from. The underlining in the left column indicates shorter passages that Schedel either left out or replaced. The sign [...] denotes where there are longer passages in the original text that Schedel cut out. I have slightly modified punctuation and capitalization to ease reading, but have tried to keep the text close to the original. I have therefore not changed any misspellings or standardized them in any manner. Only in situations in which a misspelling may create confusion have I inserted [*sic*], adding the correct or a more standardized spelling in the brackets. Boldfaced words show how Schedel added to the text to change the meaning or make it fit with the other texts. Any sections from Schedel's text without corresponding text from Piccolomini or Diodorus Siculus show Schedel's own words.

### List of texts used for comparison:

Piccolomini, *De Europa*, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 386. Schedel's MS from 1480.

Piccolomini, *Excusatio contra Murmur Graueaminis Germanice Nationis*, in *Epistolae Familiares*, Nuremberg 1481. Piccolomini, *Oratio Enee de Constantinopolitana Clade et Bello contra Thurcos Congregando*, in *Epistolae Familiares*, Nuremberg 1481.

Piccolomini, *Oratio ad Papam Calixtum*, in *Epistolae Familiares*, Nuremberg 1481.

Piccolomini, *De Asia*, Venice 1477.

Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca*, Venice 1481.

#### **Piccolomini, *De Europa***

***Id fecimus quia** veteres scriptores parcissime de germania locuti sunt, et tamquam extra orbem ea natio iaceret somniantes quodammodo res germanicas attingunt.*<sup>115</sup>

#### **Schedel**

*Veteres rerum scriptores parcissime de Germania locuti sunt, ac si ea natio extra orbem iaceret & somniantes quodammodo res germanicas attigerunt*

#### **Piccolomini, *Excusatio***

*Nanque si legamus vetusta tempora inueniemus germanos olim ritu vixisse barbaro, vestibis vsos laceris, uenationi tamen & agrorum culture dedisse operam. Feroces quidem homines & belli appetentes, sed argenti*

#### **Schedel**

*nanque si legamus vetusta tempora inueniemus germanos olim ritu vixisse barbaro [sic], vestibis usus laceris, venationi tamen & agrorum culture dedisse operam, feroces quidem homines & belli appetentes, sed*

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<sup>115</sup> Piccolomini, *Ad Europam* (BSB Clm 386), 65v.

prorsus inopes, quibus quippe nec vini vsus erat. Ipsa que germania intra mare & danubium, rursusque intra renum & albi continetur. Nunc uero quantum transgressa sit suos limites non ignoramus. Nam plus fere est quod extra nacti estis in gallia Retia Notico [sic Norico], Vindelico atque in ipsa Scythia seu Sarmatia, quam quod intus habuistis. Quid memoremus nobilissimas vrbes vestras & splendidissimas, ditissima templa, opulentissimos principes ac prelatos, certe non uidemus prouinciam esse quae computatis omnibus vestram superet. Quod si resurgeret aliquis illorum theutonum, qui tempore Iulii cesaris vixit, germaniam peragraret, ut arionistis [sic Arioivstus], profecto diceret non esse eam terram, quam olim viderat, negaretque suam esse patriam, cum vinearum & arborum fructiferarum consitiones, vestitus hominum, vrbane civium, splendorem vrbium, tantamque nitidam politiam apud vos contueretur. Verum hanc mutationem quos fecit in vobis nisi religio christi. Cultus quippe christiane religionis a vobis barbariem omnem expulit, atque ita expoliuit, ut iam Greci ipsi barbari, vos autem recti latini appellari mereamini.<sup>116</sup>

argenti prorsus inopes, quibus quippe nec vini vsus erat. Ipsaque germania intra mare & danubium rursusque intra rhenum et albim continetur. nunc vero quantum transgressi sunt suos limites non ignoratur, nam plus fere est quod nacti sunt in gallia, rhecia, norico, vindelico atque in ipsa scythia seu sarmatia quam quod intus habuerunt. Quid memoremus nobilissimas vrbes splendidissimasque ditissima templa opulentissimos principes ac praelatos, certe non videmus prouinciam esse quae computatis omnibus germaniam superet quod si resurgeret aliquis illorum theutonum qui tempore iulii cesaris vixit germaniam peragraret ut arioivstus [sic] profecto diceret non esse eam terram quam olim viderat negaretque suam esse patriam, cum vinearum & arborum fructiferarum consitiones [sic consitiones] vstitus [sic vestitus] hominum, vrbane civium splendorem vrbium, tantamque nitidam politiam [sic politiam] apud germanos contueretur. Uerum hanc mutationem quis fecit nisi religio christi. Cultus quippe christiane religionis a germanis omnem barbariem expulit atque ita expoliuit ut iam greci ipsi barbari, Germani autem recte latini appellari mereantur

#### **Piccolomini, De Constanapolitana Clade**

At mihi seu noua consideranti, seu vetera mente repetenti, inter omnes nationes, quas bello ydoneas iudicant. Nulla expeditior, nulla fortior, nulla peritior, nulla audentior, quam vestra videtur. Vobis homines, vobis equi, vobis arma, vobis pecunie sunt. Nulla natio tamgrandis sub celo est que habeat deos appropinquantes sibi sicut adest vobis dominus deus noster. Et vbi obsecro tot clarissimi principes, tot generosi procures, tot fortissimi equites, tot potentes ciuitates, tot diuitie, tot auri, tot argenti, tot ferri minere, vbi tanta populi multitudo, tanta iuuentus, tantum animi, tantum roboris. Germanie fines ut veteres

#### **Schedel**

Sive igitur noua consideranti seu vetera mente repetenti nulla peritior, nulla ardentior (inter omnes nationes quas bello ydoneas iudicant) germanica videtur. Germanis enim equi arma & pecunie sunt,

& vbi tot clarissimi principes, tot generosi procures, tot fortissimi equites, tot potentes ciuitates, tot diuitie, tot auri, tot argenti, tot ferri minere, vbi tanta populi multitudo, tanta iuuentus, tantum animi, tantum roboris. Cum deinde germanie fines ut veteres tradunt ab

<sup>116</sup> Piccolomini, *Epistolae Familiares*, 170v-171r.

tradunt ab oriente uiscella fluuius et vngarie limes fuere. Ab occidente renus. A meridie danubius. A septentrione oceanus et mare balteum quod prutenicum vocare possumus. Nunc quantum extra hos terminos possideatis ipsi videtis, vos angliam pulsas britanis occupastis, vos belgarum helneciorumque [sic Helvetiorum] fines eiectis gallis obtinuistis. Uos reciam et norcium [sic Noricum] inuasistis, vos vsque in italiam pedem extendistis, vos hulmerigros qui nunc pruteni vocantur ex manibus infidelium detraxistis. Soli ex alienis in vestro solo bohemi sedent potentissimi et nobilissimi populi. Sed et illi vestro imperio parem se aiunt. Regemque habent vestri sanguinis nobilissimum ladislaum. Vos igitur magni, vos bellicosi, vos potentissimi, vos fortunatissimi ac deo accepti germani estis, quibus adeo fines extendisse licuit, & super omnes mortales romane potentie datum fuit obsistere. Nam terrarum ille calcator omnium, & orbis domitor Iulius Cesar, quamuis subactis gallis sepe renum transiuerit resque maximas in germania gesserit. Bellicosam tamen & asperam sueuorum gentem dimisit indomitam. Augustus octauianus cui & parthorum & indorum reges munera miserunt, qui vnus omnium romanorum fortunatissimus creditus est, de quo illa sunt metra. Augustus cesar diuum genus aurea condet. Secula qui reuersus latio regnata per arua. Saturno quondam superat geramantas & indos proferet. Imperium iacet extra sidera tellus extra anni solisque vias, vbi celi fer atlas, axem humero premit stellis ardentibus aptum. Ille inquam felicissimus imperator nullibi unquam nisi apud germanos succubuit. Nam lollianam & varianam cladem in germania perpessus est. Lollianam maioris infamie quam detrimenti, varianam pene exitialem, tribus legionibus cum duce legatis & auxiliis omnibus cesis. Longum esset referre quas intulerunt romane reipublice molestias germani, qui & si romanorum fortune aliquando cesserunt, postea tamen & ipsi de romanis, de gallis, de hispanis, de hungaris, deque aliis diuersts [sic diversis]

orientis viscera fluuius & ungare limes fuere, ab occidente Rhenus, a meridie danubius, a septentrione oceanus & mare baltheum quod prutenicum vocare possumus, nunc quantum extra hos terminos possideant ipsi videmus. Germani enim angliam pulsas britannis occuparunt, belgarum heluitorumque fines eiectis gallis obtinuerunt, rhetiam & noricum invaserunt et usque in ytaliam pedem extenderunt. Germani quoque hulmigeros qui nunc pruteni vocantur ex manibus infidelium detraxerunt, soli ex alienis in germanico solo bohemi sedent potentissimi & nobilissimi populi, sed & illi germanico imperio parere se aiunt. Regemque habent **principaliorem ex regni electoribus**. Magni igitur bellicosi ac fortissimi deoque accepti germani sunt, quibus adeo fines extendisse licuit, & super omnes mortales romane potentie datum fuit obsistere. Nam terrarum ille calcator omnium & orbis domitor iulius cesar quamuis subactis gallis sepe rhenum transiuerit resque maximas in germania gesserit, bellicosam tamen & asperam sueuorum gentem dimisit indomitam. Augustus octauianus cui & parthorum & indorum reges munera miserunt, qui vnus omnium romanorum fortunatissimus creditus est.

Ille inquam felicissimus imperator nullibi unquam nisi apud germanos succubuit, nam lollianam & varrianam cladem in germania perpessus est. Lollianam maioris infamie quam detrimenti, varrianam pene exitialem tribus legionibus cum duce legatis & auxiliis omnibus cesis longum esset recensere quos intulerunt rei publice molestias germani, qui & si romanorum fortune aliquando cesserunt. Postea tandem & ipsi de romanis de gallis, de hispanis, de hungaris, deque aliis

*gentibus sepe numero triumpharunt. Nec romani cum rerum potirentur res magnas sine germanis auxiliantibus peregerunt, quorum tanta in bello virtus, tanta in domo fides fuit, vt cesarei corporis custos cohors ex germanis potissime legeretur.*<sup>117</sup> [...] Scio enim Gotfridum qui fuit lothoringe dux cum solis transkenanis [sic Transrhenanis] theutonibus & aliquibus gallicis paucis italibus hungariam percussisse, greciam penetrasse, hellespontum transisse, asiam permeasse, Jerosolimam ex potentate infidelium vendicasse, victis ac prostratis omnibus que occurrerent in medio gentibus, quamuis & thurci & saraceni numerosi resistere conarentur. In eius exercitu ducenta milia pugnatorum fuisse traduntur, atque multo maiores copias sola germania cogere potest. [...]

*Nam & imperante Conrado de quo paulo ante dixi, cum tercius Eugenius romanus pontifex christianos excitaret pro tutela terre sancte, quam Saraceni euertere conabantur, pruteni cum ceteris vltioribus ydola colebant, ac crebris excursionibus, nunc saxoniam, nunc alios vicinos christi cultores infestabant. Conradus autem dimissis saxonibus aut ceteris vicinis, qui domi cum prutenis ac reliquis barbaris decertarent, ipse cum rinensibus, sueuis, franconibus, bauaris hierosolimam penetrauit.*<sup>118</sup>

#### **Piccolomini, Oratio ad Papam Calixtum**

*Secundo exponendum erit quam longa et lata sit germanica natio, quam religiosa, quam verax, quam iusta, quam promissi tenax, quam populosa, quam diues, quanta illic nobilitas, quam fortis & experta militia, quantus ecclesiarum ornatus, quanta gloria cleri, quanta principum magnificentia, quantus splendor vrbium, que celi facies que terre vbertas, cum prouinciarum et populi decus cum*

*diuersis gentibus sepe numero triumpharunt. Nec romani cum rerum potirentur res magnas sine germanis auxiliantibus peregerunt, quorum tanta in bello virtus tanta in domo fides, fuit vt cesarei corporis custos cohors ex germanis potissime legeretur. Scimus quos Gotfridum qui fuit lotharingie dux cum solis transrhenanis theutonibus & aliquibus gallicis, paucis italibus hungariam percussisse, greciam penetrasse, hellospontum transsisse [sic], asiam permeasse, iherosolimam ex potestate infidelium vendicasse, victis ac prostratis omnibus que occurrerent in medio gentibus, quamuis & turci & sarraceni numerosi resistere conarentur, in eius exercitu ducenta milia pugnatorum fuisse traduntur, atque multo maiores copias sola Germania cogere potest.*

*Namque imperante conrado cum Eugenius tercius romanus pontifex christionos [sic] excitaret pro tutela terre sancte quam sarraceni eueterere conabantur. Pruteni cum ceteris vltioribus ydola colebant ac crebris excursionibus nunc saxoniam aut alios vicinos christi cultores infestabant. Conradus autem dimissis saxonibus aut ceteris vicinis qui domi cum prutenis ac reliquis barbaris decertarent ipse cum rhenensibus, sueuis, franconibus, bauaris iherosolimam penetrauit.*

#### **Schedel**

*Postremo quam longa & lata sit germanica natio, quam religiosa, quam verax, quam iusta, quam promissi tenax, quam populosa, quam diues, quanta illic nobilitas, quam fortis & experta militia, quantus ecclesiarum ornatus, quanta gloria cleri, quanta principum magnificentia, quantus splendor vrbium, que celi facies, que terre ubertas, cum prouinciarum decus cum principe sit commune magis admirari quam recensere*

<sup>117</sup> Piccolomini, *Epistolae Familiares*, 91v-92r.

<sup>118</sup> Piccolomini, *Epistolae Familiares*, 92v.

*principe sit commune.*<sup>119</sup>

*valemus.*

#### **Schedel**

*Cum igitur hoc opus historiarum ex officina nurmberge prodeat que vrbs inclita in medio ferme germanie sita est perpauca de germania in calce libri absoluemus praemittendo historiam Enee pii secundi romani pontificis rerum ubique gestarum in europa sub friderico tercio romanorum imperatore. Is enim etsi natione senensis sit se tamen germanum fatetur cum de se scribat*

#### **Piccolomini, Excusatio**

*Sed cum nos iam annis super xxiiii germaniam incoluerimus, non reputamus extraneus existimari debere, cumque imperatori ipsique nationi longo tempore summa fide magnis laboribus seruierimus, & nunc ad cardinalatum recepti, ea curemus quae nationis ipsius honori atque vtilitati conducant, & ita prorsus agamus vt natione germani potius quam ytali putemur.*<sup>120</sup>

#### **Schedel**

*Sed cum nos iam annis supra xxiiii germaniam incoluerimus non reputamus extraneus existimare debere. Cumque imperatore ipsique nationi longo tempore summa fide magnis laboribus seruierimus & nunc ad cardinalatum recepti ea curemus quae nationis ipsius honori atque vtilitati conducant, & ita prorsus agamus vt natione potius germani quam itali putemur*

#### **Diodorus Siculus, Bibliotheca**

*Nam & antiquiora illa paulum sub obscuram ambiguitatem praebent scribentibus, & temporum descriptio haud facilis cognitu quandoque detrahit legentibus fidem*<sup>121</sup>

#### **Schedel**

*verum cum antiquiora illa tempora sub obscuram ambiguitatem praebeant scribentibus & temporum descriptio haud facilis cognitu, quandoque detrahit legentibus fidem.*

#### **Piccolomini, De Asia**

*Multa est inter ueteres discordia, quam inde nasci arbitramur, quia nec montium, nec fluminum, nec gentium nomina perseuerant, & prouintiarum regnorumque termini multam uarietatem accipiunt a Strabone, qui sub Tyberio Caesare uixit usque ad Ptholomeum*

#### **Schedel**

*Multa quos de his inter veteres discordia, quam inde nosci arbitramur, quia nec montium nec fluminum nec gentium nomina perseuerant, & prouinciarum regnorumque termini multam uarietatem accipiunt. A Strabone qui sub tiberio cesare vixit vsque ad*

<sup>119</sup> Piccolomini, *Epistolae Familiares*, 211r.

<sup>120</sup> Piccolomini, *Epistolae Familiares*, 171r.

<sup>121</sup> Diodorus Siculus, *Diodori Siculi Historiarum Priscarum*, 67v.



*Alexandrinum, qui per tempora Antonini Pii situm orbis descripsit. Haud equidem magnum tempus est, & tamen tanta nominum uariatio intercessit, ut paucissimos scytharum populos ex his nominari uideamus, apud unum quos nominauerit alter.*<sup>122</sup>

**Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca***

*\*Qua moti re nobiliores qui postmodum secuti sunt historici ommissis priorum fabulis ad recentiores se historias contulere. Ephorus quippe Cymeus Socratis discipulus [sic discipulus] historiam scripturus ueteribus prætermisissis rebus ab heraclidarum tempore narrandi ex ordium cæpit. Callisthenes ac Theopompus, quos eadem tulit ætas prisca illa minime attigerunt. Nos secus arbitrati onus sumpsimus priscas res omnis litteris mandandi. Maxima enim plurimaque heroum semideorumque tum aliorum excellentium uirorum meritis quorum a posteris semideorum heroumque honores ac sacra impensa sunt egregia facinora extiterunt. Qui tamen omnes historiæ munere laude sempiterna celebrati sunt.*<sup>123</sup>

*ptolomeum alexandrinum qui per tempora antoni pii situm orbis descripsit, haud equidem magnum tempus est & tamen tanta nominum variatio intercessit vt paucissimos populos ex his nominari uideamus apud vnum quos nominauerit alter.*

**Schedel**

*Ideo Ephorus quippe cymeus Socratis discipulus a suo tempore narrandi exordium cepit. Calisthenes ac Theopompus*

*quos eadem tulit etas prisca illa minime attigerunt*

*qui tamen omnes historici munere laude sempiterna celebrati sunt, \*qua motus re eloquentissimus Eneas omissis priorum gestis in quibus scriptores nonnumquam dissentiunt ad recentiores historias se contulit.*

**Schedel**

*Que igitur in germania sub suo euo gesta sunt memoratu digna & in ceteris regionibus europe in isto opere vario & egregio dum in cardinalatus ocio uiueret accurate descripsit, historiam igitur eius deinceps in primis perlustrabimus.*<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Piccolomini, *De Asia*, b5v.

<sup>123</sup> Diodorus Siculus, *Diodori Siculi Historiarum Priscarum*, 68r.

<sup>124</sup> Schedel, *Nuremberg Chronicle*, 267r.

## Chapter 4. The Theory and Practice of Autopsy: The Function of the Eyewitness in Andreas Althamer's *Commentaria Germaniae* [1536]

Contact with antiquity and the Middle Ages inspired the humanists to cultivate ways to manage and assess the wealth of knowledge they had gained through learned investigation and scholarly exploration. Further scrutiny of where this knowledge originated from, what form it should come in, and how one should assess it required the development of a number of practices to answer these questions. These practices developed into a bundle of approaches and conventions to source material now called source criticism. Humanist practices involving scrutinizing information and assessing its value were expressed in a variety of manners and for a multitude of purposes. In the environment of German humanist patriotism, source criticism was subordinated to the overall goal of gathering information. The case of Andreas Althamer's use of one form of source criticism, reliance on eyewitness testimony, in his *Commentaria Germaniae* from 1536 shows that source criticism was a tool for acquiring information with no clear protocols. Humanist source criticism was quite different from our understanding of it, because it was, despite its name, a bundle of conventions and practices that contained both critical and non-critical features.

There are no corpses or dissections in this chapter, but rather an attempt at putting a ghost to rest that has loomed over studies of the Renaissance since Jakob Burckhardt: the modernity of humanism. Despite the rather vocal abnegation of Burckhardtian conceptions of humanism for many decades, various aspects of the humanist movement remain indebted to positivist views that link them with "modern" scholarship.<sup>1</sup> Scholars often consider humanist practices as

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<sup>1</sup> This connection has been and remains a general interpretive framework to conceptualize the transformations to scholarship the humanists wrought. This is seen in the titles of past and more recent work on humanism: James Hankins, "Humanism and the Origins of Modern Political Thought"; Kelley, *Foundations of Modern Historical Scholarship: Language, Law, and History in the French Renaissance*. The connection is also found in scholarly analysis: "In conclusion, Biondo's relative modernity must, despite all flaws, be emphasized . Clavuot, *Biondos*

“achievements,” evaluating the humanists’ intellectual faculty based on modern standards.<sup>2</sup> At the forefront of this comparison lies source criticism, which scholars have long correctly labeled as a defining feature of the humanist movement. The problem with assessing humanist source critical practices as “achievements” stems from the fact that they are only seen as such because they resemble or correspond to modern methods.

In this chapter I argue against traditional notions of humanist source criticism. I contend that we must understand source criticism as having existed on a scale that ranges, in a modern perspective, from uncritical to critical, because those practices that have been held up as paragons of source criticism actually were not always used for critical purposes and in critical ways. Moreover humanist source practices were themselves not always critical but based on a range of preferences and ways of approaching knowledge from. In this chapter I examine one practice held as definitional for humanist source criticism, autopsy, and argue that its main function was to gather information, not to assess or critically evaluate knowledge.

The very idea of source criticism is in itself problematic because it is a modern idea retrojected onto an ill-defined bundle of practices employed by the humanists. Scholarly discussions of source criticism have often chosen to use modern conceptions of source criticism and therefore do not reflect the working practices of the humanists. This is not to say that humanists did not employ source criticism, but rather that modern discussions of “humanist source criticism” must take great care when defining what this meant. I use the phrase “source criticism” for the humanists because it is an apt label as long as the necessary heuristic parameters and analytical

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*Italia Illustrata*, 200. See also Mazzocco, “Rome and the Humanists,” 186; Staab, “Quellenkritik im deutschen Humanismus,” 157.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. “A comparison with modern collections of inscriptions shows that Peutinger’s publication is indeed a remarkable achievement, accurate in the transcription and precise in the reproduction of the text found.” Ramminger, “Roman Inscriptions,” 205. See also, Schmid, “Aventinus und die Realienkunde,” 99; Speyer, *Italienische Humanisten*, 56

framework are tied to it: scholars must not pick and choose those aspects that conform to modern practices and write the others off as “uncritical,” because, when one looks at the whole range of practices with sources and even those that carry signs of scrutiny, they were not always used in critical manners or for critical purposes.

Humanist source criticism was completely shaped by the scholarly needs of the individual. It amounted to no defined methodology, but rather a general collection of practices to determine which sources one could rely on. It is for this reason that Jakob Schopper’s claim that Julius Caesar and Tacitus were more credible historical witnesses because they had autoptic, personal knowledge of Germania was as valid an expression of source criticism as his reliance on [Pseudo-]Berosus because Sebastian Münster, whom Schopper esteemed greatly, trusted Berosus. Schopper trusted Berosus despite clearly indicating that he knew that his authenticity was in doubt.<sup>3</sup> Both were an expression of a form of source criticism and were valid within the intellectual culture of German humanism. Studies of humanism have lost sight of this multifaceted form of source criticism because they long held their delineation of source criticism as a standard, or even a goal, for the humanists to attain. There has not been enough critical investigation of the category itself. Modern historians need to apply a more inclusive sense of humanist source criticism, taking into account *all* the manners the humanists used to select, evaluate, analyze, and utilize sources, reconsidering source criticism as the practices the humanists used, not the ones we expect them to have used.

The definition of “autopsy” guiding this chapter comes from Ancient Greek *αὐτοψία* (*autopsia*), “seeing for oneself.” As with so many of the practices scholars have outlined for humanism, the humanists did not use the word “autopsy” or a related phrase to denote first-hand

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<sup>3</sup> “There is to be sure a great conflict among learned people about this historian, for many consider him to be a fable writer [*Fabelschreiber*], who lived and wrote more recently [...]. But the very learned and very experienced cosmographer, Sebastian Münster, judged very differently about this man: he held this writer in high worth in his German *Cosmographia* on the 375th page and considered him to be credible.” Schopper, *Neuwe Chorographia*, b5v.

knowledge of some fact. They rather often employed various words to denote that someone had personally experienced or witnessed a phenomenon, including words to signal personal observation [*lusto, perlusto, peragro, video, and sehen*] or their presence *in situ* [*milito, kriegem*]. In addition they used words that conveyed a message of personal experience or observation [*oculus, testis oculatus/ocularis, erfahrung*]. All of these words were often set against those denoting second-hand knowledge from written or oral sources [*testis auritus, hören sagen, audita*].

As a form of source criticism, overtures to an author's autoptic knowledge were rather uncommon among the humanists. It is used intermittently throughout a variety of works, but it was not a standard or expected criterion to determine credibility. Renaissance intellectuals knew about the problems of eyewitness sources and the ways to assess their credibility. They were also aware that eyewitness knowledge did not promise unassailable truth and that it sometimes needed to be manipulated by its recipients for use.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless modern scholars have retained autopsy and eyewitness knowledge as evidentiary standards for the humanists' assessment of accurate knowledge.<sup>5</sup> An investigation of how different humanists understood autoptic worth and put such knowledge into practice shows just how varied conceptions of autopsy's value were, as well as the fact that in practice autoptic knowledge was used both uncritically and critically.

I investigate Andreas Althamer's conceptions and use of autoptic knowledge, because, unlike most humanists, he made a number of statements about eyewitness knowledge substantial enough to outline his conceptions of its theoretical and practical value. Moreover Althamer is a relatively understudied patriotic humanist whose two commentaries on Tacitus' *Germania* provide

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<sup>4</sup> Johnson, "Buying Stories," 419–420, 430; Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography*, 8, 11, 12, 197.

<sup>5</sup> "The formulae of 'to learn by experiment' and 'to get to know by one's own eyes' direct his [Sebastian Münster's] research; his object was accuracy, and accuracy demands autopsy." McLean, *Cosmographia*, 153. See also Bollbuck, "Erfahrung der Peripherie," 282–284; Ianziti, "Humanism's New Science," 66; Kaiser "Sola historia negligitur," 98; Landfester, *Historia magistra vitae*, 104; Muhlack, *Geschichtswissenschaft*, 211–212; Popper, "Ocean of Lies," 377.

numerous avenues for research on classical reception, the genre of the commentary, and the overlap between humanist patriotism and the Reformation. Lastly Althamer was a true product of his time, and therefore a reflection of the discourses and intellectual projects of Renaissance Germany: he was a confessionally-biased and pro-Lutheran scholar, reformer, patriotic humanist, and heir to the concepts and practices of his predecessors. He was not a ground-breaker or great leading figure such as Phillip Melanchthon, Erasmus, Beatus Rhenanus, and other humanists and reformers, and he therefore was not anomalous or unparalleled.

Althamer and other humanists understood that autoptic knowledge could come in two forms: first-hand or direct autopsy, when authors themselves witnessed a phenomenon or explored a region; or, second-hand or written autopsy, when authors called upon another's own direct experience for use in their own work.<sup>6</sup> Conrad Celtis' self-aggrandizing explanation in his *Quattuor Libri Amores* [1502] that he deserved distinction for having personally explored Germania over a ten-year trip is an example of direct autopsy.<sup>7</sup> Conrad Peutinger four years later supplied an example of second-hand autopsy in the *Sermones Convivales*, when he distinguished Ammianus Marcellinus as a diligent author and eyewitness of Gallic history.<sup>8</sup> Both versions arise throughout Althamer's *Commentaria Germaniae*, and I refer to both as either autoptic or eyewitness knowledge throughout the chapter.

Scholars agree that humanists valued the principle of autopsy greatly, very often considering it best practice in determining the reliability of a source.<sup>9</sup> Often the German humanist

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<sup>6</sup> Andermann, *Albert Krantz*, 205. All translations in this chapter are the author's own.

<sup>7</sup> *Sunt qui se Gallias, Hyspanias & vtramque Sarmatiam & Pannoniam transmarinas etiam terras lustrasse & vidisse gloriantur. Ego non minori gloria hominem germanum philosophiae studiosum dignum existimo, qui patriae suae linguae fines & terminos gentiumque in ea diversos ritus, leges, linguas, religiones, habitum denique & affectiones corporumque varia linamenta & figuras viderit & obseruauerit.* Celtis, *Quattuor Libri Amorum*, a6r.

<sup>8</sup> Peutinger, *Sermones Convivales*, b7r–b7v.

<sup>9</sup> Highly regarded: Andermann, *Albert Krantz*, 204, 205; Bollbuck, "Erfahrung der Peripherie," 282; Cordes, "Quellen der Exegesis Germaniae," 77; Castner, "Fortuna," 180; Muhlack, *Geschichtswissenschaft*, 211–212. Best

conception of eyewitness information was unclear and their statements about its value remained theoretically vague. They understood its main importance as a means to acquire, not to critically evaluate, information. Andreas Althamer's statements about autopsy and his use of eyewitness knowledge show that he was aware of the qualitative and quantitative benefits—that an eyewitness could provide both more and better information—but did not exploit these potential qualitative advantages for his own scholarship. Instead Althamer used an author's status as an eyewitness as a means to distinguish the author, not their knowledge, from other sources, but this had very little or no impact on Althamer's assessments of the quality of information. For Althamer using an eyewitness was a matter of acquiring more, not better, information, and was therefore a concern of quantity, not quality. Thus, as with most German patriotic humanists, the anxiety over simply gathering information outweighed the need to critically assess it.

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#### 4.1. The Variety of Humanist Source Criticism

“Ammianus Marcellinus, the most diligent composer of the *Historia Augusta*, who also soldiered under Emperor Caesar F. Claudius Iulianus Augustus...and was in Gallia and Germania for a long time.”<sup>10</sup>  
 Conrad Peutinger. *Sermones Convivales*.

Source criticism included a bundle of variable and malleable practices and approaches to reading and using sources. In the second-half of the sixteenth century, these practices began to crystallize into prescriptive methods to describe how one should conduct research. The most striking example came with the development of the genre of the *ars historica* in which humanist scholars like Jean Bodin and François Boudouin established guidelines and rules for how history should be read.<sup>11</sup> Until this point, and indeed for a long time afterwards, source critical practices were not always or

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practice: Hirsch, *Damião de Gois*, 132; Landfester, *Historia magistra vitae*, 104; McLean, *Cosmographia*, 153; Popper, “Ocean of Lies,” 377.

<sup>10</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, *historiae Augustae conscriptor diligentissimus, qui & sub Imperatore Cæsare F. Claudio Iuliano Augu. F. Constantii fratris Constantini Maximi filio militavit, diuque in Gallia atque Germania fuit*. Peutinger, *Sermones Convivales*, b7r–b7v.

<sup>11</sup> Burke, *Renaissance Sense*, 75–76; Franklin, *Jean Bodin*, 3–4; Grafton, “Renaissance Readers,” 662; Grafton, *What Was History?* 23–24; Muhlack, *Geschichtswissenschaft*, 382.

predominantly prescriptive. They were rather part of a general repertoire of ways to approach sources and investigate them. In this section, I provide an overview of practices the humanists employed before the *ars historica* to demonstrate that the ways the humanists used sources were variable and contingent upon a number of factors. These practices do not add up to a system of source criticism, but rather illustrate a broad range of ways to use sources according to fluctuating levels of scrutiny. Because source criticism and humanist source practices have so long been conceptualized as signs of the “modernity” of their scholarship, this section also shows that the humanists employed many conventions that do not accord with the standards modern scholarship has established. The Renaissance was a time of exploration, and the humanists' diverse practices with sources present humanism as an intellectual culture in transition and transformation.

Humanist source practices began with the simple question of “can this source provide information on the topic at hand?” It worked from a newly developed evidentiary standard among the humanists that placed increasing emphasis on where knowledge could be found and an awareness that certain types of informational pools were preferable to others. This included numerous ways of discounting sources or proving them wrong, collating and combining them, comparing and contrasting them, explaining errors or falsehoods found in them, and a general, but not always followed, abnegation of the fabulous in favor of truth.<sup>12</sup>

The variability of source criticism is seen across the history of humanism and was shaped by a multitude of factors. An individual humanist's own practices could change over the course of their career: Leonardo Bruni's practices in his historiographical works narrowed over time from employing multiple sources for a narrative to following a single work.<sup>13</sup> Flavio Biondo, a critic of

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<sup>12</sup> For examples, see Clavuot, *Biondos "Italia Illustrata"*, 188, 200; Goez, “Anfänge” (1974), 28; Grafton, *Commerce with the Classics*, 29, 63, 69; Grafton, *Defenders of the Text*, 57; Ianziti, “Humanism's New Science,” 65–66.

<sup>13</sup> Ianziti, *Writing History*, 15–20.



Bruni's later practice, worked with a wide array of materials for his own projects.<sup>14</sup> Source criticism was also applicable to many fields: Petrarch used it for literary criticism, Johannes Naclerus for his historiography, Lorenzo Valla for his philology, and Beatus Rhenanus in his combination of textual emendation and historiography.<sup>15</sup> Each source critical practice was at times used in ways that would be considered uncritical from a modern perspective. For instance both Bruni and Biondo, along with many German humanists, ignored sources in problem situations.<sup>16</sup>

As a multifaceted set of practices, source criticism was liable to be shaped by the larger intellectual or ideological demands of the humanist. Piccolomini subjected his criticism of sources to his religious-political arguments about the Ottoman Turks in his *De Asia*,<sup>17</sup> while Flavio Biondo's direct observation of Roman ruins appears to have been shaped by aspects of patronage,<sup>18</sup> and Bruni's use of sources in his *Cicero* was influenced not by scholarly rigor or even in fact source criticism, but rather to support the image of the Roman republican orator he wished to portray.<sup>19</sup> Thus the humanists did not always or necessarily direct their critical acumen toward questions of truth, which is often the assumed purpose of source criticism.<sup>20</sup> In short, due to a variability of function and application, source criticism could be quite inconsistent, even if the authors themselves promoted the value of truth in their works.<sup>21</sup>

Source criticism relied on a variety of conceptions that determined the value or utility of a source in ways that made sense for Renaissance intellectual culture. From the outset a dominant,

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<sup>14</sup> Ianziti, *Writing History*, 21.

<sup>15</sup> Petrarch: Speyer, *Italienische Humanisten*, 13, 15–16; Naclerus: Goetz, "Anfänge" (1974), 32; Valla: Camporeale, "Lorenzo Valla's *Oratio*," 14–15. Rhenanus: D'Amico, *Theory and Practice*, 192–193; Muhlack, *Geschichtswissenschaft*, 390.

<sup>16</sup> Biondo: Clavuot, *Biondos "Italia Illustrata"*, 200; Bruni: Ianziti, *Writing History*, 15–20.

<sup>17</sup> Castner, "Direct Observation," 100, 101.

<sup>18</sup> Castner, "Direct Observation," 100, 101.

<sup>19</sup> Ianziti, *Writing History*, 12–13.

<sup>20</sup> Bollbuck, "Erfahrung der Peripherie," 275.

<sup>21</sup> Andermann, "Historiographie und Interesse," 93–94.

if not *the* dominant, determiner of a source's value was its *auctoritas*, "authority," built from considerations of the name, reputation, and the *antiquitas* of a given author, as well as the general late medieval and Renaissance acceptance of the preeminent value of the written word. Age, or antiquity, played a commanding role in the *auctoritas* of an author: a source was valuable because it was old, and as humanists, the Ancient Greek and Roman authors held primacy in this category, save for Biblical or patristic texts. Nevertheless authors of antiquity or perceived antiquity could be discounted when believed to be apocryphal, like Coluccio Salutati's denunciation of Dares Phrygius, and spurious, as with Valla's invective indictment of the *Donation of Constantine*.<sup>22</sup>

Althamer was the heir to these beliefs and conceptions, and in this chapter I look into one of these practices to investigate the principles that shaped its use. The principles that guided Althamer's notions of the eyewitness were subject to his overall need to provide information in order to monumentalize Germania. His practices with the sources helped him fill the informational gap in the written record that he and his peers discerned. His conception and use of the eyewitness was only limitedly shaped by notions of scrutiny, this fact exemplified best by Althamer's reason for choosing Tacitus's *Germania* as the subject of his commentary: it was not because Tacitus was, as Althamer believed, *in situ*, but rather because the *Germania* was the most information-rich source on Germania and the Germani available.

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<sup>22</sup> This is seen clearly in Valla's opening statement from the *De Falso Credita et Ementita Constantini Donatione*: "Many and very many books have been put forth by me in almost every kind of learning in which I disagree with several, great authorities [who have] been already proven for a long time." Valla, *De Falso*, 55.

## 4.2. The Context of Althamer's Autopsy

“Pliny, Strabo, Ptolemy, Diodorus Siculus, Quintus Curtius, Eneas Syluius, Iohannes Bohemus, etc. wrote many things that they did not see but [which] they received from men worthy of credibility. Must they therefore be rejected? Far be it!”<sup>23</sup>

Sebastian Münster. *Cosmographia*.

Eyewitness or autoptic knowledge was known as a credible and reliable way to gain knowledge among humanists. It underlay much of the evidence that Flavio Biondo gathered for his *Italia Illustrata*, which he combined with both written and material sources to create the framework of knowledge that structured the monumental text.<sup>24</sup> Mentions of direct observation and eyewitness sources are strewn throughout the works of the German patriotic humanists: Conrad Peutinger knew that Pliny the Elder and Ammianus Marcellinus had been soldiers in Gallia and Germania, Jodocus Willich believed Tacitus to have been in Gallia, and Jakob Schopper emphasized Cornelius Tacitus' and Julius Caesar's own personal, experiential knowledge as a reason for lending them more credence.<sup>25</sup>

The most extensive discussion of eyewitness knowledge before Althamer is found in Franciscus Irenicus' *Germaniae Exegesis* from 1518. His discussion comes at the beginning of the work and spans chapters five, seven, and eight of the first volume. In these chapters Irenicus focused on answering the question, how have past authors explained how to gain reliable information? His question does not pertain to reading a text, a piece of information, a source, etc. for reliable information, but rather questions the nature of reliable knowledge in general. Summarized, Irenicus discussed the strengths and weaknesses of eyewitness knowledge. He argued that one would reach more secure knowledge of a region based on witnessing a region and

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<sup>23</sup> Plinius, Strabo, Ptolemæus, Diodorus Siculus, Quintus Curtius, Eneas Syluius, Iohannes Bohemus, &c. multa scripserunt quæ non uiderunt, sed a uiris fide dignis receperunt. Reprobandi ergo sunt? Absit. Münster, *Cosmographia*, [a]5r.

<sup>24</sup> Clavuot, Biondos "Italia Illustrata", 200; see also Castern, "Direct Observation, 93."

<sup>25</sup> Peutinger, *Sermones Convivales*, b7r–b7v; Willich, *In Germaniam Commentaria*, a3r–a3v; Schopper, *Neuwe Chorographia*, b6r.

personally investigating it over relying on geographical theory and conjecture.<sup>26</sup> He also explained that eyewitness knowledge was not a guarantee of accurate information, for several individual eyewitnesses might see the same phenomenon but report different information about it.<sup>27</sup> Lastly he argued that those who learn from others, i.e. *testes auriti* are to be preferred when they are possessed of “a fertile and outstanding intellect.”<sup>28</sup> Irenicus’ statements outline the conditions under which it is better to be an eyewitness or to be one who learns by hearsay. His discussions never turn to applying this knowledge. They concerned epistemology and accurate knowledge, not source criticism.

The most extensive discussions of autoptic knowledge after Althamer come in Sebastian Münster’s *Cosmographia*. By the 1552 Latin edition, much of the information on European territories was derived from Münster’s own travels and other eyewitness reports.<sup>29</sup> From 1526 to 1546 Münster undertook various research excursions throughout the German lands, which took him, among other locations, to Switzerland and Swabia on more than one occasion, as well as to the Lebertal, Lake Constance, the island Mainau, and Schloss Waldburg, among others.<sup>30</sup> In addition to his own travels, Münzer acquired great amounts of information by soliciting those with direct knowledge of other regions.

In his study on the compilation of the *Cosmographia* and intellectual culture surrounding it, Matthew McLean laid great emphasis on Münster’s conception of the eyewitness, portraying it as clearly superior to knowledge acquired from written sources.<sup>31</sup> Such an image of Münster’s use

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<sup>26</sup> Irenicus, *Germaniae Exegesis*, 4r–4v, 5v.

<sup>27</sup> Irenicus, *Germaniae Exegesis*, 5r–5v.

<sup>28</sup> Irenicus, *Germaniae Exegesis*, 5v.

<sup>29</sup> Burrmeister, *Sebastian Münster*, 122–133.

<sup>30</sup> Burrmeister, *Sebastian Münster*, 124–131.

<sup>31</sup> McLean, *Cosmographia*, 151–155. McLean used Münster’s 1550 edition of the *Cosmographia*. There is however no difference in these specific statements between the 1550 and 1552 editions.

of both autoptic and second-hand knowledge actually discounts the importance Münster ascribed to combining both means of knowledge acquisition. To be sure, Münster understood the great value of autopsy, but also knew that it had serious limitations,<sup>32</sup> and he made a resounding case for the use of credible authors who had never set foot in Germania or personally observed each of the phenomena they discussed.<sup>33</sup> The theoretical underpinnings of the value and limitations of eyewitness knowledge were clear to Münster, and in practice his use of such knowledge was both corrective and informational.<sup>34</sup> Both second-hand and observational knowledge worked together to create the *Cosmographia*.<sup>35</sup>

The most critically oriented statements by patriotic humanists came from Beatus Rhenanus and Jakob Schopper. Both authors had a clear understanding that autoptic knowledge was superior to other kinds, and Schopper even put this theory into practice. On two occasions in the *Res Germanicae* [1530] Rhenanus clearly stated that the *testis oculatus* was superior to the *testis auritus*. When discussing the Frankish incursion into the provinces Germania Secunda and the two Belgicae, Rhenanus wrote, “This [Sidonius] Apollinaris, I say, was not only a [*testis*] *auritus*, but

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<sup>32</sup> “It is not possible for one to traverse and see [*peragrarēt & uidēat*] all the regions of the terrestrial world, and nowadays the lifetime of a person does not extend for 1,000 years as it did previously, so that someone can describe by their own faculty the mores, deeds, and life both of ancient people and those still living. Therefore we are aided by the ancients’ remaining monuments and we are aided by the support of those, who in our age have been to diverse lands and have learned from experience [about those things] that it was not possible for me and many others to see [*uidere*].” Münster, *Cosmographia*, [a]5v.

<sup>33</sup> Münster, *Cosmographia*, [a]5r.

<sup>34</sup> For a corrective example, see Münster’s argument against the ancient theory that the spring of the Danube River was found on Mount Abnoba in the section “On the Streams and Rivers of Germania.” For an informational example, see his discussion of Rhine in the same section. Münster, *Cosmographia*, 275.

<sup>35</sup> Münster’s unequivocal declaration in the first book of the *Cosmographia*, “It is necessary that I have seen each region which I had established to describe or follow the writings of another who surveyed it” appears to contradict his statements from the dedication letter. Because this statement comes in an overview of what is necessary for one to write a geography based on Ptolemy’s *Geographia*, Münster was outlining the ideal situations under which one would acquire the best knowledge about a space. This did not however preclude using written sources, but this information had to be from authors who themselves had surveyed the region. This statement did not conflict with his previous declarations, because they set out how one should undertake carrying out a geographical survey of contemporary landscapes, not compiling or writing cosmography with both the depth of history and the breadth of world geography. Münster, *Cosmographia*, 19.

also—which is greater—an *oculatus testis* of the irruption of the Franci and Burgundiones into the Galliae, for he was a contemporary of Remigius Remensis [and] most elegantly described the form, the dress, and military dexterity, and constancy of the Franci in the panegyric which was dedicated to Iul. Valerius Maiorianus.”<sup>36</sup> Rhenanus knew in theory that Apollinaris was preferable as a *testis oculatus* and he was able to put this knowledge into practice.

Jakob Schopper was equally clear about the value of eyewitnesses. In his discussion of the various authors and works he used for his monumental *Neuwe Chorographia und Histori Teutscher Nation*, he declared that Julius Caesar and Tacitus were to be trusted more than other authors because they had interacted with the Germani and had been in Germania. About Caesar he stated, “Now since this [man], as a Roman and [the Germani’s] own enemy, who waged war against them, and came to know the Teutschen himself, described and praised these same [people], one should give so much more credit to his testimony.”<sup>37</sup> Concerning Tacitus, who “wrote about the Teutschen not from hearsay, but rather from his own experience and examination,” he explained, “One should thus give more credence to this person, who, as a foreign writer, wrote based on his experience.”<sup>38</sup> Schopper was very clear that Julius Caesar and Tacitus deserved the reader’s trust more than other sources because of their status as autoptic witnesses. For Schopper

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<sup>36</sup> [...] is inquam Sidonius irruptionis Francorum et Burgundionum in Gallias non solum auritus, sed, quod maius est, oculatus testis, nam Remigii Remensis contemporaneus fuit, formam, cultum, et dexteritatem bellicam ac constantiam Francorum elegantissime describit in Panegyrico, qui Iul. Valerio Maioriano dictus est. Rhenanus, *Res Germanicae*, 240.

<sup>37</sup> Dieweil nun diser, als ein Römer und ir eigner Feind, der wider sie gekriegt und die Teutschen selber innen worden ist, dieselbige also beschreibt und rühmpt, sol man siem zeugnuß desto mehr glauben geben. Schopper, *Neuwe Chorographia*, b6r.

<sup>38</sup> Darauf wir denn verstehen, daß Tacitus selber im Teutschland gewesen, solches und alle Sachen darinn gesehen, und derhalben nit von hören sagen, sonder auß eigner erfahrung und erkündigung die Teutschen beschrieben hat. [...] Diesem, als eim Außländischen Scribenten, der auß der Erfahrung geschrieben, sol man auch desto mehr glauben geben. Schopper, *Neuwe Chorographia*, b6r.

this extended to practice as well in at least one case, when he argued that Tacitus' depiction of Germania was superior to Strabo's because the Roman historian had actually been there.<sup>39</sup>

The critical nature of eyewitness knowledge existed on a continuum between the uncritical explanations that someone had seen a region or event and the quite critical statements of Jakob Schopper. The cases of Beatus Rhenanus and Jakob Schopper were however outliers. They were among a small group of German humanists who developed clear and decisive statements about the higher quality of information gained through autopsy. The other authors either merely mentioned that a source was an eyewitness in passing without consideration of the value of their knowledge—as Peutinger did—or theorized at length about it, like Irenicus, but never put it into critical practice. Theoretical statements about the value of autoptic knowledge tended to be more discerning than practical application of that knowledge, but these theoretical statements only asserted that autoptic knowledge was superior without an explanation why.

Andreas Althamer's predecessors, contemporaries, and successors all knew that there was something special about an eyewitness, but they never formulated the means to thoroughly determine what this was. As Althamer's use of eyewitness knowledge in his *Commentaria*

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<sup>39</sup> In answering the question of whether Germania was actually rough and uncultivated in antiquity, Schopper explained, *man möchte dennoch gedencken, es were dem nicht also gar gewesen. Dann die alten Scribenten, welche diß Landt beschrieben haben, seind außländisch gewesen, haben unser Vatterlandt entweder gar nie gesehen, daß sie allein von hör ich sagen geschrieben, oder die es schon gesehen, als Cæsar und Tacitus, haben doch nur ein theil davon besichtiget, und das gantz Teutschlandt nicht allenthalben erkündiget. Darumb befinden wir auch, daß Strabo, welchen in unser Teutschlandt ni wirdt kommen seyn, das Teutschlandt viel verachter unnd rauwer macht, Denn der Tacitus, der es selber zum theil innen worden hat. Unnd so viel die antrifft, die es erfahren haben, so kan diß Theil deß Teutschlandes, welches sie erkündiget, zwar so rauw unnd ungestalt aber dennoch das ander theil, welches in irer bekantnuß noch nicht kommen, baß gestaltet und fruchtbarer seyn gewesen.* "One would nevertheless think it had not entirely been as [described]. For the ancient authors who described this land were foreigners [and] had either never seen our fatherland, with the result that they wrote only from hearsay, or they had already seen it, like Caesar and Tacitus, but only saw a part of it, and did not come to know all of Teutschland everywhere. For this reason we also find that Strabo, who will never have come to our Teutschlandt, makes Teutschlandt much more contemptible and wild than Tacitus, who partially came to know it himself. And as much as it concerns those who have experienced it, can that part of Teutschland, which they came to know, thus indeed be so wild and desolate, but nevertheless the other part, which did not yet come into their knowledge, was better formed and more fruitful [...]" Schopper, *Neuwe Chorographia*, 44.

*Germaniae* will show, the humanists' theoretical discussions and practical application of the theory often did not align, and when they did, they were uncommon occurrences. The principle of autopsy was not entirely conceptualized, and rather comprised a variety of approaches and uses to eyewitness knowledge. For Andreas Althamer, autoptic knowledge did more to distinguish the individuals who had this knowledge than it did to qualitatively transform discussions, because his goal was to offer information on his homeland and ancestors. Althamer's practices illustrate a scholarship in transition. Humanist scholars had begun to determine the means to acquire information of a higher quality, but extending this into practice was not necessary.

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#### 4.3. Althamer and Autopsy

Andreas Althamer had a relatively short life [ca.1500–ca. 1539], but in it he came to embody two of the major cultural currents of the first half of the sixteenth-century in the German lands: the Reformation and a patriotically inclined humanism. Althamer, who, in humanist style, Hellenized his name to Palaeosphyra [*Palaeo-/Alt-* = old, *Sphyra/Hamer* = hammer], attended a Latin school in Augsburg for about six years in his early life, where his interest in the *studia humanitatis* emerged. He matriculated at the University of Leipzig in 1516 and then at the University of Tübingen in 1518, where he earned his baccalaureus and came to know Philipp Melanchthon. Unlike Melanchthon, Althamer did not become a leader of the Reformation, but he was an energetic reformer and a promoter of Evangelical beliefs who actively supported Luther in the 1520s.<sup>40</sup> In 1523 he became a priest and moved to the Swabian city Ulm, after which he eventually traveled to Schwäbisch Gmünd and Wittenberg. In 1526 he could be found in Nuremberg as a

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<sup>40</sup> Dixon, *Reformation and Rural Society*, 74, 145.



defender of Luther, and he not long after became a pastor in Eltersdorf, near Nuremberg. He eventually became deacon at St. Sebald in Nuremberg itself.

Althamer is best known in the literature as a reformer. While Althamer the reformer and Althamer the humanist were indistinguishable, his reforming activity far surpassed his humanistic output.<sup>41</sup> As a reformer Althamer has made his reputation in scholarship for his leading position in the “failed Reformation” of the Swabian-German city Schwäbisch Gmünd in 1524–1525, and his activity in the Reformation in the Markgrafschaft of Brandenburg-Ansbach-Kulmbach starting in 1528.<sup>42</sup> Despite receiving some attention from a few scholars, Althamer’s reforming activities have been rather marginal in studies of sixteenth-century Germany.

Considerations of Althamer the patriotic humanist are also meager, and when he does appear in the scholarship, he is usually a peripheral figure.<sup>43</sup> Until the recent work of Ronny Kaiser,<sup>44</sup> only Joseph Zeller’s 1910 article, “Andreas Althamer als Altertumsforscher,” and Paul Joachimsen’s *Geschichtsauffassung und Geschichtsschreibung* of the same year have devoted any significant attention to his patriotic studies.<sup>45</sup> The latter portrayed Althamer as a self-confessed student of Rhenanus’ who should have learned the critical, scholarly lessons that Rhenanus taught, but did not.<sup>46</sup> Zeller on the other hand took a much more focused approach: he outlined Althamer’s

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<sup>41</sup> Ehmer, “Andreas Althamer,” 48.

<sup>42</sup> On Schwäbisch Gmünd, see Ehmer, “Andreas Althamer,” 46–72; Köhler, “Gescheiterte Reformationen,” 397–404; Kolde, *Andreas Althamer*, 8–15. On Brandenburg-Ansbach-Kulmbach, see Dixon, *Reformation and Rural Society*, 157; Kolde, *Andreas Althamer*, 44–61; Sitzmann, *Mönchtum und Reformation*, 37–47; Vollrath, *Welfische Klosterpolitik*, 147.

<sup>43</sup> His name appears intermittently in the literature. Hans Tiedemann mentioned him throughout his *Tacitus und das Nationalbewußtsein* but never subjected his works to any real examination. Moreover Althamer’s only biography, Theodor Kolde’s *Andreas Althamer, der Humanist und Reformator in Brandenburg-Ansbach*, discussed his *Scholia* for less than two pages and his *Commentaria* for little more than one page. Kolde, *Andreas Althamer*, 62–63, 73–74. See also Ehmer, “Andreas Althamer,” 48; Hirschi, “Humanistische Nationskonstrukt,” 383, 389 no. 111; Knappe, “Humanismus, Reformation,” 125–126; Lamers, “Constructing Hellenism,” 204.

<sup>44</sup> Kaiser, “*Sola historia negligitur*,” 91–116; Kaiser, “Kanonisierung und neue Deutungsräume,” 353–372.

<sup>45</sup> Zeller, “Andreas Althamer,” 428–446.

<sup>46</sup> Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung*, 148–149.

development as an *Altertumsforscher* [research of antiquities] and argued that Althamer's antiquarian activities were not very significant. Both create a rather negative image of the reforming humanist, his abilities as a scholar, and his contributions to German humanism. Instead of viewing Althamer and his practices as failing to live up to Rhenanus' level of criticism or not achieving much, his scholarship and his practices should be understood, in the words Ulrich Andermann used for the noteworthy North German humanist and historian Albert Krantz, "not as weaknesses, but rather as forms of contact with the [textual] tradition typical for his time."<sup>47</sup> Ronny Kaiser has begun to do just this, and in the last decade has subjected Althamer's two major patriotic works to serious study: the 1529 *Scholia in Cornelium Tacitum* and its successor, the 1536 *Commentaria Germaniae*.

Previous scholarship has insufficiently discussed the role and function of the eyewitness in Althamer's works. In his study of the *Scholia*, Kaiser argues that Althamer established Tacitus' authority on matters concerning Germania by proclaiming that the ancient author was both "most eloquent" [*dissertissimus*], a quality independent of autopsy, and an eyewitness of the Germani. Eloquence was indeed a criterion in establishing the authority of an author, and we have already seen that the humanists understood autoptic knowledge to have a particular, but not well defined, value.<sup>48</sup> Kaiser proclaimed that the principle of autopsy "confirms the claim to truth ascribed to the *Germania* and its author" in the text.<sup>49</sup> He thereby states that Althamer's conception of Tacitus as an eyewitness was integral in his conception of the Roman historian as an authority, and thus that once Althamer made this statement about Tacitus, we can assume its validity throughout the rest of the text. This may be so for the *Scholia*, but in the *Commentaria* no such assumption can

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<sup>47</sup> Andermann, "Historiographie und Interesse," 102.

<sup>48</sup> Vollmann et al., "*Boni auctores*," 105–116.

<sup>49</sup> Kaiser, *Sola historia negligitur*, 98.

be made about Tacitus' general credibility based on being an eyewitness because Althamer made no such explicit claim.

Althamer randomly interspersed statements about autopsy throughout the text and he provided no real, definitive discussion of it, as was typical among humanists. His discussions and references to autoptic knowledge create the image of a humanist who was aware of the potential value of the eyewitness, but used it similarly to any other source. When he did mention that the author was an eyewitness, the clarification was used as a means to add information on a topic, not to support argumentation. Autopsy made an individual, not their information, distinguishable and this only by virtue of having been *in situ*. Althamer knew in theory that eye-witness knowledge could be authoritative and very useful, but in practice he never used it in any way to emphasize the authority or credibility of such knowledge. Althamer's use of the eyewitness was thus in their ability to support his project in both providing information on Germania and understanding the information Tacitus gave in his text.

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#### 4.4. Althamer Approaching the Theoretical: General Statements on Autopsy

In his dedication letter to Markgraf Georg der Fromme and his Nephew Herzog Albrecht II Alcibiades, Althamer explained that he had tired of "reading about theological matters," and since he had for a long time "most of all loved the histories of our *patria*, Germania," he turned to composing his own works. He consequently decided to write "new commentaries" on Tacitus' *Germania*, "in order to at last satisfy an old and innate love for Germania."<sup>50</sup> Althamer divided the

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<sup>50</sup> *Ego autem a primis annis historias maxime patrias Germaniæ nostræ semper amaui. [...] ego fatigatus lectione rerum theologicarum, recreare paulisper animum cupiens, ad historiarum, annalium, chronicorum, & chorographorum lectionem digredior, ac rursum hunc Cornelii Taciti libellum in manus recipio (nullus namque ueterum scriptorum, quorum libri extent, disertius Germanorum res est prosecutus) inuestigans nostræ gentis aborigenes, qui ueterum cultorum sedes nunc noui habitatores occupent, ubi quædam priscorum uocabulorum uestigia remanserint, quibus locis præclara facinora ædita sint, nouaque adtexo Commentaria, ut tantundem ueteri & insito meo erga Germaniam amori satisfaciam, ipsamque patriam nostram, quæ unicuique charissima, & pro*

entire text of the *Germania* into individual sections, after which he wrote his commentaries on specific words and phrases found in these sections. These comments form one large block of text. Each of the words or phrases from the original text he commented on is often, but not always, capitalized to signify the beginning of a new comment.

On two occasions Andreas Althamer inserted general statements about the function of an eyewitness in the *Commentaria Germaniae*. In these one can detect certain theoretical underpinnings that allow a glimpse into Althamer's view of eyewitness knowledge. The statements do not amount to an entire theory or even a guideline, but they do explain certain general aspects of his conception of autoptic knowledge: it never stood alone, was never a prerequisite for authoritative or worthwhile knowledge, but could correct, clarify, and augment pre-existing information.

In the untitled *ad lectorem* conclusion to the *Commentaria Germaniae*, Althamer explained that he knew that he had missed much and had made mistakes throughout his work. He called upon his readers for their help in hopefully rectifying these issues, explaining,

I have not traversed all of Germania, which would have wholly benefitted this work, but I have only examined the authors I was able to obtain and I cited throughout. And I have here taken notice of and employed [those materials] that seemed suitable for our purpose. I have more carefully described those places in full, which I myself have surveyed, with the result that I brought light to [their] antiquity.<sup>51</sup>

Althamer clearly valued knowledge gained through autopsy: he stated unequivocally that his work would have profited from his own peregrination throughout Germania. He did not exactly explain how this would have functioned, but it seems that it would have enabled him to describe each of

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*cuius gloria nihil non audere debet, pro ingenioli mei mediocritate illustrarem.* Althamer, *Commentaria Germaniae*, aa2v.

<sup>51</sup> *Non enim totam peragraui Germaniam, id quod admodum huic operi profuisset, sed tantum autores, quos habere potui, quosque passim citaui, excussi, & quæ uidebantur nostro instituto accomodo obseruaui atque huc contuli. Quæ loca ipse perlustraui, diligentius enarraui, ut antiquitati lucem adferrem.* Althamer, *Commentaria Germaniae*, 339–340.

the individual places in greater detail and to access their histories better. Nevertheless, being an eyewitness or having autoptic knowledge of a region or locale was not a prerequisite for studying a place, for Althamer was otherwise able to turn to his sources. Such autoptic knowledge did however offer the means to provide additional and potentially more illuminating knowledge to what could be found in the sources.

Althamer made his second general statement about the value of the eyewitness in his comment on the word *Nuithones* [*Ger.* 40.2]. After explaining that the Nuithones seem to have been a tribe of the Burgundiones and to have given their name to the region around the modern-day Swiss cities Bern and Fribourg, he digressed into a lament about the ancient Germani being illiterate and not leaving behind knowledge of German antiquity for posterity—thereby not fulfilling the humanist desire to monumentalize history in textual form. He continued with a plea to other Germani to investigate their own local regions, which would aid an overall “illustration of Germania.”<sup>52</sup> Near the end of the exhortation and lament, he explained,

I do not see how we might otherwise understand ancient histories if there were not someone who surveyed all of Germania for ten years, as for example Conrad Celtis [did], and, looking with their eyes, would report on each individual thing [they saw]. But what resources will be at hand for the person wishing [to do this]? It is thus not surprising, if we are not able to point out more clearly, as if with our finger, the settlement places of the Nuithones, Suadones, Eudoses, Varini, and almost all the peoples which follow, when we have no one who, for instance, after Tacitus mentions them and shows their location and their lands, [which] lay rather far away [and] are not well known by us.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> *Hæc subinde repeto, ut Germanis nostris ansam ad inuestigandum uetera & illustrandam patriam administrem.* Althamer, *Commentaria Germaniae*, 282.

<sup>53</sup> *Alias enim non uideo, quomodo ueteres historias intelligamus, nisi esset qui ad exemplum Chonradi Celtis decennio uniuersam perlustraret Germaniam & singula suis oculis aspiciens adnotaret. Sed uolenti quis sumptus suppeditabit? Non mirum ergo, si Nuithonum, Suardonum, Eudosum, Varinorum, & omnium pene quæ sequuntur gentium sedes certius, uelut digito monstrare non possimus, quando neminem habemus qui post Tacitum uel uno uerbulo illorum faciat mentionem, situmque ostendat, & plaga illorum longius hin dissita, non admodum sit nobis cognita.* Althamer, *Commentaria Germaniae*, 283.

At first blush Althamer appears to have declared that ancient histories could not be understood without autoptic knowledge, but such an assessment seems to transgress the limits of his intended message. I would argue that Althamer was stating that ancient histories could not be fully understood without personal observation in addition to deep knowledge of the texts and not that they could not be understood at all. In other words, an eyewitness was not superior to learned accounts but rather the learned observer was the best interpreter of texts. If Althamer had indeed intended that they could not be understood at all without personal observation, the *Commentaria* itself would come into question and be largely without value. As Althamer himself said elsewhere, he did not have complete autoptic knowledge of Germania. His commentary moreover is based heavily on explaining an ancient text through other ancient texts. Lastly no eyewitness source actually wields this much influence over any part of his text. This notwithstanding, Althamer made a significant declaration about the humanist's ability to understand works from ancient authors: ancient texts were limited, especially in the case of certain tribes like the Nuithones and Suadones, and thus remained incompletely understandable until the individual reader undertook the journey of seeing the places outlined in the text. The eyewitness was thus not simply someone who could acquire and clarify pre-existing knowledge, but could actually unlock those aspects of ancient texts that would remain shrouded in uncertainty, were one to not witness them for oneself. In spite of the great power Althamer bestowed on the eyewitness, his use of them throughout the *Commentaria Germaniae* will show that any theoretical value found in these statements did not carry over to using such knowledge in practice.

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#### 4.5. Tacitus: The Autopsy of Velleda and Other First-Hand Experiences

“Yet he [Tacitus] came into more visible knowledge of Germania when he was governing Gallia Belgica...”<sup>54</sup>

Andreas Althamer. *Commentaria Germaniae*.

Andreas Althamer scattered a handful of remarks about Cornelius Tacitus' ability to have gained autoptic knowledge throughout the *Commentaria Germaniae*. Some German humanists believed that Tacitus had in fact been in Gallia Belgica and Germania based on a few factors: first, Tacitus used the first-person plural of verbs when talking about the Romans in general, which, based on humanist practice, was commonly used in the sense of the “royal we.” Althamer himself used these verb forms as proof of evidence that Tacitus had actually been to Northern Europe. Nevertheless Allan A. Lund has argued that, “Nowhere in the *Germania* does Tacitean language-use betray that the description of the Germani is based on autopsy.”<sup>55</sup> He clarified that these uses of the first-person plural form actually refer to Rome, i.e. the Romans, not Tacitus himself.<sup>56</sup> Second, Pliny the Elder stated that a Cornelius Tacitus was procurator of Gallia Belgica. Moreover, although we do not now know for certain that the Roman historian was not in either Gallia or Germania, and that it is unclear how much the *Germania* was actually written from personal observation,<sup>57</sup> Ronald Syme argued that Tacitus was not in Gallia based on the evidence, and the current *communis opinio* states that the Cornelius Tacitus mentioned by Pliny [*Nat* 7. 76] was perhaps his father.<sup>58</sup> Regardless of Tacitus' actual firsthand experience of Germania, Althamer believed that he had been there, which changed how he viewed and talked about the ancient historian.

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<sup>54</sup> *Venit tamen in euidentiore[m] Germaniæ cognitionem, cum Belgicam Galliam, quæ posterius maiori ex parte Germaniæ accessit, curaret.* Althamer, *Commentaria Germaniae*, 2.

<sup>55</sup> Lund, “Gesamtinterpretation der ‘Germania’,” 1863.

<sup>56</sup> Lund, “Gesamtinterpretation der ‘Germania’,” 1863, Anm. 22.

<sup>57</sup> Lund, “Gesamtinterpretation der ‘Germania’,” 1863.

<sup>58</sup> Ronald Syme stated, “For praetorian legates in the period 94–97 the evidence is scanty, but sufficient to dispel the notion that Cornelius Tacitus governed Gallia Belgica.” Syme, *Tacitus*, 70. Birley, “Life and Death,” 233.

Apart from the two general statements on the worth of autopsy, there are no more than five references to Tacitus as eyewitness in the commentary itself. In these remarks Althamer did little to outline or provide any additional theoretical exposition on the value of Tacitus as eyewitness. Indeed the first-century Roman historian's function was limited in practice in the *Commentaria Germaniae*, and, apart from one example, each mention of Tacitus as *testis oculatus* more or less refers to the same pieces of information Althamer gathered from the *Germania*.

The first reference to Tacitus as eyewitness comes in the beginning of Althamer's commentary on the passage *Germania omnis to bellum aperuit* [*Ger.* 1.1]. Like his peers and predecessors, Althamer put great stock in Tacitus' *Germania*, "for none of the ancient writers whose books are extant pursued *res Germanorum* more eloquently."<sup>59</sup> Althamer nevertheless felt it necessary to explain why he chose Tacitus. After clarifying that the Roman must have had access to records [*tabulae*] in Rome from legates who had gathered information about non-Roman regions and peoples, he added,

Yet he [Tacitus] came into more visible knowledge of Germania when he was governing Gallia Belgica, a rather great part of which was later added to Germania. Afterwards under Fl. Vespasianus he was a soldier in Germania itself [and] became not only a *testis auritus*, but also an *oculatus testis* by surveying a good part of it. For indeed he himself pays witness with this little book, [saying] that he had, under the divine Vespasianus, seen Velleda the virgin, [...], who was a Bructeran and lived in Germania Secunda at the River Luppia. And he also seems to be talking about himself when he writes, "indeed we have tried the ocean itself in that area" when speaking about the Frisii. A little after [this he wrote], "up until this time we have acquired knowledge towards western Germania." Accordingly, because he saw Germania and surveyed a good part of it, he came to know the mores [of the Germani].<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> *Nullus namque ueterum scriptorum, quorum libri extant, disertius Germanorum res ex prosecutus.* Althamer, *Commentaria Germaniae*, aa2v.

<sup>60</sup> [Tacitus] venit tamen in euidentiore[m] Germaniae cognitionem, cum Belgicam Galliam, quae posterius maiori ex parte Germaniae accessit, curaret, & postmodum sub Fl. Vespasiano in ipsa Germania militaret, bonam eius partem perlustrando, non tantum auritus, sed & oculatus testis factus. Ipse nameque hoc libello testatur se uidisse sub diuo Vespasiano Velledam uirginem diu apud plerosque numinis loco habitam, quae Bructera fuit. Et uidetur de se quoque dicere cum scribit, Ipsum quinetiam Oceanum illa tentauimus, de Frisijs loquens. & paulo infra, Hactenus in occidentem Germaniam cognouimus. Quia igitur Germaniam uidit eiusque bonam partem perlustrauit, mores cognouit (quod audacis experientiae & rarae admodum fortitudinis, summæ laudis & admirationis erat) uoluit



Althamer considered the *Germania* to be a significant text because it was the product of someone who was both a *testis auritus* and a *testis oculatus* and thus based on written and autoptic knowledge. That Tacitus used written knowledge was based on Althamer's belief that Romans kept records in the city that individuals like Tacitus could access. Whether or not Tacitus actually used these records was unknown to Althamer, who nevertheless rhetorically argued, "Who doubts that Tacitus had also used and was aided by these?"<sup>61</sup> The existence of the records and the fact that Tacitus was a Roman historian allowed for enough probability, in Althamer's opinion, for the reader to answer in the affirmative.

Althamer thought he was on surer footing for his belief that Tacitus himself was in Gallia and Germania. He appears to have understood the two verbs, "we have attempted" [*tentaui*mus] and "we have acquired knowledge of" [*cognoui*mus] as unequivocal evidence that Tacitus was once *in situ*. This presence in Northern Europe endowed the Roman historian with a distinguished status as "not only a *testis auritus*, but also an *oculatus testis*" that resulted from surveying a large portion of it.<sup>62</sup> Althamer however never explained why this was a positive transformation. It must ostensibly have arisen the Roman historian's ability to learn things he otherwise never would have known, as well as potentially learning directly from the Germani, as for instance when "he came to know the[ir] mores."<sup>63</sup> By the way Althamer wrote this sentence, the positive aspect of being a *testis oculatus* lay in acquiring knowledge, not necessarily assessing it. On the whole the implicit argument is clear. Tacitus should be considered with some distinction as he was certainly able to offer more knowledge than a *testis auritus*.

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*eandem nondum ab ullo celebratam, describere*. Althamer, *Commentaria Germaniae*, 2. The two quotes from Tacitus' *Germania* in this passage come from *Ger.* 34.2 and 35.1, respectively.

<sup>61</sup> Althamer, *Commentaria Germaniae*, 1.

<sup>62</sup> Althamer, *Commentaria Germaniae*, 2. Author's underlining.

<sup>63</sup> Althamer, *Commentaria Germaniae*, 2.

Althamer next indicated that Tacitus had spent time *in situ* in his commentary on the word *oceanus* [Ger. 2.1]. Here Althamer for a second time mentioned that Tacitus was in Gallia Belgica and had seen Velleda. After explaining how Pomponius Mela, Pliny, and Strabo described the nature of the North Sea—the *oceanus* in question—Althamer put forth a number of examples from various sources demonstrating that the North Sea had been sailed in antiquity:

Our Tacitus, in book 2 of the *Annales*, and Pliny in book 25, chapter 3 [of the *Naturalis Historia*], record that the same [ocean] was sailed by Germanicus Caesar. And Cornelius [Tacitus] himself did not leave this ocean untried: for when he was administering the affairs of Gallia Belgica under Vespasianus, he seems to have entered into Germania while a soldier under Roman standards and to have surveyed the ocean. For later he says, “Indeed we have attempted the ocean itself in that area and a rumor has made it public that the pillars of Hercules still exist [there].” In fact, concerning himself, he pays witness with this little work to the fact that he was in Germania itself, when he says, “Under the divine Vespasian, we saw Velleda, [who was] considered for a long time to be a deity by many.” Moreover it is established that Velleda had lived among the Bructeri at the River Luppia, as Tacitus relates in books 20 and 21 of the *Historia Augusta*.<sup>64</sup>

Althamer’s reference to Tacitus having seen Velleda and the ocean grew out of the opportunity that his commentary on *oceanus* provided. By using information from Tacitus’ *Annales* about the Romans sailing the North Sea, Althamer found the chance to again mention that Tacitus himself was in Germania and had seen this ocean. This opportunity developed into a digression to prove that Tacitus was present in these regions and that Althamer had textual evidence to prove it. The digression affirming Tacitus’ presence in Northern Europe has limited significance for the discussion of the *oceanus* because it did not qualitatively change it, but the quote from the *Annales* contributed further information about the topic, in the same manner as his other sources. This did

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<sup>64</sup> *Eundem postea a Germanico Cæsare magna suorum iactura nauigatum, noster recitat Tacitus lib. 2. annalium & Plinius lib. 25. cap. 3. Neque ipse Cornelius hunc Oceanum inexpertum reliquit: cum enim Galliæ Belgicæ res sub Vespasiano curaret, ipsam uidetur Germaniam sub Rom. signis militans intrasse, Oceanumque perlustrasse. Sic enim infra loquitur: Ipsum quinetiam Oceanum illa centauimus [sic!] & superesse adhuc Herculis columnas fama uulgauit. Quod uero in ipsa fuerit Germania, de se hoc opusculo testatur, quum inquit: Vidimus sub diuo Vespasiano Velledam diu apud plerosque numinis loco habitam. Constat autam [sic!] ad Luppiam fluiuium in Bructeris habitasse Velledam, referente Tacito lib. 20 & 21. historiæ Augustæ.* The two quotes from Tacitus are Ger. 35.2 and 8.2, respectively.

not change how the reader should understand the overall treatment of the *oceanus*, nor demonstrate undeniably that Tacitus had more authoritative knowledge of it.

The digression however was not without significance—Althamer mentioned this fact for a reason, and he was able to emphasize again that one of his authors had direct knowledge of a topic under consideration. When set against Althamer's other statements about the eyewitness, this ostensibly allowed him to highlight that Tacitus was *in situ* and therefore potentially had more or better knowledge on a topic, but it did not preclude him from using other sources. Here Tacitus as eyewitness was thus one source with a distinguishing characteristic, but nevertheless one that complemented others. The function of the information taken from the *Annales* stayed the same even in light of Althamer's digression—a digression that offered little new information. Tacitus could afford insight into a specific event within a larger conversation about a certain topic, here the *oceanus*. His function was still simply to provide information.

Of the two remaining references to Tacitus as eyewitness, one states the same information about Tacitus being in Gallia and Germania during the reign of Vespasian and seeing Velleda.<sup>65</sup> The other explains the introduction of money among the Germani. In this second example, a commentary on *pecuniam probant* [Ger. 5.3], Althamer included a brief overview of Roman numismatic history based on Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* [Nat. 33.13] from Servius Tullius, the legendary sixth King of Rome in the sixth century BC, to the second or first centuries BC with Livius Drusus. After this he turned to the Germani.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Cornelius Tacitus *Belgicae Galliae procurator in primam & secundam uenit Germaniam & imperante Vespasiano VELLEDAM uirginem uidit. Ea Bructera fuit amplissimae ditionis administratrix ad Luppiam amnem, ad quam non facile quisquam admittebatur. Habitabat enim in aedita turre, arcebatur aspectu, quo uenerationis plus innesset, delectus e propinquis consulta, responsaque, ut internuncius numinis, portabat. De illa plura noster Cornelius libro 20. & 21. annalium.* Althamer, *Commentaria Germaniae*, 112.

<sup>66</sup> Althamer, *Commentaria Germaniae*, 99.

It is not necessary to discuss both, but I have chosen the latter because it concerns different topics and information from the *Germania* than another affirmation of Tacitus having seen Velleda. In this commentary, he explained that, “As the *bigati* and *quadrigati* were named after the design of a *biga* and a *quadriga*, so *Serrati* were named after the imprinted stamp of *serra*. Cornelius saw that this Roman money had begun to spread throughout Germania and be tried by our elders. But I see that the ancients did not made it known when the Germani themselves began to stamp and coin gold, silver, and copper.”<sup>67</sup>

This quote is not without ambiguity. Exactly how the reader was to understand “Cornelius saw” [*Cornelius uidit*] and “I see” [*uideo*] is not immediately apparent, for the verb *video* had a variety of distinct but related meanings.<sup>68</sup> Althamer may have intended to convey that Tacitus had truly seen that Roman coinage had made its way into Germania, but it is possible that Althamer intended to say that Tacitus had “discerned” or “knew” the same information without having necessarily observed it. The meaning of *Cornelius uidit* is only further conflicted by Althamer’s use of *uideo* for himself, which clearly does not intend to convey the idea of seeing or observing. Here it doubtlessly meant that he himself was reading ancient texts or knew what ancient texts said, and not that he observed an event or phenomenon. The question is whether the meaning of Tacitus “saw” [*uidit*] referred to personal observation or finding out by some other means. Due to the ambiguity of phrase *Cornelius uidit*, but the fact that it is clearly different from the meaning behind the *uideo* Althamer used for himself, I have decided to interpret this as Althamer’s belief

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<sup>67</sup> *Quomodo Bigati et Quadrigati a Bigæ et quadrigæ nota fuere dicti, ita Serrati ab impressa Serræ nota sunt appellati. Hanc Rom. monetam uidit Cornelius Germaniam peruagasse & a maioribus nostris probari cæptam. At quando ipsi Germani aurum, argentum atque æs cæperint cudere signareque, non uideo a ueteribus proditum.* Althamer, *Commentaria Germaniae*, 99–100. *Biga* in Latin is a chariot with two horses abreast; *quadriga* is one with four. Thus the *bigati* were coins stamped with the image of a *biga*, *quadrigati* with a *quadriga*. *Serra* means “saw.” *Serrati* were *denarii* with a serrated edge.

<sup>68</sup> Lewis and Short have multiple different meanings for the verb *video*, which range from “to see” to “to perceive,” “to observe,” “to discern,” “to know,” etc. *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 1988.

that Tacitus actually saw this phenomenon, for an interpretation of it either way does not in fact alter the statement's function.

Within the larger treatment of the Germani's use of money, the fact that Tacitus might have seen the Germani using Roman coins certainly provided a unique piece of information. However this is the extent of the statement's function, as Althamer never expounded the significance of this fact and it did not shift how he was discussing Roman and Germanic numismatic history. Rather it simply provided an interesting fact about it. Should we understand *Tacitus uidit* as "Tacitus knew," the meaning and force of the statement changes only slightly, for it removes the implied, distinguishing characteristic of Tacitus as the individual who witnessed the phenomena, but its function is the same: presenting noteworthy information about some of the earliest, if not the earliest, evidence of Germanic coinage. In short, the only change is whether the reader was to view Tacitus as an eyewitness originator for the information, or rather a source who merely conveyed the information. Ultimately Tacitus' possible autoptic knowledge of German coinage works together with information mined from Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* to give a depiction of the histories and connections of Roman and German coin production, but little more.

As *testis oculatus* Tacitus could be distinguished from other sources. He separated himself from others, at least as Althamer wrote about him, by having been in Gallia Belgica and Germania. He saw Velleda, he spent time among [and warred against] the Germani, he observed the North Sea, and he reported about these facts in his texts. As *testis oculatus* Tacitus nonetheless remained a source of information with only a possibly implied claim to contributing superior information. The manners in which Althamer relied on Tacitus as eyewitness, the ways he discussed Tacitus' presence in the provinces served to distinguish the ancient historian, but it never shifted how the information he could provide functioned in practice. Thus Tacitus' works operated like any other

other author's. Any true increase in authority or credibility vis-à-vis other sources can only be inferred or implied, and certainly not proven.

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#### 4.6. Conrad Celtis: Forests, Amber, and Specters

“Our Conrad Celtis, a German poet, who for 10 years surveyed all of Germania and simultaneously these [northern] regions, agrees with Claudian....”<sup>69</sup>  
Andreas Althamer. *Commentaria Germaniae*.

Conrad Celtis' status as an autoptic witness has already been established above, when Althamer used him as an example for other Germani to survey their individual home-regions within Germania. Althamer's references to Celtis however did not remain simply examples of what other authors should do, but rather included in-text remarks in which he mentioned that Celtis had personally witnessed or acquired knowledge of a particular phenomenon, place, or object. In addition to the statement about Celtis already considered, there are four others. Of these only one refers to Celtis specifically as a *testis oculatus*, two mention his ten-year journey throughout Germania, and one, a night he spent in the Northern German city Lübeck.

Althamer had assorted uses for Celtis as an eyewitness. The patriotic poet's personal knowledge of Germania allowed Althamer to add supplementary knowledge on a topic, create connections between antiquity and the present, and distinguish him from other authors. In each example, Althamer employed Celtis' autoptic knowledge in conjunction with other sources, and he never used it as an essential component of an argument or discussion. Althamer almost always remarked on Celtis' autopsy after or in the midst of a topic already under discussion, so that it appears that Celtis as eyewitness was a means to distinguish the him from other sources.

Althamer's first reference to Conrad Celtis' autoptic knowledge came in a discussion of the Hercynian Forest. In Althamer's commentary on the *Hercynia sylva* [Ger. 28.2] Celtis

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<sup>69</sup> Claudiano subscribit noster Chonradus Celtis poeta Germanus, qui decem annis lustravit totam Germaniam [...]. Althamer, *Commentaria Germaniae*, 321–322.

functioned as an additional source of information on the forest that the reader could enlist if they wished to learn more about it than Althamer provided. At the end of a long discussion on the location and various aspects of the Hercynian Forest collated from ancient texts, Althamer closed with a discussion of various etymologies of the word *Hercynia* that others had proposed, stating,

Julius Caesar, as I said, related that the ancient Germani called this *Orcynia*, [and] Raymundus Marlianus fashioned its name from *Hercynus*, a certain mountain in Germania. If you desire more [information] about this forest that has not been put forth in these commentaries, read through Conrad Celtis, who, having surveyed this forest, described it in poem and prose. Add Aeneas Sylvius and Raphael Volaterranus to these [other sources].”<sup>70</sup>

Althamer’s intent for Celtis here was as a means to offer additional information. Celtis’ works—Althamer possibly had the *Amores* [poetry] and the *Norimberga* [prose] in mind—should be understood as additional sources of information on the forest and were, along with Piccolomini’s and Volaterranus’ works, not necessary for understanding the information that Althamer put forth in his commentary. Indeed Althamer’s comment on the Hercynian Forest spans six pages, and he named Celtis only at the very end, despite the fact that Celtis had devoted an entire chapter to the forest in his *Norimberga*. This may perhaps be explained by the fact that Althamer only cited ancient Latin and Greek sources for the commentary on the forest, which may signal that Althamer was intending for his commentary to be a description of the actual *Hercynia sylva*, not whatever remained of it in the Renaissance. Nevertheless it is not without importance that Althamer mentioned that Celtis had surveyed the forest in person and then wrote about it. This appears to have been intended to signal to the reader that not only could Celtis provide more information on the forest, but that this information stemmed at least in part from his own experiences. Celtis could

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<sup>70</sup> *Iulius Cæsar, ut dixi, ueteres Germanos hanc Orcuniam appellasse refert. Raymundus Marlianus ipsi ab Hercyno quodam Germaniæ monte nomenclaturam fingit. Si plura de hoc nemore desideras, quæ hisce commentariis non sint prodita, Chonradum Celtem reuelue, qui hanc syluam a se perlustratam, carmine & prosa descripsit, quibus Aeneam Syluium & Raphaellem Volaterranum adhibe.* Althamer, *Commentaria Germaniæ*, 189.

therefore, by extension, offer current knowledge of it, as opposed to Althamer's commentary based on classical texts. Nevertheless Celtis and his work were ancillary repositories of knowledge.

On only one occasion did Althamer directly name Celtis as *testis oculatus*. Mentioning this fact only seems to have been intended to distinguish Celtis from other sources to a certain degree, but not to preclude their use or diminish their authority. Concerning the word *Aestyorum* [Ger. 45.2], Althamer wrote,

But the Prussi doubtlessly inhabit the Aestyi's territory based on the evidence of amber, which the Prutheni alone of all collect, just as I also make mention of in the [commentary on the] *Gothones*. And Conrad Celtis, a *testis oculatus*, indicates in his poems: "The Vistula, the most famous [river] in Sarmatian lands, pours [through] its mouths into the Codanus [Bay] with a thrice-forked inlet. Here, where Germania is renowned for the Prutenic harbor and it takes numberless ships over the Codonean waters, which throws out amber—which is called *succinus* by the Latin mouth—and is only found on our shores." Moreover [he says] elsewhere, "the kind of amber found under arctan shores, which the Codanus alone in the entire world emits." I think that Eginhartus calls them the *Aisti* in the *Vita Charoli Magni*...<sup>71</sup>

Exactly what function Althamer had in mind for Celtis here is not clear from his commentary on *Aestyorum*, but rather is clarified by the entire section of the *Germania* on which Althamer was commenting. In this block of text from the *Germania* [Ger. 45.2–46.1], Tacitus explained that the Aestyi were the only Germani who collected amber. With this information, it becomes clear that Celtis' role, especially as an eyewitness of contemporary times, was to create the vital connection between the ancient Aestyi and the contemporary Prussi/Prutheni. This occurred because Celtis was able to provide evidence that amber was still gathered in his day. The appositional phrase

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<sup>71</sup> *AESTYORVM autem tractum indubie Prussii incolunt, argumento succini, quod soli omnium Prutheni colligunt, uelut in Gothonibus quoque memini & Chonradus Celtis oculatus testis indicat his carminibus: Vistula Sarmaticis qui famosissimus oris / In Codanum trifidis effundens faucibus ora / Hic ubi Prutheno clara est Germania portu / Et capit innumeras Codonea per æquora naues / Quæ Glesum eiiciunt, quod Succinus ore latino / Dicitur & nostris tantum reperitur in oris. Idem alias: Quale sub arctoo reperitur littore Glesum, Quod Codanus toto solus in orbe uenit.* Althamer, *Commentaria Germaniae*, 323. The final distich cited in this quote should read *vomit* instead of *venit*, as Althamer has it. Since *venit* does not make sense and renders the lines untranslatable, I have translated it as if it were the original with *vomit*. Celtis, *Quattuor Libri Amorum*, 32v.



*testis oculatus* told the reader a characteristic of Celtis himself. The poet's direct knowledge of the Prussi's cultivation of amber was supplementary to his ability to create a link between ancient discussions with the contemporary age, as this happened elsewhere in the *Commentaria*.<sup>72</sup>

Of the two remaining references to Celtis' autoptic knowledge, only one needs to be discussed, for it explicitly mentions that Celtis saw all of Germania over the course of ten years. The reference comes in a discussion of the phrase *formasque deorum* [Ger. 45.1] concerning far northern Germania and Europe. Althamer wrote,

Cornelius Tacitus in book 2 of the *Annales* relates that the soldiers of Germanicus Caesar had turned away from the Germanic sea and had seen different miraculous things in the sea, [which were] evidently the power of storms and unusual birds, monsters of the sea, and changing forms of humans and animals. Indeed Picus Mirandulanus in book 4, ch. 8 of *De Superstitiosa Prænotione* wrote that people often encounter shades on the island Noruegia in the Germanic ocean and they flee at the sign of the cross from there. Claudian, in book 1 of *Ad Ruffinum* suggests this: "There is a place, extended to the waters of the ocean, where Gallia spreads out its farthest shore. There Ulysses is said to have moved the silent people with a blood libation. There the lamentable grievance of the shades flying with a fine whistling [of wings] is heard. And the inhabitants see the pale phantoms and the dead ghosts depart." Our Conrad Celtis, a German poet, who surveyed all of Germania and simultaneously these regions for 10 years, agrees with Claudian...."<sup>73</sup>

Althamer concluded the section with a long quote from Celtis' *Amores*, in which Celtis states that there is a rocky place far in the north, where specters [*simulachra*] wander in various forms [*variis errare figuris*]. Althamer's use of Celtis was not intended to connect past and present, as in the

<sup>72</sup> See for example how Althamer relied on the ancients and Celtis in discussions of the presence of silver and gold in ancient and Renaissance Germania. Althamer, *Commentaria Germaniae*, 93–97.

<sup>73</sup> *Formasque deorum*. Cornelius Tacitus lib. 2. *annalium refert Germanici Cæsaris milites Germanico pelago deuiasse & uaria rerum miracula in mari uidisse, uim scilicet turbinum, et inauditas uolucres, monstra maris, ambiguas hominum & belluarum formas*. Picus quinetiam Mirandulanus li. 4. *de supersitiosa prænotione capite octauo, In Noruegia insula ad Oceanum Germanicum umbras hominibus sæpe occurrere scripsit, & signo crucis inde effugere*. Quod etiam Claudianus lib. primo ad Ruffinum innuit, *Est locus extremam [sic! extremum] pandit qua Gallia litus [sic!] / Oceani prætentus aquis, quo fertur Vlisses / Sanguine libato populum mouisse solentum / Illic umbrarum tenui stridore uolantum / Flebilis auditur questus, simulachra coloni / Pallida, defunctasque uident migrare figuras*. Claudiano subscribit noster Chonradus Celtis poeta Germanus, qui decem annis lustrauit totam Germaniam, & has terras simul addit lib. 4. cap. 14 *amorum*. Althamer, *Commentaria Germaniae*, 320–321. The reference to the *Annales* is to *Ann.* 2.24.

previous example, because the interplay between the ancient authors, Tacitus and Claudian, and the more recent ones, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and Celtis, was built on a total omission of the temporal distance separating them. Althamer did nevertheless distinguish Celtis from the other three authors by indicating that Celtis had not only knowledge of all of Germania but specifically these regions [*has terras*]. In doing so Althamer unequivocally stated that Celtis had direct knowledge of the things he wrote about in the *Amores*.

It appears that Althamer intended Celtis to stand out from the other authors because of his autoptic experience of these regions, and indeed he did just this by mentioning that Celtis had been there. Nevertheless there is no qualitative difference in the way that Althamer used his sources. Each provided information about miraculous and otherworldly things. What is more, Celtis was mentioned as being in agreement with Claudian, which meant that a non-autoptic source could provide the same information that an autoptic one could. Nevertheless Althamer may have stated that Celtis had been to these regions in order to make the content more believable due to the otherworldly nature of the content, but based on the other four examples in which Althamer mentioned Celtis as *testis oculatus*, Celtis was not used to make potentially difficult information more reliable or offer information no one else could.

Althamer's statements about Celtis' autopsy are infrequent and create no consistent thread throughout the work. That Althamer mentioned Celtis' autoptic experience only infrequently seems to stem from the fact Althamer appeared to want to mark the author differently on certain occasions but with no apparently defined purpose. It would be tempting to state that Althamer used Celtis as a link between antiquity and his own era, but this only occurred on two occasions. The other three instances in which Althamer doubtlessly discussed Celtis as an eyewitness do not make this link. For instance, in the one example not investigated here, concerning the *subterraneos*

*specus* [Ger. 16.3] Althamer had already created the connection between antiquity and the present day before quoting Celtis.<sup>74</sup>

Whether Althamer had a defined purpose for Celtis as eyewitness is unclear and it would be difficult to maintain. The evidence suggests that one should conclude that, based on the variety of situations in which Althamer mentioned Celtis as an eyewitness with multiple functions, Althamer regarded Celtis' eyewitness knowledge as a means to distinguish him from other authors. Celtis' status as *testis oculatus* did not qualitatively change how Althamer used the information that he provided, and therefore how Althamer chose to handle knowledge from various sources. Indeed any authoritative position that Althamer might have attempted to impart on Celtis can only ever be implied from Althamer's statements, and these statements are never used as a means to, for example, decide arguments or put forth the most authoritative information on a topic. In the end, Celtis, like all other sources, still simply provided information.

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## Conclusion

Althamer's autoptic sources functioned like all other sources. They were guarantors of information on a particular topic. Their use never precluded the others nor did they qualitatively shift or alter arguments in ways that made their knowledge seem preferential. To be sure, eyewitnesses were distinguishable by their very status as *testes oculati*, but Althamer granted this distinction to the author, not to their knowledge. Mentioning an eyewitness was not wholly without effect on a discussion, because it gave the reader a better understanding of the author. There is very little indication that Althamer wished for his readers to regard his eyewitness sources as guarantors of superior knowledge, and any attempt to claim this cannot stand before the evidence, because

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<sup>74</sup> Althamer, *Commentaria Germaniae*, 148.

Althamer simply did not use knowledge in any way that privileged autopsy or an eyewitness. Save for the two semi-theoretical statements, each mention of an eyewitness in practice in the *Commentaria Germaniae* referred to an author, and the theory in these two statements did not align with the practice.

As twenty-first-century historians reading Althamer's statements about Tacitus and Celtis being *in situ* and having witnessed certain phenomena means that we would want to ascribe greater authority to these particular individuals over and against other sources. The reflex to trust eyewitness sources stems from methodological training to trust an eyewitness over someone who received their information second-hand. However this sentiment was only just developing in the Renaissance and it amounted to no methodological or ubiquitous expression of source criticism. As such we cannot assume this for Althamer and his readers. This is accentuated especially in light of the fact that the only two "theoretically" inclined statements in the *Commentaria* clarify that eyewitness knowledge could clarify, augment and even correct pre-existing information, but at no point did Althamer *use* an eyewitness to more than augment and maybe clarify knowledge. As such the clear impression one receives from Althamer is that, even in the face of a potentially more authoritative or credible author or work, a source was to be plundered for information, not subjected to the strictest guidelines of criticism. On the whole the exact function and value of autoptic knowledge could waver between a lack of clarity of its function and an understanding that it could provide reliable information.

The fluctuation between the critical and uncritical should not be considered a lack of scholarly or critical acumen. They were instead completely typical of their time [*zeittypisch*].<sup>75</sup> The inconsistency stemmed from the fact that German patriotic humanists very often required

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<sup>75</sup> Idea of *zeittypisch* from Andermann, "Historiographie und Interesse," 102.

nothing more from an eyewitness than for them to provide information. This requirement was rooted in the German patriotic humanists' sense of *Informationsbedarf*. Andreas Althamer himself was concerned with the nature of the source base and was moved by *Informationsbedarf* in service of monumentalization. His explicit purpose with writing a commentary on Tacitus' *Germania* was to investigate the "origins of our people who now occupy the settlements of the ancient cultivators as new inhabitants," and he decided to compose "new commentaries, in order to at last satisfy my old and innate love for Germania, and to illustrate this very *patria* of ours [...]." <sup>76</sup> Althamer was concerned with recording the affairs and knowledge of Germania and he exclaimed,

It is unfair that with foreign histories we look outward, [but] we are blind about Germanic affairs at home. [And it is unfair] to know Roman histories, [but] to ignore histories of our *patria*. It is shameful that we neglect the affairs of the Germani, [and] to allow them to fall into disuse in silence, [although] we are able to preserve them with easy effort. We accuse our ancestors and the iniquity of time because they have left behind no suitable monuments of past life. But since we have come upon such happy eras, posterity will blame us much more, since we are allowing the affairs of our *patria* to die out of our idleness, dare I say, our inaction. We could preserve these with industrious investigation and effort. <sup>77</sup>

Althamer was thus thoroughly entrenched in the efforts to investigate the German past and ensure that it was textualized for later readers. His concern was with the information itself and its preservation in written form.

Ultimately scholars have ascribed too much rigor to humanist source criticism. When source critical statements are gathered together and presented outside the larger context of each work, they can create the impression of a well-developed system. But resituating them in the

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<sup>76</sup> [...] *nouaque adtexo Commentaria, ut tantundem ueteri & insito meo erga Germaniam amori satisfaciam, ipsamque patriam nostram, quæ unicuique charissima, & pro cuius gloria nihil non audere debet, pro ingenioli mei mediocritate illustrarem.* Althamer, *Commentaria Germaniae*, aa2v-aa3r.

<sup>77</sup> *Iniquum est nos foris in alienis historiis uidere, domi in Germanicis rebus cæcutire: Latiales historias nouisse, patrias ignorasse. Pudor est nos negligere res Germanorum, & tacendo pati easdem intercidere quas facili opera possemus conseruare. Maiores & temporis iniquitatem accusamus, quod nulla sufficientia anteaetæ uitæ monumenta reliquerint. Sed cum nos in tam fælicia secula inciderimus, multo plus culpabit nos posteritas, quod sinamus oscitantia, ne dicam socordia nostra, patrias res interire, quæ diligenti inquisitione ac opera possemus conseruare.* Althamer, *Commentaria Germaniae*, aa3v-aa4r.

overall context of the work shows that this is not the case. Althamer made thirteen direct or indirect references to autopsy over the course of 341 pages, and none of them created a fixed notion of what autopsy was or how it functioned. Moreover Franciscus Irenicus' treatment of autoptic knowledge, while theoretically insightful for epistemological reasons, was not upheld in practice throughout the work. Both Beatus Rhenanus and Sebastian Münster put the theory into practice, but Rhenanus only mentioned eyewitness knowledge and sources on a handful of occasions throughout his voluminous *Res Germanicae* emphatically declaring that it was superior to knowledge gained by a *testis auritus*.<sup>78</sup> Münster on the other hand recognized the limitations of eyewitness knowledge and argued that it had to be used in conjunction with information taken from the other sources. The German patriotic humanists did not have a definitive conception of autopsy or its function, and it is very easy to overstate its importance.

Often the most important theoretical statements about source criticism came in paratexts or at the very beginning of works, where such theorizing was common. These paratexts are insightful, but Gary Ianziti has justly warned and criticized scholars for taking such statements as representative of the level of criticism sustained throughout the entire work.<sup>79</sup> His studies in Leonardo Bruni's historiographical publications have addressed this methodological oversight and he argues that scholars have relied on too few statements without considering the entire work to claim the modernity and faculty of Bruni's criticism. In fact, Bruni's practices included a number of techniques that would now be considered uncritical and not modern: deliberately suppressing, rearranging, and even falsifying information.<sup>80</sup> This is the exact same situation for the German humanists: critical statements often made in the paratexts or introductions do not consistently or

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<sup>78</sup> See Rhenanus, *Res Germanicae*, 152–154, 334, 344, 382.

<sup>79</sup> Ianziti, *Writing History*, 2–6, 7–8.

<sup>80</sup> Ianziti, *Writing History*, 2, 3–4.

even reappear in the text itself, and those practices that appear “modern” were both used in very “unmodern” manners and in conjunction with “unmodern” practices. As such the prevalence of critical practices in humanist texts must be reconsidered because they are not as prevalent or “critical” as scholars have wanted to believe.

The link between modernity and humanism needs to be seriously reconsidered. The first step in this process is to rephrase and reconceptualize modern practices as humanistic. The humanists were not modern and it is ahistorical to argue that they were. Far more accurate is to argue that modern practices are humanistic—and not all that modern.

## Chapter 5. Authors, Antiquities, and Monuments: German Patriotic Humanist Conceptions of Sources

The year 1505 heralded a great change in German research practices. Both Hartmann Schedel and Conrad Peutinger completed their separate syllogai, or collections, of inscriptions and material remains found in the German lands. Schedel's sylloge was a four-part collection he had started in 1502. He devoted the first three parts to Roman, Ancient Greek, and Italian antiquities, but the fourth, the *Opus de Antiquitatibus et Epigrammatibus Inclite Germanie*, comprised an array of ancient and medieval objects from the German lands. Peutinger's sylloge was more limited in scope. His *Romanae Vetustatis Fragmenta in Avgvsta Vindelicorum et eivs Dioecesi* comprised facsimile-like reproductions of twenty-three inscriptions from his home city, Augsburg, and its surrounding area. Both Hartmann Schedel and Conrad Peutinger understood these physical remains as more than objects of a bygone era, but rather as the means to access the past. They had become historical sources.

Renaissance humanists created a new appreciation both for material remains and a variety of other objects, like non-literary documents and maps.<sup>1</sup> This new appreciation amounted to a great expansion of the sources base for writing histories and other scholarly works.<sup>2</sup> At the core of this expansion was the new ability for humanists to see that not only literary texts, but also monuments, ruins, coins, inscriptions, and other physical remains had the potential to provide information on a given topic. Through their efforts, the ability to discern this potential was broadened through the rediscovery of lost and forgotten classical and medieval texts and the inclusion of new types of objects and texts as sources. Up until the Renaissance, the source base essentially consisted of works of literature, but the humanist's drive to rediscover the past permanently transformed what

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<sup>1</sup> Helmuth, "Probleme und Formen," 355; Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung*, 78.

<sup>2</sup> Schmid, "Aventinus und die Realienkunde," 81.



kinds of materials could be consulted for information on history. Although literary works remained the humanists' dominant source base, they began to rely on inscriptions, coins, non-literary documents, ruins, and even defensive fortifications like *fossa* as a means to contact history.<sup>3</sup>

Expanding the source base for historical research required an incredible amount of intellectual labor. By the time that Schedel and Peutinger had completed their *sylogai*, Italian humanists had already created an intellectual framework for understanding these new materials. The work of preeminent humanists like Petrarch [d. 1374] and Poggio Bracciolini [d. 1459] in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries afforded new ways to read history and interpret coins and material remains as relics with their own significance.<sup>4</sup> The German humanists learned these practices from the Italians, but they invested a great deal of effort in uncovering and interpreting these materials as they related to German in particular. This opened a great pathway to include a variety of new objects to study the history of their homeland through new means of knowledge acquisition.

Despite the novelty of such types of sources for the scholarly works of the humanists, there is a persistent assumption that the humanists understood their sources as "sources." In general, such conceptions were largely lacking among the humanists, because there was no single or defined way to talk about the materials they used for gathering information. This stemmed from the fact that the humanists were generally not theoreticians who tried to create strict and prescriptive rules for acquiring information. Their goal was often the information itself and how to mobilize it for their own purposes. They did not need to outline what they thought sources were, what they did, or even what to call them, because there simply was no need to. Nevertheless there

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<sup>3</sup> Enenkel et al., *Ambitious Antiquities*, 160, 161, 172; Helmrath, "Aura der Kaisermünze," 103; Hillard, "Mythic Origins," 491; Ott, "Römische Inschriften," 214; Weiss, *Renaissance Discovery*, 145.

<sup>4</sup> Weiss, *Renaissance Discovery*, 65–66; Worstbrock, "Hartmann Schedels 'Liber Antiquitatum,'" 224. See also Caroline S. Hillard's discussion of Etruscan antiquities. Hillard, "Mythic Origins," 503, 517, 523.

remains little doubt among scholars that the humanists would have understood or had some idea similar to our modern “source,” a fact that the continuous references to *ad fontes* exemplifies.<sup>5</sup> The cry *ad fontes* would have fallen on deaf ears among the German patriotic humanists. *Ad fontes*, “to the sources” would have sent Hubertus Thomas Leodius to the Moselle River, Johannes Aventinus to the Danube and the western border of Rhetia, Sebastian Münster wandering around the Black Forest, and Christoph Scheurl in search of Homer, the “fount of genius.”<sup>6</sup> The word *fons* had no meaning for the German patriotic humanists as a catchall term for the books, inscriptions, maps, and ruins that were the sources of information for German humanists’ own works. Moreover the word *fons* need not have been understood as having the same semantic range as our modern English “source” or German “Quelle,” and in fact such a use in Antiquity and the Middle Ages was very limited if not non-existent.<sup>7</sup>

Researching what the humanists thought sources were and what they did is vitally important to understanding both humanist scholarship in general and the transformations it was effecting. It can also help elucidate how conceptions of sources were influenced by the German

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<sup>5</sup> For example, Burke, “History, Myth, and Fiction,” 272. The phrase appears across literature on Renaissance humanism. The phrase *ad fontes* comes from Erasmus, who seems to have first used it in his *De Ratione Studii ac Legendi Interpretandique Auctores* of 1511, in which he wrote *sed in primis ad fontes ipsos properandum, id est graecos & antiquos*: “but one must first of all hasten *ad fontes* themselves, that is the Greeks and ancients.” Erasmus, *De Ratione Studii*, 13. Within the larger context of the passage however, it becomes clear that these *fontes* refer not to “sources” in the sense of as we understand the term in scholarly settings, but rather a group of authors with great standing and authority, who Erasmus believed had knowledge necessary for a good education. “Sources” here denoted the “original,” “authoritative” *starting* points for learning each respective discipline, not the objects containing the information that one could use for their own works. Throughout his works the *fontes* were not an all-encompassing term for “sources” but rather the originals, the fountainheads for understanding Christianity. Van Herwaarden, *Between St. James*, 558. For a more substantive discussion of Erasmus and *ad fontes*, see chapter 15, “Erasmus and His *Ad Fontes*,” in Jan Van Herwaarden *Between Saint James and Erasmus*.

<sup>6</sup> Leodius, *De Tungris et Eburonibus*, 76; Aventinus, *Annales Ducum Boiariae*, 2:129; Münster, *Germaniae atque Aliarum Regionum Descriptio*, 12–13; Scheurl, *Libellus de Laudibus Germanie* (1506), 53v.

<sup>7</sup> Lewis and Short provide no definition equal to a textual source. The closest meaning is “a fountain-head, source, origin, cause.” Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, “*fons*,” entry II, accessed February 7, 2023, <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/fons>. The DMLBS comes even closer, but with still no direct textual translation: “fount (fig.), origin, source. b (med.) source.” *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, “*fons*,” entry 7, accessed February 7, 2023, <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/fons>. The *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* has no lemma for a textual meaning of the word.

humanists' patriotism and practices like source criticism. Nevertheless, what the notion "source" meant to humanists has not been questioned, despite the fact that we know so much about the humanists' use of them. This stems partially from the extraordinarily difficult task of talking about "sources" when the humanists seem to have rarely used any word closely translatable as such. Important questions nevertheless remain: what was a humanist conception of a source? How did humanists talk about sources? What vocabulary, terminology, and concepts were mobilized to make sense of the vast array of objects that could potentially assume the function of a source? How did these terms conform to humanist needs and demands? Answering these questions, and any discussion of the humanists' use and general awareness of sources, must take into account that the idea of "source" as an overarching category was neither natural nor always present. What counted and counts as a source is contingent upon each respective intellectual culture, including humanism.

Instead of using a single word to label their informational materials, the German humanists employed a rich bank of words and phrases to refer to the various materials, texts, and authors that share one defining characteristic with our modern notion of sources: they were a means to contact and explore the past. This investigation of the past through the assortment of sources was shaped by the monumentalization effort of gathering critical amounts of information on the Germani and Germania. This aim did not necessarily produce a restrictive view of sources, but rather encouraged the humanists to bring under scrutiny any object or author that had the *potential* to provide information on the Germani. Potential here means the humanists' ability to read a text or interpret a monument that may or may not have had a direct connection to the Germani or Germania as means to acquire information. For example, the Roman inscriptions and antiquities Conrad Peutinger collected from the German city Augsburg make no clear connection to the Germani or Germania, but Conrad Celtis, as shown below, was able to see in them the means to root German

history in Roman times. This potential was vital because it opened the possible body of sources to include a expansive number of texts and material remains that could be read as witnesses of German history although they make no explicit claim to do so.

After finding potential in objects and authors, one of the first steps a humanist faced was to categorize the source and find a way to talk about it. Sometimes this was obvious, but this was often a less clear act because it involved defining source materials and the type of work the humanists were doing. As literary scholars, the humanists had a well-developed set of practices to define and categorize their literary sources and the authors who wrote them. When it came to inscriptions, maps, and monuments, the humanists were often breaking new ground, and their terminology to refer to these objects came to form a mix of tradition and innovation. This entire process was part of the humanists' making sense of their own intellectual work in relation to the informational pools that made their projects possible.

In this chapter I investigate groups of terms that German patriotic humanists used to discuss three types of sources. These three groups, authors, antiquities, and monuments each corresponded to a group of sources with their own set of terms: *author/scribent*,<sup>8</sup> *antiquitates/vetustates*, and *monumentum*, respectively. Without a formal citation method, the humanists were completely reliant on these words to convey what type of object or writer they were referring to. Each word carried its own history and explicit and implicit meanings. In the German humanists' hands, they collectively came to express the very notions and motivations of both the patriotic program and humanism itself: source criticism, monumentalization of the past, and *Informationsbedarf*.

The humanists were not content to just use the knowledge they found in their maps, inscriptions, books, and ruins; they needed ways to discuss where it came from and how they were

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<sup>8</sup> The classical spelling *author* is quite rare in humanist works. The alternate spellings *author* and *autor* are far more common and I use the former to match humanist style.

going to convey this to their readers. For the German patriotic humanists this was an ongoing problem and it meant employing dozens of different terms that could refer to the various kinds of authors and objects that supplied information for their works. On only one occasion did an author use a word, in this case, *monumentum*, in any sense equatable with our modern “source.” In the context of German humanists’ patriotism there was no need to develop an idea of “source,” because their ultimate goal was the accumulation of information, not a theoretical discussion of where the information came from and how one should discuss this. Ultimately a large body of words functioned well within the intellectual culture of humanism because it conveyed enough information to explain how the humanists were acquiring knowledge. The meanings for the individual terms in the large body of words was produced from a constant two-way process of drawing out significance and meaning from the sources, and was imposed on them within the confines of the specific needs of German patriotic humanism.

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### 5.1. Source-Author Terminology

I rely on five separate categories to discuss the various types of sources in this chapter. I divide all the humanists’ sources into the categories “source-authors” or “source-objects.” These terms reflect the ways humanists “cited” sources, that is, by invoking the author of a text directly by name or through terms like *author*, *testis*, etc., or by designating what type of objects they were using, such as *libri*, *schriften*, etc. The next three categories fall under source-objects and are divided into written, material, and visual sources. By written sources I mean all manner of books, manuscripts, and other objects that were composed in writing; by material sources, any non-written materials, such as inscriptions, buildings, ruins, etc; and by visual sources, maps. None of these five categories was well-defined by the humanists, but they do reflect their own patterns of use.

Renaissance humanist understandings and applications of written materials were far more nuanced than various other source-types because they had the longest and most prominent place within European intellectual traditions. Humanists used vocabulary that marked two ways to refer to literary sources in two ways: written source-objects, as for instance, *libri*, *historien*, *scripta*, *schriften*, and *geschichtbücher*, i.e. the works themselves, and source-authors, i.e. those who wrote the works. The German humanists employed a number of Latin and German terms to distinguish their source-authors. The most common terms were *author*, *scriptor*, and *testis*, but various, other, unique words and phrases appear, like *scribenten*—a German counterpart to *author*—or even *sunt qui*, “there are those who.”<sup>9</sup>

Words like *author* and *scribent* were general. They were neither definitive nor specific, but rather a means to broadly label a source-author. Due to the long history of the term *author*, pl. *authores* [also *autor*, -es, and *auctor*, -es,] and the humanists’ preference for literary sources, it had developed a level of nuance unseen in many of the other terms studied here. In antiquity it could mean an “author of a writing” or a “writer,” and, when paired with the verb *sum/esse*, took on the sense of “to relate” or “to recount.”<sup>10</sup> In the Middle Ages we see the same meanings, as well as new ones such as *testis*, “witness,” and “outstanding writer.”<sup>11</sup> As with many of the terms, *author* had German variants and translations. In some cases *author* itself appeared as loan word in German with the same meaning as the Latin, as in Sebastian Franck’s list of *authores in disser Chronick angemast, gebraucht unnd anzogen* [“*authores* adopted, used, and referred to in this

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<sup>9</sup> [Sunt] *qui contendunt vrbem Treuerorum longe esse Roma vetustiore*. *Sunt* is carried over from the *errata* index. Cochlaeus, *Brevis Germanie Descriptio*, h1v, l4r.

<sup>10</sup> Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, “*auctor*,” entry B.2, accessed February 7, 2023, <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/auctor>.

<sup>11</sup> *Mittelateinisches Wörterbuch*, Vol. 1. “*auctor*” entry I.C, column 1168; entry I.C.1.b.α, column 1168; III.c., column 1170.

chronicle”] from his *Chronicon Germaniae*.<sup>12</sup> In other cases, words with similar meanings took the place of *author*, as in Jakob Schopper’s use of Germanized Latin word, *scribent*, pl. *scribenten*. Despite *scribent* being less common than *author*, the meanings of the two terms were similar.<sup>13</sup>

The humanists had a high level of awareness of the term *author* because of the prominence and usefulness of *author* as a category. This uniquely developed awareness is seen in the fact that *authores* were often listed at the beginning of Renaissance-era [figure 1].<sup>14</sup> These lists are comprehensive indices of the most important authors and works that a humanist used to write their texts. They are often alphabetical, introduced with a short phrase that explained what the list comprised, never included any materials other than written sources, and in virtually every case provided more information to help the reader identify or understand who the *authores* were. The authors listed were highly variable and depended on the nature of the work and the time-period in which the humanist was writing.<sup>15</sup> Certain trends are clear, however. The major literary sources one would expect to find appear across the lists—Caesar, Strabo, Ptolemy, Tacitus, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, Pomponius Mela, and Pliny. A few notable surprises appear in the lists: Beatus Rhenanus appears in five of the six studied here, Orosius in two-thirds, and Suetonius and the Abbot of Ursperg are named in half. In short, the lists provide critical information for the readers to know which authorities formed the informational backbone of the work.

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<sup>12</sup> Franck, *Germaniae Chronicon*, aalv.

<sup>13</sup> “SKRIBENT, m., nach lat. *scribens, scribentis. scribent, author.*” „SKRIBENT, m.“, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm, digitalisierte Fassung im Wörterbuchnetz des Trier Center for Digital Humanities, Version 01/21, <<https://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/DWB?lemid=S30137>>, abgerufen am 06.11.2022.

<sup>14</sup> The information in this paragraph is collated from six different lists I consulted: Aventinus, *Joannis Aventini Annales ducum Boiariae* (BSB Clm 282), 2v–3v; Leodius, *De Tungris et Eburonibus*, a6v; Franck, *Germaniae Chronicon*, aalv; Münster, *Cosmographia* (1552), 6v; Pantaleon, *Prosopographia*, 1:()5r; Schopper, *Neuwe Chorographia*, b4r.

<sup>15</sup> For example there is a marked increase in the number of humanist authors starting with Sebastian Franck’s list from his *Chronicon Germaniae* [1538], Johannes Aventinus specifically created a category of *domestici*, that is Bavarian-German authors, for his *Annales Ducum Boiariae*, and Jakob Schopper, a devout Gnesio-Lutheran, listed overtly Protestant works like the *Chronicon Carionis*, the *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, etc.

These lists demonstrate how various aspects of German humanism influenced the meaning of the terms *author* and *scribent*, and how German humanists extracted information from them within the parameters of their patriotism. The humanists were aware that the *authores* were central to their monumentalization program and how they conducted their scholarship. The lists were the result of the humanists' *Informationsbedarf* because they demonstrated and helped express the amount of work that went into gathering information on Germania and the Germani. Moreover, the ways certain humanists like Johannes Aventinus compiled the *authores* lists demonstrates that they were not created at random or were simple listings of every *author* used. Rather aspects of credibility and utility, thus source criticism, influenced which *authores* were named and how the humanists wished to present them. The aspects of source criticism, monumentalization, and *Informationsbedarf* are often individually found in one or more lists, but they are not all present in one list until Jakob Schopper's *Neuwe Chorographia und Histori Teutscher Nation* [1582]. Schopper was the intellectual heir to generations of humanists. Their ideas, whether by direct reception by Schopper or by sharing similar goals with them, all came together in his list.

Ultimately the lists of *authores* were shaped by the demands placed on them within the intellectual culture of patriotic humanism. They are a sign of scholarship in transition, because the humanists not only saw it as important to list where their information came from, but also to try to create meaning for these sources through abstract categorization. The notion of *author* illustrates an actual awareness of a particular type of source that could be categorized together and understood to have a particular function in transferring information.

Each list begins with a statement that outlines the nature and purpose of the *authores*. These introductory statements both convey the breadth of the term and the utilitarian function of the *authores*. Johannes Aventinus introduced the list of source-authors in book one of his *Annales* as



“*authores*, from whom these [*istaec*] were taken.”<sup>16</sup> *Istaec* refers back to an index of the book’s contents, which included “the nomenclature of the Germani,” “the origin of the Bavari,” and many other subjects.<sup>17</sup> The word “taken,” *sumpta*, indicates that Aventinus regarded the *authores* as repositories of information that could be tapped for information and appropriated for his own work. They were not consulted or investigated, and as a result their function was to offer the knowledge that not only supported but created the narrative that Aventinus intended and needed for his work. For Aventinus, *author* was not simply a descriptive category to identify and group various types of writers but rather signified a utilitarian notion of transferring information from one work to another. This utility manifested itself in the introductory statements of other German humanists, like Hubertus Thomas Leodius’ list of “*authores* which I have used” or Heinrich Pantaleon’s “*authores* whom we especially used in this first part.”<sup>18</sup> At the core of humanist understandings of *authores* was their utility.

The broad meaning of the term *author* meant that it was susceptible to sub-categorization. The humanists received from antiquity and the Middle Ages a nuanced set of classifications that allowed them to divide *authores* into assorted categories that provided additional and even essential information about the *author*, such as what genre they practiced, what their language/ethnicity was, what occupation they had, etc., which all helped create the authorial and authoritative identity for a source-author. In the source lists, the categories were time, often

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<sup>16</sup> *Authores ex quibus istac sumpta sunt*. Aventinus, *Annales ducum Boiariae* (BSB Clm 282), 2v. I rely here on Johannes Aventinus’ own MS autograph of the *Annales* because the critical edition published in 1882 in vol. 3 of *Johannes Turmair’s genannt Aventinus sämtliche Werke*, edited by Sigmund Riezler, under the aegis of the Bavarian K. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Munich, has changed the form of the list so that it reads as a paragraph of various authors instead of the true bullet point-like list the MS preserves. Cf. Aventinus, Johannes. *Annales Ducum Boiariae*, 2.1:1–2.

<sup>17</sup> Aventinus, *Annales ducum Boiariae* (BSB Clm 282), 2r.

<sup>18</sup> *Authores quibus usus sum*. Leodius, *De Tungris et Eburonibus*, a6v. *Authores quibus in hac prima parte potissimum usi sumus*. Pantaleon, *Prosopographia*, 1:()5r.

meaning whether an *author* was *vetus* or *recentior*; language/ethnicity, to label an author as Greek, Latin, Lombardic, Bavarian, Gothic, or similar; to signify the *author*'s occupation, whether as *pontifex* or *abbas*, "pope" or "abbot," and the like; or to explain which genre of writing the *author* practiced, as for instance, as a *historicus*, *poeta*, or *geographus*. This extra information was vital for creating an authorial identity for each of the *authores* listed and were essential aspects of them. Importantly they conveyed to the reader that the humanist knew who each *author* was and why they were significant or distinguishable. These additional details demonstrate how the humanists were able to break down the ambiguous category *author* into smaller units to more clearly convey information they believed necessary to understanding their most important source-authors.

The Protestant humanist Heinrich Pantaleon compiled a complicated list of source-authors for the first volume of his three volume *Prosopographia Heroum atque Illustrum Virorum Totius Germaniae* printed 1565–1566. The list is a complex overlay of the various ways to subcategorize *authores*. Pantaleon chose to identify them according to their language/ethnicity, occupation, and the genres they practiced. There is conspicuously no consideration of time, which appeared in the earlier lists of Sebastian Franck's *Chronicon Germaniae* [1538] and Hubertus Thomas Leodius' *De Tungris et Eburonibus* [1541]. The list instead includes eighteen entries with ethno-linguistic information, fourteen with occupations, and twenty-eight with genre-based labels. The remaining thirty-two simply give, the *author*'s name with or without the specific work Pantaleon used, or the title of an anonymous text.

There is no consistency or obvious method to how Pantaleon identified his *authores*. He gave additional information about *authores*, whose identities were well established at this point, as well as those whose identity might be unclear. For example, he designated Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini as *pontifex*, that is, "pope," which Piccolomini had become in 1458 as Pius II. As a

main source for the patriotic humanists and a humanist himself, no less, the identity of Piccolomini as a pope was never in doubt. Equally well-known would have been Aristotle as a *philosophus*, Ovid as a *poeta*, and Eutropius as a *historicus*. These figures were among the most identifiable writers a humanist would encounter, and their works were staples in the intellectual world of the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance. There were however certain cases in which the identity of the *author* may not have been as familiar. For example he listed Ablabius “the Goth” [*Gothus*], Dio “the Greek” [*Græcus*], and Sigibertus “the monk” [*monachus*].<sup>19</sup> Without such additional information, knowing exactly who these individuals were might not have been self-evident, for Ablabius would only have been known to Pantaleon and any other sixteenth-century scholars through Jordanes’ *Getica*.<sup>20</sup> Moreover the addition of *monachus* to Sigibertus’s name, although ambiguous, narrowed down the range of possibilities, so that one learned in sixteenth-century intellectual trends would have known the reference. In the end, these identificational phrases appear to emphasize stability: stability both in the authorial identity, as well as stability in understanding who these *authores* were, so that both the reader and Pantaleon had the same conception of the *authores*.

Pantaleon’s list, despite any potential difficulties in understanding it, is the product of the personal organization schema of a humanist trying to provide some explanation about his sources to his readers. Together with the temporal structures individuals like Leodius and Franck used, one sees that the humanists had created the means to further define, understand, and represent the notion of an *author* to their readers. Such differentiation is an indication that the humanists had both inherited and developed deep awareness of the category *author* as a means to identify an

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<sup>19</sup> Pantaleon, *Prosopographia*, ()5r.

<sup>20</sup> Van Hoof, ed. *et al. Fragmentary Latin Histories*, 137–145.

important type of source, but also that these categories had great currency. It was not enough to simply list the name of an *author*, but rather the humanist had to prove that they knew who the *authores* were and what authority they had. It was both an act of showing and proving that the humanist had done their due diligence, while establishing themselves as *author*—a writer and authority—through defining what an *author* was.

Neither Hubert Thomas Leodius or Jakob Schopper listed each *author* or source they used in their works.<sup>21</sup> Since certain names were omitted, the lists served the function of showing how humanists actually sifted through their materials and singled out those necessary and worthwhile to mention. Hubertus Thomas Leodius explained to his patron that his *De Tungris et Eburonibus* was “not based on fabulous histories, but certain and true *scriptores*, whose names I appended immediately [after this letter].”<sup>22</sup> Here Leodius swapped *author* for the similar, vague term *scriptor*, and he tied the list as a whole and each of the individual *authores* to a significant truth claim. For him the names on the list represented trustworthy writers from across almost 1600 years of history, only those who did not tell the fabulous, but rather the certain and true. Thus the list of *authores* was not a full list of all the potential *authores* available, but rather only those that Leodius deemed worthy of listing and using. Such source criticism did not preclude or conflict with the collecting activities, because the list represented the most important sources used in the work, not the entire body he consulted.

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<sup>21</sup> Leodius cited both Petrarch and Martial in his work, but neither show up in the list. Leodius, *De Tungris et Eburonibus*, 26, 87. Jakob Schopper appended a statement at the end of his list explaining that he purposefully omitted certain sources: *Sampt andern, auß welchen doch weniger denn auß diesen jetzterzehnten genommen ist*, that is “Along with others, from whom however less was taken than from these previously stated [authors].” Schopper, *Neuwe Chorographia*, b4r-b4v.

<sup>22</sup> *Hanc qualemunque merito tuæ celsitudini dedico, ut Tungrorum & Eburonum præsul suam gentem agnoscat intelligatque quibus primordijs & auspicijs urbs Leodium & fundata sit & creuerit non ex fabulosis historijs, sed certis & ueris scriptoribus, quorum nomina statim subnectam.* Leodius, *De Tungris et Eburonibus*, a5v–a6r.

Johannes Aventinus' source criticism took a different form than Leodius'. Aventinus did not simply list an *author*'s name and a single word or short phrase to describe them, but rather longer statements explaining when the *author* lived, what they wrote, what their experience was, what knowledge they had, etc. Analyzed together the statements appear to have been intended to establish the authority and credibility of the authors. For example, the third of his four "domestic," i.e. Bavarian-German, authors for book 1 was *Vitus Areopagus*, Veit Arnpeck, "a priest born in Landshut, who most diligently [and] thoroughly wrote about the affairs of the Boii in memory of his elders in Latin and the vernacular language under Duke Georgius."<sup>23</sup> Under the Greeks he listed among others, "Diodorus Siculus, in six books, which he wrote under Julius Caesar about the *Res Gestae* before the Trojan War. He traversed Asia [and] Europe for thirty years."<sup>24</sup> And lastly, under the Romans and Latins he introduced, "St. Jerome, a Norican by birth, prince of the Latin theologians and, hardly with doubt, of all professors."<sup>25</sup> Aventinus furnished many more authors with similar information and the implications of these statements are clear, because they provided the reader with an understanding of why he each author relied on each *author* and why they should be trusted. Because Aventinus knew this information and wrote it into his source list as an explanation for his choice of *authores*, he was proving to his readers that he himself was working with trustworthy information. His work by extension was thus trustworthy. Through his explanations, Aventinus established the authority of his *authores*, himself, and his *Annales*.

The word *author* and the lists aided the German humanists in expressing their *Informationsbedarf*. The lists represented the work of gathering knowledge from disparate

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<sup>23</sup> *Vitus areopagus sacerdos Landeshuta oriundus, qui latine et vernacula lingua diligentissime omnium de rebus boiorum perscripsit sub duce georgio*. Aventinus, *Annales ducum Boiariae* (BSB Clm 282), 2v.

<sup>24</sup> *Diodorus siculus in sex libris, quos de rebus gestis ante bellum troianum scripsit sub iulio cæsare, triginta annis asiam europa peragrauit*. Aventinus, *Annales ducum Boiariae* (BSB Clm 282), 2v.

<sup>25</sup> *Dius hieronymus noricus gente princeps theologorum latinorum et omnium haud dubie professorum*. Aventinus, *Annales ducum Boiariae* (BSB Clm 282), 23.

authorities. Lists put the names in an easily comprehensible visual form at the beginning of the work to show the reader the wide variety of *authores* the humanist had collected from. The lists are presented as collections of the most important source-authors that one could find on a given topic. Both Hubertus Thomas Leodius and Jakob Schopper directly connected the lists with their *Informationsbedarf*. Leodius explained, as quoted previously, that he had “assembled a history of the Tungri and Eburones from various *authores*, especially from the most eloquent commentaries of Caius Iulius Caesar on the *Bellum Gallicum*.”<sup>26</sup> Leodius’ work was thus the result of his activities as a collector of information from a number of different source authors.

Jakob Schopper’s list in the *Neuwe Chorographia und Histori Teutscher Nation* [1582] bound the *Informationsbedarf* see with Leodius with each of the other qualities seen in the lists so far. He was the first to bring all of these motivations and practices together in one list, but he added monumentalization as a factor of analysis for understanding his *scribenten*. Schopper was able to do much more with his list because he used the preface that followed it as a place to explain his list and who and what each of the authors and texts were. In the preface Schopper outlined the nature and function of his *scribenten*, and he described each one in detail, providing critical information about who the *scribent* was, when they lived, why he found them credible, and other details he found relevant. Only four entries did not receive such a description, *ius canonicum*, *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, *Onomasticon Theologicum*, and Johannes Boemus. Thus whatever the list on its own could not convey, Schopper could in the preface, with the exception of these four.

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<sup>26</sup> *Collegi igitur animum & quam uidet Celsitudo tua Tungrorum & Eburonum historiam ex diuersis authoribus, præsertim ex disertissimis Caij Iulij Cæsaris commentarijs de bello Gallico, congeffi. Leodius, De Tungris et Eburonibus, a5v.*

Schopper entitled his list as an “index of the books and *scribenten* from which this history was particularly pulled.”<sup>27</sup> “Books” refers to the handful of anonymous works like the *ius canonicum* and *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, and the *scribenten* were sixteenth-century German equivalents of his predecessors' Latin *authores*. As with Aventinus, Schopper referred to his books and *scribenten* as the repositories of knowledge from which he could pull the information for his work. Their general function was to provide information. The remainder of the information about the *scribenten* comes in the prologue, in which he informed his readers, “In this prologue I show from which *scribenten* this history was taken, who and whether they are believable, about the differences between the *scribenten*, [and] whether it is reprehensible and uncommon to compose one thing from many [*scribenten*].”<sup>28</sup> The information the readers would receive about the *scribenten* would revolve around questions of who they were, when they lived, and whether they were credible.

Before ever entering into his descriptions of the various sources, Schopper wrote much about how the sources corresponded to his motivations. Here he outlined in general terms that his *scribenten* were firmly bound to his source criticism, collecting activities, and attempts to monumentalize the Germani. The problem with the *scribenten* is that they were guilty for not monumentalizing the Germani [*Teutschen*]: “There is hardly any people whose most ancient affairs and histories has been so carelessly and minimally written about than the *Teutschen*.” Because, as Tacitus explained, the Germani did not devote themselves to their own studies and did not write about their own histories, “the foreign *scribenten* accordingly considered the *Teutschen*

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<sup>27</sup> *Verzeichnuß der Bücher und Scribenten, auß welchen diese Histori sonderlich gezogen.* Schopper, *Neuwe Chorographia*, b4r.

<sup>28</sup> *In diesem Prologo wirdt angezeigt auß was Scribenten diese Histori gezogen, wer unnd ob sie glaubwürdig seyen, ob es tadelich und ungewöhnlich sey auß vielen etwas zusammen sammeln.* Schopper, *Neuwe Chorographia*, b5r.

to be barbarians, that is, a rough and ignorant people, and therefore they perhaps did not esteem it worthy to take up work on their behalf."<sup>29</sup> The fault lay clearly with the *scribenten*. They had insufficiently secured knowledge of Germania for transmission to the late sixteenth century.

The specific problem with the *scribenten* lay in the fact that “what they had already written about them [the *Teutschen*], they wrote briefly, so that one must thus gather partially short and in other respects partially mutilated affairs with great effort and work from various *Scribenten*.”<sup>30</sup> Schopper’s *scribenten* were thus a problem for effective monumentalization but also ironically proved to be the solution. He revealed that “although it is now so, that the most ancient German affairs have been little described, I have nevertheless taken on the work for myself and to honor our dear fatherland, Teutschland, and to teach and admonish us in many places etc. in the following history about what I have found out about Teutschen affairs, collected from many *Scribenten* with long-lasting and great effort.”<sup>31</sup> The *scribenten* and the names given his index were thus the products of Schopper’s *Informationsbedarf*. Without the collection of a particular amount of information, the core purpose of his *Neuwe Chorographia und Histori Teutscher Nation* could not be fulfilled. *Informationsbedarf* and source criticism merged in his work to aid him in carrying out his patriotic duty to collect information to resist the problems of loss and brevity that hampered commemorating the Germani.

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<sup>29</sup> *Es ist kaum ein Volck, von desse Vralten Sachen unnd Geschichten so unfleissig unnd wenig geschrieben ist worden, als eben die Teutschen. Denn erstlich, so seindt die Teutschen (wie Tacitus bezeuget) den Studijs nicht obgelegen, haben also ihre eygene Sachen nit beschrieben. Darnach so haben die außländische Scribenten, die Teutschen für Barbaros, das ist, für ein grobes, unverständiges Volck gehalten unnd derhalben sie vielleicht nicht für würdig geachtet, daß sie ihrenthalben ein Arbeyt fürnemen.* Schopper, *Neuwe Chorographia*, b5r.

<sup>30</sup> *Letzlich, was sie schon beschrieben haben von ihnen, das haben sie kürztlich beschrieben, daß man also mit grosser Mühe unnd Arbeyt auß vielerley Scribenten zum theil kurtze und zum theil sonst gestümmelte Sachen zusammen klauben muß.* Schopper, *Neuwe Chorographia*, b5r.

<sup>31</sup> *Wiewol nun diesem also, daß die uralte Teutsche Sachen wenig seindt beschrieben worden, jedoch so habe ich diese Arbeit für mich genommen und unserm geliebten Vatterland dem Teutschland zu Ehren unnd uns an vielen orten zu einer Lehr oder abmahnung, &c. in dieser folgenden Histori auß allerley Scribenten mit langwüriger und grosser mühe zusammen gelesen was ich von der Teutschen Sachen gefunden hab.* Schopper, *Neuwe Chorographia*, b5r.



Jakob Schopper's use of *scribent* brought the previous applications of the term and its Latin counterpart, *author*, into one idea. Here the term had come to stand both for the most important source base of the German humanists and the intellectual labor that went into shaping and conceptualizing source-authors. At the center of this intellectual labor sat the critical notion that a *scribent* or *author* was part of the information transfer inherent to using a source. Unlike other terms, as for instance those we will encounter later, information transfer was a defining aspect of this term, and thus in this sense, had attained a level of definition similar to the modern word "source." Unlike the modern "source," *scribent* and *author* only referred to a source-author and, when they were unknown, the work itself.

The usage of the terms *author* and *scribent* were manifestations of the particular needs of the intellectual culture of the German patriotic humanists. The core meaning of the terms did not change in comparison with their ancient and medieval usage, but the humanists shaped the terms to fit as cornerstones in the monumental process of writing a patriotic text. The lists that the humanists wrote for their *authores* and *scribenten* were attempts on the part of the humanists to show that they were part of an authoritative chain of information transmission that began in antiquity and continued through them. As much as the lists and the explanatory phrases the humanists used to describe their *authores* were attempts to create the identity of the *authores*, so were they also the way to create the authoritative identity of the humanists. The lists helped the humanists create specific meanings for the term *author* and the term came to be part of and conform to the motivations of the German patriotic humanists. This was advanced intellectual labor aimed at ensuring that the words were suited to the demands placed on them.

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## 5.2. Source-Object Terminology

Source-objects came in three forms for the humanists: written [books, letters, laws, etc.], material [inscriptions, buildings, ruins, etc.], and visual [maps]. There was a great inequality in the frequency of use between these, a fact Paul Joachimsen remarked upon, when he wrote that “narrative sources formed the most important, but however only one, part of the source material brought to light by the humanists,” which he stated also included inscriptions, coins, and records.<sup>32</sup> Seeing the potential in the non-textual remains was a creative activity that was open to great interpretive movement, and the ability to see it was far more dependent on interpretation than with written objects. An inscription, a building, a monument—none of these were necessarily tied to Germania in any obvious way. The humanist as patriot made the connections and these were often tied to the very nature of the patriotic movement itself.

The application of new types of sources began early on in humanist history. Early antiquarian interest started in Padua during the lifetime of Lovato dei Lovati.<sup>33</sup> With Petrarch a decisive shift took place in the history of research into material remains and numismatics, as his work with monuments signified an “epochal transformation in meaning in Roman ruins” and his “transfer of the source base” to include coins “ranks as methodologically trend-setting.”<sup>34</sup> The expansion of the source base continued and deepened with the work of Italians like Poggio Bracciolini and Flavio Biondo.<sup>35</sup> The fifteenth century marked the beginning of a new tradition of collecting material sources with the development of the *sylloge*, or collection, of inscriptions and

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<sup>32</sup> Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung*, 116.

<sup>33</sup> Weiss, *Renaissance Discovery*, 24.

<sup>34</sup> Worstbrock, “Hartmann Schedels ‘Liber Antiquitatum,’” 223; Helmrath, “Aura der Kaisermünze,” 103.

<sup>35</sup> Ott, *Entdeckung des Altertums*, 159–160; Weiss, *Renaissance Discovery*, 68–69; Worstbrock, “Hartmann Schedels ‘Liber Antiquitatum,’” 226.

often other material remains.<sup>36</sup> By 1500 the German humanists had picked up on the trends set by the Italian humanists, and by 1530, coins, inscriptions, ruins, maps, and non-literary documents had become consistent additions to their source base.

#### 5.2.1. Material Sources

Knowledge and appreciation of material remains were not unknown before humanism, but *materialia* acquired new meaning and importance in the Renaissance. Before the humanists, relics of the past were little used as sources for histories,<sup>37</sup> but knowledge of and interest in the *materialia* was very present.<sup>38</sup> The twelfth-century *Mirabilia urbis Romae* itself reflected the fact that ruins of Rome had power as objects of fascination and amazement. Subsequently, the work remained essential as a topographical guide to the city into the Late Middle Ages.<sup>39</sup> As such, material remains had begun to acquire value before humanists began to investigate them and effect a shift in how such objects were conceptualized. Their work and the engagement of other humanists with these remains shows humanists in the process of taking on a new challenge and figuring out how to make sense of such objects for their intellectual projects. Petrarch and Poggio Bracciolini were foundational in effecting a transformation in how one could consider *materialia*.

Both Petrarch and Poggio found remarkable significance in these monuments as guarantors of unmediated contact with the once-great history of Rome. The vital connections they forged with the ruins bound strongly with the sense of loss and memory preservation found among the humanists.<sup>40</sup> Both Conrad Peutinger and Hartmann Schedel were direct recipients of Italian humanist work with inscriptions and other *materialia*, and both authors showed a profound

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<sup>36</sup> Ott, *Entdeckung des Altertums*, ix.

<sup>37</sup> Ott, *Entdeckung des Altertums*, 98.

<sup>38</sup> Ott, *Entdeckung des Altertums*, 129; Weiss, *Renaissance Discovery*, 145.

<sup>39</sup> Ott, *Entdeckung des Altertums*, 148; Worstbrock, “Hartmann Schedels ‘Liber Antiquitatum,’” 218, 220.

<sup>40</sup> Worstbrock, “Hartmann Schedels ‘Liber Antiquitatum,’” 223–226.

sensitivity to the damage and destruction inflicted on these objects over time.<sup>41</sup> These monuments were essential components in the lamentations concerning the loss and ruin German humanists perceived to have occurred between the fall of Rome and the present day. This concern for ephemerality underlay the German patriotic humanists' intellectual motivations and it shaped their for these materials.

*Antiquitates/vetustates*

*Antiquitates* and *vetustates* were two broad words to refer to predominantly material sources. Both could only denote sources when used in the plural because the singular carried a different meaning as a broadly construed sense of the distant past or antiquity. The root for the humanists' use of the term *antiquitates*, sg. *antiquitas*, lies in the ancient meaning of the plural form of the word as "ancient objects, practices, observances, etc., antiquities; writings on antiquity."<sup>42</sup> No similar definition is found for the Middle Ages, which shows either, maybe both, the disinterest in such objects or ideas, or such uncommon use that the term would not be picked up on by dictionary compilers.<sup>43</sup> Unlike classical usage, which could denote a number of facets of and materials from the ancient past, the humanists employed the the term *antiquitates* to signify material objects.

The history of *vetustates*, sg. *vetustas*, is much different. The term is securely attested in Classical and Medieval Latin as a synonym of *antiquitas*, but any meaning for it as referring to physical remains was rare, if it existed at all.<sup>44</sup> The humanists recast *vetustates* to take on a synonymous meaning to *antiquitates* for a brief period, and thus the term saw genuine transformation under the aegis of the humanists as it developed into an alternative to the latter. *Vetustates'* staying power was limited and proved to be ephemeral. The term was in undisputed

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<sup>41</sup> Ott, *Entdeckung des Altertums*, 113–114; Worstbrock, "Hartmann Schedels 'Liber Antiquitatum,'" 225–226.

<sup>42</sup> *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, "antiquitas," 2.b.

<sup>43</sup> Both the *Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch* and the *DMLBS* were consulted for this.

<sup>44</sup> Lewis and Short and the *OLD* were consulted for Classical Latin, the *DMLBS* for medieval.

use as an option to label various material remains in the earliest part of the 1500s, but I found no uses after Johannes Aventinus' *Vetustates Romanae* from 1511, and by about 1518 *antiquitates* alone remained.<sup>45</sup>

The two terms allowed for the humanists to develop terminology that combined objects' materiality with the very conceptions like ephemerality and *Informationsbedarf* that guided the German patriotic movement. Conrad Peutinger was the first German humanist to print a sylloge of inscriptions. His *Romanae Vetustatis Fragmenta in Avgvsta Vindelicorum et eivs Dioecesi* [figure 2] was published in 1505. Peutinger made sure that the inscriptions were printed in a facsimile-like manner to preserve both the text and aspects of the text-material relationship.<sup>46</sup> Before Peutinger ever published the *Roman Vetustatis Fragmenta*, his friend and fellow humanist, Conrad Celtis, implored him to have his inscriptions printed because he understood their value as witnesses to a combined Roman-German history. About the inscriptions Celtis wrote,

Lest these lie hidden longer, I have admonished you and urgently asked you to convey [the inscriptions] to the printers for publishing and publicizing, [and] also to add the epigrams of our Augsburg sodality which someone had kindly added to your collected *vetustates*. While I saw the *antiquitates* collected by you throughout all of Germania, you also instilled in me a great hope and comfort for finishing our *Illustrata Germania* with these objects.<sup>47</sup>

Celtis here voiced his recognition of the fact that these *antiquitates* and *vetustates* had significance for the patriotic movement. He noticed that the history they paid witness to had not yet been appropriated because they had been hidden from sight. Celtis wanted to ensure that the inscriptions no longer lie hidden because they were testaments to a connection between Roman and German

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<sup>45</sup> 1518 was the year of publication of Franciscus Irenicus' monumental *Germaniae Exegesis*. He only used *antiquitates* for material remains.

<sup>46</sup> Wood, "Early Archaeology," 84, 90, 93–94.

<sup>47</sup> *Ne autem heae [sic!] diutius delitescerent, admonui te atque efflagitavi, ut impressoribus traderes edendas atque publicandas, adderes etiam sodalitatis nostrae Augustensis epigramata, quae sodaliter quisque in tuas illas collectas vetustates inserat. Magnam etiam his rebus michi spem et consolationem absolvendae nostrae Illustratae Germaniae iniecasti, dum per universam Germaniam a te collectas antiquitates viderim.* Celtis, *Briefwechsel*, 586.

history that he could tap for his *Germania Illustrata*. For Celtis, these objects were not simply remnants of a bygone era, but rather the means to access history and knowledge about the past. They were sources in his eye because they could be “read” for information, not just the means to wonder about antiquity. Their Romanness was not an obstacle to his hope of illustrating Germania, but an essential aspect of it because objects of Roman antiquity could be interpreted for their benefit to German history.

In this same year, Hartmann Schedel completed his four-part *Liber Antiquitatum cum Epitaphiis et Epigrammatibus* just 150 kilometers north of Augsburg, in Nuremberg. Schedel began composing this collection of antiquities, epitaphs, epigrams, and *materialia* in 1502, but his collecting activities reach back to the 1460s when he traveled to Padua for education.<sup>48</sup> Schedel completed the *Liber Antiquitatum* in 1505, when he finished composing the last part of the text, the *Opus de Antiquitatibus cum Epigrammatibus inclite Germanie*. Schedel organized the *Opus de Antiquitatibus* in a series of sections which each dealt with a city found in the German lands. Each section begins with a short statement-*cum*-title that notifies the reader which city they will read about and signifies the end of one section and the beginning of another. Following these he included a historical introduction about the city which set the scene for the inscriptions, epitaphs, and epigrams he recorded. The words *antiquitates* and *vetustates* are found in the statement-*cum*-titles, and these draw the readers’ focus down to the specific aspects of the cities that Schedel wished to focus on. The descriptions rooted the city in history and gave the context for the inscriptions and other *materialia* that followed. The first city Schedel described was his home, Nuremberg.

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<sup>48</sup> Worstbrock, “Hartmann Schedels ‘Liber Antiquitatum,’” 225.

Schedel introduced Nuremberg with the phrase “On the *antiquitates* and glory of the famous city Nuremberg with a few epigrams.”<sup>49</sup> This statement immediately declared that Schedel wished to draw the readers’ attention to historical matters in the city, and as would become clear, the material remains found there. The following description of Nuremberg presents an image of a city with roots in antiquity that had been so devastated by war and conflict that “it lost all ancient adornment, and the ancient buildings have been destroyed along with the literary monuments.”<sup>50</sup> Schedel directed his reader’s attention in this description to the destruction the city had faced, but also that the old and new coexisted. He explained the city was rebuilt, and “the imperial citadel nevertheless remains undamaged where the *vetustates* with painted and written images are still seen higher up.”<sup>51</sup> The impression Schedel put forth was one of immense loss: there was an old and venerable city under the rubble that remained, and certain *vetustates* were evidence of this.

After the introductory description of Nuremberg, Schedel gave his collection of *antiquitates*. Schedel’s sense of the term was expansive, for it included the castle in the center of Nuremberg, the defensive fortifications of the city, public and private buildings, and a “few epigrams” which survived the “various slaughters” there.<sup>52</sup> These *antiquitates* comprised both ancient and “new” remains, including the epitaph on the grave of Hermann Schedel, Hartmann’s cousin. Before recording the epitaph, Schedel wrote a précis about Hermann, explaining that he was a doctor of arts and medicine who had “with the utmost judgment most ornately arranged a

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<sup>49</sup> *De antiquitatibus et decore insignis vrbis Nuremberge cum paucis epigramatibvs*. Schedel, *Opus de Antiquitatibus*, 302r. This page is one four that have been inserted between those foliated as 290v and 291r. These pages have their own foliation that do not follow the foliation of the other pages.

<sup>50</sup> *Etsi in ea pauca extant vestigia antiquitatis, cum ex discordia principum & bella cesarum, per ignem et ferrum deuastata, omnem antiquum ornatum perdidit, ac vetera edificia abolita sunt cum monimentis litterarum*. Schedel, *Opus de Antiquitatibus*, 291v.

<sup>51</sup> *Arx tamen Imperialis illesa mansit, vbi vetustates cum ymaginibus superius depictis et descriptis aduc [sic!] visuntur*. Schedel, *Opus de Antiquitatibus*, 291v.

<sup>52</sup> Schedel, *Opus de Antiquitatibus*, 295v.

remarkable epitaph in stone in the cemetery of St. Sebaldus near the smaller entrance.”<sup>53</sup> The epitaph he recorded reads,

Here under the stone of his family is located Hermann Schedel, doctor of arts and medicine, physician from Nuremberg. He [was] an honor for Germania. In many locations he had learned to expel extraordinary illnesses. He finally rests in fortunate death in his *patria*. He died in the year of the lord 1485 [...]. This engraving in stone has been prepared in his memory.<sup>54</sup>

Hermann’s epitaph illustrates the fact that *antiquitates* did not need to come from antiquity, but could have been produced in the very recent past. Age was thus a factor, but not the central aspect, for *antiquitates* derived their specific characteristics from their preservation in a material form. The stone, the *lapis*, was indissolubly connected with the epitaph itself, thus materiality was an essential element of Schedel’s conception of *antiquitates*. The most significant aspect of the epitaph was its preparation in “memory” of Hermann Schedel. This was of extraordinary importance for Hartmann, because memory—*memoria*—was the expressed function of both the *Opus de Antiquitatibus* and *Liber Antiquitatum*.<sup>55</sup> As the epitaph memorialized Hermann and the gravestone monumentalized both, so the collecting of the *antiquitates* and *vetustates* memorialized and monumentalized Germania in the *Opus de Antiquitatibus*.

Schedel conceived of no difference between *antiquitates* and *vetustates* and he used the terms interchangeably. He introduced Augsburg, the fifth city in the *Opus*, not by reference to its *antiquitates*, but rather its *vetustates*. Augsburg was among the oldest cities in the German lands, and had become, along with Nuremberg and Vienna, a fertile home for humanism and the

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<sup>53</sup> *Doctor hermannus Schedel arcium et medicine doctor mihi patruus pro se et sua familia insigne epitaphium In lapide cum extremo iudicio ornatissime in cimiterio Sancti Sebaldi prope minorem ianuam ordinavit.* Schedel, *Opus de Antiquitatibus*, 296r.

<sup>54</sup> *Hic sub lapide familie sue situs est Hermannus Schedel, artium & medicine doctor, phisicus Nũrembergensis. Qui decus Germanie, In plerisque locis incredibiles norat depellere morbos. Tandem in patria fine felici quiescit. Obiit Anno domini Mcccclxxxv [...] In cuius memoriam hec insignis sculptura in lapide fabricata est.* Schedel, *Opus de Antiquitatibus*, 296r.

<sup>55</sup> Worstbrock, “Hartmann Schedels ‘Liber Antiquitatum,’” 228.



Renaissance. After the introductory statement, “On the *vetustates* of Augusta,”<sup>56</sup> Schedel outlined features of the city’s past that had become facts in the medieval historiographical tradition. Schedel rooted the origin of the city in pre-Roman times, claiming, based on medieval legend, that Augsburg had been founded by Priam, the grandson of King Priam of Troy.<sup>57</sup> He explained that the Trojans had found the location of the city favorable for animals and humans and consequently settled there. The description is short and leaves out Augsburg’s Roman and medieval history. Instead Schedel jumped into the task of collecting and recording the *vetustates*.

There is a strong spatial element to Schedel’s description. Inscriptions, especially in syllogai, had developed into means of spatially defining a region and topographically conceptualizing historical and contemporary land.<sup>58</sup> Throughout the section, the location of the inscriptions came to play a significant role in Schedel’s recording of them. His first entry for Augsburg was found “outside the Rotes Tor of the city Augusta.”<sup>59</sup> The Rotes Tor, the “Red Gate,” is one of the several extant towers of the defensive wall that encircled Augsburg [Roman *Augusta Vindelicorum*] into the nineteenth century. The first and only inscription outside the Rotes Tor was an epitaph for the Rhaetian-Roman child “Crassitius [*sic!*] Constantinus” from his parents Crassicia Ursa and Aelius Aelianus.<sup>60</sup> This inscription, now known as *CIL* III.05842, is a second or third-century Roman epitaph from Crassicius’ parents to their child who died at seven years old. Schedel’s preservation of the text—and very many others from Augsburg—and its location rooted the material remains of Roman-German history in spatial conceptions of the city.

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<sup>56</sup> *DE VETVSTATIBUS AVGVSTE*. Schedel, *Opus de Antiquitatibus*, 302r.

<sup>57</sup> Schedel, *Opus de Antiquitatibus*, 302r.

<sup>58</sup> Ott, *Entdeckung des Altertums*, 95, 100, 103, 116–117, 150–151, 165–174.

<sup>59</sup> *Extra Portam Rubeam Vrbis Augustæ*. Schedel, *Opus de Antiquitatibus*, 302r.

<sup>60</sup> Schedel, *Opus de Antiquitatibus*, 302r.

The strong spatial aspects did not completely override the material, and in certain cases both overlapped. Schedel's last entry for Augsburg is an "epigraph in the gate of the town Dillingen, where the Bishop of Augsburg, along with very many others, resides."<sup>61</sup> The epigraph itself makes clear that the connection between the material and the spatial. The epigraph recorded Bishop Hartmann of Dillingen's bestowal of the castle to an unnamed individual [*tibi*]. Schedel's introduction to the epigram and the epigram itself combined both the location of the gate with means of transmission, the gate itself, in explaining to the reader where and how the epigram was preserved. Thus the text of the epigram in the *Opus* removed the source from its original context, but Schedel's opening phrase resituated it in its location space and form of transmission on the gate. The gate itself was central to the meaning of the epigram.

*Vetustates* were identical to *antiquitates*, and both were interchangeable. Their functions and meanings point to the means to cover vast amounts of history, as neither solely referred to "antiquity," but retained a wider range to encompass the past in general. The materiality of the remains were essential to their meanings because it was the medium that had preserved the remains, but it was also the object most susceptible to destruction. In this use of the terms, the source's material was bound to Schedel's desire to capture and record the physical remnants of history before they were completely lost. Collecting and textualizing *antiquitates* and *vetustates* in the *Opus de Antiquitatibus* prevented this loss and it brought them into the realm of patriotic monumentalization and historical awareness.

There were considerable challenges in finding *antiquitates* in the German lands. Unlike the Italian peninsula, ancient ruins were not ubiquitous but found only in parts of the southern and western regions. Once these items were found, they posed problems of interpretation as they

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<sup>61</sup> *Epigrama in porta castris dillingen vbi ut plurimi residet Episcopus Augustensis*. Schedel, *Opus de Antiquitatibus*, 304r.

moved from simply relics into witnesses of the past. These issues were quite quickly overcome, but the conditions had to be favorable: in 1504, when Celtis wrote to Peutinger, exhorting him to print his *vetustates*, he had already spent years thinking and writing about Germania and its past. He was thus disposed to seeing the “German” in the Roman objects. Schedel on the other hand faced a different issue, whether he knew it or not: Nuremberg, his hometown, had no Roman foundation, but this did not stop his attempts to find the ancient in this distinguished city. His collections for the cities of Nuremberg and Augsburg illustrate that his sight was not simply directed toward antiquity, but also the more recent past. He could thus create more expansive notions of *antiquitates* and *vetustates* to conform to his purpose and environment. Moreover, as Schedel was recording the epitaphs, epigrams, inscriptions, *fossa*, ruins, and standing buildings, he was simultaneously recognizing their potential for information on German history and bringing them into this history.

As with the notion of *authores*, the German humanists had to develop the meaning of *antiquitates* and *vetustates* to specifically convey the work they were doing. This required far more work than the idea of *authores*, because it was a far less developed category, as the objects of study had only recently moved into the purview of the humanists as sources. Eliciting meaning from the *antiquitates* and *vetustates* was an act of creative interpretation in which Schedel, Celtis, and Peutinger could see the value such materials might offer in monumentalizing the past. They employed categories to conceptualize the work they were undertaking, but they created the meaning for these categories based on their needs and the purposes of their intellectual projects. Within the process of finding and defining sources, the German humanists suffused the objects with the ability to furnish information on Germania by the very fact that they believed the objects had the potential to do so. The meaning they were imbued with was incredibly powerful, for these

objects came to be seen as preserving elements of history through their material nature. Publishing and recording them was an attempt to capture this power by committing them to texts and making them public. The terms and ideas behind *antiquitates* and *vetustates* were malleable enough that humanists could employ the terms and deepen their meaning to convey an idea that was not only descriptive, but filled with the power to capture the history and memory of the past.

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### 5.3. Ambiguous Source Type: *Monumentum*

No term captured history and memory better than *monumentum*. This word was, based on its etymology, a term of memory, and in the German humanists' hands it came to have the widest applicability. It alone, of all the terms to refer to sources, most resembles the words "source" or "Quelle." The term *monumentum*, pl. *monumenta*, was the broadest, most ambiguous term for source, encompassing inscriptions, histories, and any sort of monument or writing. It was special for its flexibility and direct connections to notions of memory. Its flexibility meant that it could conform to a variety of contexts and uses, which included, for one humanist in particular, taking on meanings similar to the modern English "source." Reaching this meaning took a particular and rare set of circumstances. It was only when incidentally faced with the need to conceptualize various types of source-objects that the flexibility of the word allowed Johannes Aventinus to write himself into this meaning.

*Monumentum*, uncommonly *monimentum*, lay with the historical use and formation of the word. *Monumentum* had a long connection to preserving memory; the noun itself derived from the verb *moneo/monere* which had strong connections to memory, thought, and suggestion. In antiquity *monumentum* was a means to denote an object "that preserve[d] the remembrance of any thing, a memorial, a monument," with particular connection to material objects, and it also had

connection to writing and could signify records or written monuments.<sup>62</sup> In the Middle Ages, both of these ancient meanings continued,<sup>63</sup> and it was in this form that the German humanists received it. This connection to memory and, for the humanists, to remembrance was vital to the word's use among them. Like *antiquitates* and *vetustates*, *monumentum* went beyond a purely descriptive term and strongly conveyed the significance of being able to capture memory and information.

*Monumenta* were not always ancient or even from the distant past. Andreas Althamer understood that *monumenta* could be the products of contemporary attempts at monumentalization. In his commentary on the word *Helvetii* from his *Commentaria Germaniae* [1536], he explained that the Helvetii, that is the Swiss, were “also today renowned for their arms, men, and the memory of their name. Two unequaled men, Joachim Vadianus and Heinrich Glarean, endowed with cultivation, prudence, and inestimable erudition, who illustrate Helvetia in their published *monumenta*, especially extol them [the Helvetii].”<sup>64</sup> These two texts resulted from the work of two Swiss humanists in describing their homeland. It is unclear which of Vadianus' texts this might have referred to, but Glarean's is likely his *Helvetiae Descriptio*, a poetic description of Helvetia itself. Althamer understood the results of this work as successful attempts in praising the Helvetii and making their homeland a more well-known region. For Althamer a *monumentum* was thus something that recorded and extolled, not necessarily something that itself was of antiquity. Therefore a *monumentum*'s significance derived from the object's purpose and how others perceived it—from the fact that it was created to keep an idea or memory fixed.

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<sup>62</sup> Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, “*monumentum*,” accessed February 7, 2023, <https://logion.uchicago.edu/monumentum>.

<sup>63</sup> *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, “*monumentum*,” entries 1–3, February 7, 2023, <https://logion.uchicago.edu/monumentum>.

<sup>64</sup> *Sunt etiam hodie armis, uiris & memoria nominis clari. Ipsos in primis ornant duo incomparabiles uiri Ioachimus Vadianus & Heirichus Galreanus humanitate, prudentia & inæstimabili eruditione præditi, qui suam Heluetiam editis monumentis illustrarunt.* Althamer, *Commentaria Germaniae*, 194.

Humanists needed *monumenta* not only to put the deeds of peoples into writing, but also to study them for what they could reveal about the past. Heinrich Pantaleon lamented that the deeds of the ancient Germani had been passed over in silence or disregarded by non-Germans because of a lack of writers [*scriptores*]. He found a solution, though, and argued,

But if through careful reading anyone examines the *monumenta* of ancient historians that still survive and considers them with diligent study, and what is more repairs the negligence (lest I say wickedness) of one person by the diligence and integrity of another, he will certainly find already from the times of Tuisco, the grandson of Noah, that Germania, our *patria*, had been cultivated by the strongest and most prudent men, although they were deprived of knowledge of letters for so long.<sup>65</sup>

Pantaleon's *monumenta* were very clearly written histories that he believed had the power to offset the damage that resulted from the carelessness and even malice that so afflicted writings on German history. The *monumenta* needed to be studied, and diligently so, because their information would help the reader recover the distant past. Pantaleon thus invested *monumenta* with the means to repair the damage from the ancient historians.

*Monumenta* however were not simply written objects, but also the material remains. German humanists frequently encountered these *monumenta* in Germania's Rhine and Danubian regions, as the Romans left behind a plethora of *materialia* from their occupation of the area many centuries previously. Gerardus Noviomagus recorded and interpreted a recently discovered inscription that paid witness to the great status of the Germanic tribe of the Batavi in the Roman Empire. Noviomagus claimed that the Batavi were employed under Hadrian as his bodyguards and they fought with the emperor Septimius Severus successfully against the Britanni. He stated, "The

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<sup>65</sup> *Si quis uero diligenti lectione ueterum Historicorum monumenta, quæ etiamnun supersunt, excutiat, ac inter sese solerti studio conferat, adeoque unius negligentiam (ne dicam malitiam) alterius diligentia & synceritate resarciat, inueniet certe Germaniam patriam nostram iam inde a Tuisconis Nohe nepotis temporibus fortissimis & prudentissimis uiris fuisse excultam, quantumuis diu literarum cognitione destituerentur.* Pantaleon, *Prosopographia*, 1:(2)v.

*monumenta* of antiquity, [which were] dug up in my time not far from the town Liège, sufficiently declare how welcome they [the Batavi] were to Severus. [Liège] is plausibly conjectured to have been named after the legions who had their camp there.”<sup>66</sup> The reference here is to two inscriptions which Noviomagus represented as one: the first is a genuine Roman inscription [*CIL* XIII.8824] found at the ruins of the medieval castle in Roomberg in Leiden in 1502; the second was a short, forged inscription that declared, *GENS BATAVORUVM AMICI ET FRATRES ROMANI IMPERII*, “the people of the Batavi, Friends and Brothers of the Roman Empire.”<sup>67</sup> Noviomagus interpreted this *monumentum*, although partially a forgery, as a declaration of the status of the Batavi for the Roman emperors from the distant past [*antiquitas*]. It, as a *monumentum* of antiquity, witnessed and bore the past’s power within itself, which made it useful as a means to substantiate claims about the Batavi and commemorate their important status in present works.

The breadth of *monumentum*’s semantic range, its ability to denote material and written objects, meant that under the right circumstances it could be used as a catchall term for the variety of sources the German humanists relied on. Only one humanist employed it in this way. In the dedicatory letter to his patrons, Johannes Aventinus was at pains to convey the amount of effort that he expended on compiling and writing his monumental *Annales Ducum Boioariae* [1521]:

I have surveyed all of Boiaria, I have penetrated all the habitations of priests, I have examined all chests [and] public libraries rather carefully. I have turned over small books, documents, offerings, commentaries, calendars, the annals of all peoples, official documents, [and] public [and] private deeds. I have investigated and examined symbols, sacred items, stones, trophies, epigrams on coffins, paintings, inscriptions, superscriptions, churches—in a word, all the *monumenta* of antiquity. I have left behind nothing untouched, nothing untried. I have examined each kind of writing; I have crawled into each crook. Where sure *monumenta* were lacking, we adhered to the [oral] tradition of the matters, nevertheless omitting those things

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<sup>66</sup> *Quam grati Seuero [Batavi] fuerint satis declarant uetustatis Monumenta, mea ætate eruta, non procul a Legia oppido, quam a legionibus quæ ibi castra habuerunt, denominatam uerisimilis coniectura est.* Noviomagus, *Historia Batavica*, 4r.

<sup>67</sup> Noviomagus, *Historia Batavica*, 4r.

that were the ornaments for poetic fables more than for the uncorrupted truth of the deeds.<sup>68</sup>

Aventinus' source base was indeed broad and he needed to conceptualize it in order to reach the rhetorical climax of the description. The phrase "*monumenta* of antiquity" both embodied this climax and attained a level of abstraction and comprehensiveness that allowed it to be used as a means to bring all of the previous terms and objects under one conceptual label. Thus by the time Aventinus used the term again in the quote "where sure *monumenta* were lacking", he could juxtapose it to an oral tradition [*fama*]. Reaching a use of a term that could mean something akin to "source" required specific circumstances in which such an idea was required and Aventinus found this when trying to label all of his informational materials and distinguish them from *fama*.

The fact that Aventinus had to write himself into an idea approaching "source," showed that developing the concept of "source" was not self-evident. It arose because of a specific intellectual process, and as a general word was typically not needed outside of this process. Aventinus wished to convey to his patrons just how much work he had put in and what materials he had consulted. His choice of *monumentum* as his collective term for different types of sources should probably not be considered incidental, for the term had the semantic breadth to categorize a wide variety of objects, and it conveyed a meaning essential to Germania patriotic humanism in its ability to capture historical memory. Seen in the context of other uses of the term, Aventinus' application of word in this manner was not a common occurrence, voiced on only one other

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<sup>68</sup> *Totam boiariam perlustravi, omnia contubernia sacerdotum penetravi. Scrinia, publicas bibliothecas omnis curiosius perscrutatus sum. Libellos, codicillos, donaria, commentarios, fastos, annales omnium gentium, diplomata, instrumenta publica, privata evolvi. Signa, sacra lapides, trophea, epigrammata sepulchrorum, picturas, inscriptiones, titulos, templa, omnia denique antiquitatis monumenta exploravi atque perspexi. Nihil intactum, nihil intentatum reliqui. Omne genus scriptorum excussi, omnis pene angulos perreptavi. Ubi certa deerant monumenta, famae rerum stetimus, omissis tamen, quæ poeticis fabulis magis decora quam incorruptae rerum gestarum veritati fuerant.* Aventinus, *Annales Ducum Boiariae*, 2:3.



occasion that I have found.<sup>69</sup> Consequently the creation of an idea similar to “source” was an outgrowth of Aventinus’ scholarly practice and he chose a word that perfectly encompassed his and the other patriotic humanists’ purpose for writing about Germania and the Germani.

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#### 5.4. Conclusion

German humanist terminology for source-objects and -authors is defined by its richness: across nine decades there were at least twenty-eight terms between two languages.<sup>70</sup> Not all the terms were well defined, and meaning was dependent both on established patterns of use and how the humanists needed to employ them. Many of these words offered some lateral movement, which signified a general imprecision of humanist conceptions of their various types of sources. The flexibility was productive because humanists were not trying to fully classify and organize sources, but rather use categories that were specific enough to be understood by others and remain useful in a given context. Humanists were not looking at sources rigidly, but rather within somewhat malleable boundaries, provided that these allowed the sources to fulfill their general function. Precision came when precision was needed, and it was not (yet) needed.

The flexibility was a result of the fact that the humanists were defining “source” through practice and not through method. The idea of “source” was not prescribed for or by the humanists, rather its meaning had to be negotiated through years of exploration and trial. The expansion of the source base and the development and cultivation of terminology to explain where they were

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<sup>69</sup> See the *Descriptio Fundatorum Monasterii Biburgensis item Abbatum Successio Annique Gubernationis*, in which he states, *Posteaquam rogatu reverentiae tuae libros, lapides, tabulas, itemque cetera antiquitatis monumenta legi et evolvi trium dierum spatium, situm et abbates necnon nobilem progeniem et genealogiam illustrium procerum...in gratiam posteritatis paucis perstringam*. Aventinus, *Descriptio Fundatorum Monasterii Biburgensis*, 39. Elsewhere in Aventinus’ works *monumentum* referred either to inscriptions and material objects or texts. Aventinus, *Annales Ducum Boiariae*, 2.1:150; Rhenanus, *Briefwechsel*, 345.

<sup>70</sup> For this chapter I selected only a representative cross-section of the terms I researched. The complete list is: *author, scriptor, rerum scriptor, scribenten, testis, cosmographus, weltchreiber, chronikschreiber, geographus, geschichtschreiber, Histori schreiber, historicus, historiographus; monumentum, Buch, liber, litterae, schriften, scriptum, testimonium, geschichtbücher, historiae, historien, antiquitates, vetustates, inscriptio, charta, tabula*.

acquiring knowledge from was part of a process of scholarly exploration that the humanists were often at the forefront of. In their scholarly exploration, they expanded their ability to identify what types of objects could furnish the information they sought. They were able to expand their ability to identify new and different sources by adopting terminology that was already in place while shaping it to suit their own intellectual needs and culture. As the case of Johannes Aventinus shows, this exploration and expansion could lead them to stumbling upon or cultivating a terminology that was not specific to certain source-authors or -objects, like *authores* or *antiquitates/vetustates*, but rather one that could encompass most or all of their materials. Aventinus' use of *monumentum* exemplifies the fact that the humanists were in the process of attempting to find out how to describe the work they were doing. They had to create the terminology to explain their work because it was not given to them.

Creating the categories to discuss the different types of sources and imbuing them with meaning was not a matter of identifying certain naturally occurring categories. It emerged from the reception of previous terminological usage and from constant recourse to the objects themselves. Through consistent use and reuse, these objects, as relics of the past, were then conceptualized in ways that produced the desired meaning. This itself was the process of identifying potential for extracting knowledge on a defined topic in a source. Potential was an essential aspect of all the source types and it was the binding agent and between all those various objects the patriotic humanists employed. But the implications of source "potential" were not always, if ever, clear, because potential was a matter of interpretation. At no point did a source have to actually provide information on Germania or the Germani; the humanists simply had to believe that they could elicit the information they desired from the source. Their patriotism and erudition would do the rest. It is for this reason that many of their sources, like Roman inscriptions

from the second or third centuries AD, did not and do not necessarily provide information on Germania or the Germani, but could be interpreted as doing so depending on one's frame of reference and intellectual desires. This parallels exactly what Florentine scholars of the late Renaissance were attempting to do by co-opting the Etruscans as their ancestors.<sup>71</sup>

The act of interpretation needed to see the potential in sources was a creative intellectual labor. Interpretation here was not simply reading a source for what it was, but rather reading it for what the humanists wanted it to be. As such they imbued each and every one of their objects and authors with the power to provide information on Germania. This was far easier with written sources, for the humanists could often simply latch onto the very words that signified the subjects they desired to study, like *Germani*, *Germania*, *Teutsche*, *Teutschland*, etc. The words themselves made connecting the source to their topic easy. The true intellectual labor came with extending this to new source bases, which required new types of analysis and use. Inscriptions, ruins, coins, and other *materialia* almost never provided the direct link to Germania that the humanists desired. Thus the expansion of the source base was rooted entirely in the humanists' ability to recognize a source's potential and to imbue it with the connections to the German past they desired.

The fact that recognizing potential was concurrently an act of imbuing a source with purpose meant that the very words used to discuss the humanists' sources could also carry meanings given to them by the humanists. It is for this reason that both *antiquitates/vetustates* and *monumentum* were bound with notions of humanist memorial culture and the means to check the very oblivion they perceived had engulfed much of German history. In the case of the *monumenta*, the humanists were continuing patterns of use known since antiquity, but they merged these entirely with their own ideological program and conveyed to their readership that *monumenta* were

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<sup>71</sup> Hillard, "Mythic Origins," 503, 517, 523.

not simply the means to access to the past, but also to monumentalize it. The *authores* and *scribenten* on the other hand bore similar ideas, but also notions of source criticism and authority, but these meanings were dependent on centuries of continuous use. In short the various terms for sources were valuable beyond their ability to categorize source-authors and -objects; they also imparted to the readership meanings of *Informationsbedarf*, source criticism, and monumentalization, which were specific to the sources' functions within the intellectual movement of the German humanists.

When seen in the context of scholarship from the Middle Ages to the modern era, the expansion of the source base among the humanists signaled a great change. The humanists were often the first in Europe to make real forays into the material and visual past. Only in the nineteenth century would a similar change take place with earnest studies in palimpsests, the development of the field of archaeology, and the spread into the realm of papyrology made possible through the finds at Oxyrhynchus and other Near Eastern and African sites.<sup>72</sup> But the transformation of the source base did not end in the nineteenth century. Oral history has come to have an important place in historical studies, as it has been utilized so well by scholars like Luise White, and its boundaries are still being explored, as studies like the recently published volume *Erinnern, Erzählen, Geschichte Schreiben: Oral History im 21. Jahrhundert* witness.<sup>73</sup>

The humanists however were unaware of what the transformation they were effecting would mean for the future. They themselves were simply reacting to the demands of the intellectual and patriotic motivations that spurred them in the first place. This was a memorial culture that began to observe and analyze the past in new ways, and their new patterns of thought included an

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<sup>72</sup> Reynolds et al., *Scribes and Scholars*, 193–199.

<sup>73</sup> Apel, ed. *Erinnern, Erzählen, Geschichte Schreiben*; White, *The Comforts of Home*.

extension to viewing new materials not simply as remnants of the past, but also as historical objects they could investigate and extract specific meanings from. The shift they realized was not predicated solely on a sense of admiration, but also a profound sense of loss and a hope to capture what they could from the materials that remained.

The German humanists' terminology for sources shows the processes by which scholars created and create the meaning that they wish for their sources to have. No object by itself is undoubtedly a source on a particular topic, rather it requires the creation of certain intellectual and even ideological and heuristic frameworks to make sense of the sources themselves. For a Roman historian, this means creating the category "Roman," defining this category in relation to a multitude of factors, like time, place, people, and culture, and studying the materials that can plausibly or even just *potentially* be interpreted to buttress specific historical claims about the idea of "Roman." This has often meant creating arbitrary and potentially misleading conceptual boundaries to find the limits between time periods, peoples, ideas, cultures, etc. and retrojecting them onto history and the materials that bore witness to it. For modern historians this is not a process we often have to think about for our sources, because the categories and heuristic structures were created long before any of us were born.

The humanists' use of sources shows one of these periods of creating the intellectual frameworks that guided how scholars think about and conceptualize the past and its witnesses. The process of imposing such order on written texts was and has been well underway for a long time. The expansion of the source base both in depth—the rediscoveries of forgotten and moldering texts—and breadth—inclusion of new source-objects—posed new challenges during the Renaissance, for new media had to be worked with and new means of interpretation were needed to elicit the desired meaning within the established conceptual frameworks.

Reading sources and finding meaning in them was often shaped by what the humanists wanted to find in their sources and not necessarily what was there. Reading and interpreting sources, identifying potential, and imbuing them with significance frequently resulted from inventive acts, shaped by the humanists' ideological commitments and motivations. That they were aware of categories of sources and aware of new groups of them is indisputable and their significance cannot be questioned. The meanings humanists imposed on and elicited from their sources ultimately came from their very intellectual culture. The true significance, not the meaning, of sources for an intellectual culture like humanism is found not in how these scholars use sources, but in what meaning and significance the practitioners within this culture attach to the idea of "source."

Figures

Figure 1: Image of an *autores* list from Hubertus Thomas Leodius' *De Tungris et Eburonibus*. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Belg. 258 m. Downloaded 27th February, 2023.

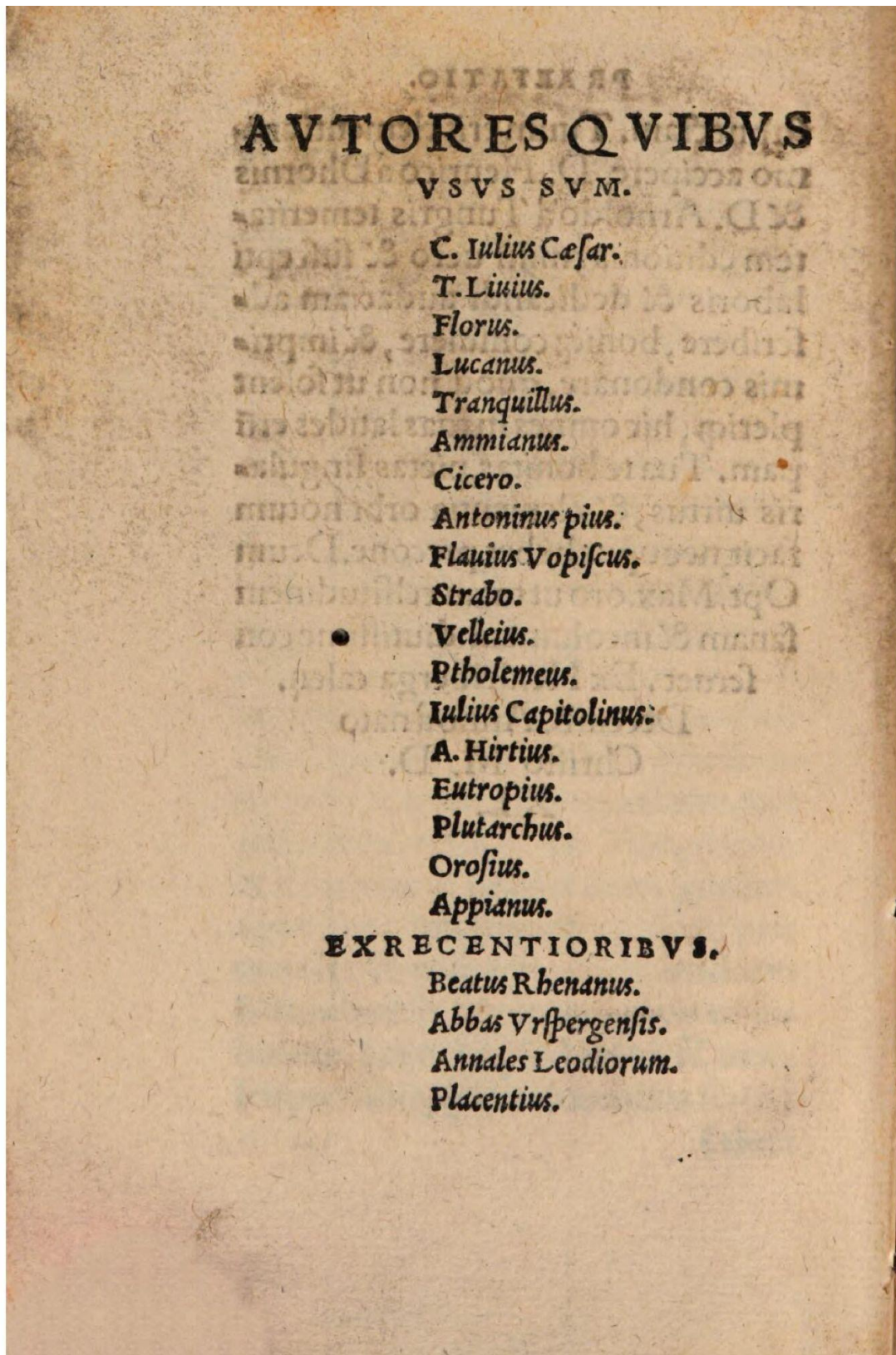
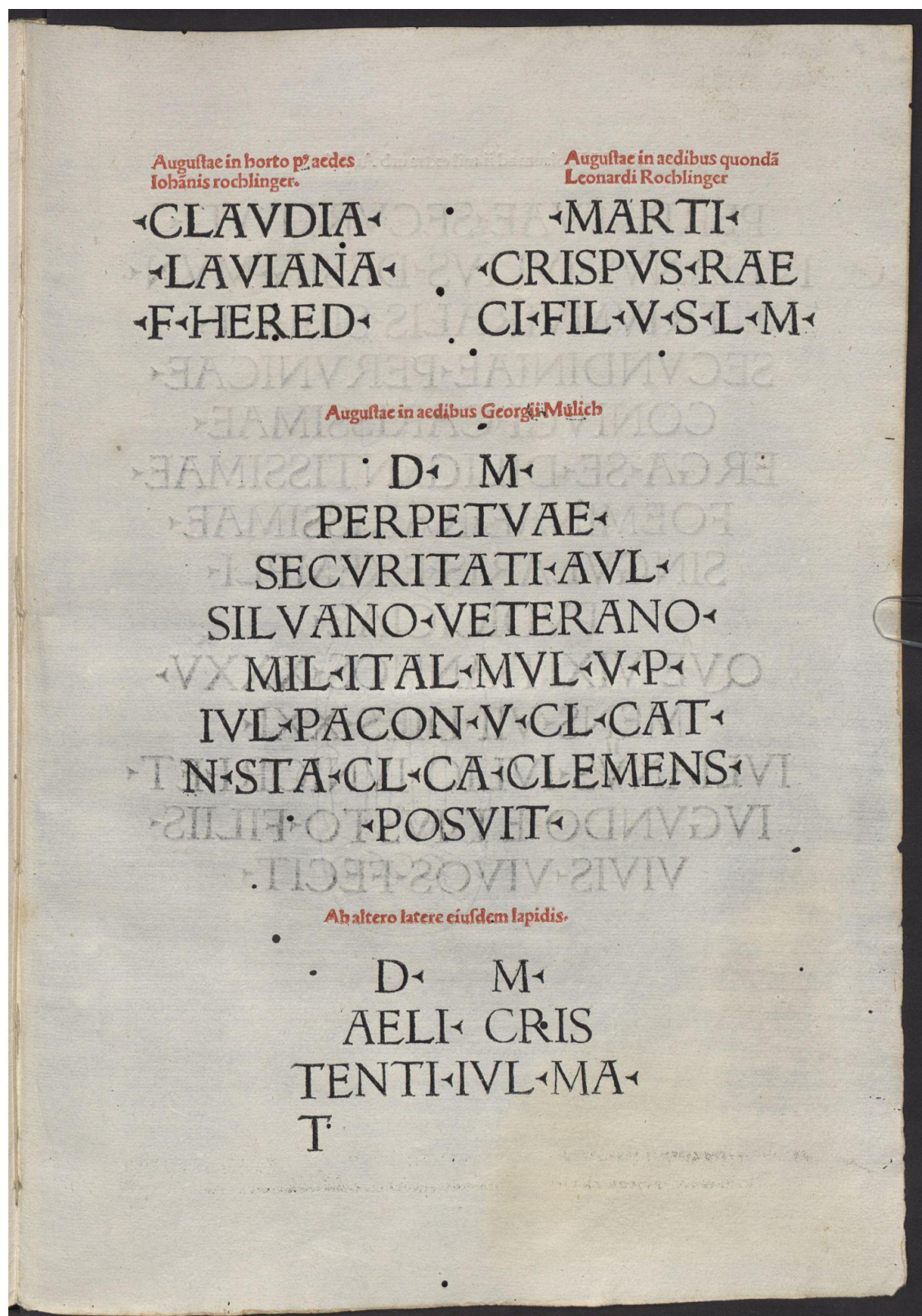




Figure 2: Image of facsimile-like productions of Roman inscriptions in Augsburg from Conrad Peutinger's *Romanae Vetustatis Fragmenta*. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/2 Arch. 112. Downloaded 27th February, 2023.





## Conclusion: The Significance of German Humanist Patriotism

German humanist patriotism aimed at monumentalizing Germania and the Germani through the collection and recording of information. The humanists endeavored to preserve knowledge about the German past and present to ensure its transmission to posterity. These efforts had parallels in the wider society of Renaissance Europe but their crucial ingredients were impetuses inherent to humanism itself. This patriotism would not have emerged as it did without a strain of humanist thought that reached back to a disposition to imitate the culture of the ancient past starting with Lovato dei Lovati. Later humanists like Petrarch, Poggio Bracciolini, and Flavio Biondo both personalized the ancient past and turned it into an object of study, making antiquity and its culture objects of veneration that they not only wanted to imitate, but also revivify, recover, and restore. This disposition was integral for German humanist patriotism because it established a personal desire to connect with antiquity in a new way. Antiquity became more than just a point in history or a source of legitimacy: it was how the humanists created meaning for themselves, their projects, and their collective identities.

The German humanists inherited the dispositions and ways of thinking about antiquity from the Italians, but shifted their concerns away from Rome and the Italian peninsula toward points of reference closer to home. These reference points, Germania and the Germani, developed in antiquity but showed incredible staying power, surviving the fall of the western half of the Roman Empire in AD 476. By the Late Middle Ages these concepts had taken on overtly political and religious associations that connected them with the Holy Roman Empire and its religious-eschatological function. The humanists recast these religious and political identities, rooting their significance in the German people and their *patria* in imitation and dependence on Graeco-Roman models. They thereby sidelined prevailing identities in favor of ideas that emphasized a self-conception that expressed itself in relation to a specific place and the people who inhabited this

place. These changes were dependent on shifts in scholarship which saw the increasing interest in geography as a field of study and the transformation of historiography which provided alternatives to the prevailing framework of Christian universalism and eschatology. These allowed for individual studies of places and people, like the Florentine people for Leonardo Bruni, the Franci for Robert Gaguin, and Britannia for William Camden. German humanist patriotic scholarship sat at the confluence of these changes and impetuses.

As humanists, German patriotic scholars illustrated a concern for ancient history in particular and the past in general. The emphasis on antiquity came from humanism itself, which exalted Greece and Rome turned them into models, reference points, and sources of inspiration and imitation for Renaissance society. The Germani and Germania, the Graeco-Roman ideas around which German humanist patriotism crystalized, were principally the starting points for the majority of German humanist texts, but Hartmann Schedel's projects and Conrad Celtis' discoveries of the works of Hrotsvitha demonstrate the decisive importance of post-antique history for the patriotic movement. This concern for the past gave their patriotism a particularly historical and antiquarian face, for not simply their histories, but also their treatises, critical editions of texts, geographies, and translations worked from this historical orientation. Certain sources, like [Pseudo-]Berosus, and a number of medieval texts, as for instance Otto von Freising's *Chronica sive Historia de Duabus Civitatibus*, allowed for accessing a even more distant past through legends, but the foundational sources came from classical antiquity. Tacitus, Julius Caesar, Ptolemy, Pliny the Elder, Strabo, Pomponius Mela, Solinus, and Ammianus Marcellinus were the informational lifeblood of the patriotism, and they were, along with Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini's various works, the essential informational fonts for the German humanists.

These ancient authors, despite being the building blocks of the patriotic movement, created an insurmountable problem for the German humanists: they supplied both faulty and inadequate information about the German past. This was exacerbated by the fact that medieval and Renaissance authors either did not fill these lacunae or perpetuated problematic claims. The patriotic drive to find information, the humanist need to find this information in the sources, and the unassailable problems with the information did not lead the German humanists to see their pursuit as futile, but rather provided the fuel that drove them to unearth the knowledge to overcome these issues. This exhibited itself as *Informationsbedarf*, a need for information, manifesting in manuscript and source hunts, as well as a disposition to find everything related to the German in their diverse sources. The German humanists were aided in managing their *Informationsbedarf* by the humanist expansion of what constituted a source, so that new materials, like monuments, inscriptions, coins, and ruins, could be read for information on all points of history. The German humanists used these new materials to great effect, seeing in Roman inscriptions and coins, medieval monasteries and defensive fortifications, a material side of history that helped open up hitherto unexplored informational avenues. In the end, written materials remained the overwhelmingly predominant sources because humanism was at its core a literary culture. This dependence on literature put the German humanists in a paradoxical situation with their sources, because they became both the problem and solution to monumentalizing Germania.

The drive to find information and the consistent failure to collect it from the sources proved to be a productive encounter, because it was the driving force for the majority of German humanists' works. Without this struggle, the wealth of humanist patriotic texts either would not have emerged or would have taken an entirely different form because it fostered the conditions and need for the humanists to create on their own. It strengthened the personal aspects of their

scholarship, giving the humanists far more individualized reasons to have a stake in their work, because they perceived the disregard for Germania in the sources as a loss, a detriment to knowing their heritage, their history, and their homeland—in short, their collective identity. The monumentalization project and concomitant *Informationsbedarf* sought to rectify this.

This identification with Germania and the need to investigate it would not have taken the shape it did without humanism. The drive to revivify and recover the past inherent to humanism developed into a specific need to preserve the past and ensure its continued survival. With the influence of German patriotism, depending on Italian models and expressing larger Renaissance cultural concerns, this took the form of monumentalization. The humanists sought to monumentalize because they valued the past and therefore sought to save it for the present and future. This commitment was at times driven by the need to defend the Germani from the denigrations of others, to promote the political projects of power holders, and to ensure that the Germani's place in the European *Wettkampf der Nationen* was secure, but these motivations are best understood as providing a background and further driving monumentalization. They gave new forms and impetuses and provided a fertile ground for the patriotism of the German humanists to take root, but it flowered in monumentalization.

When compared with *gedechtnus*-project of Maximilian I, Hermann von Weinsberg's *gedenkbuch*, and monument building in early modern England, the patriotic works of the humanists seem to be a similar yet different manifestation of a Renaissance project for memory, history, identity, and their preservation from oblivion. When all four projects are seen together, they demonstrate a concern, largely construed, for heritage. For Maximilian I, Hermann, and English monument builders, this was largely a familial consideration, and in the case of Maximilian I, also a dynastic matter. The familial notion is not readily apparent with the German

humanists, but when looked at as heritage and strictly family, we see that the German humanists were doing something incredibly similar: in place of the family, the German humanists used a larger means of identification expressed through Germania and the Germani. As projects of heritage, each of the four aligns more clearly, because the actors in each sought to understand and record where they came from, what their history was, what they thought their history should be, and how they placed themselves in this history. The German humanists thus appear to have expanded the familial notion of heritage to include *patria* and people.

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### Other Influences on German Patriotism

German humanist patriotism was not solely directed by monumentalization. This was its most important stimulus, but because the patriotism had no established guidelines for implementation and realization, it joined and became entangled with other social, intellectual, cultural, and political currents during the Renaissance. Educational reform, cultural conflict, and political propaganda each proved to be suitable venues for this patriotism to express itself when the proper conditions emerged. Johannes Cochlaeus' patriotism manifested itself through his pedagogy. In 1512 he published his edition of Pomponius Mela's *De Chorographia* as a school text for students. He printed the work with a compendium of geographical terminology and explanations, as well as his *Brevis Germanie Descriptio*, a historical-geographical investigation of Germania. The *Descriptio* emerged from Cochlaeus' work with the *De Chorographia*, during which Cochlaeus realized that the Roman geographer had provided little information about Germania and he composed the *Descriptio* to fill this informational gap. The books therefore grew out of a combination of

education and monumentalization because he did not wish to “seem to despise our *patria* along with the ancient authors.”<sup>1</sup>

The cases of Conrad Celtis and Heinrich Bebel illustrate that monumentalization could fuse with multiple programs at once. Conrad Celtis’ 1492 *Oratio in Gymnasio in Ingelstadio Publice Recitata* displayed three simultaneous patriotic sentiments. The connection between cultural inferiority vis-à-vis the Italians, intellectual and educational reform, and the duty to memorialize all appear together as the drivers of his patriotism.<sup>2</sup> Heinrich Bebel’s patriotism was similarly multifaceted. His *Oratio ad Regem Maximilianum*, printed in 1504, demonstrated a commitment to the political-dynastic program of Emperor Maximilian I, cultural conflict with the Italians, and his service to the *memoria* of the Germani.<sup>3</sup> Each of these avenues could be simultaneously expressed because the patriotism of the German humanists was malleable, shaped by the social situations the German humanists found themselves in, and driven by alternate impulses. Celtis’ and Bebel’s peer, Hartmann Schedel, wrote specifically to safeguard knowledge about the Germani with no concern for cultural conflict and political matters. His example illustrates that the motivation that bound the German humanists was monumentalizing Germania.

Until now scholars have intermittently discussed and assessed the German humanist monumentalization program. They have generally preferred to explain the development of German humanist patriotism as a result of the cultural conflict between Italian and German humanists. This explanation, the Conflict Model, has often revolved around a handful of Italians and Germans, like Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, Gianantonio Campano, Conrad Celtis, and Heinrich Bebel. It sees Italian humanist denigrations of the Germans as barbarians and cultural inferior as the sparks that

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<sup>1</sup> Cochlaeus, *Brevis Germanie Descriptio*, e6v.

<sup>2</sup> Müller, *Germania Generalis*, 217–223; Letocha “Duty of Memory,” 270, 271, 272, 279.

<sup>3</sup> Krebs, *Negotiatio Germaniae*, 228.

ignited the German humanists' ardent patriotic sentiments. The Conflict Model has been a useful tool to discuss the patriotism of the German humanists because we could not fully understand this patriotism without it. As the cases above show, monumentalization did not preclude cultural conflict, and in cases the two could work together to further impel German humanists.

The Conflict Model can not be maintained as a general explanatory model for German humanist patriotism for one major problem: its limited presence. The majority of humanist patriotic texts give little to no indication of conflict, and as chapter one of this dissertation showed, the most consistently voiced motivation for the patriotic works of the German humanists was the need to record information about the past, put it into a physical form, and make sure that later descendants could access it. While it is problematic to argue *ex silentio* that conflict was not present just because it was not expressly voiced, it would be much more problematic to argue *ex silentio* that it was there when the humanists were offering their own alternate explanation of their motivations. The danger in the latter has already been shown in the introduction and in chapter three by reference to those authors who argue for the general validity of the Conflict Model when it cannot be proven. I do not deny that cultural conflict might have been a consideration for a majority of German humanists, but I do contend that it must be limited as an explanatory model unless it can be specifically proven to have directly influenced and impelled a humanist.

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## The Meaning

The patriotic movement of the German humanists was a large enterprise. Dozens of individuals across a century each contributed to and left their mark on its development. This was not a project of limited dimensions and it passed through the societal upheavals of the Reformation and continued on, both joined with and separated from the disruption. The patriotism thus has great explanatory power for both German and general European humanism because it was such a

constant of Renaissance intellectual culture. The significance of considering the patriotism as I have outlined it is twofold. The first aspect concerns the meaning of humanism for its practitioners, the second for humanism as a scholarly practice.

The monumentalization project of the German humanists illuminates a crucial aspect of humanism that gets lost in studies of humanist scholarship: it was an extraordinarily personal endeavor. The lamentations of the German humanists about the source base and the identities they were creating in relation to their ancestors and *patria* each expressed an intensely personal commitment to their projects. The humanists had a stake in what they were writing which derived from their ability to personally identify with their objects of study. The German humanists labeled Germania their *patria* because they could identify with it not simply because they lived there, but because they could simultaneously find meaning in it as their homeland and create this meaning for themselves by studying it. They labeled the Germani their ancestors because they saw themselves as the heirs to a historical people who participated, whether in conflict or peace, in Rome, who crusaded on behalf of Christendom, who bore the responsibility of the *translatio imperii*, who descended from Noah's [spurious] progeny, and who inhabited the largest region of Europe. Their laments proved that they believed that the Germani had committed great deeds and that a distinguished past existed for them, but it was difficult to access.

Throughout the dissertation we have seen continuous examples of this personal motivation. Hartmann Schedel combined both his patriotism for Nuremberg and Germania in a quest to first find the means to uncover their intertwined, distinguished histories in written form through the *Opus Excerptum*, and to capture its wealth of material remains in a textual form in the *Opus de Antiquitatibus*, lest they be forgotten forever. Conrad Celtis searched libraries and monasteries for the literary grandeur of the Germani from the past, bring the works of the tenth-century Saxon



cannoness Hrotsvita back to the German public. Sebastian Münster undertook the monumental project of trying to investigate and record as much as was possible about Germania and commit it to print in his massive *Cosmographia*. Lastly Jakob Schopper sought to expand the monumentalization project by giving the Latin-illiterate German population access to Germania by writing in the German vernacular. These actions speak of a personal devotion and sense of duty to the Germani and their homeland. This personal face to humanism was not solely the domain of German humanists, but found affective expression in the works of Petrarch and Poggio Bracciolini.

The personal commitments of the humanists are often masked by the political face of humanism that often emerges in scholarship. Humanist culture had a reflex to the past because it meant something to its practitioners, personally, politically, religiously, socially, and intellectually. It was useful and meaningful in a range of milieux and helped individuals find legitimacy and meaning for the present. There were a variety of ways to interact with this past as artists, princes, potentates, humanists, scholars, and architects found themselves in myriad projects and programs to instrumentalize history. The humanists were often at the forefronts of such discussions. Their literary output offers insights into this aspect of Renaissance society from a multitude of viewpoints because the humanists found themselves in diverse social, religious, political, and intellectual situations that required an assortment of responses that took their shape and found meaning in the contexts they were placed in.

The ability for German humanists to disconnect their patriotic program from the political aspirations of powerholders, I suggest, was a result of the social situations of humanists in the German lands. The majority of patriotic humanists were either or often both educators or clerics of some kind. This gave them some distance from either the political jockeying found in courts, cities, and communes and meant that their focus was not centered on such milieux. A number of

the patriotic humanists like Celtis, Bebel, Conrad Peutinger, Johannes Aventinus, Gerardus Noviomagus, and Hubertus Thomas Leodius were in the service of or connected to centers of political power, and their patriotic works were either dedicated to or written for the benefit of their patrons. Nevertheless the ideas that the German humanists were developing concerning the Germania and the Germani were only limitedly political because their focus with these projects was not the promotion of the political aspirations of an individual polity in general. The patriotic works were intended to preserve heritage and teach other Germani, and their most important audience was other humanists, present and future.

In comparison to the Germans, the social and professional lives of many Italian humanists look quite different. The major names of Italian humanism show a movement to and between urban areas and centers of political power and influence: Coluccio Salutati, Poggio Bracciolini, and Leonardo Bruni were each chancellors of Florence, whereas Flavio Biondo and Lorenzo Valla worked in the papal curia—the latter also first employed as a secretary to King Alfonso of Naples. This resulted from the fact that humanism itself developed and centralized in Italy in these urban centers. It expressed the values of urban ruling groups and the humanists spoke to these groups directly.<sup>4</sup> In northern Italy humanism and the humanists were closely allied with political power, and within their political culture humanism allowed Italians to prove their worth in political arenas.<sup>5</sup> This can help explain why Leonardo Bruni's *Historiarum Florentini Populi Libri XII* was a work concerned with a political entity and political people, while those of the Germani regularly were not.

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<sup>4</sup> Martines, *Power and Imagination*, 191, 192.

<sup>5</sup> Martines, *Power and Imagination*, 197.

Emphasizing the personal motivations of the humanists places the humanists and their own desires back into the conversation of what humanism did for its practitioners. This unlocks new dimensions to their works, because it helps us understand that the Florentines were not just the agents of political history, but perhaps also Bruni's means for self-identification. Flavio Biondo's *Italia Illustrata* must be investigated with this aspect in mind as a great antiquarian investigation of Italy and his means to create large, collective notions of belonging that made sense to him and his peers. Each of the humanists' intellectual projects carried a multiplicity of motivations and meanings. Each thus served many ends and expressed meanings the authors found important.

German humanist patriotism is significant for understanding European humanism because it illustrates the fact that definitions of humanism based on Italian models cannot always capture what it meant to be a humanist, despite the fact that the ways of thinking that underly the patriotism were Italian in origin. A number of the same dispositions and ways of thinking existed between Italians and Germans, but when it comes down to one of the most fundamental features of humanism, the relationship to the ancient Roman past, the two peoples differed. The Italian relationship with Rome was often qualitatively distinct from the German humanists' because of the way they could identify with it. Petrarch's letters to ancient Romans, Poggio's laments about the destruction of Rome's ruins, and Flavio Biondo's attempts to recreate the built, physical environment of the city indicate the ability to connect with Rome itself. The German humanists often did not want to or could not have such a relationship. Rather Rome was an access point to their own ancient past. The ancient city and empire, as well as everything these two signified, was for them a means to an end for them, when, for many Italian humanists, it was their end.

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## Humanist Practices and the Problem of Methods

The second major aspect of humanism that the patriotism of the German humanists can help scholars better understand is humanistic scholarly practices. The patriotism exemplifies the fact that, despite the long-standing attempts to see the humanists as the heralds of modern scholarship, the humanists had very different conceptions of their practices than we do now. The first major difference is that the ideological program of the individual humanist shaped their scholarship, not the other way around. For the German patriotic humanists, this meant that their practices with sources came to conform to and support monumentalization and *Informationsbedarf*. These twin concerns directed German humanists' thought processes about what a source was and what it should do. Because humanists were just beginning to work out the possible range of sources and the terminology to discuss them, the German humanists unknowingly developed an expansive definition and defined purpose for sources based on whether or not they believed a source had the potential to provide information on a specific topic. This expansion of the source base and the recognition of a source's potential made a whole new array of written and physical materials into objects that could provide information about Germania and the Germani.

German humanists simply understood the role of a source differently than we do. The flattening of context and meaning seen in the source congeries, Schopper's creative translations, the imposition of the patriotic agenda on Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini's *De Europa* through co-opting, the selective quoting and de- and recontextualization of information from sources to create ideologically driven arguments, and the many other practices outlined in this dissertation indicate very clearly that sources were tools to be used as the humanist saw fit. Modern scholarship has—or likes to think it has—clear and defined guidelines for acceptable and unacceptable practices with sources. A modern scholarly edition of Piccolomini's *De Europa* should not be shaped by the

editor to carry an ideological argument. Modern scholarly translations should try to maintain the original meaning of a text with as little imposition from the translator as possible. Historical sources are to be read in context for what they say and not what we want them to say. These aspects define a scholarly culture that at least understands that sources have a certain inviolable integrity.

German humanist practices betray different considerations. An edition of a text was the appropriate venue for creating an ideological argument; translations were an acceptable medium to impose meaning; sources were to be read as the humanist desired. The humanists did each of these things because their goal was not the scholarly enterprise itself, but rather the program that the scholarly enterprise could serve. For the German humanists, this was the patriotic investigation of their homeland and ancestors; for Leonardo Bruni it was the political history of Florence; for Piccolomini in the *De Europa* it was an anxiety about the threat the Turks posed to Europe. The reason humanists used and understood sources differently than modern scholars lies in the fact that their goals are different, and because their goals were different.

Releasing humanist source use from the burden of progressivist interpretation and teleological argumentation means that scholars can better appreciate what the humanists were actually doing. The German humanists show the actual scholarly processes at play during the Renaissance well because conflict between the need to gather information from the sources and the sources' limited ability to satisfy this created a productive scholarly space. In this space the humanists worked out the problems associated with the source base through an array of long-standing and newly developing source practices. Practices with very long traditions, like co-opting, the source congeries, quoting and using sources without citation, all functioned well within the patriotic movement and they stood alongside a newly emerging array of techniques stemming from source criticism and philological investigation. Together these practices and traditions created the

assortment of conventions and techniques a humanist could pull on to acquire and put forth the knowledge required. This intermingling speaks of a time of transition in scholarly practices, not of a break with the past.

The problem the humanists pose is the enticing ability to create a direct link between modern scholarship and their own. This link does exist but it was not direct.<sup>6</sup> Here I would like to suggest one of the ways we may begin relativizing this link and putting it into a more appropriate context by studying the problems associated with the word “methods.” The most fundamental issue with this word is that it has been used to create the direct link between humanists and our own time. It was really not until the late Renaissance in the second half of the sixteenth century that methods developed, seen best in the genre of the *ars historica*, but even these were not modern.

The practical issue with the term “methods” is that the word assumes the existence of fixed and prescriptive scholarly practices. Using the word “methods” thus creates a paradox in which the scholar posits the existence of methods, but then admits that these methods were non-methodical. For example, Ottavio Clavuot wrote himself into this paradox in his *Biondos ‘Italia Illustrata’—Summa oder Neuschöpfung?* when he claimed that Biondo tried to maintain the “methodological considerations” that underpinned his use of sources, while nevertheless declaring that “it would be misguided to expect a matured theory [about methodology] from Biondo, since the humanist did not understand methods as a system, but rather as a deliberate approach in individual cases.”<sup>7</sup> Thus, according to Clavuot, Biondo’s “method” was actually not methodical because it did not consist of a generally and consistently applied set of critical practices. What he

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<sup>6</sup> Ianziti, *Writing History*, 3–6.

<sup>7</sup> Clavuot, *Biondos ‘Italia Illustrata’*, 182.

describes Biondo's methods as is rather an *ad hoc* modus operandi that emerged in specific instances. Clavuot thus described Biondo's methods as non-methods.

Talk of humanist methods is only one example of the progressivist interpretive framework that has long defined the ways scholars have described humanist scholarship. The other major example has been in situating humanist source practices in a binary between critical or uncritical, humanist/modern or medieval, or *wissenschaftlich* and *unwissenschaftlich*. This binary does not reflect the humanists' actual practices because they existed on a spectrum with no clear temporal, academic, or criticism-based dividing line. When making arguments or providing great amounts of information, the humanists relied on a variety of practices that would not be considered "modern" or *wissenschaftlich*, because they impinged upon the integrity of the sources, flattened out meaning and context, exploited ambiguity in favor of argumentation, and wrote out diverse opinions. Moreover the humanists consistently employed supposedly "medieval" practices like compilation and uncritically accepting the opinions of others simply based on authority.

This diversity in practices was not simply a product of German humanism, but actually of humanism itself. Humanists used a wide variety of practices in writing their own literary and scholarly works. Prejudices and personal commitments shaped how Leonardo Bruni selected and used sources for his *Comentarii de Primo Bello Punico*.<sup>8</sup> Sicco Polenton maintained the authenticity of the epistolary exchange between Seneca and the Apostle Paul because it rested on the authority of St. Jerome.<sup>9</sup> And Flavio Biondo himself used the "medieval" technique of compilation alongside an "emergent criticism."<sup>10</sup> Italian humanists, including some of those who have been deemed the most methodologically and critically minded, did not work in terms of

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<sup>8</sup> Fryde, "Beginnings," 544.

<sup>9</sup> Speyer, *Italienische Humanisten*, 22.

<sup>10</sup> Clavuot, *Biondos 'Italia Illustrata'*, 305.

binaries, but rather in accordance with a range of practices that required mixtures of scrutiny, belief based on nominal authority, and personal interest. Humanist source practices were thus founded on many factors, but they were not fixed, prescriptive rules or guidelines. They much more resemble *ad hoc* solutions that could be employed depending on the situation.

The binary approach to understanding the scholarship of the humanists is also problematic because it assumes a clean break with medieval conventions. The notion of a clean break stems from nineteenth-century conceptions of the Renaissance and humanism and almost always has a teleological undercurrent which seeks to find modernity in the Renaissance with a vocal abnegation of the “medieval.” This has led to positivistic analyses of humanist scholarship, which selects individuals and their works as and representatives of a break with the past. Upon their shoulders the weight of modernity lay: Johannes Nauclerus’ *Memorabilia* was the “first testament of *wissenschaftliche* historiography on German land”<sup>11</sup>; “with Valla philological-historical criticism became a *wissenschaftliche* disposition and method”<sup>12</sup>; and “the inclusion of *realia* in historical investigation showed how far [Johannes] Aventinus progressed beyond all of his predecessors. [...] Methodologically Aventinus’ work belongs to a new age.”<sup>13</sup> Despite what these scholars have tried to argue or insinuate, the humanists did not break with the past, they transformed it. Humanism was medieval and developed in relation to traditional practices.

Discussion of methods, questions of *Wissenschaft*, and the establishment of clear dividing lines between humanist and medieval, critical and uncritical all actually gloss over the real nature of humanist source practices. What the humanists were doing was intellectual, literary, and scholarly trial and exploration. This was a time when new practices were being worked out, when

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<sup>11</sup> Goez, “Anfänge” (1974), 32.

<sup>12</sup> Speyer, *Italienische Humanisten*, 33

<sup>13</sup> Schmid, “Aventinus und die Realienkunde,” 99.



protracted experimentation and investigation were establishing new and innovative ways of looking at knowledge handed down from authoritative sources. These created different ways of conceiving of how to investigate the past and present. From this exploration scholarly methods would come, but a significant amount of transformation and testing was needed before scholars like Jean Bodin, Joseph Justus Scaliger, Reiner Reineck, and François Boudouin had received a sufficiently parsed and picked over bundle of practices that they could codify into methods. Thus humanism, until and even during the Late Renaissance, was an age of scholarly exploration and investigation with slow and steady transformation, whereby the established traditions of the Middle Ages were either slowly discarded or transformed to fit the humanists' scholarly needs.

The gradual transformation of intellectual practices illustrates two important points for understanding the German patriotic humanism in particular and humanism in general. First, figures like Hartmann Schedel and Johannes Naclerus, who have been identified as embodying both the medieval and the humanistic,<sup>14</sup> actually exemplify the scholarly transformation I am discussing at an earlier stage. They demonstrate that humanism did not burst onto the late medieval scene and immediately drive out long-standing practices—as humanists liked to say. The new ways emerged in acceptance, negotiation, and abnegation of traditional scholarly conventions. Second, humanism was medieval, so arguing for a separation between the two is ahistorical and overlooks the nature of the transformation they were effecting. It was simply a new strain of thought that developed organically within medieval culture, but the slow and protracted changes it brought about gradually distanced the humanists and Renaissance intellectual culture from previous customs. As a result, the intellectual landscape by the second half of the sixteenth century only little resembled that of the fourteenth and fifteenth century, despite developing from it.

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<sup>14</sup> Goez, “Anfänge” (1974), 32; Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung*, 73; Rücker, “Nürnberger Frühhumanisten,” 183–184.

The last fifty years of the sixteenth century saw great transformations in European scholarship that grew directly out of previous practice. Late Renaissance scholars like Jean Bodin [1529/1530–1596] and Joseph Justus Scaliger [1540–1609] drew on and worked with the practices that their predecessors and contemporaries had worked out and were developing. As Anthony Grafton explained, Scaliger's two main fields of study, classical philology and historical chronology, were well-established fields and he drew heavily on the works of predecessors and contemporaries.<sup>15</sup> His innovations in these fields lay less in invention and rather in new combinations of practices that had already developed.<sup>16</sup> He thereby established new guidelines for classical philology and he, along with others, began expanding into new fields of study, such as combining classical with Near Eastern philology.<sup>17</sup> The transformations and expansion Scaliger epitomized were paralleled by other Late Renaissance intellectual changes. Numismatics saw a shift with the work of Enea Vico [1523–1567], who helped pave the way for a critical form of numismatic studies as part of Classical Studies.<sup>18</sup> Antiquarians like Onofrio Panvinio [1530–1568] and the scholarly community he associated with in Rome began laying foundations for epigraphic study by establishing systems of classification and methods of representation that had a lasting impact on the study of inscriptions.<sup>19</sup> Like Scaliger, these epigraphists were not breaking with past tradition, but rather were the direct heirs to the humanists who had come before them.<sup>20</sup>

The most visible change came with the development of the *ars historica*. The *ars* was a genre of historical writing that crystallized around the mid-sixteenth century under the influence

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<sup>15</sup> Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger*, 1:2.

<sup>16</sup> Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger*, 1:2, 2:24.

<sup>17</sup> Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger*, 1:117–118.

<sup>18</sup> Helmuth, "Aura der Kaisermünze," 110–111.

<sup>19</sup> Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions*, 4.

<sup>20</sup> Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions*, 15.

of historians like Jean Bodin, François Boudouin, Johannes Wolf, and Francesco Robortello. These authors began trying to rationalize, theorize, and systematize history.<sup>21</sup> Their treatises focused on the art of reading history, and they began setting out prescriptive guidelines for studying it.<sup>22</sup> Their treatises offered systematic discussions of methodological problems and established critical methods for historical research: Boudouin and Bodin outlined rules for selecting and evaluating past historians and determining precepts for using secondary and primary sources.<sup>23</sup> Like all other humanists, the authors in the *ars historica* genre did not create *ex nihilo*: the roots of the genre reached as far back as antiquity, but more direct predecessors were found, for example, in the late fifteenth-century dialogue, *Actius*, of Giovanni Gioviano Pontano.<sup>24</sup>

The *ars historica* and the late humanist work of scholars like Scaliger emerged out of centuries of exploration. This exploration began long before the *ars historica* and gradually transformed the medieval practices from the “what is done” to the “what is still sometimes done” to the “what used to be done.” Each of the German patriotic humanists were part of this transformation, from the introduction of the humanistic into traditional working patterns of late medieval chronicle writing by Hartmann Schedel and Johannes Naclerus, to the vastly expanded source base seen in the works of Aventinus, and finally to Jakob Schopper who was working in an intellectual culture that differed substantially from that of his distant predecessors.

The presence and use of methods should not be considered a natural or definitional aspect of humanism. Methods and source critical practices were and are needs based and they developed out of negotiation and experimentation. The Late Renaissance was an era in which there were new

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<sup>21</sup> Andermann, “Historiographie und Interesse,” 88–89; Grafton, *What Was History?*, 23–24

<sup>22</sup> Grafton, *What Was History?*, 23–24

<sup>23</sup> Franklin, *Jean Bodin*, 129; Grafton, *What Was History?*, 166.

<sup>24</sup> Grafton, *What Was History?*, 21.

scholarly demands and, for lack of a better word, a *Verwissenschaftlichung*, an “academicization” or “scientificization,” of historical studies.<sup>25</sup> Since the German patriotic humanists were concerned first and foremost with gathering knowledge and then reworking it, they did not need methods. Their various practices and procedures were well suited for this task. At the center of this was the belief in subordinating sources to the patriotic program because sources were tools.

In scholarly terms the Renaissance was a great age of exploration in new ways to carry out intellectual projects. The problem is that there are so many practices that look just like our own, and this makes humanism an enticing object onto which we can retroject our own scholarly values. This retrojection is part of the historian’s, the philologist’s, and the textual critic’s desire to understand their own heritage. Just like the German humanists who read the sources of the past to search for Germania and the Germani and to make these sources say what they wanted them to, so scholars have long looked back to the humanists to understand themselves and their own intellectual lineage. We are indeed the heirs of the humanists, but we are also the heirs to what came before and after, because humanism was indebted to the non-humanistic medieval, and the scholarly models as we use them were handed down from humanist to late humanist to Enlightenment scholar to the historicist to the modernist to the post-modernist and now to the present crop of scholars. The humanists’ methods cannot be modern because each wave of scholarship has left its imprint on the ways that intellectual projects have been carried out. As the core of these practices first began to be expressed by the humanists, it is tempting to see them as modern, but in fact they were not. Rather our practices are humanistic. As the Germani were the German humanists’ purported ancient ancestors, so were the humanists our distant intellectual ancestors.

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<sup>25</sup> The word comes from Helmuth, “Aura der Kaisermünzen,” 127.

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